

**Its Identity & History Is being
Sanitized**

FRAGMENTATION OF CANADA

**A Grim Outlook For The True
North Strong & Free**

REED W. TURCOTTE

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FRAGMENTATION OF CANADA

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“The words that affect us most are the ones that inspire mankind to think for them.”

Reed Turcotte (1991)

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~

A very heartfelt 'thankyou' to all the fire fighters and first responders in West Kelowna who saved my and many of my friends and neighbour's home. Also, to the Kelowna ambulance service who very likely saved my life as well, and as I was only one day away from publication of this book, saved this book also.

Prologue

The Disappearance Of Canada's Identity

Many Canadians think that the pendulum has swung too far in its protection of special interest groups and their sanitizing of Canada, and this swing has played a big part in society's breakdown - they have been given too much of almost everything and the playing field called Canada is no longer level but tilted too much in their favour. In other words, Canada is fragmented. Perhaps though, Canadians can stand 'true north strong and free' in the face of their adversity and can be energized, sturdier and more connected than ever before. Bridges indeed could be built (metaphorically speaking), fostering a deep understanding and appreciation for these differences that make Canada unique. – but not likely.

According to an article in The Canadian Encyclopedia, the question of what it means to be a Canadian has been a difficult and much debated one. Some people see the question itself as central to that identity. Canadians have never reached a consensus on a single, unified conception of the country. Most notions of Canadian identity have shifted between the ideas of unity and plurality. They have emphasized either a vision of one Canada or a nation of many Canadians. A more recent view of Canadian identity sees it as marked by a combination of both

unity and plurality. The pluralist approach sees compromise as the best response to the tensions — national, regional, ethnic, religious, and political — that make up Canada.

In many old countries, the name of the dominant ethnic group is synonymous with the country's identity — for example Germans in Germany, or French in France. But Canada had numerous First Nations, as well as multiple ethnic settler groups from the start. This makes it harder to pin down a Canadian identity in the traditional sense.

The question of what it means to be a Canadian — what moral, political or spiritual perspectives it involves — has been a difficult and a much-debated one. Some people see the question itself as central to that identity. The main reason for this is that Canadians have never reached anything close to a consensus on a single, unified conception of the country. According to some observers, this is because fundamental social divisions prevent such a conception from taking shape. First, there is the separation between the Indigenous peoples and the European colonists and their descendants. Second, there is the separation between the famous “two solitudes.” This term referred originally to those colonists with either French or British ancestry. Third, extensive immigration since the Second World War has produced a poly-ethnic society. Some see that as incompatible with a unified idea of the country.

As a result, most notions of Canadian identity have shifted between the ideas of unity and plurality. They have emphasized either a vision of one Canada or a nation of many. A more recent, postmodernist view of Canadian identity sees it as marked by a combination of both unity and plurality. Another approach moves in between, rather than combining these two extremes. It views Canada as

more-or-less cohesive, characterized by what Charles Taylor called “deep diversity.”

The unified idea of Canadian identity has taken various forms throughout history. Often, it depends on which authority is given the final word over matters of profound disagreement.

Originally, there were two main competing views on the question of Canadian identity. Monarchists pointed to the Crown and the country’s ties with Britain. Mercantilists, on the other hand, advocated protectionist economic policies in order to facilitate exports. This view was held by the Chateau Clique in Lower Canada and the Family Compact in Upper Canada. Over time, the Crown lost virtually all its power. It now plays a largely symbolic role in the country. Those that put the economy first believe that Canada is at its best when it can provide its citizens with an efficient society.

There have been at least two other contenders for the role of “Canada’s unifying idea.” One argues that in a democracy, the people have ultimate authority. This view draws upon the American republican model. It inspired the failed Canadian rebellions of 1837–38. It also reflects the various populist movements and parties that have been influential at times. These include the Social Credit parties in the west and Quebec, as well as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and the Reform Party.

The second is the theory of a “Just Society.” It formed the basis of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s view of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). He inserted this into the Constitution during its patriation from Britain. Trudeau’s “Dream of One Canada” calls for uniformly respecting the individual rights of all Canadians. This is why he so strongly opposed the

failed Meech Lake Accord (1987). It would have recognized Quebec as a “distinct society” and allowed its citizens to be treated differently than other Canadians.

The view of Canada as a deeply diverse community stresses the importance of resolving conflicts by using conversation instead of negotiation. This view believes that conversation builds toward the common good by focusing on listening and working to a shared understanding. Negotiations, in contrast, involve rival sides trying to get the best results for themselves.

This view of the common good in Canada encourages a strictly political, rather than national, conception of the country. In this view, Canada constitutes a “civic” community — a community of citizens, rather than a “nation.” National communities are considered largely cultural entities. That said, the civic or political conception of Canada recognizes that the country contains many other kinds of communities, including the national. As a result, those who support this approach tend to describe Canada as “multinational” or as forming a “nations-state.” They call on its citizens to talk through their conflicts rather than negotiate them, though negotiation is often seen as unavoidable.

Indeed, most Canadians have carried out this approach in a way that reflects small l liberal ideology while in the United States, conservatism is more dominant. In Scandinavian countries, democratic socialism is more typical. As a result of this emphasis on liberalism, Canadian political parties hoping to form a government have stressed the more liberal elements of their platforms.

According to this approach, national communities should be distinguished from the civic or political sort - they should also not be equated with ethnic communities. The question is whether the ethnic group wants recognition and self-determination from the state, or if they identify primarily with Canada.

Ethnic groups seeking self-determination and recognition have included Indigenous peoples, French-speaking Quebeckers, English-speaking Canadians, and perhaps the Acadians. Examples of ethnic groups not seeking such status include the many hyphenated Canadians (e.g., Scottish, Chinese, African-Canadians).

English Canadians are sometimes described as forming a “nation that dares not speak its name.” They tend not to see themselves as constituting a distinct community. Instead, they are often viewed as just one of the two linguistic groups in bilingual Canada. English Canadians have had the luxury of subscribing to this view. As the dominant group in the country, it is all too easy to overlook the distinction between one’s national community and the country.

Each of these positions has been well-represented in the debate over the nature of Canadian identity. There is no reason to think that the argument will end any time soon. As a matter of fact, the debate is just heating up and it is the purpose of this book to examine all the facts (past, present, and future) and give you the reader a clear picture of Canada and its rise to near glory, and now, according to many – its fragmentation.

Sources include Charles Blattber

Introduction

When Did Canada Change Its Way Of Life?

Canadians possess a wide range of cradle-to-grave social services comparable to other western democracies and many socialist countries, and a standard of living and quality of life like those enjoyed by their American neighbors. Yet Canada is a country that increasingly is in imminent danger of falling apart (fragmenting) while that is not the case (as a whole) in the United States.

A real change began to occur in the 1960s, as this was a turbulent time that resulted in the reshaping of official Canadian identity from a predominantly British-based identity to one that was now reflecting Canada's multiplicity. The change in compositions of what was an official Canadian identity was due to pressures from an ongoing dialogue in Canadian society that reflected the larger geo-political shifts taking place during the period. This dialogue helped shape the political discussion, from one focused on maintaining an out-dated national identity to one that was more representative of how many Canadians understood Canada to be. This change in political opinion accordingly metamorphosed the official identity of the nation called Canada.

What it means to be Canadian, English, French, or otherwise, is open to debate. To borrow the terms coined in 1983 by Benedict Anderson, the imagination of such communities depends on the acceptance of certain general ideas about who we are as a people, which are recurrently points of debate. While different people may see "English Canadianness" or "French Canadianness"

differently at a particular moment in time, general ideas about the basis of different imagined groups, such as basic cultural symbols and rituals, are longer lasting. Yet, in the decades after World War II, even these general ideas were up for debate in Canada with the transnational and geopolitical changes that were occurring, specifically the “decline of Anglo-conformity” and the concurrent “rise of multiculturalism.” Thus, the long-held, British, official Canadian identity was shifting by the mid-twentieth century, moving away from Britishness and toward a more authentic expression of Canadianness centered in its diversity.

The use of nation in this article borrows from the work of both Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm. The nation is an “imagined community” that shares specified constructs of geographical space, government and cultural institutions, and the mind. These constructs, and thereby the nation itself, are fluid in their conceptions rather than remaining static. Moreover, an identity can be defined as a cohesive and malleable societal construct that is embraced by the collective group sharing a common culture and language. The use of identity here, referring only to national identity, is the idea of a social construction of “collective consciousness” that shares an “attachment to the nation” in question. National identity differs from the concept of nationalism, as a national identity is less dedicated to the directly patriotic goals of nationalism even though a national identity does form under much of the same criteria, such as a shared language, culture, and ethnicity. Also, national unity refers to believed and shared commonalities present throughout the nation, which rest on the nation’s collective identity and the “construction of the symbolic order” of society. The concepts of national identity and national unity can be conflated, as the national identity is produced to enhance or create national unity as a collective identity

that bonds the nation together. Miriam Richter defines national identity as “one overall identity that unites the members of the nation,” and sees multiculturalism as a “core component of Canadian national identity”. She links the long formation of Canada’s modern national identity to its relationship with Britain, its dualistic nature, and the presence of the United States, listing these among other geo-political and cultural conundrums as impediments to Canada’s identity formation.

The many nations within Canada, such as the French Canadian and Indigenous nations, have their own expressed identities that differ from the wider Canadian nation-state variety. These identities often interact with one another – culturally, politically, and otherwise, including that of the nation-state. Furthermore, a nation’s identity reflects its national history; therefore, the identity constructed from the nationalist historical trope of each nation can solidify the national group. However, Canadian nationalist history is not as uniformly understood nor translated into a specified identity that represents the entirety of the nation-state, likely due to the sheer amount of diversity found within it.

While acknowledging that Canada consists of many nations, each with their own identities, we will more specifically focus on the official national identity of Canada, i.e., the imaginings that Canadian politicians and policy makers promoted, as opposed any popular imaginings of Canada. One should consider the changing constructions of Canada’s official national identity in the 1960s, it was a period of intense doubts and debates, which caused the Canadian government to proclaim that the nation was experiencing an identity crisis. This crisis hit its peak at this time due to the ongoing Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the other, quieter revolution occurring in English Canada, and increasing American

influence. It is easy to demonstrate that the Canadian government decidedly shifted their proposed solution for the identity crisis from a bicultural to a multicultural official Canadian identity. Yet, Canada's journey to a policy and subsequent identity of multiculturalism did not originate like a multicultural vision of Canada; it began with the narrower view of a bicultural Canada. The idea of a multicultural Canada arose from the hearty discussion during the preliminary and public hearings held by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (hereafter, B&B Commission). Initially, this dialogue intended to work towards the promotion of a bicultural Canada, but even in the preliminary proceedings, sustained mention of ethnic groups other than that of the English and French Canadians is evident. During these public discussions, people from all over Canada shared their views on the cultures and contributions of those other than English and French Canadians, which led those heading the B&B Commission, André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton, to a wider understanding of Canada's national identity.

How official Canadian identity changed during the 1960s, from the long-held British-based identity to one centered on multiculturalism, occurred through a dialogue between federal government officials, concerned citizens, and cultural producers. A combination of federal government desire, ideations of Canada from cultural producers, and input from the wider Canadian society in terms of what they saw as their cultural identity, all demonstrate how this change occurred. The government's position on Canadian identity and national unity, evidenced in the parliamentary debates from 1962-1972, demonstrates a shift from an image of a united primarily British Canada, to an attempt at a dualistic bilingual and bicultural Canada, and to a multicultural Canada. The reports of the B&B

Commission are indicative of how concerned members of the public viewed their society and how that input ultimately led to a change in federal government opinion of what the Canadian identity should be. The government's desire to maintain control of the Canadian identity does not mean that they had complete control, as the change in their view was influenced by concerned members of the wider society working to change the political discourse surrounding national identity. The views present in the B&B Commission reports, in conjunction with key academic works produced during the period, allow for a more accurate portrayal of the transformation of official Canadian identity, away from Britishness and towards multiculturalism, during the 1960s. Britishness still hung on as the primary cultural identity for English Canada into the 1960s, but it was during that decade when it began to disappear from its leading role in Canadian culture.

Historians have shown that Canada's close relationship with Britain remained strong into the 1960s, thereby enabling the official Canadian identity to retain elements of Britishness throughout that decade. Increasing economic and cultural influence from the United States during the 1950s and 1960s also had a marked effect on Canadian identity, simultaneously pulling Canada away from Britishness and pushing it toward North American continentalism. Despite this influence, the demise of Britishness in Canada was a slow one that took place throughout the first half of the twentieth century, with a more rapid period of decline during the 1960s.

Throughout the early twentieth century, Canadian culture was dominated by its connection to Britain and its reliance on Britishness for cultural norms, though there was an attempt to portray a uniquely Canadian culture during this

period. Paula Hastings, through an examination of early twentieth century consumer culture, has demonstrated that Canada attempted to develop a culture that was distinctly Canadian rather than relying entirely on British culture.

The postwar period is a typical starting point for the disillusionment of the British Canadian identity due to the transnational and geopolitical changes that occurred, specifically concerning the relationship between Britain and Canada, with a key example illustrated with the Canadian response to the Suez Crisis. The fall of the British Empire aided the fall of Anglo-conformity, leaving the postwar world with less tolerance for accepting notions of white-Anglo superiority, evidenced by such movements as the civil rights movement in the United States, and the Quiet Revolution in Quebec contributing significantly to this view in Canadian society.

Historians have long noted the importance of the Quiet Revolution, which spanned the decade and caused significant changes in Quebec society, namely secularization and an increase in separatist political parties, and most noticeably a resurgence of nationalist Québécois sentiment. Sean Mills argues that what occurred in Quebec “cannot be adequately understood outside of [the] larger context” of the geo-political matters of the era and that there cannot be “one single, coherent story of the 1960s”. It is the broader global developments during this era, such as the moving away from White-Anglo-superiority and the concurrent rising prominence of minority groups, which enabled the period of transition in Quebec society, and this is also true for English Canada.

The “other Quiet Revolution,” as José Igartua has termed it, was the cultural revolution that occurred in English Canada during the same period. Prior to this cultural revolution, the English Canadian identity focused on maintaining a

level of Britishness. The experience of the other Quiet Revolution was the revolt against Britishness and the consequent moving toward discovering a true Canadian identity. A critical example during the early 1960s is the flag debate, which riled nationalist fervour in both French and English Canada and demonstrated how the federal government struggled to maintain a certain level of Britishness in the official Canadian identity. This fervour surrounding Britishness also marked a divide within English Canada, between those favouring the inherent Britishness of the nation and those searching for true Canadianness as the foundation of the national identity.

There is an undeniable link between these cultural revolutions and the crumbling of the foundations of the earlier national imagining of a British Canada. A transformation of official Canadian identity took place during the 1960s, as a construct primarily built around the concept of British disintegration during the period. Subsequently, an identity began to form around an evolving concept of Canadianness, due to the moving away from Britishness and Britain itself. This transformation of identity was a slow process that has its roots earlier in the country's history, with Canada consistently trying to demonstrate its own culture amid its devotion to Britain. However, the slow demise of Britishness accelerated under the pressures of changing public opinions and the cultural revolutions of the 1960s. An ensuing lack of interest in Britain, combined with significant American cultural and economic influence during the mid-twentieth century, and increasingly problematic relations with Quebec and Québécois national identity, all led to a more rapid period of transformation for the official Canadian identity.

This moving away from Britishness is also evident in the contemporary academic works, which demonstrated a change from the previous cultural

imaginings of Canada. Such cultural producers reflect the society around them; therefore, it is evident that at least a certain stratum within society was attempting to move away from Britishness in their understanding of Canadian identity. William Morton's *The Canadian Identity* is particularly indicative of this shift. Morton identified three causes for the identity crisis present during the 1960s: the Quiet Revolution, the decline of Great Britain in the world and in Canada, and the threat of Americanization. Specifically, he saw America as "the greatest menace to Canadian nationality," the economic threat combined with American imperialism-continentalism being his foremost concern. As well, Morton saw Canadian society as having a mosaic principle, highlighting a focus on Canadian unity. The ideas of the mosaic and Canadian unity were a part of the mindset for politicians and academics alike during the period and it was within this milieu that the federal government proposed biculturalism as a reasonable alternative to Britishness for the official Canadian identity, when confronted with the growing Québécois nationalist sentiment. This was also when the Canadian citizenry began to express their dissatisfaction with the prescribed cultural identity of Britishness and the proposed solution of biculturalism.

During the 1960s, enthusiasm for a Canadian identity and national symbols such as a distinctive flag and national anthem was at an all-time high. This sentiment was expressed in Parliament and across the nation, with remarks such as "Canada is not England" being made during parliamentary debates. Member of Parliament Eric Stefansson believed that "all of us need to rededicate ourselves to the concept of one nation and national unity" and that Canadians needed to "dedicate themselves to being Canadians first" – not French Canadians, or otherwise.

The atmosphere of the early 1960s increasingly made Canadian unity of the utmost importance to the federal government and in December 1962, Liberal party leader Lester Pearson described Canadians as anxious about the future of Canada because of the ongoing crisis of national unity. In harking back to the mythos of unifying Canadian symbols, Pearson stated that Confederation was the rejection not only of political and economic annexation by the United States but also of the American melting-pot concept of national unity” and that Canada’s unity was “without the imposition of racial, cultural or linguistic uniformity”. He believed that to overcome the state of disunity in the country, English Canada needed to acknowledge and accept French Canada as an equal partner and view Canada as a bilingual and bicultural country. It was under this belief that Pearson, upon becoming Prime Minister, vowed to set up a Royal Commission to investigate the matter.

In 1963, Pearson established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to study Canada’s “bicultural character” as well as to recognize the “contribution of other cultures” to Canadian life. Particularly because of concerns about Quebec, Pearson saw biculturalism as a solution to the crisis of national unity. He was intent on building a greater Canada, stating that “the greater Canada that is in our power to make will be built not on uniformity but on continuing diversity, and particularly on the basic partnership of English speaking and French speaking people. With this, Pearson felt that the Commission would enable “all Canadians to maintain and develop our Canadian identity, the Canadian fact”.

Michael Temelini argues that these parliamentary debates show “a contest between two strategies to address the nationalist and secessionist challenges of

cultural pluralism”. The first being “an exclusively intergovernmental crisis” and the second “as a crisis of understanding”, with the solution for the latter being a dialogue between the government and its citizenry. The B&B Commission’s work would make that necessary dialogue possible.

The Commission met with mixed reviews from Members of Parliament during its installation and throughout the years of its work. For example, the Member of Parliament for Toronto, Perry Ryan, stated that the “nation [could not] flourish as it should” without the consideration of Canadians of non-English and non-French origin. As well, the member for Vancouver, Harold Winch, felt that “biculturalism” was “too narrow” and that “the various cultures of other countries” are part of “what we call ‘Canadianism’”. In addition, leader of the official opposition John Diefenbaker was critical of the Commission from the outset, arguing that the government should do something real, as they, not the Commission, would be responsible for providing the solution. He further stated that the Commission would not provide an answer but would “merely discuss”, whereas the government had to provide the response. Later, Diefenbaker continued to argue that he was against “the setting up of the Commission on biculturalism” at its outset, claiming “it would not work” and further protested that the Commission had “divided [the] country as it never has been divided before.”

In July 1963, the B&B Commission began its inquiry into the problematic nature of language and culture in Canadian society, with respect given to English and French Canadians. In its six-year duration, the Commission produced several reports indicating their findings; the preliminary report is of particular interest, as it illustrated Canadians’ attitudes concerning Canadian identity. The intention of

the preliminary report was “to bring out the contrasts in opinions” present throughout the country concerning its dualistic national identity. This report provides an indication of how citizens were thinking at the time and therefore enables us to gain better insight into the mentality of some of the concerned citizenry during the 1960s.

In May 1964, a university professor in Ontario declared: I think, I am a moderate man on most civic and national issues, but on the issue of national unity I am not moderate at all. For me, the preservation and strengthening of a national unity must come first if Canada as a nation, and a bicultural nation, must endure and grow!

This declaration indicates that national unity, even a bicultural manifestation of it, was of considerable importance to some Canadians and they wished to see it flourish. However, other solutions emerged from the public discussion and showed that many did not share the idea of a bilingual and bicultural Canada. Some desired a singular Canadian identity, as indicated by a Calgarian stating that “Our Canada is no longer made of two founding, or should I say floundering races, but through immigration is made up of numerous races, and our real problem is to blend them into one Canada, not two or more.”

A discussion leader in St. John’s indicated that “the crux of the whole issue is that we have people looking on themselves as French Canadians when they should be looking on themselves as Canadians who speak French” demonstrating that the separation of Canadians into distinctive cultural groups was a cause for the present disunity. A point that the commissioners were intrigued to find was that a first-generation immigrant in Winnipeg also desired the “development of a truly unique Canadian culture,” rather than a “polyculture kind of nation.”

They went further in arguing for linguistic assimilation. A man from Yarmouth indicated that he disliked the “hyphenated Canadianism,” while another from Winnipeg said: If we want to have a nation, there is only one way and that’s for all of us to look at each other and say we are Canadians regardless of ethnic origin and regardless of the languages you speak in your home. You are a Canadian and if English is the predominating tongue in this country, then that is what we will speak.

Some Canadians were more direct in their desire for cultural assimilation, indicating that it was an inevitability, as an individual from St. John’s stated in 1964: “The standard process of history is for a minority to be assimilated or absorbed. What we are doing here is to stand in the way of that process.” However, there were those who opposed this, as a man from London stated:

For an English Canadian to say that he is a Canadian without prefix involves no sacrifice because Canada for him is an enlargement of what he knows as an Ontarian, as a Manitoban or as a Nova Scotian, but when we say that a French Canadian should be a Canadian really like us, we are asking him to make the supreme sacrifice.

Americanization-North American Continentalism was another prominent theme carried throughout the regional meetings. Whether participants were speaking out of fear or in support, this process was seen as being significant to Canadian identity and perceived as a force working against bilingualism and biculturalism. In 1964, a man from Saskatoon declared:

As time goes on there will be fewer and fewer people who will be purely French-speaking and more people will be English-speaking. Quebec is not only a part of Canada, it is, also a part of the North American economy and there is a

tide flowing that economically will force them to become increasingly industrialized in that province and to have a good knowledge, of the language of commerce. That language of commerce, I think we will have to admit, will be English in the North American economy.

Even though the writing of nationalist history was waning by the 1960s, historians still accepted the nation as the frame of reference and there was growing interest in Canada's identity, mirroring the fevered public and governmental debate of the era. For emerging historians, the perception of the nation had changed and therefore so did the writing of that history. The willingness to disassociate Canadian identity from "Britishness" and the British Empire occurred largely (as stated a few pages back) in the late 1960s when historians became interested in new concepts, believing that this would produce an outcome that could bond Canadians together. In this period, there was no longer any strong consistency in Canadian history and historians disagreed in where the focus should be in their work. Canada had always been a country of differing cultures and peoples, and historically examining the many ethnicities that Canada encompasses was a way to deepen the understanding of Canadian identity. Social historians and other academics of the era were part of this movement to broaden the Canadian identity and these cultural producers provide evidence of the popularity of multiculturalism. The work they produced demonstrates that the uneasiness with biculturalism was more general and these cultural producers set themselves the task of providing narratives that were in keeping with multiculturalism.

Canada's official identity underwent significant shifts during the entirety of the twentieth century, most prominently during the 1960s when a crisis of

national identity was prevalent. Politicians and government officials became aware that the foundations of the earlier British-based identity were crumbling in the years after the Second World War, due to ongoing cultural revolutions within Canadian society and the wider world and set out to articulate a new vision for official Canadian identity. This shift saw the official Canadian identity moving away from a basis in a North American conception of Britishness, toward a dualistic bicultural expression of intrinsic Canadianness, while ultimately settling on a manifestation of multiculturalism. This transformation occurred in part due to the ongoing dialogue during the 1960s between the concerned citizenry, cultural producers, and the federal government and consequently changed what the official national identity would become. Part of the reasoning behind this shift lies in the tepid response government officials received regarding biculturalism during the B&B Commission. That response, in combination with a celebration of multiculturalism and “limited identities” among cultural producers and the wider society, helped shape the discourse in government circles to one focused on multiculturalism rather than biculturalism for the official Canadian identity.

So, in the end it was very much government, especially the Trudeaus (father then son) that brought about a change of identity for Canadians. The optimism that Canada started out with in the 1700s (see the next chapter) has been replaced with a growing sense of unease in the year 2024.

Sources for this introduction include – Shannon Conway of Open Edition Journal

Chapter One

It Began With The Arrival Of The Europeans

The identity of Canada refers to the unique culture, characteristics and condition of being Canadian, as well as the many symbols and expressions that set Canada and Canadians apart from other peoples and cultures of the world.

Primary influences on the Canadian identity trace back to the arrival, beginning in the early seventeenth century, of French settlers in Acadia and the St. Lawrence River Valley, and of English, Scottish and Irish settlers in Newfoundland and the Maritimes, the British conquest of New France in 1759, the migration of United Empire Loyalists to Upper Canada and New Brunswick, and the ensuing dominance of French and British culture in the gradual development of both an imperial and national identity.

We can not talk about the “rise” of Canada (before fragmentation set in) without an historical lesson on the country’s very beginning. In the late 15th Century, English, French, and Portuguese navigators resumed exploration of Canada’s Atlantic coast, seeking a route to Asia and its legendary wealth in spices, silk, and precious metals. In 1497, John Cabot took possession of Newfoundland (or Cape Breton Island) for England and in 1534 Jacques Cartier explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the name of the King of France. In Chaleur Bay, Cartier’s men met a group of Mi’kmaq, with whom they traded iron goods for furs. They then came to the Gaspé Peninsula, where they planted a cross to take possession of the land and encountered a group of Iroquoians from the Quebec City area (the

Stadaconans). Cartier set an unfortunate precedent by kidnapping the two sons of their chief, Donnacona, and taking them back to France.

Cartier came back the following year with his two prisoners and, despite resistance from Donnacona and the Stadaconans, travelled up the river as far as Hochelaga (Montreal). Before leaving, he kidnapped Donnacona himself to be his guide on future trips. Since the Aboriginal chief died in captivity, Cartier's conduct was not conducive to subsequent harmonious relations with the Stadaconans. French attempts to establish a permanent settlement at Quebec City in 1541-1543 failed due to the harsh climate, an outbreak of scurvy and, most importantly, the hostility of the Iroquoian peoples, who killed approximately thirty-five of the French. Other explorers met with a similar fate. In 1577-1578, for example, the Englishman Martin Frobisher had several skirmishes with the Inuit while navigating along the coast of Baffin Island searching for the Northwest Passage.

The wave of European exploration and colonization was only beginning. In the second half of the 16th Century, Basque, British, and French fishers, drawn by the fish stocks of Newfoundland's Grand Banks, established seasonal outposts on the coasts of Labrador, the Island of Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Alongside their fishing and fish preservation activities, they developed trading relations with the Aboriginal peoples. Copper cauldrons, iron knives, axes and arrowheads, glass beads, mirrors and clothing were traded in exchange for the Aboriginal peoples' beaver pelts, which were used in Europe to make felt hats.

In 1603, the next great European explorer Samuel de Champlain spent the summer in Tadoussac, where he formed a trading and military alliance with the

Algonquin, Montagnais, and Malecite nations. He promised to send forces to help them defeat the Iroquois but also offered to help them make peace with their enemies. Like all administrators of New France after him, Champlain believed that establishing a general peace among all the Aboriginal peoples was the best way to promote trade and to peacefully settle the land. The Aboriginal response was clear: while they were prepared for the French to 'people their land,' they refused to make peace with the Iroquois and preferred that Champlain make war on their enemies. When he returned in 1608, Champlain renewed the alliance and was soon called upon to honour his promises and become involved in his allies' war. In 1609, 1610 and 1615, he took part in raids against the Iroquois, along with several French soldiers and Algonquin, Montagnais, and Huron warriors. Then, in 1616, missionaries and soldiers were sent to Huronia to establish the first mission there and, most importantly, to cement the Franco-Huron alliance.

During the following fifteen years, there were no major clashes between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, though occasional raids still took place. The two sides concluded a peace treaty in 1624. During the lull in the fighting, a flourishing trade network developed in New France, in which the Huron, an Iroquoian confederacy concentrated in the area between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe in what is now the province of Ontario, played a vital role as go-betweens. Because of their strategic geographic location, the Huron were able to funnel towards Quebec City massive quantities of furs that they obtained from other nations in the Great Lakes region.

Meanwhile, in 1609, the Dutch began frequenting the shores of the Hudson River. In 1614, they established a trading post called Fort Orange near Iroquois territory, on the current site of the city of Albany. This development played a

significant role in the period of relative calm between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, which lasted from 1615 until about 1630, since the Iroquois were busy fighting the Mohegan, an Algonquian nation that was blocking their access to the Dutch trading posts. Once the Mohegan had been driven from their land, the Iroquois made an alliance with the Dutch giving them direct access to European goods. Two major networks of alliances were now established in north-eastern North America, and they would govern military relations for the next 150 years.

In 1658, the French changed their policy towards the Five Nations, abandoned their new mission and returned to the colony, determined to confront the Iroquois, and impose a peace, by force of arms if necessary. When Louis XIV ascended to the throne of France, the situation in New France changed considerably. In 1663, the young king decided to take matters in hand, declared New France a crown colony and sent the Carignan-Salières Regiment, composed of 1,500 regular soldiers under the command of Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, to secure peace with the Iroquois.

They landed at Quebec City in the summer of 1665 and began building a series of forts on the Richelieu River, the Iroquois' main route to the St. Lawrence Valley. They also organized two major expeditions against the Iroquois. The first, consisting of three hundred men from the regiment and two hundred volunteers from the French colonies, left Quebec City on 9 January 1666. The results were disastrous. The soldiers were ill equipped for a winter campaign: most had no snowshoes or did not know how to use them and were poorly dressed for 'a cold that greatly exceeds the severity of the harshest European winter.' In addition, the army set out hastily, without waiting for its Algonquin guides, who arrived late

at the meeting place. This mistake was fatal for the troops, who had to take unknown routes and constantly went off course. The soldiers quickly lost their way. After wandering around the Lake Champlain area for three weeks, they finally arrived at the Dutch village of Schenectady and were happy to receive assistance from the local merchants. During the five-week expedition, nearly four hundred soldiers died of hypothermia, hunger, and disease.

Although credence should not be given to the romanticized image — propagated by some 17th and 18th Century chroniclers and embraced by more recent historians — of the French-Canadian militiamen as fierce warriors, always ready to go off to battle as the mainstay of the French forces in North America. Historian Jay Cassel has shown that the French-Canadian militia were often poorly armed and, aside from a small elite, took part in French military campaigns only infrequently and in small numbers. Their importance declined in the 18th Century, after the creation of the *les Compagnies franches de la Marine* or *Troupes de la Marine*, a military corps set up by the French Ministry of the Navy and Colonies in 1684. Like the militiamen, the *Troupes de la Marine* quickly adapted to guerrilla warfare, which they learned from and practiced alongside their Aboriginal allies when the terrain was suitable.

The Franco-Aboriginal alliance also expanded in the St. Lawrence Valley. In the hope of cementing the peace, the Franco-Iroquois treaty of 1667 included a provision for the Jesuits to set up missions in Iroquois territory. In exchange, the Iroquois promised to send several families to settle in the St. Lawrence Valley. Groups of Iroquois began emigrating to La Prairie-de-La Magdelaine, a Jesuit mission not far from Montreal on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, in 1667. The pace of emigration picked up after 1675. Most were former Huron who

the Iroquois had taken captive around 1650 and did not wish to continue living under their conquerors. Others were newly converted Catholics who wanted to escape the tensions created by the practice of their new religion and the 'disorders' produced by alcohol. The French encouraged the migration, both to weaken the Iroquois and to make the colony more secure:

Mr. De Courcelle [the Governor], who was informed of everything, was pleased to see the Iroquois converts planning to settle among the French. He understood that as their numbers increased, they might form a tribe and, with time, could become a barrier against the [Iroquois] districts themselves if war should break out.

In 1735, a final French campaign was mounted against the Fox Indian Nation. In the eyes of the western allies, however, the Fox had been sufficiently punished for their arrogance and hostility to their neighbours, and the French determination to annihilate the Fox people was excessive and deplorable. Most of the nations refused to fight alongside the French army, preferring to 'live in peace and hunt to [feed] their women and children.' The few Aboriginal warriors who accompanied the eighty-four French to Iowa (mostly 'mission' Iroquois) refused to fight once they reached their destination, causing the expedition to fail. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies, the Governor of the day, Charles de La Boische de Beauharnois, explained the motives of the Aboriginal people in these terms:

You may well believe, my Lord, that the Savages have their policies as we have ours, and they are reluctant to see a nation destroyed for fear their turn will come next. They show the French great eagerness and then behave altogether differently. We have recent evidence of this on the part of the Odahwah, who asked for mercy for the Sauk, although it was in their interest to avenge the death

of their people and of their Grand Chief. The Governor added: 'The Savages generally fear the French, but they do not like them and nothing of what they exhibit to the French is sincere.'

Since the land around Prairie-de-La-Magdelaine was unsuitable for growing corn, the Iroquois began moving in the late 1670s and divided into two groups: one followed the Jesuits to Sault Saint-Louis (Kanawake) and the other went to the Sulpician mission of La Montagne (near Mount Royal). The La Montagne mission was moved to Sault-au-Récollet in 1697 and then to the Lake of Two Mountains (Kanesatake) in 1721, where it remains to this day. These 'mission Iroquois' became strategic allies of the French, along with the Huron in the Quebec City area and the Abenaki, who began arriving in the Trois-Rivières area in 1675.

We now jump to the 1800s and the arrival of the European settlers - where Canada started its rise to mediocracy. "A British subject I was born — a British subject I will die"- John A. Macdonald functions as something of an official repository of stirring or aggravating quotes. He spoke these words on the campaign trail in 1891 when the Liberals were arguing for closer economic ties to the United States. Evoking fear of annexation — economic certainly, political probably — Macdonald summoned up what he thought was core to being Canadian: British subjecthood. In Macdonald's day and age, being part of the biggest imperial chain on the planet was something to boast about, and he was counting on other Canadians to feel the same way when he uttered this statement. He was, however, on the record as preferring a kind of arms-length colonial relationship with Britain in which the Dominion was utterly loyal but mostly autonomous. The Canadian High Commission in London was an expression

of this: established in 1880, the High Commissioner represented Canadian interests in Westminster and to the Crown, a slight reversal of the role played by the Governors-General.

More than a century later, what is the national identity? Canadians are not “British subjects,” although the King of Canada is also the King of Britain. It is difficult to imagine a Prime Minister today invoking that connection the way Macdonald did (successfully, by the way) in 1891. Was there ever a common agreement on that identity? No. The Provincial Rights movement of the late Victorian era eroded loyalty to the larger nation even as the Dominion struggled to establish its bona fides. Fealty to region did not end with Confederation; it survived throughout the 20th century, and not only in Quebec. A symbolic language of identity at odds with the national equivalent has consistently acted as a counterweight to the notion of Canadian-ness.

These debates and divisions are important to note because they all contributed to the building of national and provincial identities. In addition, they go some way to explaining why the history of Canada is so elusive. In the language of 21st century marketers, Canada had a weak “brand” at the start of the post-Confederation era. Was it a British colony or a free nation? The citizens were British subjects ... which meant what, exactly, in Quebec? Was Canada a North American nation or an extension of the British Isles and Western Europe as a whole? Such issues did not trouble the Americans who had nowhere to look but North America. They cut themselves loose from Europe in the 1780s and built their own continent-wide empire. The word patriot — which derives from the words pays and patris, thus meaning loyalty to the country of one’s father — was looked at askance in Canada because it was associated with American

revolutionaries in the 18th century and the Patriotes of Lower Canada who led the 1837 rebellion against imperial authority. As well, for some more imperially oriented Canadians, being a “nationalist” implied loyalty to the nation-state as a structure rather than to the larger ideals of the empire, the Crown, and so on. The search for a common denominator, a shared bond that was both affectionate and inspiring was underway.

What was Canada in 1867 other than a collection of colonies? They’d fought no great battles together and, in fact, they’d sparred with one another from time to time. Adding on three more colonies by 1873 did nothing to change this. Settling and exploiting the West became something of a common project, although Westerners might argue that their disadvantages under the National Policy ought not be considered a source of national identity or pride. In the 19th century, the mechanisms for overcoming this alienation, or at least disinterest, were limited. There was no national media (unlike in Britain where *The Times of London* circulated widely) and there was no national education system (again, unlike in Britain); in fact, education proved to be one of the most divisive issues in the early days of the two Dominions.

Imperialists jumped on adventures like the Boer War as a means of manufacturing national consciousness, much as English Canadians had thrown themselves into the 1885 events in the West. While nationalists might call for a Canadian Navy, imperialists believed that a Canadian investment in the Royal Navy made the whole Imperial fleet a symbol of Canada. The persistence of royal imagery in these years suggests that Britain was a stronger source of icons than the Dominion itself. Certainly, the monarch appears on Canadian postage stamps and currencies to the exclusion of any other leader until the 20th century. Other

more Canadian traditions were, however, making an appearance. When Macdonald proclaimed himself a British subject forever in 1891, his campaign poster — “The Old Flag, The Old Policy, The Old Leader” — had him astride the shoulders of a factory worker and a farmer (both of whom look well pleased), brandishing a variant of the Red Ensign. The “old flag” in this case wasn’t the Union Jack after all, but a colonial model with the Union Jack prominent in the upper corner. The flag was far from “old” and using it in this way was meant to inspire a sense of Canadian tradition.

Across the Western world in the late 19th century, several strategies were exploited to build national sentiment in both new and old countries. Monuments and statuary were used in Germany, France, and the United States to good effect. Caricature icons also became a vehicle for people’s collective identity, such as “John Bull” for Britain and “Uncle Sam” for the United States. National holidays — the 4th of July in the United States, La Fête Nationale (aka: Bastille Day) in France on the 14th of July, the monarch’s birthday in Britain (celebrated in June since the 18th century), many “Independence Days” in Latin America, and countless saint’s days — constituted another convention and mechanism for identifying and rallying around a national storyline. Similar strategies were deployed in Canada, but with less grip.

Nationalist statuary in Canada is, for whatever reason, less dramatic and less effective than in other countries. Busts of royals show up everywhere, but there are few national heroes who got that sort of treatment before 1914 and even fewer after 1930. There are, moreover, no enormous triumphal arches in the major cities, no equivalent to New York’s Statue of Liberty (1886), and — despite the importance of the Notre-Dame Basilica in Montreal — no national

cathedral. Attempts have been made to create a personification of the nation in the form of “Johnny Canuck,” a sort of all-purpose character who appeared in newspaper cartoons and other visual forms from the late 1860s on. Typically, a fine physical specimen wearing a Mountie-style Stetson and riding boots, Johnny (sometimes “Jack”) Canuck served as a counterpoint to John Bull and Uncle Sam (the former being corpulent and the latter what Shakespeare might call “lean and hungry”). Canuck, however, doesn’t appear to stand for anything — prosperity? freedom? ironic detachment? — and so hasn’t seen much action over the years. What’s more, there was no feminine equivalent: nothing to match Britain’s Britannia, America’s Columbia, or France’s Marianne.

Generally, national holidays have proved more durable and effective. The monarch’s birthday (now held on the 24th of May) was transplanted from Britain. Dominion Day (renamed Canada Day in 1982) was celebrated on the first anniversary of the British North America Act and every 1st of July thereafter. Labour Day followed and was officially recognized by Ottawa in 1894, even though it had been celebrated by trade unionists since 1872. (Saint-John-Baptiste Day is older than both, but it had a much rougher time acquiring government sanction and did not become a parallel national holiday until 1925.) Thanksgiving in Canada was an imported American event grafted onto existing celebrations of the harvest and was proclaimed a national holiday in 1879. These days off from work may not seem to have much to do with building Canadian identity, but they were an effective means of disseminating shared customs and practices (turkey dinners, parades and marches, and picnics in civic parks) to both established Canadians and newcomers who needed to be assimilated into the mainstream culture.

Such tactics could be seen perhaps most clearly in Canadian classrooms. Even in the absence of a national education program, the infrastructure of schooling contained many secular images designed to promote a national identity. Portraits of the current monarch adorned most classrooms, as did maps that underlined Canada's enormity. Well into the 20th century images of the current Prime Minister gazed down on rows of schoolchildren as well. In offices across the country, one could find portraits of Laurier or Macdonald — depending on whether the occupant was a Liberal or a Tory — long after the two statesmen were out of office, which is a symbol of the power of patronage and party loyalty more than a shared national character.

Another venue for disseminating a national identity was still more humble and assuming. The 1890s ushered in an era of unprecedented image-making expressed through postage stamps." Pre-Confederation stamps included images of a beaver and symbols of the British connection; these were followed, after Confederation, by three decades of stamps bearing the likeness of Queen Victoria. As a reminder of the country's principal loyalties, this use of the Queen's likeness was itself a powerful message. Then, in 1898, the first post-Confederation stamp without any relation to the Queen appeared, which was a map of the world in which Canada is prominent at its centre and the lands of the British Empire are highlighted in bright red. Thereafter, historic themes are gradually explored, including five commemorative stamps that appeared in 1908 to mark the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec City (and thus Canada and New France). Nothing more would be done on this theme until 1917 when a commemorative of the Charlottetown Conference of 1864 was produced.

A similar venue for imagery is the national currency. Paper currency was in circulation from before Confederation, and images of logging recur, for example, on the 1898-dollar bill. The more widely-circulated twenty-five cent bills — the “shinplaster,” so called because of its small size and square-ish shape — was, however, the preserve of royal imagery. The first coin minted in Canada did not appear until 1908. Like many of its contemporary bills and stamps, it featured a royal head (Edward VII) and — more subtly — a winding vine of maple leaves. In the case of both postage and currency, the appearance of “Canada” was itself a simple and subtle building block of national identity.

All these modes of expressing and shaping a national brand experienced a boom in the 1930s as Canada gained greater independence from Britain, although some of the key elements had already been established. Royals, political leaders, and maple leaves were among the most favoured themes. The creation of the CBC shifted the symbolic language of national identity to radio waves; advances in photography and photographic publication in magazines and other documents were also important. Historians Ian McKay and Robin Bates have demonstrated how the provincial tourism industry of Nova Scotia took advantage of developments in printing to disseminate, within and beyond, images with strong historic reference points. This process, which they call the “making of the public past,” created a new and arbitrary iconography. Parallels can be found in every province, examples of an emergent national consciousness at the regional level. McKay and Bates have demonstrated that this process introduces a shift in focus from “history” to “heritage”:

If both draw on the actual events of the past, history as such necessarily upholds a notion (however nuanced and qualified) that some stories about the

past are better — more accurate, complex, verifiable, ethical — than others. [...] Unlike history, heritage does not advance falsifiable positions, not even when it comes to us arrayed in the forms of history: “It uses historical traces and tells historical tales, but these tales and traces are stitched into fables that are open neither to critical analysis nor to comparative scrutiny.”

Heritage speaks to group identity in a manner that History cannot. We hear references to “our railway heritage” or “our fiddle-music heritage” that are meant to evoke an inclusion (suggested by “our”) and, by definition, an exclusion (not everyone is “we” or “us”). In addition, heritage elevates an iconography of the past without problematizing conflict. “Our railway heritage” or “our prairie homestead heritage” looks very different to a Canadian of settler descent whose ancestors were given a quarter section of free land and another whose Aboriginal great-grandparents’ land was seized, carved up, and given away.

Such simplifications and mythologizing explain, in part, the durability in the Canadian mind of Anne of Green Gables, the Cariboo gold miner, the homesteader, Champlain and the heroic age of New France, and the Franklin Expedition. These are symbols that are comprised overwhelmingly of European faces and values, in which Aboriginal peoples are noticeably missing. Asian- and African Canadians are similarly conspicuous by their absence. By creating a language of national heritage that excludes other stories, this focus on the Euro-Canadian narrative (invariably told as a narrative of success) eclipsed other possible identities and narrowed the possible stories available to be told.

At the time of Confederation, there was little appetite in English-Canada (especially Orange Ontario) for a dualist vision of the country. Catholicism was regarded by many leading anglophones as treasonous, and French people were

characterized as backward and superstitious. Anglophones and Protestants, by contrast, were regularly depicted as vital, aggressive, dynamic, and tough-minded. Anglicizing the West — the clearing away of the French-Catholic Métis — was not an accident, and French-Canadians generally were on solid ground when it came to fears of assimilationist intentions on the part of their neighbours. If the English Canadians could not eliminate the French, they would often do so symbolically. For proof one has only to remember the lyrics to Canada's other national anthem, The Maple Leaf Forever, which thrillingly recounts the defeat of Montcalm by "Wolfe, the dauntless hero," and the fact that the "thistle, shamrock [and] rose entwine the Maple Leaf" implied that the fleur-de-lis was not allowed to take its turn.

Dualism clearly presented problems when it came time to imagine Canada as a product. How to build it? How to maintain it? If the strength of the Dominion derived from its British traditions and military might, then how does one celebrate the culture of a different — and ostensibly defeated — culture? Military symbols were among the most powerful of the Victorian and Edwardian eras through to the Great War. It is no accident that the Northwest Mounted Police uniform is modelled on that of a British regiment in occupied Ireland: the red tunics announce Britishness. Moreover, the force was recruited exclusively from anglophone Canada. The Mounties are the symbol of Canadian authority par excellence in the West; read differently, they are evidence of intolerance for a dualistic national ideal.

And yet dualism emerged in the 20th century as the most durable of the national myths. "Two founding nations" has its roots in the BNA Act, which seeks to preserve French and Catholic institutions at the provincial level. The French-

Canadians who negotiated the constitution argued that the provisions of the BNA Act would also enable the co-building by both French and English of a larger country. Anglophone contemporaries understood it differently: French-Canadian Catholicism was now corralled within one province where it would stay. Again, one may turn to the separate schools' debates across the country in the pre-WWI era for evidence of how these two visions were mutually exclusive. Gradually in the 20th century, there opened a little more tolerance in some areas, while in others the space for dualism closed further and faster.

Several landmark events fostered a growing nationalism that contained space for both French and English sentiments. The Great War marks a turning point in this respect since it was a source of pride for Canadians with respect to the performance of the nation's troops in the face of extremely grim circumstances and under what was generally thought to be poor British leadership. It was also divisive, however, in that the conscription crisis divided French and English Canada. There followed a series of events that both built on the embryonic patriotism fostered by the war and downplayed the contentious issue of conscription.

The first of these is the Halibut Treaty of 1923, an agreement struck directly between Canada and the United States without the involvement of Britain. Shortly thereafter, in the same year, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King attended the Imperial Conference in London, at which it was agreed that Commonwealth countries could now pursue their own foreign policy initiatives independent of the Empire. Effectively, this agreement put an end to the Canadian Imperialist dream except insofar as Canada remained an important part of a loose alliance of nations with Britain at the centre. These changes were

enshrined in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In 1939, O Canada was officially declared a companion national anthem, alongside God Save the King/Queen — a symbolic but important change.

In these years as well, both the Liberal and Conservative Parties nationally took steps to reduce internal fissures between French and English elements. The Liberals enjoyed far greater success in this regard by adopting an informal or de facto policy of alternating leadership between English and French Prime Ministers. Following the Second World War, it became possible for the first time to hold “Canadian citizenship” under new 1946 legislation. Finally, in the 1960s, three events occurred in close succession. Under the Pearson regime, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in 1963, made a preliminary report in 1965, and concluded with a full report in 1969. Its existence and six years of work did much to change the tenor of nationalist discourse in the country. Coincidentally, the replacement of the Red Ensign with the Maple Leaf flag in 1965 was seen as a nationalist step that placed further distance between Canada and the Imperialist (implicitly anti-nationalist) vision. Finally, the celebration of the centennial of Confederation in the form of Expo '67 in Montreal was another step toward a thaw in English Canadian attitudes toward dualism. The fact that this took place against a backdrop of growing French-Canadian nationalism and separatist feeling was, of course, ironic.

What is sometimes regarded as the genius of Pierre Trudeau was his ability to move beyond dualism to a multicultural nation state. This was an expression of the reality in Canada's cities, but also the West generally, which were home to a multitude of ethnicities for whom the French vs. English debate in central Canada

was less and less meaningful. The nationalism of Bourassa (essentially a dualistic vision of Canada as a continent-wide home for French and English alike), the nationalism of Maurice Duplessis (which fostered a view of Quebec as French-Canada in its entirety and closed off from the rest of Canada), and the nationalism of the Diefenbaker-Pearson years (which espoused a “de-hyphenated” national identity) were thus superseded by a national pluralism in which multiculturalism was a dominant value.

Yet the symbolic language of national identity continues to constitute a small industry. Every national monument or park, every backpack bearing a Maple Leaf flag, and every debate about Quebec’s place in Confederation (never English-Canada’s place in Confederation) is part of that discourse. So, too, are nationalistic uses of sports: lacrosse was declared the national sport in 1859 and demoted to “Canada’s National Summer Sport” in 1994 when hockey was elevated to a parallel status for winter. (The fact that the professional leagues in both sports play from autumn into late spring is evidently neither here nor there.) Olympic and other international competitions have been exploited for nationalistic momentum and examined by journalists and scholars alike for signs of “what it means to be Canadian.”

The struggle to construct nationalisms leans heavily on history, and history has tended to serve nationalism. One need only think of early accounts of the NWMP/RCMP as a bold and venturesome extension of Canadian will — as opposed to a brutal and often clumsy and undignified imposition of foreign rule — for an example. As historians Laura Peers and Robert Coutts point out, as Canadian history has privileged the accounts of Euro-Canadian experiences, it has necessarily downplayed Aboriginal stories:

Prior to the 1980s, Aboriginal people were seldom mentioned in either scholarly texts or at historic sites; when they were, the discussions emphasized colonial control over Aboriginal people within historical narratives that celebrated the establishment of that control. Thus, the choice of sites, figures, and events for commemoration emphasized “great men” (such as explorers) and their discoveries, military forts as representations of the establishment of European control in a region, and technological advances associated with nation building such as water locks that facilitated shipping.

In thinking about the history of Canada one must, therefore, make space for the history of the “idea” of Canada. Too often that gets bound up in notions of “Canadian heritage,” which it is not. What the concept of Canadian-ness has accommodated and left out tells us, as historians, a great deal about the society that people in the past thought they were building, and the place in which they believed they lived.

This author has now taken you, dear readers into the early 1970s and your history lesson is finished. Canada has by this time finally got some sort of identity and a history to go along with it – the rise of the nation is complete – or is it? It was not quite complete yet - to fully understand Canada and its identity one has to visit the baby boomer years when this nation stood for something and completely reveled in its full glory and did so on the grandest of stage of all -the world.

Sources for this chapter include the Government of Canada’s website and

BC campus Open Publishing

Chapter Two

The Cream Rises To The Top

Canada adopted the maple leaf flag in 1965, after considerable debate and suspicions on the part of a large number of English Canadians. Two years later, the country celebrated the centennial of Confederation and an international exposition in Montreal. Legislative restrictions on immigration that had favoured British and other European immigrants were removed in the 1960s. By the 1970s immigrants increasingly came from India, Hong Kong, the Caribbean, and Vietnam. Post-war immigrants of all backgrounds tended to settle in the major urban centres, particularly Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

Canada reached its pinnacle between the years 1950 and 1968, but as far as nation building goes, Canada's rise to the top was gradual at best. After this, the Trudeau's, and the liberal party along with their disciples took over and although fragmentation was not apparent yet, the writing was on the wall. The time is now for a walk down memory lane and see what it was like to be a Canadian citizen (or more correctly – a baby boomer) during these exciting and heady times.

After the war, close to a million veterans re-entered civilian life, marrying, having children (this was the start of the "baby boom" in Canada), and going on a buying binge. For the first time since the Great Depression years, Canadians indulged themselves, but the dramatic increase in consumption put tremendous pressure on Canada's balance of payments with the United States: much of what Canadians were buying was manufactured by its southern neighbour. It also

added to inflationary pressures that stimulated industrial unrest, especially in 1945 and '46. Organized labour had virtually doubled in size during the war, and the unions were ready and willing to demonstrate their new strength by staging major auto, steel, and transportation strikes.

World War II ended in 1945 with most members of the Canadian and American armed forces coming home in mass and numbering in the millions. To integrate millions of young veterans into the North American economy, the 78th Congress (US) and Canadian Parliament passed various forms of GI Bill of Rights. It was the most far-reaching item of veteran's legislation passed in the history. Loans for homes and farms were made available to GIs at low interest rates and low or no down payments which caused a pent-up demand for achieving the Canadian American dream. Reconnecting with families and loved ones, a large portion of returning veterans, married, and started families, went back to school, and bought their first homes. With a platitude of veteran's benefits, including loans, the twenty somethings found suitable housing in the new tracts sprawling on the outskirts of North American cities. Documentaries on the topic indicate that the postwar suburban housing boom began in a suburban "planned community".

It was common that the young wives of virtually entire suburban neighborhoods were pregnant at the same time. In short order, new schools had to be built. Farm and ranch land became seas of similar-looking homes without town centers, jobs, or city amenities. Eventually, many isolated suburban tracts, numbering in thousands of homes, did become legal communities, albeit on a different model from traditional communities with a core downtown business center. Interspersed throughout those new communities were "strip malls,"

businesses lined up in a row along roadsides, usually in common and architecturally uninspired buildings fronted by a large parking lot with little or no greenery. Malls began to offer basic commodities and eventually became prime community meeting places, especially for the younger - who shortly would be known as baby boomers. Suburbs were relatively safe, and suitable for children, perhaps, but a breeding ground for discontentment and mischief among teenagers.

The 1950s were, in some ways, years of innocence (not like today) - the Saturday movie matinee was only thirty-five cents on the Canadian West Coast. The drive-in theater became part of the young-family social scene, primarily owing to cheap tickets. The main movie genres were established: melodramas, westerns, horror films, comedies, and action-adventure films. Musicals and science fiction movies were popular by the 1950s. Westerns were especially popular with families, and many were created specifically for adolescents. Popular kid shows most often followed a serial format, appearing in the afternoon on Saturdays. At times, matinees played in several installments per week - popular heroes were Tom Mix, Hop-along Cassidy, and the Lone Ranger. Films such as "The Wild Bunch" starred Marlon Brando and they could be considered a teen movie, but quite different from the Disney teen movies that were to come along soon.

Examples of the fighting for law and order in outer space include these early "space westerns" - Buck Rogers (ABC 1950-51), Captain Video and His Video Rangers (Dumont 1949-54), Flash Gordon (Syndicated 1953), Space Patrol (ABC 1951-52), and Tom Corbett, Space Cadet (CBS/ABC/NBC 1950-52). Popular kid TV shows were Buffalo Bob and Clarabelle, Captain Kangaroo, Lassie, and Leave it to

Beaver. Other pastimes included malt shops, community swimming pools, and clubs - the most popular of these clubs were the Boy and Girl Scouts. By 1955, boomers were enjoying after-school sports at the junior-high level and watching the new medium – television. The I Love Lucy show was unique and a hit, it was the longest continuously running show in television history, which even today continues to air daily somewhere in the world.

Emulating wartime mothers, postwar Canadian and American moms began to find part-time jobs outside the home - thus began an age of displeasure. Living in seemingly sterile neighborhoods devoid of urban diversions and the traditional 3 extended family, many children were left to fend for themselves after school. They became known as "latchkey kids" - television became their surrogate parent. Jumping ahead a decade -- the 1960s was the period that defined the baby boomers with music, events, and social changes leaving a permanent imprint on society.

Many boomers were born between nineteen forty-six and fifty-one, but those individuals born during the peak boomer years, fifty-two to fifty-seven, were in their formative years during the Sixties. The televised pseudo-realities of Lassie, Leave It to Beaver, and the Nelson Family, portrayed innocence lost, then were replaced by the sad realities of the Cold War and the civil rights struggle, all to a rock `n roll beat. So many changes occurred in the sixties that an individual's age during the decade greatly affected how he or she turned out. The year 1961 was a great deal different from 1969. Hair styles changed dramatically. High school yearbooks in 1960 would show girls with carefully coiffed hair, while soon the style switched to long and straight. Among blacks, the Afro came to represent a hair style distinct to their cultural heritage.

The Sixties were turbulent, owing to the unrest of civil rights marches, 'free love,' rock music, drug experimentation, long hair and disheveled clothes, and the winds of war in Indochina. California was a magnet for disenfranchised dreamers, often called 'hippies.' They came in droves, many having dropped out of school; they came on the bus and train; they hitch-hiked from every-town, USA, and Canada. Rock `n roll performers such as Elvis Presley, Bob Dylan, Neil Young, the Beatles, Rolling Stones, The Guess Who, and Pink Floyd were all the rage. A Scott Mackenzie tune, sung by The Mamas and the Papas, lyrically advised: "If you`re going to San Francisco, be sure to wear some flowers in your hair." Harvard professor Timothy Leary`s advice: "Turn on, Tune in, Drop out," delivered at a press conference in New York City in 1966, urged youth to create countercultural change using psychedelic stimulants (especially the drug LSD), and by removing themselves from the prevailing society. The phrase was derided by conservative critics and most other adults.

And they came, idealistic, euphoric, and hopeful, ragged, and broke. Most were disillusioned by what they found, they then returned to the communities they came from, or just moved on. A few sampled the rural life in communes or on farms, but most of those became disillusioned with the tough work. Nevertheless, the idealism of the Sixties and some alternative rural communities survive and thrive in the 21st century, thanks to aging boomers with enduring values. Women born between 1919 and 1940 had a high ratio of their babies born during the baby boom era (defined as at least sixty percent). Based on this demographic criterion, the parents of baby boomer`s generation can be defined as all individuals born during this twenty-two-year inter-war period.

According to 2011 Census data, 3.1 million persons, about one in ten Canadians, were parents of baby boomers. These people were- or would have been- between eighty-four and one hundred and four years of age in 2024. In 2014 just over seventy-six million people were classified as boomers. Using the same process and data, it is possible to determine by birth year of children, the proportion of those children whose mother is a baby boomer. Between 1972 and 1992, at least sixty percent of births were to mothers born during the baby boom. The children of baby boomers' generation can therefore be defined as all individuals born during this twenty-one-year period. According to 2011 Census data, 9.1 million people, or twenty-seven percent of the total Canadian population, belong to the children of baby boomers' generation. These people were aged between nineteen and thirty-nine in 2011. This generation is often called Generation Y or 'echo of the baby boom'. Strangely, the children of the baby boomer generation, was smaller (9.1 million) than the baby boomer generation in 2011(9.6 million). Baby boomers had fewer children than their parents - fertility dropped from 3.1 children per woman at the end of the baby boom (1965) to 1.6 in the mid-1980s. Immigration still contributes to the increase in the size of the children of baby boomers' generation, while it is less the case for the baby-boom generation of Canadians.

While growing up, many members of the children of baby boomers' generation were influenced by changes that affected their parents. These include increases in separation and divorce rates, increases in female labour force participation, increases in institutional day care, and rapid technological change. World War II generation includes people born between 1941 and 1945. During that time, the number of births registered every year increased from 255,300 in

1941 to 288,700 in 1945. About 1.4 million people, or four percent of the total population in 2011, were born between 1941 and 1945. These people were aged between sixty-six and seventy in 2011. People born between 1966 and 1971 can be referred to as baby busters. These people were born at a time when fertility rates were rapidly decreasing in Canada. The number of births decreased from 403,855 in 1965 to 349,420 in 1971, a drop of 54,400 in only six years.

Generation X is another term used to designate the baby busters, although this name sometimes includes more birth years than just those born from 1966 to 1971. For some authors, Generation X includes people born from the end of the baby boom (1960 to 1965) to the late 1970s. In the two decades after 1950, Canada enjoyed unprecedented growth and prosperity. Many urban dwellers abandoned the cities in favour of the new suburbs that appeared in the 1950s (as previously mentioned).

The growth of the suburbs stimulated transportation construction, including new freeways and rapid transit systems. Canada's primary economic activities thrived, but the country also embarked on a new phase of industrial development, spurred by large-scale electronic, aeronautic, nuclear, and chemical engineering. Much of the growth derived from the expansion of earlier established industry, such as steel production, though new sources of minerals were part of the boom of the 1950s. Labrador iron and newly discovered deposits of radium, petroleum, and natural gas gave Canada resources it theretofore had only in comparatively small supply. Mining investment revealed two important phenomena underlying the postwar economy: first, the extent to which Canadian economic growth was financed by American capital, largely in the form of direct investment and American ownership of factories, and, second, the fact

that foreign investment, again largely American, aided by the American demand for Canadian materials, made the Canadian boom possible. Investment from abroad was eagerly sought, especially by the provincial governments, and Canada prospered both because of it and because of the resulting advanced technology and management.

Canadians were divided on the merits of U.S. investment. Many agreed with Saint Laurent's minister of trade and commerce, Clarence Decatur Howe, who argued that increased U.S. investment was beneficial for Canada. But others were uneasy over the growth of U.S. control over Canadian businesses and over the obvious partnership between Howe and American enterprises. Never was this unease more apparent than in May 1956, when Howe tried to ram a bill through the House of Commons that would finance a trans-Canada natural gas pipeline backed primarily by U.S. capital. The opposition created an uproar that politically weakened Howe and the Saint Laurent government.

Much of the new economic development took place in Canada's northlands and had some part in ending the nomadic hunting life of the forest peoples and the Inuit of the Arctic shores and islands. This contact between the Canadian government and the First Nations (as Canada's Indians were now commonly called) signaled a new dilemma that Canada faced in trying to deal equitably with its aboriginal peoples. After 1945 it was apparent that the old system for administering First Nations affairs was collapsing, as poverty and disease were rampant on many reserves.

Subsequently, health care on the reserves was greatly improved, and in 1959 the Indian Act was amended to increase opportunities for First Nations peoples' influence on decisions affecting them. The Métis, equal to people of

European ancestry according to the law though in fact often treated as purely Indigenous, played an important part in the growing protest. The federal government reacted by granting the franchise for national elections to all Indigenous people in 1960, and several provinces followed suit.

Large-scale immigration challenged Canada's social structure and contributed to the country's prodigious economic growth in the decade following the war. In 1948 the government decided to stimulate immigration to Canada, especially from the refugee camps of central Europe, in order to expand Canada's labour base. The government believed that it was necessary to expand the population if Canada's industrial growth was to be sustained and a sufficient tax base created to pay for the social welfare measures that had been initiated at the end of the war. More than 125,000 immigrants were admitted in 1948, and, although the flow of arrivals dropped in 1949 and 50, it subsequently increased to reach a peak of some 282,000 in 1957. The wave of immigration, combined with the higher postwar birth rate, dramatically increased Canada's population from some twelve million in 1945 to nearly sixteen million by the mid-1950s.

As many of the immigrants were from southern Europe, particularly Italy, Greece, and Portugal, immigration added to the numbers of Canadians who were neither French nor British in origin. The changing population mix had profound effects on Canada's political culture. With the proportion of Canadians of British descent declining, Canada's ties to Britain, the monarchy, and the Commonwealth weakened, and large numbers of "new" Canadians, as they were called, became active in Canada's political, economic, and social life. Despite the increasing numbers of immigrants, however, Canadian industry, banks, and

large retail establishments continued to be dominated by a small group of largely Protestant, English-speaking families with British roots.

The most significant outcome of World War II for Canada in its foreign relations was the relative decline of Britain and the emergence of the United States as the world's foremost economic and military power. Canada's relations with Britain remained close but less extensive than in the past, whereas those with the United States became closer. The creation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense in 1940 was a significant indicator of that shift. For the first time in its history, Canada coordinated its defense planning with the United States.

Canada's shift in orientation from Britain to the United States did not come all at once and did not progress without hitches. In early 1948, for example, Prime minister King balked at concluding a free trade agreement with the Americans, but Britain's growing economic, political, and military weakness and the rise of the United States to superpower status led King to forge closer ties with the United States. Canadian leaders, who shared to a considerable degree the U.S. view of the postwar world, struggled to reconcile the goals of safeguarding Canadian sovereignty and integrating Canada into the U.S. economic, diplomatic, and military spheres of influence. One answer to the problem of U.S. domination was to avoid bilateral arrangements with the Americans where possible and to involve Canada in multilateral organizations (e.g., the Commonwealth or United Nations), where U.S. influence would be somewhat diffused.

If the special ties with the United States waxed during the postwar years, the historic ones with Great Britain waned further. However, the traditional ties between Canada and Great Britain remained: the common crown; the parliamentary system of government; the desire for much the same kind of

world; and the same pragmatic, unideological temperament and outlook. Cordial relations between the two governments continued, but the rise of the United States in economic and military affairs meant that the British phase of Canadian history was ending. Canada exported more to Britain and imported more from the United States, while Britain exported less to Canada. Canada's relations with Britain and the former British Empire during the 1950s and '60s took place largely in the context of the Commonwealth.

European countries regarded Canada as both on its own and as an economic, if not a military, dependency of the United States, a view revealed by the course of Franco-Canadian relations in the 1960s. France had not taken an active role in Canadian affairs since the cession of New France in 1763, and the French Revolution (1789)—particularly the revolutionary attack on the Roman Catholic church—caused further friction between France and French Canadians. Thus, since the 18th century the French influence generally had been private and literary. There had been readers of the philosophes in New France, and in Quebec French books and ideas always found at least a small audience.

Pierre Trudeau, a strong federalist and a member of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's cabinet, was elected leader of the Liberals after Pearson and led the party to a decisive victory in Canada and Quebec. Trudeau's rule was highly personal, his ideas clear, precise, and inflexible. Never before had Canada been governed by a prime minister of personal assurance bordering on the arrogant and flavoured by the autocratic. Nevertheless, Trudeau dominated the political history of Canada through most of the period from 1968 until the early 1980s.

Trudeau's influence on Canada arose from two circumstances: the uncertainty introduced into Canadian politics by the rise of separatist feeling in Quebec and the national feeling that Canada needed to remake its constitution to fit the circumstances of the late 20th century. Trudeau, a constitutional lawyer flatly opposed to separatism, seemed superbly equipped to handle Canada's chief issues. At the same time, he was impeccably French, the answer to the need of the Liberal Party for a French leader and to that of Canada for a French champion of the federal union. It was during this Trudeau's time that the fragmentation of Canada began to unfold – not noticeable at first but it was happening just the same, but before this, in the late 50s and all-through the 60s Canada had risen to become a global player and was at the top of its game.

Sources for this chapter include retirerest.ca and Britannica.com.

Chapter Three

The Nations Shift To Multiculturalism

“The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expressions and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all of us.” Pierre Trudeau 1971

The concept of Canada as a “multicultural society” can be interpreted in different ways: descriptively (as a sociological fact), prescriptively (as ideology) or politically (as policy). As a sociological fact, multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada's cultural diversity. At the policy level, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal domains.

This study focuses on an analysis of Canadian multiculturalism both as a sociological fact and as a federal public policy. It goes on to look at attitudes to multiculturalism, as well as provincial and territorial multiculturalism policies. It also provides a chronology of federal policy on multiculturalism, and selected references.

CBC is one of the leaders that promoted Canada’s shift to multiculturalism, and some would say, is the head of this nation’s WOKE society, surprisingly, had a good piece on this Canadian tilt – their story stated that over five decades,

multiculturalism has evolved from a feel-good ideal, to official policy, to a national article of faith and a defining part of Canada's national identity.

The surfacing of anti-multicultural sentiment in Canada and anxieties over immigration and asylum seekers can seem jarring in that context. The nascent Yellow Vest movement in Canada has had to contend with supporters and opportunists airing anti-immigrant and sometimes outright xenophobic views, while Maxime Bernier's People's Party of Canada has made its critique of "extreme multiculturalism" a central part of its platform.

It seems to believe the Justin Trudeau government's mantra that "diversity is our strength." But Keith Banting, a professor of political studies and policy studies at Queen's University and a leading expert on the history of Canadian multiculturalism, believes the current tensions over immigration and multiculturalism are not anomalous. "If you go back and look at public opinion polls on questions of "Are we admitting too many immigrants?" or "Do immigrants too often not adopt Canadian values?" up until the mid-1990s, Canadians were not enthusiastic celebrants of immigration and diversity."

"Strong majorities opposed then-levels of immigrants. And from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, Canadian attitudes shifted immensely, becoming much more supportive of immigration," he said. But when we saw the big shift in that a solid majority of Canadians were now comfortable with immigration levels, we tended to forget that about a third or maybe as high as forty per cent of Canadians were uncomfortable with the new Canada. If you look at the long-term trends, it's not the case that Canadians' fundamental attitudes toward immigration have shifted, but our politics have shifted in ways that are now

mobilizing the thirty to forty per cent of Canadians who have always had reservations about the new Canada."

Banting believed that while Canada is not immune to the kinds of xenophobic nationalism that have gripped European countries, the Canadian philosophy and practice of multiculturalism is unlikely to lead to the same kind of backlash against immigrants, refugees, and multiculturalism. "In Canada, multiculturalism was always seen as a form of integration. It was always seen as having a more diverse approach to how we would integrate people. In the European context, they had always basically ignored their minorities. They developed this idea that for some reason, multiculturalism meant segmentation, and they wanted something completely different."

By 1981, the combination of a declining birth rate and ongoing immigration saw the British and French populations decline to forty percent and twenty-seven percent, respectively. At the beginning of the 21st century, the proportion of people with British, French, and/or Canadian ethnic origins had dropped to 46%. (The term "Canadian" ethnic origin was first introduced in the 1996 Census.) An ethnic diversity survey published by Statistics Canada in 2003 showed that twenty-one per-cent of the population aged fifteen years and older was of British-only ancestry, while ten percent reported only French origins, eight percent were Canadian only, and seven percent were a mix of these three origins.

This increased diversity is evident from the data from the 2016 Census carried out by Statistics Canada, in which more than 250 different ethnic origins or ancestries were reported. The most common reported ancestries were Canadian, English, Scottish, French, and Irish, followed by German, Chinese, Italian, First Nations, Indian (from India), Ukrainian, Dutch, and Polish. The census

data also found that 21.9% of the population was born outside Canada – the highest proportion since the 1921 Census. In 2016, the largest number of immigrants was from Asia, representing 48.1% of the population born abroad. The visible minority population – that is, the non-white population, excluding the Indigenous population – accounted for 22.3% of the total population, up from 4.7% in 1981.

Linguistic diversity is also at the core of Canadian multiculturalism. In 2016, according to census data, English was the first language (mother tongue) for 58.1% of the population. This was a slight decrease from 2011, when 58.6% of the population said English was their mother tongue. The same trend was observed for French, the second most common mother tongue after English: 21.4% of the population reported speaking French as their first language, compared with 22% in 2011. Lastly, the percentage of those whose mother tongue was a language other than English or French was 22.9% in 2016, up 1.6% from 2011.

In 2016, “immigrant” languages – that is, languages other than English, French, Indigenous languages, or sign languages – were the mother tongues of 22.3% of the Canadian population (more than 7.7 million people). The immigrant languages spoken most often at home were Mandarin, Cantonese, Punjabi, Spanish, Tagalog, and Arabic. The Indigenous languages spoken by the largest number of people were Cree languages, Inuktitut, Ojibway, Oji-Cree, Dene, and Montagnais (Innu).

Analysts generally agree that federal multiculturalism policy has evolved through three developmental phases: the incipient stage (pre-1971), the formative period (1971–1981), and institutionalization (1982 to the present).

The era preceding 1971 can best be described as a time of gradual movement toward acceptance of ethnic diversity as legitimate and integral to Canadian society. Nation-building in the symbolic and cultural sense was oriented toward the replication of a British type of society in Canada. Culturally, this was reflected in Canada's political, economic, and social institutions. All Canadians were defined as British subjects until the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947, and a variety of cultural symbols legitimized the British underpinnings of English-speaking Canada. For the most part, central authorities dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, considering racial and ethnic differences as inimical to national interests and detrimental to Canada's character and integrity. Only the massive influx of post-World War II immigrants from Europe prompted central authorities to rethink the role and status of “other ethnic groups” within the evolving dynamic of Canadian society.

Later, events and developments during the 1960s paved the way for the eventual demise of the official policy of assimilation and the subsequent appearance of multiculturalism. Pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada's Indigenous peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism and increasing resentment on the part of some ethnic minorities regarding their place in society.

In 1969, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism published Book Four of its report, which dealt with the contribution of non-Indigenous, non-French, and non-English ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. The Commission recommended the “integration” (not assimilation) into Canadian society of those ethnic groups with full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure.

Achieving these policy objectives depended on government funding. Nearly two hundred million dollars was set aside in the ten years following the implementation of the policy for special initiatives in language and cultural maintenance. A Multicultural Directorate within the Department of the Secretary of State was approved in 1972 to assist in the implementation of multicultural policies and programs. The directorate sponsored activities aimed at assisting ethnic minorities in the areas of human rights, freedom from racial discrimination, citizenship, immigration, and cultural diversity. A Ministry of Multiculturalism was created in 1973 to monitor the implementation of multicultural initiatives within government departments. In addition, formal linkages between the government and ethnic organizations were established to provide ongoing input into the decision-making process. An example was the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, established in 1973 and later renamed the Canadian Ethnocultural Council.

The architects of the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy perceived barriers to social adaptation and economic success in linguistic or cultural terms. The marked increase in the arrival of visible minority immigrants whose main concerns were obtaining employment, housing, and education, as well as fighting discrimination, required a shift in policy thinking. Equality through the removal of racially discriminatory barriers became the focus of multicultural programs, and race relations policies and programs were put in place to uncover, isolate, and combat racial discrimination at personal and institutional levels. Emphasis was placed on encouraging and facilitating the ways in which cultural minority groups could fully participate in Canadian society.

The 1980s witnessed a growing institutionalization of multicultural policy. Shifts in this policy coincided with a difficult period for race relations in Canada. Immigration had noticeably changed the composition of the population in large cities over a short period of time. Canada also began to see the emergence of a few individuals and groups promoting racist ideas. The government first concentrated on the changes needed to help Canadian institutions adapt to the presence of the new immigrant groups. It also introduced anti-discrimination programs designed to help remove social and cultural barriers separating minority and majority groups in Canada.

With the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (the Charter) in 1982, the multicultural heritage of Canadians was recognized in the Constitution. Section 27 of the Charter states: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."

The Guardian, an independent print media published a very provocative article a few years back. In it, writer Kenan Malik stated, "has multiculturalism been good or bad for Britain (or as far as this book is concerned - Canada)? It's a question to which the answers have become increasingly polarised in recent years. For some, multiculturalism expresses the essence of a modern, liberal society. For others, it has helped create an anxious, fragmented nation.

Part of the difficulty with this debate is that both sides confuse the lived experience of diversity, on the one hand, with multiculturalism as a political process, on the other. The experience of living in a society transformed by mass immigration, a society that is less insular, more vibrant, and more cosmopolitan, is positive.

As a political process, however, multiculturalism means something very different. It describes a set of policies, the aim of which is to manage diversity by putting people into ethnic boxes, defining individual needs and rights by virtue of the boxes into which people are put, and using those boxes to shape public policy. It is a case, not for open borders and minds, but for the policing of borders, whether physical, cultural, or imaginative.

The conflation of lived experience and political policy has proved highly invidious. On the one hand, it has allowed many on the right – and not just on the right – to blame mass immigration for the failures of social policy and to turn minorities into the problem. On the other hand, it has forced many traditional liberals and radicals to abandon classical notions of liberty, such as an attachment to free speech, in the name of defending diversity.

The irony of multiculturalism as a political process is that it undermines much of what is valuable about diversity as lived experience. When we talk about diversity, what we mean is that the world is a messy place, full of clashes and conflicts. That's all for the good, for such clashes and conflicts are the stuff of political and cultural engagement.

But the very thing that's valuable about diversity – the clashes and conflicts that it brings about – is the very thing that worries many multiculturalists. They seek to minimise such conflicts by parcelling people up into neat ethnic boxes and policing the boundaries of those boxes in the name of tolerance and respect. Far from minimising conflict what this does is generate a new set of more destructive, less resolvable conflicts.

To say that clashes and conflicts can be good does not mean, of course, that every clash and conflict is good. Political conflicts are often useful because

they reframe social problems in a way that asks: "How can we change society to overcome that problem?" We might disagree on the answer, but the debate itself is a useful one.

Multiculturalism, on the other hand, by reframing political problems in terms of culture or faith, transforms political conflicts into a form that makes them neither useful nor resolvable. Rather than ask, for instance, "What are the social roots of racism and what structural changes are required to combat it?" it demands recognition for one's identity, public affirmation of one's cultural difference and respect and tolerance for one's cultural and faith beliefs.

Multicultural policies have come to be seen as a means of empowering minority communities and giving them a voice. Such policies have empowered not individuals but "community leaders" who owe their position and influence largely to their relationship with the state. Multicultural policies tend to treat minority communities as homogenous wholes, ignoring class, religious, gender and other differences, and leaving many within those communities feeling misrepresented and, indeed, disenfranchised.

As well as ignoring conflicts within minority communities, multicultural policies have often created conflicts between them. In allocating political power and financial resources according to ethnicity, such policies have forced people to identify themselves in terms of those ethnicities, and those ethnicities alone, inevitably setting off one group against another.

There are clearly many working classes, predominantly white, communities crying out for resources, not because they are white, because they have been politically and financially abandoned over the past decade, and that is, perhaps,

the biggest indictment of multicultural policies: they have helped turn racism into another form of cultural identity.

To challenge all this, we need to separate the debate about immigration and diversity, on the one hand, from that about multiculturalism, on the other – and defend the one, but oppose the other. The lived experience of diversity has been good for Britain (or in our case Canada) - but multiculturalism has been bad.”

According to a National Post article in January 2023, a 2019 global survey by Pew Research, found that Canada was the one country most supportive of the notion that immigration “makes our country stronger.” In 2020, a Gallup survey ranked Canada as the world’s most migrant friendly nation. Last September, a poll by the Environics Institute found that fifty-eight per-cent of Canadians backed the notion that their country “needs more immigrants.”

Even as the world grows more suspicious of migration, Canada has remained a place where most people like immigrants in their neighbourhoods, aren’t worried about immigrants integrating into Canadian society, and see immigration as critical to the country’s future. When the Angus Reid Institute recently asked Canadians whether they thought immigrants were taking their jobs, seventy-one per-cent said “no.”

Canadian politics reflect this; the country stands virtually alone among peers in having no anti-immigration sentiment among its political mainstreams. Even the country’s Conservative Party — which elected Pierre Poilievre as its leader — is an open booster of high immigration.

“It doesn’t matter if your name is Poilievre or Patel, Martin or Mohamed ... you can achieve your dreams in this country,” Poilievre, whose wife immigrated

to Canada from Venezuela, told a mostly immigrant crowd. And yet, in recent years Canadians are starting to entertain the uncomfortable thought that all of this might be too much too quickly.

Starting six years ago, the Trudeau government first made public its plans to pursue “the most ambitious immigration levels in recent history.” Annual immigrant arrivals soon surged more than forty per-cent, rising from 286,480 in 2017 to 405,330 in 2021. Canada is now bringing in more immigrants than at any other time in its history. Last year, a record-breaking 431,645 permanent residents entered Canada — an influx almost exactly equivalent to the entire metro population of Halifax. It’s a level of immigration higher even than the brief period before the First World War when Canada was frantically hustling in steamships full of Eastern European immigrants to settle the prairies.

It’s also well beyond the totals of another historically high immigration country, the United States. On a per capita basis, Canada is now bringing in four times more immigrants than the Americans. And Ottawa is looking to push it higher still. By 2025, Canada is set to receive up to 500,000 newcomers per year. In just the next three years, Canada is planning to bring in enough new Canadians (1.45 million) to equal the entire population of Manitoba. While Canadians haven’t abandoned their national love of immigration, there are clear signs that people are nervous about the tempo amid crunches in the health system, housing, and other infrastructure.

As far back as 2019, when the Angus Reid Institute asked Canadians to name their ideal number of annual immigration, a mere thirteen per-cent named anything higher than 331,000 — the immigration rate at the time of the survey. On the eve of the COVID-19 pandemic, a Leger poll found that sixty-three

percent of respondents wanted Ottawa to slow the immigrant influx before it overwhelmed Canada's ability to integrate them.

A year ago, a poll commissioned by the Association of Canadian Studies found that half of respondents believed that Canada was bringing in "too many" immigrants. Even the Canadians who welcomed the newcomers were skeptical; seventy-five percent of all respondents expressed "concern" about what the immigration surge might mean for the country's immediate future.

Countries will often turn against immigration due to worries about cultural integration. But in Canada, most of the recent skepticism on immigration is stemming from a fear that an avalanche of newcomers will only exacerbate two of the country's most defining current crises: housing affordability and health-care shortages. And given the numbers, there's no reason to think this is wrong.

Canada has the most acute housing shortage of any other country in the G7. It's why, since 2000, Canadian home prices have become completely divorced from the ability of regular people to pay for them. Last year, Canada was dead last in the OECD's ranking of housing prices as compared to average incomes.

Health-care wait times — which were never a huge point of national pride — are now so bad that Canadians are routinely dying in emergency rooms. Last year, a meeting of all thirteen of Canada's premiers unanimously agreed that health care was the country's "number one issue." High immigration didn't cause these problems. In fact, a steady stream of foreign-born doctors and homebuilders probably helped to alleviate them.

But without any realistic plan to increase the housing stock or improve health-care delivery, it's basic arithmetic that pumping an extra 500,000 Canadians into the system each year will just make the shortages worse.

University of Calgary economist Arvind Magesan is a staunch advocate of the economic and philosophical benefits of high Canadian immigration. He's calculated, for instance, that the average immigrant pays \$10,803.73 in federal income tax while receiving only \$7,776.80 in government services — a net boon to the Canadian treasury of \$3,000.

In an email to the National Post, Magesan wrote, "It's hard to see how the increased demand for both health and housing that would accompany large increases in immigration (assuming no other policy changes) would not further strain both systems." Although Magesan added this was not intended as a critique of high immigration ("we need immigration for other economic reasons," he wrote), but rather of the government's unwillingness to plan for it. When Ottawa is asked why they're bringing in so many immigrants, they've been clear that this is all a play for economic growth. "An immigration plan to grow the economy," is the official title of the Liberal proposal to reach 500,000 immigrants by 2025.

Before the pandemic, meteoric immigration levels were pitched as essential to propping up the tax base in order to support swelling numbers of Canadian seniors. After the pandemic, they've been framed as a secret weapon to supercharge the country's economic recovery. Meanwhile, federal planners seem to be oddly insulated from any suggestion that this quickened pace might be a bad idea.

When the feds conduct public consultations on immigration levels, they don't poll the general public, they ask a hand-selected list of academics, business owners, non-profits and other "stakeholders." And the stakeholders are wildly supportive of rising immigration. In the last federally conducted survey on

immigration levels, an incredible eighty-seven per cent of respondents said that Canadian immigration levels were either “about right” or “too few.”

“Government talks about immigrants as if they’re going to the immigrant store and picking up a few,” said Stephen Punwasi, co-founder of the data journalism website Better Dwelling. Punwasi has been a vocal opponent of Canada’s current immigration scheme on the grounds that it’s a “snow job”; immigrants are brought to Canada in a naked bid to shore up the tax base, only to find themselves being hit hardest of anyone by housing prices and service shortages.

“Even people born within a privileged situation in Canada are finding it hard to move beyond renting and working,” he said. “Immigrants are coming and they’re even less privileged.” As a result, Canada may be incrementally boosting GDP with each newcomer, but Punwasi said much of it is occurring on the backs of newcomers who are paying nine hundred dollars a month to share a basement apartment ninety minutes away from their place of work. “That doesn’t seem to be a concern that’s registering with the government,” he said. “It’s a very predatory situation.”

It’s why Canada is already starting to see the return of a phenomenon that was quite common in the homesteading era: regret. A poll by the Institute for Canadian Citizenship found that among recent university-educated immigrants to Canada, nearly a quarter were already laying plans to leave. Said ICC CEO Daniel Bernhard at the time, “many new Canadians are having a crisis of confidence in Canada — and that should be ringing alarm bells all over Ottawa.”

According to a paper (report) from Canadians for a Sustainable Society, Canada’s current immigration policy continues to be based on the concept of

never-ending growth which is a developer/finance centric model rather one which is focused on citizen well-being and environmental health.

Canada's population would now be stabilizing on its own at a level of about twenty-nine million if balanced levels of immigration had been maintained from 1970 onwards. But given the powerful interests dependence on continued simple growth of the commercial economy (GDP) the current policy of mass immigration in Canada was implemented, pushing the population to its current level of forty million.

There is a direct link between immigration and sustainability. Adding ten million people and their additional three million housing units and six million motor vehicles has driven up Canadian carbon emissions and resulted in the paving over of hundreds of thousands of hectares of Canada's best farmland. It is the equivalent of dropping over three cities of Toronto onto the Canadian landscape. Immigration on this level and the resulting impacts on the environment are massive problems.

This population growth strategy takes place in a policy vacuum where there is no concern for the quality of jobs, affordability of housing, debt or levels of equality. Instead of focusing on the well-being of Canadians and the health of the land, the policy of mass immigration in Canada is meant to make a market for developers, speculators, banks, and cheap labour employers.

Housing inflation and increasing levels of debt are the consequences of having added ten million people plus over three million housing units over the past fifty years of mass immigration in Canada. Combined with the impact of huge inflows of cheap labour, this creates the perfect engine of inequality. In fact, Canada's equality level has fallen from the second highest in the world in the

early 1960s to the mid 20's currently, a decline unmatched by any other developed country in the world. By causing overpopulation, immigration creates many other problems.

The housing demand created by an additional ten million people has pushed up the cost of housing since it is responsible for eighty per-cent of new additional housing demand across the country. Mass immigration is responsible for one hundred per-cent of housing demand in most cities in Canada, as there is a net outflow of Canadians from these large urban centres. By pushing our population higher, mass immigration to Canada greatly influences many aspects of Canadian life and has a direct impact on our physical and social environment.

Despite its huge impacts, mass immigration policy in Canada stands on its own with no consideration for the viability of the national social and environmental objectives it undermines. The economic impact of immigration to Canada is not a positive one in the long term. Canada's commitment to the Kyoto Accord and its almost annual declaration of war on child poverty are worthless, given the impacts of adding the equivalent of a medium-sized city every five years populated by a growing body of working poor.

Nor does the current policy acknowledge the clear will of Canadians regarding levels of immigration and the consequent overpopulation. Where is the environmental impact statement for ghg emissions increase and farmland loss? Canadian immigration policy should be integrated into a coherent strategy aimed at achieving the clear national goals of environmental and fiscal sustainability, improving individual well-being, and assuring social cohesion as well as food and clean energy security.

To avoid the negative effects of the current immigration policy, we recommend the stabilization of Canada's population and the reduction of consumption levels so our environmental footprint and contributions to global warming and climate change are reduced.

The population size and growth rate of a country are determined by several factors. Natural increase comes from the fertility rate (number of children per woman of childbearing age) and life expectancy. The higher the number of births and the longer people live, the larger the population will grow. Net migration (number of people entering the country minus the number leaving) is the external factor which must be added to the domestic drivers.

In 2021 in Canada, with the fertility rate close to replacement level, and life expectancy close to stabilizing, the question of population size and growth rate is largely a question of immigration levels. Embracing mass immigration has left Canada in a difficult position.

In Canada, mass immigration over the past fifty years has pushed our population level ten million higher than it would have been with balanced levels. Consequently, Canada has had the fastest growing population in the developed world matched possibly by Australia in the last several decades. Currently at an annual immigration rate of 400,000, our population is on track to top fifty million by 2050 and 100 million by the early 2100s. The negative effects of high levels of immigration will have lasting repercussions across Canada.

Several political parties wish to see our population grow forever and have adopted a one per-cent immigration policy. This means that if our population in 2021 is thirty-eight million, we would be admitting 380,000 immigrants annually. In 2050, with a population of fifty million, immigration would be 500,000 and one

million annually by 2100, with the rate increasing forever - or until collapse. The long-term effects of high levels of immigration can't be understated.

Immigration and sustainability are inextricably linked. The biophysical realities of climate change and the challenge of transitioning to renewable energy will likely put an end to the commercial economy fantasy of endless growth, but the sooner we begin to focus on building a sustainable society, the easier it will be to achieve goals on our terms rather than on Mother Nature's. To move forward, we must weigh the relationship between immigration and the environment and honour our limits.

Population size and growth rates have a huge impact on all aspects of Canadian life. Socially, economically, and environmentally, the effects of population dynamics are usually the most influential fundamental factors which national policy development must deal with. Of course, in Canada, there is currently no consideration of mass immigration impacts in any of our national policies.

Although Canada refers to itself as a young country, virtually none of its resources are being used at below sustainable levels. Historically we have never weighed immigration and the impact on our environment against one another. In Canada, we may be young, but we have burned through our natural resources - once thought of as 'an unlimited treasure trove' - faster than any nation in history, and mass immigration is part of this. We need to have forward-looking national policies in place which take the effects of population size and growth rates into account.

Immigration levels aimed at inflating the real estate market and providing cheap labour simply fly in the face of responsible government policy. To address

the problems created by mass immigration, Canada needs to focus on the biophysical challenges of climate change, resource depletion and the transition to renewable energy for which we are very poorly prepared - as our response to the Covid-19 pandemic so clearly illustrated. Immigration and sustainability should not be treated as two unrelated subjects.

We need to stem the negative effects of immigration in Canada and adopt well-researched and coherent policies. We need to focus on the well-being of our citizens and the health of our environment, rather than expanding the commercial economy for the benefit of a very few at the expense of most. Immigration at current levels will deliver continued environmental and social decline, which is not good for anyone in the long term. Population growth is simply incompatible with the need to create either a sustainable or an egalitarian society.

Multiculturalism and inter-ethnic relations in Canada are relaxed and tolerant, allowing ethnic or linguistic particularism to exist unquestioned. In metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver, there is often a strong sense that multiculturalism is a normal and respectable expression of being Canadian. Canada is also considered a mosaic because of the multiculturalism.

Supporters of Canadian multiculturalism will also argue that cultural appreciation of ethnic and religious diversity promotes a greater willingness to tolerate political differences, and multiculturalism is often cited as one of Canada's significant accomplishments and a key distinguishing element of Canadian identity – has tolerance replaced loyalty as the benchmark of Canadian identity. Critics of Canada's multiculturalism argue that the country's timid

attitude towards the assimilation of immigrants has weakened, not strengthened Canada's national identity through factionalism. Columnist and authors express concern that Canada's sense of self may become so weak that it might vanish altogether. The indulgent attitude taken towards cultural differences is perhaps a side effect of the vexed histories of French-English and Aboriginal-settler relations, which have created a need for a civic national identity, as opposed to one based on some homogenous cultural ideal. On the other hand, concerns have been raised of the danger that "ethnic nationalism will trump civic nationalism and that Canada will leap "from colony to post-national cosmopolitan without giving Canadians a fair chance of ever finding a centre of gravity or certain sense of Canadian identity.

For some like John Ralston Saul, Canada's approach of not insisting on a single national mythology or identity is not necessarily a sign of the country's weakness, but rather its greatest success, signalling a rejection of or evolution from the European mono-cultural concept of a national identity to something far more soft and less complex: The essential characteristic of the Canadian public mythology is its complexity. To the extent that it denies the illusion of simplicity, it is a reasonable facsimile of reality. That makes it a revolutionary reversal of the standard nation-state myth.

Another worry some question, is it possible that religion could enter the realm of Canada's demise? A study, released last July (2023) by think-tank Cardus, suggests many new immigrants to Canada hold deeper religious beliefs than those born in this country, attend religious services more often, and say those in public positions should be free to integrate their faith into their words and actions. "We're now anticipating about 1.5 million new immigrants coming

into the country by 2025,” said Rev. Dr. Andrew Bennett, the faith communities program director for Cardus.

“If you look at the data for new immigrants, disproportionately they're coming from countries where religion is a much more public reality than in most western democracies.” The report, Bennett said, suggests that religion plays a larger role in the lives of newcomers than it does for those born in Canada.

“New immigrants are more likely to express their religion publicly than non-immigrant Canadians,” he said. “They're more likely to attend religious services; they're more likely to desire to have their children educated according to their religious tradition.” Data published by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada points to India as this country's top source of immigrants in 2022, with 118,095 people arriving from that nation last year.

That was followed by China (31,815), Afghanistan (28,735), Nigeria (22,085) and the Philippines (22,070). Rounding out the top 10 were France, Pakistan, Iran, the United States and Syria. The government's 2023-25 immigration plan, which was released last November, aims to bestow permanent residency status upon 465,000 new immigrants in 2023, 485,000 in 2024 and an even 500,000 in 2025.

The Cardus report, which used survey data gathered in partnership with the Angus Reid Institute, focused on the differences between contemporary Canadians' religious beliefs and those of newcomers, and how recent arrivals view the role of faith in everyday life in Canada.

The study's authors used the poll's responses to drill down the results into a “spectrum of spirituality” index — classifying respondents into four categories: those who are religiously committed, privately faithful, spiritually uncertain, and non-religious. Among those who consider themselves “religiously committed,”

only fourteen per cent were born in Canada, while twenty-eight per cent were born outside of the country.

Those who say they are “privately faithful” were a bit more evenly spread - eighteen per cent of natural-born Canadians compared to twenty-two per cent of those born outside of Canada. Nearly half of those born in Canada self-identify as “spiritually uncertain,” compared to thirty-six per cent of those born elsewhere. For those who consider themselves non-religious, fifteen per cent of foreign-born Canadian residents fell into that category compared to twenty per cent of Canadian-born citizens. As for those who say they believe in a higher power, seventy-two per cent of Canadian immigrants say they believe in God, compared to sixty-four per cent of non-immigrant Canadian citizens.

Sources includes CBC radio – The Sunday Magazine, Parliament of Canada Research Publications, The Guardian, Tristin Hopper in the National Post, Canadians for a Sustainable Society and B. Passifiume-The Province.

Chapter Four

Did Canada's Dilemma Begin With the Trudeaus?

He's too woke, too precious, preachy in tone, exceedingly smug, lacking in leadership, fading in celebrity, slow to act, short-sighted in vision and generally getting more irritating with every breathlessly whispered public pronouncement.

And that's just the one-sentence summary.

(Journalist Don Martin describing Justin Trudeau).

Ask any American or European this question – “where has Canada made a significant difference over the last fifty years?” Most will reply, “Nothing comes to mind.”

In the nineteen sixties and early seventies, Canada was part of like-minded countries, and they made a difference in world development - it was truly one of the leaders, but over the few decades this has been totally lost. Canada will continue to be irrelevant unless there is a political will to change, and that starts at the top with the party in power – currently the Liberal party. Today Trudeau and his band of elite partners in crime pretend to adopt high moral standards, but only from a cautious distance away. Potentially Canada's most consequential (and controversial) Prime Minister of the twentieth century, Pierre Trudeau was the leader that shaped modern Canada. Today, that vision for Canada appears to be dying — even while his son, Justin, oversees the country.

Under Pierre, Quebec was seen as the sole troublemaker, questioning Ottawa's power, and legitimacy. Today, Alberta, Saskatchewan and,

most surprising of all, Ontario are doing the same. This raises the question: is a federation made up of provinces that challenge its very foundation, still a united country? In just forty years, how did Canada go from a reborn country under Pierre to a mismanaged federation slowly edging towards collapse under Justin?

The increasingly lame-duck-looking Prime Minister is unable to be the kind of charismatic leader who can keep a strong grip and keep provincial governments in line. At the same time, as Ottawa-skeptic rhetoric has spread beyond Quebec and even Alberta, a kind of “anti-federal synergy” is pushing the bounds of the federation. Therefore, until there is a change in leadership or the orientation of that synergy changes, it is hard to see Canada as united as it was under Pierre Trudeau.

As the son of the one of the most consequential Prime Ministers of the twentieth century, he rebuilt the party that created the vision of modern Canada. However, it now seems as if he may be one of the reasons for why that vision of Canada is struggling. In moments like these, the federation needs a powerful, unifying leader willing to take a strong stance on matters regarding the federation, and Justin Trudeau has failed to live up to that duty.

An article by the intrepid Canadian American journalist Diane Francis in June 2023 took the words right out of this author’s mouth and since this writer could not have said it any better- here then is what Ms. Francis wrote.

In January, most Canadians were embarrassed after their federal government announced that four Leopard tanks would be given to Ukraine as it fights for its very existence, as well as Europe’s. Four more came a month later, but these were measly gifts, considering that Canada is wealthy, home to the second largest Ukrainian diaspora in the world, and America has given

disproportionately more to Kyiv. It's also fair to assume that Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has not phoned President Joe Biden or NATO or Ukraine offering help along the way or suggesting that Canada will ship substantially more energy to help reduce energy inflation and replace Russian fossil fuels. Trudeau has been in power since 2015 and yet to meet NATO military spending commitments. He also has worrisome connections with China, has impeded Canadian economic growth with his anti-resource policies, and neglected his country's military. Canada has the longest coastline in the world and a navy smaller than Sri Lanka's without a presence in a vast Arctic region that it shares with a militarized Russia.

Trudeau has governed for nearly eight years with little more than one-third of the popular vote by forming a coalition with socialist leader Jagmeet Singh, another privileged, professional politician who never met a payroll. Only two in five Canadians approve of their performance, but the electorate is fragmented. Trudeau's cabinet totals thirty-five members and none have domain expertise in the positions they hold. Before winning, most were political operatives or environmental radicals, and, collectively, they lack management, finance, business, military, engineering, geopolitical, resource, or economic skills. The result is that Trudeau's government this year will spend \$17.7 billion, or two-thirds of what it spends on defense, hiring consultants to tell them what to do because they are clueless.

"Canada doesn't have the Air Force and Navy to protect its borders anymore," commented American terrorism and cyber warfare expert Clint Watts last year in an interview. This year, Chinese surveillance balloons over Canada had to be shot down by American jet fighters. Canada's stinginess and foot-dragging

on defence poses a threat not only to itself, but to North America and the Western alliance. Trudeau has never met NATO's two per-cent of GDP commitment to defense spending he promised to fulfil in 2015, and told NATO officials he never will, according to the Washington Post.

Canada's intelligence capability is also considered substandard and penetrable by members of the Five Eyes intelligence-sharing alliance. In 2019, Canada's master spy was arrested, and charges remain secret. In 2020, the director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, David Vigneault, warned publicly that "the greatest strategic threat to Canada's national security comes from hostile activities by foreign states" and that China presented "a direct threat to our national security and sovereignty".

Trudeau adheres to Greenpeace directives rather than to international pledges. This has security implications. That environmental organization's nonsensical anti-nuclear policy (even though nuclear generates zero emissions) was fully embraced by Germany, which made the country dependent on Russia energy as it closed nuclear plants. This gave Putin leverage over Europe and emboldened him to invade Ukraine.

Even so, Trudeau remains a devotee: His Environmental Minister is a former Greenpeace executive, as was his closest friend and former chief advisor. This environmental zealotry has, as occurred in Germany, impaired Canada's energy sector, stunted development of its world-class resource endowment, and indirectly impeded the free world's battle against Russia. Washington had to press Canada to increase oil exports after the war, which it did marginally, and now pressures Canada to remove anti-mining constraints because it is the only

Western nation with an abundance of undeveloped cobalt, graphite, lithium, and nickel (plus copper and rare earths) that are essential in the future.

In Trudeau's Canada, these would remain in the ground as would oil, natural gas, and uranium. He has been impervious to offers by allies willing to pay billions for resource development. In August, Germany's Chancellor Olaf Scholz met with Trudeau and offered to pay the cost of building pipelines, ports, and LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) facilities on Canada's east coast for export to Europe. Trudeau's response was that there has "never been a strong business case" for Canadian LNG exports, and yet, days later, Scholz signed a massive LNG deal with Australia. In January, Trudeau gave Japan's leader the same "no business case" story after Tokyo offered to build multiple LNG plants on Canada's west coast. And in March, Spain's energy giant Repsol SA withdrew from a planned LNG project in New Brunswick because Canadian federal government obstacles made its LNG project unviable. "Trudeau's stewardship is a disaster. Like a dream world," commented New Brunswick's Premier Blaine Higgs, an engineer and energy expert.

Western Canada is the fourth largest producer of oil in the world — 5.43 million barrels of oil a day and lots of natural gas — and exports most of this to the United States. But it could produce and export much more energy if foreign environmental groups hadn't spent billions on litigation and lobbying to stymie and strand its oil and gas reserves. In 2017, a pipeline to bring Canadian oil and gas from Western Canada to Eastern Canada's coast was proposed and killed by Quebec, environmentalists, and Trudeau. If allowed, it would have brought Canadian oil to its eastern regions, where OPEC oil is now imported, and facilitated the creation of an LNG hub in Eastern Canada. The result of cancelling

the inter-continental pipeline was that eighteen LNG projects were nixed and the only LNG project underway is in British Columbia where it has been delayed and dogged by excessive political, legal, and regulatory interventions.

By contrast, the United States has revolutionized its natural gas industry in response to the Russian war as well as to global demand for cleaner energy. There are more than 140 LNG processing plants and ports in America with more on the drawing boards. America is now the world's biggest LNG exporter. If Canada's east-west pipeline hadn't been sabotaged by Trudeau, environmentalists, and Quebec, the two countries would have replaced all Russian gas exports in Europe by now and helped many developing countries, and Eastern Canada, replace dirty coal-burning power plants with cleaner gas-fired ones.

Trudeau's slavish adherence to Greenpeace is damaging enough, but his coziness with China has become a national issue in recent weeks. Press reports, based on intelligence leaks, claimed that Beijing meddled in Canada's 2021 election to help Trudeau's party. A full-blown public inquiry was demanded but, in response, Trudeau appointed a family friend, David Johnston, to determine whether a public inquiry was warranted. A China booster himself, Johnston predictably stated that a public inquiry was unnecessary and impossible because this would require disclosure of documents in breach of secrecy laws. He then went further and said that he looked at classified documents, found no wrongdoing, but couldn't say why because he'd signed the Secrecy Oath. It was high-handed and disrespectful.

Naturally, Parliament's opposition parties demanded Johnston's resignation, but he refused. Some demanded an in camera judicial inquiry but have been stonewalled. And Trudeau refuses to comment and or respond to

requests that laws be put in place that would require foreign operatives to register and that would prevent election meddling, as Australia and others have done.

This political snafu is only a glimpse into the fact that Trudeau and his Liberals are infested with, and driven by, a business, investment, political, and personal network that is heavily invested and aligned with China. For example, two years ago, Beijing kidnapped two innocent Canadian businessmen and canceled billions of dollars worth of trade contracts to force Canada to release a Huawei executive arrested under an extradition warrant by the United States. Trudeau did not retaliate and instead appointed as Ambassador to China another friend, Dominic Barton, who was too close to Chinese officials after serving as Chairman of McKinsey & Company and opening dozens of offices across China. Eventually, the Canadians were released but only after America negotiated a prisoner exchange.

The list of Liberal China lackeys is long. Trudeau's closest friend and cabinet minister, Francois-Philippe Champagne, bought two apartments in London UK with mortgages from the Bank of China valued at C\$1.8-million. He never disclosed this, as required, but confirmed the transactions after they were leaked and never resigned. Trudeau's Family Foundation has received large sums from Chinese donors. And Trudeau's mentor, former Prime Minister Jean Chretien, has family connections to Power Corporation of Montreal which has billions in assets in China and close ties to its political and business elites.

Domestically, Trudeau's Canada loses ground economically. An OECD report in October 2021 predicted that Canada will be the worst performing advanced economy with the worst economic growth from 2030 to 2060. "In other words,

Canada will be dead last not only for the next decade, but also for the three decades after that,” concluded the OECD.

Fortunately, Canada remains a pleasant country to live in with sensible gun controls and a good universal healthcare system that predates Trudeau’s tenure. But it’s now a chronic underachiever. Canada suffers from “state capture” by an anti-business Liberal and socialist elite and by foreign countries and non-state players. The country is fragmented, regionally and linguistically, which has led to this weak, anti-business coalition government that stonewalls Canadian voters and doesn’t pull its weight internationally. This is, more than a handful of tanks or an inadequate navy, the greatest embarrassment of all.

Another powerful conservative businessman and political writer, Conrad Black published an article in the National Post a few years ago where he also told of a nation in decline. Black wrote, The most frequent opening conversational gambit that I encountered during the past three very social weeks in the refreshingly mask-free, socially undistanced city of London, was the question of why the Canadian flag on top of Canada House in Trafalgar Square appeared to be permanently at half-mast. I had the heavy duty of conceding that it was part of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau ‘s endlessly protracted act of national self-humiliation and confected grief over the history of the white man’s treatment of Indigenous people in Canada over the last five hundred years. The many informed people whom I encountered in London could not be described as a broadly based and deeply enthusiastic group of admirers of Justin Trudeau as a leader and clear champion of the Canadian national interest. In general, in my experience, he is seen in Europe, as in the United States, as the chic and dapper bearer of a name well-known in Canada, who deserves the credit due to being a consecutive

election winner in a G7 country but is nevertheless seen as a feckless and rather superficial posturer.

Like most people, when absent from the country where they reside, I always do my best to put Canada's case forward as persuasively as I can to doubting foreigners. My explanation for a permanent flag in official mourning over the Canadian High Commission in the greatest public square in Britain was greeted with universal, and not always polite, incredulity. It is a challenging posture to try to defend. For reasons that he will perhaps someday make clear, Trudeau has taken it upon himself to go to unheard of and absurdly histrionic lengths to propagate the historic fraud that Canada should be permanently ashamed of its treatment of the native inhabitants of the land.

One more time, it is appropriate to make a few germane points on the issue of the Indigenous peoples. Canada has no responsibility for the Indigenous policies of the French and British colonial governors. We are no more the inheritors of the legacy of the French who traded alcoholic beverages ("the milk of the king of France") and firearms in exchange for furs to make hats in France in the 17th and 18th centuries than we can claim the credit for the genius of Descartes, Richelieu, or Voltaire. Nor are English-speaking Canadians in any plausible respect the moral inheritors of British colonial and Hudson's Bay Company officials who conducted policy toward the Native peoples in Canada west of Lake Erie prior to 1867.

Once Canada oversaw Indigenous policy, after 1867, that policy was designed to assist First Nations in participating in the life of the country. As we all are now tiresomely aware, the residential schools wrenched a minority of Indigenous children from their families, and many were mistreated, but almost all

of them were taught the elements of literacy and arithmetic in a way that they likely would not otherwise have been able to learn. It should be obvious to anyone who has seriously read the full report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that its recommendations and allegations do not faithfully reflect the research in the companion volumes, which reveal a less horrifying picture than has been presented. And the billions of dollars in reparations that Canada and the various churches involved have made should be enough to right the injustices that occurred.

There is neither a moral nor a practical case to be made for further humbling acts or pseudo-conscientious deluges in the perpetual regime of atonement and expiation that Justin Trudeau is inflicting upon us. Having presumed, with no factual or legal authority, to plead guilty on behalf of all of us to the false charge of attempted cultural genocide against the Natives, he has, in six years in government, failed to devise substantial improvements in Indigenous policy. The heinously defamed John A. Macdonald gave First Nations the right to vote; Trudeau has not even supplied them with potable drinking water. This current campaign of self-punitive defamation aggravates, rather than diminishes, the injustices of the past.

I went through Trafalgar Square several times every day for three weeks and was often prompted to reflect on the absurdity of the current state of Canadian politics. Alberta, which has dutifully poured billions of dollars into Confederation through equalization payments, chiefly to Quebec, only to be rewarded by an unholy war by the federal government on its petroleum industry in the name of the fatuous crusade to eliminate carbon emissions, has finally voted against the equalization system. Meanwhile, the prime minister increases

the utter fiscal nonsense of sustainable energy, as he makes us an international mockery by his hemophiliac-bleeding heart misinterpretation of the history of our Indigenous peoples.

The equalization payments system was set up in 1955 by the government of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, as a consolation prize for federalism, after Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis forced the federal government to acknowledge the constitutional right of the provinces to collect their own income taxes and offset them against federal taxes. Quebec, its principal beneficiary, has been well administered in recent years and no longer needs the equalization payments and has made it clear it will certainly not contribute any; and both the prime minister and the opposition leaders are mute as ghosts while Quebec launches a final assault against the English language in that province, even denying, without a peep from Ottawa, the right to speak English in federal government offices and in the workplaces of federally chartered companies in Quebec. Much less numerous French-Canadians in other provinces have much greater rights than Quebec's 1.5 million anglophones, and the federal parties are insipidly quiescent.

It is not clear what useful purpose is now served by the federal Parliament. I have returned to a country that is disintegrating politically and no longer seems to recognize itself. The United States, which is now governed by the most hopelessly stupid, misguided, and incompetent regime in its history, has proved itself incapable of securing its border, evacuating its citizens from international danger zones, keeping billions worth of military hardware out of the hands of terrorists or producing a timely defence to the latest Chinese hypersonic missiles. It also treated its Natives much more harshly than we did, but it does not lower its

flag over it. Countries that have committed unspeakable atrocities — including Germany, Japan, China, Russia, Turkey, Rwanda, Sudan, Argentina (which massacred its Indigenous population) and many others — do not make a ludicrous pantomime spectacle of themselves before the world, but Canada does.

Canada was not even considered in the new Pacific Alliance of the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. We have become a congenial political irrelevancy to the world; nobody has anything against us, and nobody knows or cares anything about us. We are not competitive and are steadily descending in the competition of per capita income as capital flees. We have become such a boring and underachieving country that we've induced a coma in our political life while the authority of our central government decomposes like an Ozymandias monument, and the world yawns. No one knows how we descended to this, and the voters seem to have been so heavily anaesthetized that there is no obvious movement to escape from this awful torpor.

In another newspaper article printed in late July 2023 Black stated that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Canada is apparently revelling in its status as the world's most politically correct country. There are undoubtedly many Canadians who are embarrassed, as I am, by the amusement that the American and British media enjoy in referring to us as a people who are obsessively preoccupied with pre-emptively and aggressively making every conceivable concession to previously unheard-of sensibilities, supposedly in the interests of being inoffensive. The Trudeau government over the last eight years has been almost entirely preoccupied with three issues, each of which is an inexhaustible reservoir of potential politically correct policy blunders. It has been tireless in exploiting that rich potential for misguided policy.

The emphasis has been on climate change, what is misleadingly called “reconciliation” with Canada’s Indigenous people and gender issues. The official pursuit of the government’s goals in these areas has been extremely costly and has produced practically no benefit to the country. The known facts about climate change must now be familiar even to its catastrophically fixated champions. The hackneyed cliché “settled science,” which along with several others we owe to former U.S. vice-president Al Gore (who at least became a centimillionaire by peddling climate hysteria), is nothing of the kind. There is extensive dissent, especially when it comes to the inaccuracy of climate models and the correct public policy responses to climate change. There is a consensus that the world has become approximately 1.1 C warmer since 1880, though this varies widely geographically. The climate does appear to be changing in many places but not always in the same way or to the same extent and is extremely difficult to measure.

In the six years of the Second World War, there was, every single day, appalling desecration of land and sea, terrible conflagrations of intensive aerial bombing, massed artillery use, the sinking, ultimately, of millions of tons of shipping with hundreds of millions of barrels of oil released into the oceans, and the entire cataclysm concluded with the only two atomic bombs ever detonated on populated areas. All of this had no discernible impact on the world’s climate. Much of the alarmist rhetoric on the subject has been thoroughly debunked. Canada’s carbon footprint is less than two per cent of the world’s total, and no changes effected in this country would have the slightest impact on the world’s temperature. The great majority of fossil fuel use is in developing countries, led by China and India, which have made it clear that they will not make any effort to

reduce fossil fuel consumption. And the few economically advanced countries, such as Canada, that take this subject seriously have set targets for the reduction of fossil fuel use that they have no chance of achieving and are squandering stupefying amounts of money trying unsuccessfully to accomplish, for no discernible reason. Several countries have effectively abandoned their targets in response to public outrage at energy cost increases.

The officially sponsored agitation about gender is an unutterable waste of the public's attention: there are only two sexes, and every person must be free to work out their own sexuality without affronting reasonable standards of public decency or engaging in coercive activity, and especially not with minors. This includes the right of adults, but not children, to seek physical surgical changes. All the rest of this controversy, including the harassment of those who cling to the quaint (constitutionally guaranteed) bourgeois notion of freedom of expression and resist demands that they address interlocutors in improvised gender-altered terms, should never have been legitimized or tolerated.

The subject of Canadian policy toward Aboriginal peoples was addressed in my last two columns in this space, and I have received an extremely gracious and informative message from Paul Racher, with whom I exchanged opinions on this subject in these (National Post) pages. Neither I nor anyone else that I know of disputes that the Natives have been shabbily treated. I believe the great majority of informed Canadians objects, as I do, to the routine claim by the prime minister and a like-minded clique of supporters and professional advocates of victimhood that any form of genocide was ever attempted against Indigenous people in the history of this country. It is obvious to almost everyone that those responsible for federal and provincial Indigenous policy should seek out the most representative

and competent Indigenous spokespeople and hammer out with them, with generosity and goodwill, an entirely new regime that reflects faithfully the wishes and the interests of those whom it serves. We have already committed \$4.7 billion in reparations for residential schools and what is needed now is not more histrionic lamentation, but remedial action. Those who delight in calling themselves “progressive” must finally take a stab at generating some progress.

These issues are all components of the environmental, social and governance (ESG) agenda that’s now almost universally applied to commercial matters. In this area, too, Canada is unfortunately a leader. Canada’s corporate sector has capitulated more abjectly than that of any other advanced country to the insane notion that those responsible for the lawful and prosperous direction of the private sector must also busy themselves with the moral imperative to inflict upon their companies the prevailing and frequently fatuous requirement for environmental posturing, tangible lip-service to jejune concepts of egalitarianism and prostrations of participatory corporate administration. Other than in some companies that have controlling shareholders, the executive function has been so heavily colloquialized that no one is responsible for anything, because our executive class has accepted responsibility for being an environmental busybody for “sustainability” and a militant crusader for faddish social causes, while causing the executive function itself to devolve into a consultative process in pursuit of a public relations objective.

We normally follow the Americans eventually, and many U.S. states have acted to remove ESG pressures on corporations so management may focus again on its *raison d’être*: maximum profitability along with responsible behaviour and complete compliance with all relevant laws and regulations. Those money

management and private equity operations that gather in money from investors and deploy it in pursuit of higher returns have suffered heavy withdrawals where, as in BlackRock and several other large funds, the managers used the funds of their investors to pressure corporations into supporting left-wing causes and political candidates.

The United States is already pulling back from the impulses of what the late British public intellectual and humorist Malcolm Muggeridge called “the great liberal death wish.” This is one area where sensible Canadians will wish to follow the Americans.

In 2016 a right-wing religious Philadelphia magazine had this article – it’s more than a bit out there but it does offer up some poignant ideas that you did not hear from the other Canadian media, and, as this author believes that as far as this book is concerned, as many as possible points of view should be made relevant – here it is.

A few years ago, Justin Trudeau was asked which nation’s type of government he most admired besides Canada’s. His answer: China’s. “You know, there’s a level of admiration I actually have for China because their basic dictatorship is allowing them to actually turn their economy around on a dime,” he said. “In this world we’re competing with countries that have the capacity to react to big issues quickly and completely. We need to make sure that even though we must compete with them, we can get things done completely” (emphasis added throughout).

According to Justin Trudeau, democracy is frustrating because it doesn’t allow prime ministers to do what they want. And now Justin Trudeau *is* the prime minister. Trudeau’s statement gives important insight into how we can expect the

second-youngest prime minister in Canadian history to rule. But there is also a far more important and insightful predictor that should not be overlooked.

Trudeau is not the first Canadian prime minister to heap praise on Communist China and its authoritarian leaders. A previous prime minister swung Canada far to the ideological left. He downplayed the importance of free enterprise and private property rights and sought to implement his vision of a “just society.” He annihilated the role of Christianity in Canada, and he became famous for initiating the multicultural experiment that seeks to turn Canada into an ethnic representation of the world. By the time this man left office, he had taken a virtually debt-free country to the edge of bankruptcy.

This prime minister also invoked Canada’s War Measures Act and suspended the Canadian Bill of Rights during peacetime. He claimed the power of censorship and initiated search without warrant and arrest without trial. He became Canada’s third-longest serving leader and Canada’s only dictator. This man was Justin’s father: Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Almost thirty years ago, the elder Trudeau was asked his views on democracy and communism. He replied that under certain conditions, a one-party state would be the ideal government. “I wouldn’t be prepared to think I would be successful in arguing that for Canada at the present time,” he said. “But such times might come, who knows?” To say Pierre Elliot Trudeau admired communism would be an understatement.

A generation ago, the elder Trudeau radically transformed Canada. Now Canadians have elected his son. As the Chinese say, “Tiger father begets tiger son.” You can trace the elder Trudeau’s fascination with the undemocratic back to his educational years. Trudeau attended the prestigious Jesuit Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf in Quebec. During this time, many young men educated at elite Jesuit

schools in Quebec became ardent supporters of the clerically influenced dictatorships of the day. University activists admired role models like Francisco Franco in Spain, António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal, and Marshal Philippe Pétain's Nazi collaborators in France. In his senior year at the college, Trudeau edited the school newspaper, *Brébeuf*. He denounced Canada's involvement in World War II, railed against conscription, and encouraged students to disobey draft registration. Later, he said he opposed the war because, like most Quebec boys, he "was taught to keep away from imperialistic wars."

Over the next several years he was a man of anti-democratic action. Trudeau joined an underground organization dedicated to overthrowing capitalism and rioted in the streets with other young would-be revolutionaries. In 1942, young Pierre Trudeau gave a fiery speech in which he called on Canadians to rise up and overthrow the government.

Eventually, to avoid general conscription, Trudeau was forced to sign up for officer school. It is unclear how he escaped military duty, but he ultimately left officer school and secured permission to travel to the United States and attend Harvard to study political science and economics. In his entrance exam, he stated a burning desire to become a statesman. Following the war's end, Trudeau traveled to Europe where he attended the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris and the London School of Economics and Political Science—both hotbeds of political activism where students tried to fuse democracy with communism. While in Paris, he proposed a Harvard doctoral thesis on exploring potential areas of reconciliation between Catholicism and communism.

This fascination with communism, fascism, socialism, and religion drove Trudeau to the far reaches of the political world. Pierre Trudeau traveled to

Ghana when Communist Kwame Nkrumah, who characterized himself as the African Lenin, seized control of the country. He also happened to be in Algeria when Communist Ahmed Ben Bella took over. Bella was awarded the prestigious Hero of the Soviet Union decoration for heroic feats in service to the Soviet state. In 1961, just prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion, the U.S. Coast Guard picked up Trudeau attempting to paddle to Cuba from Key West. Trudeau was deported home.

But in 1964, he made it to the Communist island, gaining an audience with Fidel Castro. The two later became close friends. At Trudeau's funeral in 2000, a frail and ailing Fidel made an unprecedented trip to Canada to be an honorary pallbearer. Justin Trudeau's mother recounted how Castro would get drool marks on his shirts while pacifying the younger Trudeau boys on his shoulder during the family's visits to Cuba. A Canadian ambassador to Cuba said that Pierre Trudeau and Fidel Castro were fast friends and "intellectual soul mates."

Pierre Trudeau had a penchant for studying Communist tactics up close and firsthand. He hated the wars of "Western imperialists," but Communist wars were just fine. Shortly after the end of World War II, Trudeau visited Communist Yugoslavia. He was in the Middle East during the first Arab Israeli war in 1948. Approximately a year later, as Communist forces swept through Beijing and Tianjin, and just months before the fall of Shanghai, Trudeau gained entrance to China. He would return in 1960, this time to meet Mao and attend a "victory celebration" (Alan Stang, "How the Communists Took Control," April 1971). Subsequently, Trudeau co-authored a book that praised Mao's revolution for realizing that it had to depend on the poor people for success. Meanwhile, Mao

had become one of the biggest mass murderers in history. During his revolution, forty-five million people died.

In 1952, Trudeau was invited to speak at the notorious International Economic Conference in Moscow. In 1953, the United States banned him from entering the U.S., citing him as a Communist agent. But Trudeau's fascination for all things Communist remained even as he began moving up the political ranks. In 1968, Trudeau was elected prime minister of Canada in an election that focused more on the candidate's good looks and trendy checkered suits than on the issues of the day. The media dubbed his sweep "Trudeaumania." It applauded Trudeau's "just society" rhetoric. Some analysts trace his victory to the momentum gained after arguing that the government has no business in the bedrooms of Canadians. After his election, homosexuality was decriminalized.

In 1970, Trudeau became one of the first Western leaders to recognize the Communist People's Republic of China (to U.S. President Richard Nixon's chagrin). In 1971, he traveled to the Soviet Union to participate in regime-sponsored propaganda activities. A year earlier, Trudeau had infamously invoked the War Measures Act to combat terrorists in Quebec. He said it was the only way he could act quickly and decisively. He began by ordering the military into Quebec streets to help with policing duties. Broad powers were given to the police to search and arrest without warrant. Many innocent people—many of whom Trudeau knew personally—were jailed during this time. When a reporter asked how far he would go, he replied, "Just watch me." Eventually, a deal was cut with some of the terrorists, and they were allowed to flee to Cuba. Trudeau wasn't afraid of stretching the boundaries of the law. In 1981, Trudeau nearly endorsed the Communist takeover of Poland. "If marshal law is a way to avoid civil war, and

Soviet intervention, then I cannot say it is all bad,” he said just hours after the coup.

Perhaps Trudeau’s most lasting impact is how he shaped Canadians’ perception of the United States. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and much of the rest of the liberal press increasingly portrayed the United States as an evil empire that recklessly risked global war by antagonizing Russia. Americans, he said, were fighting wasteful, exploitive wars and undermining the sovereignty of nations—like Canada—that would not support its Cold War plans. Under Trudeau, Canada’s closest trading partner, a nation with virtually the same culture and beliefs, became an aggressor to be feared and resisted.

Trudeau, the senior, left a legacy. And now, his forty-three-year-old son (at that time) is kicking off Canada’s new Trudeau era. In October, Canadians emphatically elected charismatic Liberal leader Justin Trudeau, who promised Canada “sunny ways” and “change.” Of the 338 seats up for grabs, the Liberals won 184. The socialist New Democratic Party won forty-four. The left Bloc Quebecois won ten seats, and the Greens one. That left outgoing Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s Conservative Party with only ninety-nine.

It was a huge swing to the left. And the Liberals won enough seats that they did not need a coalition to govern. They did not need the support of any of the other parties. This had big implications for Canada. Trudeau’s party was able to pass whatever legislation it wanted - if it stuck together. Despite Trudeau’s father being one of the longest-serving, most famous Canadian politicians, Trudeau was a bit of a political outsider. He too attended a Jesuit school, but instead of spending his youth studying Marxist thinkers like Georges Sorel and Leon Trotsky,

his teenage years were spent snowboarding, traveling, and later working toward becoming a substitute math and literature teacher.

It wasn't until 2008 that he first ran and was elected as a member of Parliament. So, like U.S. President Barack Obama, who was a freshman senator when first elected president, Justin Trudeau rose rapidly to prominence.

During the election, Trudeau emphasized his flamboyant streak, something his father played successfully too. He famously took part in a televised celebrity boxing match, in which he convincingly defeated his opponent. He starred in a two-part miniseries about World War - he was very open about his bad-boy past, and his illegal drug usage (he says he smoked marijuana during his youth and as a member of Parliament).

Other aspects of Trudeau's background are also reminiscent of President Obama's. Both came from broken families. Both came out of academia and graduated from prestigious universities. Both were teachers. Prior to entering politics, Trudeau became a successful activist. President Obama was a community organizer and activist. Trudeau focused on environmental issues, which President Obama has also embraced.

Former President Obama is seen as the most feminist president in U.S. history. Trudeau wants to be the most feminist prime minister in Canadian history. "I am a feminist. I'm proud to be a feminist," he tweeted in the lead-up to his election. Justin Trudeau is Canada's Barack Obama in other ways too. Just as Hollywood supports President Obama, Trudeau's name carries a kind of rock-star status in Canada.

Here is the thing: Justin Trudeau reflects Canadians' values. Canadians were already headed in the direction Trudeau epitomizes. If they didn't agree with

what he stands for, they wouldn't have voted for him. As the saying goes, people get what they deserve, not necessarily what they want. How true that is in Canada—a democracy that is undoing itself, one Trudeau at a time.

This story (from the Fraser Institute) appeared in the Toronto Sun in 2022 and is apropos for this chapter Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, alongside other national and provincial leaders, can rightly be called a “socialist” in the modern sense. Socialism, at its core, remains an ideology of the benefits of top-down decision-making by elites, for and in the interests of the collective. Over time, the meaning of socialism has changed and evolved. Its original conception—and technical definition—is state ownership of the means of production, namely factories, machinery, etc. For the most part, there are very few socialists who now advocate for the government to nationalize industries.

Indeed, as communism proved an utter failure in the real world and broadly collapsed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the meaning of socialism shifted to mean large-scale redistribution. In other words, socialists accepted that firms and industries should be privately owned but that the benefits of markets should be harnessed for collective ends through higher taxes—much higher taxes—to finance higher levels of government spending. Countries in Europe, particularly in Scandinavia, are often pointed to as models of this brand of socialism.

Clearly, the Trudeau government is committed to such expansionary government though it prefers to finance its largesse through borrowing rather than higher taxes, which simply defers higher taxes to the future (that's a whole other issue).

More interesting, though, is the next frontier of socialism, which focuses on the control of savings and investment through regulation. Put differently, instead

of owning firms, the next frontier of socialism controls firms and their activities through laws, regulations, and other government dictates. This new form of socialism is still evolving and, to varying degrees, embedded in movements known as stakeholder capitalism and ESG (environment, social and governance).

The Trudeau government's approach to greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction personifies this brand of socialism. The idea of a carbon tax is to add the hidden costs (imposed on third parties and society more broadly) from the emission of GHGs to the cost of emitting. By facing the full costs of emitting GHGs, individuals and firms change their behaviour. For instance, some firms might decide to invest in existing technologies to reduce their emissions, thus reducing their carbon tax costs. Other firms might invest in the search for new technologies with low or zero emissions to replace existing higher-emitting technologies. The key idea, however, is that individuals and firms make decisions based on the costs and benefits they face, and their individual expectations for the future. Put simply, the use of a carbon tax should largely be a bottom-up approach to GHG emissions.

And while Trudeau has advocated for a carbon tax, he does not accept a bottom-up approach that might result in a different outcome than the one he demands. On top of the carbon tax, the Trudeau government has mandated a cap on GHG emissions, though it oddly only affects the twenty-six per cent of emissions from the oil and gas sector. Further, Trudeau has mandated the end of new vehicle sales that emit GHGs by 2035, thus requiring a complete move to zero emissions new vehicles within thirteen years. He's also cancelled and blocked energy infrastructure projects that do not align with his specific vision for the future.

These are all top-down decisions imposed on individuals and firms. This is the essence of the socialist approach. And like other forms of socialism in the past, this new brand will fail to deliver promised results and impose enormous costs on society.

We will leave this chapter with a few words on what the Trudeaus (father and son) are perhaps most celebrated for in the world of liberalism – multiculturalism. Most Canadians think of multiculturalism as a demographic reality that acknowledges the diverse ethnic makeup of the Canadian population. However, there is ongoing debate over the message that multicultural policy conveys to Canadians, particularly to immigrants.

Over its first thirty years, the principal challenges confronting multiculturalism involved reconciling support for ethnic diversity, the preservation of the French language and the promotion of Canadian identity. While such debates have persisted into the 21st century, they've largely given way to the view that the message of multiculturalism promotes excessive accommodation of cultural and religious diversity at the expense of promoting social cohesion and common values. Others see the multicultural message as discouraging newcomers from adopting Canadian values. This, in turn, makes them less likely to participate in the mainstream culture and society and encourages the creation of ethnic ghettos.

This chapter sources include Diane Francis (America and the World), Conrad Black - National Post, CTV News, Z.T. Gaspar through McGill International Review, Robert Morley of the Trumpet, J. Clemens and N. Veldhuis of the Fraser Institute and others.

Chapter Five

Problems Ahead - Take A Hard Left Turn

Canada is a more aware, elitist and group orientated society and is a multicultural mosaic of peace, order, and good government as compared to its neighbour to the south. (According to Canadian Liberals)

The Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science stated in the United States, organized socialism is dead; in Canada socialism, though far from a national power, is still a significant political force. Why this striking difference in the fortunes of socialism in two very similar societies?

Any attempt to account for the difference must be grounded in a general comparative study of the English Canadian and American societies. It will be shown that the relative strength of socialism in Canada is related to the relative strength of the Tory party, and to the different position and character of liberalism in the two countries.

In North America, Canada is unique. Yet there is a tendency in Canadian historical and political studies to explain Canadian phenomena not by contrasting them with American phenomena but by identifying them as variations on a basic North American theme. Granted, Canada and the United States are similar, and that the similarities should be pointed out. But the pan-North American approach, since it searches out and concentrates on similarities, cannot help us to understand Canadian uniqueness. When this approach is applied to the study of

English Canadian socialism, it discovers, first, that like the American variety it is weak, and second, that it is weak for much the same reasons. These discoveries perhaps explain why Canadian socialism is weak in comparison to European socialism; they do not explain why Canadian socialism is so much stronger than American socialism....

What fraction of Canadians have a positive view of socialism? Would you have guessed well over half, as a 2019 poll found? This was reported in *The Tyee*, a right of center Vancouver media and was written about in 2023 by Robert A. Hackett a professor emeritus of communication at Simon Fraser University. His most recent co-authored book is *Journalism and Climate Crisis*. Although it is a touch long, here is Mr. Hackett's story – it helps explain the story of Canada's turn to the left...this political and economic alternative to capitalism is gaining traction particularly among younger people, not only in this country but also the U.S. As one U.S. broadcaster's website headlined in 2020 "millennials support socialism because they want to make America great — but for everyone." (author's note – according to *Fightback*, the Marxist voice of labour and youth in Canada, one million young people in Canada believe in communism).

We're seeing this rising interest in socialism at a moment when our politics are becoming more divided and volatile. Why? Because the political narrative — neo-liberalism — that has dominated the true north strong and free since the 1980s isn't working. As McMaster political scientist Stephen McBride defines it, neoliberalism in principle "emphasizes individualism over social or collective interests; the superiority of markets (in reality, the powerful actors that dominate them) over public decision-making; the rule of law; and the need for a minimal but strong state to defend private property rights and the capitalist system."

But neoliberalism has hardly created the era of peace and freedom promised by politicians like Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and Stephen Harper. Instead, our planetary civilization faces intersecting crises of ecology and climate, public health, democracy, inequality, and international order. McBride is hardly alone in pointing the finger at neoliberal policies like tax-cutting, public service-gutting and privatization.

What then, can socialism offer in response to the predicament in which we find ourselves? That was the theme of an online conference held by the SFU Institute for the Humanities (through the Joanne Brown Symposium on Violence and Its Alternatives endowment), the SFU Labour Studies Program and the SFU Van-City Office of Community Engagement. That overarching question sparked many related ones. From the start, the conference organizers emphasized democratic socialism, committed to electoral legitimacy and government with the consent of the governed, rather than dictatorial forms like the former Soviet Union. But we also emphasized socialism, system change beyond capitalism. Like “democracy,” ten analysts could offer twenty different definitions.

McBride’s is as good as any: it means subordinating the economy to the service of a society no longer driven by the endless drive for profit. State planning and public ownership of major industries, to varying degrees, are tools towards “a prosperous, relatively egalitarian society characterized by full employment, security, decent jobs and well-organized public services to meet social needs — health, education, ageing and housing.”

That’s distinct from social democracy, which may advocate important reforms, but accepts the fundamentals of capitalism and their permanence. There are democratic socialists within the NDP, the main institution of the Anglo-

Canadian left, but they are effectively quarantined. The party's leadership and official policies are at most, social democratic.

Democratic socialism has persistent Canadian roots, as Mount Royal historian Roberta Lexier reminded the conference. In the midst of the Depression, the Regina Manifesto of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (the NDP's predecessor) promised to "eradicate" capitalism, calling for "economic planning to supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition." In the aftermath of 1960s cultural and political upheaval, overseas war and domestic racial injustice in the U.S., a radical faction in the NDP — nicknamed the Waffle — called for "an Independent Socialist Canada." Economic nationalism was the order of the day.

The issues the group grappled with at SFU had more to do with the future than the past, however. Where's the transformational energy needed in an era of ongoing emergency? Has Canadian democratic socialism revitalized itself? How can we articulate socialist ideals and practicalities to the wider public in an era when the topic remains taboo for most corporate media?

The conference brought together leading progressive politicians, movement organizers, policy researchers and academic specialists to join four diverse panels — on democratic socialist philosophy, the environment-economy relationship, new challenges, and political strategies. Not everybody stuck to the questions posed in the announcement in *The Tyee* and elsewhere. Several scheduled speakers could not attend. Nobody offered detailed blueprints; who could be expected to reinvent the world in a fifteen-minute presentation, even if there's a Q&A? Rather, this was a high-flying discussion of principles and approaches, which are grouped into the following themes.

Foreign policy was not a major theme at the conference. But open-ended conversations gave a hint that democratic socialists are as flummoxed as anybody by the realities of the new world disorder, brought to a boil by Putin's invasion of Ukraine. Dimitri Lascaris, a former challenger for the national Green Party's leadership, called for a negotiated settlement of the Russia-Ukraine war, rather than escalation that could "snare us all in a nuclear holocaust." The chair of the BC NDP's standing committee on environment and economy, Ashley Zarbatany, responded "as an Indigenous person, I stand in solidarity with the Ukrainians, because I know what it's like to be the victim of genocide by imperialists."

Neither the NATO triumphalism evident in much of the western media, nor the NATO skepticism of Yves Engler, Canada's version of Noam Chomsky, was much evident. What would former NDP MP Svend Robinson (he now works overseas) have said, had he been able to accept our invitation? He frequently called for Canadian withdrawal from NATO.

Democratic socialists continue to oppose militarism, as an ideology and policy. The Canadian Foreign Policy Institute's director, Bianca Mugenyi, called out the military as "the biggest institutional polluter in Canada," emphasizing its connection with climate crisis, imperialist wars of aggression and huge price tags. The federal government's proposed procurements of F-35 fighter jets and fifteen new warships come with initial sticker prices of nineteen billion and one-hundred billion dollars respectively. Instead, says Mugenyi, we need "a foreign policy that centres peace, justice and the planet."

Quoting from a classic statement of the postwar Canadian left — *A Socialist Takes Stock*, by his grandfather David Lewis, a founder of the NDP — former broadcaster and federal NDP candidate Avi Lewis identified one of democratic

socialism's main goals as "a peace based on freedom and equality within and... among nations." Formulated during the height of the Cold War, that view falls far short of the defunct Waffle group's anti-U.S. imperialism. But Avi Lewis's point was that even such vague internationalism finds little space today in "our national political and cultural conversations."

Perhaps democratic socialism's most potent contribution to global peace and security comes from another direction. Feminist economist and SFU professor emeritus Marjorie Griffin Cohen argued that a "care economy" requires challenging international trade agreements that are biased against the public sector provision of goods and services. She added that such agreements are a relationship between social classes, not just countries.

The point could be expanded: international stability requires a less predatory, more just and ecologically sustainable international economic order. And it's one to be forged through the balance of political forces within countries, not just negotiations between them.

What does a society that is just, ecologically viable and economically efficient look like? Speakers offered not a single model, but well-researched and visionary alternatives. Shannon Daub and William Carroll, co-directors of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives' Corporate Mapping Project, spoke of the urgent need for a less ecologically destructive post-carbon economy. Economic policy is intimately connected to social relations and political power. By contrast with the "shallow" social democratization of parties like the NDP, Carroll calls for a "deep" version that makes good on UN declarations on civil rights, economic, social, cultural, and Indigenous peoples' rights, and a healthy environment. This, to be paralleled by double decolonization — Indigenous self-determination, as

well as rescuing our daily lives and the public sphere from consumer capitalism and the commodification of everything.

Other speakers also challenged fundamental assumptions about economic policy and structures. Cohen argued cogently that effective climate policy and a “care economy” are complementary. Existing climate policy is failing, she argues, because it is based on a market approach and existing economic structures, rooted in gender-biased assumptions about economically productive activity. We’d be better off recognizing the paid and unpaid work, mostly by women, in sectors like health, education and childcare; increasing spending on care to the average of other rich countries; making the care economy “a significant feature of planning for economic growth,” growth that should be diverted to the job-intensive services that people need rather than the production of yet more stuff.

Economist Jim Stanford, director of the Centre for Future Work, agrees, well sort of. He challenges environmentalists who oppose growth as such. Rather, the problem is capitalist-style growth. We need not less, but more work and production, in appropriate activities, along with planning and public ownership to help direct that work to meet human and ecological needs. Stanford points out that fossil fuel industry employment constitutes now just one per cent of Canadian jobs. It could be wound down by just one billion dollars and 8,000 jobs a year, over half through retirement, over a twenty-year transition to renewable energy.

Planning? Sounds archaic. Positively 20th-century. It’s “somehow a dirty word” when it comes to state mechanisms, noted Avi Lewis. But it’s “alive and well in the service of technologized Uber capitalism,” where companies like Amazon and Walmart “plan everything down to the microchip level.”

Unabashed urban planner Bob Williams, the minister-of-nearly-everything in the Dave Barrett BC NDP government of the 1970s, reprised his recent political memoir. He spoke glowingly of co-operative enterprises, and the notion of land and resources as sources of “rent” to finance public services. We need living examples of a better world, and Williams provided several: the city of Bologna, Italy, with its deep institutional networks and culture of community co-operation; and closer to home, the Columbia Basin Trust, which obtains benefits for Kootenay communities from the use of their land and water.

Mary Mellor, emeritus professor of alternative economics at Northumbria University, offered a sophisticated argument for fundamentally democratizing the creation and circulation of money. She challenges the neoliberal notion that the market is the source of wealth, and that the state is a burden upon that market. Instead, the state should become the prime creator of money to provision social needs, subordinating the profit-oriented private banks.

Democratic socialists haven’t forgotten about the ideological power of corporate media. Much of the British press enthusiastically exaggerated the flaws of Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour party’s most radical leader in a generation. While not a perfect statesman (who is?), the extent of demonization amounted to his “political assassination,” according to some analysts.

Here in Canada the press often cheerleads for fossil capitalism. Shannon Daub cited a recent Globe and Mail editorial premised on “the ludicrous fiction” that Canada can show climate leadership while developing the oilsands “carbon bomb” — by simply ignoring the emissions produced by exported oil burned elsewhere.

Radically progressive parties will rarely get an easy ride in media connected by ownership and commercial interests to the corporate elite. Developing their own media and messaging strategies are typical responses by progressives. Fair enough. But Natalie Fenton, professor of communication at Goldsmiths, University of London, suggests something more radical: redesigning the entire media system according to democratic socialist principles.

Facing concentrated ownership and control in both legacy and digital media in the U.K., Fenton co-founded the Media Reform Coalition, advocating and campaigning for “a media commons,” broader than public broadcasting.

“Rather than just interacting with people as passive audiences, people would make decisions about how these organizations are run.... We also need to see something like a British digital co-operative... an entirely different symbolic system that is driven by... principles of structural socio-economic parity, substantively meaningful democracy, and worker and environmental sustainability” - a media system where pluralism and conversation override commercial profits.

Canada has valuable media advocacy groups, like Open Media, and Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, but they don't yet have a media reform coalition with a vision as broad as Fenton's. For Canadian democratic socialism, that's an innovative idea. How should the promise and the vision of democratic socialism be realized? How should socialists confront the upsurge of far-right populism and outright fascism in contemporary notional democracies?

The emergence of the far right in Canada should not have been a surprise. Matthew Green, NDP MP for Hamilton Centre since 2019, described his city as “the canary in the coal mine.” Coming to his politics through observation and

experience rather than theory, Green told the conference of “the suffering and misery” wrought by the structural inequalities of colonialism and capitalism — low levels of household income, high childhood poverty, social influences on health that differ by postal code. Exploiting Hamilton’s industrial decline, semi-fascist groups have been organizing for decades, said Green, so that Canada is actually “a net exporter of white supremacy around the world.”

“We are at a moment of deep economic frustration and isolation,” he added. “People feel alone and are looking to be part of something.” So, the “freedom” convoy that horn-honked to Ottawa last winter didn’t come out of nowhere. Dimitri Lascaris described his conversations with some of its members. He sympathized with their distrust of government and Big Pharma. He found camaraderie and many messages of love, he said. He wants to find common ground with the political right on some issues. But Zarbatany reminded him that some people, including racialized women like herself, do not feel safe in spaces dominated by hypermasculine hate.

With characteristic bluntness, Bob Williams went further: “Where are you gonna find any brains in that kind of right-wing mob? (author’s note: a typical left-wing pompous putdown). We’ve got nothing to talk to them about, absolutely nothing.” But there was near unanimity on the need to offer a more hopeful political alternative, addressing some of the grievances that feed far right pseudo-populism — excessive corporate power, profound economic inequality and the disconnect between elected politicians and the people they claim to represent.

Not surprisingly, neoliberal global capitalism was pinpointed as a root cause of global crises, but speakers showed little sympathy for social democracy. Social democratic parties “capitulated to neoliberalism long ago,” said McBride. Their

radicalism “lies in the past, not in the present,” and they show no signs of “any significant rethink.”

Historian Lexier might agree. In the past, such parties had placed “reasonably radical left-wing perspectives into national public debates,” but “now the NDP largely fails to do this.” If this snapshot of leading (socialist) thinkers and actors is an indication, Canada’s left has moved beyond the technocratic centralization of the Regina Manifesto, and the Waffle’s silence about the environmental damage and the violent colonization of Indigenous peoples underlying the country’s modern economy. (Environmental crisis and decolonization are emphasized in the landmark Leap Manifesto, passed by the 2016 federal NDP convention but sidelined by the party leadership.)

Democratic socialism is a big tent. But behind differing emphases and strategies, most participants share the principles of extending democracy, viewing social well-being as a collective responsibility and the economy as a sphere that should be subject to public decision-making. In a 2006 essay, Mary Mellor suggested that such commitments make democratic socialism better equipped than other contemporary political philosophies to deal with a new era of ecological limits and democratic crises.

Liberalism is what is properly called in a global context social liberalism, or what contemporary North American use of the word signifies as liberalism: liberal democracy, social justice, socialism, multiculturalism, diplomacy in foreign policy, and a regulated free market economy although during the Trudeau father and son era the Liberals supported a mixed economy – a combination of capitalism and socialism.

There is argued that another form of liberalism has emerged that is centred on a more sustainable form of politics. The contention is that action is needed to ensure that the environment, economy, and social elements of society will function not only in the short term, but long term as well. If action is not taken on all these pressing issues, then it can cause a direct threat to our freedoms. This emerging new liberalism is centred on an ideal of 'timeless freedom' which seeks to preserve the freedom of future generations through proactive action today. This would extend both positive and negative rights and responsibilities to future generations, again, a hybrid cross of capitalism and socialism – in other words, socialist Canada in the year 2024.

Courtesy of Robert A. Hackett – The Tyee, G. Horowitz, and others.

Chapter Six

Is the Demise of Canada at Hand?

Fragmentation – the process or state of breaking or being broken into small or separate parts. The fragmentation of society into a collection of interest groups.

With this chapter (and the next) this author will try and point out how and why Canada has become fragmented. Let's start with an article that appeared in the Daily Hive publication in spring of 2023 about a controversial biopic that's about Canada's struggle with the overdose crisis and violent crime – as many would say - a major player in the demise of the country. It was a documentary called *Canada Is Dying* - if the name sounds familiar, it's because it's the follow-up to the highly watched other documentary which focused on Vancouver's issues with drugs and crime, called *Vancouver is Dying*. The documentary comes from filmmaker Aaron Gunn, a social commentator who has worked for organizations like BC Proud and the Canadian Taxpayers Federation.

“What is happening to Canada? A country once considered immune from the most appalling displays of homeless and chaos has become an epicentre for shocking and violent and, at times, random attacks,” Gunn says. “Are once-safe city streets increasingly defined by chaos?” Gunn asks. Gunn first focuses on crime in Vancouver, detailing different attacks that have taken place before making the point that the issues around violent crime aren't exclusive to Vancouver, shifting focus to other Canadian cities. It also compares Vancouver's Downtown east side to a third-world country.

Crime has made policing challenging in parts of Vancouver. Some have been critical of Gunn due to his political leaning and affiliations with groups like BC Proud, which has been accused of encouraging “toxic” commentary. Gunn says, “Anarchy and open drug use have taken over” in some parts of the country and shifts focus from crime to the drug crisis.

Many of the reactions to the new documentary are pointing fingers at Justin Trudeau and “liberalism” as the reasons for the drug and crime issues that are impacting some major Canadian cities. “Liberalism is killing us,” one person wrote. Another user said, “Thank you for exposing Trudeau’s Canada.”

They (Daily Hive) connected with Adjunct Professor Mark Haden at the UBC School of Population and Public Health to get his thoughts on some of the claims in the documentary. “Many different governments have been in power and have overseen this problem. And none of them have done anything particularly effective,” said Haden. He added that the actual causes of these issues include poverty, the gap between the rich and the poor, and how services are structured.

He also pointed to a Health Authority decision in BC many years ago to close mental health institutions. People were told that they would be found housing but were not. Many moved to Vancouver’s Downtown East side, creating a population that included people with mental health and drug use problems. That was not a government decision. Haden says, “To blame any one government is disingenuous.” “So, it’s a very complex social problem that we’re dealing with, and blaming any government is lacking the complexity of what we’re actually dealing with.”

So now we have one reason that is assisting in the demise of Canada, another reason is that Canada has built a reputation over the last half century for welcoming immigrants and valuing multiculturalism – this is good – exceptionally good, but it is also bad. Foreign-born people make up about one-quarter of Canada’s population—the largest share in over one hundred and fifty years and one of the highest ratios for industrialized Western nations. Immigrants have helped the country counter aging demographics and fuel economic growth, though some Canadians have expressed concern about the increasing strain on housing and social services.

Canada granted more than 437,000 foreigners permanent residency in 2022 (2023 results were not available at publication time), the most ever in a single year. The greatest share of new Canadian permanent residents came from India, followed by China, the Philippines, and Nigeria. The current government plans to steadily increase immigration levels over the next several years, with the goal of accepting five hundred thousand new permanent residents into the country each year by 2025.

Canada is also known for its relative openness to asylum seekers. They often come to Canada for similar reasons as resettled refugees, but they differ from the latter in that they have not obtained government approval before arriving. Migrants can make a claim at any border crossing or airport, as well as certain government offices inside Canada. In 2021, more than 1,500 asylum seekers entered the country without authorization, which does not lead to criminal prosecution once they claim asylum. That number jumped to nearly thirteen thousand in the first nine months of 2022 as conditions in many migrants’ home countries worsened. It can take officials up to two years to

decide whether to grant an applicant protected status. Once that status is granted, most asylum seekers are immediately eligible to apply for permanent residency. In limited circumstances, some unsuccessful asylum seekers may qualify for permanent residency under the humanitarian category.

Some critics, including immigrants who have entered the country via normal channels, claim that Canada allows asylum seekers to “jump the queue” and enter through “backdoor immigration.” While officials consider their cases, asylum seekers receive health care and, potentially, housing assistance, social welfare, and work rights. Moreover, the government tends not to deport failed asylum claimants, and some remain in Canada illegally. However, deportations still occur; in 2020, the Canadian government deported more than twelve thousand people, the most since 2015. Estimates vary, but academic sources say there could be up to five hundred thousand undocumented people living in Canada.

In 2022, Canadian polling firm Léger found that about half of all Canadians surveyed felt the government’s target of five hundred thousand immigrants a year is too high, while seventy-five percent expressed concern that more immigration will result in excess demand for housing and social services. Nonetheless, several Canadian cities have sanctuary-city and “access without fear” policies that limit police cooperation with immigration authorities and guarantee undocumented people public services. Officials also rarely enforce a law banning Canadian companies from hiring undocumented workers.

Regarding immigration, Statistics Canada published these facts; According to the reference scenario, the Canadian population would

reach 47.7 million in 2041, and 25.0 million of them would be immigrants or children of immigrants born in Canada, accounting for 52.4% of the total population. In 2016, this population was 14.4 million and accounted for 40.0% of the total Canadian population. The projected percentage in 2041 could range from 49.8% to 54.3% depending on the projection scenario. As a result, in 2041, the proportion of immigrants in the Canadian population could reach from 29.1% to 34.0%, depending on the selected scenario, up from 21.9% in 2016. This would be a record-high level since the 1867 Canadian Confederation.

The portrait of the immigrant population has changed a great deal over the past twenty-five years, partly because of differences in the geographic origin of immigrants. Considering these trends and the fact that population growth in the coming decades will depend primarily on international immigration, the Canadian population in 2041 is projected to include 9.9 million to 13.9 million people born in Asia or Africa, depending on the projection scenario. These people alone could account for 23.1% to 26.9% of the total Canadian population in 2041, up from 13.5% in 2016.

Since 1996, the racialized population in Canada has been steadily increasing. In 2016, it consisted of 8.0 million people. By 2041, the racialized population could reach 16.4 million to 22.3 million people depending on the projection scenario. The racialized population could therefore account for 38.2% to 43.0% of the Canadian population. In 2016, this proportion was 22.2%.

The proportion of the racialized population and the projected rate of increase of this proportion vary from one age group to another. Depending on the projection scenario, the racialized population would account for a higher proportion among young cohorts, reaching between 44.0% and 49.7% among

those aged zero to fourteen. Among the working-age population (fifteen to sixty-four years), of special interest for the application of the Employment Equity Act, the proportion of the racialized population would be between 42.1% and 47.3% in 2041, up from 23.3% in 2016. Lastly, among the population aged sixty-five or older, this proportion would remain below the national average and would be between 25.4% and 26.7% in 2041. However, the rate of increase would be fastest in this last age group, the proportion more than doubling over the projected period.

Among these racialized groups, the South Asian group would remain the largest population group in 2041, reaching between 4.7 million and 6.5 million people according to the various projection scenarios developed. The Black population would more than double from 1.2 million people in 2016 to more than 3.0 million people in 2041, according to the reference scenario. For the first time, the Black population would be larger than the Indigenous population in Canada, as well as the population belonging to the Chinese group.

Although they form smaller populations, Western Asians and Arabs are the racialized groups that would grow the fastest, with an average annual growth rate over the period from 2016 to 2041 that could range between 3.8% and 5.2% and between 3.7% and 5.1%, respectively.

In 2041, four out of five Torontonians will be foreign-born or born to immigrant parents. The Greater Toronto Area would continue to be the country's most populous metropolitan area and the home of the largest number of immigrants. Among the racialized population, the South Asian group would continue to be the largest. Depending on the projection scenario, this racialized group could number between 2.3 million and 3.2 million, up from one million

in 2016. The South Asian group alone would account for 38.6% of Toronto's total racialized population in 2041, according to the reference scenario.

Although most immigrants will assimilate nicely into Canada, some will not. Last summer the National Post printed this story – they said an internal audit of the Immigration National Security Screening Program found that immigration officials ultimately approved temporary or permanent residency, or refugee applications for forty-six per cent of the more than seven thousand cases where the Canadian Border Security Agency (CBSA) recommended against applicants being allowed into the country.

“That is super-concerning. It means that there is a disconnect between the partner agencies engaged in the processing of foreign nationals seeking entry into Canada. It is alarming,” said criminologist and former longtime border services officer Kelly Sundberg. The data are contained in an internal audit quietly published earlier this year by the CBSA, which was to assess the effectiveness and efficiency of the country’s Immigration National Security Screening Program between 2014 and 2019.

The program is run by CBSA’s national security screening division, often in collaboration with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). Its goal is to “prevent inadmissible foreign nationals or permanent residents from entering or remaining in Canada,” according to the audit. To do so, security screeners review temporary or permanent residence applications or refugee claims flagged by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) as posing a potential security risk.

Screeners then assess the potential inadmissibility of applicants under sections of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act that deal with serious

crimes such as espionage, terrorism, crimes against humanity, or organized criminality, and then submit a recommendation to IRCC officers....

These are just two of the reasons that have contributed to the fragmentation of Canada, other explanations include: special interest groups that are against progress; over the top hysteria regarding climate change; governments spending of billions of taxpayers dollars on frivolous things in order to get the populace to vote for them; the rise and fall of the Idle No More movement; a few university and Ontario elitists who believe they know what is best for Canada; Review Boards who have the legal jurisdiction over offenders that courts rule are unfit to stand trial and once let out continue to terrorize society; annoying so called pundits who constantly promote their leftist views through the media and the disintegration of the old Canadian media and the rise of the left leaning new (social) media.

Rex Murphy in a NP story published a few years ago asked where in a Confederation does the power lie for a national government to target the central economic concerns of certain provinces. Does it have the authority? And, if indeed it does have the authority, a question not nearly as clear as the Liberal government believes or presumes, is whether it has the moral and political rights to exercise that authority? Just because something can be done is never the same as it should be done.

I refer to the Trudeau government's vast and sweeping announcements that flow with its so-greatly touted climate agenda. Mandates, regulations, ministerial decrees, invasions into the practices of various industries, what look to be arbitrary impingements on provincial jurisdictions — they just seem to happen.

And if the claim is made — as it always is — that such and such a declaration or edict “will reduce emissions,” that, from the Liberals’ point of view, is it.

But are they all a legitimate exercise of government power? And if — I seriously doubt — they are legitimate, the more serious question is: Are they wise? Do they help or hurt the Confederation? And if so — I repeat, a dubious and I think an untested assumption — are they nonetheless an unjustified walk-over of citizens’ and provincial rights and privileges?

Take a very trivial example. That pathetic white plastic cutlery you get at every takeout — is it a world hazard? Must be so. One-time Greenpeace protest performer, now a cabinet minister in the Canadian federal government, Steven Guilbeault, has declared it is being banned. Who gave Guilbeault this fastidious latitude? You don’t oversee his utensils. Why has he leave to choose yours?

It may be a small point, but it is a big question. What does a national government have to do with the private use of plastic forks? Has it no other business to attend to? And — I know this is a useless question — was this petty and precious ruling ever debated? Did Guilbeault raise his hand in cabinet and introduce the topic? Was Jagmeet Singh, the Liberals’ NDP comforter, consulted?

That’s the small stuff, but don’t dismiss it. There may come a time when bringing plastic knives and forks into Canada may be a smuggling offence. And caught for such, you may not get bail. Now on to the much bigger stuff. Out of the great, stuffy, infertile Ottawa bubble recently came the edict that farmers must cut down on emissions from fertilizer, which means cutting down on fertilizer. After which debate? By what power?

What is the legal or constitutional status of this decree? I already know there was no prior consultation with western premiers or their agricultural

ministers. It came as a fixed target, not up for discussion. It was a federal order. Can a national government tell its citizens how they should farm, decide on their fertilizer requirements, potentially savaging the occupations and lives of those people? May I throw in the most rhetorical of rhetorical questions. Did Guilbeault, or Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland, or Prime Minister Justin Trudeau himself, convene meetings with actual farmers and their families before bringing in these measures?

Did any or all of them — via government jet, Pearson is such a bore these days — drop into Weyburn or Red Deer or — this is the real challenge — Fort McMurray, to ask the people whose lives and jobs are at stake under this fixation with the Trudeau brand of “climate action,” what they might have to say? Did they test their “law” with the people who must live with it? The question is its own answer.

As always, I must ask — and I know people do not like to be reminded of this question — whether, if farming were as important in Quebec as it is in Saskatchewan, a Trudeau government would issue, arbitrarily, the same mandate? If Ontario was the oil province of Canada, would there not be pipelines going in every direction of the compass?

Which leads me to another point. We are in a two-tier Confederation. Perhaps even a three-tier one. Quebec is a solidly protected singular independent-in-all-but-name entity. It is as close to being a sovereign nation as one can be while still wearing provincial brocade.

Ontario with its population and wealth, and being the centre of finance, communications, and parliamentary seats, is a king among barons. The Atlantic provinces — a mere addendum, worth a fly-by but essentially, each on their own,

without real force or voice in the Confederation. And British Columbia, sometimes a player, more often a spectator of Ottawa's distant machinations.

Back to the central point. Where in a Confederation does the power lie for a national government to target, assault and injure the central economic concerns of certain provinces on a say-so? These edicts, measures, bans — call them what you will — keep coming down, as if such great national issues merely require, to take effect, a photo-op besides some tree, with a cluster of nodding ministers behind the PM. And we're supposed to accept them. Outpost provinces, the second-tier group, must bend to the central voice.

Nothing is too small, and nothing is too consequential, to slip by the ministrations of this hard-green government. It can't fix what is in its remit, from airports to boil-water advisories to the issuing of passports. Yet it plans to fix the world. It is a grievous folly - COVID inured us to be obedient to voices on high - Green alarmists insist we do.

To which I offer an axiom: Great ambitions are the most powerful seduction: the idea you are saving the planet allows full excuse to what you think you can do, but over which you have no command whatsoever. Our country, under this imperative mindset, is unwittingly toying with its own fragmentation.

Murphy's eloquent piece (and remember he was with CBC for over two decades) kind of says it all – wouldn't you say.

Sources for this chapter include dailyhive.com, Council on Foreign Relations and Christopher Nardi and Rex Murphy in the National Post

Chapter Seven

Demise of Canada (Part 2)

In brief, 20th-century political structures are drowning in a 21st-century ocean of deregulated finance, autonomous technology, religious militancy, and great-power rivalry. Meanwhile, the suppressed consequences of 20th-century recklessness in the once-colonised world are erupting, cracking nations into fragments and forcing populations into post-national solidarities: roving tribal militias, ethnic and religious sub-states, and super-states. Finally, the old superpowers' demolition of old ideas of international society – ideas of the “society of nations” that were essential to the way the new world order was envisioned after 1918 – has turned the nation-state system into a lawless gangland; and this is now producing a nihilistic backlash from the ones who have been most terrorised and despoiled. (Rana Dasgupta – Guardian)

Before this chapter delves into what, who and why the reasons for the fragmentation of Canada, it should be noted that nations, including Canada, should not leap too quickly into rebuilding their systems. All countries in general have done almost nothing to deliver human safekeeping and self-respect - in fact Canada in particular - has been a colossal failure, so rebuilding should be done slowly and methodically.

There are good reasons why Canada is ageing so much more quickly than old empires like England and France. This country tried (and with a bit of success) to step up to the plate and replace the old guard, but was it too much, too soon and the new guard in many cases was worse than the previous regime? Even if Canada

wanted to re-establish what they once had, that moment is gone. The reason the nation state was able to deliver what achievements it did – and in some places they were spectacular – was that there was, for much of the 20th century, an authentic “fit” between politics, economy, and information, all of which were organised at a national scale. National governments possessed actual powers to manage modern economic and ideological energies, and to turn them towards human – sometimes almost utopian – ends. But that era is over. After so many decades of globalisation, economics, and information, we have successfully grown beyond the authority of national governments. Today, the distribution of planetary wealth and resources is largely uncontested by any political mechanism.

There is every reason to believe that the next stage of the techno-financial revolution will be even more disastrous for national political authority. This will arise as the natural continuation of existing technological processes, which promise new, algorithmic kinds of governance to further undermine the political variety. Big data companies (Google, Facebook etc.) have already assumed many functions previously associated with the state, from cartography to surveillance. Now they are the primary gatekeepers of social reality: membership of these systems is a new, corporate, de-territorialised form of citizenship, antagonistic at every level to the national kind. And, as the growth of digital currencies shows, new technologies will emerge to replace the other fundamental functions of the nation state. The libertarian dream – whereby antique bureaucracies succumb to pristine hi-tech corporate systems, which then take over the management of all life and resources – is a more likely vision for the future than any fantasy of a return to social democracy.

There is increasing recognition of the emergence of new and pernicious interest groups which have influence on policy making and how they are distorting and helping in the demise of Canada. They would like to help the Liberal (and its ally, the NDP) government understand better their take on the country including the nature and scenarios under which these interest groups emerge. The end game is about trying to take over and remake the country according to their agenda.

Interest groups in themselves are associations of individuals or organizations that based on one or more shared concerns, attempts to influence public policy in its favour usually by lobbying members of the government. Interest groups influence on policy making is not a corrupt or illegitimate activity per se, but a key element of the decision-making process. However, disproportionate, and opaque interest group influence may lead to administrative corruption, undue influence, and state capture, favouring particular interest groups at the expense of public interest. Transparency is thus key to ensure that policymakers do not give preferential treatment for specific interest groups.

In Canada there are many organizations that fall under the umbrella of the special interest groups. To name just a fraction, foundations, anti logging, fishing, mining and fossil fuel factions, climate change groups, petroleum producers, Canadian bankers, cattlemen's association, society for protection of animals including PETA, abortion rights and anti-abortion rights, civil rights organizations, LGBT advocacy groups, Ancient Forest Alliance, councils for refugees, civil liberties associations, MADD Canada, citizens coalitions, Sikh organizations, and hundreds if not thousands more. Most, if not all, are a benefit to Canadian society but just the same, in one way or another some have contributed to a Canada that no

longer seems to be on top of her game. Pressure groups can be called political elites and not knowingly they undermine the democratic process, and this can lead to fractures in Canadian society.

Spending of taxpayers' dollars on frivolous (not needed and not wanted) things by federal and provincial leaders is also helping to bring about Canada's downfall – debt wise. The 'growing debt burden 2023' according to the Fraser Institute said that budget deficits and increasing debt have become serious fiscal challenges facing the federal and many provincial governments recently. Since 2007/08, combined federal and provincial net debt (inflation-adjusted) has roughly doubled from \$1.1 trillion to a projected \$2.1 trillion in 2022/23.

Between 2019/20 (the last year before COVID) and 2022/23, the combined federal-provincial debt-to-GDP ratio is expected to grow from 65.7% to 74.6%. Moreover, the federal and provincial governments are on track to have collectively accumulated \$395.9 billion (inflation-adjusted) in total net debt between 2019/20 and 2022/23, an increase of 23.4%.

Among the provinces, Nova Scotia has the highest combined federal-provincial debt-to-GDP ratio (92.6%), while Alberta has the lowest (43.5%). Newfoundland & Labrador has the highest combined debt per person (\$64,579), closely followed by Ontario (\$59,773). In contrast, Alberta has the lowest debt per person in the country at \$42,915.

Interest payments are a major consequence of debt accumulation. Governments must make interest payments on their debt like households that must pay interest on borrowing related to mortgages, vehicles, or credit card spending. Revenues directed towards interest payments mean that in the future there will be less money available for tax cuts or government programs such as

health care, education, and social services. The federal and provincial governments must develop long-term plans to meaningfully address the growing debt problem in Canada (and it must be done immediately).

Canadian university elitists and media pundits, the ones that show up regularly on television political shows and in newspapers, seem to think that their views on the way Canada should work is the right and only way. In July 2023, AllSides Media Bias Rating for the Toronto Star suggested that they were left of center (surprise – not). AllSides also found that CBC news leans left and moderately aligns with liberal or left-wing thoughts and policy agendas. The Canadian media (right and left) has much to do with the fragmentation of Canada and who would have thought that forty years ago?

Canada and her demise (fragmentation) can also be summed up by its commitment, or should we say, lack of, to NATO. Tasha Kheiriddin a principal with Navigator Ltd. (Navigators website says that they are a team of experienced professionals with backgrounds in public affairs, public opinion research, journalism, marketing, law, government relations, and politics. Their passion and expertise lead to creative insights and fresh perspectives. Together, they can offer clients integrated solutions based on sound research and in-depth analysis that explores issues in new ways). She is also an author and wrote this interesting piece in which she stated - Prime Minister Justin Trudeau finally announced this past July that Canada will supply 1,200 troops to the mission at a cost of \$2.6 billion over three years. Canada will join forces with other NATO members who are also putting boots on the ground in the former Soviet Bloc country.

“This is the way forward in modern defence,” Trudeau told reporters in Latvia. “Almost a dozen countries from across NATO are co-operating, training

and working alongside each other and learning valuable lessons from each other that make our collective defence stronger.” It's great to see the PM getting the message — but Canada is still terribly late to the party. We won't completely fulfil the Latvia commitment until 2026. This also means that Canada's peacekeeping efforts in other parts of the world, such as Haiti, will be curtailed. After years of neglect, our military simply doesn't have the troop strength to provide support in all the places where it is sorely needed.

So why is Trudeau finally getting Canada's act together on NATO? In a word, pressure. In May of this year, NATO secretary general Jens Stoltenberg said that NATO members will be expected to meet the two per cent target. The statement came after a leaked document revealed Trudeau privately told our allies that Canada will never be able to meet that obligation. The revelation earned him criticism for the impact this would have on our relationship with our NATO partners, in particular the U.S. This isn't the first time the Americans have been peeved with Canada's military intransigence. Back in 2019, then-president Donald Trump cheekily asked Trudeau “What's your number?” regarding how close Canada came to meeting NATO's two per cent target on defence spending. The answer, at the time, was a miserable 1.39 per cent. (Last year, Canada scored even lower, at 1.29 per cent.)

NATO's criticism of Canada's defence debacle is reminiscent of the actions of another international organization back in the 1990s. At that time, it was the International Monetary Fund that took Canada to the woodshed over our nation's stratospheric debt levels. Bond rating agencies downgraded our credit rating. prime minister Jean Chretien got the message, and austerity became the word of

the day. Finance Minister Paul Martin slashed budgets and slew the deficit, mostly on the backs of the provinces, who were none too happy about it.

But it was a necessary move, one that set Canada on a firm economic footing and finally made debt a dirty word in the country. That is, until Trudeau rehabilitated the term in 2015, blithely declaring that “the budget will balance itself” — something it hasn't done, ever since. When it comes to NATO, however,

the stakes aren't just about Canada. Geopolitics is calling the tune for all nations, as the U.S., Russia and China engage in both hot and cold conflicts over land, trade, and influence. Cyberwarfare and disinformation campaigns mean that battles are fought not just on the ground, but online. The world is witnessing a titanic struggle between democracy and autocracy — an all-hands-on deck moment where no nation in the free world can afford to be complacent.

NATO isn't perfect. It has come in for criticism from Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelenskyy for dithering on the admission of Ukraine. Nevertheless, it's still the best defence Canada has against those who would seek to harm us, and our allies. It's great that Trudeau finally got the message. But he still needs to up our game.

In a scathing op-ed, in the summer of 2023, The Wall Street Journal took aim at Canada's lack of defence spending and its missed NATO targets. Despite agreeing in 2014 to dedicate two per cent of the nation's GDP toward defence by 2024, Canada is currently contributing 1.38 per cent. The federal government has forecasted that will increase to 1.43 per cent by fiscal year 2024-25.

According to WSJ, Canada ranks sixth from NATO's bottom in spending on defence as a share of GDP and its spending on military equipment is seventh lowest. Noting Canada's contributions to the Allied effort in Second World War,

The Wall Street Journal Editorial Board writes that “somewhere along the way (Canada) began to think of its membership as largely a place to rub shoulders with global powers and a platform for making moral pronouncements.”

In July of 2023, while speaking at a news conference in Latvia, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said Canada opposes the use of cluster munitions, weapons that are currently en route to Ukraine as part of the latest military aid package from the U.S. Trudeau highlighted Canada’s commitment to the 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions, an international treaty which prohibits the use of the weapons and has been ratified by more than one-hundred countries but does not include the U.S. or Ukraine.

Sending cluster bombs to Ukraine was a “difficult decision” according to President Joe Biden’s national security adviser Jake Sullivan. “It’s a decision we deferred. It’s a decision that required a real, hard look at the potential harm to civilians,” Sullivan said in a press briefing. He added that “the story of this counteroffensive is far from written, and we will continue to support Ukraine along the way.”

For its part, the WSJ op-ed noted that while Ottawa could find its voice to speak out against cluster munitions, “asking its citizens to meet their actual obligations to the cause of freedom is apparently too much to ask.” The matter of defence spending was top of mind at the recently concluded 2023 NATO Vilnius summit, where much of the focus was on Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. Several countries are reportedly now willing to go beyond that 2 per cent spending target, but Canada does not appear to be among them.

“Three per cent is what Latvian government has agreed as target for 2027,” Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs said in a text message to Politico earlier

this week, noting he would advocate for a minimum spending target of 2.5 per cent. “But before that everyone at NATO should reach [the] agreed target,” he added.

The WSJ op-ed also took aim at Trudeau’s 2021 mandate letter to Anita Anand, the Minister of National Defence of Canada at the time, referring to the letter as a “cultural manifesto.” In it, Trudeau said Anand’s immediate priorities were “to build an inclusive and diverse Defence Team, characterized by a healthy workplace free from harassment, discrimination, sexual misconduct and violence.”

Those priorities, important as they may be, don’t hold the same urgency on Ukraine’s front lines, the op-ed notes, while also highlighting Russia’s increasing naval activity in the Arctic. Writing that now is not the time to be shirking on defence spending, the op-ed notes that “Canada has also long been a free rider off the U.S. military, which it knows stands guard over North America.

“NATO needs members that keep their commitments, and the nations of the G-7 have an obligation to lead the way. If Canada doesn’t want to play that role, then the G-7 should consider a replacement. Poland, which now spends 3.9 (per cent) of GDP on defence, would be a candidate,” it concludes.

In a 1994 op-ed, the WSJ also turned a spotlight on Canada’s debt problem, referring to the country as “bankrupt” and “a basket case.” The op-ed has been credited with galvanizing public opinion and forcing the federal government to take action to reduce its spending programs.

“We were just mobbed by the media,” Don Drummond, who was in charge of the budget at the finance ministry at the time, told Reuters in 2011. “Here’s

some foreign institution that says Canada is a basket case. If we had had a Canadian agency downgrade us, nobody would have shown up.”

So, there it is, yet reasons for the fragmentation of Canada, one being perpetrated by our own government - the federal Liberal Party of Canada.

Sources for this chapter include the Guardian, U4 Expert Answer, J. Fuss - Fraser Institute, the Province newspaper, and the National Post.

Chapter Eight

The Good, Bad & Touch Ugly of Indigenous Nations

"It has been very trying for Indigenous populations to have their existence annulled—that's what the last one-hundred and fifty years have been.

The 150th anniversary must be marked by the fact that things must change. We must confront our colonial thinking and attitudes and redefine what Canadian-ness means. We must move beyond the false notion that Canada was founded by the French and the English, recognizing that we started off with the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, and have become a society that thrives on diversity and knows how to share resources fairly among everyone."

Karla Jessen Williamson (Inuk), June 2017.

Many Canadians assume that the Canadian motto "Peace, Order, and Good Government" stood for the practice of Canada's "Indian" policy. Instead, violence, disorder and mismanagement, and a colonizing government have characterized Indigenous peoples' experiences with the state, at least, according to First Nations communities themselves.

Today thankfully Indigenous Nations are starting to get it and are finally grabbing at the bit, in part because large corporations, mostly due to the courts, now need them involved - they are getting immersed financially in major land, transmission and water projects in Canada.

A story in Postmedia in the summer of 2023 talked about what was happening. An expert from the article said.... "it is important to realize that resources have been extracted from traditional lands for generations and society

has benefited from that extraction. Most times, Indigenous communities have been excluded from the benefits that are associated with that resource extraction. It is fitting that Indigenous communities take ownership of the assets in their traditional territories,” said Justin Bourque, president of Athabasca Indigenous Investments (All) and a member of the Willow Lake Métis Nation, one of All's twenty-three member nations.

“As we move into a time of keen focus on reconciliation with the Indigenous peoples across Canada, this is one lever to provide capacity, to provide substantive resources to the communities, to help their development and help in the inclusion of those communities in resource development going forward.”

Becoming business partners with utility and energy companies also ensures Indigenous communities have input into the design and planning of upcoming projects before they even get underway — a critical element of the projects getting approved in the first place.

While equity partnerships are becoming more popular, they are still relatively new. Everybody involved, both on the Indigenous side and on the corporate side, are still trying to figure out how to make them work. Hydro One CEO David Lebeter said that learning how to manage the partnerships is a leadership priority. “The business change management aspect is helping our team understand that we have a partner, being supportive of the team when that is necessary, and being supportive of the partner when that's necessary. The entire executive team, me included, are more involved now because we are trying to learn a different way of working, so it takes a bit more effort and we have to lead by example,” Lebeter said.

The utilities and energy companies that are offering equity partnerships in their projects say it is only one small part in their reconciliation efforts.

Employment training, hiring Indigenous contractors and investing in Indigenous communities are also part of that process. For example, Kim Brenneis, director of community and Indigenous engagement for Enbridge explained the company has a twenty-two step Indigenous reconciliation action plan.

“Reconciliation is not anybody else's journey. It's Enbridge's journey ... We believe it's not only the right thing to do, but it also makes sense. It helps align interests and helps to provide a better relationship with nations that we already have relationships with, and it helps progress reconciliation.”

Another challenge is convincing members of the Indigenous communities themselves that these are worthwhile projects with trustworthy commercial partners. That was the case for Grand Chief Sky-Deer when presenting the project to her community.

“I had to say `we know Hydro Québec did us wrong in the past, but it's a new day. We've got to try to do things differently. It was a hard sell to my people because of what we've been through, but we've all got to have hope. And we've got to keep extending olive branches and try to build trust and try to build relations. (Equity partnerships) are uncharted territory, Deer adds. “We've never been in this position where people are coming to us now and saying `We're interested. We want to help your people. We know we want to change the relationship.....”

Stories like this are becoming the norm in Indigenous communities and this is good for Canada, but the native community also must take responsibility for assisting in the fragmentation of Canada. When they (natives) give back their

hereditary wisdom to Canada, all is good, but when they take and give little back in return to the Canadian nation, then that it can be ugly.

A comprehensive public opinion survey on Indigenous issues six years ago uncovered deep fractures over key questions facing First Nations and the rest of Canada, suggesting the current government's promises of reconciliation may be as hard to deliver as ever. The findings of the nationwide survey from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute pointed to divergent yet entrenched attitudes on both symbolic and existential questions.

Fifty-three per cent surveyed said the country spends too much time apologizing for residential schools and it's time to move on (compared to forty-seven per cent who believe harm done by the schools continues and cannot be ignored); more than half of respondents said Indigenous people should have no special status that other Canadians don't have; the same proportion said Indigenous peoples would be better off if they integrated more into broader Canadian society, even if the cost is losing more of their traditions and culture. Such ideas are, to put it mildly, anathema to the future of many First Nations people—and the politicians who advocate on their behalf—envisage.

The wide-ranging survey polled 2,500 Canadians, and deliberately oversampled in regions with high Indigenous populations, only to uncover solitudes that the Johns household neatly encapsulates: sympathetic yet resolved; divided yet finding ways to co-exist. "This country is split down the middle on many of these questions," says pollster Angus Reid in an interview. "It tells me the perspective of Justin Trudeau and [Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs at that time] Carolyn Bennett on some of these issues is certainly not shared by a lot of Canadians."

Sheryl Lightfoot is not surprised to see a divided public opinion at this point regarding Indigenous issues. “Given the heightened attention to them since 2015, with the shift in government to the Liberals, I could see it enhancing that polarization because people will view it—depending on their perspectives—as either too much or too little,” says Lightfoot, who holds a Canada Research Chair in global Indigenous rights and politics at the University of British Columbia. “What we have got is a country that’s woefully uneducated on Indigenous history and issues. Or they are living it every day and are close to it. There is not a lot in the middle.”

A lack of contact, familiarity and exposure defines Canadian relations with First Nations issues in many ways—most importantly by relegating them to the bottom of the political agenda. For decades, politicians have shied away from debating Indigenous matters regarding public policy, says Ken Coates, senior fellow in Aboriginal and northern Canadian issues at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute. “There’s been an implicit assumption in the Canadian political process for decades that if you had parties say we should do more for Indigenous people, you’re not going to win many votes, so stay away from it.”

As such, the Trudeau government deserves credit for “moving ahead with something they feel is important,” Coates adds. But the fact that fully a third of Canadians polled feel Trudeau gives too much attention to Indigenous issues, compared to seventeen per cent who feel he gives too little, highlights a gap in how the country prioritizes this relationship. (The rest are divided, saying either Trudeau gives them the right amount of attention, or they are unsure.) “So long as you have a public that doesn’t believe Indigenous issues are a big deal, or doesn’t understand their context, then those issues are going to persist,” says

Tunchai Redvers, co-founder of We Matter, a national support campaign for Indigenous youth.

Canadians are divided into four groups of roughly the same size on most questions: those who advocate for First Nations self-determination; those sympathetic to Indigenous people; those wary of Indigenous people asserting their priorities; and full-on hardliners who oppose special status and accommodation. “Western Canadians tend to be more hardliners,” Reid says. “Quebec has very liberal attitudes, but it’s also where we have the least likelihood of contact.”

Hardliners—a group that encompasses nearly a quarter of the sample—unanimously said Canada spends too much time apologizing for residential schools, and almost unanimously felt Indigenous Canadians should have no special status, while eighty-five per cent of them said Indigenous people would be better off if they integrated into broader Canadian society. “The hardliners are not racist, but they don’t buy the idea of separate status,” Reid says. “I think what the hardliners are saying is they don’t think the answer to the issues confronting Indigenous communities is going to come through more spending, but it’s going to come through improved leadership in Indigenous communities and through a heavier emphasis on integration.”

If there is one thing respondents to the Angus Reid Institute survey agreed on, it’s that tax dollars meant to help First Nations people are generally failing to do so. Two out of three said government funds going toward Indigenous issues are ineffective—and a then new report from the auditor general’s office will hardly quell that pessimism. Among other things, it found that data on high school graduation rates on reserves left out students who dropped out prior to

Grade twelve, meaning the department overstated the graduation rate by twenty-two percentage points.

Similarly, Employment and Social Development Canada—despite thirty years of supporting Indigenous employment—did not collect data or measure whether its key skills development fund resulted in Indigenous people getting steady meaningful work. Back at Six Nations, Doug Johns credits Trudeau with good intentions, but asks, “How many terms will he get to serve before he gets any of that accomplished? It would take two or three terms to see anything really done.”

Canadians might not have that kind of patience. Indeed, the survey results raise the question of whether a politician might succeed by taking a hardline stance on Indigenous issues. No mainstream leader is running on an explicitly integrationist platform or argues the government should stop apologizing for residential schools. But Sen. Lynn Beyak published on her website letters of support from Canadians on these exact issues after she commented about the positive outcomes of residential schools. Her actions prompted Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer (at that time) to call some of the letters “simply racist” and booted Beyak from caucus for refusing to remove them. But other letters voiced opinions that, while taboo, have a discernible market.

As it stands, only a third of Canadians believe Indigenous communities should move toward greater independence and control over their own affairs, according to the survey, compared to two-thirds who feel First Nations communities should be governed by the same rules and systems as all Canadians. Kim Baird, former chief of the Tsawwassen First Nation in B.C., wonders whether Canada has attained a critical mass of people who grasp basic truths about

residential schools and the foundation of the country. “There needs to be more knowledge about the systemic reasons why reserves don’t look like other places, why they’re trapped in poverty, why there’s a lack of resources and infrastructure. It’s such a complex story to unpack. I think the residential school story is a good starting point.”

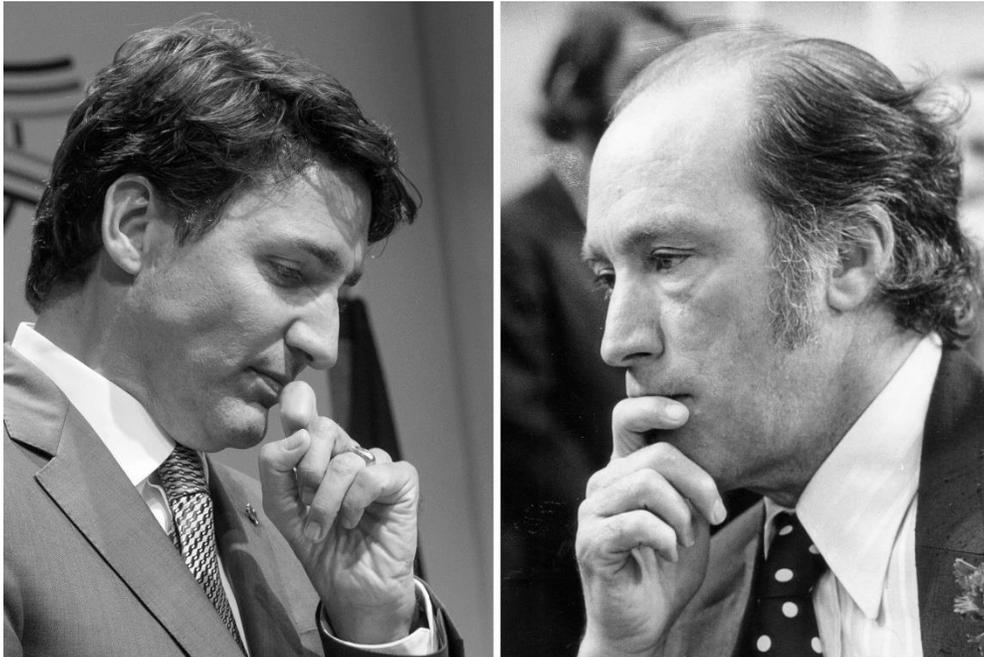
The Mohawk Institute, alas, will remain closed for a while, though visitors can take a virtual tour of the grounds. Before the work began, Doug Johns took his own kids through the school’s deserted corridors. He showed them where he ate, where he slept and the visitors’ room, where he got the whip for his attempted escapes. He recalls new students getting beaten for not speaking English; because of the language barrier, they could not understand why they were being punished. He remembers it being a “terrible place,” with fights often erupting on the grounds. “The whole idea of residential schools was to kill the Indian and save the child,” he says. “A lot of non-Native people aren’t aware of that, so I want them to restore the institute so people can see it.”

Everywhere one looks in Canada lately, Anglo-Saxon names of streets, places, areas, parks, and institutions are changing their names to what the Indigenous people prefer and, in their language, not English or French. This could also be considered as yet another breakdown of Canada’s history and identity – it is a loss of a way of life, a shredding of the nations past and may be another contributor to Canada’s demise. A small taste of fragmentation took to fermentation with the Idle No More movement. This was a movement by Indigenous people, for Indigenous people with very little thought on how it might divide Canada even more.

Sources for this chapter include Carolyn Gruske, OSU.EDU, Aaron Hutchins-Macleans



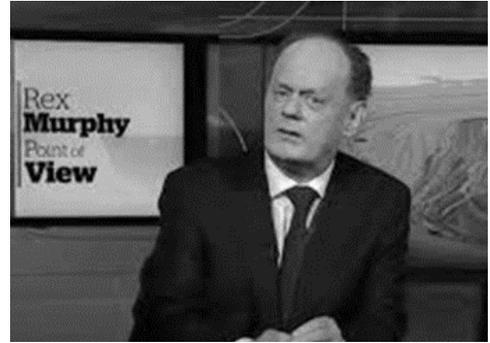
They helped their cause, all right, but did Canada's Indigenous community through, 'Idle No More', contribute to Canadian fragmentation?



Could these two (Justin & Pierre Elliott Trudeau) be the number one instigator in the demise of Canada?
(pic courtesy of Macleans)



*Paul Martin, the ultimate
great middle of the road
Liberal leader.
(pic courtesy Wikipedia)*



*Rex Murphy may be Canada's
most competent and
conscientious journalist ever –
and was he the last of the
unbiased reporters at CBC.
(pic courtesy of The Narwhal)*



*Could Pierre Poilievre be Canada's saviour? Only time will tell.
(pic courtesy McLeans.ca)*

Chapter Nine

East & West Has Been Broken For Good

Canada has always been fragmented between the east and west.

Western Canada was not settled from Eastern Canada, it was settled by Northern or Eastern European immigrants directly from Europe or the United States. Most of the settlers saw Eastern Canada only as a blur from their train windows – if they saw it at all. (Quora)

A few years ago, Loleen Berdahl presented this essay through the Centre of Excellence on the Canadian Federation – this is how she saw it ... Canada is a perplexing country. It sits high on many “world’s best” lists, and Canadians enjoy wide-ranging personal freedoms, a high quality of life, economic prosperity, and the sheer physical beauty of a diverse landscape. At the same time, it has since its start struggled with seemingly intractable regional conflict. At best, regional conflict exists as a dormant undercurrent to most forms of political debate. At worst, it impairs governance and weakens Canada’s sense of common national purpose and aspiration in an increasingly competitive global environment.

I (Berdahl) have been studying and writing about a particular dimension of Canada’s regional conflict — western alienation — for over two decades. Over that time, I have observed it rise, fall, and rise again. I have seen its political expression tied to aspirations to strengthen Canada (“the west wants in”) and to tear Canada apart (“Wexit”). I have watched it withstand economic booms,

recessions, and a global pandemic. Its persistence, I believe, speaks to its structural roots within the Canadian federation.

Although a study of western alienation can stand on its own merit given the importance of western Canada in the national economy and society, I focus on it because I believe that understanding the issue sheds important light on conflict and unity in Canada overall. Western Canada is only one example of Canadian regional conflict, as anyone familiar with Quebec or Atlantic Canadian politics knows. Exploring western alienation allows us to delve into the features of the Canadian federation that exacerbate regional conflict in our vast and diverse country.

Regional conflict is rarely the most urgent concern, but it is perhaps the most perennial. It seems to be baked into Canada's political system, and regional concerns are often prioritized over those relating to, for example, class, gender, race, ethnicity, or ideology. Regional conflict gets in the way of dealing with other matters, and, more important, it presents a threat to the country.

The political sentiment of exploitation and frustration emerging from some or all the four western provinces has a long history. Western alienation did not start with Justin Trudeau or pipelines, nor did it start with the constitutional debates of the 1980s that led to the founding of the Reform Party of Canada. It predates the infamous National Energy Program, Pierre Trudeau, Quebec's Quiet Revolution, the Great Depression, and even the establishment of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The history of western alienation is part of the history of Canada and has its roots in the early years of the country.

Canada at the outset was defined from the standpoint of Ontario and Quebec. This is understandable: at the time of Confederation, these two central

Canadian provinces were home to much of the population (in the first national census in 1871, eight out of ten Canadians lived in Ontario or Quebec), to the emerging industrial economy, to the new country's financial institutions, and to the headquarters of the major corporations and transportation systems. Meanwhile, the Maritime provinces saw their power and influence diminish as the central colossus grew, bolstered by its proximity to American population centres. At the time of Canada's founding and throughout its early decades, central Canada was not just the centre — it practically was Canada.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the dominant understanding of Canada — what it means to be Canadian, what and who we are as a country — was defined in central Canadian terms. Values and issues important to post-Confederation Ontario and –Quebec — the French-English compact, anti-Americanism, pragmatic elitism — were championed as pan-Canadian values that defined the national political culture.

As Canada moved into the 20th century its population and economic patterns shifted, as the west exploded with new growth. Yet this central Canadian vision and its accompanying values never found a comfortable home in the frontier west, whose small francophone populations were swamped by a sea of English-speaking residents, and where French-English biculturalism was less of a priority amid the sprawling diversity of European settler populations.

The interests of the industrial centre often conflicted with and overrode those of the agrarian prairies. And the Canada-US border was merely a geographic line, instead of a historically war-torn battleground. The experiences and challenges of the west were different from those of the central Canada, and western alienation, as we now call it, found expression in complaints about

economic exploitation and unfair representation. How these complaints were expressed shifted over the decades (through new federal political parties; emboldened premiers; weakly supported separatist movements; and calls for policy, institutional and constitutional changes), but the core complaints remained largely the same.

Over time, I have come to see western alienation as a geography-based reaction to this focus on the central Canadian narrative — one of many possible — as the dominant national narrative. In voicing their discontent, western Canadians express concerns that go beyond policy issues and time-bound political events, to a more fundamental critique of this dominant narrative. Western alienation is a critical response to the –centre-periphery dynamics of Canadian politics. Western Canadians, then and now, chafe at being treated as peripheral in their own country and have used various strategies in their attempt to redress their treatment.

Western alienation is, in short, an effort to de-centre Canada. It presents an alternative understanding of Canada in contrast to the dominant (1867 central Canadian) standpoint. It calls attention to how Canada, in theory and practice, privileges central Canadian interests and worldviews over those of others and demands change.

The persistence of western alienation, I believe, reflects the resilience of the 1867 vision of Canada. This vision has endured as time has moved on and conditions have changed. And while western Canada's population has grown, central Canada is still the centre, home of 6 out of 10 Canadians. The national image established at Confederation remains — and as a result, the western Canadian reaction to this arrangement also persists.

While I study regional division in Canada from the vantage point of western Canada, it must be stressed that regional discontent — that is, the belief that one's place of residence experiences unfair economic treatment, unfair political treatment, and a lack of respect within Canada — is by no means limited to the west, nor is it expressed uniformly in the west. Historically across the country, discontent is seen in three regions: the west (particularly Alberta and Saskatchewan), Quebec, and Atlantic Canada (particularly Newfoundland and Labrador). Discontent isn't always defined by provincial boundaries, and northern Ontario's alienation from the rest of the province is one instance of this. Stated more simply, regional discontent has been found pretty much throughout the country at one time or another, except southern Ontario.

The fact that regional discontent has endured for more than a century suggests that it is durable and will not be easily uprooted. Indeed, while discontent in Alberta has decreased somewhat since the pandemic began in Canada in March 2020, it remains high. Its persistence points to fault lines within our federation, fault lines that I believe go back to patterns created and sustained by a Canada centred on one standpoint — central Canada circa 1867. The challenge, as I see it, is to find a way to a new Canada that truly accommodates multiple standpoints, visions, and understandings.

Canada is, has been, and arguably always will be a country defined by compromise rather than grand principles. And compromises must be continually renegotiated. How, in a transformed post-Covid-19 world marked by profound domestic and global change, might the Canadian federation evolve to better reflect present realities, meet future challenges, and avoid reinforcing historical legacies of regional conflict and alienation?

Because western alienation specifically (and regional discontent more generally) is more than a catalogue of sporadic policy grievances, ameliorating it requires looking beyond a quick-fix policy response. At its core, western alienation is not a policy issue and will not be solved with policy responses alone. Federal-provincial disputes about pipelines, pension plans, agriculture and equalization are very real, but they are also symptoms of a deeper cultural malaise. Addressing discontent requires approaches that confront perceptions of unfair economic treatment, unfair political treatment, and a lack of respect within Canada. The word “perceptions” must be stressed here. For these reasons, my recommendations focus on how Canada functions as a country.

Here are two steps I recommend the federal government takes to start in this direction. Public understanding of the equalization system, and of fiscal federalism more broadly, is imperfect at best. What’s more, equalization has become highly politicized and strongly tied to regional discontent, particularly in Alberta. Addressing the politicization of equalization is a necessary first step to addressing perceptions of unfair economic treatment. To do this, Canada should return to seeking arms-length expert advice.

In 2005, the Liberal government of Paul Martin appointed an expert panel to make recommendations on equalization. This expert panel recommended an equalization formula, which the Conservative government of Stephen Harper adopted and put into place in the 2007-08 fiscal year. The Conservatives adapted the formula in 2009, and since then it has not changed significantly, despite two renewal processes (in 2014, under the Harper government, and in 2018, under the Liberal government of Justin Trudeau).

James Feehan argues, “The federal government’s quiet renewal of the equalization formula in 2018 was a missed opportunity. The lead-up to the 2019-24 renewal was a chance to receive feedback and advice from the provinces, policy experts and concerned citizens and groups, and an opportunity to act on that advice.” I agree with this sentiment and take it further: in both 2014 and 2018 the government missed an opportunity to re-establish an arms-length expert panel to obtain that public feedback and to provide that advice. A nonpartisan, regionally representative expert panel would help to ensure a balance of regional interests and would be an important step in “decentring” the current system.

I recommend the Government of Canada establish a permanent, regionally representative, nonpartisan expert panel on equalization. Improving federal tools would increase the system’s capacity to act and be seen to act based on fairness rather than political expediency. In the longer term, the panel could engage in consultations to inform its recommendations for the next equalization formula renewal. While this may be insufficient on its own to fully address perceptions of regional economic unfairness, it would go a long way to moving Canada in the right direction.

The federal government employs over 300,000 people: just over 230,000 works in core public administration (CPA) and just under 70,000 in separate agencies (e.g., Canada Revenue Agency, Canadian Food Inspection Agency, Parks Canada). In 2020, 46 percent of federal CPA employees — the bulk of whom are skilled knowledge workers — were in the National Capital Region; this is up from thirty-three percent in 1995 and forty-three percent in 2006.

Are Canada’s policy-focused knowledge jobs so heavily concentrated in Ottawa-Gatineau in the country’s best interest? Other countries, including Norway, South Korea, Denmark, Mexico, and Malaysia, began shifting public service work out of their national capitals prior to Covid-19; since the pandemic, the United Kingdom has begun to do the same. It is time for Canada to find opportunities to decentralize its CPA workforce, and not just for service-focused activities. There are numerous benefits to doing so, one benefit is it would increase skilled knowledge and bilingual employment opportunities across Canada. Establishing a strong federal employment presence across Canada thus has the potential to buttress provincial economies.

Economic impacts aside, I believe that “getting Ottawa out of Ottawa” would go a long way toward reducing regional discontent. The decentralizing of federal offices and the associated employment would provide a more public face for the Government of Canada across the country. It would ensure that provincial perspectives and voices are heard within the federal public service and contribute to a move away from the unconscious assumption that central Canadian and Canadian perspectives are one and the same. If there are not enough bilingual workforces available, then that would be a powerful incentive to invest in local language training and opportunities.

There is also reason to believe it would be politically popular: according to the 2021 Confederation of Tomorrow survey, over seven in ten Canadians supported “moving more government offices from Ottawa to other cities in the country so that more Canadians would have access to jobs in the federal public service,” with at least three out of ten Canadians in all provinces except Ontario strongly supporting this.

The issue of federal office location may garner growing attention. The Alberta Fair Deal Panel report includes the recommendation to “secure fairer representation of the Federal civil service and federal offices in western Canada” (noting, for example, that Parks Canada’s headquarters would be more appropriately located in the western provinces, given the proportion of national parks located there), and the City of Regina is currently bidding to be the location of the new Canada Water Agency.

The Covid-19 pandemic has meant that many CPA employees are working from their home offices. The Government of Canada can learn from the national experience with remote work to expand its presence across the country. At the very least, it is an idea that should be pilot tested.

Embedded in much of the commentary on the Covid-19 crisis is the idea that the world will never be the same. However, Canadians have gone through several global disruptions of similar or even greater magnitude: the challenges of agricultural settlement, the First World War, the Great Depression, the Second World War, and the global financial crisis in the first decade of the 21st century, to name a few. Political institutions and political cultures have been remarkably resilient in the face of disruption. Bringing about true change is a formidable task.

The fact that western alienation has endured for more than a century means that we must recognize its persistence. While some might argue that discontent is simply a normal feature of Canadian federalism, it is neither a cost-free nor a desirable national characteristic. Further, in a period of growing global political polarization, there are risks to ignoring discontent.

If one wants to understand Canada, one must acknowledge that regional disputes are situated in our different understanding of Canada. Without this

starting point, we will simply have the same debates in perpetuity, and the costs to Canada may continue to grow.

The Western provinces have long felt that their interests did not align with those of Eastern Canada, particularly when viewed through the lens of natural resource extraction, timber and lumber, prairie farming and especially oil and gas. A disproportionate amount of GDP wealth is generated by the Western provinces, while the Eastern provinces siphon the revenue. The disconnect between Eastern and Western Canada started in the 1970s under the government of then-Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, via his then-famous National Energy Program. Subsequently, Justin Trudeau's government has been slow to bring much-needed pipeline capacity online.

At the same time, Western Canada oil sands production has been vilified – often by its Eastern beneficiaries – while its contributions to addressing climate change, via cleaner extraction methods and extensive investment in natural habitat reclamation, have been minimized. Canada's oil sands created only 0.15% of total global emissions in 2016. Western Canadians are therefore justified in seeking strong political protection for their continued extraction to protect the jobs in the field.

Western Canadians' discontent started in the 1970s under the government of then-Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and his National Energy Program (NEP). The NEP's key element was double taxation which redistributed the oil revenue from the West to the East through equalization and tax payments. Many people in the West pushed back against the program because they felt that it was designed to strip the Western provinces of their natural wealth.

These concerns were compounded after the 2015 election of Justin Trudeau as Prime Minister. Many in Western Canada felt that the severity of the pipeline delays was not being taken seriously by a federal government that was distant and removed from the problems of Western Canadians. Because of the delays, in the fall of 2018, Western Canadian Select (WCS) — the main oil grade produced in Western Canada — fell dramatically in price compared to its American equivalent grade. This has had a negative impact on the Western provincial economies that are heavily reliant on oil and gas.

While significant progress has been made on the pipelines recently, the recent re-election of a Trudeau minority government — one that relies on parties opposed to the oil and gas sector to pass legislation — has renewed fears of further delays and brought old grievances to the forefront.

In 2019 Angus Reid Institute published this paper - The concept of “Western Canada” may be one born of geography and history, but where does it start and end? How much do Canada’s four most western provinces have in common? What unites and divides them? And what assumptions do eastern provinces make about the west?

The answers to these deceptively simple questions have been the subject of nearly a century of debate in this country, and new data from the Angus Reid Institute – part three of a four-part study on western identity and opinion – aims to add to the discussion. The poll finds a large majority of residents in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba – and a majority of Canadians, overall – inclined to believe “the west” is a unique region within Canada. That said, fewer than half of all Canadians can agree on a single definition of which provinces constitute “the west.”

This lack of consensus may reflect a larger truth: while Western Canada may be a “unique” region, it is far from a united one. The four western provinces have major disagreements on questions of politics and identity, with the rift between British Columbia and Alberta and the closeness between Alberta and Saskatchewan particularly notable. That said, the west is united by its belief that it is not treated fairly by the federal government, and a sense it is poorly represented by Canada’s national institutions.

Did Western Canada’s discontent with the East grow? Was it because of the Trudeau Liberals?

Courtesy of IRPP, Business Factors & Finance

Chapter Ten

A Broken Media Equals A Broken Canada

The word 'woke' was originally used to describe awareness of discrimination. According to the left-wing media it has now been adopted by figures on the political right to discredit policies and politicians they consider too progressive. North Americans started applying the term more broadly to make society more aware of other social issues, such as sexism, poverty and the challenges facing LGBTQ people. The word has since been seized by the center right to rebuke people or policies they see as too progressive; the word has gained some negative meaning on the left as well. The term "woke-washing," is used to describe the actions of people or organizations that try to convince others they care about certain issues. Fox News in the US was among the first media to use the word prominently but now some Canadian media use it as a show of conservative values and a put-down of left leaning policies of the Federal Government.

David Rozado is an associate professor at Otago University in New Zealand and Aaron Wudrick is Director of the Domestic Policy program at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute who last year drafted this story for the National Post. It reads as follows.... in recent years, traditional Canadian news media has undergone a great transition. A once-profitable business model, based on providing advertisers' access to a large, captive readership, was effectively destroyed by the internet.

New digital competitors sprung up, while social media evolved into both a conduit and a competitor.

At the same time, criticism of Canadian news media increased, with most surveys showing that it is suffering from a steep decline in public trust. The reasons for this decline are hotly contested, but one common critique has been a claim that the focus of many news media outlets has changed in recent years.

They decided to test this critique by undertaking a quantitative analysis — already used successfully to examine changes in American and British media — to look at changes in how Canadian news media used language. The results are published in their new Macdonald-Laurier Institute paper, “Northern Awakening: tracing the rise of social-justice and prejudice-denoting language in Canadian news media.”

In crafting a coherent, credible assessment of how Canadian media approach certain topics, they needed to be mindful that media outlets that have differing political leanings tend to use their own preferred terminology when examining a theme such as gender identity. Analyzing over six million news and opinion articles from fourteen major Canadian news outlets between 2000 to 2021, they found a dramatic rise, since 2010, in the prevalence of terms that signify distinct forms of prejudice in both English and French media from outlets across the political spectrum. Terms displaying the starkest increase in prominence between 2010 and 2021 are those relating to gender-identity prejudice, which saw a staggering 2,285 per cent increase. In contrast, terms referring to sexual orientation prejudice have mildly decreased in prevalence since their 2011 peak. Terms referring to sexism or Islamophobia peaked near the middle of the decade, while others, like racism or transphobia, seem to have

peaked later in the decade. Notably, references to antisemitism do not display a clear upwards post-2010 trend.

Several significant differences with U.S. news media are noteworthy. Contrary to their expectations, terms used in Canadian news media do not mirror America's. Indeed, Canadian news media preceded American media in its increasing interest in topics like sexual orientation or gender identity — and a topic like Islamophobia is three times more prevalent in Canadian news media than in the US.

In contrast, terms referring to anti-Semitism are much more apparent in American news media. The topic of racial prejudice follows similar dynamics in both countries, despite their different historical legacies. The dynamics of gender prejudice are remarkably similar until around 2016, at which point Canadian news media seem to have lost interest while American media interest became elevated. Interestingly, in the prominence of terms denoting prejudice they found very little difference between Canadian news media with English and French content.

Likewise, right- and left-leaning Canadian news media were relatively similar in the prominence of prejudice in their content. This contrasts sharply with both U.S. and British media, where left-leaning news outlets are more likely to mention prejudice than their right-leaning counterparts. Finally, American news media in recent years have begun emphasizing terminology often associated with social justice such as “slavery,” “whiteness,” “white privilege,” “gender pronouns,” “hate speech” or “bias,” and do so with an intensity not apparent in Canadian news media. Naturally, the question becomes: What happened? Since the analysis was observational in nature, we can only speculate. But we propose six catalysts to explain the post-2010 shift in Canadian news media.

First, Canada’s news media may simply be mirroring news media trends in America, even if this hypothesis is not fully consistent with the underlying data.

Second, societal prejudice may have increased in recent years and media coverage simply reflects this reality (although the evidence for this is mixed, and in some cases contradictory). Third, the trends documented here could be symptomatic of increasing public and institutional sensitivity to prejudice.

Fourth, there may be an increasing ideological skew among news media professionals, with some evidence showing that journalists are becoming increasingly and disproportionately left leaning (this is the direction that the author of this book sees). Fifth, this pattern could also be explained as cultural shifts, such as the rise of identity politics, especially victimhood identity.

And finally, news media may have financial incentives to use highly emotional language to maximize digital “click-throughs.” All these catalysts deserve further exploration. But the data is clear: Much of the Canadian news media really has gone woke....

Speaking of media, the CBC handed out more than sixteen million in bonuses to staff in 2022, according to documents obtained by the Canadian Taxpayers Federation. About two years ago, CBC management issued bonuses to 1,142 employees, for an average of \$14,056 per staffer and a total cost to taxpayers of \$16,052,148.

“Canadians are missing meals while many CBC staffers aren’t even missing bonuses,” said Franco Terrazzano, Federal Director of the CTF. “The CBC should stop handing out bonuses and stop taking so much money from taxpayers.”

In the eight years since Prime Minister Justin Trudeau came to power, the number of CBC staffers taking home an annual bonus has more than doubled,

rising from 546 in 2015 to 1,142 in 2022 – an increase of one-hundred and nine per cent.

The records also reveal that during the first nine months of the 2022-23 fiscal year, CBC management gave out \$12.5 million in pay raises to 6,262 employees, which represents roughly eighty per cent of its workforce. No CBC employee received a pay cut in 2022. Since 2015, CBC management has dished out almost \$185 million in bonuses and pay raises, for an average of twenty-three million per year. That includes eighty million in bonuses and raises since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

“Struggling taxpayers shouldn’t be paying for big bonuses at the CBC,” Terrazzano said. “If the CBC has enough money lying around to hand out millions in bonuses during a pandemic, then taxpayers shouldn’t be forced to fork over more.” In February, the CTF reported the number of CBC staff receiving six-figure annual salaries increased every year since 2015. There are now two-hundred and twenty more employees with a six-figure salary than before the pandemic.

As of the 2021-22 fiscal year, a total of nine-hundred and forty-nine CBC employees are making more than one-hundred thousand dollars annually, for a grand total of \$119.5 million. The overall cost of the CBC has also spiked since 2015, with its annual funding from taxpayers increasing by two-hundred and three million, per its annual reports.

In 2021 alone, the CBC cost taxpayers \$1.2 billion, including twenty-one million in “immediate operational support” to ensure its stability during the pandemic. The federal government’s recent fiscal update allocated an additional forty-two million “to help CBC/Radio-Canada recover from the pandemic,” according to the National Post. The CBC handed out a combined \$28.5 million in

bonuses and pay raises to staff in 2022, which represents about sixty-seven per cent of the latest influx of cash from the federal government.

And while the CBC continues to get its regular financial top-ups from the feds, much of the privately-owned media in Canada continues to struggle. Two summers ago, Postmedia Network Corporation, the largest newspaper chain in the country, announced a deep round of cuts to editorial staff, coming in at eleven per cent. Those cuts impacted nearly every Postmedia publication, including the National Post, the Vancouver Sun, and the Calgary Herald. In 2023 they continued with the blood letting. In 2022, Bell Media slashed more than two-hundred journalism and support jobs in radio and TV across Canada, a move that shuttered three radio stations in Hamilton, Vancouver and Winnipeg and close to the same amount of cuts in 2023. Also, in the fall of 2023 a mass layoff of more than six hundred people occurred at Metroland Media Group along with an announcement that they were putting an end to printing most of its seventy community newspapers. Meanwhile, over at CBC, their workforce has grown by 7.3 per cent since their buddy and comrade in arms, Trudeau came to power – all of course – getting much of their dollars from the pockets of the Canadian taxpayer.

According to the gospel of Friends of Canadian Broadcastings website (the other side of the story) in 1984, the new Mulroney Government slashed one-hundred million from the CBC's budget, a move that would cost the CBC many cherished programs and employees. By the end of that year, CBC had to fire some 1,150 people just to stay afloat. CBC is the one thread that ties Canadians together and helps us define who we are. Mulroney's cuts were unacceptable, un-Canadian even. They had to be resisted.

In February 1985, Ian Morrison convened a group of concerned citizens and prominent Canadians to fight back. They took out a two-page ad in the national edition of The Globe and Mail, containing an open letter to Prime Minister Mulroney, signed by twelve hundred people, each of whom had donated twenty dollars to cover the cost of the ad. It helped that The Globe's publisher gave us a deal. The two-page ad was unprecedented, and it caused quite a stir. But most importantly, it gave rise to an enduring national movement standing in defence of Canadian public broadcasting.

Friends grew from those initial twelve hundred supporters in 1985 to over three-hundred thousand today. With this steady base of support, Friends delivers innovative public policy research, maintains an active presence in Ottawa, and collaborates with supporters across the country to engage them in the effort to support for Canadian journalism and storytelling. We are honoured to amplify the voices of most Canadians who believe that Canadian stories are worth protecting, and who understand that the public broadcaster is key vehicle for telling these stories.

Social media has thrown centuries of Canadian law and tradition out the window. Facebook and YouTube regularly broadcast material that would land any Canadian company in court: hate, incitements to violence, death threats, terrorist recruiting material, child sexual abuse material, revenge porn – you name it. These companies insist that their self-serving “community standards”, which comply with American law, take precedence over Canadian law and the will of the Canadian people.

Canada needs to enforce its own laws, and its own values, online. Here is how we (friends of Canadian broadcasting) do it: Enforce existing laws.

Governments already have a lot of power to crack down on platforms that facilitate illegal activity, but they refuse to use it. That must change. If it is illegal offline, it's illegal online. Make platforms' Canadian executives personally liable for their company's conduct, with penalties including possible jail time. Change the law so that Canadian courts can block the flow of funds to repeat offenders. If you break the law, we should break your business continued 'friends of Canadian broadcasting'. We want Canadian laws and Canadian values to govern all media equally, ending Big Tech's impunity for breaking our laws.

Following more than three decades of hard work, the CBC is in a better position today than it has been for some time. We're taking advantage of this period of relative calm to demonstrate the need for a fully independent CBC board of directors, as is the international standard. And if the government of today or tomorrow takes aim at the pillars of our culture or democracy, we'll be ready to demonstrate just how much Canadians value these seminal institutions. Many forget that we're FRIENDS of Canadian Broadcasting, not just FRIENDS of CBC. It's our job to advance the public's understanding of why all Canadian journalism and storytelling is important and given that much of it is currently under threat, to help the public mobilize a citizens' defence. Count on us to stay on the case.

Our mission to protect and advance Canadian culture and democracy is timeless. But the audio-visual environment is ever changing, and so are we. Standing up for Canada used to mean standing up to Hollywood and other commercial interests, whose priority is to make a buck, often at the expense of Canada's cultural and economic interests.

Hollywood hasn't gone away, but nowadays, standing up for Canada means taking on Silicon Valley too. The Canadian government has given tech giants like Facebook, Google, and Netflix a free ride for years, at Canada's expense. Streaming giants like Netflix must be required to collect sales taxes and contribute their fair share to the creation of Canadian content. And we must ensure that Canadian journalism survives as advertising revenues shift to companies such as Facebook, that don't pay content creators, don't employ journalists, and don't take responsibility for the mass of hate speech and fake news that they publish. FRIENDS is leading the fight to bring these tech monopolists under democratic control (end of web-site quotes)

Is Canadian journalism surviving, at least in an unbiased form? The Globe and Mail reported - at the beginning of 2023, based on an interview with Catherine Tait, the head of CBC, that she was preparing to end traditional TV and radio broadcasts and move completely to a digital platform, but that this likely wouldn't happen in the next decade. Emails that discussed the unease of CBC staff in the wake of that report were disclosed to The Canadian Press under access-to-information law.

Months earlier, the BBC had announced a plan to go online-only within the decade. "But this is not the reality for us at CBC," a senior manager for CBC British Columbia and Alberta said in an email. "Even with a plan to advance and move towards a streaming future, no Canadian will be left behind." Tait was first appointed as the president and CEO of CBC/Radio-Canada in 2018, and her mandate was extended last month through the beginning of 2025.

In the newspaper interview, she also accused the federal Conservative leader of inciting attacks on the public broadcaster as a political fundraising

tactic. Some journalists "expressed concern about the opinions shared by Catherine around political campaigning and Canadians opposed to funding CBC," one email shows. George Achi, head of journalistic standards at CBC, reassured staff through an email saying, "that statements made by our corporate leadership (outside of CBC News) are completely separate from CBC News coverage."

"It goes without saying that we should cover this file with the same fair, accurate, balanced and fact-based approach we use for any other story," Achi wrote. It was noted in another email that Tait would continue to discuss the importance of the public broadcaster with politicians from all parties. In 2021-22, the CBC received more than \$1.2 billion in government funding. Its board of directors determines how the funding it receives is spent. Leon Mar, a spokesperson for CBC, said Tait was unavailable for an interview to discuss the documents, adding: "We don't comment on internal employee conversations, which by their nature are confidential." The union representing CBC staff raised concerns about the February interview, documents show.

Emails say the Canadian Media Guild was preparing to issue a public statement over Tait's remarks the day the story came out but agreed to delay it by a day to await clarity from management. They wanted to know where the ten-year window came from and why it appeared in the Globe newspaper for the first time, with one email saying Tait's remarks fell outside the spirit of "no surprises."

The union was also concerned about job losses, shrinking newsrooms and increased workloads for employers should there be cuts to TV and radio. A common question from staffers, one email said, was: "Does this mean I will be out of a job in ten years?" Shaun Poulter, executive director of strategy public affairs and government relations at CBC/Radio-Canada, said in an internal email at the

time that union representatives claimed they felt "blindsided" and "betrayed" by the digital-first language.

"Is there someone you can speak to there and ask them to read the article and not get sucked in by click bait. We are not abandoning TV and radio ffs," Poulter asked a colleague in another email, using an abbreviation for an expletive. The CMG didn't respond to a request for comment about the documents. They show that Tait's comments also invited criticism from the public.

One person wrote an email to Tait and Canadian Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez saying that "CBC is giving up on aged Canadians" whose life-long taxes have supported the broadcaster. "As a Liberal, I would take great exception to have my tax dollars used to provide services I don't want," said the individual, whose name was redacted in the documents that were released.

The person, who identified themselves as being older than sixty-five, suggested that going "online only" could cause them to stop supporting the broadcaster. They cautioned CBC about throwing the baby out with the bathwater. "Caveat to the caution: Old babies can cry like hell!"

Another story about CBC by Bryan Passifiume this past September (2023) stated.... the CBC owns nearly half a billion dollars in real estate holdings, according to recently released documents, with more than two-thirds of the value comprised of its expansive downtown Toronto broadcasting centre. Franco Terrazzano, federal director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, said that in the interests of transparency, the CBC should be more open about its leasing costs.

"It sure seems the CBC is spending way more on its buildings than competitors spend, but what value do taxpayers get for all these properties?" he

said. “Taxpayers have every right to question why we’re paying for all these CBC buildings in Canada and in other countries.” Internationally, the CBC leases two offices in the United States, one in the U.K., one in India and one in France.

The CBC’S New York bureau is located on 3rd Avenue in midtown Manhattan. Its Washington, D.C., bureau occupies leased office space at the National Press Building, just down the road from the White House.

The Paris bureau is located on Avenue de Wagram just down the road from the Arc de Triomphe, CBC’S India bureau is in western Mumbai, and its London bureau occupies space in the West End. The response also noted the CBC’S two recently closed bureaus in Beijing and Moscow, but it provided no information on lease costs. Here in Canada, most of the CBC’S regional offices are leased, including three separate facilities in Montreal.

CBC’S Maison Radio-Canada on René-Lévesque Boulevard East recently reopened in a smaller location in a leased building just west of its previous, much larger home. According to the CBC’S most recent annual report, the broadcaster received \$1.24 billion in funding from the federal government.

That’s in addition to the forty-two million dollars — paid out over two years in twenty-one million instalments — granted to the CBC to “offset revenues losses related to the ongoing effect of the COVID-19 pandemic” announced in last year’s fall economic statement.

“Why does the CBC need to lease these properties in far-flung countries, let alone multiple properties in smaller Canadian towns, and how much is all of this costing taxpayers?” Terrazzano said. “The CBC costs taxpayers more than one billion dollars every year, so at the very least it owes Canadians full transparency.”

CBC has a host of problems but so do other Canadian media - propaganda by the media in general, the sphere of 'fake news' is much more than simply putting out false news stories. These stories may have a tidbit of truth, but they may lack factual details, they may not include any confirmable facts or sources. Certain accounts may include basic verifiable facts but are written - using language that is deliberately inflammatory, leaves out pertinent details or only presents one viewpoint. 'Fake news' exists within a larger ecosystem of mis- and disinformation. Misinformation is false or inaccurate information that is mistakenly or inadvertently created or spread - the intent is not to deceive. Disinformation is false information that is deliberately created and spread "in order to influence public opinion or obscure the truth".

Old media acquisitions may not seem to make much business sense, given that readership and advertising have been declining for decades. But vultures feast on remnants. First, there is the real estate that can be sold off. Then there is the profit realized by shrinking expenses — including the staff and news coverage — while still collecting the advertising and subscription revenue. the truth is, to make a huge profit in the media business, you must cut, cut, cut, and be willing to see the product get worse year by year. These giant conglomerates (can you say Twitter, ESPN, Postmedia, and the like) have a number, and they will cut whatever they have to, to meet that number.

An escalating tug of war between the Liberal government and Big Tech — with Canadian news (media) content in the middle — grew into a raging fire last summer. New data from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute found Canadians aligned in principle with the concept of going after so-called "Big Tech" to "pay their fair share", something touted by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in recent

weeks. But many are concerned about the consequences of the Liberal government's proposed solution, the Online News Act, which seeks to force Meta (Facebook), Alphabet (Google), and others, to spend millions to access and share Canadian content.

Three-in-five Canadians (sixty-one per-cent) say Big Tech should compensate Canadian organizations when their content is shared, given that those platforms benefit from vast advertising dollars that may have gone to the original creators, but are increasingly concentrated in the hands of tech companies. That said, more than three-in-five (sixty-three per-cent) are also concerned about losing access to Canadian news on Facebook and Google. This in turn has half (forty-eight per-cent) of Canadians directing the federal government to “back down” in its battle with Big Tech, while one-quarter say Ottawa should stand firm (twenty-six per-cent) and the same number (twenty-five per-cent) are unsure of the best path forward.

For Canadians, the loss of Google and Facebook as news vehicles would be considerable. Each is used by more than two-in-five Canadians daily for news, a proportion higher than all other platforms and websites.

A top media story this summer past was one of decline – falling revenues, shrinking work forces of journalists, and fewer readers, watchers, and listeners. This has left Canada's media companies looking for answers. Data from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute has Canadians ruling out at least two proposed solutions. A majority (fifty-nine per-cent) oppose the government funding of private newsrooms, believing it “compromises journalistic independence”. A similar proportion (fifty-seven per-cent) say the consolidation of media – such as

the recently considered but ultimately rejected coming together of Torstar and Postmedia – should be discouraged “so there is more competition in news coverage in Canada”. In opposition are minorities who say, “consolidation is necessary for the survival of newspapers” (twenty per-cent) and “the government needs to fund newsrooms because of the importance of journalism” (nineteen per-cent).

What remains is uncertain – though earlier released ARI data found Canadians in support of the goal of Bill C-18 to funnel money from the “Big Tech” duo of Meta and Google to newsrooms if not the means. However, there is no stop to the seismic shift to the media consumption landscape happening under newsrooms’ feet. Even as recently as 2016, two-in-five (fort-two per-cent) Canadians said they read a print publication daily for their news. Now that figure has halved (nineteen per-cent). Television (seventy-one to fifty-two per-cent) and radio news (fifty-seven to forty-five per-cent) have also declined in prominence, though they remain important sources of information for majorities of Canadians over the age of fifty-four. In their place, nearly all (eighty-nine per-cent) Canadians turn to the internet for news, leaving newsrooms to compete in a crowded advertising dollar ecosystem dominated by the two Big Tech apex predators.

Today, we are again meeting recent problems with old ideas. As we keep moving faster forwards, our politics keeps reaching backwards: nationalism divides us, at home and abroad; socialism overpromises and under-delivers; populism has one-liners, but none of the answers; and liberalism is complicit in the inequality, disruption, and neglect. Our argument is with socialism and nationalism, conservatism, and liberalism, alike. If socialism came unstuck in

1989, liberalism ran aground in 2016. This is not for the obvious reasons of complacency; it is not simply because the media and the progressive middle ground should be written off as an out-of-touch elite. (Where that is true, it is fixable.) The more testing question is why are liberal ideas which have improved life expectancy and literacy per capita income for billions of people, being rejected at the ballot box? It is because the liberal prescription is not up to the challenges we face. Liberalism is not going to deal with technology, because it shies from interventions that might inhibit free expression and dent wealth creation. Liberalism will wait for the market to answer the problems of an ageing society, but we need colossal government-led innovation in education, health care and housing. Liberalism has championed globalisation but, from climate change to immigration, failed to establish rules to manage an interdependent planet. Liberalism has been captured by free market economics, which, in turn, has been distorted by finance. And liberalism muddles through in the culture wars, unclear how to strike a balance between institutions and the individual, between society and identity. The battle for freedom and fairness is not won. But nor is it sufficient. As much as we reboot the old ideas – liberalism 2.0 etc. they are not going to help us live well in our age of rapidly advancing change.

But we have also knocked about long enough to know that journalism is not neutral. Every newsroom is motivated by what it is against: Injustice and violence, cruelty and indifference. The good ones know what they are for: free trade, say, or public service, hip-hop or class politics. They are a lens on the world, reflected in their choices and voices. We start at a time when plenty of people say journalism is broken. Of course, we (the media) are reporters, not astrologers. Prediction is not our business. But the news media, like everyone else, has been hollowed out

by the internet. We produce more news than ever before, faster, and faster - junk news - it has become noise. Precisely when we need to hear more, we often want to switch off. And so, in the battle for attention, the news media has sought refuge in telling people things they want to know. Instead of connecting with new audiences, news organizations have been bonding with their bases, and this of course has spelled the beginning of the end....

At this book's press deadline, Manitoba had just elected Canada's first Indigenous Premier, a momentous occasion in Canada's history. It was interesting however to see how Canada's ultimate den (Winnipeg Free Press and the CBC Winnipeg division) of socialism reacted. They seemed to do so with a high degree of gloating and high-fives all around.

Excerpts in this chapter are courtesy of the National Post, CBC, BCP Printing & Publishing Co. Ryan Thorpe of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, friends.ca, Canadian Press, National Post and touchoffakenews.ca.

Chapter Eleven

The Final Nail In Canada's Coffin

Many of these voters on the anti-woke left, live in the Greater Toronto Area. They are people who have voted for the Liberal party or NDP in the past, but don't share the politics of Justin Trudeau or Jagmeet Singh today.

The anti-woke left, is made up of small-L liberals who hold Jean Chretien's views on fiscal responsibility and free speech and reject Trudeau's reckless spending and internet censorship. The anti-woke left, also includes blue-collar workers who believe in the NDP's past commitment to respecting unions but reject the NDP's current commitment to accusing hard-working Canadians of being complicit in "systemic racism." (J. Jivani-Toronto Sun)

The anti-woke left are also not so enamored with the governments' policies when it comes to drugs. They think that legalization has corrupted our youth, advanced crime and homelessness and has led us the downward spiral of the Canadian nation. And where did it start and by whom?

First, let's look at what a recent study suggests about the effects of marijuana. Too much weed can lead to complications in times of need -so said a study that suggested clinical overuse of marijuana is linked to complications after major elective surgery, including blood clots, stroke, breathing difficulties, kidney issues and even death. "Our findings complement previous studies that have identified significant associations between cannabis-use disorders and peri-

operative complications,” the study's authors wrote in the report, according to CNN.

The study was compiled by a research team from the department of anesthesiology, critical care and pain medicine at McGovern Medical School, part of the Houston-based University of Texas Health Science Center.

Smoking dope affects blood flow in the brain and body, decreases respiration and body temperature, contributes to airway blockages, raises blood pressure, increases heart rate, impacts heart rhythm and more. This can all make recovery from surgery more difficult, according to a November 2019 review of literature. Marijuana uses also increases post-op pain, according to an October 2020 study.

The new study's findings are significant, according to the authors, considering prior analysis have found nearly three out of every ten weed users develop a dependence called cannabis-use disorder. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, a person is considered dependent on weed when they feel food cravings or a lack of appetite, irritability, restlessness. People who begin using marijuana before the age of eighteen are four to seven times more likely to develop a marijuana-use disorder than adults as well as mood and sleep difficulties after quitting.

“People who begin using marijuana before the age of eighteen are four to seven times more likely to develop a marijuana-use disorder than adults,” the institute said on its website, citing a January 2008 report. The new study was published in the journal JAMA Surgery. It analyzed data from the 2016-19 national in-patient sample database on 12,422 hospitalizations after eleven types of major elective non-cardiac surgery. Surgeries included two types of hernia repair, gall

bladder or colon surgery, breast lump biopsy, mastectomy or hysterectomy, hip or knee replacement, spinal fusion, and lumbar disc surgery.

According to the study, more than 6,200 of the 12,422 patients had cannabis-use disorder and they were carefully matched with patients who did not. Compared with people who were not overly dependent on marijuana, those with cannabis-use disorder were more likely to suffer complications from those surgeries. The study found the most significant associations were for blockages of coronary arteries, stroke, injury to the kidneys, blood clots, breathing complications, infection, and in-hospital death.

The push to legalize recreational marijuana across the U.S. has been linked to a troubling rise in mental health issues, suicides and an increased risk for psychosis, but "money-hungry" cannabis investors are leading the charge to commercialize the drug nationwide, Dr. Kevin Sabet warned last July.

Sabet, a former White House drug policy adviser to Presidents Obama, Bush, and Clinton, highlighted the unintended consequences of legalizing the substance, slamming the "addiction for-profit" pot industry for encouraging widespread drug usage to benefit their bottom line.

"The net result hasn't been good at all. Marijuana is the most misunderstood drug in our country today, it is so much stronger than it used to be.... this is a totally different drug," Sabet said. "It's been genetically bred to be much stronger than it ever has been. And it's been driven by a money-hungry addiction for profit industry that resembles really the worst of tobacco and alcohol. If you think about it, it gets you intoxicated like alcohol and tobacco and then you inhale all these harmful compounds," he said.

"There is a massive increase in mental illness as a result of this increase in marijuana use. We know that today's marijuana can quintuple your risk of psychosis and schizophrenia which is the worst thing you can imagine. It increases about six times the risk of suicide. We have a suicide epidemic in this country." He argued that "ninety-nine per cent of people" who become addicted to drugs like cocaine, heroin and fentanyl start using alcohol and marijuana first.

"We can't turn back the station for alcohol. We're living with that issue," he continued. "Why would we make the same mistake again for marijuana and legalize it and make it legitimate?" Sabet said the path the country is going down with marijuana is a "huge, huge mistake."

"You can't walk down the streets of so many of our major cities without smelling it everywhere. We're seeing second-hand smoke issues on the rise. Driving is a huge issue, unlike tobacco which doesn't impair you on the road, marijuana does. We're seeing huge increases."

So, one can plainly see (the proof is in the pudding) that marijuana is dangerous for many people. But the governments of the day and some socialists out there, want Canadian society to have even more drugs (and many are advocating for them to be free) and these other heavily addictive drugs can do a lot more damage than weed ever could. These, in many cases lethal, drugs have exacerbated Canada's homeless situation and moved the breakdown of society closer to home. Just another example that has added to the fragmentation of this nation, we call Canada.

An enlightening piece of journalism was published in the National Post newspaper last spring. It was brilliantly written by Adam Zivo and this author re-publishes it because it shows how the Liberal government is slowly but surely

destroying Canada by its “liberal” drug program. “Safer supply” programs are designed to reduce drug overdoses by providing free, government-funded alternatives to illicit substances. Canadian safer supply programs typically distribute hydromorphone, a drug which, according to some studies, is more potent than heroin, as a substitute for fentanyl and other opioids. While safer supply sounds nice in theory, in practice it has been disastrous.

It turns out that hydromorphone is too weak to get fentanyl users high, and, for this reason, many safer supply recipients simply sell (“divert”) their government-provided hydromorphone on the street, at rock-bottom prices, to purchase more street fentanyl. Safer supply doesn’t dissuade illicit fentanyl consumption — it subsidizes it.

Mass safer supply diversion has flooded communities with opioids, allegedly causing the street price of hydromorphone to drop by seventy to ninety-five per cent in cities where safer supply is active. Physicians report that this is leading to a rise in new addictions, particularly among youth and individuals in recovery.

When my (A. Zivo) ten-thousand-word investigation was published by the Post earlier this week (in May of 2023), the response was explosive. Judging by readers’ comments, it seems that, while many suspected that something was amiss with safer supply, they were shocked by the magnitude of harm being hidden from the public.

Predictably, safer supply advocates began a campaign to delegitimize the story. After Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre shared my research, Associate Health Minister Carolyn Bennett (who announced she would not run again in the next election), who is (was) primarily responsible for the federal government’s

safer supply strategy, publicly accused him of being “irresponsible and polarizing.” Shortly after, she published a series of Tweets in which she claimed that Poilievre was sharing “untrue information about harm reduction and safer supply.”

Minister Bennett did not address any of the specific findings in my story, nor did she identify which of these findings she believed were inaccurate. Claiming that something is untrue, and then providing no further details or evidence to back your claim, is lazy politics.

Yet given Bennett’s history of misrepresenting safer supply to the Canadian public, this response was predictable. As I noted in my story, Bennett has repeatedly claimed that distributing safer supply hydromorphone will meaningfully reduce fentanyl-related harms, even though Health Canada’s own research shows that this is almost certainly not true.

“Even maximal doses of (hydromorphone) have little effect except withdrawal management. This leads people to continue to use street fentanyl, as hydromorphone does not come close to the effect they get from fentanyl,” said Health Canada’s 2022 report detailing early findings from Canada’s safer supply programs.

Given her position, it’s hard to imagine that the minister would be unaware of this information, which she has, for some reason, omitted from her public messaging about safer supply — so, really, who here is sharing false information?

In Parliament, Pierre Poilievre questioned Justin Trudeau about my story., but Trudeau, much like Minister Bennett, avoided addressing any specific claims and instead vaguely accused Poilievre of “ideological fear-mongering.”

“We need to stay grounded in what the front-line responders have been telling us,” said Trudeau. I completely agree with the prime minister here. We absolutely need to listen to front-line responders. That’s why my investigation relied on interviews with over twenty health-care experts, including fourteen addiction medicine practitioners. Critically, my research showed that most addiction medicine specialists are apprehensive about safer supply.

When it comes to addiction, these specialists are Canada’s leading front-line responders and experts, so I implore the prime minister to follow his own advice and listen to them. If Trudeau feels that addiction medicine practitioners should not be consulted about their own field, I’d love to hear an explanation why.

Harm reduction advocates have also attacked my reporting. For example, drug activist Zoe Dodd accused me of compiling “so many myths in one piece without evidence” and said, “This is an exercise in drug war propaganda that is also puppetted (sic) by addix doctors who have skin in the game.”

While disappointing, this was also entirely unsurprising. As I detailed in my original story, these advocates routinely harass safer supply critics and intimidate them into silence, which is precisely why many addiction medicine practitioners self-censor despite widespread discontent with the program. The rhetoric used by these activists is not only unsettlingly aggressive and violent (one activist told me to “stab yourself in the face f*ckt*rd”), but also deeply paranoid.

Harm reduction advocates habitually claim that shadowy conspiracies are to blame for criticism of safer supply. At first, these advocate blamed the “alt-right” (never mind that Canada’s leading safer supply critic, Dr. Vincent Lam, is a vocal NDP supporter). Then they moved onto vilifying the “recovery industry.”

Shortly after my (Avio's) story was published, I joked with a friend, "How long until the safer supply advocates start claiming that the entire field of addiction medicine is evil." With Dodd's comments, it turns out that it took less than two days. Safer supply advocates can repeat their fairy tales all they'd like, but that won't make them true. The program is a failure — that is simply a fact. Since my story was published, I've been contacted by yet another wave of physicians confirming my findings. The dam of silence is breaking, and the truth will come out.

Sources for this chapter include Post Media Network and the National Post

Chapter Twelve

Soft On Crime Is Finishing Us Off

“For too long a time now,” said solicitor general Jean-Pierre Goyer - “our punishment-oriented society has cultivated the state of mind that demands that offenders, whatever their age and whatever the offence, be placed behind bars. Even now-a-days, too many Canadians object to looking at offenders as members of our society and seem to disregard the fact that the correctional process aims at making the offender a useful and law-abiding citizen, and not any more than an individual alienated from society and in conflict with it.

“Consequently, we have decided from now on, to stress the rehabilitation of individuals rather than the protection of society ... Our reforms will perhaps be criticized for being too liberal or for omitting to protect society against dangerous criminals. Indeed, this new rehabilitation policy will probably demand much striving and involve some risks ...” (Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal government 1971)

Canada’s kid-glove treatment of violent criminals today — easy bail, soft sentencing, statutory release, early parole, special treatment for members of some minority groups, keeping the identities of young offenders’ secret even when they commit murder — didn’t happen by accident. They were the inevitable result of criminal justice, prison and parole measures passed by Canadian federal governments starting in the 1970s.

These were initially implemented by the Liberal government of then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, which openly acknowledged its intent was “to stress the rehabilitation of individuals rather than the protection of society.”

But this was also embraced by Progressive Conservatives and New Democrats of the day. Five decades later, Canadians continue to reap the whirlwind of those decisions with hardened criminals arrested, charged, and released on bail to commit more crimes or, upon conviction, receiving early parole, making a mockery of sentences pronounced in court.

The practical effect of this Liberal philosophy, endorsed by the opposition, was to elevate rehabilitation of the offender — however faint the hope it would occur — above other purposes of sentencing such as denouncing unlawful conduct, deterrence, and the protection of society. In subsequent decades, this became the model for Canada’s criminal justice system, adhered to by Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, reflected in bail, parole and sentencing decisions and in rulings by the Supreme Court of Canada, especially after Parliament’s passage of the Charter in 1982.

Canada’s permanent abolition of the death penalty in 1976 under Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal government was part of this philosophy, although in practical terms the last executions in Canada were carried out in 1962, when Arthur Lucas and Ronald Turpin were hanged in Toronto’s Don Jail for murder. Changing governments did nothing. In 1987, a free vote in Parliament on bringing back the death penalty was defeated 148 to 127, with then Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney describing capital punishment as “repugnant” and “profoundly unacceptable.”

Twenty-two cabinet ministers voted with Mulroney in favour of abolition with only fifteen supporting restoring the death penalty. The Young Offenders Act, eventually replaced by the Youth Criminal Justice Act, with its dramatically reduced sentences and guarantee of anonymity even for those convicted of murder, was part of this philosophy. Ditto statutory release, which automatically reduces the period of incarceration for most criminal offences by a third and parole, which makes a mockery of sentences pronounced at trial. Full parole for many criminals today comes as early as one-third of their sentence. Unescorted temporary absences can begin when as little as one-sixth of the sentence served.

While the Conservative government of Stephen Harper attempted to re-establish the importance of the denunciation of unlawful conduct, deterrence, and the protection of society in sentencing, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has steadily eroded those efforts, scrapping mandatory minimum sentences for serious gun crimes — as has the Supreme Court of Canada — and making bail even easier to obtain than in the past.

It doesn't help that most judges tend to live in the best and safest part of town, and as such, they live in a secular world and almost never feel the consequences of repeat offenders like the public does. Canada's government and its appointed judges have had a soft on crime philosophy for more than fifty years now and the consequences of this liberalism has only made things worse.

According to special report by Chris Lewis to CP24.com published in early 2023 this issue is as old as the hills and comes from the failings of various governments, but in my (Lewis) view, the past several years have seemingly been the worst period for government decision-making that negatively impacts public safety in my forty-five-year connection with law enforcement.

Their Bill C-5 resulted in some mandatory minimum penalties being repealed, including several firearms offences. Offences like discharging a firearm with intent, using a firearm or imitation firearm in the commission of offence and robbery with a firearm. You know, those run-of-the-mill crimes that are of little risk to the public or police. At a time when violent crime and the use of illegal firearms are historically high in Canada, the decision was made to go soft on gun crime. But don't worry, we're cracking down on those legal gun owners that have been through background checks and training courses. How often are those people a threat?

At the same time, changes around bail consideration within Bill C-75 potentially allow more violent criminals to be released awaiting trial, particularly when "circumstances of Indigenous accused and of accused from vulnerable populations are considered at bail, in order to address the disproportionate impacts that the bail system has on these populations." I get that there are disproportionate representations of Indigenous people and people of colour in our court and prison systems. There is a host of socio-economic issues that need to be dealt with in a long-term strategy to address this disparity, but regardless of an offender's race, colour, or difficult lives, the public and police need to be protected from those who commit crimes of violence, as much as reasonably possible.

I (Lewis) am not advocating that accused persons should be held without bail on a whim. I appreciate that, in most cases, being held awaiting trial may mean years of incarceration in a judicial system that moves at glacial speed. That flies in the face of the basic principle that people are innocent until proven guilty.

In many criminal cases, the release of the accused on bail is obviously not a risk to public safety, like a first-time charge for a minor assault stemming from a bar fight. Obviously, there is no need to limit their pre-trial freedom. At the other end of the scale are pathological killers who are a serious threat to community safety and must be held.

And then there are cases in the middle that reasonably could go either way, but currently, the rights of the accused seem to trump the rights of potential victims to personal safety. The question for court officials becomes, where is the line in the middle? When it comes to both bail and parole considerations, the scales need to be much more balanced to protect the public and police and not slanted to protect the rights of the accused. At this point, they are tipped too far the other way.

The other question is, why is our system so painstakingly slow? In cases where accused violent offenders are denied bail, an expedited process is obviously in their best interests and the best thing for the community. Besides the obvious bail concerns, having trials occur much quicker will be better for all players – victims, accused, witnesses and police officers. Various provinces have tried to speed things up, however I'm not aware of any significant success stories thus far. Trial processes still tend to drag on forever, and some serious charges of violence have been dropped because they have taken too long to be heard.

I'm not suggesting that the U.S. has the perfect system by any means, but often people there are charged with serious crimes, then tried and either convicted or absolved within a year. The police officer that killed George Floyd in Minnesota was brought to trial and sentenced to jail in less than a year of being charged. Our entire judicial system needs to be reformed – federally in terms of

legislation governing bail, sentencing and parole, and then province by province to seek more effective, safe, and speedier processes. The time to tip the scales back is long overdue on all fronts so that the system errs on the side of public safety. We're talking about dangerous people here, not fish that occasionally bite a worm. Catch and release must end.

In yet another media story (this time in August of 2023) the headline stated, Trudeau's free-range approach to criminals has sentenced our cities to lawlessness. The article said.... the most recent data drop by Statistics Canada reveals a number of haunting figures: the homicide rate has risen for the fourth consecutive year and is now at its highest level since 1992 (largely due to more gang violence); the rate of violent gun crime has risen for the eighth consecutive year; per capita victims of violent crimes involving firearms has increased sixty per cent since 2013; fraud is roughly twice as prevalent as it was ten years ago, and extortion is five times higher.

Rates for some types of violent crime (serious sexual assaults, for example) and property crime remained stable, but overall, the evidence shows that Canada is a more violent place than it was a decade ago. And in many cities, the situation is becoming untenable. Toronto's sharp rise in crime has residents on edge: a survey released earlier this year by Abacus Data showed that crime was one of Torontonians' top concerns. The city's transit system has experienced a dramatic spike in crime that includes stabbings, swarming's, arsons and firework detonations.

In Vancouver (and Kelowna), persistent theft and violence has some businesses giving up entirely. In Edmonton, stabbings are now a periodic occurrence at transit stops; homeless encampments, meanwhile, are popping

up so fast, the city can't even keep up on its risk assessments. Reports from Newfoundland — which experienced one of the steepest rises in crime last year — reveal a growing sense of fear and abandonment among those living in St. John's downtown core.

The key event that occurred around the time that violent crime began to rise was the election of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who promised a soft-on-crime approach and leniency toward offenders. Instead of locking criminals in cages, he intended to use a free-range approach.

Let's end this chapter with a letter to the Edmonton Journal from a Mr. A.I. Smith of St. Albert so, the province (Alberta) is going to hire more sheriffs, and this will make for safer communities. While that might be someone's opinion, I am inclined to go along with the Mayes cartoon which depicts that until politicians and judges are onside to prescribe punishments that fit the crime, then we will never see the results we need.

Hiring more police officers means more arrests, more time in courts, more backlogs for legal aid and the courts crying that they cannot keep up with the system until they hire more of their ilk. Many surveyed communities did not cite displeasure with the police, but what they did complain about was the revolving-door justice.

Until politicians and judges get serious about sentencing, violent crime will continue to flourish and increase. Easier bail for special groups, taking away automatic jail time for those using weapons during an offence are but two of the idiotic governmental decisions. In addition, the Supreme Court recently decided that several life terms for someone who committed several murders was cruel

and harsh punishment. No one seems to take the victims into account nor do these types of milquetoast decisions help the general population or society.

Sources include Reddit, lgoldstein-postmedia.com, C. Lewis – cp24.com & NP View

Chapter Thirteen

The So-Called Elites Of Canada

Laurentian elite also referred to Laurentian Consensus is a Canadian political term used to refer individuals in the upper class of society who live along the St. Lawrence River and watershed in major Central Canadian cities such as Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, an area which represents a significant portion of Canada's population. The term has been used to describe the belief that a general governing political consensus existed in Canada from Confederation until the early twenty-first century. (John Ibbitson-2011)

At the end of 2019 a John Weissenberger – a Calgary based geologist and a Montreal native with degrees from Ontario, Quebec and Alberta universities wrote this article... national institutions and dominant elites can fail when they don't accommodate change or become severely detached from the lives of average citizens. In Canada, this has been the rule rather than the exception for the past fifty years, and the Laurentian Elite is largely to blame. But what is, and who are, the Laurentian Elite? How can they be so important if they don't even have a Wikipedia page? Our self-declared, dominant Canadian social and political elite is like the air we breathe or the proverbial water around fish; it seems so natural as to be unnoticeable.

Journalist and author John Ibbitson coined the term 'Laurentian Elite' in a 2011 article, later expanded into a book - The Big Shift. He defined the "Laurentians" as "the political, academic, cultural, media and business elites" of central Canada. Ibbitson and co-author Darrell Bricker argued that the 2011 federal Conservative majority, achieved via the alignment of Western Canada and ex-urban Ontario, represented a major rearrangement of our electoral landscape.

Subsequent events, however, suggest that, if a shift is happening, it may be long and painful.

Ibbitson cites and credits the historical accomplishments of central Canada's elites, from the National Policy and the St. Lawrence Seaway to what he terms the "national social security system." He is unduly kind.

Beginning in 1968, coincident with the election of Pierre Trudeau, our elites adopted contemporary left-leaning economic and social policies. Federal government spending mushroomed from sixteen per cent of the economy in 1967 to twenty-five per cent (of a much larger pie) in 1984 when Trudeau Sr. departed — a vast increase in dollar terms. Simultaneously, the Canadian public sector became almost fifty per cent of the economy, with the programs implemented and institutions created almost too numerous to mention. This is the point: a robust civil society and private-sector economy were being supplanted by an expanding state.

The reckoning came in the 1990s. Canada's debt to GDP ratio approached seventy-two per cent and, in 1995, the Wall Street Journal called us "an honorary Third-World country." After two credit rating downgrades, and prodded by the decidedly non-Laurentian Reform party, the Liberals acted. Laurentian patriarchs Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien are credited with righting Canada's finances, but who cast us into the pit in the first place?

For decades, the Laurentian Elite grappled with an existential crisis: Quebec separatism. Confederation was, in their view, a compact between "two founding peoples" that would be blown apart if Quebec left. Shockingly, Laurentian Canada's brokerage parties had no visceral understanding of the true-believing separatists, who viewed each federalist concession as incremental independence.

So, we had our near-death experience in 1995, allegedly saved only by “money and the ethnic vote,” to quote PQ leader Jacques Parizeau.

Overconfident federalist leaders — Laurentians all — sleepwalked through the campaign, until they realized at the eleventh hour that Quebeckers might vote to leave. A shaken Chrétien gave a pleading address five days before the vote and, interviewed years later, senior Liberal cabinet ministers still resembled deer in the headlights in contemplating the “unthinkable.” Of course, Parizeau’s people had a detailed implementation plan ready to launch upon a favourable result.

Using the twin yardsticks of fiscal management and national unity, the Laurentian Elite’s tenure over the past fifty years has ranged from poor to passable. As the Laurentians presided, their worldview — Ibbitson’s “Laurentian Consensus” — ruled. Lack of competition from a rival elite or elites (excepting of course the separatists, and we saw how that turned out) increased their torpor and complacency. This, coupled with an increasingly arrogant detachment from many ordinary Canadians, particularly those outside central Canada, caused repeated social and political rifts.

Historically, the Laurentian Elite were Upper Canadian Anglo-Protestants and Québécois Patricians, and their descendants still dominate the upper strata of politics, the bureaucracy, Crown corporations and agencies, academia, and media. Private-sector membership tends toward legacy industries (particularly banking/finance and manufacturing), often dominated by multi-generational families. The media, particularly the CBC, project the “consensus” across the country. As Canadian/American journalist Diane Francis has observed, the elite’s members have remarkable mobility among the upper levels of Canada’s government, business, and the bureaucracy.

Today's Laurentian Elite is also arguably our franchise of the mobile, trans-national professional class — the “Any-where's” as discussed in Stephen Harper's 2018 book, *Right Here, Right Now*. They are, according to Harper, urban and university-educated professionals who “have become genuinely globally oriented in their careers and personal lives.”

As “Any-where's,” the Laurentians largely reflect the universal, broadly leftist monoculture. Their personal ethos is typically secular and socially “progressive.” Today this includes much of the post-modern canon: intersectionality, quantifying “privilege” and the seemingly incessant signalling of virtue. Economically they range from socialist to corporatist, businessmen who actively seek advantage from deals with government, while typically promoting the social-progressive agenda.

Adopting globalism may have diluted the “Laurentian” nature of the class and boosted their disdain for national character. This may explain Justin Trudeau's comments in *The New York Times*: “there is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada”; perhaps a riff on Paul Martin's “country of minorities” or Yann Martel's Canada as “the greatest hotel on Earth.”

Ironically the Laurentians consider themselves worldly, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan, but are often remarkably parochial. The view from Toronto's CN Tower seems to be our own version of Saul Steinberg's classic cartoon — the world seen from 9th Avenue in Manhattan. One imagines reasonable clarity up to roughly Weber's hamburger stand (near Orillia, Ont.) beyond which come fuzzy images of moose, muskeg, wheat, mountains and then the Pacific.

While two-hundred years ago, the periphery could be treated as a frontier to be managed, such an attitude today is fatal. The West now comprises almost a

third of Canada's population (in 2019), compared with less than twenty-three per cent for Quebec, and the former is by far our most demographically dynamic region. Annual West-East fiscal transfers have run for decades and now total hundreds of billions of dollars. While Toronto finance is still formidable, and central Canada has more jobs in that sector (about sixty-six per cent) than its share of the population, corporate clout has shifted West, if slowed by the oil crash of 2014.

The Laurentian response to shifting population and money has been restrictive, envious, and resentful, with ignorance and neglect replaced by targeted aggression. Under a cloak of green, the federal Liberals have written one generally supportive rulebook for economic development in the East, and a decidedly unfriendly one — including the West-Coast oil tanker ban and Bill C-69, the “no more pipelines” bill — for the West.

The burning question is whether the Laurentian Elite is confusing short-term tactical gain with strategic accomplishment. Is it really to the elite's fundamental and long-term benefit to beggar the region that supplies the lion's share of financial lubricant that powers the nation? The past several years shows that, despite its electoral success, the Laurentian Elite simply does not possess the “life experience” to manage current regional tensions and basic national affairs. Simply put, Westerners don't need another round of condescension and contempt from the Laurentian Elite, nor its approval or affirmation. And what precisely do they think the West's skilled workers and highly educated professionals need to be educated about?

Rather than comparing Quebec and Western separatism, perhaps the West is undergoing its own Quiet Revolution. Sixty-plus years ago, prominent

Quebeckers like Gérard Pelletier, Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque met regularly to debate their province's future. Some became federalists, other separatists.

Right now, Westerners from all walks of life are grappling with their region's future. The Laurentian Elite probably doesn't know it, but their future and that of the West is at stake...

And in that same year (2019) what did Canada's beloved CBC have to say about ordinary folks and elites? They stated, the label "elites" seems to get flung around the political arena constantly these days. It's become one of the dirty words of politics. It's also a term that resonates with many Canadians, particularly in an era when political populism seems to be gaining ground. A new (remember, this story is from 2019) CBC poll suggests nearly eighty per cent of Canadians either strongly or somewhat agree with the statement: "My country is divided between ordinary people and elites. "But what exactly does it mean? And why has it gained such traction as a political insult? "It's become such an elastic term, it's become useless as a classification," said Sean Speer, a sessional instructor and senior fellow in public policy at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy.

As history professor Beverly Gage noted in a 2017 New York Times column, the word is still seen in a positive light when used as an adjective — an elite athlete, for example. But it takes on a nefarious meaning when used as a noun and "has become one of the nastiest epithets in American politics." It's been used frequently by former U.S. President Donald Trump, but it's also been a rallying cry for many Canadian politicians, including Ontario Premier Ford and former prime minister Stephen Harper, who would often take shots at the "liberal elite."

Historically, the term "elite" seemed to have a connection to the rich. Politicians of all stripes have often tried to show off their working-class bona fides, regardless of their personal wealth.

In his initial foray onto the political stage, former prime minister Brian Mulroney was branded as the "Boy from Baie Comeau," Que., downplaying his role as president of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, said Tim Powers, vice-chairman of Summa Strategies, who served as the director of policy and research for the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada.

Mulroney's former Liberal rival, Jean Chrétien, who amassed great wealth in the private sector and would also go on to become prime minister, was promoted as the "little guy from Shawinigan." "So, it's always been there," Powers said. "I think the right really co-opted it with more vigour under Stephen Harper."

Powers said by 2006, when the Conservatives under Harper were trying to unseat Prime Minister Paul Martin, the party had done a lot of research looking at how people identified themselves. In an appeal to the middle class, he said, the Conservatives ran a series of what can be described as low-budget commercials. "The whole plot point of those commercials, as I recall hearing the rationale behind the advertising, was, 'We want to look average. So, not elite. We want to contrast ourselves to Paul Martin, the shipping magnate.'"

The term, or concept anyway, would continue to be used to score political points. Another of Harper's Liberal opponents, Michael Ignatieff, was portrayed as an out-of-touch elitist in the 2011 federal election. Current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has had to deflect barbs from the Tories about being a "trust fund baby." "It's been pretty commonplace because most people would prefer to self-

identify as being with the 'us' as opposed to the 'them,' because the 'them' are the elites and the people who get an advantage," Powers said.

Speer, who was the research assistant on Harper's book *Right Here, Right Now: Politics and Leadership in the Age of Disruption*, suggested one segment of the population feels particularly ignored by the political system — people without a post-secondary education. And populist politicians like Trump have been able to tap into their frustrations and fuel the divide, he said.

But Speer believes the results of the CBC survey may reflect a confusion about what's happening in this country. "I think people would be shocked to discover where they fit in the broader Canadian society," he said. "A significant number of them, based on income status, would be quote, unquote elite." He suspects the increased potency of going against the so-called elite in recent years comes from the reaction of people who have "drank the populist elixir" for their concerns about globalism, economic inequality, and being left out of jobs and opportunity.

"I think it's become more and more politically valuable to talk about elitism," he said, "because it also now means you recognize there is an advantage afforded to elites that wasn't there before." The same CBC poll suggests fifty-two per cent of Canadians either strongly or somewhat agree with the statement: "The government doesn't do anything for me."

A letter in the *Calgary Herald* newspaper last year probably sums up this chapter best. It was by someone called "Bob" and reads . . . the days when MPs actually and effectively, represented the concerns and aspirations of their constituents with their policy input have long faded. Our representative

democracy has morphed slowly; almost imperceptibly, into one in name only. Interests of party now supersede those of the electorate.

Canada has quietly slipped into the very abyss that it so vociferously rejects worldwide – a (although democratically elected) centralized autocracy (dare I say dictatorship) where policy is not formed from input from the people's elected representatives, but rather by elite edict from the PM and his cadre of analysts and policy gurus. Policy that has only the next electoral cycle, the promotion of the PM's personal agenda, and the appeasement of Canada's large electoral districts, at top of mind....

And just in case one thinks that this chapter has focused mainly and unfairly on Justin Trudeau and his pack (cabinet) of liberal elites, here is a repeat of a column in the New York Times by one of their journalists that seems to back up what this chapter has to say about the self-serving elite class. New York Times columnist David Brooks shocked political commentators on Twitter (now X) this past August (2023) when he admitted he and the so-called "elite" have used self-serving tactics to maintain power and a sense of moral superiority over the Trump (in place of Trump one could put Poilievre instead but in name only).

"I ask you to try on a vantage point in which we anti-Trumpers are not the eternal good guys. In fact, we're the bad guys," Brooks wrote in a column. "Over the last decades we've taken over whole professions and locked everybody else out," Brooks wrote of the liberal elite in America. The column detailed how the "educated class" imagine themselves as the "forces of progress and enlightenment" to appease their own egos, as part of a broader tale that paints them as enlightened and Trump supporters as bigots and fools.

Brooks pointed out that in the media world that was once a working-class profession, Ivy League and other elite-level college graduates have come to dominate major newsrooms. "When I began my journalism career in Chicago in the 1980s, there were still some old crusty working-class guys around the newsroom. Now we're not only a college-dominated profession, but we're also an elite-college-dominated profession," he wrote. Brooks continued, members of the liberal elite also segregate ourselves into a few booming metro areas: San Francisco, D.C., Austin (or Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver) and so on."

The educated class dominance also extends to politics on a national level, he wrote. "Armed with all kinds of economic, cultural and political power, we support policies that help ourselves." "We built an entire social order that sorts and excludes people on the basis of the quality that we possess most: academic achievement. Highly educated parents go to elite schools, marry each other, work at high-paying professional jobs and pour enormous resources into our children, who get into the same elite schools, marry each other, and pass their exclusive class privileges down from generation to generation," Brooks wrote.

He added this same group has increasingly used buzzy language like "problematic," "cisgender" and "Latinx" that alienates the less-educated class and further divides. Brooks, a fierce opponent of Trump who has called for his imprisonment, said it made sense that working-class Americans would flock to a candidate whose waged war on the establishment that's only out for itself, adding Trump was a "monster" and the elites had correctly identified him as such.

"It's easy to understand why people in less-educated classes would conclude that they are under economic, political, cultural and moral assault — and why they've rallied around Trump as their best warrior against the educated

class," he wrote. Journalists and political commentators were divided between praise of Brooks' apparent honesty and criticism of his piece on Twitter (X).

Economic Progress senior fellow Russ Greene lambasted Brooks for his analysis of elite control of American institutions in a tweet Thursday. "Surveying modern America, one does not get the impression of elite institutions ruthlessly focused on competence and bottom-line outcomes. Not sure what David Brooks is smoking." In another tweet he wrote, America's problem isn't excess elite competence. I give David Brooks a lot of credit here. There is self-awareness here, and a willingness to admit that perhaps his position in life wasn't entirely due to his talent and intellect.

He's so close," longtime radio journalist Celeste Headlee wrote, "Holy cow this David Brooks column is a barnburner!" National Pulse junior editor Will Upton tweeted. "I mean... he's finally figured it out!" Upton shared screenshots of Brooks' claims that "Trump understood that there was great demand for a leader who would stick his thumb in" the eyes of the liberal elite on a daily basis and reject the whole epistemic regime that we rode on."

Courtesy of National Post and Mark Gollom – CBC, NYT, and Fox News

Chapter Fourteen

Fearmongering and a Sense of Entitlement

You owe me - the entitlement mentality is defined as a sense of deservingness or being owed a favor when little or nothing has been done to deserve special treatment. Canadian entitlement is a narcissistic personality trait ingrained in many.

In August of 2023, as this author was writing the back-half of this book, fires engulfed Canada, especially in West Kelowna, British Columbia, where this author hangs his hat. Big media and governments were (excuse the pun) up in flames and stoking fear that global warming was the main cause of these fires. But was it? Bjorn Lomborg is president of the Copenhagen Consensus and visiting fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. His new book (at that time) is "Best Things First".

In a media report he wrote this about fires.... surely as temperatures rise during the summer, climate alarmism serves up more stories of life-threatening heat domes, apocalyptic fires, and biblical floods, all blamed squarely on global warming. Yet the data to prove this link is often cherry-picked, and the proposed policy responses are enormously ineffective. Heatwaves are clearly made worse by global warming. But the non-stop media coverage of high temperatures in the summertime fails to tell the bigger story: temperature-driven deaths are overwhelmingly caused by cold.

In the United States and Canada, a recent Lancet study found that 20,000 people die each year from heat, but 170,000 die from cold. Globally, the study

finds 4.5-million cold deaths, which is nine-times more than global heat deaths. The study also finds that temperatures increasing half a degree Celsius in the first two decades of this century have caused an additional 116,000 heat deaths annually. But warmer temperatures now also avoid 283,000 cold deaths every year. Reporting only on the former leaves us poorly informed. Around the world, governments have promised to achieve “net-zero” carbon emissions at a cost beyond \$5.6-trillion annually. Scared populations will of course be more likely to clamour for the perceived safety of such policies. But these policies help tackle heat and cold deaths very poorly.

Even if all the world’s ambitious carbon-cutting promises were magically enacted, these policies would only slow future warming. Stronger heat waves would still kill more people, just slightly fewer than they would have. A sensible response would focus first on resilience, meaning more air conditioning and cooler cities through greenery and water features. After the 2003 heat waves, France’s rational reforms, including mandatory air conditioning in care homes, reduced heat deaths ten-fold, despite higher temperatures. The experts emphasize that neither river nor coastal floods are currently statistically detectable from the background noise of natural climate variability. Indeed, the United Nations panel finds that such floods won’t be statistically detectable by the end of the century, even under an extreme scenario.

In the U.S., flood damage cost 0.5 per cent of GDP in the early 1900s. Now, it costs one-tenth of that, because greater resiliency and development vastly outweigh any residual climate effects. While climate alarmism reaches new heights of scariness — with the UN Secretary General’s “global boiling” claims entering ridiculous territory — the reality is more prosaic. Global warming

will cause costs equivalent to one or two recessions over the rest of this century. That makes it a real problem, but not an end-of-the-world catastrophe that justifies the costliest policies.

The commonsense response would be to recognize that both climate change and carbon-cutting policies incur costs. We should carefully negotiate a middle pathway where we aim for effective approaches that do the most to reduce damages at a reasonable cost. To do better on climate, we must resist the misleading, alarmist climate narrative - panic is a terrible advisor....

Now, about that sense of entitlement, many Canadians have - especially on the left side of the political spectrum. It starts with snobbery - they see right of center (and even center) Canadians as out-of-touch and ignorant. The way they perceive society is the right and only way and all other ways be damned. A few years ago, Pam Palmer wrote an opinion piece for Macleans magazine that is even more relevant in 2024, in part she said . . . it is time to clean house in Canada. While our political houses were never in good shape, this pandemic has shone a light on those who play politics versus those who lead in crisis. The sheer number of government officials at the federal and provincial level who thought they were above the pandemic rules should be a wake-up call for Canadians. Their actions showed not only the worst form of elitism and privilege but endangered the lives of Canadians—the very people they were elected to serve.

Imagine the audacity of elected officials thinking that they should be exempt from travel restrictions during the height of this pandemic, simply because it is their child moving away; their parent that is sick; their vacation house that needs upkeep or their family that needs a holiday in Hawaii. Do they not think that Canadians would have loved to have travelled to be with family

over the holidays or seen their dying parents in person instead of virtually? What makes these politicians any different from Canadians they serve? The answer is entitlement.

Even now, the shock and awe that some of these politicians show at even the thought of being held accountable is astounding. While they may feign innocence with their weak excuses, it is very clear that they knew what they were doing was wrong. From failing to report travel to their superiors to making social media posts pretending to still be in Canada—these politicians need to lose more than their official roles as ministers or critics—they should all resign.

No, this is accountability culture, and it is long overdue. Cancel culture is the dog whistle term used by those in power who don't want to be held accountable for their words and actions—often related to racism, misogyny, homophobia or the abuse and exploitation of others. We've all seen the fall of people who had faked Indigenous identities to further their careers, eventually be called out on social media and had their shows or events cancelled. Elected officials have a legal and moral obligation to act in the best interests of those they represent and are therefore held to a higher standard—one that requires they at least follow their own rules.

Parties at the federal level typically serve until their party is drowning in scandal and then a new party is elected and serves until scandal forces them out. This has been on repeat for decades. Government institutions that are plagued with racism, misogyny, homophobia and even corruption, work hard to present the problem as a “few bad apples.” This allows the status quo to endure—one set of rules for the privileged and another for everyone else. This only works so long as Canadians accept it.

But this time, Canadians have been pushed too far. When elected politicians do not follow their own rules, there is little hope that citizens will. In an age of fake news and disinformation campaigns on social media, there is no room for privileged, entitled politicians. We need real leaders who will lead by example and hold themselves and those in their charge to account....

As the summer of fires in Canada ended an excellent article appeared in of all places, the Telegraph (a UK newspaper and media group). It's amazing that it took an over the pond journalist named Daniel Johnson writing in a Great Britain newspaper to put things in perspective - the truth about Canada's government and its fragmented ways - Canada's big media do not and will not, tell the whole story, but Johnson did, as summer of 2023 ended, he published this story Canadians have finally fallen out of love with Trudeau. The shine has come off a career that at times seemed to defy political gravity. Instead of Trudeaumania, the nation is suffering from Trudeau fatigue among voters aged eighteen to thirty-four according to national polling group the Angus Reid Institute. This was the age group whose enthusiasm helped get Trudeau elected in 2015, re-elected in 2019 and again – just about – in 2021.

Voting intentions tell the same story, with a widening gap between the ruling Liberals and the Conservative opposition. Disillusionment has been fuelled by economic factors, including soaring interest rates and a housing crisis. From a British perspective, Canada may not seem to be doing too badly. Inflation is running at less than half the UK level and there are no major public sector strikes, NHS waiting lists or small boats. But Canada has its own problems.

Mortgage costs on an average home in Canada now eat up sixty percent of typical incomes, according to the National Bank. The figure is ninety percent in

Toronto and over one hundred percent in Vancouver. For first-time buyers, prices are simply unaffordable. Their rage is focused on the man they trusted with their votes, not once but thrice. Under Trudeau, the Liberal Party lags up to ten points in the polls behind the Conservatives. The Conservative leader, Pierre Poilievre, is popular but not populist, younger than the PM but without his baggage. He offers a modernising, moderately libertarian agenda, a change from the Liberals' big state profligacy and fiscal incontinence. For the first time in eight years, Trudeau is up against a dangerous opponent.

Canadian voters have been slowly souring on their prime minister for a while. The cult of personality that has surrounded Trudeau, which was assiduously cultivated by him on social media, became a bad joke when historic photographs of the future PM in "blackface" surfaced in 2019.

Suddenly his wokery resembled hypocrisy and the idolisation of "Social Justice Justin" gave way to mockery. Trudeau's image as an all-Canadian family man was also dealt a blow this summer when news emerged that the PM and his glamorous wife, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, had separated. The former TV presenter's occasional absence from his side at international summits had been noticed.

While a deeply personal matter, it has also become a political one because of how public the couple have been about their relationship. The Trudeaus did a photoshoot and interview with Vogue shortly after Justin was elected prime minister, featuring the pair in a close embrace, and describing their first date. It helped cement a public image of the couple as a modern and open family – the face of Canada that many wanted to believe in. Now, as economic challenges

mount and the public image slips, Trudeau faces an uphill struggle to win back voters who have fallen out of love with him.

Eight years ago, it all felt so different. Justin Trudeau swept into office aged just forty-three, the second youngest prime minister in his country's history and the scion of its most celebrated family. Justin Trudeau's implicit promise was to recreate the golden era of liberalism from 1968 to 1984, when his father Pierre dominated Canadian politics. The elder Trudeau, who had put the country on the global map, is fondly remembered by most older people for his social reforms. He legalised homosexuality and abortion, liberalised divorce and abolished the death penalty.

After General de Gaulle had stirred up Francophone Canadians in 1967 with his rallying cry in Montreal, *Vive le Québec libre* (Long live free Quebec), Pierre Trudeau succeeded in killing Québécois separatism with kindness by transforming Canada into a bilingual society. It was arguably his greatest achievement.

As political dynasties go, the Trudeaus are unique. Imagine the impact on the United States of a family which combines the kudos of the Kennedys and the charisma of the Clintons, all rolled into one. Justin shared his father's good looks and charm, if not quite the same intellect and integrity. He presented himself as Canada's first "post-national" prime minister. Trudeaumania was back with a vengeance. Yet dynasties often disappoint. Justin Trudeau has failed to deliver, either for the younger generation who saw him as a standard-bearer of liberal values, or for the middle-aged voters who hark back with nostalgia to the heady days of his father's reforms.

A Research Co poll in July found that whereas Pierre Trudeau was the most popular choice for the best Canadian PM in modern times, Justin was by a

considerable margin seen as the worst. If the elder Trudeau had promised to elevate Canada into the “Just Society”, his son has sought to remake it in his own image — the “Justin Society”. But Canadians are not a fan club and the emperor of cool turns out to have no clothes. Despite grand pronouncements on social issues, the younger Trudeau favours symbolism over substance.

Many of Trudeau’s policies reflect his centre-left economic views but they often have a tinge of protectionism. For example, under a law introduced in 2022, non-Canadians are banned from buying residential property unless they themselves are permanent residents. There is scant evidence that this legislation will help to alleviate housing shortages, as the Trudeau government claims, but it has certainly sent a signal to foreign investors: keep out of Canada. The same applies to Trudeau’s environmental policies. He wants to phase out the oil and gas industries, thereby eviscerating the economy of Alberta, and impose a draconian carbon tax which will handicap economic growth across the board.

The country lacks an entrepreneurial culture: a recent Financial Times list of one hundred top global companies included only one Canadian firm. Unlike its larger neighbour to the south, Canada is falling behind by most measures. This is despite the emphasis placed by Trudeau on mass immigration. Indeed, some critics have suggested that his only strategy for economic growth is to increase the population by importing more “people kind” – a term he coined and which has attracted much ridicule.

In the case of Ukraine, he was so keen to attract those displaced by the Russian invasion that his officials issued far more visas than there were refugees willing to move to Canada. Five out of six Ukrainians offered Canadian visas have chosen to go elsewhere — fewer than 150,000 out of 650,000.

Regardless, the population has just passed the symbolic forty million mark and is due to increase by another 1.5 million by 2025. After Russia, Canada has the world's second largest landmass and so it seems to have plenty of room for more. The arrival of millions of workers is good news for Trudeau, who boasts of his country's record on economic growth. The Canadian economy did not shrink as much as other G7 nations during the pandemic, contracting 5.1 percent in 2020, compared with eleven percent in the UK and 6.1 percent in the eurozone. However, looking ahead, the International Monetary Fund expects growth in Canada to slow, slipping below the average growth rate of 1.9 percent over the decade to 2014 to 1.7 percent in 2028.

Seen in this light, Canada's immigration policy is a cynical gamble, which has been described as "human quantitative easing". Last year its headcount rose by 700,000, just 200,000 fewer than the US – which has a population eight times as large. For ordinary Canadians, it is per capita GDP that matters – and this has shown practically no growth per capita during his administration.

In major cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa and Montreal, house prices are unaffordable for anyone who is not already on the property ladder. The average house price in Canada is \$754,800 – more than eleven times the average household income after taxes. The housing market is one of the most unaffordable in the world and rents are still climbing. Trudeau is now trying to shift blame for the housing crisis onto the provinces and territories, claiming that "housing isn't a primary federal responsibility". Nobody is fooled.

Trudeau began his reform programme by legalising "recreational" cannabis, making Canada the first G7 nation and only the second country in the world to do so. The Cannabis Act was popular among his base, but legal pot failed to eliminate

black market drugs – in fact it was much more expensive and investors in marijuana businesses lost money. Now Vancouver has gone further by decriminalising possession of hard drugs such as cocaine, heroin, or fentanyl. Will the normalisation of narcotics improve the quality of urban life in Canada? It is too soon to say, but the policy has hardly been a resounding success.

Trudeau’s voluntary euthanasia reforms, the Medical Assistance in Dying amendments to the Criminal Code, were introduced in response to a Supreme Court ruling, but are even more controversial. There is widespread concern about medical authorities offering assisted suicide to the disabled, the depressed and other vulnerable people. The annual death toll from euthanasia is rising rapidly and in 2021 exceeded ten thousand. Human rights advocacy groups claim that Canada’s permissive law lacks essential safeguards for patients who may have no other medical conditions besides their disability. Uniquely, the law allows nurses as well as doctors to prescribe euthanasia.

Tim Stainton, director of the Canadian Institute for Inclusion and Citizenship at the University of British Columbia, sees Trudeau’s reform as “probably the biggest existential threat to disabled people since the Nazis’ programme in Germany in the 1930s.”

Equally disturbing have been reports that people living on benefits have been offered euthanasia as a solution to their problems. As in other countries, the Covid pandemic has exacerbated mental health problems in Canada while huge numbers are slipping into poverty.

The heated discussion about euthanasia has tarnished Trudeau’s claim to be the greatest reformer of Canadian human rights since his father. On a visit to this largely Catholic country, Pope Francis denounced the inhuman treatment of

“patients who, in place of affection, are administered death”. Trudeau is a self-proclaimed “cultural Catholic” but appears to disdain his own religion while pandering to others. When some thirty churches were burned down by left-wing activists in response to claims of the discovery of mass graves of indigenous schoolchildren, Trudeau was accused of doing nothing to protect Catholic communities.

Instead, he buys into the darkest possible view of Canada’s colonial history: not merely a racist past, but a genocidal one. He claims that “Canada has no core identity” and thus reduces to absurdity his father’s judged cultural pluralism. Always eager to be woker than thou, in his Twitter (X) feed the prime minister adds “2S” in front of the usual litany of LGBTQ... This acronym means “two spirits” and refers to the tiny minority of the Indigenous First Peoples who do not identify as male or female, but with the spirits of both. Just in case anyone was in any doubt, Trudeau told a Liberal Party conference this year (2023) that “transgender women are women”. He has backed the participation of trans athletes in women’s sports and their access to women-only spaces.

While keen to talk up his progressive credentials on ‘soft’ issues around culture and identity, Trudeau has proved much less able when it comes to dealing with real-world crises. The prime minister’s handling of the Freedom Convoy of truckers protesting about pandemic restrictions in January and February 2022 demonstrates his struggles under pressure.

Among those who converged on the capital Ottawa, some protesters were far-right extremists brandishing Nazi symbols and Confederate flags; many were anti-vaxxers; and some engaged in violence. Some sixty-four percent of Canadians saw the truckers as a threat to democracy. However, forty-six percent shared at

least some of the truckers' views on lockdowns, compulsory vaccines, or masks. Among younger people aged eighteen to thirty-four, that number was sixty-one per cent. Trudeau was criticized by some for acting too slowly and "hiding" from the limelight, while others attacked his refusal to engage with legitimate opposition and argued that the government measures were too harsh.

The prime minister eventually decided to crack down by invoking the Emergencies Act 1988 for the first time ever. The act had its genesis during the two world wars and gives the government sweeping powers over public order at times of genuine crisis. Hundreds of truckers were arrested, and many have been prosecuted. When a Conservative MP, Melissa Lantsmann, took issue with his use of the Emergencies Act, Trudeau's response was tone deaf. How, he asked, could she and her party "stand with people who wave swastikas"? The PM's implicit reference to the fact that Ms. Lantsmann is Jewish and so should be ashamed of herself went down badly among Canadian Jews.

The truth is that as the lorry drivers approached the parliament and seat of government in Ottawa, Trudeau panicked. The protesters were dispersed — but the mask had slipped. This is a prime minister who cannot tolerate dissent; who divides the country into woke sheep and fascist goats; who called an election during the pandemic to give his own standing a temporary booster jab, but now finds himself deeply unpopular.

Where does such a leader turn? Perhaps abroad, in the hope of distraction. But Trudeau's standing on the international stage is hardly better than at home. In February 2022, Canada was quick to offer help to Ukraine. Some four percent of its population are Ukrainians: 1.36 million even before the war. Yet despite

presiding over the largest expatriate Ukrainian population in the world, Trudeau has made a feeble contribution to their embattled homeland.

Even if humanitarian and financial assistance is included, Canada has pledged a smaller share of GDP than any major NATO ally except France. Last June, Trudeau made a visit to Kyiv to promise more military aid but if it is delivered, Canada will rank well below the US, the UK, Germany, and Poland.

Canada's defence budget was the equivalent of 1.22 percent of its economy in 2022. That was lower than Germany and just above Slovenia, according to NATO data. This year, defence spending is expected to be around \$36.7 billion or 1.29 percent of GDP. The truth is that Canada, despite its strategic importance, vast geographical size, and inordinately long coastline, spends well below the 2 percent minimum on defence that NATO demands. Having sheltered under the US umbrella for the past eight years, Trudeau sees no reason to step up military spending at the expense of his pet projects. So, there are few reserves of equipment and other war material available for Ukraine.

As a result, Canada is somewhat isolated in NATO. While Canada remains a member of the Five Eyes Intelligence-sharing group, it was not included in the Aukus defence agreement between the US, UK, and Australia. Canada's exclusion from this cornerstone of the Anglosphere's security architecture promoted soul-searching in Ottawa.

It is the same story on the environment. Trudeau talks a lot about net zero, but in 2023 on his watch Canada endured the worst wildfires in recorded history – some four percent of all the country's forests burnt down. Toxic smoke from these fires has caused hazy skies as far away as Europe, while carbon emissions are also at record levels – one-hundred and sixty mega-tonnes in six months.

Naturally, Trudeau blames climate change, but he ignored warnings about poor forest management and refused to allocate the necessary resources.

Seasoned Trudeau-watchers notice a pattern of behaviour: extravagant rhetoric, followed by periodic bursts of hyperactivity. However, solid achievement is vitiated by a short attention span, a reluctance to face down opposition or to follow through. A good example is the monarchy. Trudeau's younger supporters would like him to press ahead with a referendum to create a Republic of Canada. Polls suggest that a majority of the electorate would support the replacement of constitutional monarchy by an elected president, although only the separatist Bloc Québécois proposed and voted for abolition in parliament.

After the late Queen's funeral and the Coronation of King Charles III, Trudeau expressed lukewarm support for the "steadiness" of the institution. At the same time, he subtly undermined it by proposing a redesign of the crown that appears on bank notes and other official documents. The new crown seems innocuous enough, with Canadian maple leaves instead of the Anglo-French fleur-de-lys, plus wavy blue lines to evoke the nation's maritime past. But the arrows on the ermine base are reversed, pointing left instead of right. The Maltese cross that traditionally surmounts the crown has gone, replaced by a stylised snowflake to represent Canada's arctic climate and pay homage to the Indigenous peoples.

The choice of a snowflake suggests a sense of humour failure of epic proportions. Did nobody in the Trudeau entourage dare to say: "Mr. Prime Minister, a snowflake? Really?" And so, the Christian symbol of self-sacrifice has been supplanted by the religion of ecology, with a consecrated snowflake emoji to proclaim the political correctness of the new secular order. Trudeau loves such gesture politics, but a bolder leader might have seized the opportunity of the

Queen's death to reopen the constitutional debate. Trudeau would doubtless love to stamp his personality on Canadian history, as his father did, by abolishing the monarchy. Unlike Pierre, though, Justin is just too timid – a bit of a snowflake, in fact. Rather than a republic, Trudeau the younger will bequeath a feeble bit of heraldic wokery.

Then there are the family matters. The collapse of Trudeau's marriage has broken the spell of the 'Trudeaus'. Together, Justin and Sophie were more than the sum of their parts; without her, he looks diminished, deflated, and tired.

Trudeau faces an uphill struggle to win a fourth term in the next election, which must be held in 2025 or before. There has been much speculation that Mark Carney, still only fifty-eight, might offer himself as a safe pair of hands, despite the fact the former Bank of England governor ruled himself out last May.

A Globe and Mail (newspaper) poll in the summer of 2023 found that fifty-three percent of the public would like to see a new leader take the Liberals into the next election. Even of those who normally vote Liberal, fewer than half support Trudeau as party leader. His invincible sense of entitlement means that Trudeau's chances should never be written off. After eight years in office, his father was also unpopular – but he turned out to have another eight years to go. To match Trudeau senior's longevity in office will almost certainly be beyond Justin, but that won't stop him trying.

It is the need to equal or surpass his father that drives Justin Trudeau's Hamlet-like ambition. Yet his time in office has demonstrated that there is precious little sitting behind that ambition. Trudeau clings to office in pursuit of a chimera – the post-national destiny of a proud people who are growing weary of

his identity-driven politics. Canadians are emphatically not a nation of snowflakes, despite what the prime minister may think.

Sources include NP Comment, Macleans Magazine, and The Telegraph

Chapter Fifteen

Universities Lead the Way

The word “critical” shows up a lot in job ads (universities). But it doesn’t refer to critical thinking. In this context, “critical” is a code word that signals a very specific and radical left-leaning view which asserts that the causes of most social problems can be found in the inherently oppressive nature of capitalism, settler colonialism and white supremacy. It wouldn’t be appropriate (for now at least) for a university to say, “we only want applicants with certain political beliefs.” So instead, they insert the word “critical” in order to achieve a similar effect.

(Chris Dummitt - professor - 2021)

The author of an academic study in 2021 surveying professors and graduate students in university social science and humanity departments in Canada, the U.S., and the U.K., said his findings provide, “hard data on the absence of viewpoint diversity (in universities) and the presence of discrimination against conservative and gender-critical scholars.”

“We found that most academics don’t support cancel culture, but a large minority — in some cases a majority — discriminate against conservatives and gender-critical scholars” said Eric Kaufmann, a professor of politics at Birkbeck College of the University of London. “In addition, younger academics are more intolerant of older scholars, suggesting trouble for defenders of academic freedom in the years to come.”

His report, “Academic Freedom in Crisis: Punishment, Political Discrimination and Self-Censorship” done for the Centre for the Study of

Partisanship and Ideology — found that in Canada: Seventy-three percent of academics sampled from forty top-ranked Canadian universities identified as left-wing, four percent as right-wing. Sixty percent of conservative academics say there is a hostile climate to their beliefs in their departments, compared to only nine percent for liberal academics who felt this way about their beliefs. Forty-five percent of liberal academics would not hire a professor solely for expressing support for former U.S. president Donald Trump and only twenty-seven percent would be comfortable having lunch with a gender-critical scholar who opposes the idea of a trans woman accessing women’s shelters.

Younger academics were twice as likely to support dismissing controversial conservative professors compared to older academics, with forty-one percent under the age of forty supporting at least one of four hypothetical dismissal campaigns. Seven percent of academics voted for the federal Conservatives in the last election, compared to more than thirty-four percent of voters.

Kaufmann said because of liberal bias, many conservative students self-select away from academia as a career, while conservative professors tend to retire early, making the problem of liberal bias worse over time. Conservative scholars said they avoid asking questions about controversial issues that go against the progressive consensus in their departments, out of fear for their careers.

Kaufmann said while most liberal academics don’t fit the stereotype of hard-left radicals and it’s simplistic to describe universities as hard-left monocultures, there are serious and growing problems with liberal bias. While only one in ten liberal professors surveyed advocated firing conservative colleagues for expressing controversial views, “a growing minority discriminates

against them and isn't actively opposed to their cancellation. This helps explain why there isn't enough internal pressure to protect academic freedom. The problem is now spilling off campus.

"None of this is because liberals are particularly prone to discriminate," Kaufmann said. "In fact, liberals and conservatives in academia discriminate at similar rates. The difference is that many more scholars lean left, meaning that the impact of discrimination falls overwhelmingly on conservatives, a serious issue. "The problem of progressive liberalism has persisted for four decades," Kaufmann concludes.

"Universities cannot reform themselves and require external intervention. A promising model involves annual auditing from provincial and federal governments to ensure that public universities are adhering to the law on freedom of expression and not engaging in discrimination against political minorities" Premier Doug Ford's government in Ontario introduced a free speech policy for provincial universities, but such policies are controversial and generally opposed by universities, who see them as an attack on their academic freedom.

TFI Media (a content platform based out of India in Noida and Uttar Pradesh of all places) promoted this interesting piece by Vedica Singh... in the name of '21st-century buildings for '21st-century education,' universities have started to face a wave of liberalism in Canada. If you have diverse viewpoints, you will be ostracised. If you are not left leaning, you'll be singled out. So, what will you do? The fear of ostracism will compel you to wear the cloak of liberalism, at least when in Canada.

According to research done by the Macdonald Laurier Institute, Canadian universities are seriously deficient in viewpoint diversity and have instead become politically homogeneous institutions. Only nine percent of professors vote for conservative parties, while many of them (eighty-eight percent) self-identify as having a left-leaning stance. The study demonstrates that political bias is growing in Canadian colleges.

The survey asked whether the professors would be worried if their political opinions became known. Almost eighty-eight percent of left-leaning professors were either not very worried or not worried at all. However, when it looked at the right-leaning political minority, the situation changed considerably: forty-four percent were somewhat or very worried about-facing negative consequences if colleagues, students, or others on campus learned of their political opinions and the right-leaning professors feel like they face a hostile work environment.

Now, this creates a harsh environment for people who hold minority political views. But why can't there be political neutrality in universities and colleges? Perhaps, because Justin Trudeau wants to use academia as a tool. He is trying to solidify his party's popularity in universities and colleges. The right-leaning minorities on campuses fear being subjected to a witch-hunt and hence prefer to self-censor. The current behaviour of professors is the epitome of this type of self-censorship. Fifty-seven percent of academics who lean to the right have self-censored in academic settings out of concern for unfavourable outcomes.

It has an impact on professors of all political persuasions because thirty-four percent of all professors admit to self-censoring out of concern for unfavourable outcomes should their opinions on topics become public. Many

professors firmly believe in academic freedom. However, a sizable minority of professors – between thirty-two and thirty-four percent – are willing to curtail academic freedom and “cancel” their colleagues to uphold their social justice-related political beliefs.

In response to the MLI survey, professors responded by giving a variety of examples and scenarios in which they have avoided talking about certain subjects. These examples range from altering the way they teach to completely avoiding certain subjects to even changing their research career to avoid potential negative consequences. Self-censorship is a problem for certain academics, including those on the left, even though right-leaning professors tend to feel the need to exercise it the most.

We can now imagine that if Canadian university professors are so politically biased and actively promote a particular ideology, they will also push the same for their students. There won't be any room for debate or discussion among students on diverse viewpoints. After all, students are heavily inspired by their teachers. The report by MLI also gives recommendations on solving this issue. This includes the creation of an Academic Freedom Act; insisting that universities remain politically neutral in their public statements, hiring practices, and organisational structure and rules; eliminating political loyalty tests from hiring, research funding, and other human resource decisions and bodies; legislate that unions cannot discriminate based on politics in the defence of their members; and generally, promote a culture of academic freedom.

But will these recommendations be considered? Perhaps never by the current government. You see, the liberal poster boy is trying to inculcate liberalism through constructive programming that will start with the young minds

in universities. Students of this age are more vulnerable to liberal doctrine. And since academia is the best tool, anybody could ask for, and having a knack for such petty tactics, Trudeau has successfully found the right pitch to get into the vulnerable fortress. Surely this indicates that the concept of true academic freedom is breathing its last in Canada.

Sources for this chapter include Lorrie Goldstein – Toronto Sun and TFIGLOBAL

Chapter Sixteen

It's Past Fragmentation – It's Dead

Canada's health-care system is collapsing—and more money isn't going to fix it. Long before the pandemic, patients endured some of the longest wait times for medically necessary care in the developed world.

At the same time Canadians footed one of the largest bills for a universal health-care system. And things have only gotten worse.

(Fraser Institute – 2023)

A Forbes article by Sally Pipes who is president, CEO of the Thomas W. Smith healthcare policy at the Pacific Research Institute wrote... Senator Bernie Sanders (USA) has promised to make "universal health care" a focus of his tenure atop the HELP Committee. He's long been a fan of Canada's single-payer system, wherein the government has a monopoly on paying for medically necessary care.

But that system is crumbling. Canadian patients face record waits for both routine and emergency care. And they pay dearly for the privilege. Canada's healthcare system, called Medicare, was once the country's pride and joy. But as the program enters its seventh decade, public opinion is starting to turn. Just over half of Canadians said they were satisfied with their healthcare system in 2022, down from nearly seventy percent in 2020.

It's easy to see why. Waits are interminable. In 2022, Canadian patients waited a median 27.4 weeks between referral from a general practitioner and receipt of treatment from a specialist, according to the Fraser Institute, a Vancouver think tank. That's nearly two weeks longer than the median wait time

in 2021—and almost triple the 9.3 weeks Canadians waited on average in 1993. And since private health insurance is illegal for care the government deems medically necessary, patients can't pay a premium to escape the queue.

Nor, for that matter, can doctors. They have one customer—the government. And that customer is committed to keeping a lid on costs. Canada spends 12.2% of GDP on health care; health care accounts for 18.3% of U.S. GDP, by comparison. So Canadian doctors have to do more with less. And that's pushing many to the brink. More than half of Canadian doctors reported burnout in 2021, up from just thirty percent in 2017, according to a recent Canadian Medical Association survey.

Another survey found that over seventy-five percent of Canadian nurses "qualified as burnt-out in 2021." And while doctors work an average of fifty-two hours a week, they spend just thirty-six hours treating patients, devoting a total of sixteen hours to paperwork and other bureaucratic tasks. Facing these onerous conditions, Canadian doctors are quitting the business. Nearly twenty percent of family doctors in Toronto are planning to shut their doors in the next five years, according to a study published in the journal *Canadian Family Physician*. Many are citing burnout as their reason for doing so.

The Canadian Medical Association estimates some five million Canadians did not have a primary care provider in 2021. The Children's Hospital of Recent Ontario was so short-staffed this winter that the Canadian Red Cross needed to send reinforcement doctors. To add insult to injury, this shoddy "free" care actually costs Canadians a pretty penny. A typical family of four paid a whopping \$15,847 in taxes just to cover the cost of public health insurance, according to research from the Fraser Institute.

The Canadian health tax burden has surged in recent years. A childless couple who paid \$8,225 in taxes for public coverage in 1997 pays around \$15,229 today — an eighty-five percent increase. Not even these hefty taxes can keep Medicare running smoothly. Provincial leaders are asking the Canadian government to cover thirty-five percent of healthcare costs, up from the twenty-two percent they currently cover. But fifty-seven percent of Canadians say the current spending rate is already unsustainable, and experts agree. As Steven Staples, national director of policy and advocacy for the Canadian Health Coalition, put it, increasing funding to Medicare at this point is like "pouring hot water into a leaky bathtub."

Rather than doubling down on failed and expensive socialized medicine, Canadian leaders need to consider lifting the ban on private health coverage and allowing market forces to repair some of the nation's broken healthcare system. Single payer may be Bernie's dream, but it's rapidly becoming every Canadian's nightmare. Perhaps some of his colleagues on the HELP Committee can invite some of the Canadians waiting for care to offer a firsthand perspective on the crisis plaguing their healthcare system.

In June of 2023 the Fraser Institute said.... While pandemic-related cancellations were not unique to Canada, many of our international peers started in a much better place. For example, a Commonwealth Fund survey of eleven countries in 2016 revealed that Canada already ranked at the bottom of the pack for timely access to elective care. And in 2020, the first full year of the pandemic, Canada repeated this feat. Only sixty-two percent of patients in Canada reported waiting less than four months for elective surgeries, far behind Sweden (71 per cent) the United Kingdom (72 percent) and the Netherlands (87 percent).

Fortunately, we can learn from these other countries that started in stronger positions and have now turned the tide on their surgical backlogs. Each of them has had their own struggle with wait times—and each have strategically addressed surgical backlogs when they occur.

First, these countries allow private-care providers to assume a more active role within the public system, thereby increasing available capacity and diminishing the pressure on public providers. While some Canadian provinces utilized private providers during COVID to help clear the backlog, and others have historically relied on private providers to delivery select procedures, the federal government is already threatening the provinces with financial penalties unless these clinics refrain from charging fees for private care.

Moreover, while patients in Canada are theoretically able to choose their specialists and surgeons, they're essentially bound by referral decisions from their family doctor (if they have one). By contrast, these other universal health-care systems more actively allow patients to compare and choose providers—including (sometimes) private hospitals—for their publicly-funded treatments.

Finally, many countries that outperform Canada on wait times have shifted away from the sort of fixed hospital budgeting system used in Canada towards “activity-based” funding, which ensures that money follows the patient. When patients are no longer sources of expense in a fixed budget but rather a source of additional revenue, providers are encouraged to deliver quality services to attract more patients. This is in sharp contrast with the Canadian situation, where hospitals that accept referred patients do not get additional funding and have no incentive to treat patients in a timely manner.

Again, just about every universal health-care system in the world made the difficult decision to postpone (or cancel) medically necessary care during the pandemic. But countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden and the U.K. understand the importance of making better use of resources (whether public or private) to solve the crisis, financially incentivizing hospitals to treat patients in a timely manner, supporting universal access to care with the help of privately-owned care providers, and giving patients a choice when the public system fails.

It's inconceivable that a rich and advanced country like ours (Canada) would have its citizens languish on waiting lists for so long. There are important lessons to learn from these European countries, which have managed to reduce waiting times without undermining the principles of universality and equity in access to care. Let's hope for the sake of patients that Canadian policymakers draw inspiration from these countries rather than remain adamant on preserving our current broken health-care system....

The crisis is most evident in the country's hospitals, which faced a surge in respiratory illnesses last fall that left some people waiting hours in emergency departments, sometimes being treated there because of a lack of staffed beds. There were high-profile deaths of people whose families said they could have lived had they received timely care.

A Toronto Sun article by Lorrie Goldstein wrote... politicians going back decades were responsible for creating the myths that Canada's health system care is free, publicly funded and the best in the world. In reality, our system is expensive compared to other countries around the world with comparable universal health care systems. Thirty per cent of our health care is privately funded. While there are many positive examples of excellent health care — in

spite of rather than because of the current system — internationally, Canada’s medical outcomes overall are mediocre compared to similar countries.

Canadians face some of the longest medical wait times for treatment in the developed world in a system with too few frontline health care providers and insufficient operating rooms and equipment, such as MRIs. The reason Canada has too few doctors is due to deliberate policies by provincial governments starting in the 1990s, when Ottawa reduced transfer payments to the provinces in order to balance the federal budget that was out of control at the time.

The theory — promoted by so-called health care economists within Canada’s overly bureaucratized health care system — was that graduating fewer doctors by reducing the public funding of medical schools, would mean lower costs because there would be fewer doctors treating patients and ordering tests. What happened instead is that the number of Canadians without family doctors skyrocketed. That resulted in higher costs, because without family doctors, patients end up in hospital emergency rooms for both minor and more serious health care issues — where it is far more expensive to treat them....

Twenty-four hours before this book was to go to its webmaster for full publication on the world wide web, author Reed W. Turcotte had a serious medical emergency and was whisked off by ambulance to the nearest hospital. During his nearly forty-eight hour-stay in the emergency bay, due to zero sleep, he was able to observe yet another broken part of Canada’s medical system. What he saw were about half the nurses and most of the cleaning staff showing little degree of professionalism towards their job but rather a laissez-faire attitude toward their patients. The author was left soiled with urine and feces and almost nobody cared. We can’t say that they were run off their feet because many times

during the day and night, they were chatting, laughing, and paying little, if any attention to their patients.

It is because of this and everything else that you have read in this chapter that this author is calling for a two-tier medical system. Many of you are concerned that “we (Canada) will lose good nurses and doctors”. No, it would not happen that way – private medical clinics would only open up in about the top ten major population markets in Canada (at least in the beginning) and employ approximately somewhere north of sixty doctors and one-hundred and thirty nurses in total – remember wealthy people get a lot less sick.

The system is dead – we don’t need to fix the old system, but rather bring in a completely new one that saves Canadian health care rather than buries it. And that people - is two-tier, both public and private hospitals – nothing else will work.

If you don’t believe what this author has just said, then maybe this sign hanging at the entrance of the ER in early October 2023 in Williams Lake, British Columbia says it all, “Emergency closure unless patient is imminently dying – sorry for the inconvenience.”

Sources for this chapter include Forbes, Yanick Labrie & Bacchus Barua of the Fraser Institute, Lorrie Goldstein-Toronto Sun

Epilogue

A study by the Angus Reid Institute found Canadians view their country more positively than Americans do — but only a slight majority of people in Canada believe their system of government is good. Forty-eight and forty-five per cent of Indigenous and visible minority respondents, respectively, said Canada's system of government is good, compared to fifty-two per cent of non-visible minority respondents.

How Canadians see their country also varied depending on their political alignments, with those who voted Liberal in the 2021 federal election generally viewing Canada more positively compared to Conservative, Bloc Quebecois and NDP voters. On the same question of whether Canada has a good system of government, Liberal voters were most likely to say it does at seventy-seven per cent, while only thirty per cent of Conservative voters said so.

In the first of a multi-part series that began in September 2023, Angus Reid weighed in on Canada's divided discourse. They stated.... on one extreme, the Zealous Activists are those leading the charge to modernize expression in their own view and draw attention to the experiences of marginalized groups. They tend to see the culture wars as an opportunity to educate and inform, and they're comfortable punishing those who offend. On the other end of the spectrum are the Defiant Objectors. This group sees these conversations as "unnecessary" and overtly punitive in their aims. They're permissive in their language, and staunch in their unwillingness to consider change on issues like Indigenous reconciliation,

recognizing privilege, and other touchpoints of progressive causes. Others take a more mixed view of these issues, or don't hold strong views at all....

Canadians pride in their nationality, like most things these days, seems to be divided down partisan lines, a poll last summer suggested. While a strong majority of the 1,512 respondents to a survey by Leger said they were proud to be Canadian — eighty-one per cent — the poll suggested the feeling is less common among Conservative supporters than their Liberal counterparts.

Experts say that while the results of the survey may be surprising given Conservatives' reputation as a patriotic party, it reflects their malcontent with the direction in which Canada is headed. The poll found ninety-seven per cent of those who listed their voting intentions as Liberal said they were very or somewhat proud to be Canadian, as did eighty-seven per cent of NDP-leaning respondents. That number dipped among Conservative voters, just seventy-six per cent of whom answered in the affirmative. An even smaller portion of the thirty respondents who said they vote for the People's Party of Canada (PPC) said they were proud to be Canadian - just forty-five per cent.

"Conservatism is often associated with patriotism, right?" said Daniel Béland, director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. "In this case, you don't have that because there is discontent towards the federal government, towards federal policies, and maybe also towards the direction the country is heading." Across all respondents, six per cent said they were not at all proud to be Canadian. But among Conservative respondents, the portion was eight per cent. Twelve per cent of those who vote for the separatist Bloc Québécois and twenty-seven per cent of PPC voters said they were not at all proud to be Canadian. "Some people, when they think about 'Are you proud to be Canadian,'

they think about, ‘Are you proud of being under the leadership of Justin Trudeau, are you proud to be under the Liberal leadership,’ Béland said.

In the same summer (2023) this story was making the rounds – this author brings the story back to life to show how special interest groups, minorities and average Canadians who have assisted in the fragmentation of Canada come in all colors and political stripes. This article was written by Josh Dawson.... residential school deniers entered the former Kamloops Indian Residential School site to dig up unmarked graves, according to a new (at that time) report. Kimberly Murray, the independent special interlocutor for missing children and unmarked graves and burial sites associated with Indian Residential Schools, said in the Friday report that residential school deniers entered the site where the remains of hundreds of children were reportedly found in 2021.

“Denialists entered the site without permission. Some came in the middle of the night, carrying shovels; they said they wanted to “see for themselves” if children are buried there,” the report reads. Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc also had to deal with uninvited visitors who didn’t respect the site, the report claims, including deniers and members of the media who breached cultural protocols by taking photos and video recordings of the burial site without consent.

The report states that the community was also attacked on social media by deniers. “Many international experts point out that denialism is the last step in genocide. Denialism is not harmless, yet its destructive impacts are not widely recognized or understood,” the report reads. “The burden of countering denialism should not rest on the shoulders of survivors or those attempting to heal from the trauma relating to the search and recovery of the missing children and unmarked burials.”

According to the report, “a core group of Canadians” continue to defend the residential school’s system, by denying that children suffered physical, sexual, psychological, cultural, and spiritual abuse, while others try to deny or minimize the impacts. “Every time an announcement of anomalies, reflections or recoveries relating to the existence of unmarked burials is made, Indigenous communities are being attacked by denialists challenging these findings,” the report states.

“This violence is prolific and takes place via email, telephone, social media, op-eds and, at times, through in-person confrontations.”

Winnipeg Centre MP Leah Gazan said denying genocide is violent and re-traumatizes survivors. According to the report, Gazan is proposing legislation that would make Indian Residential School denialism a hate crime.

“This is more than a media story whose time is coming and going, we have to ensure justice and accountability keeps going in the long-term,” Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc Kukpi7 Rosanne Casimir said in the report. “We need to pressure the government and the churches to do the right thing so our survivors can find peace”

Others though, put a different spin on it. In late 2023 this article by Tristin Hopper appeared in a newsletter promoted by a Canadian national newspaper. It said.... in the last week, some international news outlets published claims that Canada has fallen for one of the biggest hoaxes in its history. “Alleged mass grave of Indigenous children at Catholic schools across Canada contains no bodies,” declared Britain’s Daily Mail. “No human remains found two years after claims of ‘mass graves’ in Canada,” headlined the New York Post.

In the spring of 2021, a series of ground-penetrating radar surveys near the sites of former Indian Residential Schools uncovered anomalies that appeared to

be consistent with children’s graves. In the nationwide protests that followed, more than sixty Canadian churches were vandalized or destroyed, and statues were pulled down in virtually every major city. The surveys would help spawn the creation of a new holiday, Truth, and Reconciliation Day, prompt an official visit by Pope Francis and result in Canadian flags being kept at half-mast for a record-breaking five consecutive months.

And then, in August 2023, an excavation at the Pine Creek Residential School in Manitoba determined that fourteen “anomalies” suspected to be children’s graves were actually nothing. To date, of the hundreds of suspected graves identified starting in 2021, Pine Creek is the only one that has been followed up with an archaeological dig. But there’s just one problem with claims that this was all an engineered hoax: No First Nation performing the surveys ever claimed that these were “mass graves,” that they were deliberately concealed or that they were the result of homicide. The claims of “mass graves” or mass murder came mostly from foreign outlets. The events of 2021 all kicked off with a May press release from Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc announcing that a radar survey near the former Kamloops Indian Residential School had found “confirmation of the remains of two-hundred and fifteen children.”

In operation for more than eighty years, the school was already well-known for having disproportionate rates of student deaths who were often buried onsite. Using church and government records, the 2015 final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was able to name more than fifty children known to have died at the school. But the two-hundred and fifteen were believed to be “undocumented deaths,” according to a statement by T’kemplups chief Rosanne Casimir.

Three similar announcements followed throughout the summer, each one spurring a new wave of sensationalized domestic and international headlines. But in all these cases, First Nations were careful to note that the graves were either within existing cemeteries, were previously known about or may not even be children's graves with any link to a residential school.

"Although these findings are tragic, they are still undergoing analysis and the history of this area is a complex one," cautioned one July announcement by the Ktunaxa community of ʔaǰam regarding the discovery of one-hundred and eighty two suspected graves near the former site of the St. Eugene's Mission School outside Cranbrook, B.C. ʔaǰam Chief Joe Pierre would later clarify that it was "extremely difficult to establish whether or not these unmarked graves contain the remains of children who attended the St. Eugene residential school."

When the Cowessess First Nation in Saskatchewan announced a survey showing seven-hundred and fifty-one unmarked graves near the site of the former Marieval Indian Residential School, Chief Cadmus Delorme was careful about saying they were not a mass grave. Rather, these were plots within a larger Catholic cemetery whose headstones Delorme said had been removed by Catholic authorities. "This is not a mass grave site. These are unmarked graves," he said.

A leaked internal email by the Penelakut Tribe of B.C. mentioned about one-hundred and sixty unmarked graves near the former Kuper Island Residential School, leading to wide-ranging reports of another batch of confirmed residential school graves. Far less attention was given to a follow-up Penelakut statement in which authorities said the figure wasn't supposed to be made public and wasn't even necessarily related to the school.

“The local Indigenous leaders most directly involved in last summer’s ‘discoveries’ tended to be the most cautious of all the various participants in the rancorous public debates. In some cases, those local leaders had never even intended to draw any public attention to the ‘ground truth’ work they were overseeing at the residential school sites that ended up the subject of all those shocking headlines,” wrote National Post columnist Terry Glavin in a detailed account last May of how the 2021 graves issue was misrepresented by Canadian and international media.

In the wave of statue desecration and church vandalism that hit Canada in the spring of 2021, the term “dig them up” would become a frequently graffiti’ed term. But First Nations nearest to the discoveries were often hesitant to move on to exhumation out of respect for their dead, and fears about igniting local traumas. T’kemplups, for one, has seen a massive community divide among members who want the two-hundred and fifteen suspected graves exhumed, and those who want them left undisturbed.

“We all understand what it means to move the kids, to disturb them. There’s no one who doesn’t understand that” T’kemplups representative Ted Gottfriedson said in May, 2022 of the community’s decision to ultimately move forward with excavation. “There’s no manual for us to follow, so we’re taking things slow.” One of the first mentions of the term “mass grave” came from The New York Times. Their coverage of the T’kemplups survey called it a “mass grave of Indigenous children.”

In the weeks that followed, other international press reports would similarly misrepresent the four surveys, often framing them as confirmed, clandestine burials of dead children. “Over six hundred bodies found at

Indigenous school in Canada,” read the Associated Press’s report on the Cowessess announcement. “Mass grave with remains of two-hundred and fifteen children found at Indigenous school in Canada,” wrote USA Today. When a statue of Queen Victoria was pulled down by protest mobs in Manitoba, The Daily Beast said that it was an act of “rage” over “the discovery of mass graves for Indigenous children.”

None of the events of 2021 disturbed the core facts that Indian Residential Schools were explicitly designed to forcibly remove Indigenous children from their parents and assimilate them into white society in underfunded schools awash with corporal punishment and sexual predation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s 2015 final report found 3,201 confirmed student deaths, mostly due to disease — although the poor state of record-keeping led commissioners to conclude there was likely many more.

In May 2023, a story warned that media misrepresentation of the unmarked graves story helped to contribute to a wave of church arsons that disproportionately affected Indigenous parishes, who suffered the loss of churches built by their ancestors. As social media abounded in fall of 2023 with unfounded viral claims that Canadian residential school deaths were all a state-sponsored “hoax,” it looked like another casualty could be the near-universal Canadian consensus, that residential schools were one of our greatest national crimes. Stay tuned – this is an ever-ending on-going story in Canada.

Now, let’s turn the page (metaphorically speaking) to a slightly more altered note about Canada. Just before Canada Day in 2022 Terence Corcoran ran this story in the National Post, part of it reads like this.... there is no need to describe the innumerable flaws that allegedly plague Canadian history. We know

them all, catalogued daily over the last few years in media and books and on film that portray Canada as a country plagued by religious and racial conflicts, discrimination based on skin colour or heritage, stories of mass graves and social injustice, gender suppression and political repression. The need to reverse this narrative and correct history with facts and understanding is long overdue, and now may be the perfect time to begin deconstructing the negative narrative that has poisoned the real story of Canada, of a nation that, through one hundred and fifty-six years, has risen and triumphed as a land of freedom for individuals of all races and cultures. Despite the constant stream of anti-Canadian viewpoints that have dominated the media in recent years, the factual record of Canada as a haven for personal freedom has been well documented through scores of literary, academic, intellectual, and personal assessments.

There may, however, be no better starting point for opening the renewal of Canada's history as a freedom home for millions than a book published this month (June 2023) titled *The 1867 Project: Why Canada Should Be Cherished — Not Cancelled*. Edited by Calgary public policy analyst Mark Milke, and published by an organization called The Aristotle Foundation for Public Policy, *The 1867 Project* is an intellectual eye-opening collection of essays by a group of twenty writers who dig down into mainstream Canadian negativism and expose most of it as the product of twisted ideologies and misunderstandings.

The twenty contributors include many names familiar to National Post readers, including John Robson, Jamil Jivani, Lynn McDonald, Peter Shawn Taylor, Matthew Lau, and Bruce Parly. But there are many others who systematically demolish the principal tenets, ideas and claims about Canada as a cultural and racial failure.

As Milke notes in his introduction, the twenty contributors are themselves representative of Canada's diverse cultural history. "As a happy accident," he writes, "The 1867 Project reflects every human skin colour and a few different faiths (Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, or none)." The ethnic breakdown of writers traces genetic roots to the first arrivals in the Americas to those with roots in Europe, Africa, India, and the Anglosphere.

Despite the diversity of race and religion, the lines of argument, exposition and commentary run a powerful straight line through the intellectual forces behind the false ideas that Canada is a "systemically racist" nation that continues to bear the burden of colonialist injustice, cultural divisions, and racial oppression. Milke writes that "Attachment to liberal ideas of equality of the individual and, ultimately, freedom for the individual and her chosen beliefs is at the heart of our core identity as Canadians." Canada today, as a country and as a people of many races and religions, has moved on and risen high above the often violent and bitter cultural, racial, and religious conflicts of the past. Wilson draws a connection to present troubles in the closing sentences of his book. "The relationship between civil liberty and state security is an issue that will haunt us for many years to come, with the rise of populist and religious extremism, the politics of polarization, and the continuing threats of domestic and international terrorism."

Perhaps, we can learn something from the experience of the 1860s — and from Macdonald, who also emerges as something of a rational hero in *The 1867 Project*. In a chapter titled "Sir John A. Macdonald saved more indigenous lives than any other prime minister," writer Greg Piasetzki describes Canada's first prime minister with words that echo those of David Wilson in his Fenian history.

Macdonald was determined to avoid violence and dislocation, to prevent war and work peacefully to establish treaties and agreements with Indigenous people.

This version of Macdonald will be news to Canadians who get their view of Canada's first prime minister from the today's media. "When Indigenous tribes requested it, he offered western-style education — mostly in the form of day schools — on a non-compulsory basis." Piasetzki adds that Macdonald's political opponents attacked him relentlessly for indulging Canada's "barbarous" Indigenous population. Today, Macdonald is accused of participating in genocide.

The 1867 Project is, however, not a history book that dwells solely on correcting impressions of Canada's past, although it does take on the cancel-culture false narratives used to topple other figures, including Egerton Ryerson, whose name was removed from Toronto's Ryerson University, which was renamed Toronto Metropolitan University, a travesty that Guelph University emeritus professor Lynn McDonald argues needs to be reversed. Ryerson was a "Maker of Canada" and deserves to have his historical role "recognized again" by Toronto Metropolitan University. "It will take time, for large numbers of people will have to admit that they fell for false accusations."

The 1867 Project ends with an optimistic pair of chapters by Mark Milke, the book's editor. One section written with public policy researcher Ven Venkatachalam uses graphs to document Canada's integrationist history and its success in welcoming immigrants of all races and creeds into the economy.

Milke's final chapter begins with a call to action. "It is time to debunk a nonsensical myth that has metastasized in Canada in recent years." The myth is that respect for the ideas and values of freedom and individual autonomy are part of some kind of "cultural superiority complex." The opposite is true, he says.

Ideas, not identity, should be at the core of Canada’s political and cultural existence.

As an optimist, Milke is upbeat. The 1867 Project is about “renewing and ultimately strengthening the project that is Canada, a centuries long conscious creation that has provided ever increasing opportunities to ever-more diverse peoples”

In fall of 2023 columnist John Ivison in a way followed suit with what Milke stated when he wrote this story....it is paradoxical that a prime minister who ventured the thought that Canada is stronger because of its differences, rather than in spite of them, is now presiding over a political landscape dominated as never before by ill-will and alienation.

Politics in this country may never have been exactly civil — it’s been said the best explanation for the good old days is a bad memory. But the respect and a broad policy consensus that undeniably existed has been replaced by loathing and partisan hostility. Illiberalism is the dominant strain on both the left and the right.

There is empirical evidence that Canada is a meaner country than it was a few short years ago. The government has overseen an explosion in international students coming to Canada — 900,000 this year alone — many of whom are using education as a back door to citizenship.

By paying tuition fees of around twenty-five thousand dollars, students can come to Canada, study part-time at a private college, work legally in low-wage jobs and stay in the country for years after graduating. Coupled with a Liberal plan to boost the number of permanent residents to 500,000 by 2025 — double the number from a decade earlier — it is clear that there has been a massive increase

in low-skilled immigration that threatens to put pressure on wages at the bottom end of the labour market.

The lobby group Colleges and Institutes Canada, whose members are the main beneficiaries of the huge influx in tuition fees, acknowledged as much when it said in a statement that the cap on international students being contemplated by Ottawa could “exacerbate current labour shortages.” A reminder: this is a program for international students, not temporary foreign workers.

As many economists have noted, such high numbers of newcomers have the happy corollary for the government of boosting GDP — immigration is likely to account for the total output increases of 1.5 per cent in 2023 and 2024.

But those gains will mask a cumulative decrease in output per person and add to the housing crisis. In short, Canadians will be worse off under this policy and resistance to similar levels of immigration will surely follow.

The Liberals have to accept a disproportionate share of the blame for the state we’re in because they have been in government for nearly eight years.

But the conditions for a more bitter politics were already ripe in 2015. After the Second World War, average real wages doubled in roughly 30 years. In the subsequent half-century, they have been relatively stagnant. Poll after poll has shown most Canadians think the next generation will have a lower standard of living than their parents did — an economic backdrop against which it is hard to generate optimism.

The advent of social media that prioritizes provocative content has helped erode the common ground most Canadians shared in the postwar world.

Politicians have found that what former Conservative leader Erin O’Toole called “performance politics” works for them: ramping up the rhetoric and

demonizing their opponents to get noticed. MPs not viewed as being sufficiently combative are considered suspect by their colleagues and partisan constituents.

O’Toole’s successor, Pierre Poilievre, has fine-tuned the cartoonish manipulation of the outrage machine that is X (formerly Twitter), combining bombastic rhetoric and an indifference to truth. Impressively, in one recent tweet, he managed to malign the trifecta of Conservative scourges — the prime minister, the CBC and the World Economic Forum — in under one-hundred and forty characters. As Justin Ling, author of the PPF report on polarization, noted, political parties used to be big tents, a microcosm of the country at large, but they now more closely resemble special interest groups.

The pandemic only accelerated that division of Canadians into two tribes, when a material minority emerged who were vocal in their belief that governing elites had lost their connection to the people they are meant to serve. That gave birth to the truckers’ convoy protest that blockaded downtown Ottawa last year. It is a significant indication of widespread disillusionment that one poll suggested a majority of eighteen to thirty-four year-olds sympathized with the protest against vaccine mandates, even if they didn’t agree with the blockade.

Justin Trudeau did little to reconcile alienated voters by calling a snap election under the emergencies act and using vaccine status as a wedge issue. He even referred to his opponents as “often anti-science, often misogynistic, often racist” and wondered if they should be tolerated. For a leader who is quick to blame those who disagree with him of engaging in “the politics of fear and division,” it revealed his own tendency toward intolerance. His critics contend that Trudeau has been on a quest to transform Canada into something more

closely resembling his own progressive leanings — and of portraying those who oppose him as uninformed, irresponsible, or motivated by unworthy goals.

Moderation and the modest compromises that characterized much of Canadian political history have been jettisoned in favour of lofty goals that often come with unintended consequences, such as the immigration targets. It is telling that the debate around the cabinet table apparently was not whether 500,000 newcomers was too many, but rather whether that number was ambitious enough.

In the current fervid political environment, it is unrealistic to expect a politician to emerge who will appeal for calmer heads to prevail. Voters are in a vitriolic mood. Appealing to their better angels is likely to leave any politician feeling like Winston Churchill after his first abortive venture into politics, “deflated as a bottle of champagne when it has been half-emptied and left uncorked for a night.”

Courtesy of Castanet, CTV News (Michael Lee), Nicole Thompson-The Canadian Press,
Terence Corcoran, John Ivison, and the National Post.

The Last Word

Changing Canada's History - one Brick at a Time

It's much easier for Canadians to keep their sheep/ostrich-heads in the sand and assume that anyone pointing out not so much what's going on but what's already happened is an extremist, bigot, a right-wing conspiracy theorist, a Confederate sympathizer, a MAGA Republican - hell-bent for god only knows what possible reason, on overthrowing Canadian democracy.

(J. Peterson – September 11, 2023)

The National Capital Commission (NCC) board of directors voted this past summer (2023) to rename the Sir John A. Macdonald Parkway as Kichi Zībī Mīkan. The Ottawa River Parkway was originally named after Canada's first prime minister, who oversaw the centralization and expansion of the country's residential school system. Indigenous people have called for a new name for years. Ottawa city councillors along the roadway joined them in 2021 and in January of this year, the NCC's board voted to change the name. In June 2023, its CEO said the new name was chosen after consulting Algonquin people. Mīkan, pronounced MEE-khan, is an Algonquin word meaning road or path. Kichi Zībī means great river and is the Algonquin name for what would later be called the Ottawa River.

Albert Dumont, an Algonquin spiritual advisor from Kitigan Zibi Anishinābeg First Nation north of Ottawa, has been one of the leading advocates for changing

the name and organized a protest about it last year. He said "it's going to feel good hearing the replacement. My heart will be glad every time," he told the CBC's Hallie Cotnam. I've got to say it was truly painful to hear it so much everyday; how the road conditions are, and traffic in the morning."

On this book's jacket cover, are printed the words "Its identity and history are being sanitized", and what we mean by that can be summed up in a story by Steve Paikin on tvO today. He said.... for several years now, Ontario has been going through a cultural reckoning. The statue of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, remains crated up in front of Queen's Park. Queen's University also took his name off its law school. Egerton Ryerson's name disappeared from a university in the provincial capital. And the same city is considering whether to remove Henry Dundas's name from one of its most significant streets.

This cultural reckoning has been urged on by many communities who, for too long, have been excluded from the "official" version of history. They understandably want a seat at the table as well. But some changes have critics concerned. Former Ontario cabinet minister Gordon Walker has been watching all this with dismay. He says he understands that time marches on and that new groups may want new names on prominent buildings or institutions. And he has no quarrel with that. What he objects to is how it is all happening.

"What's bothering me is that the story isn't being told properly," says Walker, a London-area MPP in the 1970s and '80s. "We are seeing the decapitating of statues and the renaming of buildings. But people are trying to rewrite history with 'alternative facts.' And that is disturbing."

Walker's anger has boiled over to the point that he is part of a group that's created a new, non-profit organization called the Canadian Institute for Historical Education. The group wants to promote academic research and contribute to "evidence-based analysis." They had their first day-long symposium at the University of Toronto's Massey College last weekend; it featured academics and researchers delivering presentations to an audience of academics, history buffs, interested citizens, and former politicians from all three major parties.

Patrice Dutil knows this issue well and, like Walker, is infuriated at the turn it's taken. He teaches politics and public administration at the now renamed Toronto Metropolitan University and has been appalled by what he says is the shoddy use of history to remove Ryerson's name from his workplace.

"Canadian history is under siege," Dutil told the symposium last Saturday, noting high-school students need only one history credit to graduate nowadays, rather than the four of decades ago. Furthermore, he says, "history enrolment at universities is declining precipitously. The curriculum is in jeopardy. History is being written out of our culture. And politicians are buying into this. We must rebuild the market for history." Dutil worked himself up into quite a frenzy during his speech. "This cannot stand," he said with emotion. "The time to prepare is now. Canadian history is a tree with many gnarled roots intertwined in the ground. You cannot saw off any roots. There's room for them all."

Much of the day's presentations focused on Dundas, the most influential politician in Scotland in the late 18th century and an adviser to British prime minister William Pitt the Younger. Dundas's role in history has come under increased scrutiny of late because of allegations that he was soft on abolishing

slavery in the British House of Commons during debates more than two-hundred years ago.

Jennifer Dundas, a distant relative of Henry Dundas's, a former Southam Fellow at Massey College, and chair of the Henry Dundas Committee of Ontario, took last weekend's gathering through the chronology of how such a misinterpretation of Dundas's political record could have happened.

Jennifer Dundas has no problem with the protesters who urged the city to rename Dundas Street, after George Floyd was murdered by police in Minnesota in 2020. "They're activists," she said. "That's what they do."

Rather, her disappointment focuses on the process used by the City of Toronto for considering the renaming of Dundas Street, a process that she calls unfair. The case against Henry Dundas focuses on a resolution that came before the British Parliament. William Wilberforce, the MP who was the driving force behind the abolitionist side, had already lost two motions to end slavery, in 1791 and 1792. Dundas was an ally and wanted to abolish slavery, too. But when it became obvious that Wilberforce was going to lose a third vote, Dundas recommended adding the word "gradually" to the resolution. That compromise allowed other MPs to support the resolution, and it then passed. It was the single biggest anti-slavery victory to date. "You have to understand the dynamics of the time," Jennifer Dundas said.

But, for critics, it painted Dundas as insufficiently abolitionist, "And, once you're tainted by colonialism, you're done," said Christopher Dummit, a history professor at Trent University who has also examined the historical record and made a presentation at last weekend's symposium. "The critics partly tell the

truth, but they eliminate the complexities and rely on a general ignorance of history.”

The renaming issue has also entered the current Toronto mayor’s race (in June of 2023). At that time a newspaper article called the renaming of Toronto’s Dundas Street an 8.6-million-dollar project that wilfully ignores history to appease the eternally offended. This project(naturally) has the support of Toronto’s mayor Olivia Chow.

Former city councillor Rob Davis often makes public appearances brandishing a “Dundas Street” sign as a prop to help him make the point that the city’s intent to rename that street (and fifty-nine others) at a cost of twenty-one million dollars is misguided. Meanwhile, Walker sees hypocrisy at every turn in this debate. For example, Queen’s University took Macdonald’s name off its law school, but there is no discussion about changing the university’s name. “If they’re so upset about all this, take the Queen’s name off the university entirely,” Walker said, quite miffed. “After all, Victoria was one of the worst colonizers of all.”

A post-national state with no core identity must purge any vestige of its past that might remind the world from whence it came, said the Globe and Mail newspaper in a story about the Prime Ministers culture war on Canada’s symbols and its eraser of history. And the fracturing of Canada continues - the unstated premise behind the Liberal child-care plan is that government bureaucrats and ivory-tower experts (elitism at its worst) know more about parenting than parents themselves. If anything, parents were a potential liability to their own children’s development who needed to get out of the experts’ (sick) way as soon as possible.

The stale liberal government looks determined to continue their fragmentation as a festering debate over gender self-identification in schools boils over into national politics. K-12 education is, of course, the bailiwick of the provinces, but our Prime Minister has nevertheless gone out of his way to make his opinions on this matter known. Trudeau spoke out against the New Brunswick policy earlier this summer (2023), calling the provincial government “far-right political actors” and, more broadly, has used the backlash against gender ideology in schools as an opportunity to signal his own support for LGBT youth. The party once again finds itself in the unenviable position of having to explain to parents why they, in fact, are not “experts” on parenting. Good luck on that one! Smug condescension has never been a great look for the Liberals; and the party has once again found itself talking down to everyday Canadians (parents, no less).

That bastion of a ‘free Canada’ and a ‘free press’ - Conrad Black, wrote these words (brilliantly) in the fall of 2023.... Canada’s minister of environment and climate change, Steven Guilbeault, has been an activist all his conscient life. He co-founded an organization that rejoiced in the name Action for Solidarity, Equity, Environment and Development. In 2001, when he was in his early thirties, he scaled the CN Tower like Spiderman to an altitude of three-hundred and forty metres and unfurled a banner proclaiming “Canada and Bush — Climate Killers.”

He was the Quebec head of Greenpeace, which started out as an authentic conservationist organization but in its pacifistic militancy, conducted a long campaign of harassment against Western military forces in the Cold War. Greenpeace activists were forever climbing up the anchor chains of visiting American aircraft carriers.

We have the French to thank for finally effectively discouraging that sort of activity when French frogmen sank the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior as it attempted to obstruct French nuclear testing in French Polynesia in 1985. When New Zealand, which had been the base for the vessel, strenuously objected, France put a stop to that by threatening to ban the importation of New Zealand lamb from the European Economic Community.

The French ultimately apologized for the incident, and it was admittedly a draconian response. But France had a perfect right to test its nuclear weapons safely on distant French territory and it is sometimes useful for agitators who think nothing of committing illegalities in a cause they devoutly embrace to be rebuffed.

Our environment and climate change minister are that kind of an activist still. He cannot be faulted for insincerity or inconsistency, but he is a fanatic, and fanatics are almost always tiresome and sometimes dangerous.

It is almost impossible to raise any cautionary note on the subject of climate change without being deluged with accusations of Neanderthal obtuseness, perversity, and wickedness. The facts remain that it is extremely hard to measure the temperature of the world because of the many thousands of thermometers all over the world's surface that must be shaded from the sun and monitored precisely over a long period. It appears that the temperature of the world has increased by approximately one centigrade degree since the late 19th century. This is within estimates of fluctuations in the climate cycle.

As I've (Conrad Black) written here (in the National Post) before, the terrible conflagration of the Second World War with vast territories incinerated with incendiary bombing and immense quantities of oil dispersed into the oceans

in thousands of sunken ships, all culminating in two atomic explosions, did not change the world's temperature. Many of the starkest climate warnings of recent years have already proved to be hysterical nonsense. There does appear to be some sort of climate change underway, but it is not necessarily or entirely abnormal. Somehow, a spontaneous and un-conspiratorial alliance of authentic environmental zealots like Guilbeault, and the international left that was so comprehensively defeated in the Cold War has informally been forged.

It poses a greater threat to capitalism in the positive sense of wealth creation and increased employment productivity and prosperity than was ever mounted by the conventional forces of socialism and Marxism.

One of the most disappointing aspects of these developments is the extent to which the business community has folded like a three-dollar suitcase and knuckled under to the moralistic agitation of faddish fund managers and institutional investors demanding corporate militancy in favour of their extreme environmental objectives (and the rest of their pious claptrap about social justice and corporate governance). American oil companies are advertising on television, explaining the dramatic and selfless efforts they are making to liberate the world from reliance on fossil fuel.

Everyone is opposed to pollution, but most people are also against imposing heavy and unnecessary increases in the cost of living, especially to people of modest means unable to afford it. Canada's carbon footprint is less than two per cent of the world's total and our environmental record is highly competitive. But we are a nation of chumps.

We are, with the possible exception of Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, in possession of the greatest oil reserves of any country in the world when the tar

sands are included. Yet we import oil in eastern Canada and our federal government is conducting an outright war against the oil and gas producing provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and preventing the export of oil from the West Coast. When German Chancellor Olaf Scholz and senior members of his government visited Canada last year offering generous cooperation in developing new natural gas facilities, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau told him that there was no economic justification for it.

We have been swept up in a carnival of faddish agitation for unattainable goals in reduction of carbon emissions in pursuit of an unnecessary objective and at colossal expense and hardship to ourselves. It is a new and formidable illustration of the madness of crowds: a general hysteria that oppresses dissenters and is propagated for the most part by sincere but misguided people.

To return to Steven Guilbeault, last week (early September 2023) in an interview with Canadian Press he deliberately misrepresented an unexceptionable statement by the chief executive officer of the large oil company, Suncor Energy, Rich Kruger, as an announcement that “he is basically disengaging from climate change and sustainability, that he is going to focus on short-term profit, it’s all the wrong answers.”

It is also not what he said, but the minister took it as a pretext to justify an artificial cap on oil and gas emissions. He proposes deliberate reductions in oil and gas production, reducing the profits of Canadian energy companies, increasing the cost of gasoline and home heating fuel for Canadians, and replacing artificially depressed Canadian production with costly imports from countries not tormented by such nostrums, some of them politically disreputable despotisms.

The oil and gas industry produces about ten percent of Canada's GDP. We should maximize production and exports and supply our Western oil to Eastern Canada. Canada would perform an inestimable service to the world if it led a revolt against the fetishistic and idolatrous pursuit of an impossible goal based on false climate terror, while zealously protecting our environment. And the minister of environment and climate change should be discouraged from traducing and reviling a distinguished and public-spirited energy industry executive who dares to raise the possibility of not being in lockstep with the minister's self-destructive crusade....

There are many reasons for the fracturing of Canada as you the reader of this book have no doubt by now, figured out - but when it comes down to the nuts and bolts of it all, it is mostly due to these nations march towards socialism under the tutelage of liberalism and the always present and dangerous leech on the Liberal party's back – the NDP. These two parties, federally and provincially (not to mention their left of center civic friends) have allowed special interest groups, left wing organizations, anarchists, advocates (i.e.- an Ontario union who refers that anyone on the right is a fascist) and the like to fragment this great country.

The question now is - can Canada be saved? As a publisher and editor of newspapers and magazines for the past fifty years this author's answer would be no, it cannot be saved. But - and this is a very big but - for the sake of all our children, grandchildren, and their children, I truly hope so. What Canada needs right now is a saviour, a modern-day God of sorts, someone who is honest, tough, sincere and is driven by the courage of their convictions - in other words do what they believe is right even if other advocates, organizations, or groups may not

agree or approve. This person must be convincing, bilingual and represent “all” of Canada in order to win over the Canadian voters. He (or she) must be resilient with a stout personality in order to make the true north strong and free and a force to be reckoned with once again. Not some one who promises “sunny days” but delivers storm clouds instead.

This chapter sources include CBC, tvo.org, R. Mohamed and Conrad Black-National Post

Musings & Final Thoughts

The week of September eighteen, 2023, will go down in infamy as the week that disgrace and dishonour and the eventual fragmentation of Canada came to a head. It started innocently enough when the 'drama queen' Justin Trudeau accused India of conspiring in the killing of a Canadian citizen and just two days latter when he (and the liberal and New Democrat party in mass) would not back God fearing (many religions were in attendance) and honest Canadians who took to the streets to voice their displeasure with what schools across Canada were promoting to their young students. It was Canadians verses Canadians at the various rallies, a precursor to a tearing of the country down the middle – maybe even the start of a civil war of sorts.

This is how the Canadian Press reported this story that was buried in most of Canada's newspapers. Thousands of people gathered in cities across Canada on Wednesday for competing protests, yelling, and chanting at each other about the way schools teach sexuality and gender identity and how teachers refer to transgender youth.

Separated by lines of police officers, the protests and counter-protests are linked to school policies, including in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan, which require young people to get parental consent before teachers can use their preferred first names and pronouns. Posters created by a group called "1 Million March 4 Children" say rally participants are standing together against what they call "gender ideology" in the nation's schools. Protesters said Wednesday that children are being exposed to inappropriate content about sexuality and gender identity, and they support the policies requiring parental consent.

But the rallies were met with counter-protesters who said those policies violate children's rights and that transgender youth should not be outed to their parents by teachers. “We're not asking people to be converted or change who they are. We're asking people to have the opportunity to show up as they are — that's all,” said Olivier Hebert, who was outside the New Brunswick Legislature in Fredericton to support LGBTQ+ students. Amr Hanafi, a father of two boys, said he attended the protest in downtown Montreal because he is worried about his children being exposed to ideas of gender change at a young age.

“I'm just concerned about putting these ideas at a very young age,” he said as police separated the two factions of protesters outside the Montreal office of Premier Francois Legault. In Ottawa, thousands faced off in front of Parliament Hill, and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh led a group of counter-protesters down Wellington Street. A heavy police presence separated protesters and counter demonstrators, with competing chants about protecting trans youth and keeping gender ideologies out of schools.

And it was not just the Canadian educational system that was acting as judge and jury but the courts themselves – a story by Jamie Sarkonak said.... when a public health authority is asked to subsidize a novel, understudied medical procedure, it can say “no.” If it says “yes,” it better have good reasons, because the rest of us have to pay for it. Those being made to pay for unproven treatments have the right to question why exactly they’re being forced to pony up the cash.

Those questions are now justifiably being asked by Ontarians about publicly funded sex-change operations. The Health Services Appeal and Review Board’s (HSARB) recent ruling on what procedures must be covered by the public has

opened the door to funding just about any novel surgery — even those that are so niche, no surgeon in Canada can (or will) perform them.

Advancing the case was a thirty-three-year-old non-binary male patient, known as KS, who identified as “female dominant.” KS came to the review board after having been denied public coverage for a “penile preserving vaginoplasty” (a surgery that adds an opening to serve as female genitalia, without removing the penis), which isn’t listed on the slate of sex-reassignment procedures covered by the province.

In fact, this procedure isn’t offered by any doctor in Canada — the standard vaginoplasty here involves the “penile inversion” technique. The “penile preserving” technique must be performed abroad; KS asked to be sent to a specific clinic in Austin, Texas (the clinic told me, over the phone, that gender-affirming genital surgeries can range from US\$10,000-US\$70,000 (C\$13,500-C\$94,000), depending on what exactly is being done).

Why this particular surgery? Gender affirmation. Genital surgeries shouldn’t be confined to the man-woman binary, KS argued, because non-binary gender dysphoria deserves equal treatment.

Forcing a binary surgery on a non-binary patient “could be considered an illegal act of conversion therapy as well as a violation of the Ontario Human Rights Code.” (Canada’s ban on conversion therapy took effect in 2022, though the offence has yet to be prosecuted.) In addition to the identity concerns, KS wanted to keep their phallus out of concern for their sexual and urinary health.

The Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP), on the other side of the case, countered that the surgery simply wasn’t required under the rules. “Vaginoplasty” was on the list of covered treatments, but “penile preserving vaginoplasty” was

not. In any event, the insurer argued, the surgery should be considered experimental and therefore shouldn't be covered.

OHIP's position wasn't based in anti-trans sentiment, but reasoned caution. Its own expert witness, Dr. Yonah Krakowsky, told the review board that Canadian surgeons use the inversion method due to its "low risk of serious complications and the wealth of experience and supporting data around this technique." The "penile preservation" technique, he added, simply doesn't have enough peer-reviewed literature and long-term data on psychological and physical outcomes to say.

Dr. Krakowsky isn't anti-trans by any means. He is an experienced performer of sex-change surgeries, a gender surgery advisor to Ontario's Health Ministry and a faculty member at the University of Toronto, where he lists "increasing access for trans surgery in Canada" as a professional interest. (Nevertheless, KS accused him of having a "bias towards 'binary' surgical outcomes.")

Ultimately, it didn't really matter what the surgeon thought. The review board approved the surgery, ruling that "vaginoplasty" should be read to include the standard technique, as well as the "penile preserving" technique — even though it's not offered in Canada.

The review board pointed out that Ontario's rules for sex-reassignment surgery allow for coverage where a request is made by a health provider "trained in the assessment, diagnosis and treatment of gender dysphoria," according to the World Professional Association for Transgendered Health (WPATH) standards of the time....

And as stated at the beginning of this article, the week of September 18th, 2023, began with the Prime Minister of Canada's charge that India orchestrated the extrajudicial murder of a separatist leader Hardeep Singh Nijjar in Surrey, British Columbia in June 2023 who openly supported the formation of an independent Sikh state in northwestern India. An article in a Canadian media in September of that same year stated, Karthik Nachiappan, senior fellow with the Macdonald Laurier Institute and a research fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore, tells Ivison that the only way to get the relationship between Canada and India back on track is for there to be a change of government in Ottawa. "I think there's too much ideological, political, and personal baggage that Justin Trudeau and the Liberals bring to this particular relationship that will just not make it work... A change of government will hopefully bring a new approach, a new way of thinking about India in that part of the world," he said. A new government would need to reset political relations with the Indian government and limit the role of diaspora groups in Canadian foreign policy.

"What needs to happen, even if a Conservative government comes to power, is to establish political links and ties with (Narendra Modi's) government. Because right now, all that is frayed. "We (also) need to come to grips on the issue of the Indian diaspora, particularly the Sikh diaspora, and what role they play in Canada and the effects of their activities in India, and whether Ottawa is able to make a distinction between domestic activities and their foreign policy. This is something that's not happened for the last fifteen to twenty years. "Diaspora groups have had way too much say and sway on Canadian foreign

policy. And I'm not just talking about India. Going forward, we need to really ring-fence strategic discussions, issues, and considerations from domestic politics."

He said there have been tensions with India over Sikh extremism under both Conservative and Liberal governments, but that New Delhi is particularly upset that Trudeau attended events that have clear Khalistan elements and where Khalistan (a Sikh homeland in Punjab) is glorified. "I think that's the difference here is that the Liberals in particular have shown a disinterest, not just in dealing with the issue of Sikh separatism in Canada, but they've showed up at different kinds of events that have glorified aspects of Khalistan, which I think is difficult for any foreign government, especially one that's as sensitive as India, to stomach."

He said Sikh separation remains a "hot issue" in India. "This is not just a theoretical issue for the government, but this is something that they're dealing with every day within the state of Punjab. He said he has heard from contacts in India that these concerns have been relayed to Ottawa. "But for various reasons – some electoral, some ideological, some political – this government has been unwilling to deal with it effectively, using the freedom of expression as reasoning to justify everything that's happening," he said.

Nachiappan said that the future of the government's Indo-Pacific strategy, which views India as a counter - balance to China, is bleak in the wake of the latest diplomatic spat. "I think most countries that have an Indo-Pacific strategy emphasize both the Indo and the Pacific sides of the strategy. And emphasizing the Indo means developing a close and strategic relationship with India. That is something that this government cannot do anymore. And because of that, that particular strategy as a whole is literally on life support," he said.

Nachiappan said the implications for Canada’s foreign policy extend beyond its relations with India. The only leverage Canada has is to internationalize the issue as one of foreign interference – something that impacts all Western countries. But allies like the U.S. and U.K. have bet too heavily on the Modi government to side with Canada on this issue, Nachiappan said.

“They don’t want to choose between India and Canada. I think the strategic concerns, the strategic considerations favor India far more than Canada. And that’s largely because India is seen as a counterweight to China. And increasingly, countries in the West – the U.S., U.K., the European Union, but also other allies like Japan, Australia, South Korea – increasingly see India as the only viable option to balance China, not just in Asia, but globally.

“Strategically, all these countries have made a bet on India, except Canada, and they’re hoping that Canada joins the party. Obviously, that’s not happened and that maybe is not going to happen anytime soon. But if push comes to shove, these countries will, I think, given strategic considerations and concerns, pick to tilt closer to India than Canada.”

What distinguishes the current Canadian context from that of the US has been the resolve shown by Canadian media and politicians to counter the hatred—a very different trend than that which prevailed during the time of our study. Federal and provincial governments are actively promoting anti-hate initiatives and programming. We have quite literally said “not in our town.” Politicians, businesses, private individuals have shared this message - on billboards, protest signs, Facebook pages, Twitter feeds—anywhere they can. Perhaps most powerful have been explicit statements condemning the acts of hatred we have seen across the country.

The radical far right in Canada is not without its own sins in the fragmentation of Canada. A New York Times story had this to say.... the influence and the inspiration and financial aid from some within the American far right is hardly hidden at protests. Pro-Trump and QAnon signs are frequently visible, as are figures like Romana Didulo, a Canadian QAnon activist who has called for military executions of doctors who vaccinate children.

“You did have far-right populism — historically it was there — but it was isolated,” said Jeffrey S. Kopstein, a Canadian political scientist at the University of California, Irvine. Canada’s populist right has lagged, Dr. Kopstein said, in part because the typical drivers of such movements — cultural polarization and white racial resentment — are less prevalent in the country than in other Western nations.

The country’s large and politically well-organized immigrant populations mean that both major parties see greater gain in courting immigrants than in cultivating white backlash. The nature of the country’s electoral system also empowers party officials over grass-roots activists, which makes it harder for populist outsiders to win. And relatively low polarization means that party affiliation has not become, as in other countries, a matter of hardened identity, which can feed the us-versus-them absolutism that privileges hard-liners. As a result, Canada’s Conservative leaders have neither embraced nor been co-opted by the more extreme elements in their base to the same degree as some other right-wing parties.

“One of the reasons they’re descending on Ottawa is they’re having trouble taking over parties and winning elections. And so they go to this other method,” Dr. Kopstein said of the populist right. And because the movement mostly lacks

formal party structures or mainstream media outlets, its leadership falls to fringe charlatans like Ms. Didulo, who calls herself Canada's rightful queen. Such leaders are free to be more extreme but also tend to be less strategic.

Canada's populist right, though homegrown, is also heavily influenced by its far more numerous and better-resourced American counterparts. This helps provide the movement with energy and direction, though often in ways that hinder its influence in Canada, where Donald J. Trump is deeply unpopular.

But rising impatience with pandemic restrictions have provided an opening. A slight majority of Canadians want to lift such rules, polls find. This hardly indicates a broader shift to the right. But it may be why one in three express support for the truck protests, which are the most visible show of opposition to lockdown measures. Even a brother-in-law of Jagmeet Singh, who leads a prominent left-wing party, gave thousands of dollars to a convoy fund-raiser, though later sought to revoke it, saying he had not understood the group's "true nature."

The Canadian populist right went through a similar cycle in the mid-2010s, when its influence spiked amid a backlash to Muslim immigration before receding without having secured meaningful political gains. But in years since, populist movements across the Western world have continued to rise and to coordinate across borders, helping to aid their Canadian counterparts' slow but steady growth. In a demonstration of this effect in action, a number of American political and media figures, including Mr. Trump, had forcefully endorsed or promoted the trucker protests. Americans are thought to have provided much of the eight million dollars raised online for the convoy.

As this book stated earlier - there are many reasons for Canada's fragmentation and the sanitizing of its history and identity and nowhere was that made more evident than what was happening in Canada's parliament at the end of September 2023. Just when one thought that that Canada's demise had hit rock bottom, we were all proved wrong. Journalist Carson Jerema had this to say (we used an abbreviated form of his story) about the incident.... Canada is being mocked around the world after a man who fought for the Nazis was celebrated in Parliament, presumably by mistake. But, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's chief concern was to ensure everyone that it wasn't his fault. "The Speaker has acknowledged his mistake and apologized," he said, repeating the talking point given to every Liberal with a pulse. And now that Speaker of the House Anthony Rota has resigned, Trudeau can go on pretending like the whole thing had nothing to do with him.

Sure, it was humiliating for Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who was in the House of Commons clapping along with everyone else for the former Nazi soldier, an image that aids Russia in its lie that Ukraine is a fascist state. And it was deeply embarrassing to Jewish Canadians and Ukrainian Canadians in particular, and it is causing alarm in global capitals. However, what's most important for Trudeau is that everyone understands that Rota, not the prime minister, was to blame.

Trudeau simply can't pull himself away from narrow partisan concerns for a single moment and take responsibility for the fact that someone who fought for the murderous Waffen-SS unit was honoured in Canada

As is the Liberals' standard operating procedure, the government is entirely subordinating foreign affairs to the pettiest of domestic concerns. No one in

Warsaw, or London, Kyiv or Berlin, cares about the Liberals' standing in the polls, and it doesn't appear to have occurred to the prime minister that anyone outside our provincial enclave of a country is paying attention.

The Liberals, who ridiculously tried to have the honouring of the Nazi soldier stricken from Parliament's records, can't seem to understand why anyone cares about this, especially when, in their minds, everyone knows who the real Nazis are — the Conservatives. After months of calling Pierre Poilievre "far right," in an attempt to taint him as a Nazi, the Liberal response to a scandal of their own making involving an actual Nazi, someone who actually fought for Hitler, is to find some way to turn this into a scandal about the Conservative leader.

Yet, that is the line of attack the Liberals are taking. For example, immigration minister and former serious person, Marc Miller, wrote in response to Poilievre, "There is a sharp difference between getting to the bottom of an unacceptable incident and using it to fundraise." Similarly, MP Ben Carr released a statement about Poilievre that read "we should expect our leaders to put partisanship aside, not to try and raise money off of it."

Left-wing commentators have been similarly quick to try to turn this into a problem for the Conservatives. One Toronto Star columnist attempted to resurrect a story from February where a handful of Conservative MPs inadvisably met with Christine Anderson, a member of the anti-immigrant Alternative for Germany Party.

"The basic dynamic of Canadian politics right now is the Liberals celebrated a Nazi through incredible incompetence, seven months after some Conservatives celebrated a Nazi completely on purpose," he wrote on Twitter. However unsavoury Anderson may be, a reasonable person should be able to tell the

difference between her and the Nazis of the 1930s and 1940s. They are not the same and conflating the two is not a serious position to have.

Much of the left has such a distorted view of its own politics that it cannot bring itself to see the differences between the genocidal National Socialist Party and the Conservative Party of Canada. It views the latter as being on an inevitable path to fascism, with Canada somehow being on the verge of turning into Germany circa 1933, and Trudeau being the only thing that can stem the tide. It is a preposterous and a historical idea for sure, but such is the state of liberalism....

The author of this book has taken a swing at just about everyone in Canada, from the Prime Minister and his Liberal cabinet, Liberals and New Democrats in general, big media and their sanctimonious journalists, pundits, politicians of every stripe, advocates, and activists, the radical far-right, judges, indigenous communities, conglomerates, university professors and a lot more.

In order to save Canada this nation needs a new leader, a new governing party and all those that this book has insulted to bite their tongues and work with this new leader and party. Then perhaps, the 'True North Strong and Free' can be just that, strong and free, once again. If not, this country will cease to exist as bastion of free enterprise and democracy, it will have lost its identity and history and will instead, be just a laughable socialist footnote in a world of times gone by.

Courtesy of M. Fisher – NY Times and J. Ivison

And Now for the Final Curtain

If professionals can be publicly humiliated and threatened with expulsion over political opinions, everyone in this country is at risk. Dr. Jordan Peterson was facing the loss of his professional licence as he refused to back down after being targeted by the professional regulator in Ontario in the summer of 2023, following complaints about tweets(X) “Canada’s idiotic pandering and cowardly insistence on group rights set us up for dominance by the meta-Marxists.”

Regarding this tweet, If anything shows how grim the outlook is for the True North Strong and Free and how fragmented Canada has become, it is the next few pages. Here then is his story (in his own words) as published in the Daily Telegraph.

As a professional, practising clinical psychologist, I never thought I would fall foul of Canada’s increasingly censorial state. Yet, like so many others – including teachers, nurses, and other professionals – that is precisely what has happened. In my case, a court has upheld an order from the College of Psychologists of Ontario that I undergo social media training or lose my licence to practice a profession I have served for most of my adult life.

Their reason? Because of a handful of tweets on my social media, apparently. Yes: I am at risk of losing my licence to practice as a mental health professional because of the complaints of a tiny number of people about the utterly unproven ‘harm’ done by my political opinions.

These complainers – most of whom did not even live in Canada, none of whom were my clients or even knew any of them, nor had any contact whatsoever with the persons hypothetically harmed by my views – submitted complaints to the College of Psychologists of Ontario about what I had said using a handy online form. That supposedly august body had the option not to pursue these complaints, but seemingly decided some months ago that my behaviour did not meet with their approval. I had to agree to their demands to undergo training with one of their self-declared “social media experts” – sessions of indeterminate length, cost, and content – and it seems that if I did not, I would be dragged in front of a formal disciplinary hearing and, if it concurred in the judgment of wrongdoing, stripped of my licence.

The right of the College to do so has now been upheld by a provincial court, despite its apparent admission that it could infringe on my fundamental rights.

My transgressions? Two tweets criticizing Justin Trudeau; one criticizing his former Chief of Staff, who resigned in the aftermath of scandal some years ago; one ironically commenting on the identity of a city councillor in Ottawa, who in my view acted in a particularly unforgivable manner during the famous trucker convoy protest; and one objecting to the actions of the physicians performing mastectomies on perfectly healthy women – often minors – alongside a criticism of a famous actress who received such ‘treatment’ and then advertised its benefits to her unwitting fans. In conjunction, the entire transcript of a podcast I did with Joe Rogan where I expressed doubts, fully justified in my view, about the validity of the idiotic models that economists stack carelessly upon the doom-mongering climate predictions used by eco-zealots and wannabe tyrants to justify extreme policies which will harm millions. Finally, there was a tweet that

apparently hurt the feelings of a plus-sized model (according to complainants she did not know) parading herself on the cover of a magazine hypothetically devoted to the celebration of athleticism and health.

Every single opinion was a political or psychological statement; everyone devoid of genuinely documentable ‘harm’ – except perhaps to the tender sensibility of certain Canadian moralists in whose mouths butter wouldn’t melt, in a country of fatal niceness and complacency.

The problem is the professional regulators have now been captured by Leftist radicals and weaponised against ideological dissenters, says Peterson.

In the last few years... such bodies – with their wide and untrammelled potential regulatory and punitive ability – have been weaponised by the same ideological radicals of the Left that have infiltrated and undermined higher education, media, judiciary, law, science, and government. Any radical anywhere can submit the kind of complaint that can bring a professional’s life to a halt and can increasingly rely on these captured colleges and other professional regulatory bodies to uphold and pursue their vexatious, vengeful, petty, spiteful, and ideological motivated ‘complaints’. And this is regardless of how much good the target of their complaint has done – independent of the training, reputation or standing of the target, and accompanied by the deep pockets and infinite amount of time available for the accusers and adversaries, abetted by the resources of the Government itself.

I will fight this idiocy all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary. I have instructed my lawyers, in the aftermath of the rejection of my appeal, to inform the College that I will not comply with their forced re-education mandate, and to proceed with the disciplinary hearing they have promised will occur. In the past,

such hearings have been videotaped and made public. I doubt the College will have the stomach to do the same in my case, although I will make every effort, reasonable and unreasonable, to ensure that every element of these proceedings is open to widespread international scrutiny. I have already posted the relevant documents online, as I am perfectly happy to have everything that I have done assessed in full.

But I know few people are in a position to conduct such a fight: I have the resources necessary to wage a multi-year court battle, ruinously expensive (tens of thousands of dollars a month) though it is. I also have the means of communication at hand to publicise exactly what is going on. I do so on the behalf of those who are unable to do so.

Regardless of the outcome, I have planned with other jurisdictions – Canadian and elsewhere – to re-establish my licence, in a heartbeat, if the authorities in Ontario succeed in purloining it from

I'll leave it to readers to think through what that would mean for free speech in Canada – and, for that matter, in the rest of the increasingly benighted Western world. Oh, Canada, indeed - (end of J. Petersons statement).

There is an eight-word statement in the recent court judgement against psychologist Jordan Peterson that should send chills down the spine of anyone who is under the impression that freedom of speech is a guaranteed right in Canada wrote the National Post in early September of 2023. The article went on to say.... Ontario's Superior Court of Justice found the College of Psychologists of Ontario was within its rights to order Peterson to undergo coaching following a series of tweets the college found unbecoming of a psychologist.

“The Decision simply requires him to have coaching,” said the court. Simply! The court acknowledged that Peterson’s right to free speech would be curtailed; that he would be required to undergo coaching so that he could “reflect on and ameliorate (his) professionalism in public statements”; that he would have to pay for that coaching and that if he failed the program, he could be subject to disciplinary action.

How is all that a simple matter? The coaching was not disciplinary, said the college, and the court agreed, it was merely “remedial” as if Peterson needed to be cured of expressing his opinion. Peterson’s tweets should have been of no concern to the college since they had nothing to do with his being a psychologist. Professionals are entitled to a private life after all.

In one tweet Peterson told an individual concerned about overpopulation: “You’re free to leave at any point.” He called Catherine McKenney, an Ottawa City Councillor who uses they/them pronouns, an “appalling self-righteous moralizing thing.” Of a plus-sized model on a Sports Illustrated Swimsuit Edition, he said, “Sorry. Not Beautiful. And no amount of authoritarian tolerance is going to change that.”

No doubt some people will find the comments offensive. But Peterson is allowed his personal views. Do they rise to the level of “degrading, demeaning and unprofessional” conduct by someone who also happens to be a psychologist? And if they do then why not launch disciplinary action rather than force someone to undergo mandatory coaching with its inescapable echoes of Mao’s re-education camps for those suspected of wrong think.

One cannot imagine, at least not yet the federal government taking a Canadian to court for expressing such comments. Section 2 (b) of the Charter of

Rights and Freedoms states that Canadians are guaranteed “freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression.”

Which is all well and good, but too many Canadians forget that Section 1 of the Charter says that all those fundamental freedoms are subject to “reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.”

Yet, the wording of the Charter isn’t necessarily the problem, but rather how it is interpreted. When reviewing government legislation, courts apply a rigorous legal standard to determine whether or not a limitation to a Section 2 right can be justified. When it comes to government-empowered regulatory bodies, however, whatever safeguards existed, have been dismantled. Regulators are held to a less-stringent legal standard, permitting them to infringe rights if their decision to do so “falls within a range of possible, acceptable outcomes.

These bodies were set up by provincial or federal governments — governments that would be thrown out in a heartbeat if they tried to undermine the Charter in this way. And yet, we have granted these bodies so much power that their zealous overreach extends to enforcing the kind of speech they deem right and proper.

In ruling in the college’s favour, the Ontario court engaged in some specious reasoning. “The order is not disciplinary and does not prevent Dr. Peterson from expressing himself on controversial topics; it has a minimal impact on his right to freedom of expression.” But that “simply” isn’t true.

The college wants to stop Peterson from speaking on controversial topics, that’s the whole point. And of course, it will have more than a minimal impact on his right to free expression. The whole purpose of the specified continuing

education or remedial program (SCERP) is to limit what he says until the concerns of the college “have been appropriately remediated.”

We have handed one of our most precious freedoms over to a body unelected by the people in the name of it being “simply” coaching. Peterson may be the lightning rod now, but many people will be caught in the storm.

Shout-out to Dr. Peterson and the Daily Telegraph along with the National Post

How Does AI See It?

The Leftward Shift: Canada's Political Evolution

This author used many sources for this book and for every source he read, dissected, and eventually used - he looked up hundreds more – so a lot of time (seven months) and effort went into writing this book. However, that is not the case if one writes with Artificial Intelligence. AI seems to be all the rage these days and is causing many authors (mostly young ones) from doing the hard work and due diligence that is necessary to refine their craft.

With this in mind we decided to ask AI two questions. Is Canada facing fragmentation and what are the positives and negatives of multiculturalism in Canada? Here is what the Universe (at least the left side of its brain) had to say – you'll find the author's comments at the end of this experiment.

Canada, known for its diverse culture and vast geographical expanse, faces the challenge of fragmentation. This refers to the growing divisions and differences within the country that threaten national unity. Various factors contribute to this fragmentation, including regional disparities, linguistic tensions, and cultural diversity. Canada's vast size and diverse regions result in contrasting economic, social, and political realities. Western provinces often feel marginalized due to the concentration of power and resources in central and eastern regions. The resource-rich provinces sometimes perceive themselves as bearing the

burden of national development while not receiving adequate benefits. This has led to demands for greater regional autonomy or even separatism in extreme cases.

Canada's official languages, English and French, have long been a source of tension. Quebec's distinct francophone culture and historical grievances have fueled calls for independence, leading to two referendums on sovereignty. Linguistic divisions are not limited to Quebec, as other provinces also grapple with linguistic imbalances, exacerbating feelings of alienation among linguistic minorities.

It all started with a series of political rifts that tore at the very fabric of Canadian society. The Western provinces, long dissatisfied with what they perceived as Eastern dominance, began to demand greater autonomy. The economic powerhouse of Alberta led the charge, calling for a renegotiation of the Confederation agreement. They argued that the wealth generated from their vast oil sands should no longer be redistributed to the rest of the nation.

As the Western provinces rallied around their cause, a sense of disillusionment spread across the nation. Quebec, always a potential source of division, saw an opportunity to revisit its quest for independence. The separatist movement, once thought to be dormant, roared back to life, demanding a new referendum on Quebec's sovereignty. Protests erupted in Montreal and Quebec City, reminiscent of the tensions of the late 20th century.

In the midst of this turmoil, indigenous communities, who had long suffered from neglect and discrimination, began demanding their rights and self-determination. Blockades and protests disrupted vital transportation routes, leaving the nation's economy teetering on the brink. Calls for reconciliation and

the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples became increasingly strident.

Meanwhile, the Eastern provinces, including Ontario and the Maritime provinces, were caught in the middle of these mounting tensions. They struggled to maintain their economic stability, fearing the repercussions of the Western provinces' push for greater autonomy and the potential loss of Quebec.

The federal government in Ottawa was paralyzed, unable to find common ground among the provinces or address the deepening divide. Political leaders were torn between appeasing regional demands and preserving national unity. As trust in the federal government eroded, some provinces began exploring alternative alliances.

British Columbia, influenced by its Pacific coast geography, looked westward and began fostering closer ties with Asian economies. Trade agreements and cultural exchanges across the Pacific Ocean became more important than ever, and British Columbia started to envision itself as a Pacific gateway rather than a Canadian province.

In the Atlantic provinces, there were whispers of forging closer bonds with the European Union. Maritime leaders argued that their shared maritime heritage and economic interests could be better served through a partnership with Europe rather than reliance on a fractured Canada.

As the Great Fragmentation continued to deepen, Canada's international reputation suffered. Once considered a model of peaceful multiculturalism and diplomacy, Canada now found itself mired in internal strife. The international community looked on with concern, and questions were raised about whether

Canada could maintain its role as a peacekeeping and humanitarian force on the global stage.

Amid this chaos, a group of visionary leaders emerged, seeking a path to restore Canada's unity. They organized a series of national dialogues and reconciliation efforts, aiming to address the grievances of the Western provinces, Quebec, indigenous communities, and others. Slowly, some common ground was found, and a new vision for Canada began to take shape.

The solution lay in a reimagined federal system that respected the autonomy of provinces while preserving the core principles of unity and shared responsibility. A new Constitution was drafted, one that acknowledged the unique cultural, economic, and political characteristics of each province and territory while reaffirming their commitment to a unified Canada.

The road to this new Canada was not easy, and it required compromise, understanding, and a willingness to address the historical injustices that had fueled the fragmentation. But over time, a renewed spirit of cooperation and unity emerged, driven by the recognition that Canada was stronger together than apart.

By the year 2040, the Great Fragmentation had given way to a reinvigorated Confederation, one that celebrated its diversity and embraced its unique regional identities while standing together as a united nation. Canada had learned from its past divisions and had emerged stronger, more resilient, and more committed to the ideals of unity and inclusivity that had once defined it.

In this new era, Canada once again stood as a symbol of hope, proving that even in the face of deep divisions, a nation could find its way back to unity and strength.

In the year 2023, Canada was at a crossroads. The nation had long been known for its progressive values and social safety nets, but it had also witnessed a growing economic divide and a yearning for change. The seeds of a political leftward shift were sown. A charismatic young leader, Sarah Mitchell, emerged as the voice of a new generation. She led the left-wing Progressive Democratic Party (PDP) with a vision of social justice, environmental sustainability, and economic equality (authors note - remember, this is AI talking). Mitchell's rise to prominence signaled a shift away from traditional political establishments.

One of Mitchell's first moves was to implement bold economic reforms. She introduced a progressive tax system, raised the minimum wage, and invested heavily in job creation through renewable energy initiatives. These policies aimed to bridge the wealth gap and create a more equitable society.

Canada, often criticized for its environmental record, underwent a dramatic transformation. The government committed to a Green New Deal, investing in clean energy, electric public transportation, and reforestation efforts. Canada became a leader in the fight against climate change.

Healthcare was overhauled. Universal pharmacare and mental health services were introduced, ensuring that all Canadians had access to the care they needed. This was a monumental achievement in the pursuit of equitable healthcare. Education reforms followed suit. Free public college and university education became a reality, eliminating the burden of student debt and promoting accessibility to higher education. Canada's education system was hailed as a model for the world.

The leftward shift included a renewed commitment to Indigenous reconciliation. Land acknowledgments, support for Indigenous languages, and a

thorough review of resource development projects were just the beginning. Indigenous communities finally began to see meaningful change.

Canada's foreign policy shifted as well. It embraced a more diplomatic stance, prioritizing international cooperation, peacekeeping missions, and humanitarian aid. The nation was lauded for its efforts to foster global stability.

Sarah Mitchell's government championed gender equality. Pro-women policies, pay equity legislation, and support for LGBTQ+ rights marked a profound cultural shift. Canada became a more inclusive and diverse society. The leftward shift was not without its challenges. Opposition parties and interest groups fought against some of the reforms. Economic restructuring faced resistance from powerful corporate interests. Balancing the budget while implementing ambitious programs proved to be a delicate task.

Canada's leftward turn had ripple effects worldwide. Other nations looked to Canada as a progressive beacon, inspiring similar movements in their own countries. The global community applauded Canada's newfound dedication to human rights and social justice.

As the years passed, Canada settled into its new normal. The leftward shift became ingrained in the nation's identity. A spirit of social responsibility and inclusivity permeated every aspect of Canadian life.

In the twilight of her political career, Sarah Mitchell looked back on her time in office. The leftward shift had transformed Canada, making it a fairer, greener, and more compassionate nation. But the work was far from over, and Mitchell reflected on the challenges that lay ahead for the next generation of leaders.

Canada's political leftward shift was an ongoing journey, and the nation stood at the forefront of progressive change. As the sun set on the 21st century, Canada continued to evolve, proving that even a country with a storied past could chart a new course toward a brighter and more equitable future.

Canada, known for its breathtaking landscapes, welcoming spirit, and cultural diversity, has long been celebrated for its policy of multiculturalism. This nation is often touted as a successful example of a multicultural society, where people from various backgrounds coexist harmoniously. However, like any complex social phenomenon, Canadian multiculturalism has both its positives and negatives, and this story aims to delve into both sides of this multifaceted issue.

Canada's multiculturalism has been instrumental in enriching its cultural landscape. The influx of diverse ethnicities has led to a fusion of cuisines, art forms, music, and traditions. The Canadian cultural mosaic is a tapestry woven with threads from around the world, offering residents a chance to explore and appreciate different heritages.

Multiculturalism has also contributed to Canada's economic vitality. Immigrants often bring valuable skills, entrepreneurial spirit, and a strong work ethic, which drive innovation and economic growth. By embracing multiculturalism, Canada has tapped into a pool of talent that has bolstered various sectors of its economy.

Canada's multiculturalism policy promotes social cohesion by encouraging acceptance and understanding among its diverse population. This acceptance has, in many cases, mitigated racial and ethnic tensions that have plagued other nations. The "mosaic" metaphor is often used to describe Canada's model,

emphasizing that each cultural piece contributes to the overall picture while retaining its unique identity.

One of the criticisms leveled at multiculturalism is that it can sometimes lead to isolated ethnic enclaves, where newcomers primarily interact within their own communities. Critics argue that this can hinder integration and create parallel societies, potentially fostering a lack of cohesion and understanding.

Canada's commitment to multiculturalism includes supporting various cultural festivals, maintaining government services in multiple languages, and providing funding for cultural organizations. While these efforts promote diversity, they also strain government resources, leading some to question whether these resources could be allocated more efficiently.

In a multicultural society, tensions can emerge between different cultural groups. Issues related to cultural practices, religious freedoms, and identity can sometimes lead to conflicts and debates. Critics argue that multiculturalism can inadvertently fuel identity politics and divisions.

To address the challenge of integration, Canada has introduced programs to facilitate newcomers' integration into Canadian society. These programs include language courses, cultural orientation, and employment assistance. They aim to strike a balance between celebrating diversity and ensuring that immigrants feel connected to the broader Canadian community.

To alleviate concerns about resource allocation, Canada periodically reviews its multiculturalism policies. It seeks ways to maintain its commitment to diversity while ensuring that government resources are used effectively and efficiently to benefit all Canadians.

Canada continues to work on promoting inclusivity within its multicultural framework. It emphasizes that all Canadians, regardless of their background, should have equal access to opportunities and rights. This approach aims to reduce identity-based tensions and foster a sense of belonging.

Multiculturalism is a dynamic concept that continues to evolve in Canada. As the nation grapples with the positives and negatives of this policy, it recognizes that multiculturalism is not a destination but a journey. It requires ongoing dialogue, adaptability, and a commitment to nurturing a society where diversity is celebrated, and all citizens can thrive.

Canadian multiculturalism, like any social policy, has its positives and negatives. It has enriched Canada's culture, contributed to its economic success, and fostered social cohesion. However, it also faces challenges related to integration, resource allocation, and cultural tensions. The story of Canadian multiculturalism is one of ongoing adaptation and learning as the nation strives to strike a balance that celebrates diversity while promoting unity and inclusivity.

As you just read, AI sees this Nation called Canada and its future a lot different than author Reed W. Turcotte does. "Artificial Intelligence may have many great traits, but when it comes to writing the truth about Canada, it just failed mightily", stated Turcotte.

The only source used in these last pages was AI – it was not used anywhere else in this book.

This experiment was a bust because AI did not quote one source,
it just used 'pie in the sky' propaganda.