

C2C JOURNAL

IDEAS THAT LEAD

VOL 7, ISSUE 4
FALL 2013



Everything you know is wrong The contrarian's issue

- Residential school glasnost
- Terrorists in the multicultural mist
- Brad Wall's long to-do list
- Charity before chastity at the Vatican
- Canada's great debt transfer
- The indispensable Senate

Something for Everyone



“It ain't what you don't know that gets you into trouble. It's what you know for sure that just ain't so,” said Mark Twain. This issue of C2C is devoted to nixing common misconceptions related to the Journal's values of democratic governance, free markets, individual freedom, peace and security.

Some of the articles in this Issue will meet deep and wide opposition. That's good. Deeply and widely held misconceptions withhold the most potential for better understanding.

Some of the greatest misconceptions relate to the project of a society that is simultaneously diverse, tolerant, and equal. The Quebec values charter controversy is just another instance of the project's perennial tensions.

And so Paul Bunner takes on the thankless task of setting the record straight on the history of residential schools. Any serious assessment of Canada's claim to be an inclusive and equal society must weigh the wellbeing of the country's First Nations people.

Presently to be Aboriginal in Canada is to be disadvantaged on practically every social indicator. Almost every indicator turns on to the quality of education. The one-sided and hysterical debate

over residential schools has cast a shadow over First Nations education that stifles a serious discussion of one of Canada's most dire and urgent failings, and Bunner's call for glasnost on Residential Schools is an important step.

Rory Leishman carefully documents the web of interactions between Canadian citizens and offshore terror groups, challenging the belief that multiculturalism has integrated all Canadians behind the values of Peace, Order, and Good Government.

Blaise Boehmer examines the belief—widely held in conservative circles at least, that Brad Wall's Saskatchewan Party government has delivered the province from its socialist past. There is plenty more to do, especially for such a capable politician as Premier Wall.

Smugness breaks out across this vast land every time pundits rehearse the tale of Canada's safe chartered banks and low federal debt. However Philip Cross, a former chief economic analyst at Statistics Canada, analyses the combined federal, provincial and municipal numbers. The 1990s may be back.

Peter Stockland meditates on the Catholic Church's motivations with respect to same sex marriage and same sex relations in general.

He argues that while people have every right to be offended by the Church's stance, a close inspection of its documented position is far more nuanced than commonly reported.

Tim Anderson argues that the Senate is not useless. What has been discounted, Anderson argues, is a proper understanding of why the Fathers of Confederation installed it.

Angela Macleod Irons reviews *The Righteous Mind*, which tackles the view that conservatives don't care. It argues from empirical evidence that they draw on a wider range of moral tools than their critics.

Finally, in an interview with economic historian Vincent Geloso, Nelson Peters teases out Geloso's careful scholarship that dismisses the economic adulation given the Quiet Revolution in favour of a more defensible explanation.

It has been said that a good library contains something to offend everyone, but in a perfect world this issue will cause no offense. It should advance understanding about a wide range of Canada's most urgent challenges. Enjoy.

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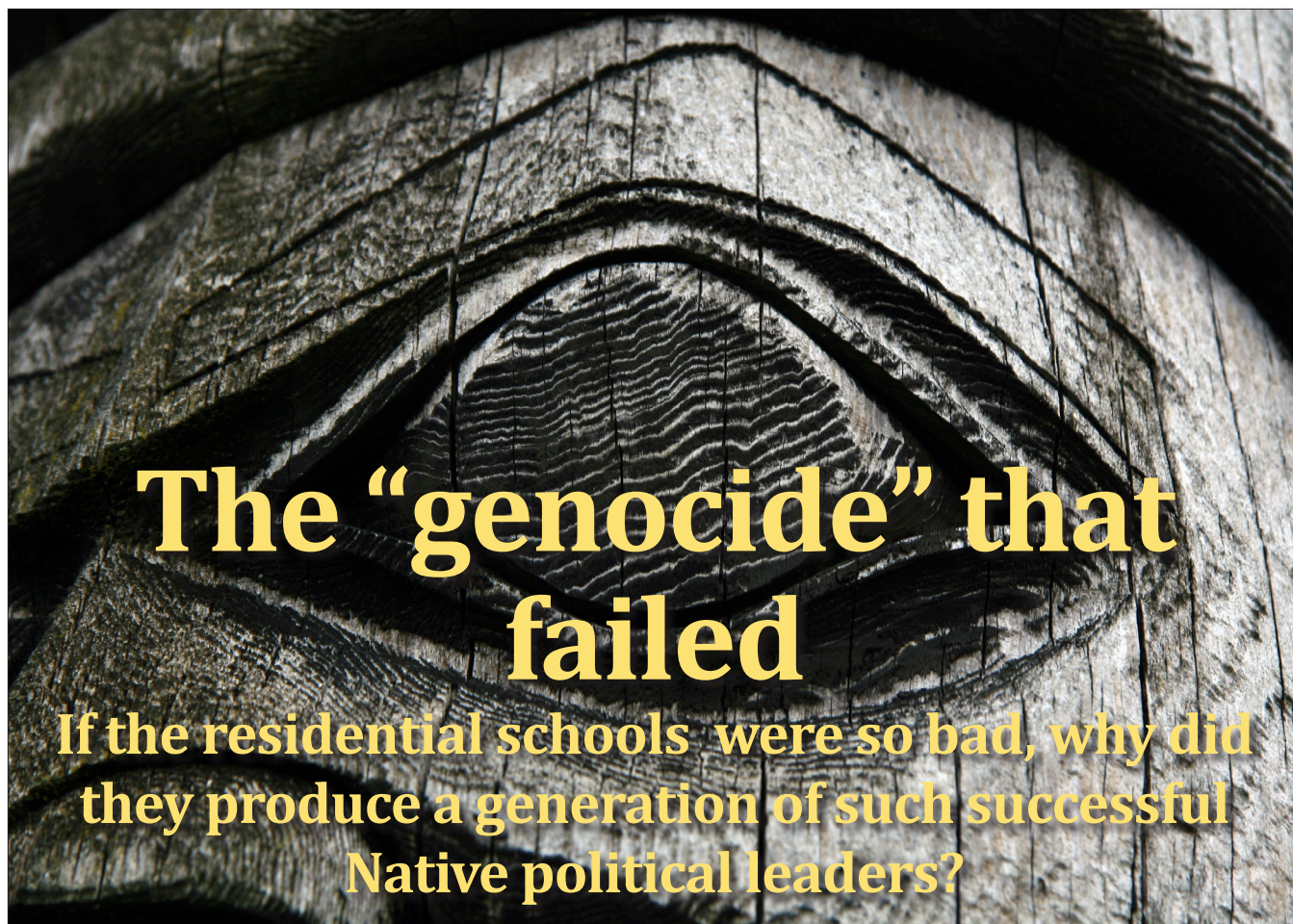


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The “genocide” that failed

If the residential schools were so bad, why did they produce a generation of such successful Native political leaders?

By Paul Bunner

The primary author of the modern Canadian Aboriginal grievance and entitlement narrative was Harold Cardinal, the Alberta Cree “boy genius from Sucker Creek.” He was just 24 when he famously stared down Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien and defeated their 1969 White Paper, which was proposing to scrap the Indian Act, dismantle the Department of Indian Affairs, privatize reserve land ownership, transfer responsibility for Indian welfare and education to the provinces and effectively end Canada’s century-old policy of racial segregation. Cardinal immediately followed this political triumph with his best-selling book, *The Unjust Society*. It made the case for Indians as “Citizens Plus,” a separate, distinct caste of Canadians who, by virtue of their status as the country’s original inhabitants and singular victims of European colonization, had a moral and legal right to pursue their own cultural destiny independent of Canadian society, except that it would provide the land and pay the bills.

Cardinal’s narrative contained all the elements that inform debates over Aboriginal policy today except the one that is the most powerful driver of guilt, grievance, power and money: the “holocaust” that was allegedly perpetrated against Aboriginal children through the Indian Residential Schools system.

It is odd that he overlooked it. In 1951, at age 6, Cardinal entered the Jossard Catholic residential school in Northern Alberta. He spent 10 years there before moving to a regular Catholic high school in Edmonton, where he graduated as class president. The Unjust Society devoted a chapter titled “The Little Red Schoolhouse” to excoriating residential schools for imposing Christian and European values on Aboriginal children. Cardinal even used the term “cultural genocide,” in what may have been its first coinage. However, he was strangely silent on the litany of horrors we now associate with the schools, including ghastly physical and sexual abuse, mass graves of unnamed children, tyrannical teachers and diabolical nutritional experiments. The worst abuse Cardinal recounted was “a misfit, has-been or never-

was” teacher in Grade 8 who was so incompetent “I found myself taking over the class.”

By the time Cardinal’s book was republished in 1999, he had discovered the true extent of the atrocities committed in residential schools. It was the Canadian equivalent of Nazi Germany’s Final Solution for the Jews of Europe, he wrote in a new foreword, echoing the rhetoric of contemporary Aboriginal political leaders and their apologists in media and academe. Anyone who dared question this orthodoxy was a blasphemer at best and a hate criminal at worst, as the conservative newsmagazine *Alberta Report* discovered a year earlier when it challenged the narrative in a cover story titled “Canada’s Mythical Holocaust.”

The story quoted numerous alumni of residential schools who had much good to say about their experiences. Some said the schools rescued them from ignorance, privation and violence at home on their reserves. Many recalled that their parents insisted they get an education, as the parents hoped it would create opportunities for their children in mainstream society. More than one refused to talk or insisted on anonymity, fearing repercussions within their communities. *Alberta Report* understood their reticence when Phil Fontaine, then grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations and lead architect of the campaign to make residential schools the centerpiece of Aboriginal grievances, initiated a complaint against the magazine with the Alberta Human Rights Commission, alleging that the story subjected Indians to hatred and contempt.

Fontaine’s charge against the magazine went nowhere, but it evidently succeeded in suppressing any further media attempts to add some balance to the history of residential schools. Fontaine, who presented himself as a victim of sexual and physical abuse in a Manitoba residential school, had adroitly leveraged the 1996 findings and recommendations

of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples into a political and financial gold mine. Within two years, he and the AFN extracted a formal apology and a \$350-million “healing fund” from the Chretien government.

This was just the beginning. Soon, law firms were trolling for clients to launch civil claims against former teachers and administrators, churches and Ottawa on behalf of thousands of residential school “survivors.” In 2005, the Martin government delivered a \$1.9-billion compensation package and launched the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which today continues to conduct research, hold hearings and nurture shame across the country.

Along the way, almost everyone associated with the administration of residential schools has apologized or “expressed sorrow” for the treatment of students. The list includes the Anglican Church of Canada, the Oblate Missionaries of Canada, the University of Manitoba (for teaching people who taught in the schools), Pope Benedict XVI and, most recently and most abjectly, Prime Minister Stephen Harper in 2008. Among his 863 words of apology, only one line obliquely acknowledged that some of the 150,000 children who attended the 80 schools from the late 1900s until the last one closed in 1996 might have had an experience that was something less than genocidal.

“Some former students have spoken positively about their experiences at residential schools,” said Harper. But these stories, he added, are “far overshadowed by tragic accounts of the emotional, physical and sexual abuse and neglect of helpless children, and their separation from powerless families and communities.”

The best that can be said of Harper’s apology is that it was a strategic attempt to kill the story and move on to a better relationship between Natives and non-Natives. Unfortunately, it only appears to have deepened the conviction that Church and State

“Cardinal’s narrative contained all the elements that inform debates over Aboriginal policy today except the one that is the most powerful driver of guilt, grievance, power and money: the “holocaust” that was allegedly perpetrated against Aboriginal children through the Indian Residential Schools system.”

conspired not only to “kill the Indian in the child” but also to physically exterminate the whole race. The Aboriginal grievance and entitlement narrative continues to gather momentum, as evidenced by last year’s prolific Idle No More protests. And the \$60-million Truth and Reconciliation Commission, far from working toward its stated objective of getting the whole story and then getting over it, appears wholly dedicated to the permanent entrenchment of a one-dimensional caricature of the history of residential schools.

The dangers in this ought to be obvious and can hardly be overstated. Already, vast swathes of the public education system are uncritically regurgitating the genocide story as if it were fact, thereby adding to the legions of Canadian voters who will be suckers for future Phil Fontaines and Harold Cardinals and their never-ending demands for more tax dollars and greater political autonomy. It will slow any progress on integration, democratic reform and financial transparency on reserves and do nothing to reduce the terrible social pathologies afflicting Indians on and off the reserves. Worse, if future generations of young Aboriginal people are indoctrinated in the belief that Canada wilfully tried to annihilate their ancestors, some of them, at least, will be ripe recruits for radical segregationist movements, perhaps even violent insurgencies as imagined in Douglas Bland’s frighteningly plausible 2010 novel *Uprising*, about Aboriginal terrorism in near-future Canada.

This juggernaut must be stopped, but how? First, people in the media, academe and politics have to find the courage to start questioning the residential schools orthodoxy. Among the “survivors” of the system, there must be hundreds if not thousands who know in their hearts that most of the teachers, administrators, priests, pastors, nuns, bureaucrats, politicians and Indians who designed and ran the system were motivated by an altruistic desire to help a colonization-shattered people adapt to their

new reality. They genuinely believed that education and integration represented the path to survival, not extermination. Their “victims” may rightly accuse them of paternalism, but this is a far cry from mass murder. We need to get the recollections of students and teachers on the record, in an interview context that is free of political coercion, before their time has passed.

Second, something must be done to overcome the perverse financial incentives that currently reward stories of abuse. How can we possibly arrive at anything resembling the truth when billions of dollars are being offered for only one side of the story? Perhaps some of the money currently earmarked for reparations should be used to establish a legitimate commission of enquiry for gathering testimony, under oath, in a legal process that is not hopelessly biased toward any particular version of the truth.

Third, we need to provide context. While Indian kids were going to residential schools in the early to mid-20th century, thousands of white kids were going to boarding schools. More than a few of them were beaten, sexually abused and tyrannized by teachers who were better suited for minding inmates than students. These children grew up in sod huts on the Prairies, endured the horrors of the Depression and the world wars and somehow got through it all without imagining they were the victims of a racist conspiracy to wipe them off the Earth. They were sodomized at Upper Canada College and strapped with belts and paddles, not just at boarding schools, but at regular public schools too. While Indians endured worse than most, bad things have always happened to good people, and from our 21st-century perspective, life in many parts of Canada was manifestly Hobbesian, without regard to race or culture.

Context is also needed to refute the “intergenerational legacy” of residential schools. The idea that victimization of one generation



automatically passes to their descendants defies human experience. If it were true, the survivors and descendants of the Nazi Holocaust would be humanity's basket cases instead of a people who have prospered like few others. In the case of residential school students and their descendants, stories of the latter plundering the former suggest that the compensation payouts themselves may be a source of corrosive intergenerational strife.

Finally, we all need to acknowledge that what Prime Minister Harper said in a 2006 speech in London, England, about the history of Aboriginal relations in Canada was far truer than most of what he said in his 2008 apology. Invoking the colonial era, when Europeans of various stripes relentlessly butchered and oppressed aboriginal people elsewhere in the Americas, Africa and Asia, Harper noted, "[I]n the Canadian context, the actions of the British Empire were largely benign and occasionally brilliantThe treaties negotiated with the Aboriginal inhabitants of our country, while far from perfect, were some of the fairest and most generous of the period."

This was absolutely and unequivocally true. The British treated Natives in this country more benevolently than they did any other indigenous peoples within their empire. Canada inherited that legacy and maintained it, even as our neighbours south of the border continued to lynch blacks and slaughter Indians. The bogus genocide story of the Canadian Aboriginal residential schools system is an insult to all of us, Native and non-Native, dead or alive, who are justifiably proud of the peaceful, tolerant, pluralistic history and values of our great country. We should fight like hell to defend it from those who would corrupt it.♦

Paul Bunner, a.k.a. The Right Pen, is an Edmonton-based freelance writer, editor, author and speechwriter. He is a former Executive Editor of the late Alberta Report magazine and contributor to various media including Maclean's, CBC Radio, Avenue Magazine, Alberta Venture and Outdoor Canada. He was head speechwriter for Prime Minister Stephen Harper from 2006-09, and has written for several other federal, provincial and municipal political leaders including federal Health Minister Rona Ambrose and Alberta Wildrose Party leader Danielle Smith.



By Blaise Boehmer

If one Googles the two terms "Brad Wall" and "still more work to do," one will receive thousands of hits. Whenever the Premier of Saskatchewan

acknowledges the successes of his government (of which there are many), he is quick to point out that there is "still more work to do" in his province. And he is right. The people of Saskatchewan endured a stretch of bad leadership, including former premier

Allan Blakeney, who successfully nationalized entire industries, and former premier Grant Devine, whose caucus made a mockery of the democratic institution it inhabited. The former emboldened Saskatchewan's socialists, while the latter spooked conservatism out of Saskatchewan's political consciousness. Regrettably, from 1991 onward, conservatism became associated with the 14 Progressive Conservative caucus members convicted of fraud and breach of trust. This allowed for a brief resurgence of the Liberal party, and for the NDP to govern, virtually unchallenged, for 16 years. With the history of the past few decades, along with the longer history of socialism and the subsequent deification of former premier Tommy Douglas, Wall has a lot of work ahead of him.

During those 16 years, the NDP did admirable work dealing with the financial crisis of the early 1990s, simplifying the tax system, dropping tax rates and paying down debt. However, in style, they subscribed to a governing theory that mediocrity makes success easier to achieve (for a tearful laugh at this uninspiring period, read John Gormley's *Left Out: Saskatchewan's NDP & the Relentless Pursuit of Mediocrity*). Here is a quick breakdown of key moments from the NDP's tenure: They shut down over 50 hospitals, engaged in a prolonged labour dispute with the nurses' union, refused to liberalize liquor retailing, attempted to establish a vertically integrated government potato business called SPUDCO and charged campers a fee to roast their wieners. Quite a few residents voted with their feet and moved to Alberta, while those who stayed were hesitant to replace the functionally dysfunctional NDP with an untested opposition party. The opposition Saskatchewan Party came close to forming the government in 2003, but a late-in-the-campaign slight misstep by then leader Elwin Hermanson spooked voters again, securing another four years of NDP rule.

In 2007, Saskatchewan finally opted for change. Wall's Saskatchewan Party cruised to electoral victory, having won all rural seats and having penetrated the

NDP fortresses of Regina and Saskatoon. The 2007 platform was modest for a conservative government in waiting (take note, Ontario PCs), but it managed to convince enough voters that a change was needed. Wall's party promised to balance the books, offer tuition rebates for graduates, make money available for more nurses and police officers, give a myriad of tax breaks to middle-class families and increase general spending in health and education. During his first term in government, Wall delivered the very policies he campaigned on, which did well to earn him the trust of voters. When the next election rolled around in 2011, Wall proved the NDP fear-mongering machine wrong, again. He trounced the NDP, reducing it to just nine of the 58 seats, even knocking NDP leader, Dwain Lingenfelter, out of the long-time NDP seat in urban Regina.

Yes, the Wall government is a truly impressive phenomenon, but is it offering a new brand of conservatism to disillusioned adherents? Wall is arguably this country's greatest parliamentarian, which is why conservatives should expect much of him. His brand of conservatism has fundamentally improved the province. However, the Premier could further use his surplus of political capital to achieve some simple, yet transformative, reforms such as greater fiscal transparency, eliminating obstructive minimum wage laws, completing the NDP's tax simplification, removing the insidious 2007 Planning and Development Act and privatizing retail liquor. These would propel his province ahead of all the others. Yes, there is still more positive work to do in the province of

Saskatchewan.

Thanks to the short-sighted fiscal and accounting policies pursued by the baby boomer generation, the rest of us are facing a brisk and near-ruinous fiscal headwind. Few to almost no politicians have the stomach or courage to confront the problem posed by unfunded pension liabilities. The fundamental difficulty with the existing pension system in Canada

“They shut down over 50 hospitals, engaged in a prolonged labour dispute with the nurses’ union, refused to liberalize liquor retailing, attempted to establish a vertically integrated government potato business called SPUDCO and charged campers a fee to roast their wieners.”

(and throughout the Western world) is that these programs were set up when males were the primary earners, and their average life expectancy was around 65 to 70 years of age. The assumption was that the many who paid into it would subsidize the defined benefits of the few who lived beyond the age of 65. Now, the situation is vastly different. Both men and women pay into pensions, and many public sector workers opt for early retirement. The average life expectancy for males is approximately 79 years of age, and for females, it is approximately 83 years of age.

The problems are obvious, but this issue does present conservative governments with a great opportunity. Instead of perpetuating the practices of past governments (including those that created the problems in the first place) of burying the extent of unfunded pension liabilities in convoluted budgetary documents, governments should highlight the problem for their citizens. Governments should explain the extent of the financial mess that is our pension sector and start making the cuts needed to repair it.

Canadian premiers might look south of the border for inspiration. In 2010, Governor Chris Christie of New Jersey was facing a budgetary mess, as public sector pension plans were bankrupting the state. Christie confronted the issue and shifted the pension liability from taxpayers to public sector pensioners. His willingness to speak to tough political issues earned him praise throughout the country for confronting, rather than deferring, budgetary challenges. As with other states and provinces, Saskatchewan faces a similar threat, yet few people discuss the matter. For example, the Saskatchewan Judges of the Provincial Court Superannuation Plan has only \$24-million in

assets, yet has a pension obligation of \$159-million. Provincial judges are only required to contribute 5 per cent of their annual income toward their pension plan, which, according to the Canadian Taxpayer's Federation, amounts to just under \$12,000 per year. The kicker is that this is a defined benefits plan rather than a defined contributions plan, which means that retired judges are guaranteed just over \$111,000 per year in retirement benefits. So, for those keeping score at home, Saskatchewan's judges contribute just under \$12,000 per year to their pensions but will

receive more than \$111,000 per year during retirement. As a result, the Saskatchewan government is responsible for the remaining pension obligation of more than 100 civil servants.

However, the insolvency of the provincial judge's pension plan is minor compared with the Saskatchewan Teachers' Superannuation Plan. According to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Superannuation Commission, which oversees management of the teachers' pension fund, "the unfunded liability in the Teachers' Superannuation Plan is estimated to be \$5.171 billion." This significant dollar figure works out to almost half of the province's annual operating budget of \$11-billion. And make no mistake, the "unfunded liability" actually means "taxpayer liability," because

the people of Saskatchewan will be the only ones left to pay that bill once it is due.

The government of Saskatchewan should engage its constituents in an open conversation about the province's pension liabilities. Adopting the provincial auditor's recommendation to provide summary financial statements as a means of communicating its financial picture would be a solid step. Currently, the government of Saskatchewan uses two sets of books to announce its budget: summary financial statements



and the General Revenue Fund (GRF). The GRF is what we hear about in the media around budget time, while the summary financial statements include the unfunded pension liabilities such as the above-mentioned pension plans for teachers and judges. The Provincial Auditor reports that other provinces have moved “to using [summary] financial statements as the primary public reporting tool in communicating [their] fiscal results to [their] citizens.”

Governor Christie’s example shows us that voters respect leaders who are open about these unfunded liabilities and who can clearly articulate a road map toward long-term balanced budgets. Wall has the rare talent and communication skills to lead Canadian provinces on this critical front.

The proverbial U.S. laboratories of democracy provide more examples of bold conservative policy in play. In the winter of 2011, Madison, Wisconsin, became the site for special interest groups affected by a set of bills designed to repair the state’s fiscal standing and to repeal legislation that distorted its labour market. Unions and student activists throughout the state converged on the Capitol building to protest the Governor’s “Wisconsin budget repair bill.” (This union-funded temper tantrum over the state’s finances reached a new level of ridiculousness when the Democratic State Senate Minority Leader and his caucus fled the state to prevent the quorum required to vote on the bill). Progressive forces with no stake in Wisconsin suddenly became experts on state finances, while pronouncing the Governor, Scott Walker, a modern-day Adolf Hitler for the crime of engaging in the democratic process. The left lost the battle and the war; the budget repair bill passed, and the effort to recall Scott Walker in 2012 failed. The Wisconsin protests of 2011 tell us that sound labour policy will defeat the hysterics of organized labour.

Recently, Saskatchewan rewrote its labour legislation, effectively condensing 12 different pieces of labour legislation into a single, comprehensive act. One change, the indexation of minimum wage, could pose long-term challenges for the province. First, minimum wage laws artificially increase the price of the province’s unskilled labour. This increase

disproportionately affects minorities who cannot find work (and the experience that will serve them well in the future) because their unskilled labour has now become more expensive. Second, the small-business owners, particularly in the service industry, now expect regular increases in their operating costs. Business owners are not likely to absorb these costs, and, like clockwork, they will pass them on to the consumer, leading to local inflation. And finally, this indexation will only exacerbate the challenges of addressing the disproportionate number of unemployed Aboriginals in the province. In fact, pre-eminent economist Thomas Sowell wrote that too few people are “aware of what a major social disaster the minimum wage law has been for the young, the poor, and especially for young and poor [minorities].”

The majority of Saskatchewan’s population is expected to be Aboriginal by mid century. This demographic will be significantly younger and, assuming current trends continue, less educated than the rest of the population. Study after study has shown that minimum wage laws always hurt younger and less-educated segments of the population. Saskatchewan should take the necessary steps to address the demographic challenges on the horizon. Eliminating restrictive minimum wage laws would ensure greater First Nations participation in Saskatchewan’s work force, as many people are choosing to move from the reserves to urban centres. Removing the minimum wage should be seen primarily in light of its greatest benefit: giving work opportunities and experience to the people who need them most. Once again, Wall’s skill could make this unprecedented change possible.

There are few things as annoying and humiliating as buying booze from the government. As such, liquor privatization is a no-brainer for governments that believe in personal freedom, choice and responsibility. Alberta got this right 20 years ago when then premier Ralph Klein announced that all retail liquor would be privatized. The policy is now so widely accepted that it is completely off the radar for the provincial Liberals and NDP, the third and fourth parties in Alberta.

So, why does Saskatchewan continue to insist on

“The problems are obvious, but this issue does present conservative governments with a great opportunity.”

state liquor retailing throughout the province when its neighbour to the west continues to demonstrate the success of privatization? Albertans are able to choose from more than 19,000 liquor products, while Saskatchewanians have only 2,100 to choose from. In addition, consumers pay considerably less for the same product in Alberta than they do in Saskatchewan.

One good reason not to transform the antiquated liquor system is Saskatchewan's organized labour movement, which stands to lose the most from privatization. It is fierce, uncompromising and completely willing to put public safety at risk (the Saskatchewan Government Employees Union, which represents the retail liquor employees, once ordered snowplow workers off the job during a particularly brutal winter storm). To be fair, Saskatchewan has made a few minor attempts toward a freer market, but the state monopoly remains. For example, in 2009, the Saskatchewan government issued a request for proposals and allowed one private liquor store in Regina and one in Saskatoon. Saskatoon's store was called Cava Wines, and by 2012, it had its bank accounts frozen and its liquor license revoked for bootlegging and failing to pay taxes. Regina's private liquor store is called Willow Park (based out of Alberta), and, while it is a completely respectable business, its lack of competition results in high prices and old inventory. Neither experiment offers an optimal choice for consumers, so why continue pursuing this model? Again, a motivating factor could be not wanting to incite public sector union wrath. Yet, Alberta is a perfect example of how to get liquor privatization right: Move quickly and deliberately, and avoid compromises. Twenty years later, no one in Alberta yearns for the days of government liquor stores.

Saskatchewan's previous NDP government significantly improved the tax system, reducing company taxes, removing surtaxes on income and generally simplifying the system. To date, the policy of the current government has been to make small steps in the opposite direction. When the basic personal exemption was raised by \$4,000, it was hailed as the largest-ever tax cut. However, for a given level of expenditure, larger personal exemptions simply lead to higher tax rates than would otherwise be required at the top of the income scale. Indeed, the government

could send a major signal about the province's values by emulating Alberta's Ralph Klein and charging a single-rate tax on income.

Finally, the province could address one of Canada's urgent problems by tackling a time bomb that the previous government installed in its final year. The Planning and Development Act (2007) not only permits municipalities to engage in long-term comprehensive land-use planning but also requires them to do so. In the Canadian tradition of subsidiarity, it might be expected that municipalities would make differing choices about the level of regulation they impose on land use.

Since the enactment of this legislation, both Regina and Saskatoon have embarked on planning exercises that have catchy names (Design Regina and Saskatoon Speaks) and will inevitably lead to greater constraints upon land use. Out in the hinterland, councilors from tiny rural municipalities report bullying by zealous planning consultants emboldened with the knowledge that provincial legislation makes the use of their services mandatory. As urban property rights, land-use legislation and housing affordability become larger issues across Canada, Saskatchewan could choose to be the first province to turn back the land-use regulation juggernaut.

Saskatchewan is fertile ground for enacting truly conservative policies. With the most popular premier in Canada, a booming economy, an electorate hungry for change and clearly too much government, the recipe for transformation exists. The Wall government has achieved some reforms in less than two terms and, most importantly, restored the integrity of conservatism to the province. His next challenge is to lead the province into a golden age, an era of economic growth unencumbered by government debt and monopoly, to the benefit of all Saskatchewanians. Few leaders have the ability and mettle to achieve such goals, yet Saskatchewan's Premier is the perfect candidate. ♦

“Canadian
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inspiration.”

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By *Rory Leishman*

Hopeful claim: Hundreds of thousands of Muslim immigrants who have arrived in Canada from strife-torn countries over the past few decades have integrated into Canada's multicultural society so successfully that Canadians have little reason for concern about a terrorist attack by homegrown Islamist extremists.

Certainly, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) disagrees. For years, it has focused primarily on combatting "home-grown Islamist extremism," which the agency defines as "a threat which refers to the indoctrination and radicalization of young Canadians into the violent ideology espoused and inspired by Al Qaeda."

Of the 24 people who have been charged under Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act, 75 per cent are Canadian citizens. And all but two of the 14 Canadians convicted under the Act were Al-Qaeda inspired, homegrown Islamist terrorists, including all 11 of the terrorists who were found guilty in the plot by the so-called Toronto 18 in 2006.

The Toronto 18 conspiracy was not, as many Canadians suppose, just some lurid amateurish fantasy. By the time of the ringleaders' arrest, they had developed a sophisticated plan to set off two massive, remote-controlled one-tonne bombs in downtown Toronto as well as a third at an unidentified military base outside the city.

In sentencing Zakaria Amara, the principal bombmaker for the Toronto 18, to life imprisonment, Mr. Justice Bruce Durno of the Ontario Superior Court of Justice noted that if CSIS and the police had not foiled this diabolical plot,

The results would have been catastrophic. What this case revealed was spine-chilling. ... [T]he potential for loss of life existed on a scale never before seen in Canada Had the plan been implemented it would have changed the lives of many, if not all Canadians forever.

Among other alleged homegrown Islamist terrorists in Canada is Khurram Sher, a medical doctor and graduate of McGill University who was born and raised in Montreal. On August 25, 2010, he was arrested in London, Ontario, and charged along with two other Muslim Canadians – Misbahuddin Ahmed and Hiva Mohammad Alvizadeh, both of Ottawa – with engaging in a terrorist conspiracy to build remotely controlled improvised explosive devices for use within Canada. In announcing the arrests, RCMP Chief Superintendent Serge Therriault warned: "This group posed a real and serious threat to the citizens of the National Capital Region and Canada's national security."

Following the arrests, then public safety minister Vic Toews warned: "Canada is not immune to terrorism. We are not immune from international or

homegrown radicalization. I have said this before: The threat is real and we cannot be complacent.”

In a concurring editorial, *The Globe and Mail* opined:

What terrifies in the terrorism arrests announced yesterday in Ottawa is that the Islamists’ call to mass murder, if the accusation is true, was accepted by a McGill University-trained medical doctor who loves hockey and sang on *Canadian Idol*. Even those individuals who seem to be, and may in fact be, well integrated into their communities, may not be immune to the lure of jihad. This is not new to other parts of the world, notably Britain, but it is a shock for Canada, an open, integrated society that likes to think its openness protects against violence and radicalism of all kinds.

Sher, Ahmed and Alvizadeh are currently in jail awaiting trial.

Meanwhile, earlier this year, Canadians were shocked again to learn that two young Muslims from London, Ontario, had died while taking part in a deadly terrorist attack on an Algerian gas plant in January 2013 that resulted in the deaths of 37 workers and 29 terrorists. *Xristos Katsiroubas* and *Ali Medlej*, the young men in question, were both raised in London, Ontario, and attended the same local high school. Many Canadians wondered what could have induced these two, in many ways average, teenagers from London to embrace radical Islam and a life of murderous jihadi violence.

Dr. *Wael Mahmoud Haddara*, board member at the *London Muslim Mosque*, professed bafflement. In an interview with *The London Free Press*, he said: “We need to understand these kids. What was their movement like, who did they talk to? Could we have had a better grasp of this earlier?” *Haddara* speculated that perhaps they had not been radicalized in London, but through the Internet:

You get exposed to the Youtube [sic] video. You have someone who can become angry, but they are not radicalizing the kids to say

this is something you should do. But they are compelled by this new-found sense of honour and purpose to go out and seek other people.

Haddara is well known among Muslim leaders across Canada as a past president of the *Muslim Association of Canada (MAC)*, an organization headquartered in *Mississauga, Ontario*, that has chapters in 11 Canadian cities. In a promotional video on the Web site of the *London MAC Youth Centre*, *Haddara* describes the organization as a social club for young Canadians:

It is not a place where they come to be isolated and sort of do their own thing but really a place to come where they can grow their skills, build their confidence and welcome other young Canadians of whatever stripe, or go out into the broader whole that is Canada and engage the rest of society more constructively and really contribute to a more vibrant and richer social fabric.

Imam Jamal Taleb of the *London Muslim Mosque* and *Dr. Munir El Kassem*, internationally prominent Imam of the *Islamic Centre of Southwest Ontario* and former Muslim chaplain at *Western University*, are also featured on the promotional video as supporters of the *London MAC Youth Centre*. Clearly, this is no fringe group. It has the solid backing of the city’s mainstream Muslim establishment.

The same goes for the prominence of *MAC* in other Canadian cities. In *Toronto*, for example, *MAC* marks the end of *Ramadan* by hosting the largest annual *Eid* festival in the city. According to *MAC*:

The events attract over fifteen thousand attendees and have been honoured with respected community members and politicians including *Hon. Premier Dalton McGuinty*, *Mayor David Miller*, the *Hon. Kathleen Wynne* (*Minister of Education*), *Conservative leader Mr. John Tory* and other ministers.

“Of the 24 people who have been charged under Canada’s Anti-Terrorism Act, 75 per cent are Canadian citizens. And all but two of the 14 Canadians convicted under the Act Al-Qaeda inspired, homegrown Islamist terrorists, including all 11 of the terrorists who were found guilty in the plot by the so-called Toronto 18 in 2006.”

Last year, Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath also addressed the annual gathering.

By any reckoning, the Muslim Association of Canada is a major national Muslim organization. But is it, as depicted by Haddara and others, altogether benign?

There is good reason to wonder, especially in view of the candid disclosure on MAC's national web site that the organization's "modern roots can be traced to the vigorous intellectual revivalist effort" within Islam that began in the early 20th century and culminated within the Arab world "in the writings of the late Imam Hassan al-Banna and the movement of the Society of Muslim Brothers (commonly known as the Muslim Brotherhood)." The MAC statement continues: "Al-Banna's core messages of constructive engagement in society, focus on personal and communal empowerment, and organizational development had a deep impact on much of the Muslim world."

That al-Banna's core messages have had a deep impact throughout the Muslim world is beyond doubt. In *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror*, Mary Habeck, Associate Professor of Strategic Studies in the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, lists al-Banna as one of the three most influential 20th-century Islamist ideologues (the two others being Sayyid Qutb and Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi). Together, she says, this trio has done the most to inspire "even the more extreme jihadist beliefs" among radical Islamists.

Leaders of the Islamist Resistance Movement, (popularly known as Hamas), hold "[t]he Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory" in such high regard that they have seen fit to quote his declamation in the Hamas Covenant: "Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it."

In founding the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, al-Banna hoped the organization would serve to liberate Egypt from the British, battle the Zionists and eventually join in a Muslim attack on the West. In a jihadist tract reproduced on the Web site of Young Muslims of Canada, he states his bellicose declaration:

Western secularism moved into a Muslim world already estranged from its Qur'anic roots, and delayed its advancement for centuries, and will continue to do so until we drive it from our lands. Moreover, we will not stop at this point, but will pursue this evil force to its own lands, invade its Western heartland, and struggle to overcome it until all the world shouts by the name of the Prophet and the teachings of Islam spread throughout the world. Only then will Muslims achieve their fundamental goal.

In *Jihad*, another tract included in the online library of Young Muslims of Canada, al-Banna makes clear that in his view, jihad entails fighting and violence. He states: "The verses of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of Muhammad ... summon people in general (with the most eloquent expression and the clearest exposition) to jihad, to warfare, to the armed forces,

and all means of land and sea fighting." Al-Banna adds, "Jihad is an obligation from Allah on every Muslim and cannot be ignored nor evaded. Allah has ascribed great importance to jihad and has made the reward of the martyrs and the fighters in His way a splendid one." How splendid? Citing another Muslim authority,

al-Banna promises:

The martyr possesses six distinctions with respect to Allah: he is forgiven, amongst the first to be forgiven; he is shown his place in Paradise [sic]; he is not punished in the Grave [sic]; he is secure from the supreme terror of the day of judgment; the crown of dignity is placed on his head, a single ruby of which is more precious than the entire world and all it contains; he is wedded to seventy-two of the women of heaven; and he may intercede for seventy of his relatives.

In addition to *Jihad* and several other writings by al-Banna, Young Muslims of Canada also commends essays by Mawdudi and Qutb. Of particular note is Qutb's *Milestones*, an abridged version of a lengthy commentary he wrote on the Koran, which, according to Habeck, "became a bestseller in extremist circles and would provide much of the ideological and



theological foundation for modern jihadism.”

What, one might wonder, is the purpose of Young Muslims of Canada? In its mission statement, the organization purports: “Through inspiring programs and activities Young Muslims [of Canada] will nurture God-conscience Muslim youth who are outstanding contributors to Canadian society.”

Only the naive and misinformed can take that statement at face value.

As for the Muslim Association of Canada, how can an organization that purports that it “respects all faiths and Canadian institutions, traditions, and values” promote the ideology of a violent Islamist such as al-Banna, who called for a Muslim war on the West and the eradication of the state of Israel? In May, Charles Lewis of the National Post reported that Haddara had explained that MAC’s “interest in Hassan al-Banna is only in terms of his theology, not his political views, and nor [sic] does it have any ties with the Muslim Brotherhood.”

That suggestion is, to say the least, implausible. Al-Banna’s Islamist theology can no more be separated from his politics than Lenin’s communist philosophy can be separated from his revolutionary violence. Anyone who is at all acquainted with al-Banna’s theological fulminations must know that they are suffused with violent antipathy to the Western ideals of freedom, democracy and constitutional government.

It is also noteworthy that between 2001 and 2010, the Muslim Association of Canada transferred \$296,514 to the International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy (Canada), an organization also known as IRFAN-Canada. On March 9, 2011, the Canada Revenue Agency deprived IRFAN-Canada of its charitable status on the ground that “IRFAN-Canada provides support to Hamas, a listed terrorist organization.”

Would Haddara have us believe that he and his colleagues on the board of the Muslim Association of Canada knew nothing about IRFAN-Canada’s support for Hamas?

As reported in The London Free Press on September 13, 2013, Haddara now acknowledges that he played a key role as a public-relations adviser during the

presidential-election campaign of Mohamed Morsi, the deposed Egyptian president and Chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party, an organization founded by the Muslim Brotherhood. After the election, Haddara also served as an official “Adviser to the President” and alternative representative of Egypt to the United Nations.

Clearly, Haddara, if not MAC as a whole, has close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.

For years, moderate Canadian Muslims have been warning about subversion by the radical Islamists in our midst. Conspicuous among these moderates is Salim Mansur, Associate Professor of Political Science at Western University and author, most recently, of *Delectable Lie: a Liberal Repudiation of Multiculturalism*. In an interview earlier this year, he included the Muslim Association of Canada on a list of prominent Muslim groups in Canada and the United States “that in another time in modern history would have been considered treasonous to the values and security of a liberal democratic state.” As it is, Mansur added, since the ascendancy over the past 50 years of multiculturalism, a doctrine that holds that “all cultures are equal, truth is relative, and politics is identity politics, the idea of treason has become obsolete.”

Correspondingly, in testimony before the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology on February 3, 2011, David Harris, former chief of strategic planning for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, warned,

[T]roubling interests are indoctrinating our Muslim youth. The Muslim Association of Canada, MAC, a major group, boldly declares on its website its allegiance to the tradition of Hassan al-Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood — the organization causing dread in Egypt and beyond.

Harris drew the attention of the Senators to a secret 1991 memorandum on strategy for North America in which the Muslim Brotherhood affirmed: “The Ikhwan [members of the Muslim Brotherhood] must understand that their work in America is kind of a grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western

“Many Canadians wondered what could have induced these two, in many ways average, teenagers from London to embrace radical Islam and a life of murderous jihadi violence.”

civilization from within.”

Has any Member of Parliament paid heed to the warnings of authorities such as Mansur and Harris on the subversive threat posed by the Muslim Association of Canada or Young Muslims of Canada? Evidently not. Indeed, there is nothing in the annals of the Hansard of Canada to suggest that any Member of Parliament has ever expressed any concern or critical comment about either of these organizations.

Much the same goes for the print and broadcast media. While many Canadian journalists have wondered about how so many young Canadian Muslims could have been transformed into homegrown exponents of violent jihad, few have ever noted, and none has made any systematic attempt to expose, the dedication of mainstream Muslim organizations such as the Muslim Association of Canada and Young Muslims of Canada to propagating

the ideas of violent jihadists such as Hassan al-Banna.

Let us hope that it does not take the mass murder of innocent Canadians by some jihadist group like the Toronto 18 before our intellectual and political leaders finally wake up to the peril of homegrown Islamist extremists.♦

Rory Leishman is a freelance journalist based in London, Ont., who was previously employed as a lecturer in political science at Western University and national affairs columnist for The London Free Press. In 1997, Leishman has received the William Kurelek Award from Alliance for Life “in recognition of an outstanding contribution to the development of respect and appreciation for the dignity and worth of human life” as well as the Furedy Academic Freedom Award from the Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship for his contributions to public understanding of academic freedom. Leishman is the author of Against Judicial Activism: The Decline of Freedom and Democracy in Canada, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006). He and his wife, Carolina, are members of St. George’s Anglican Church in London, Ontario.



1995 without interest

By Philip Cross

Canadians have followed the unfolding government debt crisis in the United States and the European Union (EU) with a sense of detachment. While terms such as the “fiscal cliff,” “sequester” and “fiscal austerity” have entered our

lexicon, they have not entered our consciousness. After all, a government debt crisis could never happen in Canada, right?

Wrong. It already happened in the not too distant past, centred on the federal government in the mid-1990s, and it could easily happen again in the not too

distant future, this time originating with the provinces.

Figure 1 on total debt for all levels of government tells the story. The ratio of gross government debt to GDP is higher in Canada than in either the United States or the EU. Many Canadians will be surprised to learn that our government debt level relative to income is also higher than in the United States and the EU. After all, we emerged from the 2008-2009 financial crisis and recession in much better shape than the other major industrialized nations did. This confidence in our financial system and the appeal of the Canada brand to foreign investors attracted \$274-billion in government bonds, pushing up the value of the Canadian dollar.

One encouraging trend for Canada is that the recent rate of increase for its government debt was not as rapid as in either the United States or the EU. Moreover, Canada proved in the decade after 1995 that it was capable of taking action to reduce a high debt load, a resolve that the United States and the EU have yet to demonstrate.

Much of the favourable perception of the state of government finances in Canada is based on federal government debt. As can be seen in Figure 2, the federal government's share of debt relative to GDP was cut in half from its peak in 1995 until 2007, just before the recession hit. This long-term decline reflects the decisive action taken to reduce the federal deficit in the 1995 Martin budget, followed soon after by 10 years of budget surpluses.

The federal debt ballooned during the recession and has since levelled off at just under 50 per cent of the GDP as the annual deficits were slowly brought down.

The precariously high level of government debt now originates mostly at the provincial and local levels of government. Starting in 2002, their levels of debt have consistently exceeded the federal debt. Provinces and municipalities made little headway in reducing their debt relative to the GDP during the extended economic boom that covered most of the last two decades, similar to the manner in which the United States and the EU frittered away their opportunities to reduce debt when their economies were growing. The recession then boosted debt levels, as revenue plunged and Keynesian pump-priming of spending rose. However, provincial and municipal debt levels have continued to rise even as the economy began to recover, reflecting the difficulty

of reining in spending, especially on education and health care. Infrastructure spending at the local level of government has proved hard to brake after a decade of heavy investment that was funded partly by rising local debt or provincial transfers (also partly financed by debt). As a result, provincial and local government debt as a share of the GDP was higher in 2012 than it was in 1995, the last time Canada faced a debt crisis.

For the moment, record-low interest rates are keeping the debt problem at bay. In Figure 3, the share of GDP spent on interest payments (some would say wasted, considering all the things this money could be spent on) for government debt fell below 4 per cent in 2012. This is lower than it was before the recession and well below its record high of nearly 20 per cent in 1995. However, the decline since the 2007 recession is an illusion created by record-

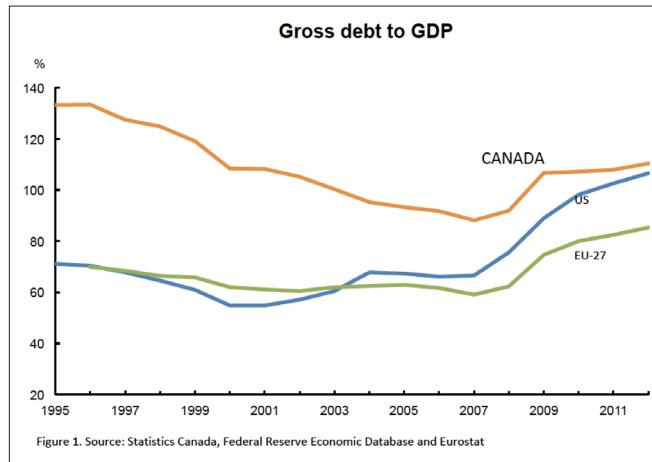
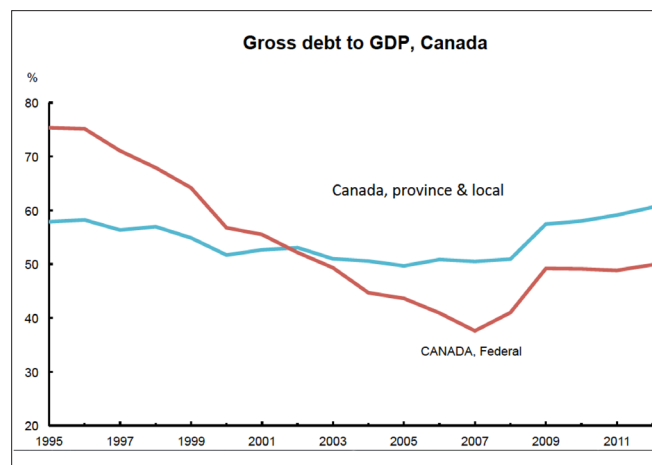


Figure 1. Source: Statistics Canada, Federal Reserve Economic Database and Eurostat



low interest rates. Interest payments are the product of the level of the debt and the interest rate being paid. While debt levels have risen since 2007, this has been outweighed by ultra-low interest rates, reducing the burden of interest payments. The increasing level of debt leaves governments vulnerable to the inevitable return to more-normal interest rate levels.

A major study by the Macdonald-Laurier Institute in October 2012 warned of the ominous trend of provincial indebtedness. It found that the path of provincial finances was unsustainable, with a significant risk of insolvency in all 10 provinces over the next three decades. This scenario reflected the impact of a rapidly aging population on lower economic growth and higher health care costs, a return to more-normal levels of interest rates and the dependence of some provinces on volatile natural resource revenue.

Already, the worrisome fiscal outlook is forcing unpopular choices onto provincial governments. This is most evident in Québec, where the newly elected PQ government renounced its big spending instincts. Instead, Finance Minister Nicolas Marceau declared, “Eliminating Québec’s deficit is non-negotiable.” Québec’s financial quandary is that while annual deficits are not excessively large, they are being piled onto a very high level of debt due to the persistence of annual deficits over long periods (Québec’s fiscal profile thus resembles that of Italy). Prioritizing deficit reduction has cost the PQ support among its left-wing base, but it had to be done after the threatened downgrade of government agency debt.

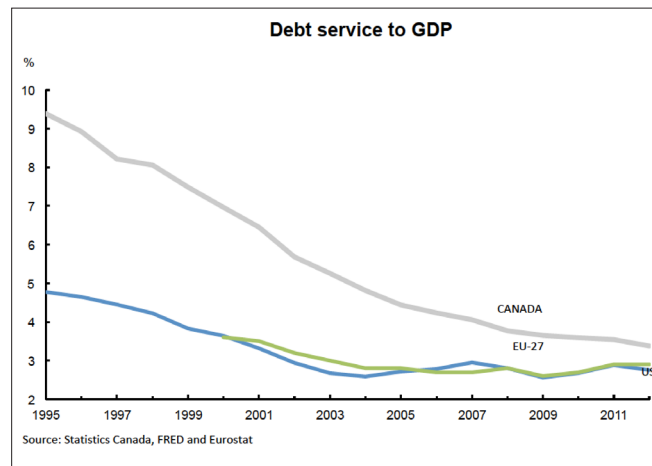
Other large provinces have received similar warnings. Bond ratings agencies downgraded Ontario last summer, citing its \$15-billion deficit and high spending. British Columbia received notice of a possible downgrade. Alberta has not been able to stop running deficits despite a boom in oil prices and the oil sands development.

So, is the debt problem facing the provinces

intractable? Fortunately, a road map out of the quagmire is readily at hand for them as well as the United States and the EU. In 1995, the federal government in Canada strained under a debt load so large that The Wall Street Journal ran an editorial on January 12 titled “Bankrupt Canada,” which said that if Canada did not take dramatic action in the next federal budget, Canada could hit the debt wall and ask for IMF intervention.

Fortunately, the federal budget plan ended the incipient crisis, mostly through spending cuts. On average, the operating budgets of federal ministries were trimmed 10 per cent. Transfers to the provinces also were cut, and the block fund of transfers to the provinces was capped. In three years, the federal government was running a surplus.

Lower federal transfers worsened the already-precarious fiscal position of the provinces. As early as 1992, Saskatchewan had to introduce draconian cuts because financial markets balked at funding more of its debt said then finance minister Janice MacKinnon. By the mid-1990s, governments committed to better fiscal management were elected in most provinces, most notably



in Ontario and Alberta. Therefore, provinces have an “organizational” memory of what a fiscal crisis means and how to address it.

What is different now is the record deficit run by local governments. Last year, local governments posted a deficit of \$9.2-billion, by far the largest ever. Before 2000, it was rare for local governments to run a deficit of more than \$1-billion, but it jumped to \$6.3-billion during the recession in 2008 and has widened since (the deficit is tracking above \$10-billion so far in 2013). The source of this growing deficit is easy to pinpoint: The increasing fiscal prudence among provincial governments has already resulted in lower transfers to local governments since 2010, totalling more than \$2-billion. Meanwhile, capital spending has more than doubled to \$28.4-billion in the last decade alone, most of it for aging infrastructure.

Like the federal government, the provinces have learned that it is easier to cut transfers to lower levels of government and to let them deal with the political fallout than it is to cut their own spending programs. Alas, there is no level of government below the municipal one, so that is where the buck has to stop. Local governments will have to choose which programs to fund or face a fiscal future as bleak as Detroit's.

In the mid-1990s, governments in Canada showed that with decisive action the debt time bomb could be defused in a very short period without triggering a recession. And unlike the mid-1990s, when an upturn in interest rates helped precipitate the debt crisis, the current period of record-low interest rates will alleviate rather than aggravate the problem if governments act quickly before rates start rising.

Still, difficult decisions about spending cuts need to be taken. For the provinces, this means addressing the rapid growth of outlays on education and health care, two sectors that account for more than half of their expenditure. A major overhaul of policy-making in these two sectors is long overdue. Governments continue to pour money into education, particularly universities, despite ever-worsening outcomes for students when they hit the job market. At the same time, the Canadian Council of Chief Executives identifies a shortage of skilled labour as the top concern of large firms. Meanwhile, health care expenditures are already one of the highest per capita in the world, even before the Boomer generation begins to tax the system. However, the Organisation for Economic Co-ordination and Development ranks the performance of our health care system as well below average. Spending more in return for worsening outcomes for both education and health care is symptomatic of systems that cry out for reform.

Again, there are precedents for overhauling major social programs to make them more efficient in achieving their social goals. Canada's welfare system was reformed as part of government belt-tightening in the mid-1990s that cut the number of beneficiaries by

half without any major consequence for poverty rates. As well, the Canada Pension Plan was put on a more-stable footing in 1999.

Politicians will always try to put off making hard choices. As an example, one of the dangers in the current policy environment in Washington is the thinking that the relatively small cuts programed under sequestration will be sufficient to solve the looming debt crisis. In fact, no real progress will be made in addressing the structural deficit in the United States until the so-called entitlement programs for pensions and health care are tackled. The paralysis in Congress on fiscal matters is reflected in how it has not passed a budget for four consecutive years, leaving the country to run on "continuing resolution" clauses. In Europe, for all the discussion of the rigours of fiscal austerity, remarkably few countries have actually cut government spending outright, content instead to slow its rate of growth. This is why the trajectory of government debt in both the United States and the EU remains on an unsustainable path.

Facing up to government debt problems is a matter of "arithmetic," not ideology, in the words of former finance minister Paul Martin. Increasingly, for Canada's provinces and municipalities, the numbers just do not add up. With Canadians already showing signs of tax fatigue, and many having to save more as their retirement approaches, the only politically sustainable solution is lower government spending.

Although it is tempting for politicians to delay these decisions, MacKinnon warns, "The longer you wait, the worse it gets."♦

“After all, we emerged from the 2008–2009 financial crisis and recession in much better shape than the other major industrialized nations did.”

Philip Cross is a Senior Fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute. Prior to joining MLI, Mr. Cross spent 36 years at Statistics Canada specializing in macroeconomics. He was appointed Chief Economic Analyst in 2008 and was responsible for ensuring quality and coherency of all major economic statistics. During his career, he also wrote the "Current Economic Conditions" section of the Canadian Economic Observer, which provides Statistics Canada's view of the economy. He is a frequent commentator on the economy and interpreter of Statistics Canada reports for the media and general public. He is also a Fellow at the C.D. Howe Institute and a member of the Business Cycle Dating Committee.



Discriminating without hate

By Peter Stockland

At the end of a major Catholic conference several years ago, the bishop who hosted it had some definitive parting wisdom for the faithful.

“As you go from this place,” he told us, “remember that while the Commandments do call us to chastity, they first call us to charity.”

Ever since I heard those words, I have wished two things. One is that they could be imprinted into the memories and onto the tongues of every Catholic who engages in hot button social topics of the day such as abortion or gay rights. The second is that the Church’s self-declared opponents – outside and inside – could open their hearts, their minds, and their curiosity enough to understand that charity first is the true foundation of all Catholic teaching.

“Truth needs to be sought, found and expressed within the ‘economy’ of charity, but charity in its turn needs to be understood, confirmed and practiced in the light of truth,” Pope Benedict XVI says in his great 2009 encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*. “In this way, not only do we do a service to charity enlightened by truth, but we also help give credibility to truth, demonstrating its persuasive and authenticating

power in the practical setting of social living.”

Unfortunately, the popular reflex today is to deny what the Church teaches is true and, more, ascribe malice to its very dissemination. An essential element of contemporary disagreement with Catholic thought, it seems, is demonization of its thinkers. The Church speaks as it does about homosexuality, the indictment holds, not out of fidelity to the Gospel but out of feverish homophobia, bigotry, prejudice and hate.

As Joseph Bottum, former editor of the U.S. Catholic journal *First Things*, noted in a much-discussed essay for *Commonweal* magazine this past summer, some of that attribution of ill will can be a combination of a) mere political posturing to advance the cause of gay marriage and b) cover fire for good old-fashioned Catholic bashing.

Bottum wrote:

If that’s what the same-sex marriage movement is really about—the redefinition of history as Christian oppression, the rereading of even success stories like the civil-rights movement as tales of defeating Christian evil, all for the purpose of cutting off the religious roots of Western civilization—then to hell

with it.

In fact, in a spirit of charity and truth-seeking at least, Bottum did not leave his argument at “to hell with it” but, rather, developed the conservative Catholic case for the Church ceasing its opposition to gay marriage in order to focus her forces on issues of genuine suffering and injustice. While few conservative Catholics seem to have been convinced by his appeal, its sentiment was of a piece with the giddiness generated by interpretations of Pope Francis’s comments during his return to Rome from Brazil following World Youth Day 2013.

“If a person is gay and seeks God and has good will, who am I to judge?” His Holiness asked reporters rhetorically during a press scrum aboard his plane.

His remark was widely regarded, minimally, as a new “opening” to gays by the Church, and possibly even the beginning of the end of what one Associated Press wire service writer very neutrally called the “poisonous homophobia” from the Vatican.

Far from being any kind of softening of Church teaching, much less a split with his predecessor, Francis’s comments were fully consonant with pastoral documents from Rome dating back to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith’s “Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics” issued in December 1975.

Indeed, a 1986 letter to Catholic bishops concerning the pastoral care of homosexual persons said explicitly:

It is deplorable that homosexual persons have been and are the object of violent malice in speech or in action. Such treatment deserves condemnation from the Church’s pastors wherever it occurs. It reveals a kind of disregard for others that endangers the most fundamental principles of a healthy society. The intrinsic dignity of each person must always be respected in word, in action and in law.

Coming when gay rights activists were emerging as among the most powerful political forces of the age

and at the height of the AIDS crisis in North America, the letter employs unwaveringly charitable language in sustaining the Church’s separation of sinner and sin. It does not flinch from proclaiming its truth that homosexual behaviour is a sin. Neither does it shy from dealing with the reality that homosexual orientation is not itself a choice for which individuals can be held morally culpable. It directs Catholic bishops to look to the Church’s “wise moral tradition” and it warns against “generalizations in individual cases” when providing pastoral care and counsel for gays.

“What is at all costs to be avoided is the unfounded and demeaning assumption that the sexual behaviour of homosexual persons is always and totally compulsive and therefore inculpable,” the letter says.

What is essential is that the fundamental liberty which characterizes the human person and gives him his dignity be recognized as belonging to the homosexual person as well. ... [T]he abandonment of homosexual activity will require a profound collaboration of the individual with God’s liberating grace.

It adds:

What, then, are homosexual persons to do who seek to follow the Lord? Fundamentally, they are called to enact the will of God in their life by joining whatever sufferings and difficulties they experience in virtue of their condition to the sacrifice of the Lord’s Cross. That Cross, for the believer, is a fruitful sacrifice since from that death come life and redemption. While any call to carry the cross or to understand a Christian’s suffering in this way will predictably be met with bitter ridicule by some, it should be remembered that this is the way to eternal life for all who follow Christ.

Even those tempted to indulge themselves in “bitter ridicule” of the pastoral letter’s message cannot deny that its emphasis on dignity, liberty, collaboration and respect for the individual is a call from charity to truth, not from bigotry to lies. Even a casual reading of that message shows it to be merely the long-form version of Pope Francis’s pithier, updated question: On what

“As you go from this place,” he told us, “remember that while the Commandments do call us to chastity, they first call us to charity.”

basis may we judge those who earnestly seek to follow God in truth and charity?

Fittingly, the long-form version was written by then cardinal Joseph Ratzinger who, of course, became Benedict XVI. Benedict was demonized throughout his pontificate as a spiteful, out of touch, conservative Catholic theologian. Pope Francis, by contrast, has been hailed as the cleansing and liberating figure who will at long last throw open the doors of the Church to all that the progressive world demands, including what many consider the rightful place of gays at her altar.

Yet, here we see them expressing a message that differs only in length and brevity, never substantively. We can look even further and see this unity of papal minds in Francis's first encyclical, *Lumen Fidei*, which was written first as draft by Benedict before he retired last February.

To read *Lumen Fidei* – the Light of Faith – is to recognize once again how the Church's teaching about human nature is an embodied teaching, that is, one predicated on the reality that we are bodily beings directed toward love (charity) while regularly failing through sin (untruth). Before we are sexual beings, heterosexual, homosexual or otherwise, we are persons in God's eyes. Reaching back to the advent of Israel locates God's connection with us through the physical senses.

"God speaks to [Abraham]; he reveals himself as a God who speaks and calls his name," the encyclical opens.

Faith is linked to hearing. Abraham does not see God, but hears his voice. Faith thus takes on a personal aspect. God is not the god of a particular place, or a deity linked to specific sacred time, but the God of a person, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, capable of interacting with man and establishing a covenant with him. Faith is our response to a word that engages us personally, to a 'Thou' who calls us by name.

Through that covenant, *Lumen Fidei* argues, faith becomes a "remembrance of the future, *memoria futuri*" because while it is made in the past, its promise

is fulfilled each time it is lived out in the here and now, and in all time to come. The fulfillment of the promise occurs primarily through the embodying of our lives in our biological families. Of course, families can come into being in other, non-biological ways, but the overwhelming majority are based in the fundamental procreative gifts shared by women and men.

God ties his promise to that aspect of human life which has always appeared most 'of promise', namely, parenthood, the begetting of new life: 'Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall name him Isaac' (Gen 17:19). The God who asks Abraham for complete trust reveals himself to be the source of all life.

It is through the openness to passing down of life and faith from parents to children that "God's light shines for Israel" and, in Catholic teaching, for all humanity redeemed by His Son. The body, then, becomes the prime locus not of sexual orientation but of right orientation to God. The Church's defining of certain sexual activities (including though by no means limited to homosexuality) as "morally disordered" is based on its understanding of the proper way we as physical beings must direct ourselves – the use of our bodies – to the God who created us. It is not about prudishness, much less squeamishness. It is about treating a gift in a way that is consonant with the love of its giver.



"Christian faith is faith in the incarnation of the Word and his bodily resurrection; it is faith in a God who is so close to us that he entered our human history," as *Lumen Fidei* expresses it.

"Far from divorcing us from reality, our faith in the Son of God made man in Jesus of Nazareth enables us to grasp reality's deepest meaning and to see how much God loves this world and is constantly guiding it towards himself."

Atheists, agnostics, Darwinists and all others who reject the great Abrahamic faith are absolutely entitled, of course, to dismiss such "reality" as lovely, or perhaps somewhat less than lovely, creation stories

and even fairy tales. They are entitled to despise the fact that such teaching still moves the hearts and is accepted as the proclamation of Truth by billions of human beings. In the name of freedom, we must accept the right of others to claim their mythologies where they find them.

What is wrong, however, is the false accusation that hatefulness, bigotry and prejudice are the motivating forces behind the proclamation of what the Church holds to be true. It is true that we Catholics can be our own worst enemies when it comes to defending ourselves from such claims. We speak or write intemperately – *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa* – or we speak when we should be listening. We invest intellectual resources in the defence of doctrine about chastity and get distracted from the necessity to proclaim it with charity. In dealing with the assaults of those who oppose us, whether on hot button topics such

as gay rights or others, we can be guilty of stumbling after Joseph Bottum and crying out: “To hell with it.”

Yet, the faith itself is a constant calling back for all of us. For as Pope Francis and pope emeritus Benedict phrase it so beautifully in *Lumen Fidei*: “Faith transforms the whole person precisely to the extent that he or she becomes open to love.”

As the bishop at the conference reminded us, as Catholics, as Christians, as children of Israel, that is what we are always and above all else called to first.♦

Peter Stockland is the director of the Cardus Centre for Cultural Renewal. A journalist for more than 30 years, he is a former editor-in-chief of The Gazette newspaper in Montreal, and the former editorial page editor of the Calgary Herald. He also worked for many years as a political reporter and columnist on Parliament Hill. He is also a fiction writer whose novella Where the Lions Are and story collection, Motel Raphael, are due to be published in 2011.



By Tim Anderson

Many Canadian pundits, media and college professors like to narrate the Senate as a chamber of political cronies and unelected bagmen. It lacks democratic legitimacy,

they contend, and so it merely rubber-stamps the Commons' legislation. Sure, some concede, it is supposed to provide “sober second thought” and does fine committee work. Regardless, they maintain that the Senate is a waste of taxpayer money. They

often supplement this with the idea that it ought to be abolished; such is the position of the Official Opposition in Ottawa. Recent stories about illicit Senate expenses have intensified this narrative and buoyed its advocates. To that end, polls in May and June of 2013 show that support for Senate abolition continues to grow; it has doubled since 1990.

Not only is this narrative incorrect, it is also an ignorance of the truth. Theoretically and historically, the Senate plays and has played an integral role in our federal polity. This short review of Senatorial theory and history shows that Canada would not function were it not for the Senate. Indeed, some provinces would not have entered the federation without it.

Theoretically speaking, it is worth considering the intent of Canada's Fathers of Confederation, and in particular who was influencing their attitudes toward political institutions. John Stuart Mill was the most important political theorist in the Anglo-American world during the 19th century. He was an early champion of women's equality, individual freedom, utilitarian ethics, liberal economics and democratic governance. His ideas also influenced some of the Fathers; many drew on him in the Confederation debates. In Canada's 19th-century debates, he played a role similar to if not quite as important as that played by John Locke in the founding of the U.S. regime a century earlier. This makes him an apt theorist to consider in these circumstances.

In *Considerations on Representative Government*, Mill initially argued against a second chamber, since he believed it was possible to arrange the Commons in such a way as to check the radical excesses of the majority. However, when it comes to a federal regime, Mill supported the "exceedingly judicious" U.S. constitution, which requires two legislative bodies. He feared that having sub-national units of significantly different size could endanger a federation. If one is larger than the rest, the federation will find that one province is unstoppable when it resolves to act. If there are two larger than the rest, no one can stop those provinces when they decide to work together; if two outsized units disagree, politics dissolves into the members taking sides on the dispute.

Mill noted that New York is considerably larger

than Rhode Island and that the U.S. Senate addressed his concerns. The House represents the people based on population, and the Senate allocates equal representation to all states. In this, the U.S. constitution "precludes any undue power from being exercised by the more powerful states," while ensuring that legislation cannot pass unless it attains the approval of the majority of the people through the House of Representatives and the majority of the states through the Senate. One way to keep a federation together and protect it from self-destruction is through a Senate where its constituent members share in the execution of power.

Whether or not Mill actually had Canada in mind, these writings are a perfect fit for Canada's situation.

“Not only is this narrative incorrect, it is also an ignorance of the truth. Theoretically and historically, the Senate plays and has played an integral role in our federal polity.”

Our federation contains – at least over most of its history – two large sub-national units that drive federal policy: Ontario and Québec. When Ontarians and Quebeckers agree on an issue, such as the election of Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives in 1984, it becomes immaterial how the rest of the country votes. When they disagree, as they did over the patriation of the Constitution, politics resembles a game where everyone else has to pick sides. The fact that every other province eventually sided with Ontario in 1982 and passed a new constitution without the support of Quebeckers led directly to the 1995 referendum that nearly destroyed Confederation. Canada has vindicated

Mill's concerns. Modern demographic trends suggest that the Western provinces will replace Québec as the second 900-pound gorilla; however, the concept remains unchanged.

This theoretical discussion leads to two logical reasons why Canada's Senate is relevant. First, we have the notion of divided power. Now, the West, Ontario and Québec all have 24 senators, while the Atlantic provinces have 30. In order for legislation to receive Royal Assent, it requires the approval of the Senate, which means a majority of the representatives of the regions agree to a particular bill. While I am sympathetic to a reformed Senate that provides every province with an equal number of senators, the abolition of the Senate leaves Canadians with just a House of Commons based on population. In that

scenario, any time the Ontario and Québec MPs decide to pursue a particular course of action, the other eight provinces will be powerless to stop them.

The second function of the Senate is the maintenance of regional perspectives and identities. The interests of people in the Gaspésie are not the same as those in Kamloops or Lunenburg, but Canada as a federal project is meaningless if not all of them can be accommodated by some just and predictable mechanism. The Senate exists to ensure that no one region can decide the Canadian identity; it can emerge through constructive federal politics.

Nevertheless, we can go even further. The Canadian federation might not survive without the Senate and the minority vetoes described above. The federation would come to reflect the world described by Thucydides in the Melian Dialogue: “[R]ight, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.” I wonder if Canadians would be pleased to see Athenian provinces such as the West and Ontario run the country however they wished while Melian provinces such as the Maritimes and the smaller Prairie provinces simply endured their dictates. Would such a federation be sustainable? I doubt it.

A further consequence that Senate abolitionists may not have considered is that the only remaining checks on the tyranny of the majority within the federal government would be the Crown and the Courts. Although each province has its own legislature, the legislatures cannot act as an appropriate counterweight to federal initiatives outside of their constitutional jurisdictions. That leaves the Crown and the Courts. Now, since the Crown would almost certainly lack public legitimacy, the Supreme Court might well acquire more authority and latitude to act. Indeed, multiple polls show that the Court has the trust, support and admiration of Canadians; I do not foresee any turn in those numbers if the Court began to apply itself as a defender of minority rights for smaller provinces in addition to

individuals. Judicial behaviours are difficult to predict, and it is easy to invest in a particular prediction, but on the face of it, an eliminated Senate would yield a more powerful Court. Ironically, the step to dissolve one “undemocratic” body might simply empower another one.

Beyond theory, the Senate played a pivotal role in the founding of Canada; it is an important part of our heritage. Historian Donald Creighton noted that the Fathers, especially Sir John A., realized that the support of the Atlantic provinces – particularly the mainland ones – was necessary if British North America was to form its own proper polity. Because the House of Commons was to be apportioned according to population, and because Canadas East and West were much larger, the Atlantic provinces looked to the Upper House as their best chance to prevent Canadians from imposing their untrammelled will on the new country. The Canadas proposed a chamber where all three regions were represented equally: Ontario, Québec and Atlantic Canada. The Atlantic delegates were unwilling to accept this arrangement and protested for many days at the Québec City Conference. Eventually, they won the concession that Newfoundland’s four senators would be outside of the Atlantic reckoning, giving that region



more members than the others. Furthermore, the governor-general would appoint each province’s senators rather than that decision resting in the hands of the people or their provincial legislatures

Atlantic politicians were still unhappy. Prince Edward Islanders, already displeased that their proportion of MPs was so small, railed against the proposed form of the Senate. In Canada’s Founding Debates, one sees that the Islanders feared that senators appointed by Ottawa rather than Charlottetown would not be truly representative of the people’s interests. The Islanders both appeared and felt ignored at this stage of the negotiations. Newfoundland too felt miffed; legislators such as George Hogsett did not like that the province would

get only four senators who, at their appointment, would be independent of the colony and advocates for the federal government. In the end, PEI and Newfoundland did not enter Confederation in 1867.

The evidence suggests that at least one cause of this was that each province disliked the arrangement of the Senate as it pertained to them. Creighton stated that the PEI delegates were so unhappy that they voted against the Newfoundland concession mentioned above because they resented the fact that this was the compromise from the Canadas. Clearly, the Senate was a relevant body to the Fathers insofar that some would-be provinces opted not to join Confederation in part because of its construction.

Furthermore, discussion of the Senate dominated the London Conference; there was no way to increase the number of senators needed to break a deadlock between the House of Commons and the Senate. Creighton wrote that Macdonald had to act quickly here, since talk of the Senate had nearly “wrecked” the negotiations at Québec City and were derailing things again. It was agreed that the governor-general could ask the queen to appoint three or six additional senators if needed, and they had to represent each region equally.

This historical review provides us with some important points for reflection. The Senate mattered greatly to the Fathers of Confederation. To some, it mattered so much they rejected the project of Confederation. To others, it was such an important piece of governmental machinery that many hours and days at the Québec City and London Conferences were spent on the Senate. This serves as a warning to those declaring that the Senate is useless and ought to be scrapped: They should, at the very least, seek to understand why the Fathers exercised so much effort on it.

On the other hand, keeping the Senate and continuing to change aspects of it connects us with our Founders. A modification made in one generation may need to be altered or counterbalanced in the next. The very process of debating and trying to improve the Senate encourages Canadians to build upon the Fathers’ work rather than whitening out their views.

There is one obvious objection to my general argument, viz. that if the Senate is such an important

body for the protection of regional interests, then how do we explain the institution of the National Economic Plan (NEP) that harmed Western Canadians, for example? In brief, despite its designed purpose, the Senate has not been the effective champion of regional interests. I think there are a few answers here. First, the Senate lacks a real veto over legislation – the Commons can override the Senate’s objections after a waiting period if it so desires. As such, when in the Commons there is a majority government, even when a regional bloc in the Senate persuades enough senators to oppose the legislation, the Commons can still carry the day. Trudeau had such a majority in the early 1980s when the NEP was instituted.

Second, there is the question of numbers. Although the Senate is composed of regions, no group has a large enough representation to defeat a bill – a bill that is good for many regions of the country but bad for one region is likely to pass. Furthermore, the regions are composed of different provinces, each with unique political interests such that a particular law might be acceptable to the people of Manitoba but unacceptable to Albertans. The concerns of Albertans can be voiced, but they alone cannot stop legislation.

Third, there is the problem of partisanship in the Senate. Too often, political issues in Ottawa are framed in terms of party agendas. Indeed, members of the Senate caucus are often affiliated with particular parties, and need to be appointed by partisan prime ministers. As such, the pressures of party can outweigh or push aside regional concerns. The Senate does not require partisanship; it probably would be a more effective body without parties.

What these three explanations demonstrate is not that the Senate is useless, but that it does require reform. Moreover, this could rekindle Canadians’ appreciation for it. My earlier discussion argued that the Senate plays an important role in the Canadian regime, and its failure as a strong defender of the regions stems from particular problems that need amending. Changes that could be made without constitutional reform could resemble the abolition of political parties in the Senate; this would ensure that each senator is unaffected by party in his or her

“Clearly, the Senate was a relevant body to the Fathers insofar that some would-be provinces opted not to join Confederation in part because of its construction.”

defence of the region. The prime minister could also ensure that he or she appoints only senators indirectly elected by the provincial legislatures; this would provide a deeper connection between the senator and his or her province than the current model does. Eventually, even the most stubborn province would capitulate and select senators if their interests went unrepresented too long; the politics of the empty chair has little currency in Canada.

While these changes would have a positive effect on the regional tenor of the Senate and bring it closer in line with the Fathers' vision, it does not fully solve the issue of numbers. If we are serious, it would likely require constitutional amendment that would make the Senate resemble the U.S. Continental Congress where each region has only one vote. If there is a deadlock between senators from a region, they do not vote. This would encourage compromise between the senators from different provinces within a region insofar as the senators would have to meet together frequently to hear each other's perspectives and attempt to come to a decision about their votes.

One could also simply amend the membership of the Senate so that every province has equal representation in the Senate. Any of these changes would be an effort in continuing the Fathers' work on providing Canada with a necessary second chamber that would effectively represent the regions of the country.

Many pundits, leaders and members of the population actively deny that the Senate plays a useful role. Instead, the argument goes that it is a waste of money and is staffed with unaccountable political hacks; we would do better without a senate. They may be right on some counts, but they miss the wider context. The theoretical and historical justifications for the Senate are nuanced, and the Fathers of Confederation carefully considered them; we should be extending rather than abandoning those considerations.♦

Tim Anderson is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Calgary. His interests include political philosophy, Canadian politics, federalism, law & politics, classical liberalism, and pragmatism. He is originally from the Halifax area.



By Nelson Peters

Vincent Geloso is a Ph.D. candidate at the London School of Economics who lectures at the HEC business school in Montréal. Fresh from an appearance before a parliamentary commission on culture and education at Québec's National Assembly,

and having completed stints at the Prime Minister's Office, the *National Post* and the Montreal Economic Institute, Geloso recently released his first book, *Du Grand Rattrapage au Déclin Tranquille*, which re-evaluates Québec's economic history around the time of the Quiet Revolution.

The “Quiet Revolution” refers to a series of widespread political and social changes in Québec during the 1960s and 70s that included the Catholic Church’s drastic loss of influence, the nationalization of electric companies and the birth of Hydro-Québec, as well as the creation and expansion of governmental ministries, particularly education and health.

These changes rescued Québec from the Great Gloom (Grande noirceur) of the Duplessis government era, brought in a time of prosperity wherein the gaps between the Rest of Canada and Québec as well as between francophones and anglophones in Québec narrowed, and public health and education outcomes dramatically improved.

Or at least that’s what we are supposed to believe. In his book, Geloso ambitiously rejects this received wisdom, arguing that the lion’s share of Québec’s economic gains actually took place in the years preceding the Quiet Revolution. In other words, much of the progress that is popularly attributed to the events of the Quiet Revolution was in fact the consequence of previous societal changes, not the cause.

Using detailed and rigorous economic data, Geloso argues that the policies of the Duplessis era, not the subsequent creation of the welfare state, permitted the exceptional creation of wealth that took place in Québec over the last half-century. These policies included lower corporate tax rates, higher personal exemptions for income tax, lower tax rates compared with Ontario and the United States, low surcharges for mining companies, attention to paying down the provincial debt and strategic investments in infrastructure.

We recently got in touch with him to discuss his book.

How would you translate your title into English?

Something like From the Great Convergence or Catching Up to a Quiet Decline. The main idea is that it would be amazing if people can stop using the term

“The Great Darkness” to refer to Québec’s post-war Duplessis era and instead start talking about “The Great Convergence.”

In Québec, the period of the Quiet Revolution is viewed as “la belle époque” and nearly sacrosanct. Culturally speaking, why do you think this is so?

This was a founding moment in Québec’s national identity; at this time, there was a strong association of nationalism with statism. If you take that position the State is not as great as it seems; it makes Québec nationalism seem not as great as it was cut out to be. People have a lot invested in this rhetoric.

At one point in your book, there seems to be a chicken or the egg discussion about how culture affects the economy and vice versa. How do you view this relationship?

I’m an economic historian, which means I’m trained like any other economist. We tend to be very skeptical of claims that culture can somehow independently create mentalities, such as the notion that individuals in Québec were less able to connect with markets. We don’t buy this. Culture is more often the result of individual decisions. If individuals in Québec were less risk-averse, it’s not that they were idiots; rather, this was a result of bad public policy.

Culture is reactive and adaptive. It is also inherently changeable. A single person can break away from it and completely transform it. An example: John D. Rockefeller advanced the production of extremely cheap oil; this in turn led to cheap steel and cheap cars, and in a few years, America was completely different. Culture didn’t create that – he changed the culture.

During the period of The Great Convergence in Québec, there were very few barriers from the State for the individual; it was easier for a person to break free from culture and change it.

What aspects of change during the Quiet Decline/

“I’m an economic historian, which means I’m trained like any other economist. We tend to be very skeptical of claims that culture can somehow independently create mentalities, such as the notion that individuals in Québec were less able to connect with markets.”

Quiet Revolution were indeed necessary and which were not?

Ones related to equal rights for women – that situation was terrible. Before the 1960s and 70s, women in Québec had no financial rights. Still, you didn't need a Quiet Revolution for that, only one bill. In fact, such legislation would be in the best interests of the economy.

Another necessary change was the removal of the Church from State affairs. Again, this actually started much earlier. Unfortunately, people became so zealous in doing this that they threw out the baby with the bathwater – you didn't need to completely kick out the Church to have universal health care and education. They went too far.

In fact, in Europe, the Church continues to play a role in health care and education while meeting the same objectives of the public interest. The overexpansion of the State in Québec has destroyed social capital as well as the instinctive link between individuals and their community.

The worst consequence of the Quiet Revolution was that people broke away from solidarity between individuals; now, society operates in terms of group solidarity and rent-seeking from the State. This has turned solidarity into a negative endeavour, one where everybody is against everybody. This ruins civil society.

It's also interesting to note that if you have high levels of social capital, you gain all kinds of benefits. During The Great Convergence, Québec spent less on policing and had a much lower crime rate against property compared to now.

At times, it seems that when discussing history, English Canada and Québec are using different narratives. What do you think English Canada misses out on? What about Québec?

First of all, I think that the two sides are more interconnected than they think. For example, "Quiet Revolution" is a term that was invented in English. At a 1960 press conference, a reporter from The Globe and Mail asked Premier Jean Lesage if the reforms being

implemented were part of a revolution. Lesage replied that if it indeed was, it was a quiet one. The phrase went into print the next day and the rest is history.

English Canada forgets that Québec is not really leftist. Historically it has been more conservative than the rest of Canada; for most of its history, Québec received fewer federal transfers than did places like the Maritimes or Alberta. Québec also had the greatest proportion of free traders during the period from Confederation to World War I. Ontario has traditionally been the most protectionist province in Canada.

Meanwhile in Québec, the discourse is not talking about markets, not that the rest of Canada is much good at that, either. Perhaps this is because most political pundits in Québec are employees of the State. There's a political force in the rest of Canada now that says, "Let's get the government out of the economy!" That voice just isn't present in Québec.

Conrad Black, who completed a renowned biography of former Québec premier Maurice Duplessis, wrote the preface for this book. How does his work compare with yours?

Lord Black's book was an inspiration in that it went beyond political considerations and rhetoric. If you read his biography, when conducting research he convinced the former personal secretary to the premier to allow him access to Duplessis' private papers. Nobody else could have done that. For that reason alone, he did a tremendous service to Québec.

Thirty years later, his work laid elements of a road map for the book I was writing. I was always stunned that no one had discovered what I had. It wasn't as if I had gone and taken completely different data. A lot of historians, I suppose, started from a very prejudiced point in favour of the popular conceptions of the Quiet Revolution.

You note that some of the most popular U.S. presidents (FDR, Lincoln, Wilson) saw the worst

“We tend to have a bias for power in that we forgive politicians who have grand projects, whether they are right or wrong. We would much rather say that some failed but at least they tried, rather than that they did nothing.”

economic performances in terms of economic growth, the size of government and deficit, and inflation, while some of the least popular (Grant, Van Buren, Coolidge, Harding) had some of the best economic performances. Does the State have to overspend to be perceived as successful? Are popular notions of greatness in public office unsustainable?

In short, yes.

Lord Acton's quote about how "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely" comes to mind. What most don't know is the context behind the quote. Acton was writing to Bishop Creighton regarding a book written on the popes of the Reformation. Acton was chastising Creighton's belief that we shouldn't evaluate men in higher positions by the same

standards we use for ordinary people.

We tend to have a bias for power in that we forgive politicians who have grand projects, whether they are right or wrong. We would much rather say that some failed but at least they tried, rather than that they did nothing. A lot of people in Québec have been corrupted by this idea, this feeling of political power.

What I'm trying to do is to inject into the history facts that have been left out. We should care about results more than intentions. Don't convert these events into political rhetoric – these changes actually had harmful consequences.

Many of your findings point to the fact that economic growth, and thus wealth, is generational. How do you think this applies to our current social context

Interesting facts from Geloso's book

Economy

- From 1945 to 1960, for each \$1 increase in an Ontarian's average personal disposable income, every Quebecer saw a jump of \$1.69.
- From 1955 to 1960, average personal revenue in Québec increased from 50 per cent to 60 per cent of that in the United States, and Québec's economy grew twice as fast as the United States' economy.

Health

- In 1941, there was a 50 per cent gap in infant mortality between Québec and Ontario; by 1957, it had more than halved, down to 22.3 per cent.
- From 1921 to 1960, the gap in life expectancy between Québec and Ontario shrank from over five years to less than one year.

Education

- Between two-thirds and one-half of the convergence between Québec's and other provinces' educational attendance took place during the Duplessis years.
- Income convergence between francophones and anglophones was faster before the invention of the Université de Québec, the CÉGEPs (public post-secondary education

collegiates) and language laws.

- From 1961 to 1981, after the expansion of the public education system, the gap between the proportion of university attendees in Québec and those in the rest of Canada widened again.
- In 1961, Quebecers were 98 per cent as likely to hold post-secondary degrees as Ontarians and 85 per cent as likely as other Canadians were. By 2006, these figures were 88 per cent and 80 per cent respectively.

Federal Transfers

- In 1956, 6 per cent of Québec's budget came from federal transfers from other provinces. By 1976, the figure had jumped to 26 per cent.

Social Capital

- Québec's suicide rate went from half of Ontario's and Canada's in 1950 to higher than both rates by 1980.
- Quebecers donate to charity less than half per capita of what Manitobans do.
- Compared with Ontario, Québec has three times as many businesses that receive government subsidies per capita.

and how it will play out in the future?

In the current context created by the Quiet Revolution, interest groups are formed to get something out of government. They are well organized and are able to lobby to force the creation of regulations in their narrow interests. Each of these might have negligible effects on its own, but when they are compiled together, there is a substantial negative effect on economic growth. In the meantime, the interest groups have become dependent on them. Going back from this situation is very, very difficult.

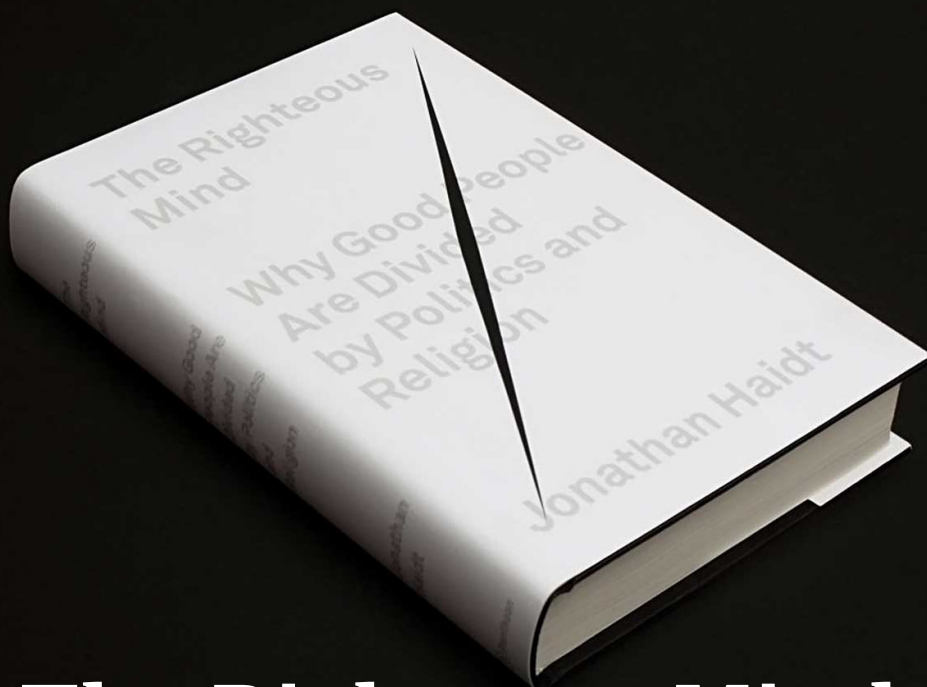
This is the sad part of the Quiet Revolution. Turning back these changes would take so much political will that I don't feel a lot of politicians in Québec would

dare to try. I am astounded at how much effort would be needed for small reforms, such as for removing quotas for entry to certain industries or liberalizing beer prices. This is not radical; this is simple, but it would require a huge struggle.

Are you planning to publish an English version of your book?

As soon as I can put together funding.♦

Nelson Peters is a graduate of the law faculties of Université Laval and Université de Moncton as well as Queen's University (Philosophy). Originally from Manitoba and having spent 5 years in Québec, he is keenly interested in issues pertaining to Constitutional law, corporate governance, and international business culture.

BOOK REVIEW

The Righteous Mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion

The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are divided by Politics and Religion by Jonathan Haidt

384pp.: Random House, 2012

Reviewed by Angela Macleod-Irons

What would you think about a family who, after their pet dog was killed by a car, cut up the dog's body and then cooked and ate it for dinner? Or what about a man who purchased a chicken at the grocery store, brought it home and then had sexual intercourse with it before cooking

and eating it? It is these scenarios that Jonathan Haidt challenges us with on the first pages of his book *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion*. Haidt presents the reader with hypothetical situations designed to make one squirm and second-guess all previously held beliefs regarding the nature of morality.

Haidt uses his work in moral psychology to attempt to explain why groups of people from different cultures, religions and political beliefs tend to see the world so differently from one another. Although at times this comes across like the carpenter with only a hammer who sees the entire world as a nail, the framework of moral psychology provides a number of insights for anyone who has ever tried to understand an opposing point of view.

The basis of Haidt's explanation regarding the different ways liberals and conservatives see the world is his six "moral modules." These modules came about as a result of Haidt, along with his research partner Craig Joseph, developing a long list of virtues from cultures all over the world. From these, they extrapolated the six major themes that they claim all morality is based upon. These modules consist of the following virtues:

- Care/Harm – The basis of this module is the desire to nurture our children, although it also extends to other groups that require care (that typically remind us of our children), and even other species.
- Fairness/Cheating – This is the foundation of most people's genuine inclination to be kind to strangers and results in co-operation.
- Loyalty/Betrayal – Our affinity toward people who are loyal to our particular group and our negative feelings toward individuals who betray these same groups is explained by this module.
- Authority/Subversion – The inclination of

“These results... go a long way toward explaining why many liberals are so gobsmacked when an individual such as Toronto Mayor Rob Ford or former U.S. president George W. Bush is elected. They lack the moral tools to see the appeal these conservative candidates have for right-wing voters.”

humans to develop social hierarchies comes from this module. Haidt suggests that this was an evolutionary adaptation, as it is also seen in higher order apes such as chimpanzees.

- Liberty/Oppression – This builds on the Authority/Subversion model in that it recognizes that some authorities are legitimate (such as democratically elected governments) while others (such as dictatorships) have crossed into tyranny.
 - Sanctity – And finally, there is Sanctity. If the above chicken story made you feel especially uncomfortable, this moral module was guiding you. This is the belief that some people, places or things are sacred, while others are base or profane.

Haidt then goes on to use these six moral modules to attempt to explain the differences between those who are on the left and the right of the political spectrum. He states that liberals tend to have Care/Harm, Fairness/Cheating and Liberty/Oppression as their moral base while conservatives use all six modules. In fact, you may even find that some left-wing beliefs are even quite hostile toward Loyalty, Authority and Sanctity. Additionally, in the modules that both sides have in common, the way they are interpreted differs between the right and the left. For instance, the left views Care as something society as a whole should be responsible for (primarily through government), and the left is primarily concerned

with victims of exploitation. The right thinks that Care should be focused within the family or through local organizations. Regarding the Fairness module, the right interprets this as the ability to keep all that one has worked for, while the left views it on a societal level and thinks that redistribution among the population should occur due to the advantages and disadvantages that individuals of different levels of wealth experience.

Even within the left and the right, the relative importance of each of the modules will differ from individual to individual. Voters who are primarily concerned with Care, Fairness or Liberty may be attracted to the policy platforms of either right-leaning or left-leaning candidates, but voters who are very strong in Loyalty, Sanctity or Authority will only find a home in conservative parties. This results in a natural disadvantage for liberal candidates, as it limits their potential voter base.

One of most interesting insights Haidt includes in this book is the research he did (along with Jesse Graham and Brian Nosek) pertaining to how well liberals and conservatives actually understand each other. They asked 2,000 Americans to complete a questionnaire designed to evaluate the six moral foundations. One-third of the group was asked to fill it out as themselves, one-third was asked to fill it out as they thought a typical liberal would, and the final third as a typical conservative would. The researchers found that moderates and conservatives were the most accurate in their answers whether they were pretending to be liberal or conservative. Liberals were the least accurate, particularly if they self-identified as "very liberal." These individuals were especially inaccurate when answering questions with respect to the Care/Harm model while pretending to be conservatives, as they assumed that conservatives would disagree with statements such as "One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal," or "Justice is the most important requirement for a society."

These results, along with the insights gained from the moral modules, go a long way toward explaining why many liberals are so gobsmacked when an individual such as Toronto Mayor Rob Ford or former U.S. president George W. Bush is elected. They lack the moral tools to see the appeal these conservative candidates have for right-wing voters.

In addition to individual morality, Haidt also looked at groups. Human beings love to join groups, as evidenced through the proliferation of team sports, general interest clubs, friendly societies, and

fraternities and sororities. Haidt argues that human nature developed this trait because groups can accomplish much more than individuals can. People do many things in order to reinforce their association with a group, be they rituals such as tribal tattooing or fraternity hazing, the displaying of common symbols such as a sports uniform or placing a bumper sticker on a car, or the use of muscular bonding, which is the use of moving together in time, such as with dancing. An excellent example of muscular bonding is the Haka routine performed by New Zealand's national rugby squad, the All Blacks. The point of studying groupish behaviour is that individuals operate not only in their own self-interest, but also in the best interest of the group. Additionally, religion is often one of the most

important groups in a person's life. Belonging to a group or a religion (or a political party) will also influence the way we view the world and, in turn how the six modules will influence our views of morality.

Back to the dog and the chicken. If you are a liberal, you may view the actions in these two scenarios as unpleasant or even disgusting, but nobody was hurt, so they are morally permissible. However, if you are a conservative, you are likely affected by Sanctity, and therefore you view the actions as morally wrong even though both animals were already dead.

In short, *The Righteous Mind* is an insightful and interesting read. It is a very rich book that provides the reader with a number of different ideas that are a result of many years of Haidt's scholarly work. Whether you are a politician, a policy wonk or a voter, this book will challenge not only your personal views, but also how you view your political opponents. It is a recommended read for individuals all along the political spectrum.♦

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