

Conservative Party Links to Right Wing American Groups

Introduction

Over 20 candidates and members of Parliament for the Conservative Party of Canada, including leader **Stephen Harper**, Justice Critic **Vic Toews**, Foreign Affairs Critic **Stockwell Day** and Firearms Critic **Garry Breitkreuz**, have links to organizations established under the umbrella of the Council for National Policy (CNP), an American group that the *New York Times* calls a “club of a few hundred of the most powerful conservatives in the country,”¹ and which *Rolling Stone* reports has “funnelled billions of dollars to right-wing Christian activists.”²

Stephen Harper addressed CNP members in 1997 at its meeting in Montreal,³ where the group reportedly conceived of the Republican effort to impeach President Clinton.⁴ Addressing the elite group is no small feat, given that guests may only attend meetings with the unanimous consent of the Executive Committee.⁵ Since **Mr. Harper’s** address, links between Conservative Party members and groups sponsored by the CNP like Focus on the Family, the Christian Coalition of America and the National Rifle Association have grown. In turn, these groups have taken an increasingly forthright role in influencing Canadian politics through radio broadcasts, Canadian affiliates, and training for grassroots advocacy efforts in support of Conservative Party candidates.

This should perhaps come as no surprise given that the *Vancouver Sun* estimates that “roughly half the current 98 members” of the Conservative caucus “are religious social conservatives,” which is “well over double the national average.”⁶ It suggests, however, that powerful forces may be affecting the distribution of political power in this country about which Canadians may not be aware. The following report describes in detail the links among the CNP, its associated organizations, their activities in Canada, and various Conservative Party candidates for the 2006 election.

The disclosure of this social conservative network is important because such links are likely to become stronger in the future. Influential young Canadian conservatives like Tasha Kheiriddin of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation have called for the creation of leadership training institutes along the lines of the Leadership Institute in Washington, D.C.,⁷ which teaches, according to two *Wall Street Journal* reporters, “young members of

¹ David Kirkpatrick, “Club of the Most Power Gathers in Strictest Privacy,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2004, p. 10.

² Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

³ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵ David Kirkpatrick, “Club of the Most Powerful Gathers in the Strictest Privacy,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2004, p. 10.

⁶ Peter O’Neil, “Social conservatives find a political home in the Tory party,” *Edmonton Journal*, August 21, 2005, p. E6.

⁷ “Conversations from the Frontier: Tasha Kheiriddin, Co-author of *Restoring Canada’s Right*,” *Frontier Center for Public Policy*, available at http://www.fcpp.org/main/publication_detail.php?PubID=1239 (last visited January 13, 2006).

the Religious Right how to take a role in national politics,”⁸ to train a new generation of Canadian conservatives “how to do all the things in politics.”⁹

Within the last year, Cliff Fryers, current Director and Chairman of the Manning Centre¹⁰ and the Chair of the Conservative Party’s 2005 policy conference,¹¹ and other officials from the former Reform Party leader Preston Manning’s advocacy organization have met with the President of the Leadership Institute, Morton Blackwell, a former Special Assistant to President Reagan and “a particularly hard core conservative activist,”¹² specifically for this purpose. Blackwell, in turn, has shown a keen interest in spreading the teachings of his school to would-be conservative leaders from all over the world. It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that Mr. Blackwell was the Executive Director of the CNP when it invited **Mr. Harper** to address the organization in 1997, having administered the powerful social conservative group in that capacity from 1991 until at least 2000.¹³

The CNP, its facilitators, and the Conservative Party of Canada

Stephen Harper, Leader of the Conservative Party, spoke to the CNP in Montreal in June 1997 at one of its tri-annual meetings, when **Mr. Harper** was Vice President of the National Citizens Coalition.¹⁴

The Council for National Policy¹⁵ was founded in 1981 by Tim LaHaye, an anti-Catholic, social conservative author of the bestselling *Left Behind* apocalyptic novels in the United States, which have sold over 60 million copies.¹⁶ The Reverend Jerry Falwell, a founder of the anti-abortion Moral Majority and himself a member of the CNP,¹⁷ credits LeHaye with the politicization of social conservatives in the late 1970s: “I found out that he’d done something no conservative minister had ever done before: He’s organized hundreds of churches into a political bloc. At the time, I’d never heard of

⁸ Jill Abramson and Jane Mayer, *Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1994), p. 314.

⁹ “Conversations from the Frontier: Tasha Kheiriddin, Co-author of *Restoring Canada’s Right*,” *Frontier Center for Public Policy*, available at http://www.fcpp.org/main/publication_detail.php?PubID=1239, (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰ “Our Centre,” *Manning Centre for Building Democracy*, available at <http://www.manningcentre.ca/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹ Siri Agrell, “Bloodshed on the floor was inevitable,” *National Post*, March 21, 2005, p. A4.

¹² Jill Abramson and Jane Mayer, *Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1994), p. 314.

¹³ Marc Ambinder, “Meet the Most Powerful Conservative Group You’ve Never Heard Of,” *ABC News*, May 2, 2005, available at <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=121170&page=1> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵ To see the Council for National Policy’s website, go to <http://policycounsel.org/24508.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁷ “Council for National Policy,” *SourceWatch*, available at http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Council_for_National_Policy (last visited January 13, 2006).

mixing religion and politics,” Rev. Falwell said in an interview with *Rolling Stone*.¹⁸ Mr. LeHaye, in turn, encouraged Rev. Falwell to translate his own belief into political activism: “More than any other person, Tim LeHaye challenged me to being thinking through my involvement [in politics],” Rev. Falwell said.¹⁹

The Council is described as “a secretive group of wealthy donors that has funnelled billions of dollars to right-wing Christian activists.”²⁰ At its meetings, it “unites right-wing billionaires with scores of conservative Christian activists and politicians, and these encounters have spawned countless campaigns and organizations.” Its meetings are closed to the public and off limits to the media; guests may only attend meetings if they receive unanimous approval from the group’s Executive Committee.²¹ Previous speakers who have addressed the Council include Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld,²² then Governor George W. Bush,²³ and Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.²⁴ Alberta Economic Development Minister Mark Norris addressed the group in 2003 to discuss the Alberta oil sands.²⁵ Rev. Falwell speculates that the CNP has been the key organization behind the power of social conservatives in the United States: “My guess is that literally billions of dollars have been utilized through the Council for National Policy that would not otherwise have been available.”²⁶ The group has also “funded an army of Christian organizers,” Rev. Falwell said.²⁷

Mr. Harper told Canadians that he is fundamentally the same thinker he was 10 years ago: “I don’t think my fundamental beliefs have changed in a decade,” **Mr. Harper** told the *Globe and Mail*.²⁸ This gives the content of **Mr. Harper’s** 1997 speech before the CNP particular importance, especially when considered in light of **Mr. Harper’s** statement to the CNP audience that “your conservative movement...is a light and an inspiration to people in [Canada] and across the world.”²⁹ When recently asked about this speech, **Mr. Harper** equated the activities of the CNP with the activities of the National

¹⁸ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁹ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

²⁰ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

²¹ David Kirkpatrick, “Club of the Most Power Gathers in Strictest Privacy,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2004, p. 10.

²² Rick Pederson, “U.S. energy officials to tour oilsands,” *Edmonton Journal*, April 27, 2003, p. A9.

²³ David Kirkpatrick, “Club of the Most Power Gathers in Strictest Privacy,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2004, p. 10.

²⁴ Marc Ambinder, “Meet the Most Powerful Conservative Group You’ve Never Heard Of,” *ABC News*, May 2, 2005, available at <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=121170&page=1> (last visited January 13, 2006).

²⁵ Rick Pederson, “U.S. energy officials to tour oilsands,” *Edmonton Journal*, April 27, 2003, p. A9.

²⁶ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

²⁷ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

²⁸ Brian Laghi, “Harper says he’s ‘evolved’,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 12, 2006, p. A1.

²⁹ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

Citizens Coalition, saying, “I was the leader of one conservative organization addressing another conservative organization.”³⁰

During the CNP appearance, **Mr. Harper** made a number of statements denigrating Canada and Canadians: “Canada is a Northern European welfare state in the worst sense of the word,” said **Mr. Harper**,³¹ “In terms of the unemployed, of which we have over a million-and-a-half, don’t feel particularly bad for many of these people. They don’t feel bad about it themselves, as long as they’re receiving generous social assistance and unemployment insurance,” continued **Mr. Harper**.³²

Mr. Harper was also critical of the Supreme Court of Canada and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms: “[W]e have a Supreme Court, like yours, which, since we put a charter of rights in our Constitution in 1982, is becoming increasingly arbitrary.”³³

On specific policy issues, **Mr. Harper** demonstrated his contempt for ideas at the heart of Canadian society, including public health care and international cooperation. For example, the Charlottetown Agreement, he explained to his audience, included “some [things] that would just horrify you, putting universal Medicare in our constitution, and feminist rights.”³⁴ **Mr. Harper** also showed dissatisfaction with Canada’s strong support for the UN, and the pride Canadians take in their country’s status at the UN: “This distresses conservatives like myself quite profoundly, but I will warn you, it’s a widespread view, and I will always say, one that could only be maintained as long as [Americans] basically provide us with military protection.”³⁵

Mr. Harper also provided the CNP audience with a glimpse of his opinion of future political reform in Canada. He called the Reform Party a “conservative Republican” organization that espoused “a constitutional agenda that challenges the way our entire political system operates.”³⁶ Most revealingly, **Mr. Harper** shared his view that the Reform and Progressive Conservative parties would ultimately merge and “[o]ne party is going to win out....And Reform is not going to lose that contest in the long term.”³⁷ The *Edmonton Journal* agreed in December 2003 when commenting on the

³⁰ “Transcript of Press Conference,” *CBC Newsworld*, January 12, 2006.

³¹ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³² “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³³ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³⁴ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³⁵ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³⁶ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005, available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³⁷ “Canada Votes: Text of Harper’s Council for National Policy speech,” *CNEWS*, December 14, 2005,

prospects of a new Conservative Party: "The [social conservative] bogeymen won't go away just because they'll be hidden from the public inside a new Conservative Party. They'll still be there, under the bed, waiting for a chance to spring up and spout their offensive anti-gay, anti-choice, anti-immigration, pro-gun, pro-death penalty views."³⁸

Mr. Harper's speech before the CNP appears to have served as a galvanizing moment in American social conservative interest in Canada. The Christian Coalition of America, Focus on the Family, the National Rifle Association, and Concerned Women for America have all increased their focus on Canadian public policy issues upon his ascension to the head of the Conservative Party, while also expanding their connections with high-ranking members of **Mr. Harper's** party. These links are important, not simply because they indicate the nature of the beliefs of members of the Conservative Party, but because they are likely to be the views determining the actions of a Conservative government should it ever gain power because of the important positions of these social conservative members within the party.

As **Mr. Harper** himself has said, "I have a history, in terms of reuniting the [Canadian] Alliance and the Conservative party in being able to bring people together without asking people to sacrifice their most fundamental beliefs."³⁹ Coupled with **Mr. Harper's** CNP remarks about the Reform Party winning out over the Progressive Conservatives in a combination between these two parties, **Mr. Harper** clearly seems to indicate the future direction of his Conservative Party.

Vic Toews, MP for Provencher⁴⁰ and Conservative Party **Justice Critic** in **Stephen Harper's** shadow cabinet, would play the lead role in selecting Supreme Court justices and other leaders of the judicial branch in a Conservative mandate. **Mr. Toews** has close connections with two of the most conservative Christian groups in the United States: Focus on the Family⁴¹ and Concerned Women for America.⁴² Focus on the Family is run by Dr. James Dobson, a CNP member⁴³ and one of the most influential Christian activists in the United States.⁴⁴ Dr. Dobson is a fierce opponent of abortion and stem cell research, which he has called "state-funded cannibalism."⁴⁵ He has stated the

available at <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Politics/CanadaVotes/2005/12/14/1353202-cp.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

³⁸ Catherine Ford, "Social conservatives in new party will undermine its chances: anti-gay, anti-choice views not unwelcome in Alliance," *Edmonton Journal*, December 5, 2003, p. A16.

³⁹ "Tory minority government would be stable: Harper," *CTV.ca*, January 8, 2006, available at http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20060103/ELXN_conservative_minority_060108/20060108?s_name=election2006&no_ads (last visited on January 13, 2006)

⁴⁰ "Candidate: Vic Toews," *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/46008_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴¹ Focus on the Family's website address is <http://www.family.org/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴² Concerned Women of America's website address is <http://www.cwfa.org/main.asp> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴³ Russ Bellant, "Promise Keepers: Christian Soldiers for Theocracy," *PublicEye.org*, available at <http://www.publiceye.org/eyes/promkeep.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Thompson, "Religious right sends cash north: To fight same-sex marriage in Canada. U.S. groups taking credit for Bush re-election fund local allies' efforts to 'save the family'," *Montreal Gazette*, February 7, 2005, p. A1.

⁴⁵ "Right Wing Watch: Dobson's Choice: Religious Right Leader Becomes Political Power Broker," *People for the American Way*, available at <http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/default.aspx?oid=17932> (last visited January 13, 2006).

gay rights movement is seeking the “utter destruction of the family,”⁴⁶ and has likened proponents of gay marriage to Nazis.⁴⁷

Dr. Dobson uses the Focus on the Family Institute to cultivate future young leaders about his organization’s views,⁴⁸ utilizing materials such as anti-abortion activist Scott Klusendorf’s writings to shape students’ views.⁴⁹ **Jason Kenney**, Conservative MP for Calgary Southeast,⁵⁰ and Conservative Party **Revenue Critic**, also follows Mr. Klusendorf’s views and has praised Mr. Klusendorf for his contribution to the pro-life movement in Canada: “[Scott’s] contribution to the pro-life movement in Canada has received rave reviews. Having been involved in pro-life argumentation for most of my life, I nevertheless learned a great deal from Scott’s techniques and arguments, which I plan to employ in the future,” **Mr. Kenney** has posted on the website of Mr. Klusendorf’s organization, the Life Training Institute.⁵¹

Dr. Dobson has made several forays into Canadian politics, spreading his social anti-same sex marriage conservative message through paid broadcasts on 130 radio stations across Canada.⁵² His organization has also contributed at least \$1.6 million worth of “in-kind” contributions to its Canadian affiliate, Focus on the Family Canada,⁵³ which also strongly opposed the recognition of same sex marriages.⁵⁴ Two Vice Presidents of Focus on the Family sit on the Board of Focus on the Family Canada.⁵⁵

Mr. Toews has worked closely with Focus on the Family Canada to launch national issue campaigns,⁵⁶ has quoted their studies in the House of Commons,⁵⁷ and

⁴⁶ James Dobson, *Marriage Under Fire: why we must win this battle*, (Multnomah, 2004), p. 19.

⁴⁷ Gary Schneeberger, “Dobson Tells Christian Voters ‘Enough is Enough’,” *Citizen Link*, July 9, 2004, available at <http://www.family.org/cforum/extras/a0033582.cfm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴⁸ “About FFI,” *Focus on the Family Institute*, available at <http://www.focusinstitute.org/AboutUs.asp> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁴⁹ “Pro-Life Speakers,” *Life Training Institute*, available at http://prolifetraining.com/pro-life_speakers.htm (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵⁰ “Candidate: Jason Kenney,” *GlobeandMail.com*, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/48007_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵¹ “Endorsements,” *Life Training Institute*, available at <http://www.prolifetraining.com/Endorsements.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵² Elizabeth Thompson, “Religious right sends cash north: To fight same-sex marriage in Canada, U.S. groups taking credit for Bush re-election fund local allies' efforts to 'save the family',” *Montreal Gazette*, February 7, 2005, p. A1.

⁵³ Focus on the Family Canada’s website address is <http://www.fotf.ca/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Thompson, “Religious right sends cash north: To fight same-sex marriage in Canada. U.S. groups taking credit for Bush re-election fund local allies' efforts to 'save the family',” *Montreal Gazette*, February 7, 2005, p. A1.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth Thompson, “Religious right sends cash north: To fight same-sex marriage in Canada, U.S. groups taking credit for Bush re-election fund local allies' efforts to 'save the family',” *Montreal Gazette*, February 7, 2005, p. A1.

⁵⁶ “News Release: 85% of Canadians Disagree with Artistic Merit Defence in Child Pornography Case,” *familyfacts.ca*, May 30, 2002, available <http://www.fotf.ca/familyfacts/news/053002.html> (last visited January 13, 2006); “Child Pornography,” *Edited Hansard, Number 166, 37th Parliament, 1st Session*, April 11, 2002, available at http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/166_2002-04-11/han166_1440-E.htm (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵⁷ “Justice,” *Edited Hansard, Number 198, 37th Parliament, 1st Session*, June 4, 2002, available at http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/chambus/house/debates/198_2002-06-04/han198_1400-E.htm (last visited January 13, 2006).

recently, while addressing the League for Life in a talk entitled “Abuses of the Charter by the Supreme Court,”⁵⁸ he urged pro-life activists to partner with the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, a partner organization to Focus on the Family Canada that operates out of the same office building in Ottawa.⁵⁹

Mr. Toews is not the only Conservative candidate with ties to Focus on the Family Canada. **Cindy Silver**, Conservative Candidate for North Vancouver,⁶⁰ served as a staff lawyer to the organization, pursuing its legal argument in the courts that parents should not face criminal charges for giving corporal punishment to their children,⁶¹ and **Maurice Vellacott**, Conservative MP for Saskatoon – Wanuskeewin, has been involved in Focus on the Family initiatives.⁶² **Darrel Reid**, Conservative Candidate for Richmond,⁶³ served as President of Focus on the Family Canada starting in 1998 after leaving his position as Reform Party leader Preston Manning’s Chief of Staff.⁶⁴ While at Focus on the Family, **Mr. Reid** explained his job as mobilizing Canadian Christians to infuse their political beliefs with their religious leanings and act upon them in the public sphere: “Many churches say, ‘That’s the world. That’s out there. We don’t have to worry about that,’ That’s why ministries like Focus Canada exist: to speak out on family issues, to educate and mobilize Christians on issues that cut to the heart of our society.”⁶⁵ Indeed, **Mr. Reid** has been unabashed in his desire to see social conservatism be an active force in politics: “I think it would be great to see social conservatives from all our parties and traditions begin to reinsert their most deeply-held convictions into our nation’s political discourse.”⁶⁶ He confirmed recently that he believes, “every Christian’s under an obligation to change law to reflect biblical values.”⁶⁷

Mr. Reid’s own views on social conservatism reflect what such political activism would look like. He favours the use of the Notwithstanding Clause to overturn the equality rights of gays to marry: “Thankfully, there is a mechanism by which Ontarians can reassert their democratic will. Section 33 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and

⁵⁸ “Life 2004 – Alive and Loving It: Video Order Form,” *League for Life*, available at http://www.leagueforlife.mb.ca/Latest_News.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁵⁹ Pauline Tam, “Onward Christian Soldiers,” *Ottawa Citizen*, January 15, 2006, p. A11.

⁶⁰ “Candidate: Cindy Silver,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/59019_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁶¹ Doug Ward, “Battling political labels early: North Vancouver federal Conservative candidate doesn’t like to be sprayed by ‘graffiti journalism,’” *Vancouver Sun*, July 23, 2005, p. E4.

⁶² “Candidate: Maurice Vellacott,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/47011_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁶³ “Candidate: Darrel Reid,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/59023_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁶⁴ Debra Fieguth, “Focus Appoints New President,” *Christian Week*, April 14, 1998, available at <http://www.christianweek.org/stories/vol12/no01/story3.htm> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁶⁵ Andrea Vinley Jewell, “As Goes Canada . . . So Goes the United States?,” *Focus on the Family Magazine*, available at <http://www.family.org/fofmag/pp/a0023975.cfm> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁶⁶ Darrel Reid, “You Better Get Used to Us, There Are A Lot More Social Conservatives Around Than You Think,” *LifeSite*, republished from *Globe and Mail*, January 23, 2002, available at <http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2002/jan/020128a.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁶⁷ Carolyn Ryan, “Canada Votes 2006: Can a party change?,” *CBC*, available at http://www.cbc.ca/canadavotes/analysiscommentary/now_then.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

Freedoms provides for use of a ‘notwithstanding clause’ to preserve provincial legislation threatened by undemocratic court decisions.”⁶⁸ **Mr. Reid** is highly critical of Quebec social values: “The rest of Canada, it appears, could be following Quebec’s lead. When it comes to marriage, sexual mores and abortion, that’s not reassuring.”⁶⁹ He believes “[w]elfare provides incentives for single moms to have another child and to avoid marriage.”⁷⁰ Finally, **Mr. Reid** said the Liberal government’s decision to draft legislation recognizing same sex marriage made him “ashamed to be called a Canadian.”⁷¹

Dr. Dobson’s influence on Conservative candidates does not extend through Focus on the Family alone: he also wrote *Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper*, the “manifesto” of the theocratic Promise Keepers organization,⁷² and its Canadian affiliate, Promise Keepers Canada.⁷³ Promise Keepers Canada’s anti-choice, anti-same sex marriage agenda is driven by its belief that “[t]he Bible is truthful in all that it affirms and without error as originally given by God.”⁷⁴ It has mobilized its members to provide grass roots and financial assistance to candidates in line with its philosophy during the 2006 Election, which it sees as “an incredible opportunity to elect a Parliament of conscience” and “curb Canada’s slide into moral decay.”⁷⁵

David Sweet, Conservative Candidate for Ancaster – Dundas – Flamborough – Westdale,⁷⁶ is the former President of Promise Keepers Canada,⁷⁷ and his wife is a current director of the organization.⁷⁸ **Mr. Sweet’s** views on the proper roles of men were made clear by comments he made to *Christian Week* in 2001: “[M]en are natural influencers, whether we like it or not.... There’s a particular reason why Jesus called men only. It’s not that women aren’t co-participators. It’s because Jesus knew women would naturally follow.”⁷⁹ In line with Promise Keeper doctrine, **Mr. Sweet** also told the

⁶⁸ Darrel Reid, “Commentaries: M&H: A defining moment in our culture?,” *familyfacts.ca*, available at <http://www.fotf.ca/familyfacts/commentaries/010199.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁶⁹ Andrea Vinley Jewell, “As Goes Canada . . . So Goes the United States?,” *Focus on the Family Magazine*, available at <http://www.family.org/fomag/pp/a0023975.cfm> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁷⁰ Darrel Reid, “Commentaries: Crisis or Opportunity?,” *familyfacts.ca*, available at <http://www.fotf.ca/familyfacts/commentaries/110199.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁷¹ Peter Winn, “Death-knell for Traditional Marriage Sounds in Canada,” *Focus on the Family Magazine*, June 21, 2003, available at <http://www.family.org/cforum/feature/a0026539.cfm> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁷² Russ Bellant, “Promise Keepers: Christian Soldiers for Theocracy,” *PublicEye.org*, available at <http://www.publiceye.org/eyes/promkeep.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷³ “Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, <http://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/sevenpromises> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷⁴ “Statement of Faith,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, available at <http://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/statementoffaith> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷⁵ “Article: Each vote will count,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, December 7, 2005, available at <http://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/articles?id=212> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷⁶ “Candidate: David Sweet,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35003_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷⁷ “Event Details,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, available at <http://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/eventdetail?id=5008> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁷⁸ “Leadership Team: Promise Keepers Canada,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, available at <http://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/leadershipteam> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁷⁹ Doug Koop, “Men make pledge to let Jesus purify,” *Christian Week*, November 27th, 2001, available at <http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:XZFwLynLeE8J:christianweek.org/Stories/vol15/no16/story4.html+%22david+sweet%22+and+%22men+are+natural+influencers%22&hl=en> (last visited January 13, 2006).

Toronto Star in 2002 that he “absolutely” thought homosexuality was a sin and that “the Scriptures [are] the word of God.”⁸⁰

David Aglukark, Conservative Candidate for Nunavut,⁸¹ helped arrange a trip by Promise Keepers Canada to Nunavut in August 2004 for a meeting with local co-religionists, and strongly endorsed the mission: “I have been wanting to see a meeting or seminar like this for so many years and I am so thankful to my Lord Jesus Christ,” **Mr. Aglukark** said.⁸²

Mr. Toews was also guest commentator on Concerned Women of America’s (CWA) radio program “Concerned Women Today” in 2003. Like the CNP, the CWA was founded by Tim LaHaye;⁸³ his wife Beverly is the organization’s Chairman.⁸⁴ The CWA currently claims 600,000 members.⁸⁵ According to its website mission statement, the CWA seeks to “protect and promote Biblical values among all citizens - first through prayer, then education, and finally by influencing our society - thereby reversing the decline in moral values in our nation.”⁸⁶ Its mission is “anti-gay, anti-choice, anti-feminism and anti-sex education.”⁸⁷ According to Mrs. LaHaye, “Politicians who do not use the bible to guide their public and private lives do not belong in office.”⁸⁸

Mr. Toews appeared on CWA radio on June 11, 2003 for a broadcast entitled “Canada Says ‘Yes’ to Gay Marriage.”⁸⁹ During the program, then-CWA President Sandy Rios interviewed **Mr. Toews** about the Ontario Court of Appeals decision to legalize same sex marriage, with **Mr. Toews** saying that the Notwithstanding Clause should be used if the Supreme Court of Canada did not invalidate the Ontario ruling: “It’s called the Notwithstanding Clause...[I]f the Supreme Court continues on that radical agenda we need to push for the federal government to use this constitutional mechanism to ensure that courts understand that they not to [sic] interfere with social policy matters and stay within their realm of judicial interpretations.”⁹⁰

⁸⁰ Ron Csillag, “They have promises to keep...,” *Toronto Star*, November 16, 2002, p. L18.

⁸¹ “Candidate: David Aglukark,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/62001_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸² “PKC Heading to Nunavut,” *Promise Keepers Canada*, available at <https://www.promisekeepers.ca/content/news?id=13>, (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁸³ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁴ “Leadership,” *Concerned Women for America*, available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/leadership.asp> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁵ Robert Dreyfuss, “Reverend Doomsday,” *Rolling Stone*, January 28, 2004, available at http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/_/id/5939999 (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁶ “Concerned Women for America: Mission Statement,” *Concerned Women for America*, available at <http://www.cwfa.org/about.asp> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁷ “Right Wing Watch: Concerned Women for America,” *People for the American Way*, available at <http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/default.aspx?oid=3151> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁸ “Right Wing Watch: Concerned Women for America,” *People for the American Way*, available at <http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/default.aspx?oid=3151> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁸⁹ “Multimedia Center: ‘Canada Says “Yes” to Gay Marriage’,” *Concerned Women for America*, June 11, 2003, available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1945> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁹⁰ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Says “Yes” to Gay Marriage’, June 11, 2003,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1945> (last visited January 13, 2006).

On the CWA broadcast, **Mr. Toews** also said he was “disappointed with the secular press” for not realizing the danger to free speech posed by Bill C-250 on hate crimes,⁹¹ which extended hate crime law to cover hateful acts based on sexual orientation.⁹² CWA President Rios encouraged Canadian listeners to write their MPs to register their opposition to the bill, and provided the telephone number of the Christian Coalition of Canada for further advice on advocacy efforts.⁹³

Taking an active role in the same sex marriage debate has not been the CWA’s only foray into Canadian politics. The CWA has fiercely criticized Bill C-250, which provided protection against hateful acts based on sexual orientation.⁹⁴ In a CWA radio broadcast of December 29, 2005, guest speaker Reverend Tristan Emmanuel, founder of Equipping Canadian Christians for the Public Square, strongly criticized the law and the Canadian courts, echoing **Mr. Toews’** rhetoric: “[W]hat’s taking place in Canada is horrendous you know....the courts have stated that when it comes to individuals rights, individuals’ rights will trump religious rights, in Canada.”⁹⁵

Emmanuel, whose organization “teaches people of his faith to become political,” has endorsed the candidacies of **Andrew House**, Conservative Candidate for Halifax,⁹⁶ **Rakesh Khosla**, Conservative Candidate for Halifax West,⁹⁷ and **Paul Francis**, Conservative Candidate for Sackville-Eastern Shore.⁹⁸ *The Globe and Mail* described the candidacies of **House**, **Khosla**, and **Francis**, as well as those of **Rondo Thomas**, **Darrel Reid** and **Cindy Silver**, as examples of social conservative “political penetration” of the Conservative Party.⁹⁹

Like **Mr. Toews**, **Stockwell Day**, Conservative MP for Okanagan-Coquihalla¹⁰⁰ and **Foreign Affairs Critic**, appeared on CWA radio, discussing Canada’s gay rights

⁹¹ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Says “Yes” to Gay Marriage’, June 11, 2003”, audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1945> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁹² Bill C-250, “As passed by the House of Commons,” available at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/LEGISINFO/index.asp?Lang=E&Chamber=N&StartList=A&EndList=Z&Session=11&Type=0&Scope=1&query=3178&List=toc-1> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁹³ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Says “Yes” to Gay Marriage’, June 11, 2003,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1945> (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁹⁴ “Multimedia Center: ‘ “Hate Crime” Laws in Canada Stifle Religious Freedom’,” *Concerned Women for America*, December 29, 2005, available at <http://www.cwfa.org/radio.asp> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁹⁵ “Multimedia Center: ‘ “Hate Crime” Laws in Canada Stifle Religious Freedom’,” *Concerned Women for America*, December 29, 2005, available at <http://www.cwfa.org/radio.asp> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

⁹⁶ “Candidate: Andrew House,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/12004_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁹⁷ “Candidate: Rakesh Khosla,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/12005_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

⁹⁸ Gloria Galloway, “Christian activists capturing Tory races,” *Globe and Mail*, May 27th, 2005.

⁹⁹ “Candidate: Paul Francis,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/12008_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006); Gloria Galloway, “Christian activists capturing Tory races,” *Globe and Mail*, May 27th, 2005.

¹⁰⁰ “Candidate: Stockwell Day,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/59020_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

debate on a segment entitled “Canada Battles Gay Agenda.”¹⁰¹ During the interview, **Mr. Day** said that democracy in both the United States and Canada is under threat from “the constant march of activist courts” that recognize same sex marriage.¹⁰² **Mr. Day** called such recognition a “constitutional violation,” a “democratic violation,” and a “social violation.”¹⁰³

Mr. Day’s interviewer, Sandy Rios, then-President of CWA, exhorted Canadian listeners to get involved in stopping Canada’s recognition of same sex marriage: “I would say the same thing to Canadian listeners that we say to our American listeners that this is no time to be silent, if ever there were a time to redeem your culture and ours it’s now.”¹⁰⁴ Ms. Rios also offered concrete advice for how to shape the political outcome of the same sex marriage debate: “[F]or those of you who are Canadian listeners...we want to give you some practical help, we want to link you with two organizations that are working toward this effort, it will be on our website, it’s [sic] Canada Family Action Coalition and Christian Coalition of Canada.”¹⁰⁵

The Canada Family Action Coalition (CFAC) and Christian Coalition of Canada, officially known as Christian Coalition International (Canada), are both social conservative organizations that actively promote anti-choice, anti-same sex marriage agendas. Based in Calgary, CFAC seeks to promote a Bible-based society by equipping “citizens to take back their rightful place as part of the decision-making process of our courts, tribunals, legislatures and Parliament.”¹⁰⁶

Conservative **Russ Hiebert**, Conservative MP for South Surrey – White Rock – Cloverdale,¹⁰⁷ is the former Legal Counsel to CFAC,¹⁰⁸ and **Roxanne James**, Conservative Candidate for Scarborough Centre,¹⁰⁹ is a member of CFAC.¹¹⁰ CFAC’s founder and President, Dr. Charles McVety, is also President of the Canadian Christian

¹⁰¹ “Multimedia Center: Canada Battles Gay Agenda,” *Concerned Women for America*, August 7, 2003, available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1993> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰² “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Battles Gay Agenda, August 7, 2003’,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1993> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰³ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Battles Gay Agenda, August 7, 2003’,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1993> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Battles Gay Agenda, August 7, 2003’,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1993> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ “Concerned Women Today Broadcast ‘Canada Battles Gay Agenda, August 7, 2003’,” audio broadcast available at <http://gideon.cwfa.org/radioarch.asp?broadcastID=1993> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁶ “About CFAC,” Canada Family Action Coalition, available at <http://www.familyaction.org/about.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁷ “Candidate: Russ Hiebert,” *GlobeandMail.com*, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/59027_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ “Edited Evidence” 37th Parliament, 2nd Session, Standing Committee on Human Rights, October 7, 2003, available at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfocomDoc/Documents/37/2/parlbus/commbus/house/minutes/MINUTES-JUST066-E.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ “Candidate: Roxanne James,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35081_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁰ “Candidate: Roxanne James,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35081_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

College,¹¹¹ and strongly supported the provincial Tory leadership bid of **Jim Flaherty**, Conservative Candidate for Whitby-Oshawa¹¹² because the College “liked his Catholic-based social conservative values.”¹¹³

Rondo Thomas, Conservative Candidate for Ajax-Pickering,¹¹⁴ holds a Doctor of Divinity from the College and is its Vice President, serving alongside Dr. McVety.¹¹⁵ Recently, **Mr. Thomas** made headlines in the *Toronto Star* for describing the political debate in Canada in extreme terms: “There is going to be a clash of morality views between those who believe in righteousness and those who believe in immorality and when we collide there is going to be conflict,” **Mr. Thomas** said.¹¹⁶ “It doesn't matter what the media says, it doesn't matter what the government says - the facts don't count. We are going to win this conflict.”

CFAC has taken its political activism to a higher level in this election. On November 29th, 2005 it organized a seminar in partnership with the Institute for Canadian Values at which Ralph Reed, a “senior advisor to President George W. Bush's election campaign,” counselled attendees on strategy for the current election.¹¹⁷ Previously, Mr. Reed has counselled social conservatives to practice “stealth politics” and “fool voters” by “hid[ing], or disguis[ing], their religious agenda by promoting popular issues such as tax reform.”¹¹⁸ Dr. McVety nonetheless highly praised Mr. Reed just weeks before he came to Canada, writing that Mr. Reed “has motivated millions of Americans to participate in the election of their leaders and has taught millions how to mobilize others based on sound middle class, common sense moral principles, and solid organizations.”¹¹⁹

At the seminar, Mr. Reed passed along “tips on how to win the election,” and explained the philosophical approach that should motivate the audience's activities: “We're not trying to change a church into a political party, and we're not trying to change a political party into a church, but if the people of the church don't get involved,

¹¹¹ “About CFAC,” *Canada Family Action Coalition*, available at <http://www.familyaction.org/about.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹² “Candidate: Jim Flaherty,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35099_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹³ Lloyd Mackey, “A Line Drawn Between ‘Strident’ and ‘Measured’,” *Christianity.ca*, available at <http://www.christianity.ca/news/commentary/2003/08.000.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁴ “Candidate: Rondo Thomas,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35001_CON.html (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁵ “Candidate: Rondo Thomas,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35001_CON.html (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁶ Martin O'Hanlon, “Tory's 'intolerant' view of gay marriage panned,” *Toronto Star*, January 11, 2006, p. A6.

¹¹⁷ “US Political Wiz Ralph Reed Urges Canadian Social Conservatives to ‘Make History’ This Election,” *LifeSiteNews.com*, December 2, 2005, available at <http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/dec/05120209.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁸ Bill Berkowitz, “Secrets and Ties,” *Media Transparency*, April 17, 2005, available <http://www.mediatransparency.com/story.php?storyID=59> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹¹⁹ Dr. Charles McVety, “Commentary: Fighting the Good Fight,” *Institute for Canadian Values*, November 4, 2005, available at <http://www.canadianvalues.ca/commentary.aspx?aid=65> (last visited January 13, 2006).

somebody else will,” Mr. Reed said.¹²⁰ Conservative candidates in attendance included **Tim Dobson**, Conservative Candidate for Pickering-Scarborough East,¹²¹ **John Carmichael**, Conservative Candidate, Don Valley West,¹²² **Michael Mostyn**, Conservative Candidate for York Centre,¹²³ **Rondo Thomas** and **Jim Flaherty**.¹²⁴

Mr. Reed is the former Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, where he “built the most influential grassroots organization in recent U.S. politics.”¹²⁵ The Christian Coalition was founded by Pat Robertson, the right wing social conservative host of the 700 Club, who is also a member of the CNP.¹²⁶ The Coalition’s former President, Paul Hodel, is currently President of Focus on the Family,¹²⁷ and was the President of the CNP in 2002.¹²⁸ The Christian Coalition aims to offer “people of faith the vehicle to be actively involved in shaping their government - from the County Courthouse to the halls of Congress.”¹²⁹

Its Canadian arm, Christian Coalition International (Canada), fights for “the public maintenance and defense [sic] of Judaeo-Christian Values, and the mainstreaming of such values in public policy of our nation and culture.”¹³⁰ It sends delegates to conventions run by its American counterpart,¹³¹ and lists the following right wing organizations on its website as partner “pro-family” actors, all of which are connected to CNP as outlined in this document: Focus on the Family Canada, CFAC, Canada Christian College, Christian Coalition of America, CWA.¹³² Sandy Rios, former President of

¹²⁰ “US Political Wiz Ralph Reed Urges Canadian Social Conservatives to ‘Make History’ This Election,” *LifeSiteNews.com*, December 2, 2005, available at <http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/dec/05120209.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹²¹ “Candidate: Tim Dobson,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35072_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹²² “Candidate: John Carmichael,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35017_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹²³ “Candidate: Michael Mostyn,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/35103_CON.html (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹²⁴ “US Political Wiz Ralph Reed Urges Canadian Social Conservatives to ‘Make History’ This Election,” *LifeSiteNews.com*, December 2, 2005, available at <http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/dec/05120209.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹²⁵ “US Political Wiz Ralph Reed Urges Canadian Social Conservatives to ‘Make History’ This Election,” *LifeSiteNews.com*, December 2, 2005, available at <http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/dec/05120209.html> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹²⁶ “Council for National Policy,” *Source Watch*, available at http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Council_for_National_Policy (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹²⁷ “Donald Paul Hodel,” *Source Watch*, available at http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Donald_Paul_Hodel (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹²⁸ “Council for National Policy,” *Source Watch*, available at http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Council_for_National_Policy (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹²⁹ “About Us,” *Christian Coalition of America*, available at <http://www.cc.org/about.cfm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁰ “Federal Election - Decision 2006 A Time To Wake Up!,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³¹ “Federal Election - Decision 2006 A Time To Wake Up!,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³² “Useful Links,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/links.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

CWA, spoke at its “Judaean-Christian Values in a Secular Society” conference in November 2004,¹³³ as did **Maurice Vellacott**.¹³⁴

Christian Coalition International (Canada) has made the 2006 Election a special priority, echoing the rhetoric of the CWA on denigrating Canadian legislation that recognizes same sex marriage and expands hate crime law to cover discrimination based on sexual orientation.¹³⁵ Criticizing the Canadian Courts for a “propensity for radicalism,” the Christian Coalition International (Canada) calls upon Canadians to “Wake Up!” and endorses Conservative Leader **Stephen Harper** for his promise to hold a free vote on same sex marriage legislation.¹³⁶

Mr. Reed is also a graduate of the Leadership Institute, the socially conservative political training organization run by former CNP Executive Director Morton Blackwell. The Institute’s mission is “to increase the number and effectiveness of conservative public policy leaders,”¹³⁷ and places graduates in jobs at right-wing conservative organizations including the CWA, the Christian Coalition of America and the National Rifle Association.¹³⁸ The Leadership Institute appears to have played a role in the development of right wing Conservative politics in Canada, with the Canadian Alliance hiring a consultant from the Institute, Lou Barnett,¹³⁹ in 2002 to help the party heal internal wounds following its leadership convention.¹⁴⁰ This encounter or the simple model provided by Mr. Blackwell’s Institute may also have provided the inspiration for Preston Manning, former Leader of the Reform Party, to establish the Manning Centre for Democracy, which is currently directing efforts to host a national faith and politics conference for young people this February in Ottawa.¹⁴¹ Indeed, within the past year, top associates of Mr. Manning, including Cliff Fryers, the former Chair of the 2005 Conservative Party policy conference and current Director and Chairman of the Manning Centre,¹⁴² and Andre Turcotte, former Canadian Alliance pollster,¹⁴³ have met with Mr.

¹³³ “On this week,” *Listen Up TV*, November 11, 2004, available at

<http://www.listenuptv.com/programs/041111uselection.shtml> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁴ “Confirmed Convention Speaker,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/nation/101104.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁵ “Federal Election - Decision 2006 A Time To Wake Up!,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁶ “Federal Election - Decision 2006 A Time To Wake Up!,” *Christian Coalition International (Canada)*, available at <http://www.ccicinc.org/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁷ “History,” *Leadership Institute*, available at

<http://www.leadershipinstitute.org/01ABOUTUS/01History.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁸ “Job Seeker Employee List,” *Leadership Institute*, available at

<http://www.leadershipinstitute.org/03CAREERS/sEmployerProfiles.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹³⁹ “Right Wing Watch: CPAC 2003 Speakers,” *People for the American Way*, available at

<http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/default.aspx?oid=8946> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁰ Lloyd Mackey, “Comment: Outspoken MP’s quiet faith,” *CanadianChristianity.com*, available at <http://www.canadianchristianity.com/cgi-bin/na.cgi?nationalupdates/020131comment> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹⁴¹ Pauline Tam, “Onward Christian soldiers,” *Ottawa Citizen*, January 15, 2006, p. A11.

¹⁴² Siri Agrell, “Bloodshed on the floor was inevitable,” *National Post*, March 21, 2005, p. A4; “Our Centre,” *Manning Centre for Building Democracy*, available at <http://www.manningcentre.ca/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴³ Paul Sayyn, “Alliance’s ideal leader a political Frankenstein,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 9, 2001, p. B2.

Blackwell to solicit his help in establishing a parallel conservative training institute in Canada.

Like Mr. Reed, **Rob Anders**, Conservative MP for Calgary West,¹⁴⁴ is a graduate of the Leadership Institute.¹⁴⁵ **Anders** has been supportive of Focus on the Family and the National Firearms Association,¹⁴⁶ one of the main participant's in Canada's gun lobby,¹⁴⁷ which appears to have received significant help from south of the border.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) has been called "perhaps America's most powerful political lobby," with almost three million members.¹⁴⁸ The Chief Executive Officer of the NRA, Wayne La Pierre, is a member of the CNP.¹⁴⁹ In addition to its substantial domestic advocacy activities, it "serves as spiritual godfather to gun groups around the world."¹⁵⁰ Under La Pierre's direction, the NRA has been extremely active in pursuing its anti-gun control agenda abroad, especially in Canada.¹⁵¹ According to Tony Bernardo, Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for Legislative Action (CILA), a gun lobby group, the NRA was "instrumental to the formation of the CILA" and provides "tremendous amounts of logistic support."¹⁵² On July 4, 2001, La Pierre stated "the National Rifle Association of America supports and endorses the work done by the Canadian Institute for Legislative Action,"¹⁵³ which works with the National Firearms Association to advocate for the "rights" of gun owners.¹⁵⁴

The NRA has taken a special interest in the 2006 election, sending Glen Caroline, the Director of NRA's Institute for Legislative Action, Grassroots Division,¹⁵⁵ to Ontario during the first weekend in December 2005 to "advise the Canadian Shooting Sports

¹⁴⁴ "Candidate: Rob Anders," *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/48009_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁵ "Training" *Leadership Institute*, available at <http://www.leadershipinstitute.org/schools/schoolinfo.cfm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁶ "Candidate: Rob Anders," *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/48009_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁷ To visit the National Firearms Association website, go here: <http://www.nfa.ca/home/> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁸ David Morton, "Gunning for the World," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=0 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁴⁹ David Kirkpatrick, "Club of the Most Powerful Gathers in the Strictest Privacy," *New York Times*, August 28, 2004, p. 10.

¹⁵⁰ David Morton, "Gunning for the World," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=0 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵¹ David Morton, "Gunning for the World," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=1 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵² David Morton, "Gunning for the World," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=2 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵³ "Backgrounder: The Globalization of the NRA," available at www.guncontrol.ca/Content/New/12NRA05.pdf (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹⁵⁴ James M. Hinter, "Political Action," *National Firearms Association*, available at <http://www.nfa.ca/political.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵⁵ Kathy Cassidy, "'Crossing the Bridge' at the Clubs & Associations Workshop," *NRA Club Connection*, June 2004, available at <https://www.nrahq.org/clubs/graphics/2004jun.pdf> (last visited January 13, 2006).

Association how to lobby Canadian politicians in the lead-up to the Jan. 23 election.”¹⁵⁶ The CSSA has indicated that it will use these tactics to help the Conservative Party, especially in “close swing ridings.”¹⁵⁷

Art Hanger, Conservative MP for Calgary Northeast,¹⁵⁸ appeared in an NRA infomercial in 2000,¹⁵⁹ in which he and NRA President Charlton Heston promoted firearm use and availability. **Garry Breitkreuz**, Conservative MP for Yorkton-Melville¹⁶⁰ and **Firearms Critic**, received the 2005 “Shooting Sports Ambassador Award” from the World Forum on the Future of Sport Shooting Activities (WFFSSA),¹⁶¹ an organization the NRA helped establish in 1997.¹⁶² Thomas Mason, the NRA’s emissary to the United Nations, is the Secretary of the WFFSSA.¹⁶³ **Mr. Breitkreuz** is also quoted extensively on the NRA website criticizing the Canadian Firearms Act,¹⁶⁴ and gave an interview to the NRA less than a month after September 11th, 2001 asserting that “Canada has harboured terrorists while persecuting gun owners.”¹⁶⁵ Gun control groups in the US criticized the NRA for the interview, suggesting the NRA was “unfairly blaming” Canada for the 9/11 attacks,¹⁶⁶ an attribution of fault for which **Mr. Breitkreuz’s** unsubstantiated remarks provided strong support.

Although the NRA does not provide funding for gun lobbies, “[i]t promotes lines of argument, strategy, and political tactics that others adopt for local use.”¹⁶⁷ Conservative party anti-gun control rhetoric strongly echoes that of the NRA. On October 26, 2005, the NRA denigrated Liberal plans to consider suing American gun makers for

¹⁵⁶ David Carrigg, “U.S.-style gun lobbying under fire,” *The Vancouver Province*, December 6, 2005, available at http://www.canada.com/national/features/decisioncanada/story_05.html?id=b1fad7a0-62e1-4cd8-8e6c-f652f75e6c12 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵⁷ David Carrigg, “U.S.-style gun lobbying under fire,” *The Vancouver Province*, December 6, 2005, available at http://www.canada.com/national/features/decisioncanada/story_05.html?id=b1fad7a0-62e1-4cd8-8e6c-f652f75e6c12 (last visited January 13, 2006); Antonia Zerbias, “Shooting blanks,” *Azerbic: Toronto Star Blogs*, December 6, 2005, available at http://thestar.blogs.com/azerb/2005/12/you_can_spend_a.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵⁸ “Candidate: Art Hanger,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/48004_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁵⁹ Coalition for Gun Control, “Coalition Appalled at Canadian Alliance Resolution on Right to Arms,” Press Release, February 10, 2000, available at <http://www.guncontrol.ca/Content/news-2000.htm> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶⁰ “Candidate: Garry Breitkreuz,” *GlobeandMail.com*, available at http://www.theglobeandmail.com/elections/fed2005/candidates/generated/47014_CON.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶¹ “WFFSA Sport Shooting Ambassador Award: Garry Breitkreuz, Canadian Member of Parliament,” *The World Forum on the Future of Sport Shooting Activities*, available at http://www.wfsa.net/Image_Docs/Garry%20Breitkreuz.htm (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶² David Morton, “Gunning for the World,” *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=3 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶³ David Morton, “Gunning for the World,” *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=3 (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶⁴ “Canada: Where Gun Registration Equals Confiscation,” *National Rifle Association*, available at <http://nraila.org/issues/articles/read.aspx?ID=4> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶⁵ “Alliance MP defends remarks,” *Regina Leader-Post*, October 5, 2001, p. F5.

¹⁶⁶ “Alliance MP defends remarks,” *Regina Leader-Post*, October 5, 2001, p. F5.

¹⁶⁷ David Morton, “Gunning for the World,” *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2006, available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3329&page=0 (last visited January 13, 2006).

products smuggled into Canada and used to kill other Canadians by saying “[b]laming the US is nothing more than political claptrap. If the government was half as good at fighting crime as they are at fighting elections, Canada would be a much safer country.”¹⁶⁸

Conservative Leader **Stephen Harper** used these same talking points in his crime address on January 5, 2006: “We know that a large part of the gun problem exists because of our porous borders. But the answer is not to blame the Americans for weapons smuggling. We have had the United States next door longer than any of us have been alive. But it is only this government that has been unable to deal with the gun flow.”¹⁶⁹

Conservative Party legislative strategy also follows that laid out by the NRA on property rights, the defence of which the NRA has used as a rallying call for preventing government from regulating gun ownership.¹⁷⁰ **Mr. Breitkreuz** has proposed four separate private member’s bills in the House of Commons in defence of property rights, including their inclusion in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and Motion 227, tabled on April 21, 2005, which reads as follows:¹⁷¹

That, in the opinion of the House, the government should ensure that full, just and timely compensation be paid to all persons who are deprived of personal or private property or suffer a loss in value of that property as a result of any government initiative, policy, process, regulation or legislation.

The Conservative platform released on January 13, 2006 calls for enshrining property rights in the Charter, and echoes exactly **Mr. Breitkreuz’s** motion on property rights for upcoming legislation, asserting the Conservatives have a plan to “enact legislation to ensure that full, just and timely compensation will be paid to all persons who are deprived of personal or private property as a result of any federal government initiative, policy, process, regulation or legislation.”¹⁷²

While the main purpose behind such a bill would seem to be **Mr. Breitkreuz’s** desire to prevent the federal government from restricting gun ownership, it would have much broader consequences, effectively preventing the legislature and ministries from protecting the environment, in-land fisheries and any other federal action that infringed on property rights such as taxes and levies. In a Charter amendment form, this platform property rights plan would seriously jeopardize provincial anti-discrimination law, work place safety codes, and legislation protecting union membership that could be interpreted to infringe on freedom of contract rights that courts have historically associated with property rights.

¹⁶⁸ “In the News: When all else fails, blame America,” *National Rifle Association of America*, October 26, 2005, available at <http://www.nraila.org/News/Read/InTheNews.aspx?ID=6710> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁶⁹ “Transcript of Press Conference,” *CBC Newsworld*, January 5, 2006.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Singh, *The Farrakhan Phenomenon* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1997), p. 290.

¹⁷¹ “Journals: No. 132,” *House of Commons of Canada, 38th Parliament, 1st Session*, October 5, 2005, available at http://www.garrybreitkreuz.com/inthehouse/misc/2005_vote_10_05.htm (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁷² Conservative Party of Canada, *Stand up for Families: Conservative Party of Canada Federal Election Platform 2006*, p. 43, available at <http://www.conservative.ca/media/20060113-Platform.pdf> (last visited January 13, 2006).

Members and funders of the CNP endorse this property rights rhetoric precisely for its environmental impact. Seven members of the Coors family, owners of the Coors Brewing Company, are members of the CNP,¹⁷³ and funnel financial support to property rights advocacy organizations like the Mountain States Legal Foundation through the Coors family's philanthropic Castle Rock Foundation.¹⁷⁴ The Executive Director of the Castle Rock Foundation, Linda Tafoya, is also a member of the CNP.¹⁷⁵ The Mountain Studies Legal Foundation seeks to use property rights as a basis to open access to federal lands and resources for business interests, curtail the reach of legislation to protect endangered species and the environment and prevent further government regulation.¹⁷⁶ It is part of a complex of organizations and law firms in the United States that promote the radical right-wing "Constitution-in-Exile" movement, which seeks to dramatically curtail the state's ability to regulate in all areas of society, especially the environment and the workplace.¹⁷⁷ One former employee of the Mountain States foundation is Gale Norton, the United States' current Secretary of the Interior, who controls natural resource regulation, wildlife protection and substantial environmental protection rules through the department's control over federal lands.¹⁷⁸

Conclusion

Over 20 candidates and members of Parliament of the Conservative Party of Canada, including Leader **Stephen Harper**, Justice Critic **Vic Toews**, Foreign Affairs Critic **Stockwell Day** and Firearms Critic **Garry Breitkreuz**, have links to the Council for National Policy, either directly or through its subsidiary organizations such as Focus on the Family, the Promise Keepers, Concerned Women for America, the Christian Coalition of America, the Leadership Institute, and the National Rifle Association.

The Council, which brings together the most powerful activists and donors to the socially conservative right-wing in the United States, has been able to spread its anti-choice, anti-same sex marriage, pro-gun, anti-environment message through its surrogates, who have either made overt forays into Canadian politics or cultivated ties with the Conservative Party of Canada, providing it with financial, strategic and rhetorical support.

In so far as the values of these organizations and the Conservative candidates they support depart from those held by Canadians, voters in the 2006 federal election should take these ties very seriously since, according to David Laycock, political scientist at Simon Fraser University, "[t]he individual views of Conservative candidates matter very much in a party that promises to hold more free votes in Parliament on social and moral

¹⁷³ "Castle Rock Foundation," *Media Transparency*, available at <http://www.mediatransparency.org/funderprofile.php?funderID=14#196> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁷⁴ "Castle Rock Foundation," *Media Transparency*, available at <http://www.mediatransparency.org/funderprofile.php?funderID=14#196> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁷⁵ "Castle Rock Foundation," *Media Transparency*, available at <http://www.mediatransparency.org/funderprofile.php?funderID=14#196> (last visited January 13, 2006).

¹⁷⁶ "Statement of Purpose," *Mountain States Legal Foundation*, <http://www.mountainstateslegal.org/mission.cfm> (last visited on January 13, 2006).

¹⁷⁷ Jeffrey Rosen, "The Unregulated Offensive," *New York Times Magazine*, April 17, 2005.

¹⁷⁸ "Welcome: Secretary of the Interior Gale A. Norton," *U.S. Department of the Interior*, <http://www.doi.gov/welcome.html> (last visited January 13, 2006).

issues.”¹⁷⁹ As conservatives in Canada move to entrench their grassroots organization through social conservative leadership training initiatives like those undertaken by the Manning Centre, Canadians should remain vigilant lest social conservatives already supported by a vast network of American organizations turn their influence into government power.

¹⁷⁹ Carolyn Ryan, “Canada Votes 2006: Can a party change?,” *CBC*, available at http://www.cbc.ca/canadavotes/analysiscommentary/now_then.html (last visited January 13, 2006).

Council for National Policy



Stephen Harper Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada.

Leadership Institute

Promise Keepers
Promise Keepers
Canada

Focus on the Family
Focus on the Family
Canada

Concerned Women
for America

NRA

Christian Coalition
Christian Coalition
International
(Canada)



Rob Anders
Calgary West



David Sweet
Ancaster-Dundas-
Flamborough-
Westdale



David Aglukark
Nunavut



Darrel Reid
Richmond



Cindy Silver
North
Vancouver



Rob Anders
Calgary West



Vic Toews
Provencher



Maurice Vellacott
Saskatoon -
Wanuskewin

Canada Christian
College



Rondo Thomas
Ajax-Pickering

Canada Family
Action Coalition



Russ Hiebert
South Surrey-
White Rock-
Cloverdale



Roxanne James
Scarborough
Centre



Vic Toews
Provencher



Stockwell Day
Okanagan-
Coquihalla



Garry Breitkreuz
Yorkton-Melville



Art Hanger
Calgary Northeast



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