



Winter 2012

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians



Visit to Regina  
Australia and New Zealand tour  
Kazakhstan election  
Amanda Lang  
McLuhan's mark





*CAFP Educational Foundation President Francis LeBlanc and Amanda Lang.*



*Lorne Hepworth, CropLife, the Hon. Paul Dick, Howard Mains and Dennis Prouse.*



*Peggy Morgan and Elizabeth Roscoe.*



*Léo Duguay, MP Daryl Kramp and Michael Cassidy.*



*The Rt. Hon. Herb Gray and daughter Elizabeth Gray Smith.*



*The Hon. Otto Lang and daughters Elisabeth and Amanda.*



*Amanda Lang and Russell Williams, Rx&D.*



*Don Newman and Gregory Kane.*



*The Hon. Marilyn Trenholme Counsell and Kevin Vickers.*



*J. Barry Turner and Stephen J. Kelly.*



*The Hon. Peter Milliken and the Hon. Ralph Goodale, MP.*



# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 8, Issue No. 1

WINTER 2012

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**ISSN**  
1920-8561

#### Our Mission Statement

*Beyond the Hill*, a magazine for former parliamentarians, is designed to engage, enlighten and inform its readers about each other, their Association and its Educational Foundation. Its aim is to encourage participation in the Association and to promote democracy. The views of the contributors to this publication do not necessarily represent those of CAFP nor its Educational Foundation. *Beyond the Hill* welcomes letters to the editor, submissions and suggestions. P.O. Box 1, 131 Queen St., House of Commons Ottawa, ON, Canada, K1A 0A6. Telephone 1-888-567-4764, Fax: 613-947-1764 E-mail: [exparl@parl.gc.ca](mailto:exparl@parl.gc.ca). Website: [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca). *Beyond the Hill* is published quarterly.

## Homegrown terrorism



There are interesting issues that your article raises, although it would have been useful to develop them further. Understandably, space was one of the constraints that you were dealing with.

There appears to be at least one inaccuracy in the article, depending on how one defines the concept of “homegrown terrorism.” The article states that “The words of the first homegrown terrorist arrested in Vancouver in 2004 ...”

According to The Canadian Encyclopedia’s entry on Terrorism, the section on “Domestic Terrorism in Canada” starts off by saying, “In 1923, the Sons of Freedom initiated what is likely Canada’s first domestic terrorist campaign. Residing in British Columbia, the Freedomites were a radical splinter group of Doukhorbous, a religious sect that rejected state authority.” It also describes briefly the activities of the FLQ and Direct Action (the Squamish Five), and that “In the 1980s and 1990s, extremists from the animal rights and environmental movements committed several acts of terrorism in Canada.”

(Other terrorist groups are discussed under “International Terrorism in Canada.” And under the section titled “Al Qaeda and September 11, 2001,” the encyclopedia entry states that “Al Qaeda also inspired a homegrown terrorist threat in Canada and several other countries,” mentioning the Ottawa Momin Khawaja and the Toronto 18.)

Would it then be accurate to suggest that the first Canadian homegrown terrorist was arrested in 2004? Does the definition of “homegrown terrorism” in your article only apply to Canadian terrorists who are raised in households where Islamic culture was the norm or to other Canadians who have also engaged in terrorism?

**Karim H. Karim, Ph.D.**  
Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University

Dear Mr. Duguay:

Thank you for the support of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians for the 15th annual Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy.

The 89 teachers who participated in this year’s program truly valued their unprecedented access to parliamentarians, as well as behind-the-scenes experts and officials. Many teachers struggle to find funding for professional development opportunities and the assistance of your organization in this regard is greatly appreciated.

Your support for the Teachers Institute has provided these teachers with a better knowledge and deeper appreciation of the work of Parliament and parliamentarians – something they will be able to share with thousands of Canadian students for years to come. One teacher commented, “After having spent a few days exploring the structures and people of Parliament, I can safely make the generalization that people here – be they elected, appointed or hired – are welcoming open, generous with their time and attention, and keen to make Parliament feel ‘owned’ by Canadians.”

**William R. Young**  
Parliamentary Librarian

#### A word about article submissions

We love to receive submissions from members, and I am delighted to see more and more of them. Your memories, recollections and even interpretations of the events of the past are all an important part of the legacy that *Beyond the Hill* is creating for future parliamentarians and others.

To ensure that you get published, here are a few ground rules.

- We have a limited amount of space so submissions should be kept under 1,000 words. 500-700 words is ideal.

- Photographs should accompany your submissions. They need to be high resolution for quality printing.

- Captions should be sent with photos.

- We are a non-partisan organization so will not print blatantly partisan material.

- Opinion pieces are fine, but remember to attack the issues and not the people.

That’s about it. If you have recently submitted something you don’t see in this issue, it is probably because the piece was too long. It may be sent back to ask for abridgement. –*The Editor*





# How the President sees it

Fall is one of the busiest seasons at CAFPP, with a number of activities and educational programs on the go.

## STUDY TOUR

CAFPP's first study tour took place in November 2011 and our destination was Australia and New Zealand. It was a great success, with 19 participants and many vibrant exchanges with colleagues in both countries as well as attendant visits to both Parliaments and meetings with our High Commissioners. It was a unique opportunity for our members to experience democracy Down Under. We would especially like to thank Graham Kelly, Immediate Past President of the Association of Former Members of the Parliament of New Zealand, for his invaluable assistance in planning the study tour.

A second study tour to Turkey is already in the works for late Fall 2012. Details will be announced shortly.

## IEMI CONFERENCE

In early October 2011, on behalf of the International Election Monitors Institute, I attended the 6th Follow Up Meeting of the Declaration of Principles of International Election Observation conference in Brussels. Also in attendance were the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark and John Williams. This was a great moving forward meeting with many agencies who do election monitoring present. The role of former parliamentarians in election monitoring was both recognized and promoted as a most valuable resource.

## CANADA-WIDE EVENTS

In September 2011, we held our regional meeting in Regina, Saskatchewan, which you can read about in this edition.

This Fall also saw the seventh annual Douglas C. Frith Dinner take place in Ottawa. This highly successful fundraising event supports our Educational Foundation's outreach to young Canadians and young parliaments. Since the first dinner in 2005, we have raised over one million dollars.

Planning is well underway for domestic events in 2012. On May 23, 2012, we will be presenting the CAFPP Lifetime Achievement Award to Alexa McDonough during a gala dinner in Halifax. Our Annual General Meeting will take place in Ottawa from June 3 to 5, 2012. And the 2012 Douglas C. Frith Dinner will take place on October 24, 2012, at the Fairmont Château Laurier in Ottawa where we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Grey Cup with Mark Cohon, CFL Commissioner, as the Guest Speaker.

I encourage you to attend these events. More information about these and other activities will be sent to you this Spring. Be sure to keep an eye on our new and improved website!

## OUT AND ABOUT

In conjunction with Canada's very first Democracy Week, I took part in a panel exploring the value of democracy development in schools with young people sponsored by Elections Canada for student teachers at the University of Ottawa. More than 500 future teachers were in attendance. As a former teacher and school principal, it was particularly enjoyable for me.

## THANK YOU!

A record number of you paid your membership dues for 2011-2012, and we thank you for your support. Thank you as well to all of those who have generously made donations to our Educational Foundation, which has charitable status. Donations are accepted all year, by cheque or on our website, and can be made in memoriam if you so desire.

Our Parliament to Campus and schools programs are having a very successful year, with more than 50 visits already organized. We could not run these programs without your willingness to share your experience and insights into Parliament with Canada's young people. If you would like to participate, please be sure to let us know, either by indicating this on your membership form, which will be sent to you in March for 2012-2013, or on our website, [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca).

**Léo Duguay**  
President







## Executive Director's Report

By Jack Silverstone

With 2011 behind us, we can look back on the year as one of success and innovation for the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians (CAFP). Our president, Léo Duguay, led a group of nearly 20 members and associate members on the CAFP's very first study tour to Australia and New Zealand. By all accounts it was a great success with useful meetings with municipal and federal leaders and parliamentarians in both countries. It is intended that a study tour be an annual event as is the case with our colleagues at the European Parliament Former Members Association and the United States Association of Former Members of Congress.

One of the benefits of this study tour was to enhance our already good relations with sister organizations in Australia and New Zealand. With their participation, we are seeking to continue and expand our good work internationally. Through visits and electronic discussions, we are in regular contact with our valued colleagues in Washington, Brussels and now Canberra and Wellington. Drawing on each other's experience and networks, we are able to leverage our democracy building efforts.

This year saw us host not one but two exceptional dinner events. In May in Toronto, hundreds of distinguished Canadians, including many former parliamentarians attended the presentation of the CAFP Lifetime Achievement Award to the Hon. Ed Lumley. Then in October, our annual Douglas C. Frith fundraising dinner in benefit of the the CAFP Educational Foundation took place in Ottawa. Our guest speaker was the distinguished and highly entertaining business journalist Amanda Lang, herself the daughter of a former parliamentarian, the Hon. Otto Lang, who attended the dinner as well. Please do

have a look at Amanda's speech which is up on our new and revised website. Our website's new look will make it easier for our members to access information about colleagues and to interact with us online. As well, this signature project is making the good work of our association fully accessible to the media, academia, students, and interested members of the public.

We also had an outstanding annual general meeting in Ottawa in June, where we were proud to present our Distinguished Service Award to Dr. Jim Hawkes. At the annual general meeting's business sessions we examined priorities and future directions for the CAFP from the perspective of national and international programs, service to members and endowment building. We continue to work on these matters with the goal of establishing a firm action plan. I would be remiss if I did not also mention the stirring tribute in the Senate chamber to our distinguished members who have passed on. That ceremony was conducted with its usual dignity and solemnity which I daresay is unsurpassed anywhere.

In September our regional meeting took place in the prairies in Regina, the capital of booming Saskatchewan. It was a fine event conducted in unseasonal 30°C heat. This did not seem to faze the RCMP, who graciously hosted us with pageantry at their national training centre.

I have no doubt that 2012 will be an equally rewarding year for this association. Already, planning is well underway for our next Lifetime Achievement Award presentation to the Hon. Alexa McDonough to be held in Halifax on May 23. For this event and for the continued good work of your association we need the support of each and every one of you through personal involvement.

[www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca)  
New site up  
and running



The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians (CAFP) is proud to announce the launch its new website at [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca) on January 18, 2012. The site has a fresh look and feel, better presents the programs and activities undertaken by the association and its Educational Foundation, and has a number of enhanced features. The CAFP website is now more interactive than ever and it also meets all Worldwide Web Consortium (W3C) accessibility guidelines.

Members can now log in to the site with their own personal username and password, for which instructions were sent by email to members the week of the launch. Members in good standing, under the Members Services tab, have access to more detailed program descriptions, useful contact lists, photo galleries from past events and new information resources, along with a searchable members' directory. They also have access to brand new photo galleries, where you can view and download pictures of past CAFP and Educational Foundation events. And you can pay your membership dues, register for events and now make tax-deductible donations using PayPal, the fastest, safest and easiest way to shop online.

The website will continue to expand over the months to come and we hope that CAFP members will enjoy the new site. We welcome all your comments and feedback.

Please do not hesitate to contact Julie Mertens in the CAFP office, at 1-888-567-4764 or [exparl@parl.gc.ca](mailto:exparl@parl.gc.ca), should you have any questions.



# Democracy

## The cultured pearl

By Jack Silverstone

In the classic 1943 Western movie “The Ox-Bow Incident” starring Henry Fonda three men suspected on flimsy evidence of cattle theft and murder are lynched. The hanging is preceded by a passionate debate among the posse of some 25 followed by an open vote. There is a clear majority in favour of the lynching, with only seven voting against. Of course the three men were not guilty of the crimes, but this is only established after the fact. Here, a free vote without the rule of law produced disastrous results.

In a 2011 refugee case being heard by the Federal Court of Canada, Justice Douglas Rennie stated that “democracy... encompasses more than the existence of free and fair elections.” He further specified that for true democracy “to be more than a label requires institutions and principles to give effect to the values that the term encompasses. These may include... an independent judiciary and defence bar, access to justice and a police force that is independent in the exercise of its investigatory function.”

In addition to those criteria noted by the Federal Court can be added police, security and military forces that are accountable at law and subservient to civilian authority, a complex series of laws and regulations that guarantee civil rights, a free press, and various other fundamental rights, such as freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of association, including the essential right to organize and participate in the political process. These are all indispensable components of a true democracy.

In Canada, the current majority government received only about 40% of ballots cast, with a total voter turnout of just over 61% in the last election. The first-past-the-post electoral system has given rise to litigation that is currently pending before the Supreme Court of

Canada. However, no one would seriously argue that ours is not a democratic country.

Democracy is like a cultured pearl, with layer upon layer of rights, laws, intricate legal procedures and shared values building up the lustrous gem that is the modern democratic state. Free elections may be the epitome of the jewel, but they are only one layer.

The media's often euphoric and breathless pronouncements about a state convulsed in violent revolution heading in a matter of mere months for democracy as evidenced by elections is unsophisticated and unhelpful. The gradual building of democratic institutions and processes does not make for good copy or sound bites; elections are a lot easier to report. Well-intentioned political actors in developing countries could be forgiven for thinking that all they need to do in order to achieve democracy is to promptly proceed to elections with all the trappings of printed ballots, tamperproof boxes and long lines of eager voters.

Elections, important as they are, must not be regarded as the sole litmus test for democracy, even when they are relatively free and fair. Canada is right to express displeasure over the decision in Egypt to disallow international monitors for their parliamentary elections. It is not a good sign. However, it is usually not useful to focus only on the electoral process. Democracy building requires development assistance at all levels to allow citizens to enjoy the benefits of a functioning democracy. The expectation that any country that has had few or no democratic institutions or traditions to become truly democratic virtually overnight by proceeding to elections is usually erroneous. Sometimes elections need to be the culmination of a process of establishing a solid, democratic society, not the beginning.

## More seats, less room to sit

By Ada Slivinski

The House of Commons is growing. A new bill, to be in place for the 2015 election, is now on its way to the Senate. Under this bill, Ontario will get 15 new seats, Alberta and B.C. will get six and Quebec three for a total of 338.

The bill, the Fair Representation Act, is an amendment to the Constitution Act of 1867, the Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act and the Canada Elections Act. It proposes changes to the formula for seat assignment so that provinces whose populations are growing will receive proportionately more seats in the future, but those whose populations are shrinking won't have seats taken away.

This change will cost about \$15 million a year to operate. Some MPs, such as Democratic Reform Minister Tim Uppal, see this as an opportunity to address underrepresentation in some ridings and provinces. But others claim it's not worth the cost.

No matter what their opinion about representation, the question in everyone's mind is, “Where will we put them?”

One potential option is expansion, but given the time and money spent on the West Block renovations, this isn't likely. Also, where would the House sit while this is taking place?

Another solution is shrinking the size of MPs' desks to make them more like the European Westminster model. If that were the case, estimates are that 500 MPs would be able to fit inside the House. MPs working shifts has also been a proposed solution – that way they wouldn't all have to be in the House at once.

The truth remains, more isn't necessarily better. In fact, many experts in political science have argued against this bill. Fair representation doesn't have to mean adding seats. It's all about proportions – so maybe after all, the best option would be to take some away. But now that's up to the Senate to decide; however, it is expected that the bill will pass without any changes.





*Study tour participants laid a wreath at the Bridge of Remembrance in Christchurch, NZ in memory of those who perished in the 2011 earthquakes there.*

# Lessons from Down Under

By Geoff Scott

Shock and awesome scenery.

That pretty much sums up how New Zealand and Australia struck the 19 former parliamentarians and spouses attending a 10-day study tour Down Under. The genuine shock came on the opening day, Nov. 13, during a meeting with the Mayor of Christchurch, and immediately afterward, during a close-up tour of the utter devastation his city suffered during the second major earthquake last February. The awe of New Zealand's magnificent scenery, against the backdrop of the quiet, indomitable resilience of its people, began the CAFP's memorable encounter with Australians and New Zealanders.

Turns out New Zealand is a bargain for visiting Canadians. Each loonie converts to between \$1.25 and \$1.30 Kiwi (NZD). Because New Zealand's minimum wage is higher than in North America, no tipping is the custom. As a result, tourists tend to be generous in their purchases (and do some quiet tipping for extraordinary service). Not so in Australia; there, Canadians quickly

learned our loonie doesn't go quite as far: one of our dollars will get you 95-96 cents Australian. But only if you convert from American currency, apparently; trying to get Aussie dollars from Canadian money anywhere on the continent will generate a look of near-disgust ("Eww! We don't take THAT!") Hmm.

## The Mayor

The Mayor of Christchurch, Bob Parker, a well-known former TV host and "the face of the earthquake", electrified the Canadians with his brutally blunt assessment of what will happen to his city. Two earthquakes had rocked the historic old landmark centre of New Zealand's tourist attractions – one in September 2010, the second in February 2011 – wiping out fully 75 per cent of downtown Christchurch. Buildings either tumbled down or will need to be torn down, their structures weakened by the rolling, upheaving quakes. The other 25 per cent of structures have either been vacated or are too vulnerable to be insured. Even the police refuse to work on the top floors of their seven-

storey building. When asked about the status of spectacular homes in and surrounding Christchurch, Mayor Parker used a phrase he had coined: "They're munted."

"What does that mean?" queried a member of our delegation.

"They're absolutely buggered," deadpanned the Mayor.

He became visibly misty-eyed, almost whispering: "You don't realize how vulnerable you are until you've lost everything you're used to. We thought it could never happen to us – earthquakes are always going to happen somewhere else, right?" In classic understatement, he added, "We have been through a pretty extraordinary time."

He added as an afterthought: "You know, there are no chimneys anymore in Christchurch. The children ask, 'How will Santa get down to leave us presents?' They were told that Father Christmas will visit the front lawn."

We were most impressed by Mayor Parker's low-key, humorous but forthright manner. As CAFP President Léo





*Above, the devastation from the earthquake is still visible, but rebuilding is quickly taking place.*



*Above right: the Hon. Peter Milliken and other study tour participants on their way to the Banbury mine.*



*From left to right, Charlette and Léo Duguay, High Commissioner Caroline Chrétien, and Murray Smith, NZ Former Members, and wife Jocelyn.*

*Right: High Commissioner Michael Small and the Hon. Sue Barnes.*



Duguay said in thanking Mayor Parker: "There was never any doubt that we would come to Christchurch first."

#### **The weather**

One of the delights of visiting Down Under in November is that the weather is turned upside down. Both New Zealand and Australia were into their late spring and entering summer. We were treated to temperatures in the mid-to-high 20's, with sunsets after 7:00 p.m.

#### **The logistics**

We were in constant wonder at the logistics involved in moving around a whole gang of people (by now 28, with the addition of some former New Zealand and Australian former MPs and Senators), along with our considerable international travel luggage. It was an early morning, noon and nighttime ordeal our CAFP Logistics Officer, Susan Simms, won't soon forget. Off planes,

onto buses, into hotels, counting bodies, checking out, keeping to the schedule, back on the bus, through another airport, more counting bodies, back on another plane – and often that was just one day. Then the whole procedure started all over again the next morning.

Only one snafu was endured by all (but in good humour): the bus picking up the party at the Wellington, NZ airport, was having trouble fitting all 28 inside. Worse still, the baggage trailer wasn't going to handle the pile of suitcases. (As President Léo observed: "The guy's going to need a Master's Degree in Rubik's Cube to get all that in there!") Problem: the transportation dispatch had sent an 18-seater instead of the 28-seat version. Sorry about that, etc., etc. The next day we had a luxurious 33-seat tour bus, complete with chandeliers (no kidding!) but no air conditioning. Oh

well, Susan did her magnificent best.

#### **Union not in the foreseeable future**

A loquacious but very knowledgeable bus driver, with his three-day commentary during our excursion up New Zealand's spectacular West Coast, made this caustic observation about the possibility of Australia linking up with his country: "We were separated about 45 million years ago. So, the chances of any government reuniting us in, say, the next five years, is pretty slim."

#### **Humping and hollering**

It was probably not the reaction the nice young lady from the Westland Dairy Council was expecting. During our tour of New Zealand's West Coast, she was at the tour bus microphone, lecturing about the marvels of the dairy industry. She was drawing yawns from the group as marvellous scenery whizzed by – until, that is, she





*Author Geoff Scott and wife Janette at Pancake Rocks, NZ.*



*Australia Former Parliamentarians Association President Barry Cunningham with CAFP President Léo Duguay.*



*Ian Waddell, Hon. Peter Milliken, Bonnie Crombie, Hon. Raymond Setlakwe, Graham Kelly and John Woodley wait for the Trans-Alpine Express.*



*The group gathers in the New Zealand chambers.*

hit the magic phrase. “Humping and hollowing” is something they do with the land, she explained, but some of us heard “humping and hollering”. Every time she repeated the phrase, the guys cheered and applauded, which only encouraged her to ramp up her sermon. Anyway, what sticks in the mind about the Kiwi dairy industry is “humping and holler – er, sorry, hollowing”.

#### **The Speakers and others**

At both the New Zealand and Australian Houses of Parliament, we were required to go through sophisticated airport-like security. The electronic procedure included Canada’s longest-serving House of Commons Speaker, Hon. Peter Milliken, now a former MP. It was interesting to watch Peter wait patiently in our delegation’s line for the pat-down, then get slapped with an Official Visitor’s Pass like all the rest of us. He never uttered a word. Nice touch of humility there, Mr. Speaker.

#### **Traffic**

A billboard en route from Sydney Airport proclaimed: “Australians just

love traffic gridlock”. Not sure what they were selling, but the ironic statement drew groans from those who saw it. There are six million people living in Sydney, fully one-third of the country’s population. Brutal congestion along major and alternate streets is non-stop at any time of the day and well into the night. The most clogged thoroughfares in Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver seem like gently busy county roads compared to Sydney’s 24/7 parking lot.

#### **Aboriginal relations**

A delightful surprise greeted the Canadian delegation when we were invited to a Maori guest house or meeting place in Wellington. It was our first up-close, nose-to-nose encounter with New Zealand’s aboriginal community. The magnificent South Pacific voices of the women who serenaded the visitors farewell with Maori songs left most of us tearing up. The meaningful experience – another real highlight of the CAFP trip – showed Canadians that New Zealanders are light years ahead of us in relations with their native countrymen.

#### **Cousins like Canada and U.S.**

Several people – including two Canadian High Commissioners to Australia and New Zealand – confirmed in conversation a growing impression: the relationship between Australia and New Zealand mirrors in many ways the association the Americans have with Canada. “New Zealanders, to a man and woman, are very friendly, quiet and laid back,” explained a tour guide at Wellington’s famed Te Papa Museum. They don’t promote or bluster about the excellence of their nation’s charm. We let the visitors decide.” Australians, on the other hand, tend to be a more colorful, brash and boisterous people, a larger, stronger ‘happening’ neighbour.

They tend to write off their Pacific cousins as “a bit backward, like living in the 50’s.” Sound familiar ?

It was a long-ago former Prime Minister of Australia who came up with this description of the relationship between his country and New Zealand: “We sleep in the same bed, but we have different nightmares.”





# Goodbye to monopoly control over prairie wheat and barley sales

By Dorothy Dobbie

The object of the Corporation is to market grain for the benefit of producers who choose to deal with the Corporation. . . .

**T**he Canadian Wheat Board will now have to compete if it is to stay in business. There is no reason it should not be able to do so. All that can hold it back is a small “C” conservative attitude that rejects change, fears competition, and cannot adjust to the realities of free markets.

This is not the first time prairie farmers have been in a position to sell their own grain and, with the exception of wheat and barley, they have always been free to sell all their other crops. Oats were freed up back in 1989 and found new life at the dining table. Canola thrives on the free market.

Indeed, the Ontario Wheat Producers Marketing Board ended its monopoly several years ago and the sky has not fallen.

Things were different back in the early part of the last century. Grain speculation and fat middlemen left farmers frustrated and poor. There were few opportunities for them to access offshore markets and they didn’t have the storage facilities to house their crops and wait for better prices when the market dipped. During the unstable period of the First World War, in 1917, when prices swung sharply, the federal government created the Board of Grain Supervisors to stabilize things. They suspended futures trading and took control of selling wheat for export. When life went back to normal in 1919-1920, the board was dismantled.

Seeing advantages in co-operative selling of grain, many farmers banded together and created a number of wheat pools. About 50% of prairie wheat was sold through pools from 1923-1929. Then the Depression hit and its impact was compounded by the stock market failures that devastated the banking industry. Wheat prices plunged and the pools were suddenly in great trouble. Cash-strapped farmers were crying out

for help.

In 1935, the worst year of the Depression, Prime Minister R.B. Bennett reinstated what would become the Canadian Wheat Board. Backed by government cash guarantees, farmers would earn an “average” amount for their crop, receiving a cash payment up front, a major boon during this devastating period. Backed by government funding, the board had the ability to store wheat and sell it when prices were at their highest and in doing so, return additional profits to producers, if there were any, after the sale. The Wheat Board was also in a position to negotiate better transportation deals for prairie grain.

At the outset, participation in the Canadian Wheat Board marketing was voluntary. During the Second World War the Wheat Board was given the monopoly right to sell prairie grain, both domestically and for export. That monopoly has just ended. Farmers will be able to market their own wheat or barley to whomever they wish by Aug. 1, 2012. However, they will also still be able to market through the Wheat Board if they so choose.

Using its monopoly, the Wheat Board controlled up to 20% of the world

market at one time (although this has dropped to 15%). It set up stringent quality controls and negotiated transportation prices. With the advent of the Internet, higher education for young farmers and a change in the ownership – according to some statistics, factory farms now account for 17% of all farms but earn 75% of the total income – conditions have changed.

As happens in coercive monopolies, some farmers say that the Wheat Board had lost its edge. It had become slow and ponderous, unable to react quickly to market fluctuations. Although there have been numerous changes to its mandate, governance and operations over the years, including the institution of an elected farmer-dominated board, the monopoly aspect of the board’s authority has been the most galling to enterprising farmers. They feel that the monopoly stifled initiative and affected productivity in a negative way.

For those who believe in the integrity of the marketplace, the end of the monopoly can only signal more opportunity and ultimate prosperity for producers.

*Dorothy Dobbie, MP Winnipeg South 1988-1993.*

## Time to end the supply management system?

**T**he supply management system and resulting quotas are a major concern for the farm industry if we are to participate in emerging Asian markets. While countries such as Switzerland and Australia have already taken steps to end quotas, the process in Canada is a complicated one due to provincial jurisdictions and a spider’s web of interprovincial agreements and a plethora of marketing boards. In Manitoba, freshwater fish and root vegetables are two that come to mind.

The dairy quota alone in Canada is valued at \$24 billion; eggs and poultry at \$35 billion. Average-sized dairy farms can hold quotas (which they may have inherited or been given at no cost) valued at \$1.5 million, upon which collateral banks have extended loans.

It’s a complicated mess made worse by Canada’s habit of compensating farmers when quotas are removed.

Getting rid of the systems is a challenge most governments have preferred to ignore.





CAFP President Léo Duguay helped inspect the assembled cadets.

## Regina welcomes former parliamentarians with style and warmth

By Joel Eastwood

Former senators and members of Parliament from across Canada gathered in Regina for three days to talk and tour Saskatchewan's capital city on the weekend of Sept. 24 to 26 for the association's regional meeting.

The business meeting took place in the sweeping main chamber of the Saskatchewan Legislative Building. Constructed with pale marble from as far afield as Sweden and Cyprus, the building recently received a \$20 million renovation, which stabilized the foundation and added an art gallery.

The main legislative chamber, which was once open to the sky, features an enormous skylight. The floor is red carpet, which is traditionally reserved for chambers of unelected bodies, such as the Senate. Rumour has it, the colour was chosen by the province's first premier to reflect the capital's distinction of being named after the Queen.

In these chambers, members received

an update on the work of the association and discussed plans for the future.

Members also discussed ways for the association to increase the number of active members. One suggestion raised, which was befitting to the venue, was the possibility of allowing former provincial members to join the association's ranks.

While the meeting was the centrepiece of the weekend, it was not all business. Outside of the meeting hall, members had the chance to meet, mingle and visit some of Regina's notable locations.

On the Saturday, a Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians (CAFP) delegation watched the Regina Roughriders football team take to the field at Regina's Taylor Field. Unfortunately, the home team suffered a defeat at the hands of the B.C. Lions. But that didn't seem to dampen the spirits of the sold-out hometown crowd, which showcased Saskatchewan's enthusiasm

for the game.

On Sunday, members loaded into a bus to visit a Hutterite colony not far from Regina. The colony, home to 95 people in 25 separate families, is a self-contained community, who live outside Regina and apart from Canadian society.

On the final afternoon, on Monday, Sept. 26, association members visited the RCMP Depot, Canada's RCMP training headquarters. On this base just outside the city, cadets from across the country are turned into fully fledged RCMP officers. Police forces from around the world also come to the Depot to learn Canadian methods of training police officers.

Our tour, led by Assistant Commissioner Robert Brown, took us through the classrooms and training grounds of the Depot. Our delegation was also given front-row seats on the parade grounds, and CAFP President Léo Du-







*Above: The Saskatchewan Legislature. Below: The Legislative Chamber occupied by CAFP members.*



*The RCMP Depot Church, the oldest building in Regina.*



*Above: Margaret Haney, Terry Sargeant and Hon. Nate Nurgitz.*



*Above: The Hon. Sue Barnes and her husband John. Below: Cadets march for review.*



*RCMP Cadets parade.*



*Hon. Mary Collins and Gabriel Fontaine.*



*The Saskatchewan Roughriders take on the B.C. Lions.*



*CAFP members watch the RCMP Cadets parade.*



## REGINA MEETING

guay helped inspect the assembled cadets.

Depot is home to the RCMP chapel, which, built in 1883, is the oldest standing building in Regina. The aged plaques on the chapel walls are dedicated to various officers who have served in the RCMP. The Federal heritage building also houses a book where each page is dedicated to an officer who lost their life on duty since the RCMP began.

The number of officers being trained on the base varies depending on the year. This year 21 troops were living on the grounds, with 32 cadets in each troop. From the first day, cadets do everything as a troop, living in co-ed dormitories and running together from class to class.

Over 24 weeks, cadets learn their responsibilities and the finer points of Canadian criminal law in the classroom. But there's far more to the training than sitting behind a desk. Cadets spend 115 hours in scenario training, placed in a series of situations replicating what they'll face in the field.

A mock police station lets cadets fingerprint and lock up local actors posing as criminals. Depot's prop room holds rubber knives, fake guns and a range of imitation weapons and blunt objects. To set the stage for the scenarios, a mock street, complete with a fake bank and fake travel agency, sits on the Depot grounds. There are even houses for simulating domestic disputes, and a barn and farmhouse, complete with mock drug lab, for practicing an investigation in a rural setting.

Cadets also practice with mock weapons on one of Depot's four firing ranges. In the "virtual range," they fire guns loaded with compressed air to get a feel for the weapon before advancing to live firearms.

They learn how to shoot their service handgun from a number of positions and practice hitting moving targets, firing one-handed and aiming for the head. Cadets are also trained to use shotguns, pepper spray and tasers.

In total, cadets spend 785 hours in training. They spend 65 of those hours behind the wheel of a car on the driving course, training for high-speed pursuits. It's all part of the knowledge they need to serve Canadians at RCMP postings across the country.



*Above: Bill and Brenda Blaikie made the trip.*



*Right: Also in attendance were Gabriel Fontaine, Andrée Allen Fontaine, Murray Dorin and Noreen Robertson.*



*Members pose for a photograph in the RCMP Depot's chapel in Regina.*

*Below: CAFP President Léo Duguay and CAFP Educational Foundation President Francis LeBlanc watch some football.*







*Above: Rick Fraser, Valerie Meredith Fraser and Francis LeBlanc.*



*Viewing equipment at the Lajorde Hutterite Colony.*



*The President's Reception launched the regional meeting.*



*Above: Hon. Tony Abbott, Hon. Raymond Setlakwe and Léo Duguay.*



*Above: President Léo with Lenore Dinsdale.*



*Below: A detail from the Saskatchewan Legislature.*



# Hutterites

## Life on an industrial scale

Story and photos by Joel Eastwood

There are no televisions  
in the colony.

"I'm told we're not missing  
much," Caroline remarked.

Saskatchewan's colonies are descended from a group of Hutterites who first arrived from Russia in the late 19th century. They trace their roots back to Jacob Hutter, founder of the movement in the 16th century. Today there are roughly 40,000 Hutterites living in colonies in Canada and the northern United States.

The Hutterites are farmers, raising chickens, turkeys and cows. The colony produces milk, eggs and poultry, which it sells to local distributors. It's a large operation; the farm's barns house over 6,000 hens, each producing an egg a day.

They also grow their own vegetables and make their own bread, including sweet bread, white bread and banana bread. Since the colony members eat together, cooking happens on an industrial scale with large restaurant-style ovens and refrigerators. Two walk-in freezers are full of preserved vegetables and meat harvested on the farm.

The colony eats communally in a dining hall, with every woman responsible for cooking for one week of the year. The women are also responsible for the colony's laundry.

Similar to much of the work, the colony is socially governed along gender lines. Women are not allowed to wear jewellery or drive, although they are allowed to use golf carts. Men shave until they are married, at which point they grow a full beard.

Decisions in the colony are made by the men, who do this communally. A handful of representatives, elected by the men, are in charge of the colony's finances and make larger decisions about purchasing equipment and supplies.

The men had recently decided to purchase new washing machines, something our tour guide, Caroline, told us the women had been requesting. "I'm



*Above: Léo and Val Meredith Fraser receive a briefing. Right: Céline Fraser and the Hon. Sue Barnes learn from guide, Caroline.*

sure if John Deere made a washing machine," she said, "we'd have had new ones sooner."

At the age of 15, the teenagers are considered adults, but they live with their parents until marriage. On a few designated weeks of the year, men visit other colonies. When they marry, the women come back to the man's colony. But if they marry outside the colony,

*Below: Touring the kitchens.*







*Léo stirs the pot... Below: Guide Caroline on doing laundry on the large scale.*



*Farm production is massive and successful. There are about 6,000 eggs to process each day.*



they cannot bring their new spouse or children back to the community.

There are no salaries or individual incomes; instead, every family is granted a monthly allowance for purchasing clothes, and the colony provides furniture according to a family's needs. Most of the furniture is built by the colony's carpenters, and the colony stitches all its own clothes – traditional long dresses for women, and black suits for men. Everyone over 15 gets a cell phone, and houses have computers, but only a couple have access to the Internet. There are no televisions in the colony.

"I'm told we're not missing much," Caroline remarks.

Hutterite children are taught by teachers from Regina up to Grade 12. After that, they will only leave the colony if they need to attend school for a skilled trade. They do not attend college or university. The everyday language on the colony is a dialect of German, and church sermons are given in traditional High German.

Religion plays a dominant role in the Hutterite lifestyle. The colony has two ministers, who give sermons in High German every Sunday throughout the year and daily in the winter. Every Hutterite must choose to be baptized, usually in their early twenties.

Despite their reclusive lifestyle, the Hutterites appear well aware of the outside world. They vote in provincial and federal elections, watch videos on YouTube, and even cheered on a local contestant who appeared on the show Canadian Idol. The colony members say they are happy with their secluded life. Caroline tells us the colony has very few problems with crime. And Caroline says that when she visits Regina, she does not envy the people she meets. "I usually think about the food that they're buying and the bills that they're paying," Caroline says.

# Students get the real story from “formers”

Former parliamentarians can be frank about the highs and lows of political life. It is this candour that strikes the students, says Patrice Dutil.

By Diana Brown



*Léo Duguay, president of CAFP, speaking to a third-year Communication and the Political Process class at Carleton University on Oct. 27, 2011. Léo spoke about political advertising, the media, and how campaigning has changed. In an age of constant news and advertising, he said, the best, and cheapest, PR was just being newsworthy.*

When Geoff Scott was asked what was the most rewarding part of being a Parliament to Campus speaker, he said, “It’s reliving the best moments of the past.” Parliament to Campus (P2C) is a program run by the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, which gives those with experience in politics the opportunity to go into the classroom environment to share those experiences with students at the university and colleges. The CAFP Schools Program offers elementary and secondary school students a similar opportunity.

Ryerson University professor and Parliament to Campus co-ordinator Patrice Dutil describes the P2C program as “a rare opportunity for “formers” to make their experiences known to an interested audience.”

When asked about the growth of P2C, Dutil said, “In the past four years, it has grown dramatically. This fall we’ve had over 40 requests and this has tested our capacity.”

Dutil’s original mandate was to help organize five presentations per academic year. The program is a unique way to communicate with students about politics which helps explain its success and huge popularity with students and professors alike.

“Active politicians are happy to go, but they can’t get away from their politics. Here we can go beyond because former parliamentarians can speak as individuals. This means that they can be frank about the highs and lows of political life. It is this candour that strikes the students,” Dutil says.

Geoff Scott echoes similar sentiments, saying “I throw [the presentation] open for questions and chatting about issues to generate questions, much like you would with a bunch

of students around a cafeteria or lounge table. The Q&A is informal. It triggers all kinds of pertinent or hilarious moments in Parliament that I’d forgotten about.”

The goal of P2C is not just forming these connections with students, but to engage them in the process of democracy. Geoff says, “I go into a classroom with the intention of doing something different. Really determined to communicate with the class about something exciting to me. It’s an honour and responsibility to represent some 84,000 folks.”

Furthermore, Dutil adds that the program plays an important role in the classroom because, he says, “Professors find that they can really make students understand democracy for the better and for the worse. The things that are said echo long after they have left.”

The Parliament to Campus program is growing rapidly and is becoming a “partner in education with many institutions,” says Dutil. The movement needs former parliamentarians who are interested in sharing their experiences. Geoff says, “It’s a win-win experience for everyone – guaranteed. The students get to meet a real live parliamentarian. And the former parliamentarian gets to face an exhilarating challenge to create a spark of interest in his or her audience of young people on what democracy in Canada is really about.”

Each presentation is unique and of interest for the students because it is not based on a set of principles, but the experiences of the presenter themselves. According to Dutil, the program is expecting 50-60 requests for presentations next year from across Canada and some in the United States.

*To sign up for the P2C program, please fill out the “Volunteer with CAFP” form on our website, [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca).*



# Trade with Latin America

As Latin countries have grown wealthier, investment in the region has also changed. Now, some Latin companies have taken over Canadian ones.

By Katherine Dunn



*The Hon. Don Boudria was the Canadian chair for the Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas.*

**L**ook south, way south: Latin America is on the rise.

When was the last time you thought about Latin America? When Canadian minds drift south, they often don't go far below the 49th parallel. But, open up the business section or go to a grocery store, and you'll see signs of a forgotten continent in our midst.

"A generation ago, strawberries in December would have been unthinkable," says the Hon. Don Boudria, former Liberal MP for Glengarry-Prescott-Russell. "Now, go to your grocery store and try to find vegetables that don't come from Chile at this season."

It's not just asparagus, strawberries and mangoes anymore, either. Now, car parts come from Mexico and jets are made in Brazil. Canadian banks and mining companies are big players in the region, and you're ever more likely to hear Spanish or Portuguese on the streets.

But for decades, South America was hidden on the other side of the United States, considered their southern backyard. Despite some trade, Canada had almost nothing to do with the region.

"There wasn't even an item of discussion when I came in [to Parliament] in 1984," says Don, who was the Canadian chair for the Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas. "You could see the relationship taking shape." Links with the region have emerged mainly in the last two decades, he says.

"Virtually the whole map was covered with dictatorships," says Arch Ritter, a professor of economics at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

The region was seen as unstable, not to mention far away. But as governments made political shifts, with countries like Chile becoming "sister democracies," there was consistent talk of branching out to diversify trade.

As a result, in 1990, Canada became a full member of the Organization of American States (OAS), and in 1994, NAFTA went into effect, bringing Mexico into the fray.

In 2007, Stephen Harper named Latin America a foreign policy prior-

ity. Since then, Canada has signed several free trade agreements with countries in the region: Costa Rica, Chile, Panama, Peru, Colombia, and Honduras.

Still, Canada's trade with Latin America remains minimal. In 2010, trade was about one tenth of that with the U.S., and trailing behind Asia and Europe. But it was also the fastest increasing trade sector – increasing by 26.5% in one year, at least 15% more than any other region, according to Industry Canada.

The Latin diaspora, though far smaller than that of Asia, has also grown quickly: 11% of recent immigrants, according to DEAIT, are from Latin America.

Canadian companies, by contrast, are familiar faces in the region, particularly banks and mineral extraction companies. Scotiabank operates in several Latin American countries, and is the third largest bank in Peru. Canadian mining and exploration companies are dominant in the region, after moving into the neighbourhood during the 1990s, when Canadian mining was quickly expanding.

As Latin countries have grown wealthier, investment in the region has also changed. Now, some Latin companies have taken over Canadian ones. And Canadian companies have often come under fire from the local population for environmental and indigenous rights, prompting debate in the House of Commons in 2010 after a bill on standards of ethics for mining companies was defeated.

But despite growing interest, and controversy, Latin America often remains hidden from view.

"Most Canadians, I think, would know a lot more about Europe than about our own hemisphere," says Ritter. While news of the region can mostly be found in the business section, even there it's comparatively little, he says. And interest in the region may have grown, he says, but a whole continent still remains mainly in the shadows.

"We could do even better. I don't think it will ever be enough," says Don.

"It's time we got to know our own hemisphere."





# Amanda

## hits a home run for Dad Otto and friends



*Ethics Commissioner Mary Elizabeth Dawson and the Hon. Otto Lang, justly proud of daughter Amanda.*



*Dorothy Dobbie photo.*

*Amanda Lang gave a fast-paced, provocative talk on the economy.*

By Ada Slivinski. Photos by Dorothy Dobbie and Denis Drever.

“When you’re at work, do the things you’re best at. If you’re lucky – do the things that no one else can do,” Amanda Lang, daughter of the Hon. Otto Lang, told the crowd. It seems that’s exactly what she has done. Lang has carved out quite the niche for herself. She is the senior business correspondent for CBC, the co-host of The Lang & O’Leary Exchange and a Gemini award-winning journalist.

Chosen to be this year’s speaker at the annual Educational Foundation’s fundraising dinner, Amanda’s talk was especially timely given the economic unrest, which has many worried. The annual Douglas C. Frith Fundraising Dinner is the biggest fundraiser for the Foundation, which runs programs that help students and recent graduates understand the political process.

In her talk, Lang pulled no punches.

Though she maintained that Canada is still a place of strength and stability, better off than many countries, she warns, “The time for complacency is behind us. We are not immune to the events around us.” She pointed to three things that could seriously hurt our economy: external shocks, another credit crisis (we’re not out of the woods on that one yet), and our productivity.



Lang zeroed in on productivity, defining it as “a measure of wealth.” Though we have done well in the past, the wind is changing. “We are the first generation in danger of leaving our children poorer than we were,” she said. Lang attributes the problem to the fact that the spending of our Canadian government is going up while the investment in business is going down. She said that the school system we have now was designed for the industrial era and our kids are in need of something different

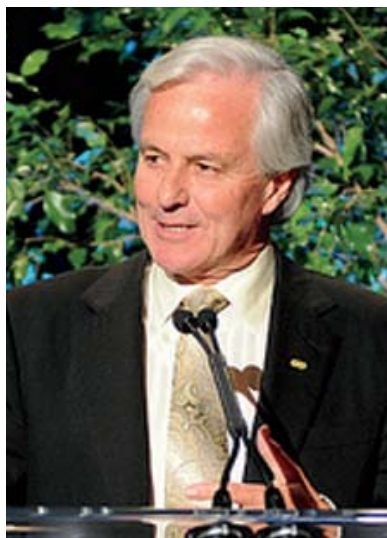
in order to succeed in this world.

To fix things, we first need to understand the problem. Individuals need to start being more creative, start asking, “Why?”, she advised. Lang said that we need to renew the focus on productivity and innovation (which are not the same thing as hours worked). To become more productive, we, as a country, need to control more of the manufacturing process and collaborate with customers.

“Lean manufacturing,” she said, “should be our focus.” In addition to being a success in the business world, this concept can and should be applied to your own life. She said that this means getting rid of the things you don’t need and that just end up in your way. Doing so requires innovation – asking why you are doing something or why you are not.

It’s a safe bet that the more than 300 in attendance left the dinner with something to think about and a satisfaction that they had done something to help equip young people with the tools they need to turn the economic climate around.





*Russell Williams, President, Rx&D, Presenting Sponsor.*



*The Hon. Fred Mifflin and Jim Silye.*



*The Hon. Walter McLean and the Hon. Bob Rae, MP.*

*Below, from left: The Hon. Don Boudria, Hon. Lucie Pépin, J. Barry Turner, former Chair of CAFR, Hon. Andrew Scheer, MP, Speaker of the House of Commons.*



*The Hon. Jack Murta, Kevin Vickers, and Laverne Lewycky.*



*Hon. Peter Milliken, former Speaker of the House of Commons, Murray McBride, and MJ McBride.*



*Lorne Hepworth, President of CropLife Canada, with CAFR President Léo Duguay and Amanda Lang.*

*Hugh Scott from Rx&D Canada, Garth Williams, the Hon. Geoff Regan, MP and CAFR Educational Foundation President Francis LeBlanc*



*Amanda Lang, sister Elisabeth Lang and David Miller from CN.*







*The Hon. John Reid.*

# Marshall McLuhan

## A prophet in our time

By the Hon. John Reid, P.C.

Last year was the 100th anniversary of the birth of Marshall McLuhan. In the '60s, '70s, and '80s, he was everywhere, probing into changes that were taking place in world society and predicting what effect these changes would have on existing social organizations.

The growth of his reputation as a media seer was assisted by the turmoil taking place in North America in the '60s: the assassinations of Jack and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the U.S. race riots, the Vietnam War, the youth drug culture, the feminist movements, the Cold War with Russia, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the mayhem that accompanied breaking down existing social mores. He was all over the media because McLuhan provided an understanding of these changes and projected what he intuited into the future.

### No prophet in his own home

McLuhan has been seriously celebrated this past year in the U.S., in Europe and Asia, but not so much here in Canada. Like most prophets, his ideas were not always accepted. Nowhere was he less accepted than among academic elites.

I came across McLuhan through his first book, *The Mechanical Bride*, an examination of the advertising business in newspapers and magazines. My English teacher in a small remote northwestern mining town suggested I read it while I was in Grade 11 or 12. I remember what an impact that book had on me. It explained the comic section, the placement of ads within the paper and magazines, how ads were slanted toward particular consumers, and how they were designed to set off and compliment the news items.

When his other books came out, I bought them quickly; I still have my original editions of the *The Gutenberg Galaxy* and *Understanding Media*. When I came to study history at the University of Toronto in the early 1960s, I wanted to take a course with McLuhan but I was informed by the senior members of the history department that he was not a "true academic" and what he did was not respectable in the "university" way.

A few months ago CBC's Ideas produced a documentary on McLuhan, interviewing four of his students. After listening to the program, I feel that not being able to take a class with McLuhan was one of the great losses of my university life.

### His legacy lingers in our language

McLuhan was responsible for coining and explaining a variety of terms that have passed into everyday language; concepts such as the media, the global village, hot and cold in television, the re-tribalisation of man, and so on.

An interview published in March 1969, at [www.nextnature.net](http://www.nextnature.net) provides a clear, succinct overview of his life's work and describes the techniques he developed to examine the current state of civilization.

In listening to the interview, one's mind goes back to the circumstances of the 1960s to see how his comments and predictions have worked out. While the internet did not exist, nor had it been conceived in 1969, one can see McLuhan calling it or something similar into existence. The changes in education he predicted are taking place, but probably not in the way he envisaged, however students appear to be behaving as he predicted.

### The abrogation of privacy

McLuhan talked about the re-trib-

alism of human society. Anyone who grew up in a small town knows about that, where concepts like privacy do not really exist; everyone, it seems, knows your business. Today's youth, using social media, Facebook, My Space, Twitter, etc. have no apparent interest in privacy – everything seems to be grist for the social media mill. (Youth, who participated in an experiment that involved taking away their phones for a week, all reported that they could not stand being cut off from their group.)

Privacy is disappearing not only because youth does not seem to be interested in it, but because "big brother" now has the technology to be able to follow anyone anywhere. A recent story in the news pointed out that, thanks to these technological innovations, everything anyone does can be recorded somewhere, and given the declining cost of storage, can be kept indefinitely.

The use of social media in the British riots, the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street movement are examples of this new tribalism made possible by new technological tools.

McLuhan's basic thesis is that "all media – in and of themselves and regardless of the messages they communicate – exert a compelling influence on man and society. Prehistoric, or tribal, man existed in a harmonious balance of the senses, perceiving the world equally through hearing, smell, touch, sight and taste. But technological innovations are extensions of human abilities and senses that alter this sensory balance – an alteration that, in turn, inexorably reshapes the society that created the technology." (From the Introduction to the interview.)

### The medium is the message

McLuhan was the first to examine



McLuhan's basic thesis is that "all media – in and of themselves and regardless of the messages they communicate – exert a compelling influence on man and society.

television's impact on politics: "Kennedy was the first TV President because he was the first prominent American politician to ever understand the dynamics and lines of force of the television iconoscope. As I have explained, TV is an inherently cool medium, and Kennedy has a compatible coolness and indifference to power, bred of personal wealth, which allowed him to adapt fully to TV. Any political candidate who doesn't have such cool, low definition qualities, which allow the viewer to fill in the gaps with his own personal identification, simply electrocutes himself on television – as Richard Nixon did in his disastrous debates with Kennedy in the 1960 campaign. Nixon was essentially hot; he presented a high definition, sharply-defined image and action on the TV screen that contributed to his reputation as a phony..."

#### Kennedy won on television, Nixon on paper.

I recall that debate vividly today. On TV, there was no question that Jack Kennedy won. However, three days later, I was able to read the complete debate in the New York Times. It was a revelation. The transcript showed that Nixon was very bright, very aware and an excellent debater; on paper, he was not the loser in the debate. I only vaguely understood what had happened when McLuhan published *The Gutenberg Galaxy* two years later. But *Understanding Media* (published another two years later) made understanding those debates much easier.

McLuhan still has a lot to say about today's society and he is still very much worth reading today. His writings continue to provide insights into what is happening to our society.

*The Hon. John Reid was the Liberal MP for Kenora-Rainy River, ON from 1965-1984.*

## National parks 100th birthday

By Katherine Dunn



*Mount Rundle in Banff National Park in winter.*

In 2011, Parks Canada celebrated their 100th anniversary, commemorating the creation of the Dominion Parks Branch, which was formed in 1911.

But the very first national park, Banff National Park, was created even earlier, in 1885. Just 26 square kilometers in Alberta's Rocky Mountains, it was intended to attract tourists to the hot springs tucked along the spectacular route of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Myron Thompson, who represented the Reform party and then the Conservatives in Parliament, was the MP for the Wild Rose district for nearly 15 years, from 1993-2006.

"It was a pleasure," says Thompson. "It was really interesting to be able to

visit the park with the rangers."

The needs of the constituents weren't so different, he says, from elsewhere in his riding. The major issue was the safety of both the people and the animals in the park, in an area where wildlife and tourists often meet. The twinning of Highway 1, a major road through the park, and working with the Banff Centre (an arts centre) were also highlights, he says.

Banff is just one of 46 national parks and marine conservation regions, from Tutukut Nogain National Park above the Arctic circle, to Fundy National Park in New Brunswick. Even so, Banff is one of Canada's most popular parks, with almost 3 million visits in 2010, and it is also a UNESCO heritage site.



# From the Steppes of Central Asia

## The Kazakhstan presidential election

By Doug Rowland



*The Gas Company Offices framing the “Khan Shatyr”, the world’s largest tent, Astana.*



*A yurt is a bent wood-framed portable dwelling traditionally used by nomads in the steppes of Central Asia.*

Well, it was different. It was an “early presidential election.” The observed voter turnout was over 90%. The winning candidate received 95.5% of the vote. The three candidates offering themselves as alternatives to the incumbent all expressed their loyalty to him and indicated that a vote for the incumbent would be a good choice for an elector. One of them who had been appointed to the Senate by the incumbent had actually voted for a referendum to keep him in office until 2020.

### About Kazakhstan

Landlocked Kazakhstan is the ninth largest country in the world, geographically. It is bordered by the Caspian Sea, Russia, China, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and shares the Aral Sea with Uzbekistan. The dominant features of the country are its vast rolling grasslands and the mountain ranges in the north and south.

The majority of the population is

made up of ethnic Kazakhs (63.1%) who are growing in population share in part through immigration of ethnic Kazakhs from surrounding countries and in part through the shrinkage of other ethnic groups through out-migration, notably by the Russians (now 23.7%). Other significant groups are Ukraini-

ans, Tatars, Germans, Uzbeks and Uighurs.

Kazakhstan is a secular state where many of the world religions are represented. Over 70% of the citizens are Sunni Muslim; 26% are Christian, mostly Russian Orthodox. In addition, there are adherents of Buddhism, Judaism and Protestantism. It is a unitary state with a presidential form of government and a bicameral Parliament. The country is divided into 16 regions, each of which selects two senators for

the 47 member Upper House, with the remaining 15 being appointed by the President. Ninety-eight of the 107 Lower House members are elected in a nationwide constituency on the basis of proportional representation from closed party lists. The President appoints nine members to represent ethnic minorities.

### World’s second coldest capital

In 1997, the capital was moved from Almaty (the Alma Ata of silk-route fame) to Ak-mola in the north, thus displacing Ottawa as the world’s second coldest capital city. It was renamed Astana (Capital in English) in 1998. Purpose-built as the national capital in the fashion of Brasilia and Canberra, Astana is filled with architectural marvels designed by such luminaries as Norman Foster, Frank Ghery and Manfredi Nicoletti. Of note are a giant tent called Khan Shatyr (King of Tents), a monumental pyramid known as the Palace of Peace and Reconciliation, and the largest mosque in Central Asia, the four minarets of which are each 63 metres

While they couldn’t offer outright opposition to the election as they had advocated elections in lieu of the referendum when the matter was before Parliament, they protested instead the decision to hold the election so soon.





*A statue of Al-Farabi, 9th century philosopher, scientist and astrologer, in Turkestan.*



*Above: Doug Rowland (right) and his observation team: Nurislam Abourazakov, driver; Dina Baidildayeva, translator; and Valerie Solomon, English observer.*

*Right: Polling committee members wait for the polls to open.*



tall, the age of Mohamed at his death. There are also huge buildings, notably the headquarters of the gas company, that one might call Stalinist Revival. The overall design of the city was placed in the hands of the noted Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa.

#### **The delegation**

Darryl Gray, Audrey McLaughlin and I were three of a six-person Canadian contingent in a 350-person short-term observer group for the early presidential election. The mission was under the auspices of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR). We never did meet the other three and assume they were foreign service officers based in Almaty. We arrived in the country on March 28, the election was April 3 and we left on April 6 after the count was in, having made our observations known to the core team and making our contribution to the final report in a debriefing session.

#### **The early election**

When called, a presidential election was not due for another two years according to the constitution. President

Nursultan Nazarbayev was in the fifth year of a seven-year term. The "early presidential election" was the aftermath of a citizens' initiative to hold a referendum which would have extended the term of the incumbent president until 2020. During the last week of December 2010 and the first week of January 2011, a petition containing five million

Three elements have underpinned the government's minority policy: the containment of public debate on inter-ethnic problems; the use of coercion to restrain nationalist movements among minority groups; and generous support for educational and cultural facilities for minorities.

signatures was assembled in support of Parliament's vote to recommend the referendum. President Nazarbayev rejected the proposal as being undemocratic and had his decision referred to the Constitutional Council. The council ruled the parliamentary recommendation as unconstitutional on the grounds of it being too vague on the terms of extension.

Nonetheless, it was felt that the expressed wishes of five million citizens

out of a population of seventeen million could not be ignored. Accordingly, the President proposed that an early presidential election be held. Parliament, dominated by the President's party, on Feb. 3, adopted the constitutional amendments needed to allow the president to call an early election and to set the term of office at five years. The next

day, President Nazarbayev signed the decree setting the election date for April 3, 2011.

#### **Caught off-guard**

On Feb. 11, Nazarbayev announced his intention to run. Opposition parties were caught off-guard. While they couldn't offer outright opposition to the election as they had advocated elections in lieu of the referendum when the matter was before Parliament, they protested instead the decision to hold the

election so soon. Opposition parties stopped short of calling for a boycott, but most decided not to contest.

Twenty-two prospective candidates applied to be registered by the Central Election Commission (CEC). Three of these represented political parties, one a public movement and 18 were self-nominees.

Four candidates were eventually registered by the CEC: the incumbent, Nursultan Nazarbayev, leader of Nur Otan; Jambyl Akhmetbekov of the Communist People's Party; Mels Yeleusizov, chair of the Ecological Union; and, Gani Kasymov, leader of the Party of Patriots.

#### Winner a former Soviet Communist

The winning candidate, the incumbent Nursultan Nazarbayev, will be 71 on July 5, 2011. Under the Soviet Union, he worked his way up through the ranks of the Communist Party until becoming Chair of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR in 1985 and, in 1989, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan

Given that the outcome was a foregone conclusion, there seemed little to be gained by prolonging things by observing all safeguards.

Communist Party. From that position, he led Kazakhstan to independence and became its first President in an uncontested presidential election in 1991. He won again in 1999 with almost 80% of the vote and again in 2005 with over 90%.

#### Law of the Leader of the Nation

In 2010, the Law of the Leader of the Nation was adopted by Parliament. The law provides immunity from prosecution for the first and incumbent president and members of his immediate entourage. It also confers on President Nazarbayev the title of "Leader of the Nation" and allows him to vacate his present post while retaining a hold on the reigns of power without having executive responsibilities.

The regime is authoritarian and his political party omnipresent. In a multi-ethnic state with over 100 ethnic groups, he has managed, thus far, to avoid the inter-racial and religious conflicts that have characterized so many of the former Soviet republics. Three elements have underpinned the gov-



*Above, one of the Kazakh poll committees waiting for the polls to open. Right, observer teams encountered Kazakh hospitality everywhere, including this cooked sheep's head.*



ernment's minority policy: the containment of public debate on inter-ethnic problems, the use of coercion to restrain nationalist movements among minority groups, and generous support for educational and cultural facilities for minorities. This "peace" and the fear that another leader might succumb to demands by the Kazakh ma-

jority that higher priorities be assigned to their interests, have garnered Nazarbayev relatively strong support among the minorities.

#### Strong economy bolsters regime

Contributing to his general support is the fact that the Kazakh economy is comparatively strong, growing at a rate of 6 to 7% per annum and holds out prospects of Kazakhstan becoming included on the list of the 50 wealthiest nations.

#### Kazakhs learning to speak Kazakh

Among the Kazakh people themselves, Nazarbayev's very success in leading them to independence has created loyalties while his support for increased knowledge and use of the Kazakh language (he has pledged to increase proficiency in the language to 95% by 2020) contributes to re-enforcing that loyalty.

Although 63% of the population is ethnic Kazakh and the state language is Kazakh, after three quarters of a century of Soviet rule, only 30% of the population claim fluency in the language. To put it another way, 10 million of the

country's 17 million claim varying degrees of proficiency in the language and about one million claim basic knowledge, leaving six million who speak no Kazakh. The constitution stipulates that Russian can be used on equal grounds with Kazakh for official purposes. According to official estimates, 95% of the population speaks Russian.

Nazarbayev has also strengthened his following by raising Kazakhstan's profile internationally. In 2010, Kazakhstan held the OSCE chairmanship, the first country among the Commonwealth of Independent States nations to do so. Kazakhstan also hosted the Asian Winter Games in early 2011 and took great pride in winning the gold medal in hockey.

#### The absence of electoral competition

Against this background, the election of April 3 took place and in the words of the OSCE/ODIHR preliminary report: "While the election was technically well-administered the absence of [official] opposition candidates and of a vibrant political discourse resulted in a non-competitive environment. [The] limited field of candidates decided not to challenge the incumbent."

The report also noted that: "Election commissions at all levels, including the Central Electoral Commission, handled the technical aspects of the election in a professional manner. Their regular sessions were open to observers and the media."





*Kazakh hospitality greeted all observer teams.*

Other OSCE observations about the environment in which the election was conducted included women being well-represented among the rank and file of the election administration but remaining under-represented in the upper echelons; that efforts had been made to improve the quality of the voters lists; that the media provided more equality in covering candidates in news programs compared to the situation in 2005; and that “many local authorities intervened in the election process in order to increase turnout.”

#### **Irregularities noted**

OSCE observers noted that Precinct Election Commissions (PEC) were generally well trained and efficient in their operations. However, a significant number of the observer teams reported incidents of clumps of ballots in boxes and voters lists where the signatures against the voters’ names seemed to be written in one hand.

Also, in a significant number of polling stations, shortcuts were taken in the procedures governing the count. With regard to the latter, it was generally agreed amongst the observers that the shortcuts were taken to hasten the count. Given that the outcome was a forgone conclusion, there seemed little to be gained by prolonging things by observing all safeguards.

The ballot box stuffing, to the extent it took place, most likely related to the need to ensure that the turnout exceeded

90% rather than to fraudulently distribute votes amongst candidates. It is part of a piece with observations from some teams that precinct presidents were calling people on the voters list and urging them to appear. I encountered a group of women in one polling station sitting outside the actual station and recording the names of those who had voted while sending some of their members out to remind those who had not. They claimed no political affiliation but to be acting as concerned citizens.

#### **Proxy voting by women**

There was some proxy voting allowed but, unlike in many developing democracies, the proxy votes tended to be cast by women rather than men. We gained the impression that, especially in rural areas where persons who would be known to the PEC, women were allowed to cast ballots for those of their family who were at work, again in order to obtain a high turnout figure.

Overall, the OSCE mission concluded that “needed reforms for holding genuine democratic elections still have to materialize, as this election revealed shortcomings similar to those in previous elections.”

#### **All the trappings of democracy**

Darryl, Audrey and I were extremely impressed by the commitment to democracy we observed in our different communities, each of us visiting from 12 to 15 polling stations. Most of the polling stations had large speakers placed outside the doors blasting folk

tunes and patriotic airs.

Each of the seven PEC commissioners at each poll were dressed in their best business attire. At the opening of the poll, the safe containing the election materials was ceremonially opened in the presence of the police guard who then went outside the building.

At the poll I attended for the opening, the president of the commission stood and gave a small speech commending his colleagues for performing this public duty and emphasizing to them how important for democracy it was that they perform their duties well. The president also acknowledged the presence of international observers and thanked us for our assistance in building their democracy. He then, together with his six colleagues, turned to face the country’s flag and signalled for the recording of the national anthem to be played while he and his colleagues sang along lustily.

#### **“Tell them we’re vegetarians”**

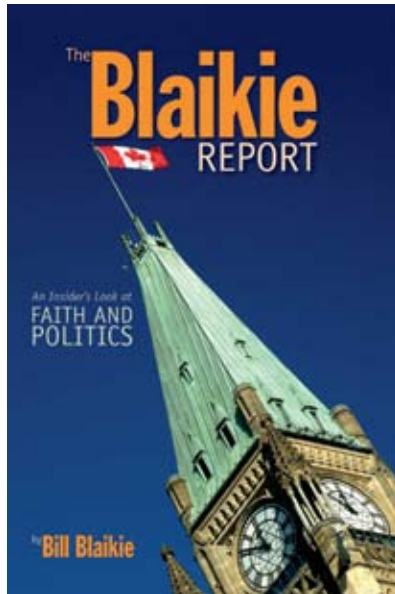
All the observer teams encountered Kazakh hospitality. Almost invariably upon completing our observation of the poll and preparing to leave we were invited to “tea”. Tea was an elaborate buffet with food ranging from fruits and vegetables through different breads, dumplings, stews, meatballs and cold cuts. Chicken, mutton, lamb, beef and horse meat were on the menus. In one precinct, I was ceremonially presented with a cooked sheep’s head and a carving knife.

While I desperately wondered how to properly carve a sheep’s head, my colleague, an English woman who had observed four previous elections in Kazakhstan, gave it a look of dismay, turned to our translator and said, “Tell them we’re vegetarians!” I was relieved but remained conscious of the honour they wished to pay us.

During my deployment, I was transported back to the journeys of Marco Polo by the sight of herds of horses running free on the Steppes and the flocks of sheep, goats and even dromedaries and bactrian camels by the roadside. On leaving, I felt a desire to learn more of this part of the world. Tashkent, Samarkand and the silk road beckoned.

As I said, it was different.

*Doug Rowland was the NDP MP for Selkirk from 1970 to 1974. He was sent with Darryl Gray and Audrey McLaughlin by the International Election Monitors Institute, with the support of the Canadian International Development Agency, to monitor these elections.*



## Faith and Politics

# The Bill Blaikie take

"Only Bill could have written this book." - Hon. David MacDonald

*The Blaikie Report: An Insider's Look at Faith and Politics.* By the Hon. Bill Blaikie. United Church Publishing House. Reviewed by the Hon. David MacDonald.

"The Blaikie Report, An Insider's look at Faith and politics" is a candid, occasionally painful and frequently humorous account from one of Canada's most respected and longest serving Members of Parliament, the Hon. Bill Blaikie.

Let me declare at the outset, I'm delighted Bill has written this book. I found it essentially rewarding because it gives so much added insight into his remarkable political career and the people he worked with. Getting an insider's view of how the NDP struggled with difficult decisions over the years, for those on the outside, is especially illuminating.

Bill is a political giant; but not just physically. His public life of activism ranges from his earliest days as a young Progressive Conservative and community activist in the late 60's and early 70's, to his parliamentary career as a New Democrat MP from 1979 to 2008. During those three decades he served as party spokesperson and critic for health, environment, trade, aboriginal issues, justice, parliamentary reform and constitutional and foreign affairs. In addition, he was the runner up can-

didate to Jack Layton in 2003 and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons from 2006-2008.

Throughout his long political career Bill exhibited his great desire to make Parliament work. He writes, "Parliament is not a soap opera. Nor is it a football match and certainly it must not become a kind of ultimate fighting where absolutely anything goes. What is needed is a sense of forgiveness." He calls for leadership from all sides to overcome what he describes as a "toxic culture".

What makes this book so valuable is the uninhibited recall of people and events during so many major issues and debates that occurred on his watch. Only someone like Bill, who can see the contradictions and human foibles, even his own, could have written this book. It is not as told to, or an airbrushed version of, "I was there." How wonderful and rare to really see behind the scenes of the arguments and the personalities.

While the book does wrestle with the intersection of faith and politics, it is much more than that. You almost get the sense you are reading Bill's own personal diary from adolescence to his first retirement with virtually no editing. While his political persona could often be overly direct and gruff, this book is a treat from someone who has very much and willingly let down his guard.

He tackles two religious debates. The

first is speculating on the encounters and impact of the religious right and the left in the political realm. He suggests that, "the growth of evangelical Christianity" may in fact be "the spiritual capital of the next social gospel." So, it may surprise many that his reactions are more positive than negative.

He reserves his strongest criticism for what he describes as the "Idolatry of the Market". He relates this to the profound influence and impact of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, the North American Free Trade Agreement and finally, the overall thrust and intent of the World Trade Organization. He suggests the loss of commitments to sustain labour and human rights, protection of natural resources, the environment and even health care are all the result of this unrelenting pressure. What ultimately is at risk, he states is democracy itself as well as the viability of Canada to be "maître chez nous," sovereign and independent. Not a happy prospect.

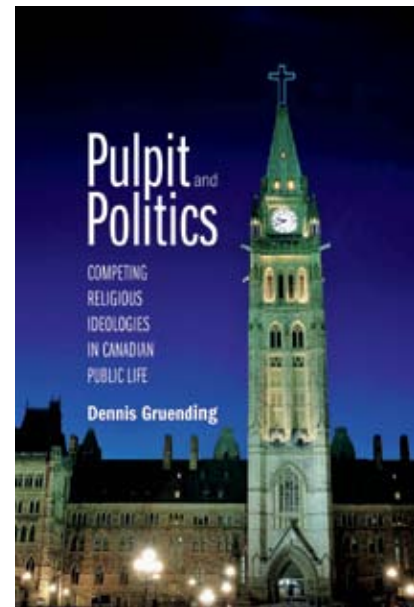
Ultimately, it is the humanity and humour of the man mixed with political candor and comment which make this book a great read. Don't miss it.

*From 1965-1980, the Hon. David MacDonald was the Progressive Conservative MP for Prince, PEI, which later became Egmont. From 1988-1993, he represented the riding of Rosedale, Ontario for the NDP.*



# Voting habits of the Faith community

In this context, anybody who wants to claim that religion and politics do not mix, is either willfully blind or referring to some other planet.



*Pulpit and Politics: Competing Religious Ideologies in Canadian Public Life.*  
**By Dennis Gruending. Reviewed by Bill Blaikie**

In a world where talk of religion in the public square is often dominated by the conflict between the secular and the religious, Dennis Gruending has produced a book that illuminates the conflict within the religious community. As the subtitle suggests, *Pulpit and Politics* also describes the competition within the religious community between differing views on faith and politics, differences that derive from opposing views about faith, politics, the proper relationship between the two, and the competition that exists to obtain or retain influence in the political realm.

The book is an anthology of the articles Gruending has written over the last few years on his award-winning blog by the same name, and is divided into several sections dealing, among others, with the voting habits of the faith community, religious and political polarization, the religious right, the religious left, and the political debate within the Catholic community. Although the whole collection is full of useful information and insight, it is in the latter context that Gruending's reflections are the most useful, in so far as they cast light

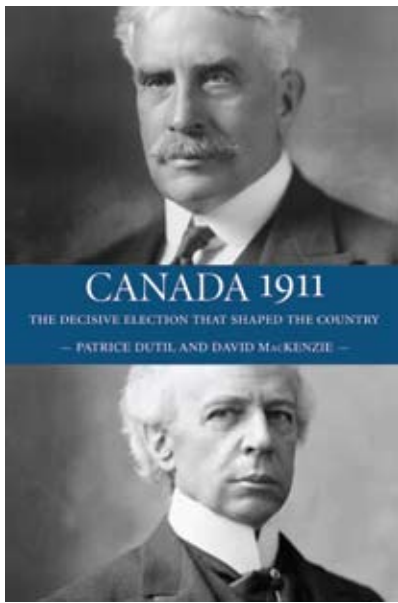
on an internal debate within a large and politically significant faith community, i.e. the Catholic community.

The Catholic community itself is not ignored, but the mainstream media too often ignores the political debate within it. Gruending is uniquely qualified to comment on such matters. As a former director of information for the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, and as a former member of Parliament, his reflections reveal a frustration at the way the rich body of Catholic social and economic teaching is neither widely taught, nor widely preached, nor widely known, and the way in which papal teachings on the economy are attacked or subverted from within when they call into question the political accommodation with free market fundamentalism that has been the price of alliances with the political right in the culture wars. Pope Benedict's social encyclical, *Caritas in Veritate* (In Charity and Truth), is a good example.

For those with a nose for faith, politics and Parliament, there is considerable and appropriate attention to the controversy over the funding of KAIROS, a Canadian ecumenical justice group that includes eleven different religious organizations from the Anglicans and United Church to the Christian Reform and Evangelical Lutherans. An applica-

tion for renewed funding of its international work was approved by CIDA, but vetoed by people in high places of the current government, the much debated details of Minister Bev Oda's involvement notwithstanding.

In the case of KAIROS, the reflections in *Pulpit and Politics* are about the obviously serious targeting of faith inspired work not by secular fundamentalists but by Christians like Jason Kenney and the Prime Minister who so dislike and disagree with the views of their fellow Christians on the tar sands, climate change, and the Middle East that they are prepared to endure the kind of controversy that could and eventually did bring them into contempt of Parliament, and into the presaging of the last election. In this context, anybody who wants to claim that religion and politics do not mix, is either willfully blind or referring to some other planet. They do mix, for better or for worse, and there is a dearth of literature that helps us to understand what is going on behind and beneath the scenes, so that some day we can have a different and more transparent mix than is now the case. Dennis Gruending's book helps to address that dearth and is certainly a step in the direction of greater understanding for those who have the opportunity to read it.



## Canada 1911

# An in-depth look at a vital election in Canada's history

Members of the Victoria Trades and Labour Council argued that the \$500 head tax on Chinese immigrants should be raised to \$1,000, because \$500 was not enough to keep them out.

*Canada 1911: The Decisive Election that Shaped the Country.* By Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie. Dundurn, 378 pp., \$29.99. Reviewed by Dave Obee, *Victoria Times Colonist*.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prime minister and leader of the Liberal Party, never came to Victoria during the 1911 federal election campaign – but neither did his rival, Robert Borden of the Conservatives.

It would not have made a difference, though, because British Columbians made a clear choice about the key issue in the campaign – reciprocity, what we would call free trade today.

Premier Richard McBride fought hard, saying that reciprocity would hurt Canada, and would lead to the annexation by the United States. He made speeches across the province, and ensured that all seven MPs elected in British Columbia were Conservatives.

One of the Liberals to lose his seat was William Templeman in Victoria.

Templeman, the owner of the *Victoria Daily Times*, had served as minister of mines as well as inland revenue. The 1911 election was considered to be a key one in the history of Canada, and is the subject of this book, which was launched just in time for the 100th anniversary of the vote.

The authors of *Canada 1911* argue that the election helped decide Canada's place in the world, and also ended Laurier's 15-year stretch as prime minister.

There had been an election in 1908, so Laurier called the 1911 one earlier than the law required. He wanted the public to have a say on reciprocity, even though he had not bothered to ask for input for another major decision, the creation of a national navy.

The naval service debates in 1909 had helped shape Greater Victoria by ensuring that the former Royal Navy base at Esquimalt would become the home to the new Canadian service.

Laurier visited Victoria in August 1910, and won praise from the *Daily Colonist* for his efforts to bring Canadians together.

The newspaper said that the prime minister's national tour would help promote that spirit of unity, "without which Canada can never realize her high destiny" – and noted that the benefits to the nation would likely be far greater than any political gains for Laurier.

Laurier met hundreds of people while here, and also spoke with representatives of several local organizations. Among them were members of the Victoria Trades and Labour Council, who argued that the \$500 head tax on Chinese immigrants should be raised to \$1,000, because \$500 was not enough to keep them out. Failing that, the council said, the Chinese should not be barred entirely.

The prime minister noted that the government's decision to create a navy had proven popular in the Victoria area,

and stressed that a navy was a key part of Canada's status of a nation within the British Empire.

The government's decision on the navy had not been popular elsewhere, however, and there is a chance that the 1911 result reflected that anger as well as fear about free trade.

When the election came, any sense of national unity disappeared; the election split the country into regions. Western farmers stood to gain – although Templeman fretted that B.C. fruit growers might suffer – while industrial areas of Ontario and Quebec didn't want to give up the tariff protection they had enjoyed.

*Canada 1911* provides an in-depth look at a decisive election. At times, authors Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie offer more information than we really need, which can make for a tough slog through riding after riding.

They manage to make it clear why the election was so important to Canada, and why the themes heard in 1911 still resonate today. And there is no arguing that it was a key event in Canadian history. The author, Patrice Dutil, is the coordinator of the CAFPP Parliament to Campus program and a professor at Ryerson University.

*The reviewer, the editorial page editor of the Times Colonist, is the author of The Library Book: A History of Service to British Columbia.*

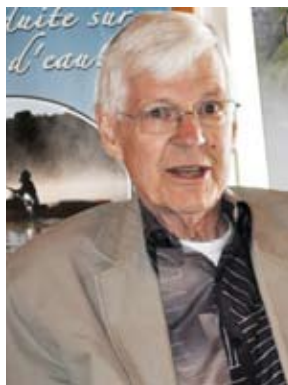


# Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Jenny Ford



*Hon. Jean-Pierre Goyer.*



*Rolland Dion.*



*Simon de Jong.*



*Hon. John Sylvain.*

## **Hon. Jean-Pierre Goyer**

The Hon. Jean-Pierre Goyer was Canada's architect of prison reform. He passed away in Montreal on May 24, 2011 at the age of 79.

Goyer can be credited with transforming the prison system to make it a better environment for inmates, therefore lowering their chances of re-offending. He made sure inmates had good haircuts and good clothes. He also made it easier for prisoners to work and go to school.

"For too long a time now, our punishment-oriented society has cultivated a state of mind that demands that offenders, whatever their age, and whatever the offence, be placed behind bars," he told the House of Commons in 1971. "Consequently, we have decided from now on to stress the rehabilitation of individuals."

Goyer spent his youth as an activist, protesting the Quebec government of Maurice Duplessis and taking part in the first sit-in staged at the Quebec assembly.

He was elected to the House of Commons in 1965 as a Liberal and was later named in 1969 Solicitor General of Canada. He also served as the Minister of Supply and Services. Goyer left politics to practice law in Montreal in 1978.

He leaves behind his first wife, Michelle Gascon, with whom he had three daughters, Christine, Sophie and Julie, and his second wife Nicole Forbes.

## **Rolland Dion**

The day of his funeral, the former mayor of Saint-Raymond, Que. passed through his legacy, from where he lay in state at the town's multipurpose centre on his final journey to the church.

Former Liberal MP Rolland Dion passed away on June 4, 2011 at the age of 72.

As mayor, he had established in the community a multipurpose centre, arena, fire station, and many parks and playgrounds. As he passed through the town for the last time, the people of Saint-Raymond cheered.

"How to summarize the magnitude of his achievements?" said City Director Alain Tardif at the funeral, calling him a "great strategist" and a "great visionary."

Dion was passionate about his family, his community and its citizens. He served from 1979-1984 as a Liberal in Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Parliament for the riding of Portneuf.

He was parliamentary secretary to the Minister of State for Economic and Regional Development and the Minister of State for Science and Technology.

## **Simon de Jong**

After a battle with leukemia, former NDP MP Simon de Jong passed away at his home in Vancouver on Aug. 22. He was 69.

Simon de Jong was born in Indonesia and spent some of his earliest years in a concentration camp during the Second World War. At the age of nine, his fam-

ily moved to Canada.

He represented the riding of Regina-East and later Regina-Qu'Appelle, winning five straight elections. He served from 1979-1997.

De Jong was described as a man ahead of his time, who was the first, according to some, to speak about the "greenhouse effect" in Parliament. He was an environmentalist who challenged the government over environment issues such as shipping harmful pesticides to Third World countries.

Upon his retirement, de Jong moved to California and later traveled between Brazil, Regina and the West Coast.

He was a painter and restaurateur, who owned the restaurant "Gretta's" in Regina. De Jong was also a civil servant and community organizer.

He leaves behind his extended family and partner Cheryl Anderson.

## **Hon. John Sylvain**

He was a fair man who had friends on all sides of Parliament. Brian Mulroney was a close friend, as was Robert Layton, who helped him enter politics, and some of Jean Chrétien's grandchildren are his great nieces and nephews.

The Hon. John Sylvain passed away on Aug. 16, 2011 at the age of 87. Sylvain served in the Senate from 1990-1996.

"He always saw both sides of any argument," said his wife Yolande Sylvain. "He was just the loveliest man. Anyone who has ever met him talked about his gentleness and sweetness."



*Hon. Robert Muir.*



*Hon. Edgar John Benson.*



*William Lesick.*



*John Boucher.*

Before he entered politics, Sylvain worked in the insurance industry. He served in the RAF during the Second World War and later graduated from the University of Ottawa.

During his time in politics, he worked on issues regarding banking and insurance, serving on the Standing Committee on Banking Trade and Commerce. He is remembered as a role model for his children and grandchildren to whom he provided guidance and mentorship.

"He was very dearly loved and he was a good businessman," said his wife.

He was also a dedicated family man, she said. Sylvain is survived by his six children, 16 grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.

#### **Hon. Robert Muir**

The Hon. Robert Muir began his life in the coal mines of Nova Scotia, leaving school in Grade 8 to work. He would later become one of Nova Scotia's political giants, serving 22 years in the House of Commons and 15 years in the Senate.

Muir died on Aug. 31, 2011 at his home in Cape Breton, N.S. at the age of 91.

Muir was born in Edinburgh, Scotland and immigrated to Canada as a baby. He was badly injured on two occasions and had to quit mining. After recovering from a broken back, he received his license to sell insurance for London Life.

In 1957, he was elected as a Progressive Conservative MP for the riding of Cape Breton North in a slim majority. He would go on to serve his constituents under the Diefenbaker and Clark

governments and would later be named a Senator in 1979.

Muir's goal in politics was to help those who could not help themselves, and he dedicated his career to helping his working class constituents.

"Bob Muir was a quintessential constituency politician who truly cared about the people who elected him," said Nova Scotia Conservative Leader Jamie Baillie.

"He was also a generous mentor to many Progressive Conservatives and others, who turned to him for advice and guidance."

He is survived by his wife Mary, his sons Gary and Robert, his daughter Ruth and his six grandchildren.

#### **Hon. Edgar John Benson**

His family called him "extraordinarily wily and wise with numbers." The Hon. Edgar John Benson can be credited with many of Canada's financial achievements. He died on Sept. 2, 2011 at the age of 88 in Ottawa.

An accountant by trade, he served the riding of Kingston and the Islands from 1962-1972 under Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Elliot Trudeau's governments. He was the first President of the newly created Treasury Board in 1966 and also served as the Minister of Finance, Minister of National Revenue and the Minister of Defense.

Benson's achievements in Parliament are numerous, but his two biggest goals were to implement a fair and revised tax system and a national medical plan. He accomplished both. Benson is also to thank for putting the Prime Ministers' portraits on Canadian bills.

After life in politics, he served as president of the Canadian Transport Commission for 10 years before being appointed in 1982 as Canada's ambassador to Ireland.

His family said he was a man of easy grace, wit and charm. He is survived by his wife Mary Jane Binks, his first wife, Marie Louise Benson, and their four children Robert, Paul, Peter and Nancy. He has nine grandchildren and 13 great-grandchildren.

#### **William Lesick**

His family remembers him as a great humanitarian and a proud Canadian. On Sept. 9, 2011, former Progressive Conservative MP William Lesick passed away at the age of 88.

Lesick was a pharmacist by training, who was elected to Brian Mulroney's government in 1984. He served on many committees, including the Committee on External Affairs and International Trade and on Multiculturalism.

He also served as a Canadian Citizenship Judge and was a Second World War veteran where he helped in the liberation of Holland.

He is remembered as a positive-thinker who was loving without reservation. He is survived by his wife Winnifred, their two children Tom and Patrice, and his two grandchildren Kendall and Avery.

#### **Guy Marcoux**

He was a doctor and innovator for his community. On Sept. 23, 2011, former physician and Social Credit MP Guy Marcoux passed away at the age of 87 in Quebec City.

Marcoux was a doctor before enter-





*Guy Marcoux.*



*Hon. Reg Alcock.*



*Hon. Barney Danson.*



*Jean Casselman Wadds.*

ing politics in 1962 for the riding of Quebec-Montmorency. During his time in Parliament, he concentrated on drug and health policy, serving on several standing committees.

He returned to his practice as a physician in 1965. As a doctor, he was credited with innovative treatments for drug and alcohol addictions.

Marcoux is pre-deceased by his wife Jeanne-d'Arc Lortie. He leaves behind his three children, Paul, Lucie and Yves, and many grandchildren.

#### **Hon. Reg Alcock**

Former Prime Minister Paul Martin bestowed the Hon. Reg Alcock with the highest tribute at his funeral in Winnipeg on Oct. 21. He gave the former Liberal MP the Canadian flag.

Alcock passed away suddenly on Oct. 14, 2011 from a heart attack. He was 63.

Alcock was the Member of Parliament for the Winnipeg South riding from 1993-2006, when he ended a three-year term as President of the Treasury Board. His political career began in 1988 when he was elected to the Manitoba Legislature. After he retired from politics, Alcock worked at the University of Manitoba as the executive-in-residence at the Asper School of Business and was also associate dean at the school.

At his funeral in October, Alcock was remembered as a compassionate person with a big heart who had a great sense of humour.

"He was a remarkable guy. He had a great gusto, a great sense of life and a great sense of people," said Liberal Leader Bob Rae at the funeral. "He's

going to be really, really missed."

He is survived by his wife Karen, his children Sarah, Matthew and Christina, and his sisters Joan Anderton and Beverley Verkouteren.

#### **Hon. Barnett J. (Barney) Danson**

After a career giving tribute to Canadian soldiers, the Hon. Barney Danson, a veteran and a politician, passed away on Oct. 17, 2011 in Toronto. He was 90.

Danson served during the Second World War on the battlefields of Normandy, where he not only lost sight in one eye, but also his four best friends.

"Many of the things from my military experience were invaluable in shaping the rest of my life," he said in a 2002 interview.

After the war, he returned to his family's insurance business and started his own plastics company. But in 1968 he won the Toronto riding of York North and joined former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's cabinet. He became the Minister of Urban Affairs in 1974 and was later Minister of Defense until his defeat in 1979. He was one of the last defense ministers with military service.

Danson played a huge role in the plans for the new Canadian War Museum. His philanthropic work included involvement with the Canadian Institute for the Blind and he was also co-founder of the youth program *Katimavik*.

In a statement, Canadian War Museum CEO Mark O'Neil said, "Mr. Danson's energetic dedication to the creation of a new Canadian War Museum was based, in part, on his desire to memorialize the brave Canadians who

died in war... Mr. Danson was an inspiration to me, and I often sought his sage advice."

Danson and his wife Isobel had four children, Kenneth, John, Timothy and Peter, and 10 grandchildren.

#### **Jean Casselman Wadds**

A female icon in Canadian politics passed away on Nov. 25, 2011 at the age of 91. Jean Casselman Wadds died at her home on the banks of the St. Lawrence in Prescott, Ont.

Wadds achieved many firsts in Canadian politics as a female politician. She was the third woman to be elected to the House of Commons when she filled her husband's seat after his death in 1958. Azra Casselman was elected in 1921 and held the Progressive Conservative seat until his death.

Wadds joined her father in the House of Commons, the Hon. Earl Rowe, making them the first father-daughter team in Canadian politics. She was also the first female parliamentary secretary, serving as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Wadds held the seat for 10 years and in 1961 became the first woman appointed to the UN by the Canadian government. But her greatest accomplishment happened in 1979, when she became the first woman appointed to the High Commission of Great Britain. Here, she helped bring constitutional reform into fruition. She received the Order of Canada in 1982. Wadds is survived by her two daughters, Nancy and Clair, and her extended family.



Keith Penner.

## Memories from the campaign trail

The gold and amber liquids served in these establishments have magical qualities. Imbibed in sufficient amounts, they bestow wisdom upon the consumer.

By Keith Penner

“The Writ has been dropped!” This news was greeted with excitement and enthusiasm by some of my colleagues. They expressed an eagerness to hit the campaign trail and share their vision for Canada.

I felt quite differently. As an MP, I found elections to be demanding, difficult, demeaning and exhausting. They went on for much too long. Now, thankfully, the election period has been shortened. For candidates and voters alike this is a blessing, to be sure.

On first becoming a candidate, I required an overhaul. I was told that being flippant, cynical and aggressive was not a winning combination. Learning to be sincere (an oxymoron, certainly) and being able to defuse hostile opposition was the order of the day.

After a few lessons, the new me was ready to give it a try. Emerging from the Longlac Hotel, crowded between the railway tracks and the Trans Canada Highway, I noticed a man, dozing in the sun, resting with his back against the wall of the railway station.

I approached the potential supporter with a beaming smile and hand outstretched. “I am the candidate,” he was informed, and “did I have his vote on Election Day?” With the most deliberate slowness that I have ever observed, the man pushed back a greasy cap to reveal a face full of hair. A pair of cold, steel-grey eyes pierced my façade. What

he then said to go and do to myself is anatomically impossible.

Trouble often comes from the candidate’s own mouth. Travelling cross country on a dusty, bush road, I spotted a clearing with some activity in progress. Entering the scene, I found a prize fighter in training. As he punched the bag, I made my pitch. At one point he stopped and asked if I knew anything about boxing. I boasted that I had been active in my high school boxing club. Noting his interest, I went further and said, “Yep, once put my instructor on the canvas.” He responded positively. “Look,” he said, “I need a sparring partner. Go three rounds with me and I will vote for you.” With a lame excuse, I beat a hasty retreat.

The campaign day starts early, with visits to the mine or mill gate to meet the shift change. Words of friendly greeting and otherwise are exchanged. Then, it is off to the coffee shops followed by door-to-door canvassing until the public meeting in the evening. By 11:00 p.m., the candidate is exhausted. Despite the need for sleep, one of my campaign managers insisted that first we had to make a quick, late-evening round of the local bars.

The gold and amber liquids served in these establishments have magical qualities. Imbibed in sufficient amounts, they bestow wisdom upon the consumer. When a politician enters the room, an

opportunity presents itself for this newfound knowledge to be shared. Points of view are loudly expressed. Conclusions are driven home by thrusting the index finger deeply into the chest cavity of the hapless candidate. Dark bruises remain for days.

Travel in remote regions can be hazardous. Weather changes rapidly. I owe my life to young bush pilots. What they lacked in skill they made up for in daring and in complete confidence of their abilities to get you back safely.

On one occasion, flying in a Cessna 180 with pontoons, we left a community under overcast skies and soon found ourselves in a white-out. The plane’s instruments were only rudimentary. As we flew along, I heard what sounded like a loose canvas flapping against a wall. I asked the pilot what the noise might be. He glanced down at the altimeter and said, “Oh my god, the pontoons are brushing the tops of the trees.” As we gained some altitude and I found my voice, I dared to ask whether there were any hills in the area. The reply was uncertain.

There are dangers and demands on the campaign trail. As tough as it can sometimes be, there is never a shortage of candidates to give it a try. Long live the democratic process.

Keith Penner was an MP from Northern Ontario from 1968-1988.





*Hon. Anthony Abbott and Rosemary Crowley, Australia Former Members.*



*Betty and Murray Cardiff.*



*Ron Bailey, NZ Former Member, and the Hon. Pauline Browes.*



*Study tour participants about to enter the Banbury Mine.*



*Léo Duguay and Graham Kelly, Immediate Past President, NZ Former Members.*



*Ian Waddell and Bonnie Crombie.*



*The Hon. Anthony Abbott and nephew Philip Smith.*



*Murray Cardiff, the Hon. Sue Barnes, husband John and Joan Cardiff.*



*The Hon. Nick Taylor and wife Margaret.*



*The Hon. Pauline Browes in Sydney Harbor.*



*The Hon. Raymond Setlakwe and wife Yvette.*



*Charlette Duguay and a Maori elder.*



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**CAFP Annual General Meeting**  
June 3-5, 2012

## Highlights

**Come celebrate our 25th anniversary!**

Annual General Meeting and working sessions

Reception co-hosted by both Speakers

Unveiling of the 40th Parliament commemorative plaques

Dinner in the Hall of Honour

Memorial Service and concert by the Dominion Carillonneur

Distinguished Service Award

Great speakers

Online registration will be available in April at [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca)

A registration package will also be mailed to you.

