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SPRING 2016

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians



## TRUMP

"The bad boyfriend"

## Money

The new religion

## The Rhino Party returns

## Former MPs reflect on refugee crises of the past



# Mississauga reception

Story by Harrison Lowman, photos by Sumeeta Kohli and Susan Simms

On Wednesday, February 10, the CAFP was welcomed to Mississauga City Hall by Mayor Bonnie Crombie. Attendees heard from the Mayor, the VP of the Ontario Former Members Association, David Warner and CAFP's own Hon. Andy Mitchell.



*Attendees at the Mississauga gathering.*



*Mayor Bonnie Crombie welcomes CAFP and the Ontario Association of Former Members of Parliament to Mississauga.*



*CAFPPresident, Hon. Andy Mitchell at Mississauga City Hall.*



*Hon. Gurbax Malhi, Hon. Andy Mitchell, Mayor Bonnie Crombie, John Nunziata, and Terence Young.*



*Mayor Bonnie Crombie alongside Hon. Jean Augustine.*



*Geoff Scott and Mayor Crombie.*



*Dorothy Price, Mayor Crombie and Hon. Vin Kochhar.*

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 12, Issue No. 2

Spring 2016

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*Greg Peters, the Usher of the Black Rod.  
Cover photo by Denis Drever.*

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#### 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: [ex-parl@parl.gc.ca](mailto:ex-parl@parl.gc.ca). Website: [www.ex-parl.ca](http://www.ex-parl.ca).

## Thank yous

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you so much for sending us the two DVDs, Hansard and copies of the 2015 Memorial Service booklet. It is a wonderful keepsake – one we will always treasure.

Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely,

**Sally Stanbury Day (Richard Stanbury)**

## CAFP News

Please note that this edition of *Beyond the Hill* does not include our regular section “Executive Director’s Report”. Jack Silverstone has retired from his post and his successor will be announced sometime in April 2016.

In March, CAFP’s Board met and selected four new directors. These include:

- Former Conservative MP Julian Fantino
- Former Conservative MP Russ Hiebert
- Former NDP MP Sadia Grogue
- Former Conservative MP John Williamson

The Board also appointed two new directors to its Education Foundation. These include:

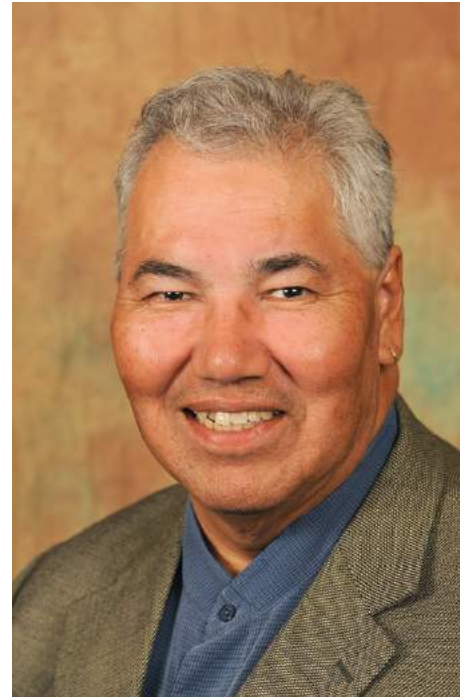
- Former Conservative MP Lois Brown
- Former NDP MP Rosane Doré Lefebvre

**Mark your Calendars:** This year’s Annual General Meeting will take place in Ottawa from May 29th-30th. On May 30th, the plaques for the 41st Parliament will be unveiled.

• • •

In March Prime Minister Trudeau appointed seven new senators. They were the first to be appointed to the upper chamber since 2013. They include:

- Peter Harder, a retired senior bureaucrat and high-level corporate adviser, will be the Liberal government’s leader in the Senate. (Ontario)
- Raymonde Gagné is former presi-



*Justice Murray Sinclair has been appointed to the Senate by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.  
Photo by Fred Cattroll.*

dent of Manitoba’s Université de Saint-Boniface. (Manitoba)

- Frances Lankin is a minister in the former Ontario NDP government and a national security expert. (Ontario)

- Ratna Omidvar is an expert on migration and diversity, and executive director at Ryerson University’s Global Diversity Exchange. (Ontario)

- Chantal Petitclerc is a champion Paralympic wheelchair racer and Team Canada chef de mission at the Rio Paralympic Games. (Quebec)

- André Pratte is an award-winning editorial writer at La Presse and federalist thinker from Quebec. (Quebec)

- Murray Sinclair is a retired Manitoba judge and former chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into residential schools. (Manitoba)

## Corrections

From the previous issue:

- p.47: We incorrectly stated that columnist Geoff Scott served in Parliament from 1978-1988. Geoff in fact served in Parliament from 1978-1993. *Beyond the Hill* apologizes for the error.



*Hon. Andy Mitchell.*

# How the President sees it

I want to begin my report by bidding a warm farewell to our hardworking Executive Director Jack Silverstone, who recently retired from his post at the close of 2015. Jack did yeoman's work for the Association for five years and we thank him for his dedication and leadership. We wish him well in his future endeavours. We hope to have the association's new executive director in place sometime in April.

## 2015 – A Look Back

Last year was a rewarding one for CAFPP. We kicked off Regional Receptions across the country. In doing so, we met with members in Vancouver, Toronto, Halifax and Montreal for lively conversations and good cheer. These events will continue in 2016, and we plan to partner with associations of former provincial members who we enjoy having join us to share their experiences.

Our 2015 AGM featured an additional day devoted to policy discussion in partnership with the Library of Parliament. Our Educational Foundation dinner featured prominent political journalist Steve Paikin as guest speaker and honoured the heroic actions of former Sergeant-at-Arms, Kevin Vickers.

Our Regional Meeting in Muskoka gave members the chance to learn about the Muskoka airport's Norwegian connection, the economic importance of the boating industry and the life of Gravenhurst-born Dr. Norman Bethune.

In November, I had the honour of representing the Association at Remembrance Day underneath the National War Memorial, where I laid the wreath during a very moving ceremony. It takes your breath away when you gaze out across the thousands of Canadians who line the streets to honour those who fought in service to their country.

## To Our New Members

Post-election, the Association welcomes new members from across Canada with an understanding of what life is like after politics. CAFPP provides former members with a vehicle to continue contributing to the public life of Canada. This can be something as straightforward as taking part in our Parliament to Campus program or providing advice to Parliamentary Interns during our annual round-table sessions. It also allows former members to maintain a relationship with colleagues who served within the Senate and House in what I call a "post partisan" environment.

## Looking Forward

Members should mark their calendars from May 29 to 30, when our 2016 AGM will take place. Our Educational Foundation Dinner will occur in April. Finally, we are planning to hold our Regional Meeting in Halifax this year.

Thanks again to all our members for your continued support and encouragement.

**Hon. Andy Mitchell,  
President**



# Why not join the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

By Scott Hitchcox

"The greatest advantage of being involved with CAFP is the sense of fellowship among former members," says former Progressive Conservative member Dorothy Dobbie. "Partisanship is set aside. We all work together and enjoy our shared past experience."

Campaigning is abated, political ads have faded, and the stated dates of the debates have been sated, but for many on Parliament Hill the work has just begun. Among the tasks to be completed amidst the shuffling of offices is the fulfilment of an objective stated and vigorously reaffirmed at this year's AGM, the expansion of CAFP's membership base.

## Study tours

Membership into the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians is open to all former sitting members of the Senate and House of Commons, regardless of their length of tenure, prestige, or political affiliation. Following the results of the election, all newly "former-ised" MPs are contacted by CAFP with a formal invitation into the association, and the offer of complementary membership for the remainder of the fiscal year.

Tangible benefits of membership include opportunities to paid-up members to participate in study tours abroad and educational directives within Canada, invitations to prominent events such as the annual Douglas C. Frith Foundation Dinner, and access to the contact information of all other individuals involved with the association. But, according to President Andy Mitchell, membership implies a distinctly unique chance as well.

## Impact on public life

"One of the things that many of our members are interested in is that they want to continue to have an impact on public life in Canada. The association provides a vehicle that allows former members of parliament the opportunity

to continue to make public contributions," says Andy. "Second of all, it provides an opportunity to continue to share experiences with former colleagues and continue the collaboration and friendships established [as members of parliament]."

With these motivations in mind, CAFP has reached out to all potential members with the objective of bolstering its membership.

According to Andy, more members means a greater capacity for the association to fulfill its mandate of promoting democratic practices both domestically, through a parliamentary mentorship program and the Parliament to Campus educational initiative, and internationally, through the aforementioned study tours and election monitoring.

Additionally, more members create a larger network of resources and experience that can be utilized by the entire association. As CAFP gains members with varied backgrounds and experiences, it ultimately allows the organization to produce better programming.

## Younger blood welcomed

Recruitment of a new "class" of former MPs necessitates new approaches and strategies. This latest generation of potential members is, on average, both the youngest and most technologically engaged of any prior parliamentarians. CAFP is looking to adjust accordingly to best cater to these newcomers, while continuing to serve its existing membership base.

## More social media

Foremost among these adaptive

approaches is the enhancement of CAFP's online presence and communications. President Andy says he plans to utilize social media and other online tools to this end. Beyond coaxing new members through familiarity, he also stressed that CAFP will be increasingly responsive to the shifting needs and busy schedules of former MPs.

"Many of these former parliamentarians are moving on to second and third careers after their service in Parliament," he says. "We at the board are cognizant of this, and we need to be able to structure our program in a way that recognizes the demands that are going to be on their time."

## Reaching out

Though he hesitates to enunciate a specific, numerical quota, Andy's goal is to ensure that the association reaches out to all folks eligible for membership, use as many different platforms as possible to do this, and ultimately to experience a growth in membership, a prospect he feels very optimistic about.

"From the perspective of the association we are very proud of the types of things we do, we're proud of the goals and objectives of our organization, and we want to be able to have the broadest impact on the greatest amount of members," Andy concludes.

"I'm excited about all of our members, from those who served from decades ago to those who just ended their service. We want to ensure that we have an organization that has a response for everyone's needs, including those new members who are joining our ranks at the end of 2015."



# Association of Former Members of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia annual dinner

Story by Hon. David Anderson, photo by Rob Lee



*Photo Caption: (L-R) Ida Chong, Paul McKivett, Alynn McKivett and Hon. David Anderson share stories.*

In late September, I had the happy task of representing the CAFP at the annual dinner of the Association of Former Members of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. The dinner was graciously hosted by the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, the Hon. Judith Guichon, at Government House in Victoria. The Government House staff went the extra mile and served a wonderful dinner.

The event was not restricted to former MLAs. True to past practice, there were former members of the Press Gallery, led by the redoubtable Jim Hume and Brian Kieran. Former officers of the legislature were present in force, while friends and well-wishers came from Vancouver, the Interior and even from the Kootenays and the North.

It was a particular pleasure for me to

hear the guest speaker, the Hon. Pat Carney, who served for eight years as an MP then as Minister of International Trade in the Mulroney government, and later, for 18 years, as a senator for the province.

Pat spoke on a topic that is the experience of every one of us—whether senator, MP or MLA—namely, that once elected and once you have served your term, however short or long it may be, the public never really lets you retire. Time after time, former parliamentarians are asked to head up charitable campaigns, speak about government and politics in schools and colleges, or to provide opinions on radio and television on the issues of the day. We are even asked for help with work once completed in our constituency offices, such as getting those passports issued in a hurry. Former Senator Carney concluded with a puzzling question for

her audience: if politicians rate as low in public opinion polls as the pollsters say, why is it that we are still called upon by our fellow citizens in these ways? The presentation led to lively discussion, some interesting theories, but no firm conclusions.

Pat's talk certainly hit a chord with the audience. Following her words, a number of former MLAs came forward to share their own experiences following retirement. We were entertained by a string of strange requests made by our former constituents. A significant portion of the electorate seems to believe our power increases after our days as elected member are over!

Hon. David Anderson served as a Liberal MP from 1968 to 1972 for the riding of Esquimalt-Saanich. He represented the riding of Victoria from 1993 to 2006. He was also a Liberal MLA for the riding of Victoria from 1972 to 1975.

# Parliamentary internship gateway to exciting careers

Former parliamentary intern, refugee now Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship

By Harrison Lowman



*Arif Virani stands outside the entrance to High Park in his riding of Parkdale-High Park. Photo courtesy of Office of Arif Virani.*

At the tail end of 2015, following a marathon federal election, nearly 200 rookie MPs converged on Parliament Hill. However, for some in this group, it was not the first time they had breached the varnished wooden doors of Centre Block.

The newly minted MP for Parkdale-High Park, Arif Virani, had opened those doors 21 years previously, as a McGill student studying politics and history. On October 15, Virani became the second parliamentary intern in the programme's 47-year history, to be elected to the House of Commons. In doing so, the once Ugandan refugee now Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, fulfilled a boyhood urge

to revisit the place where he witnessed the shaping of Canada's future, and do some shaping of his own.

## **The Parliamentary Internship Programme**

The Parliamentary Internship Programme (PIP) was conceived by long-time Wellington MP Alf Hales. During his 17 years in the House, the Progressive Conservative backbencher no doubt noticed the limited exposure young Canadians had to the gears of government hidden behind those aforementioned Centre Block doors.

On March of 1969, Hales introduced a motion to create a non-partisan internship under the auspices of the Speaker, administered by the Canadian Political Science Association. It received unani-



*Asian Ugandans board an Air Canada charter flight at Entebbe Airport outside Kampala, in the fall of 1972. Photo courtesy of NHQ/AC Roger St. Vincent Collect.*

mous support from all parties, and gave birth to Canada's first legislative internship.

It was a celebrated birth at that. Former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson





*The 2015-2016 class of interns. Top, L-R: Francis (Josh) Grehan, Christina Vietinghoff, Étienne Grandmaison, Bryan Heystee. Bottom, L-R: Feodor Snagovsky, Madalina Chesoi, Yves Dushimimana, Gabrielle de Billy Brown, Alice Trudelle, Jordan Storozuk. Photo courtesy of Parliamentary Internship Programme.*

called the initiative, “...the most important experiment in parliamentary activity since 1867.”

Each year, 10 Canadian university students, from across the country and from a variety of disciplines, are selected for this paid work-study opportunity. Early on in the unique educational internship, students have the opportunity to select the MPs they wish to work for, provided that the members represent official parties and are not in cabinet or party leaders. They spend part of their time working for an MP in government, and the other serving an opposition MP. While in their MPs’ offices, interns focus on legislative, communications and constituency work. Responsibilities can include writing speeches, researching witnesses, responding to questions from constituents, or preparing press releases. As objective observers, they must also produce a research paper dur-

ing their 10-month term.

In addition, many interns have the chance to visit legislatures within Canada and beyond its borders, including London, Brussels, Paris, Edinburgh, Washington, Quebec City and Iqaluit.

“When they leave the program, I hope they have an understanding of the institution of Parliament and the role that plays both in politics but also in the government of Canada,” says PIP director, Garth Williams, who was an intern himself from 1992 to 1993. “And I hope they’ve gained some knowledge about themselves and their own values and ideas.”

CAFP’s Educational Foundation has been a major sponsor of the program since 2005. Each year, former parliamentarians take the time to meet with the latest crop of interns and explain what it was like working with interns when they were sitting.

“That’s been just a really remarkable meeting every year and a huge help to the interns and to the program itself,” mentions Williams.

Since its inception, nearly 400 Canadian students have passed through the program. Many former interns have gone on to become professors, bureaucrats, lawyers, journalists and heads of NGOs. Very few have sought and achieved federal elected office. Virani was one of them.

#### Charting a course

Born an Asian Ugandan in the capital of Kampala in 1971, Virani entered a society that would reject his existence before his first birthday.

Earlier that year, Idi Amin seized power in a military coup, declaring himself president of the African nation a week later.

In 1972, Amin commenced his “economic war”, in which he eventually

demanding the expulsion of the 80,000 Asians that called Uganda home. The Ugandan government believed merchant class Asians (which included Hindus, Muslims and Ismaili Muslims) unjustly held vast wealth and jobs, leaving indigenous “black Ugandans” to suffer. He said “bloodsucking” Asians were “...sabotaging the economy of the country.” It was said that Amin was swayed by a dream, in which Allah told him to expel the Asians.

The Asian population had 90 days to leave the country. The seizure of Asian business and property by those who had no experience managing them was ultimately devastating for Uganda’s economy. Many escaped to the United Kingdom, India or nearby Kenya or Malawi. Virani, then only 10, his four-year-old sister, Shakufe, and his parents, Sul and Lou, set their sights on Canada.

“Seven-thousand were accepted into Canada at that time,” says Virani describing what he says was this country’s first large scale non-white immigration movement. “And I was one of those 7,000.”

It was rumoured that following the expulsion, the Aga Khan, head of the Ismaili Muslim sect, personally called his longtime friend then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, asking that Canada open its doors to his people. He later served as an honorary pallbearer at Trudeau’s funeral.

### Solid ground

Virani’s family arrived in Montreal on a particularly chilly day in October of 1972. The Salvation Army equipped Virani with the warm garb he would need to survive the cold wind and local women took turns babysitting him. Soon after, they made their way to Toronto, eventually settling in Willowdale.

Determination on the part of his parents, coupled by student loans, grants and scholarships, meant Virani could attend McGill University working towards a First Class Joint Honours B.A. in History and Political Science.

A self-diagnosed political junkie, Virani’s eyes were peeled for practical applications for the information he was absorbing. One day he noticed a poster outside the political science department advertising the Parliamentary Internship Programme.



*The 1994-1995 class of parliamentary interns on their first day on the job. They reunited for a 10th year anniversary at Anoush Terjanian’s parents’ farm in Gatineau in 2005. Top, L-R: Derrick McNeil, Ann Milovic, Geoff Pearcey, Anoush Terjanian, Arif Virani. Bottom, L-R: Jacque Best, Nadine Blouin, Véronique Boudreau, François Jubinville, Kory McDonald, then Parliamentary Internship Programme Director François Houle. Photo courtesy of Anoush Terjanian.*

“It just seemed to be a great way to sort of sink your teeth into actual political issues in a hands-on, applicable and pragmatic way,” he says.

In 1994, following a nail-biting interview in French, Virani was one of 10 Canadians selected to be part of the program. His friend from McGill’s debating union, Anoush Terjanian, joined him in this tightly knit group that named themselves “the parliamentary smartypants”. The now 44-year-old Virani describes that year as one of the best in his life.

### Laying seeds of interest

That year, following a shakeup of an election, Parliament welcomed a brand new crop of MPs, as well as two new political parties. Virani had the chance to work alongside Bloc Québécois MP, Osvaldo Nunez, of the Official Opposition and Liberal MP, Paddy Torsney, who was in government.

In doing so, he was able to examine issues he felt strongly about, involving himself in Parliament’s push to implement tougher sentences for hate-motivated crimes, and its acceptance of gender-based claims for refugee status under the Geneva Convention.

Looking back at their year as interns, Terjanian remembers Virani as someone who was “effective, efficient,

friendly and fun”. She says the young man’s playful yet organized character revealed itself during his morning rituals. Each morning, he was known to tear away a page from his comedic Far Side calendar, no doubt have a chuckle, and write his to-do list on the back.

Virani then graduated from law school at the University of Toronto in 1998, helped found the South Asian Legal Clinic of Ontario, spent a year as an assistant trial attorney prosecuting genocide at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and ultimately became counsel in the constitutional law branch of the ministry of the Attorney General of Ontario. However, after a 13-year legal career, Virani has returned to and is a part of the government apparatus that saved him and his family.

Virani admits there was always an underlying desire to seek elected office since he was a 17-year-old boy reading about the prime minister that made Canada a safe haven for his family. He admits there were times during his internship when his interest was piqued. For Virani, seeing the gears of government meant that he witnessed both the prestige that surrounds politics’ figureheads and the lack of glamour that surrounds the majority-backbench MPs.

### Returning to the Hill

Terjanian is confident the internship’s intensive orientation program gives Virani a leg up over his fellow green MPs when it comes to learning the details of legislative procedure.

Virani says he isn’t so sure, although he was the first from the Liberal caucus to book a members’ statement. “So it gives me a little bit of a leg up. It’s not a gigantic leg up, things have changed a little bit – it’s more tech savvy now,” he says. “I’m not quite hitting the ground running, but I’m not sort of hitting the ground at a standstill either.”

Now the newly minted Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship and a father of two young boys, Virani says he is looking to focus on equality, tolerance and inclusion; the same qualities that guaranteed his survival as an infant.



He will have some help along the way. In 2015, Virani was interviewed by the latest batch of parliamentary interns. He will likely meet the young Canadian student that selected him in April.

"I gave them a hard sell about why I'd be a great guy to work with. But I also told them I know what they're capable of, I know the quality of individual they are, I know what they want to do, I know about their crazy travel schedule," says Virani. "I'm not trying to convert them into the third elected representative graduate from the program, but I hope they leave with the sense that there's an incredible amount of work that's being done and there is a lot that people can offer in terms of public service, either as a representative or as people who are supporting that representative."

## Where are parliamentary interns now?

A 2010 survey found that 42 per cent of Parliamentary Intern alumni were employed in the public sector. Of this number, 80 per cent worked in the federal government, including in senior management. Nearly a third of those in the federal public service had international careers, a number serving as ambassadors abroad. A few had been elected federally, provincially and municipally. One now serves in the Senate. The first former intern to be elected to federal Parliament was NDP MP Judy Wasylycia-Leis.

Thirty-two per cent of PIP alumni worked in Canadian universities and in institutions abroad, including Harvard, Oxford, Paris and Berkley. One was a Rhodes Scholar. Others worked for policy institutes or think tanks, while several chose journalism as a profession. Of the 26 per cent in the private sector, more than half worked in business. The others chose to pursue law including three who were serving on the bench.

# Provincial and National Associations' Meeting

By Harrison Lowman

In early December 2015 in Quebec City, Marcel R. Tremblay, former Progressive Conservative MP and CAFR representative, attended a bi-annual meeting that also included former provincial members from Ontario, Manitoba and Quebec. They sat down in La belle province's capital city for some hearty discussion and laughs.



Photo by Manon Voyer.

### Left side:

- Ms. Linda Asper, outgoing president of the Association of Former Manitoba Members of the Legislative Assembly.
- Ms. Carole Th  berge, outgoing president of the Amicale des anciens parlementaires du Qu  bec (AAPQ).
- Mr. Steve Gilchrist, president of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians.
- Mr. Michel Tremblay, member of the board of directors of the AAPQ.
- Mr. Marcel R. Tremblay, representative of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.
- Mr. Janvier Grondin, member of

the board of directors of the AAPQ.

### Right side:

- Ms. Manon Voyer, executive secretary of the AAPQ.
- Mr. Michel Morin, secretary-treasurer of the AAPQ.
- Ms. Rita Dionne-Marsolais, member of the board of directors of the AAPQ.
- Ms. Karen Leibovici, president of the Alberta Association of Former MLAs.
- Mr. Gilles Morin, member of the board of directors of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians.)

# The return of the Rhino

## The Rhinoceros Party rears its thick-skinned head in the 2015 Federal Election

By Harrison Lowman

The typical life expectancy of a wild rhinoceros is around 35 years old. When it reaches its fourth decade, the once noble mammal's marble eyes have sunk, its tough hide has been inscribed with hundreds of wrinkles and its horn is permanently caked in dirt and dust. It plods toward oblivion.

Not so for the Canadian federal parody political party that uses the odd-toed ungulate as its namesake. In 2016, the Rhinoceros Party celebrates its 53rd birthday while charging full speed ahead.

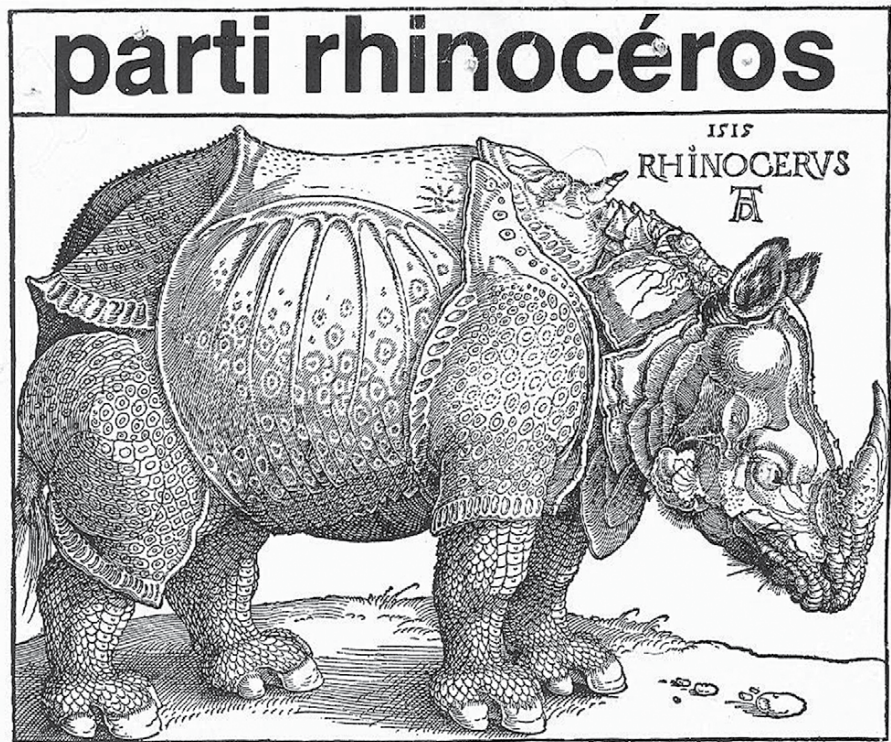
After losing its registered party status in 1993, and spending time soul searching off the ballot, during the most recent federal election, the Rhinos fielded 27 candidates across five provinces, including four in Alberta. In doing so, they received 7,349 votes, 3,530 more than in 2011. They also ran 13 more candidates than in 2011.

What was once a ragged collection of Quebec humourists, circus performers, artists and musicians, is now a more modern movement under new leadership and under construction. The party is aiming to push beyond its traditional French borders, while struggling to find its place on a much larger cyber political comedic stage. Yet, the clowns are still all smiles.

### Satirical birth

There are five species of rhino on the planet. Similarly, Canada's Rhinoceros Party has had a variety of incarnations. The movement was conceived by Montreal physician and writer Jacques Ferron in 1963, in an effort to poke fun at what he considered to be an increasingly powerful federal government. Ferron was soon joined by a group of artists that began contesting federal elections.

While donkeys and elephants populate America's political environment, Canadians have but the rhino. In the late 1950s, several Brazilian reporters decided to pull a prank by entering a rhinoceros in a São Paulo municipal election. The rhino won and represented a protest against



*The Rhinoceros Party logo. Photo courtesy of The Rhinoceros Party.*

the country's political system. The story caught the attention of the Canadian party's founders, who named Cornelius I, a rhinoceros in Quebec's Granby Zoo, their first leader. Apparently, the rhino was the only candidate the party fielded in their first election in 1965. It was not permitted to officially run because it was a zoo animal.

### Rhinos cannot look ahead

The Quebec entertainers believed the creature perfectly encapsulated Canadian politics.

"He's like the Canadian government, he really doesn't move fast. He just slowly moves; unless in situations of danger, where the rhino can move really, really fast for a really short period of time," explains Sébastien "CoRhino" Côtiveau, the current leader of the Rhinoceros Party. "It's because of its horn on the nose. The rhino cannot see in front of

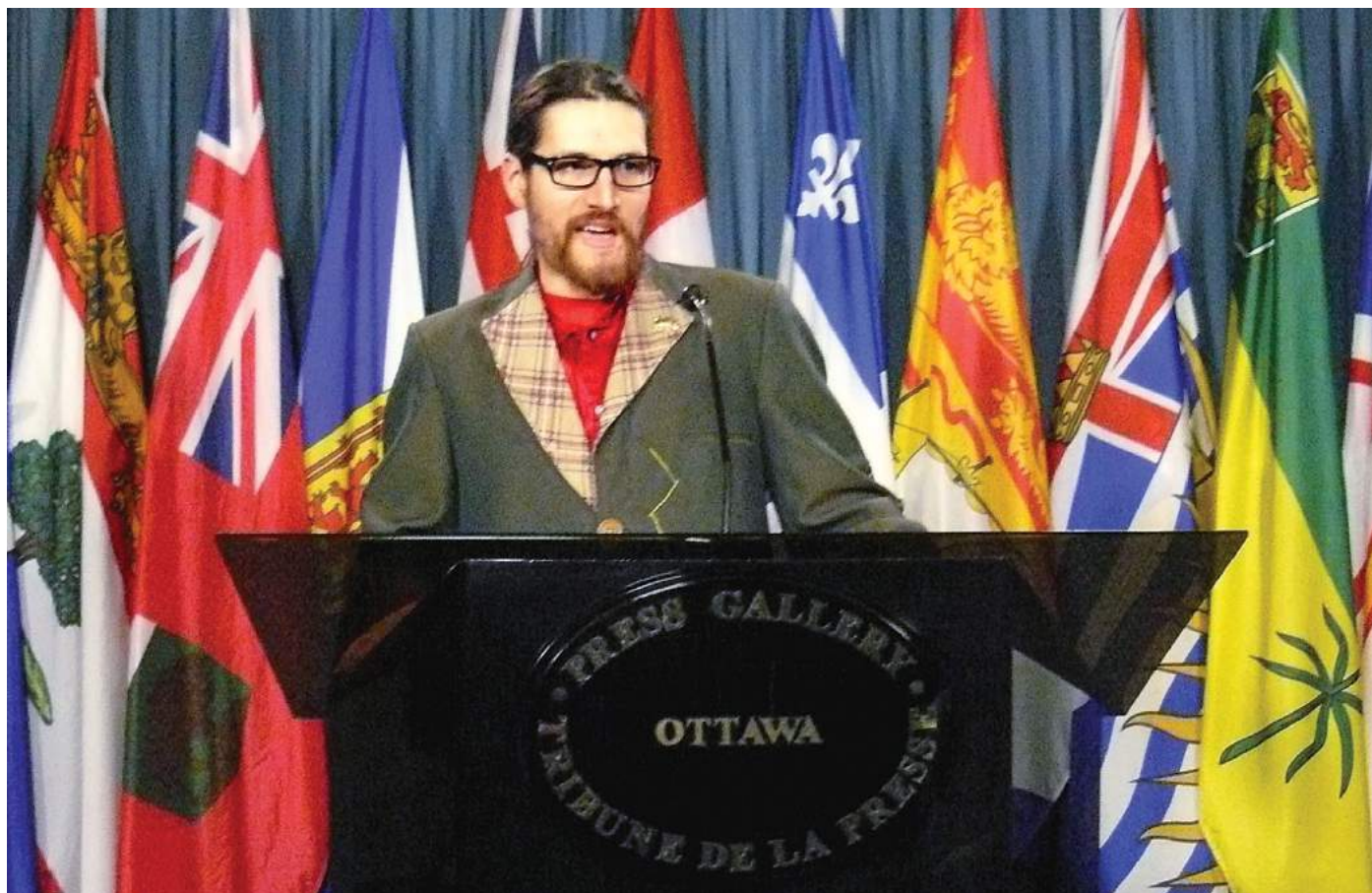
him. And because he doesn't see in front of him, he sees only on the sides. So he has to turn left or right, and sometimes he turns in circles."

The 1980 federal election served as the party's heyday, where it ran 120 candidates and garnered 110,597 votes, 1.01 per cent of the popular vote. During that election, the Rhinos fielded Cirque du Soleil founder Guy Laliberté, who ran in the riding of Charlevoix. The eventual billionaire would bring a rhino badge with him when he went to space in 2009.

In the early 1990s, the party was poached. The Rhinos abstained from the 1993 election, contesting the constitutionality of new rules that required registered parties to run candidates in at least 50 ridings; costing \$1,000 per candidate. The move damaged other fringe parties as well. Elections Canada denied the Rhinos' abstention and removed



“Laughing at ourselves and our political system is a healthy part of democracy.”



Rhinoceros Party leader Sébastien “CoRhino” Côtiveau delivers a speech to the Ottawa Press Gallery. Photo courtesy of The Rhinoceros Party.

them from their registered political parties list. Lacking official status, the parody party essentially disintegrated.

#### Returning from the wilderness

For the next decade or so the party was splintered. In 2004, the federal government passed a law stating that a party only had to run one candidate in a federal election or federal byelection to be considered registered. In 2007, having not taken part in a national federal election since 1988, the party regained official party status, under the leadership of early Rhino faithful François “Yo” Gourd. Gourd was joined by twenty-something studio technician and musician Sébastien Côtiveau. In December of 2014, he became leader of the party.

Côtiveau’s appointment has marked a distinct shift in the trajectory of the party. For one, he no longer wants it to be Quebec-centric.

“We decided when I became the leader that we were going to ‘deMontrealize’ the Party,” he says. “We’re going to nationalize the Rhino Party to all of Canada.”

#### The 2015 Federal Election

In pursuit of this goal, during the lead up to the most recent federal election, Côtiveau became the first Rhino leader to embark on a national tour. Over the course of three weeks and on a frayed shoestring budget (“We have almost no money”), he travelled from Halifax (“the far East”), to Ottawa (“the far West”). The party also ran candidates in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

In the absence of fierce nomination battles and lengthy background checks, those wishing to be Rhino candidates simply had to be somewhat funny and contact Côtiveau online. More than 80 people got in touch with him before the

ballots were cast.

Without intense debate preparation and image consultations, Rhino candidates attended debates they were invited to, and brought along live bands to the ones they were barred from attending.

In lieu of strategy sessions, party message control and focus groups, candidates were free to speak their mind.

“What’s really important is that everybody who is a candidate can say what he wants to say,” asserts Côtiveau, who ran in the Quebec riding of Rimouski-Neigette-Témiscouata-Les Basques.

Nevertheless, the party did offer its standard list of campaign promises to the public. Over the course of its more than half-century existence, platform planks have included banning guns and butter (both kill), abolishing the law of gravity, promoting higher education by building taller schools, tearing down



*Independent Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon candidate Wyatt Scott rides a Canada goose in his awesome campaign video.*  
Photo Credit: Youtube.

the Rockies so Albertans can see the Pacific sunset and counting the Thousand Islands to see if the Americans have stolen any. This year, they brought forward the ideas of nationalizing Tim Hortons and building waterslides at Parliament.

Côrriveau says the fulfilment of these humorous commitments would depend on the clownliness of the candidate who was elected. At one point in its history, the Rhinos' pledge was "a promise to keep none of our promises."

#### **Punch line and purpose**

The reception Côrriveau has received during the Rhino resurgence has been split. Many elderly citizens met him at the door with laughs from memories of the party's past. He says he also usually receives positive reviews from candidates. However, according to Côrriveau, the political die hards: backroom workers, strategists, volunteers, despise them. Many devoted partisans are no doubt offended that the Rhinos are, to a certain extent, making a mockery of political process they have devoted much of their lives to improving.

What may be misunderstood is that the new Rhinoceros Party says it is attempting to improve the process as well.

Samara Canada reports that nearly 40 per cent of Canadians say they have not had even one conversation about politics in the last year. During the 2011 elec-

tion, a mere 38.8 per cent of youth (eligible voters aged 18-24) turned out to vote. Statistics from 2015 have yet to be released by Statistics Canada.

Côrriveau admits that he only dons his symbolic clown nose only half of the time. When he is not cracking jokes, he is concerned that his generation is not marking ballots. The Chef du Parti Rhinocéros Party is aware of these dismal statistics and thinks his party can help improve this by providing approachable comedic entry points to the Canadian political system for the politically disengaged.

"I have a mission that by laughing at politics, I am able to put the first link with politics to people who really don't care," he says, "people who don't want to hear about politics, never ever."

#### **A crowded stage?**

Nevertheless, in 2016, the Rhinoceros Party is no longer the only group vying to be the comedic gateway drug to the politically disillusioned. Today, the Rhino party is joined by a raft of players vying for the apathetic public's attention and chuckles on-air and online; from This Hour Has 22 Minutes to BuzzFeed Canada.

They now also face comedic competition during elections. In a self-made 2015 campaign video, independent candidate in B.C.'s Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Can-

yon, Wyatt Scott rides a Canada goose, slays a dragon with a sword and downs a killer robot with laser eyes. Meanwhile, in the Maritimes, a Halifax man, Hugh Chisholm, "entered" his cat Early Grey into the 2015 race, in an effort to raise awareness for animal welfare. Chisholm already capitalized off the Internet's obsession with felines in the past by "entering" his pets in elections, leading to changes to both provincial and municipal policy towards cats.

Yet the Rhino Party is pleased that advancements to technology have brought them more company. They say that something that is improvised can be just as valuable as more traditional methods.

"The same joke 50 years ago or 40 years ago was just a joke in a living room. And right now it's a joke that everybody can see," says Côrriveau.

As for whether this influx of jokesters makes the 53-year-old Rhinoceros Party any less relevant, Côrriveau assures voters that Canada's most historical parody party is simply taking their time to rebuild and intends to be around for a long time.

"We were hoping to have a Rhino majority government," he says. "We are going to run to be a majority government till the end."

The Canadian rhino does not appear to be an endangered species just yet.



# New Poet Laureate named

By Scott Hitchcox

The Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons are pleased to announce the appointment of George Elliot Clarke as Canada's newest Parliamentary Poet Laureate, effective as of January 1, 2016.

The position of Parliamentary Poet Laureate was created in 2001 as part of the Parliament of Canada Act with the purpose of integrating an appreciation and reverence of written poetry and a promotion of literature, language and culture into the parliamentary process. Among other things, it is the Poet Laureate's duty to compose poetry (particularly for use in Parliament on occasions of state), sponsor readings, and advise the Parliamentary Librarian on the library's cultural collection.

"The appointment is a personal holiday gift, but it is a transcendent, national recognition of the vitality of our official languages and doubly powerful poetries, informed by two great literary traditions," says Clarke of the news.

Mr. Clarke, the seventh poet to assume the role of Poet Laureate, was born in Windsor Nova Scotia in 1960. His large repertoire of work includes chronicling the experience and history of the Black Canadian communities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, work as a parliamentary assistant, and as a professor in the African American Studies department at Duke University. Clarke himself is a seventh-generation Canadian of African-American and Mi'kmaq Amerindian heritage.

Throughout his varied and prestigious career, Clarke has garnered a plethora of honors, including the Governor General's Literary Award for Poetry, the National Magazine Awards' Gold Medal for Poetry, the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Achievement Award, the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation's Trudeau Fellowship Prize, the Dartmouth Book Award for Fiction and the Eric Hoffer Book Award for Poetry. He has also been appointed to the Order of Canada at the rank of Officer and to the Order of Nova Scotia. He holds eight honorary doctorates and recently completed his three-year term as Poet Laureate for the City of Toronto.

"I'm humbled and honoured, inspired



*Canada's newest Parliamentary Poet Laureate George Elliot Clarke, effective as of January 1, 2016. Photo by Carmelita Linta.*

and eager, to follow previous Parliamentary Poets Laureate in valuing in verse our super-natural nation's exemplary experiments in democratized humanism," adds Clarke.

The Speaker of the Senate, George J. Furey, has nothing but praise for the newest individual entrusted with promoting Canada's poetic influence.

"George Elliot Clarke has been a true ambassador of the work of Canadian poets," he says. "His contribution to Canada's cultural fabric is exceptional."

The House of Commons Speaker, Geoff Regan, echoes these sentiments, adding, "His talent as poet, playwright and literary critic is undeniable. He is an immensely versatile and engaging writer that will bring great honour to the posi-

tion."

Candidates for the role are submitted through an open nomination process, provided they meet the selection criteria of holding Canadian residency, a record of literary excellence and contributions to Canada's literary community and be flexible and available for various parliamentary events. Once selected from a final list of nominees by the Speakers of both houses, the Poet Laureate serves for two calendar years. Each year, appointments alternate between French and English.

Indeed, Parliament is looking forward to the coming contributions of Mr. Clarke in the realm of its cultural promotion and the role that poetry plays in Canadian lives over the course of the next two years.

# Remembering those who have served

Story by Scott Hitchcox, photos courtesy of The Royal Canadian Legion Dominion Command

Gone were the snipers, the armed service men and the apprehension of this Remembrance Day service, as all returned to paying homage to those who serve.



*New Prime Minister Justin Trudeau lays a wreath alongside wife Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau.*



*Veterans from different branches of the military stand united in their remembrance and respect.*

As the masses gathered in the late morning on a cloudy November 11, 2015, the mood was markedly different from that of the previous year. Whereas the 2014 Remembrance Day ceremonies came on the heels of the October shooting on Parliament Hill that left Canadians very aware of the potential threat, real or otherwise, that lurked in their midst, this year's observance carried no such weight.

Gone were the very visible snipers atop the Château Laurier and other surrounding buildings, replaced by TV camera crews and spectators vying for the best vantage point. Gone were the fully armed servicemen patrolling the crowd, replaced by wide-eyed toddlers on their parents' shoulders and citizens shaking the hands of veterans, young and old. The worried stares and darting eyes were no more, and indeed the only time that necks were craned was during the flyby of two CF-18 Hornets. Most importantly, gone was the air of nervousness and apprehension that distracted last year's event from its true purpose, rightfully supplanted by a return to the ceremony's *raison d'être*, paying homage to those Canadian servicemen and women who have undergone the ultimate sacrifice in the name of their country.

At the onset of the ceremony, contin-

gents of the army, navy, air force, RCMP and of course, veterans, marched along streets towards the National War Memorial, in recognition of their fallen comrades and of their own burden to protect the ideals of their country. A 21-gun salute, during which the arrival of newly inducted Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Governor General David Johnson and other guests of honour were announced, preceded the 11 a.m. playing of the national anthem; a tune picked up by scores of the nearly 35,000 person crowd.

Guy Chapdelaine, Chaplain General of the Canadian Forces, took the podium and urged the crowd to come together under their own discretion in a prayer for guidance, or a moment for personal reflection, as he paid tribute to those who have fallen.

"Peace between the nations, as well as peace between one another, [is] never to be shaken by fear, or sad indifference," he asserted. He said he prayed that, "the abiding peace for which we dare to dream, for which we have mighty laboured for so long, and for which those that pay the ultimate price, whose sacrifice we recall today, might be at last firmly established on the Earth."

With this, the wreath-laying ceremony commenced. The CAF's wreath was laid by our president, the Hon.

Andy Mitchell. This was followed by a rendition of lieutenant-colonel John McCrae's iconic poem, "In Flanders Field", marking 100 years since it was originally published.

The Honorary Chaplain, Rabbi Reuven Bulka, then spoke of the sanctity of the hallowed ground of the Remembrance Day ceremonies, pointing to 2014's tragedy as evidence that, "Those who stand on guard for us, do so not only overseas, but also right here in our great country."

"Remembrance" Bulka professed, "is not an end in itself; remembrance is a door-opener to an even higher emotion, the feeling and expression of gratitude."

To the supreme sacrifice made by so many Canadian service members, on land, in the air, at sea and to the wounded survivors and to veterans young and old, Bulka led the crowd in issuing a resolute, "Bravo!" a profound appreciation held by Canadians of all races, genders, and creeds. His final words echoed the sentiments of Canadians from coast to coast.

"Canada, a country in which the qualities of respect, harmony, inclusion, responsibility and kindness, define who we are," he said. "God bless our veterans, God bless our troops, God bless Canada."





*A view of the crowd at the Remembrance Day ceremony.*



*Several members of the RCMP march forward in unison.*



*A children's choir sings "In Flanders Fields" during the wreath laying ceremony.*



*A poem on peace and gratitude; one of many messages left throughout the wreaths.*



*Veterans, young and old, share gratitude and respect for one another's service.*



*A soldier bows his head next to the dates forever inscribed into the National War Memorial.*



*The colour party stands at attention throughout the duration of the ceremony.*



*Several members of the crowd echo the gratitude of the nearly 35,000 people in attendance.*



# The return of the formers

By Hayley Chazan

“Don’t worry, you’ll be back.” That was the comment made by a House of Commons employee to Omar Alghabra, current Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, following his defeat in 2008.

“At that time, I wasn’t thinking about what was going to happen next. I was more wrapped up in the matter at hand,” said Alghabra. “I was sad and disappointed and never really considered whether I’d run again.”

But Alghabra said those words always stuck with him and gave him the motivation to believe that he could one day return to the Hill.

“It just goes to show you how important the words we say to people are in certain situations,” he said.

Seventeen former MPs, including Alghabra, who either left politics or were defeated in a previous election made their comeback this October, proving that leaving the Hill is not always permanent.

Bob Nault, the sitting Liberal Member of Parliament for Kenora, Ontario, previously served in the House of Commons for 16 years. In 2004, he decided that it was time to take a break.

“You sort of get carried away going around and around as a politician and you don’t see the forest for the trees, as they say in the North,” Nault said. “It was a good idea to take a break and let the kids grow up.”

During his time away from politics, Nault got heavily involved in the renewable resource sector and worked for First Nations on negotiations and claims. He said what made him return to politics was his desire to be a stronger advocate for the North.

For Ontario Liberal MP Rob Oliphant and Quebec Liberal MPs Alexandra Mendès and Pablo Rodriguez, the decision to return to politics had been planned much earlier. The three former members came in second in the 2011 election, and were determined to rebuild their organizations and run again at the first possible opportunity.

Oliphant said it takes a couple of



Omar Alghabra. Supplied photo.

years to actually understand how to be an effective MP and with only 30 months under his belt following his defeat, he felt like his work was unfinished. A United Church minister by profession, he decided not to return to the ministry after politics, and instead became the president and CEO of the Asthma Society of Canada, a cause he advocated for passionately.

For Mendès, who had dreamed of being a politician all her life, the 2011 defeat was devastating.

“I was crushed. I spent a good two months extremely depressed. It was a very difficult time for me,” she said.

While the loss was challenging, Mendès said her time off gave her the opportunity to enjoy grandmotherhood, something she wouldn’t have been able to do had she been re-elected in 2011.

Featuring a few extra grey hairs, Pablo Rodriguez said being out of politics for the past four years allowed him to see things differently and with a bit more perspective. Rodriguez now serves as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Infrastructure and Communities, and is excited to get started this session.

Rodriguez adds that while Parliament Hill is a wonderful place to be, it is important for rookies to remember that it comes with its own set of rules and rhythms. Both he and Nault agree that it is important for new members



Bob Nault. Supplied photo.

to be patient, learn the ropes and ask a lot of questions from people who are more experienced.

“Throughout my years as an MP, I’ve had some good moments, and some ones that were not so good and I’d be happy to share those experiences with my newly elected colleagues,” Rodriguez said. “They may find some help in them and they may find a laugh or two as well.”

Oliphant said one of the most important lessons he learned as a former MP is there are good ideas in every seat in the House, regardless of party or ideology. He said he intends to work very hard on his relationships with MPs from other ridings in others parties.

While their paths to re-election were all different, Nault, Oliphant, Mendès and Rodriguez each agreed that the most important thing to remember is first and foremost the job of an MP is to represent their community.

“Stay close to home, organize your constituency and make sure it’s effective to look after the needs of your constituents. That’s the most important part of your job, even compared to any other appointments you may be getting on the Hill,” asserted Nault.

*While returning parliamentarians from parties beyond the Liberal Party of Canada were contacted for this story, only Liberal MPs responded to Beyond the Hill’s interview requests.*



## Current MPs previously elected to the House of Commons

Name	Affiliation	Riding	Dates of first and subsequent elections
Alghabra, Omar	Liberal	Mississauga Centre, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Mississauga—Erindale, Ontario	2006.01.23
Bagnell, Larry	Liberal	Yukon, Yukon	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Yukon, Yukon	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Yukon, Yukon	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Yukon, Yukon	2004.06.28
	Liberal	Yukon, Yukon	2000.11.27
Bains, Navdeep Singh	Liberal	Mississauga—Malton, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Mississauga—Brampton South, Ontario	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Mississauga—Brampton South, Ontario	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Mississauga—Brampton South, Ontario	2004.06.28
Boucher, Sylvie	Conservative	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix, Quebec	2015.10.19
	Conservative	Beauport—Limoilou, Quebec	2008.10.14
	Conservative	Beauport—Limoilou, Quebec	2006.01.23
Casey, William D. (Bill)	Liberal	Cumberland—Colchester, Nova Scotia	2015.10.19
	Independent	Cumberland—Colchester—Musquodoboit Valley, Nova Scotia	2008.10.14
	Conservative	Cumberland—Colchester—Musquodoboit Valley, Nova Scotia	2006.01.23
	Conservative	North Nova, Nova Scotia	2004.06.28
	Progressive Conservative	Cumberland—Colchester, Nova Scotia	2000.11.27
	Progressive Conservative	Cumberland—Colchester, Nova Scotia	1997.06.02
	Progressive Conservative	Cumberland—Colchester, Nova Scotia	1988.11.21
Dhaliwal, Sukh	Liberal	Surrey—Newton, British Columbia	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Newton—North Delta, British Columbia	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Newton—North Delta, British Columbia	2006.01.23
Généreux, Bernard	Conservative	Montmagny—L'Islet—Kamouraska—Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec	2015.10.19
	Conservative	Montmagny—L'Islet—Kamouraska—Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec (By-Election)	2009.11.09
Holland, Mark	Liberal	Ajax, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Ajax—Pickering, Ontario	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Ajax—Pickering, Ontario	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Ajax—Pickering, Ontario	2004.06.28
Mendès, Alexandra	Liberal	Brossard—Saint-Lambert, Quebec	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Brossard—La Prairie, Quebec	2008.10.14
Nault, Robert Daniel	Liberal	Kenora, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Kenora—Rainy River, Ontario	2000.11.27
	Liberal	Kenora—Rainy River, Ontario	1997.06.02
	Liberal	Kenora—Rainy River, Ontario	1993.10.25
	Liberal	Kenora—Rainy River, Ontario	1988.11.21
Oliphant, Robert	Liberal	Don Valley West, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Don Valley West, Ontario	2008.10.14
Paradis, Denis	Liberal	Brome—Missisquoi, Quebec	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Brome—Missisquoi, Quebec	2004.06.28
	Liberal	Brome—Missisquoi, Quebec	2000.11.27
	Liberal	Brome—Missisquoi, Quebec	1997.06.02
	Liberal	Brome—Missisquoi, Quebec	1995.02.13
Peschisolido, Joe	Liberal	Steveston—Richmond East, British Columbia	2015.10.19
	Canadian Alliance	Richmond, British Columbia	2000.11.27
Ratansi, Yasmin	Liberal	Don Valley East, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Don Valley East, Ontario	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Don Valley East, Ontario	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Don Valley East, Ontario	2004.06.28
Rodriguez, Pablo	Liberal	Honoré-Mercier, Quebec	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Honoré-Mercier, Quebec	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Honoré-Mercier, Quebec	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Honoré-Mercier, Quebec	2004.06.28
Rota, Anthony	Liberal	Nipissing—Timiskaming, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Nipissing—Timiskaming, Ontario	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Nipissing—Timiskaming, Ontario	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Nipissing—Timiskaming, Ontario	2004.06.28
"Wrzesnewskyj, Borys"	Liberal	Etobicoke Centre, Ontario	2015.10.19
	Liberal	Etobicoke Centre, Ontario	2008.10.14
	Liberal	Etobicoke Centre, Ontario	2006.01.23
	Liberal	Etobicoke Centre, Ontario	2004.06.28

Source: Parlinfo

# Former Parliamentarians reflect on previous refugee crises

By Hayley Chazan

When a former Progressive Conservative Employment and Immigration Minister, the Hon. Ron Atkey, thinks about the photo of three-year-old Alan Kurdi's body washed ashore on a Turkish beach, he can't help but recall the Indochinese crisis and the Vietnamese boat people, many of who experienced the same horrors of today's Syrian refugees.

In November 1978, news broke that over 2,500 Vietnamese were stranded off the coast of Malaysia on an old cargo ship called the Hai Hong. Their lives hanging in the balance, and with nowhere else to turn, they unravelled a handmade English sign across the side of the ship that read, "UN please save us."

Images of Indochinese refugees dropping into the sea and dying galvanized the world, and the story appeared on the front page of most Canadian newspapers. In the end, 500,000 to 600,000 drowned (half of the boat people).

Suddenly, the question was raised, "What is Canada's role?"

## Canada's answer to the Indochinese refugee crisis

After defeating the Trudeau government in 1979 on a promise to increase Canada's intake of Indochinese refugees, Ron, under then Prime Minister Joe Clark's leadership, immediately increased the number of refugees from a previous 5,000 to 12,000 a year.

However, this proved to be insufficient. Migrants continued to drown at sea, and many were ushered into camps in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Thailand.

"We had to take dramatic action, and we were being versed by the United Nations to do more. First of all to alleviate the crisis, but also to get the United States to provide more assistance, which eventually they did," said Ron, who represented the riding of St. Paul's.

On July 18, 1979, the Canadian gov-



*Crewmen of the amphibious cargo ship USS Durham (LKA-114) take Vietnamese refugees from aboard a small craft in the South China Sea in 1975. Photo courtesy of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.*

ernment, through the late Flora MacDonald, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, proclaimed that Canada would boost its commitment ten-fold, from the original 5,000 to 50,000 a year.

Ron said that part of what allowed the Progressive Conservative government to then exceed their 50,000 goal was the matching program. Its predecessor was originally put in place by the Liberal government in the mid-1970s; whereby private groups would be encouraged to personally sponsor refugees. Clark then promised that every Indochinese refugee sponsored by a private sponsoring group would be matched by a refugee resettled by the government.

Ron said he remembered that private refugee sponsorship caught on in a large

way in Canada, with faith-based groups and churches, community groups, service clubs and even neighborhoods stepping up to cover basic costs like food and housing for refugees' first year in Canada. At the time, the cost to privately sponsor a family was \$5,000. Today, the cost to privately sponsor a family of four is approximately \$25,000.

"It surprised us that there was such a major commitment of Canadians responding to this system," said Ron. "We were completely overwhelmed, in a good way, with the success of the program."

In 1980, the government changed hands and Pierre Trudeau was put back in power. Due to the continued support of the Liberals, Canada welcome 60,000 refugees in 18 months.





*A column of T-55 tanks enters the Polish town of Zbaszynek in December 1981, following the declaration of martial law. Many Poles fleeing Communist rule settled in Canada. Photo by J. Żołnierkiewicz.*



*Syrian refugees arrive at Lesbos, Greece, aboard a dinghy after crossing from Turkey. Photo by Petros Giannakouris/Associated Press.*

### Canada's answer to the Polish exodus

While new and current parliamentarians are taken with today's ongoing Syrian refugee crisis, like Ron, former long-standing Liberal MP Jesse Flis can't help but recall his own experience with a similar crisis during his time on the Hill.

Flis was an MP for fourteen years for the mainly Eastern European riding of Parkdale-High Park between 1979 and 1997. He served twice on the government side, and twice in opposition. In 1993 he was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In 1995, he was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In 1981, martial law was introduced in Communist Poland, whereby high-ranking military leaders, attempted to crush political opposition. At that time, many Poles had already left their homeland, refusing to return to the authoritarian regime. In Canada, the Liberals Party was in power.

Flis explained that one way migrants could avoid deportation was to declare refugee status. However, during the early 1980s, Flis said Canadian immigration law required that such an application be made prior to arriving in Canada. This meant that Polish tourists and family visitors already in Canada had to go to another country to claim refugee status. Many went to Buffalo and Detroit and even as far as Austria and Italy at great additional expense, to meet this legal requirement and start the process of bringing their family over from Poland.

As a second generation Polish-Canadian fluent in his mother tongue, Flis found himself at the centre of the crisis, in charge of all issues relating to Polish refugees in the Liberal caucus.

During his time in opposition, Flis lobbied hard to change the law and allow people to seek refugee status after arriving in Canada. Eventually, the government amended and softened its policy.

To this day, Flis said people in the Polish community come up to him and thank him for his contribution.

"Thanks to you, my son is a doctor," Flis said one woman told him at a recent Polish Christmas event.

He said that by far, the biggest reward of his political career was helping families get reunited. Flis highlighted that more attention must be paid to the extended families of refugees.

"Even with Syrian refugees, there will be lost family members out there or in

other countries," Flis said. "It's important for future governments not to forget those relatives."

He said governments should be sensitive to the long-term needs of refugees and develop a long-term strategy in order to help families reunite, even after the immediate crisis subsides.

"As with the Syrian refugees, this Polish crisis of the 1980s was another demonstration of how Canada does everything possible to welcome refugees, to continue to build the most beautiful country on earth," said Flis.

### Canada's talent

A former citizenship and immigration minister under Chrétien, the Hon. Sergio Marchi, couldn't agree more.

The former Liberal MP for York West said a report released 10 years after the arrival of the Vietnamese boat people stated that the refugees, who arrived with nothing but the shirts on their backs, had adjusted well to life in Canada. Most of them had become citizens and a high percentage had started their own medium-sized businesses.

"That's the human spirit," said Marchi. "People who are true refugees are grateful for a second or third opportunity at life and their gratefulness translates into loyalty and dedication to this country."

Marchi said he doesn't think there is any other country in the world that handles immigration and refugee policy as well as Canada.

"We're not a country that brags about things, we're very modest, but on this one, I think we have the legitimacy for some bragging rights."



*Former Liberal MP Jesse Flis (R) being awarded the Order of the Polonia Restituta, one of the highest orders in the country. During the 1980s, Flis helped many families fleeing Communist Poland settle in Canada. Photo courtesy of The Association of Polish Engineers in Canada.*

# Youth voter apathy

Documentary "The Drop" sheds light on youth disengagement in Canadian politics

Story by Scott Hitchcox, photos by Kyle McCachen of Stoke Show Ltd.



*Actor and filmmaker, Dylan Playfair, stands outside Parliament Hill on his quest to find out what millennials think about politics.*

**Y**outh voter apathy. Three little words that, whether said with disgust, incredulity, or shame, have come to depict the apparent voting attitudes of millennials, a generation of youth who, if you would believe the headlines, seem to take little interest in political engagement.

This impediment for the democratic process is precisely what the documentary *The Drop: Why Young People Don't Vote*, seeks to uncover. "The Drop" follows 21-year-old actor and filmmaker Dylan Playfair on a journey through North American politics, as he explores why some of his peers immerse themselves into politics, whereas others sim-

ply "don't really care."

Although filmmaker Kyle McCachen was the director, CAFP member Ian Waddell had a hand in the creation of the documentary, serving as an executive producer. A film buff since before his lengthy stint as a member of the House of Commons, Ian, alongside McCachen, stumbled upon the idea for the film almost by accident, when an attempt at making a film detailing the process of running an election campaign revealed that, for many youth, the particulars didn't particularly matter. The subsequent revelation that only 38.8 per cent of eligible voters between 18 and 24 participated in the 2011

federal election was enough to set the wheels in motion for "The Drop". McCachen then enlisted the help of Playfair, and sent him across the continent exploring politics amongst different youth demographics.

Playfair's first stop is, fittingly enough, Parliament, where he scores interviews with the major party leaders, asking them simply why they believe youth voting numbers have been on the decline. Justin Trudeau, at the time of filming the Liberal leader, said, "When you look at young people, they're more involved and aware of what's going on with the world." "Young people get a reputation for being apathetic but it's





*Dylan at the Burning Man festival in the middle of the Nevada desert.*



*Dylan talks to Justin Trudeau before being elected prime minister.*

usually the fact that they're frustrated that they don't get to make themselves heard, so for me young people not voting is not a problem with young people, it's a problem with politics."

#### **From Toronto to Missouri**

While the views of politicians were important, the best answers in the documentary were delivered by youth Playfair came across in his adventure; the first being those partaking in the "festivities" of the annual Burning Man festival in Nevada. Although many are

wrapped up in the party, including Playfair, who dons a cowboy hat and ski goggles throughout many of the interviews, the sentiment is much the same: political figures don't represent their interests.

This view is contrasted when Playfair visits Toronto during a very contentious mayoral race, featuring the infamous Ford family against a myriad of contenders. Among Ford's opponents is 18-year-old candidate Morgan Baskin, running to prove her generation is more

politically powerful than often perceived. Baskin finished 8th in the race, garnering over 1000 votes. The youth vote in Toronto increased by nearly 10 per cent in that mayoral election.

Playfair also travels to the state of North Carolina, days away from the midterm elections, in what, at the time, was one of the most hotly contested and expensive elections yet. Again, he meets youth disillusioned with candidates, who they believe are more concerned with airing attack ads against one an-



*Dylan talks to Morgan Baskin, an 18-year-old who ran in the recent Toronto mayoral race which featured a myriad of big-name contenders including Doug Ford, Olivia Chow and John Tory.*



*CAFP member Ian Waddell served as an executive producer on the film.*



other than representing youth interests.

On the last stop of his excursion, Playfair finds himself amongst a youth group with a legitimate reason to care about their representation— those in the tragedy-torn city of Ferguson, Missouri. After the police incidents and riots, the town is trying to rebuild and its youth have responded by emphasizing the importance of their own political engagement.

### Continuing the conversation

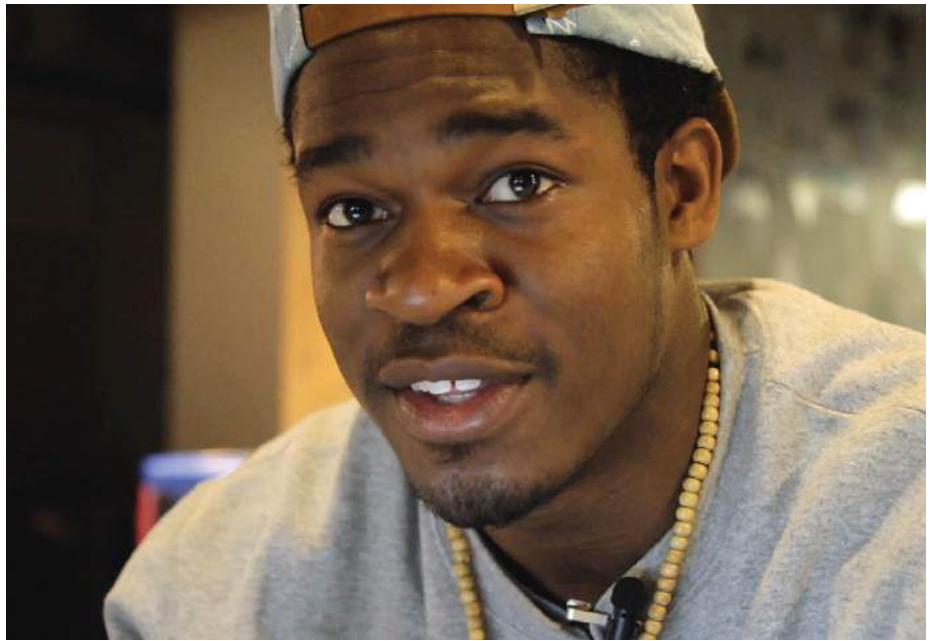
"The Drop" provides a necessary contribution to the discussion of youth engagement; it is one of the first that is made by youth, for youth, without an ulterior motive or underlying political agenda. As Trudeau implies in the early minutes of the documentary, decrease in youth engagement cannot be swept under the rug as a consequence of a devil-may-care disinterest in anything that can't be squeezed into the dimensions of a phone screen. Rather, we must address the need for the political process to evolve to a point where the future leaders of nations feel as though their voice is heard, respected and prioritized.

For former parliamentarian Ian Waddell, who has thus far been very pleased with the film's success, this message of youth political capability ran throughout the locations visited by the documentary.

"I wish more people could see this film," Ian says. "I personally discovered a new generation that are arguably the smartest in human history and are actually very committed although also very critical. It will be a challenge for present and future politicians to deliver for them."

As for the future of the film, which was commissioned and aired on TVO and CPAC in early October and can be found on both channels' websites, Ian hopes to produce a shorter, more accessible version to accompany former parliamentarians on their visits to schools as part of this association's continuing academic initiative.

"There is nothing better than young people speaking to young people as is done in the film and then adding the experience of our generation of parliamentarians," Ian says. "It's a winning formula. It's about the future of a healthy democracy."



*Dylan talks to Maalik Shakoor of Webster University about issues affecting the African American community.*



*"The Drop" encounters the protests in Ferguson, Missouri in the aftermath of the shooting of Micheal Brown, an 18-year old African-American, by a white police officer.*



*Dylan investigates a Ferguson memorial.*



# First ever global anti-corruption award goes to Yemeni parliamentarian

By Scott Hitchcox

In conjunction with the International Anti-Corruption Academy (IACA), the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) announced the winner of the first annual GOPAC International Anti-Corruption Award in early 2015: the Honourable Ali Ashal, a parliamentarian from Yemen.

Founded in October 2002 and basing itself out of Ottawa, GOPAC is unique because, according to communications manager Ann Marie Paquet, “It is the only international network of parliamentarians doing anti-corruption work.”

Comprised of 52 national chapters on five continents and boasting membership from 700 parliamentarians and 400 observers, GOPAC’s objective is to achieve accountable, inclusive, and transparent governance through its core values of integrity, accountability, collaboration, and diversity.

## The International Anti-Corruption Academy

The IACA holds similar goals of overcoming corruption through an education initiative, aimed at enhancing skills and knowledge regarding anti-corruption techniques for young professionals and future leaders. Much of what they provide includes anti-corruption training and networking. Though a relatively new program (IACA was officially recognized as an international organization in March 2011) the group already has a constituency of 71 UN member states, and three intergovernmental organizations.

Although the two groups have collaborated in the past (they have a memorandum of understanding and members have participated at one another’s events), they claim the first annual anti-corruption award represents an exciting step forward in the fight against corruption.

## The award

“The award is a way not only of recognizing what our members are doing, but also to encourage others to take on similar work,” emphasizes Paquet. “Many parliamentarians don’t know that there are other people out there doing this kind of work, and it can sometimes be



*Ali Ashal, a parliamentarian from Yemen, was the winner of the first annual GOPAC International Anti-Corruption Award in early 2015.*

dangerous to push anti-corruption agendas in certain countries. Our objective is to let people see what countries are doing so that other parliamentarians can find the courage to do the same.”

Fulfilling the award criteria requires an active GOPAC member whose actions best reflect the core values GOPAC bases itself on. Ashal embodied these core values through his work in combatting corruption and promoting democratic practices in both his native Yemen and abroad. His accomplishments span a 15-year career, and include the introduction of the Access to Information Right Law and his push for parliamentary oversight within the resource sector.

“Mr. Ashal’s accomplishments are a shining example of the power parliamentarians around the world can have in their countries and sends a clear message that corruption can be defeated,” says GOPAC chair Ricardo Garcia.

“We honour Mr. Ashal and encourage others to learn from his dedication and to integrate values of integrity, accountability, collaboration and diversity in their work.”

A committee that reviewed nominations selected Ashal as a candidate for the award. The executive committee of GOPAC’s board of directors ultimately made the final decision. Ashal was formally recognized at GOPAC’s global conference in July 2015 in Jakarta, Indonesia.

As the winner, Ashal was granted inclusion at IACA’s annual summer academy, an intensive 10-day education opportunity in Austria that analyzes global trends and teaches participants skills and strategies for identifying and opposing

corruption. Additionally, Ashal has been granted the title of GOPAC ambassador, which, according to Paquet, “Could include representation at other conferences, or potential speaking opportunities on behalf of the organization.”

Now with Mr. Ashal as the inaugural winner of the anti-corruption award, GOPAC will annually recognize the exceptional efforts of parliamentarians worldwide in their continual efforts to combat corruption on a global scale. This year’s winner will be selected through a similar process.

## Ending grand corruption

Grand corruption involves corruption that takes place at the highest levels of government.

On December 9, 2014, International Anti-Corruption Day, GOPAC launched an online campaign to fight grand corruption and, as Paquet says, “Call for international organizations to come together to try and find what the solution may be to prosecute perpetrators for what we consider to be the worst form of corruption.”

The movement has gained traction over the past year, with the social media hashtag #PreventProsecuteParalyze and an online petition being used as mediums to spread both the danger grand corruption poses, as well as the steps proposed by GOPAC to combat it. Additionally, GOPAC has advocated for the UN to establish an international court on corruption, for the prosecution of perpetrators and collaborators of grand corruption.

“Grand corruption affects more people than any other type, and unfortunately those committing the crimes are those who have the power and the tools to hide and not be prosecuted,” she adds. “That has to change.”

Whatever the solution may be, Paquet emphasizes that it will not happen overnight. However, the inaugural anti-corruption award and the partnership with the IACA represents a step forward in making public the work that legislators do worldwide to achieve transparent, accountable and inclusive government, while encouraging others to do the same.

# Election Observation in Haiti

Former Parliamentarians travel to Haiti to observe tumultuous election

By Hayley Chazan

Haiti, the poorest country in the Americas, has struggled for decades to build a stable democracy, and if recent events are any indication, things are not likely to get easier anytime soon.

On Jan. 22, the Haitian government postponed a run-off presidential election scheduled to take place just two days later, due to escalating violence, which included the burning of several election offices.

During the first round of elections, which took place three months earlier on Oct. 25, none of the 56 presidential candidates received a majority mandate.

To make matters more complicated, opponents of the government have now alleged that the fall election was plagued with widespread fraud.

In order to ensure the October election was conducted fairly and democratically, ParlAmericas, an independent network of national legislatures of countries in the Americas, launched the Election Observation Mission in Haiti.

Six former members of parliament were part of the Canadian delegation and were able to make use of their French language skills. Carole-Marie Allard, Lise Bourgault, Jean-Pierre Blackburn, Jacques Saada, Mario Silva and Judy Wasylycia-Leis each served as short-term observers, spending a period of nine to 10 days in the country both before and after the election.

## On the ground

Judy Wasylycia-Leis, who served as a NDP MP from Winnipeg between 1997 and 2010, said the trip was an incredible experience. She explained that the first three days were spent getting thorough briefings on all aspects of Haitian life, including politics and the electoral system. According to her, there was a particular emphasis on security concerns.

Following the briefings, the MPs were dispatched in pairs, along with a driver, to various regions of the coun-



Former MPs who were part of the Canadian delegation. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.

try that they would be responsible for monitoring come election day. Each pair of observers was in charge of multiple voting locations.

According to Jean-Pierre Blackburn, a long-time Progressive Conservative MP and former cabinet minister from Jonquière, Quebec, the buildings that served as polling centres were very rudimentary.

"Most of the voting centres were school classrooms, but were very basic, containing cement and dirt floors," said

Jean-Pierre. "There was no electricity and no air conditioning and it was very hot."

Former Quebec Liberal MP Lise Bourgault said that not only were the conditions rough, but the voting process was extremely complex. Voters had to fill out a ballot for president, MP, senator and local representative.

"It's a complex procedure in pretty difficult circumstances and it's easy to make a mistake or feel intimidated," said Lise.

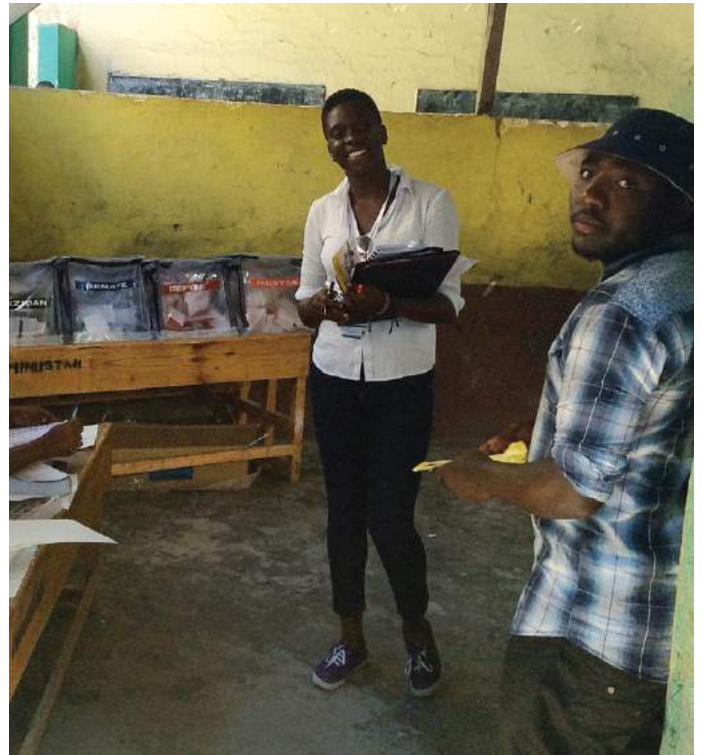




*Haitians waiting in line to vote. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*



*Voting by candlelight. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*

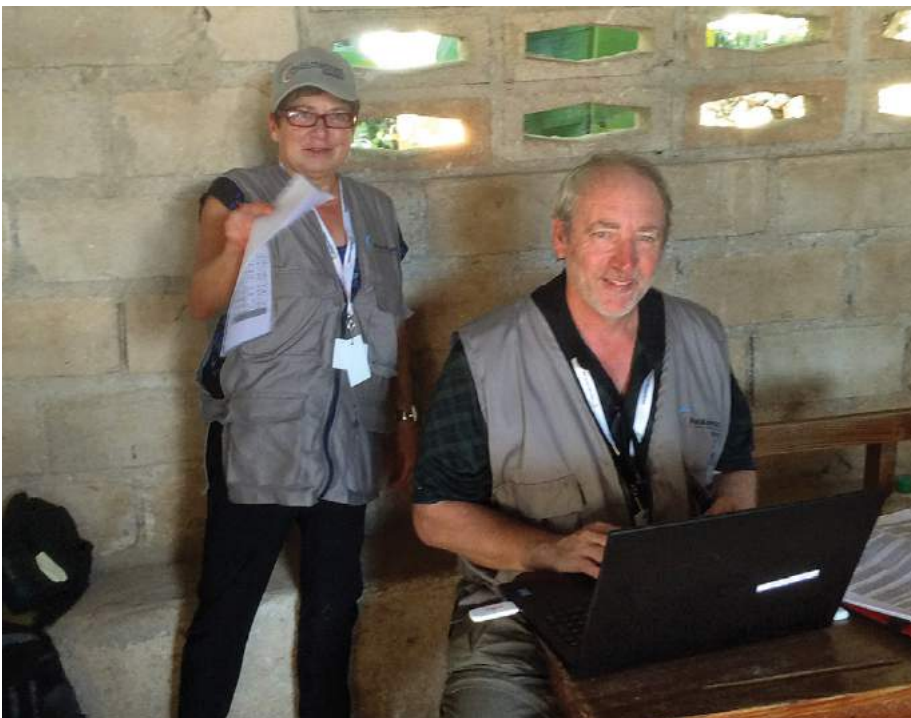


*At a polling station with Judy Wasylycia-Leis' interpreter, Syndie Desir. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*





*Judy Wasylycia-Leis and Charles Messier outside of the district election bureau where the ballots are delivered and then sent by helicopter to the vote tabulation centre. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*



*Judy Wasylycia-Leis and Charles Messier enter their report from a polling station. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*

## “No fraud during election but still loopholes in system.”

Throughout the October election day, the former parliamentarians were required to observe different aspects of the voting process. This included: whether or not the polls opened and closed on time, the security, incidents of violence, and the representation of women in line.

“Everything we observed, we recorded,” said Judy.

Jean-Pierre said despite the rough environment, there was always a steady line outside the polling centres in his region and turnout was nearly 30 per cent—almost double that of a previous election in August. He also said the local police were vigilant and as a result, he didn’t observe any violence.

In the days following the election, observers worked tirelessly to report everything they had witnessed. This culminated in a final report that was delivered by the organization.

“From what we witnessed, there was no fraud during the actual voting process,” said Jean-Pierre. He did note however that once all the ballots were counted locally, they were sent to a central returning office that was not monitored by the observers.

While none of the observers are aware of the exact details of the recent fraud allegations, Lise said that she finds the situation discouraging.

“Everybody is trying to do their best in an impossible situation,” she said.

Despite the current instability in Haiti, Jean-Pierre is optimistic that democracy will ultimately prevail, in the country that was devastated by an earthquake in 2010. He said the next steps are for Haiti’s election body to launch an investigation into the recent allegations.

While the run-off election has not yet been scheduled, Jean-Pierre said he is prepared to return to Haiti with the Canadian delegation, if asked.

“It’s imperative for Haitian democracy that the election happens without fraud, that’s why we go on these missions in the first place,” he said.





*Lise Bourgault (foreground) and other former parliamentarians from Quebec share their thoughts around the table. Photo credit: Lise Bourgault.*



*Jean-Pierre Blackburn's identity card. ParlAmericas is the umbrella organization that arranged the election monitoring. Photo credit: Jean-Pierre Blackburn.*



*Short and long-term observers on Judy Wasylycia-Leis' team. Photo credit: Judy Wasylycia-Leis.*



*Jean-Pierre Blackburn speaking at a press conference. Photo credit: Jean-Pierre Blackburn.*



*Hon. John Reid.*

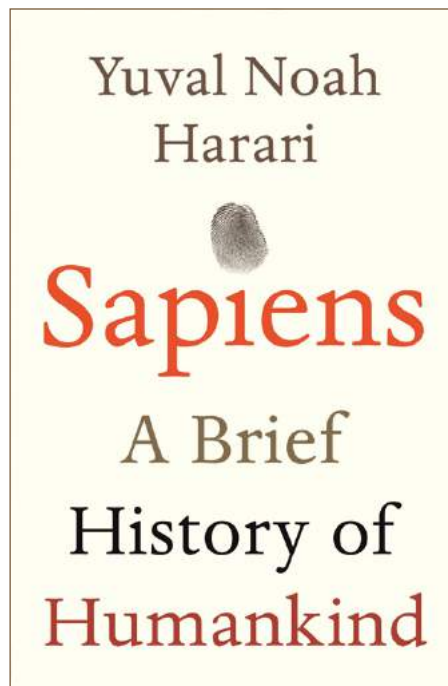
# The One True Religion

By Hon. John Reid

“Religion is the opium of the people” is one of the most frequently paraphrased remarks of German philosopher and economist Karl Marx, the author of the holy book of Communism, *Das Kapital*. The actual quote, however, is quite different: “Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.” Over time, it has been reduced to the quote above.

I have been reading a new book entitled *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* by Yuval Noah Harari. It examines how *Homo sapiens* became the dominant creature on planet Earth. His analysis argues that language was most important in this development, but it was social cooperation made possible by language that was crucial in enabling large groups of people to live and work together; to create cities and empires, but most of all, to create trust between individuals. And so today, as in the past, the most important use of language is gossip - chat about others. Social cooperation is the key to any human culture. Dependable information about who could be trusted meant small bands could grow into larger bands and develop tighter and more complex types of cooperation. Even today, the vast majority of human communication, whether in the form of email, phone calls, texts, newspapers or TV items, is gossip.

Besides the invention of language, Harari credits the development of artificial constructs as a way that hu-



mankind changed. His first example is the corporation. It is defined in most country's laws as a “legal fiction”; it simply exists because we imagine it. Large numbers of individuals can cooperate together by believing in common myths. He writes that, large scale human actions – medieval churches, modern states, modern corporations – are rooted in common myths that exist only in people's collective imagination. One of his examples is religion and his interpretation of the greatest and most successful religion of all.

## Taking a lens to religion and money

If you look at definitions of religion, one can see certain common threads. Harari asserts that religion is a system of human norms and values that are based on belief in a superhuman order. It is not the culmination of human impulses or agreements. Based on this superhuman order, a religion creates norms and values that it considers compulsory. It must promote a worldwide superhuman order that is true, always and everywhere. Secondly, much like missionaries, it must demand on spreading this faith to everyone. One of those religions is money.

Harari states that money is the most universal and most efficient system of mutual trust ever devised. The first very successful gold currency was Roman; they were an accepted medium of exchange in India even though there were no Roman legions nearby. Over time, money became identified with gold and silver, formed into coins, stamped with the face or symbol of some ruler. The system grew even though peoples believed in different gods or came from different cultures. All believed in gold and silver coins. Today, we believe in coins and paper currencies but really in electronic blips, since that is what our money is now. He asserts that money is the only human trust system that can cross cultural gaps, and does not discriminate on the basis of religion, gender, race, age or sexual orientation. Even people who do not know each other can cooperate on the basis of money.





*Yuval Noah Harari. Photo by Richard Stanton.*

Money has immense powers. Harari states that it has universal convertibility - with money in hand, you can convert land into loyalty, justice into health and violence into knowledge. It provides widespread trust, because with money as a go-between, any two (or more) can collaborate on any matter.

Money is a man-made religion and like other religions money has darker sides. Harari writes that while it establishes universal trust between strangers, this confidence is not invested in humans, communities or sacred values, but in money itself, in the struc-

tures that support it and in the endless desire to own and control it. It has become the symbol of greed. But greed for whatever was and is valuable has always been with us.

An example of this tendency could be found in a recent report by Oxfam entitled *An Economy for the 1%*, that documented the vast and growing gap between rich and poor. According to their research, the 62 richest billionaires own as much wealth as the poorest half of the world's population. The report's authors conclude that urgent action must be taken to address the fact that one per cent of people own

more wealth than the other 99 per cent combined.

The international organization claims the wealth of the poorest 50 per cent dropped by 41 per cent between 2010 and 2015, despite an increase in the global population of 400 million. At the same time, the wealth of the richest 62 people increased by \$500 billion to \$1.76 trillion. Most religions promise a happy existence in the afterlife; but money promises it all in the here and now.

Hon. John Reid served as a Liberal MP from 1965-1984 for the riding of Kenora-Rainy River.



*Dorothy Dobbie*

# The road to righteousness

By Dorothy Dobbie

**T**he fact that a wealthy country like Canada can help a few thousand refugees is a good thing and something of which we can be proud. But it defies logic that the same country tolerates homelessness and children living in Third World conditions on reserves – or that we have reserves at all, for that matter.

How can we be so hypocritical as to applaud action on the foreign front while ignoring needs on our own doorsteps? Why are our priorities not with our own people? Why have we allowed their poverty and destitution to persist here at home?

These questions plague me. Is our callousness towards our own people rooted in racism and elitism? Do we not see or do we just not care that our society has turned its collective back on these people?

Our lack of action is not politically based. All parties, in all jurisdictions, have failed to resolve or seriously tackle these issues. However, all have, from time to time, thrown a bag of pennies that way to dampen any enthusiasm for finding long-term solutions.

## **The homeless**

Responsibility for our homeless has been shuffled off to cities. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of unfortunate people wander our streets while we avert our eyes and pretend they don't exist. There have been numerous studies and reports – we even count the homeless like we do birds – but there is very little real resolution to provide solutions.

Yet, it is do-able. Medicine Hat recently announced that it has essentially ended homelessness in their city.

Sadly, cities receive only eight cents of every tax dollar, even though they bear the greatest burden for looking after individuals.



Private sector organization try to pick up some of the load, but their work only touches the surface and some religion-based organizations draw the line at helping those who are intoxicated or have addictions.

## **Aboriginal people**

There have been many more commissions, studies, parliamentary committees and endless reports about the issues facing our Aboriginal Peoples; including the conditions for children both on and off reserves, the many missing women, the inadequate housing, the lack of clean water. All these reports end up gathering dust in the archives.

When I was first appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, I read everything I could to prepare myself for the job, including the Indian Act. Reading it made me so angry I could hardly wait for my departmental briefing. I was burning with one question: "What's the long-term plan to get rid of this pernicious document and start treating our Aboriginal people with respect?"

The departmental staff looked at me in consternation and then gently explained, as to an idiot, "We don't make long-term plans here, Madam Dobbie."

## **Why not?**

Presumably, their answer was based on the reality that governments and priorities change. But for matters of this magnitude of importance, this is not an acceptable answer. How can questions of simple humanity not be a priority? Every party says they are. So why can we not find enough political consensus to make a long-term collaborative plan to resolve these issues?

## **Task force**

Here's a suggestion: in the spirit of sensible leadership, we could agree to empower a results-oriented task force to tackle the Indian Act, Aboriginal poverty and the conditions on and off reserves, including missing Aboriginal women. This time, we would involve the "stakeholders" (Aboriginal people), as well as political representatives from all affected levels of government.

We could agree to tackle homelessness in the same way.

The parties would have to set aside jurisdictional disputes and agree to models of funding and sustainability.

## **Not Pollyanna**

I can see the eyes rolling, as this is read. What planet does that Pollyanna live on? But just think, if we really cared about these issues, if they were true priorities, we could find the solutions.

It seems to me that if we want to be able to hold our heads up out there in the rest of the world as a compassionate, kinder and gentler nation led by a new leader who is one of "sunny ways", then we'd better hop to it and make something happen.

Otherwise, no matter how many refugees we rescue, we will be seen as the hypocrites we have so far been proven to be.

Dorothy Dobbie was the Progressive Conservative MP for Winnipeg south from 1988 to 1993.



# Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy

By Harrison Lowman



*The Speaker of the Senate addresses Teachers Institute participants in the Senate Chamber. Photo Credit: Parliament of Canada.*



*Participants engage in a committee simulation. Photo Credit: Parliament of Canada.*



*In small groups, participants share ideas and resources with other educators from across the country. Photo Credit: Parliament of Canada.*

Each fall, the Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy brings together approximately 70 educators from across Canada, for an intensive and informative week on Parliament Hill run by experts.

The Institute was launched in 1996 and is coordinated by the Library of Parliament and supported by both the

Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. The program aims to provide a unique immersive opportunity to educators teaching governance and citizenship. Following the event, teachers are able to take invaluable knowledge as well as physical resources back to their classrooms to share with their students.

CAFP provides 10 bursaries, val-

ued at \$500 each, for teachers across Canada who would be unable to attend without financial assistance. The bursaries allow these educators to participate in the program. Our bursaries are named after two deceased former parliamentarians: Jack Ellis and Benoît Sauvageau.

Due to the recent election, this year, the week fell on February 21 to 26.

# Staying in touch

By Hayley Chazan, Scott Hitchcox and Harrison Lowman

**The Hon. Yoine Goldstein**  
(Liberal Senator, 2005-2009)

**Q: How did you end up getting interested in politics?**

I was never terribly interested in politics, to be honest with you. I supported the Liberal Party sporadically. I became interested actually in a weird sort of way, because I was engaged by the Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce to help it create a report on bankruptcy and insolvency, which is my specialty. It's the area in which I practice law.

When I saw the kind of work that was being done, I became sort of interested in helping. And then my wife told me, "Look, if you want to do something at least give something back to Canada. Look at what Canada has given you." And I said, "That's fair enough, I should." So I took a significant cut in income and served for four and a half years.

My wife Elaine came and stayed here and then became the chairperson of the Liberal Spouses Association, for Liberal partners past and present. We called it, "The Club".

**Q: What was the transition like moving from Montreal to Ottawa?**

Certainly no problem because I became accustomed to being in that chamber and being before the committee well before I was named. I was a very active practitioner before I got here, and I decided I was going to be a senator full-time.

**Q: What was it like leaving the Senate?**

Transitioning back into practice was a lot more difficult than the transition from practice into the Senate.

I enjoyed being in the Senate. I enjoyed the company of some very brilliant people there. I enjoyed the quality of the work that was done in committee and the reports that came out of the committees; some of which that were quite earth-shattering for Canada.

**Q: Any work you are particularly proud of?**

The report I loved most was the report I was very involved with – the



*Hon. Yoine Goldstein. Photo by Harrison Lowman.*

bankruptcy report in the 2000s. It was called "Debtors and Creditors Sharing the Burden". There was an inquiry on the use of credit cards and the occasional abuse by credit card companies who really were unable to identify abuses and be responsive to them in an effective kind of way. There were certain limits that were imposed, as a result of the Senate inquiry. After I left the Senate, legislation on money laundering was also changed as a result of an inquiry that we did.

**Q: How do the committees of the Senate and the House of Commons differ?**

The committees in the House of Commons have become, for the past number of years, extremely partisan and they get very little work done. The Senate has fortunately been spared that partisanship in committee. It's partisan on the floor of the chamber, but it's not terribly partisan in the committee; which is where most of the work has been done for decades and decades.

**Q: What are some of the activities**



*Roland Comtois. Photo by Harrison Lowman.*

**you take part in today?**

I'm practicing law full-time. Elaine is a practising grandmother full-time. We have a new grandchild in Washington. We visit him quite frequently. Eventually he will recognize us.

**Roland Comtois**  
(Liberal MP, 1965-1976,  
1977-1984, recipient of the 2005  
Distinguished Service Award)

**Q: What made you interested in politics?**

By accident. I first ran in provincial politics because I was the co-founder of a hospital. A member of the National Assembly of Quebec at the time did not want the hospital to be in Repentigny. He wanted it to be in L'Assomption. So I said, "We're going to get rid of him!" I ran for the nomination and lost. But I supported the candidate that was elected.

So after that, since I campaigned for the provincial election, when the federal election came, everyone said, "Well you should run federally." I ran federally in



“The committees in the House of Commons have become, for the past number of years, extremely partisan and they get very little work done.”

– Hon. Yoine Goldstein

1962 and was defeated. I ran again in 1963 and was defeated again. I ran in 1965, and at the last minute the incumbent resigned because he was caught in a scandal. So I was elected in 1965 in Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm. On the night of the election I was the last call on television in Canada! During the night the riding changed sides seven times.

**Q: What did you enjoy most about federal politics?**

I convinced Trudeau to raise the salary and pension of members. I had a big say in the establishment of the new airport around Montreal- Mirabel International Airport. I had a role to play in the change in the communication system. In my riding, to connect, people had to use four different area codes. People often had to call long distance. So with the help of one of my friends at Bell Canada, we changed all that, and we established a regional area code. This soon applied everywhere in Canada.

**Q: What do you think about politics in Quebec today?**

It's a mess. But, the next time around people will have to choose between Quebec and Canada. I'm sure they will choose Canada. Not because I despise Péladeau, but people want to stay in Canada. I'm sure of that. When you have a good thing, you don't get rid of it.

**Q: What was it like when your political career drew to a close?**

I was there for 20 years and after that I said, “Well 20 years, maybe that was too long.” Because I was an engineer, I would have to go back to university to practice again. I said, “No, I'm going to be a project manager to many things.” So that's what I did for many years, before I retired because of the sickness of my wife.

**Q: What is it like for you when you return to the House?**

Oh, good memories and I see old friends. It makes me younger. Life after Parliament is not that bad you know, once you know what to do.

**Q: What have you been up to lately?**



*Hon. Jack Murta. Provided photo.*

My wife passed away last year, but life goes on. And I manage quite well. I have four kids, two daughters and two sons that look after me. One of my daughters lives in Ottawa so it is easy for me to visit.

Besides that, I do some cooking because I am a good cook. I make a lot of soups, boeuf bourguignon, pasta with lobster. I can cook anything I want.

**The Hon. Jack Murta  
(Progressive Conservative MP,  
1970-1988)**

**Q: So what have you been up to since your time in Parliament?**

I have done a number of things. I went back to Manitoba right after I retired in 1988 and for six years was a commissioner for the Canadian Grain Commission, a federal government regulatory agency that provides weighing and grading of Canadian grain sold around the world. In 1996, I moved to Ontario and ran an agricultural company that had farm land in Latvia, Lithuania, Alberta and Ontario. It also owned the Peele Island Winery. In 2001, I was

asked to oversee operations at the Toronto Symphony Orchestra for a year. I then worked for both Hudson Bay and Ford Motor Company in a restructuring role.

In 2004, I decided to move back to Ottawa and accepted the role of overseeing and organizing the weekly Parliamentary Prayer Breakfast and annual National Prayer Breakfast that is held on Parliament Hill. The Prayer Breakfast is also connected to other prayer breakfasts that are held in various cities across Canada.

I have also become involved with the Ottawa Mission, a homeless shelter in Ottawa that feeds 1,300 people a day. The Mission has a staff of 110, drug and alcohol programs, a dental clinic, health clinic and the shelter sleeps nearly 300 people a night. In the past, I have been President of that organization, and also Executive Director for six months.

Recently I have been asked to become the national coordinator for Christian Meditation in Canada. Presently there are 300 meditation groups across the country.

**Q: Because of your busy schedule are there any leisure activities that you have picked up?**

Well I'm a runner. I have run 40 marathons since the mid 1980s. I run four days a week, and I'm fortunate that my knees and my hips are still fine. I do some cross-country skiing, but running is my major activity, my first love when it comes to a sports activity.

**Q: Do you retain any connections still with your constituency?**

No, not really. I have a sister in Edmonton and, of course, many friends in Winnipeg. We sold our farming operation that was located just outside of Winnipeg in 1996. I'm from a small town in Manitoba so I still try to get back “home” once or twice a year. I still have a passion for farming and agriculture.

**Q: How does life post-Parliament compare to life on the Hill?**

I think the most important part of my life has been after Parliament and after

"I think the most important part of my life has been after Parliament and after politics. This has largely been in the last 12 years since moving back to Ottawa. I love non partisan politics and what I do now allows me to meet with MPs from all parties on Parliament Hill in a non-partisan way."

– Jack Murta

politics. This has largely been in the last 12 years since moving back to Ottawa. I love non-partisan politics and what I do now allows me to meet with MPs from all parties on Parliament Hill in a non-partisan way. The Prayer Breakfast is all about building relationships between people. It's about MPs getting to know each other in a more personal and not just a political way. The ultimate hope is that it helps build a better and more understanding parliamentarian and ultimately a more effective democracy.

The Ottawa Mission has helped me work in a meaningful way with those less fortunate and this has introduced greater compassion into my life.

If I look back on my life, the last 12 years has been the most fruitful, the most rewarding of my entire life.

**Hon. Deborah Grey**  
(Reform MP, 1989-2000; Canadian Alliance MP, 2001-2001, 2002-2003; Democratic Representative Caucus, 2001-2002; Conservative MP, 2003-2004)

**Q. What have you been up to since your time as a Member of Parliament?**

Well I've been out over 11 years already. I left in the June 2004 election by choice after I had been there for 15 and a half years. I had a great run. I did four terms. It was a wonderful time and I just loved it.

Since then, I've been doing some speaking with the National Speakers Bureau and I was blessed to receive the Order of Canada in 2007. I remember getting a call from the Governor General's office when I was at Tim Hortons with a friend having coffee. I just thought it was one of my pals from Parliament Hill joking around, but then the woman on the phone confirmed that my name had been put forward and asked if I would accept the appointment. I just started to laugh and said,



*Hon. Deborah Grey and husband Lew with their bikes. Provided photo.*

"Who is this?"

Starting in 2013, I served on the Security Intelligence Review Committee, the group that reviews CSIS to make sure they're following the law. I did that for two years and it was a great experience. I worked with a terrific group of people and I learned a lot. I just finished that this spring.

A little while ago, I got a call from a young woman I used to babysit, who works for Immigration Canada. They were doing citizenship ceremonies in Nanaimo, and they didn't have a citizenship judge, so they were looking for an Order of Canada recipient to perform the service. I was asked if I would be willing to help out. It was such an honour. It was so exciting to swear in new Canadians.

**Q. Are you still riding your motorcycle? What do you like most about riding?**

Yes, I am. I've been riding now for 48 years. My husband, Lew, and I ride matching Honda Valkyries. I just love the smell of the outdoors and feeling the air in my face. One of the top five motorcycle routes in Canada is across Vancouver Island to Tofino. It's about two and a half hours from our house and it's one of the windiest roads in Canada. It's just gorgeous. We love riding there. There are some beautiful spots on the Island.

**Q. What was it like to be the first**

**female Leader of the Official Opposition?**

It was very interesting. I'm one of those people that never had a hankering for the top job. I'm very much a team player. At that time, we had just become the Canadian Alliance, so I served as interim leader just for six months before Stockwell Day came in. It was a terrific opportunity. Because we were in a leadership race, my biggest job was to make sure that the caucus held together.

**Q. What advice would you give to Rona Ambrose, the current interim leader of Conservatives, who are now the Official Opposition?**

Keep cheerful, get some sleep and keep building the team. She's doing a great job already and I have no doubt that she will keep doing it. I met Rona when she was running for the first time and it was just so great because she asked me if I would come speak at one of her breakfasts. Of course, I happily accepted the invitation. I just remember how nervous she was; she didn't know what to say or how to say it. I just gave her a big hug and said, "Rona, you will do great, just speak from your heart." She made a great speech that day and now here she is. She's been a senior cabinet minister and now she's the leader of the Official Opposition.

**Q. What do you miss most about politics?**

Meeting new people. I love doing that all the time. Another thing I miss is being an advocate and helping people. If ever my constituents had a problem and didn't know where to turn, I was always available to lend a hand. I also miss my friends in Ottawa. I still know people there who are security guards and I just love visiting with everybody. When I do go back to Ottawa, which isn't so often now, I just love going out and wandering around on the Hill or to the coffee shops, just saying hi to people. I'm astounded that people still recognize me



"I think most MPs have the naivety that somehow they are indispensable to the political system and someday they will return."

— Alex Shepherd



Alex Shepherd and wife Carol. *Provided photo.*

on the street. I've been extremely blessed and I don't regret one minute of my time in the House.

**Alex Shepherd**  
(Liberal MP, 1993-2004)

**Q: What have you been up to since your time on the Hill?**

I hate the word retirement because it makes people think of someone sitting on a porch in a rocking chair (although I do have a porch and a rocking chair!). My wife, Carol and I have an island in Muskoka where we spend our summers, and during my last years as a member I bought property in Costa Rica where we spend our winter months. We still live in Durham and, yes, could not help but get involved in the last election.

We are great travellers and in the fall of 2015 we ventured to Myanmar. It was odd, coming from Canada just before the election (after we voted), to see that Myanmar was having one of its first truly democratic elections with no signs, no TV adverts. We soon discovered that support for the opposition politician Aung San Suu Kyi was illegal, as she had married and had children with a foreign national and this supposedly constitutionally barred her from

the presidency. My tour guide, a former monk who had taken part in protests in Thailand, told me that advocating for the National League for Democracy would probably get me thrown out of any government building. Of course, we gave the party some support anyway and the results were great.

As a former chartered accountant, I still do some accounting and tax preparation work but only for family and not for remuneration. I took up the hobby of woodturning, which I have found to be very fulfilling because it is something you can do by yourself while learning things about different types of wood, such as tropical hardwood in Costa Rica.

**Q: What are some of your last- ing lessons and accomplishments acquired from your time as an MP?**

I amended various pieces of legislation, especially for the Business Development Bank of Canada, which acts as a lender to small businesses that may have trouble getting traditional bank financing. These banks are set up around the country, and I think the amendments I advocated for made it smoother for small businesses to comply with the bank's requirements. Most people won't

remember any of this, but it was important to me. I also worked hard to alleviate the excessive burden placed on Canadians who earned social security from the U.S. at the time, a form of double taxation. I believe that because of my input this eventually got reversed, although the IRS has become even more intrusive in the lives of everyday Canadians since then.

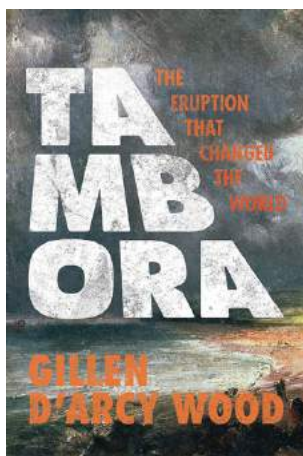
As for lessons, I think most MPs have the naivety that somehow they are indispensable to the political system and someday they will return. I think this has something to do with the energy that happens on the Hill.

When I was first on the Hill, one of the senior members said to me, "No one person can make a big difference here." That is somewhat true, although I would exempt the PMO. My background was economics and business and I took great lengths to assist then Finance Minister Paul Martin at the time. There were many in our caucus who just didn't understand the severity of our economic problems back in the early 1990s. Mr. Martin later honoured my contributions in a video. Of course, I am more delighted that we got our fiscal situation under control.

**Q: Any particular reason you chose to leave the world of Canadian politics?**

I did not run in the 2004 election, after successfully completing three terms, from 1993 to 2004, never having been defeated.

Looking back, I decided not to offer my name again in 2004 for a few reasons. Firstly, my hearing was quickly eroding. Many of my colleagues can tell you all kinds of stories about this; such as the time the RCMP singled me out in the caucus meeting because they thought I was transmitting signals out of the room. Turns out my hearing aid FM system can do just that. It was a very funny story when that was finally discovered, but at the time, the caucus chair thought we were being spied on. Since then I have had a cochlear implant, and my hearing is fairly good, thanks to our universal medical system, I would like to point out!



# Tambora: Proving abrupt climate change

By Hon. Peter Adams

**Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World.** By Gillen D'Arcy Wood. Princeton University Press, United States. April 27, 2014. 312 pages. ISBN 978-06911543.

Parliaments have been debating climate change for decades. A consensus is now building that something is happening to the globe's climate. There seems to be a general warming accompanied by some startling changes in weather patterns around the world. People take comfort in the fact that the changes appear to be relatively gradual, ignoring those who point out that abrupt changes can even occur overnight.

This book is about a singular event so influential that it changed the climate of the entire planet just over 200 years ago. All it took was a volcanic eruption.

The author argues the effect of this Indonesian eruption also forever changed how people understood climate change, the roles of the poles, the Ice Age (a phrase coined during the period) and links between climate and epidemic disease. From the outset, author Gillen D'Arcy Wood stresses that to have truly global effects, a volcano must be explosive enough to punch its ash and dust up into the stratosphere, and also be located in the tropics.

## Magma memoirs

The most famous of the tropical volcanic eruptions is Krakatoa, now an island located in Indonesia. It erupted in 1883. In his book *Krakatoa: The Day the World Exploded: August 27, 1883* (2005), author Simon Winchester was able to use telegraph information to

demonstrate the worldwide effects of this eruption, including dramatic sunsets in Toronto.

Sixty-eight years previously, not far from Krakatoa, Mount Tambora erupted, letting out its own volcanic plume of sulfur aerosols and ash. In the year 1815, communications had not reached a global scale. It was not until the analysis of glacier ice cores in the 20th century, that the full scale of the Tambora eruption became clear. Its effects were far vaster than its cousin, Krakatoa. For three years, the entire world faced extraordinary weather, including harvest-destroying frost, drought and flooding rains, and the strange behavior of ice. Many described it as the "Year without a Summer". In New England, 1816 became known as "Eighteen-Hundred-and-Froze-to-Death". Germans referred to 1817 as "The Year of the Beggar".

## Ripple effects

The book draws not only on the science and observations of the day but also on literature, including poetry and other arts. In describing the horrors of the Tambora-induced famine in China, Wood uses the observations of European travellers, the records of the ancient Chinese meteorological service and poetry of the day. He focuses on the province of Yunnan, then the food basket of China, where millions starved. After the total failure of the rice harvest, the region changed crops to become a major producer of opium.

Similarly, in examining the "The Other Irish Famine" (1815 and 1816), he cites local weather data, British Hansard and the writings of the poet John Keats, to bring out the human

tragedy of a geophysical event. He argues that these times in Ireland were as devastating as the potato famines of the 1840s.

The author links abrupt climatic changes to the spread of disease, specifically the cholera pandemic. This experience, the author argues, influenced thinking about climate, public hygiene and the role of government in public health.

## North American consequences

The chapter on Tambora and North America is a thoroughly good read. The continent's east coast was most effected by the summerless years, which ravaged subsistence agriculture in places like New England. The failed harvests stimulated the shift of population into the West, which was less hard hit.

Before Tambora, the thinking of Ben Franklin and others with respect to human-engineered climate change, was that the clearing of the forest and the spread of agriculture would improve (warm) the continental climate, benefiting Americans. The Tambora years stimulated thinking about the real controls of climate and humans complex interactions with it.

## Cooling effects

Similar to how present-day actions are affecting atmospheric and ocean circulation to produce bizarre weather patterns and cold regions amid the general warming of the globe, the Tambora eruption also contributed to general cooling. Wood explains how the pronounced cooling of the surface of the Atlantic Ocean interfered with the conveyor belt of heat to the Arctic by subsurface currents. Northern waters became warmer and more icebergs



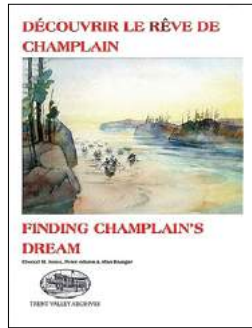
"This book is about a singular event so influential that it changed the climate of the entire planet just over 200 years ago. All it took was a volcanic eruption."

than normal appeared in the Atlantic. Similarly, recent, changes in the Atlantic have helped open up the Northwest Passage and thin the ice cover of the Arctic Ocean.

In 1817, the whaler William Scoresby reported that the Greenland Sea and beyond was free of ice (no whales for him!). This news reached Britain just at the time when the Royal Navy was downsizing at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. There was a surge of renewed interest around the Northwest Passage as a route to the East. The Ross/Buchan expeditions of 1818 were the first of scores of Royal Navy efforts, up to and beyond the Franklin Expedition of the 1840s. Alas for them, by 1818, the Tambora effect had ended as abruptly as it had begun and the Northwest Passage was again filled with ice. It had taken three years for the volcanic ash to be washed out of the atmosphere. The glimpse of an ice-free Passage in 1817 and the possibility of an ice-free Arctic Ocean were catalysts of 19th century Arctic exploration in Canada.

In *Tambora: The Eruption That Changed the World*, author Gillen D'Arcy Wood makes the important point that current global warming is not limited by the length of time that a volcano's output can stay in the atmosphere. He says his book is a "cautionary tale." He adds, "If a three-year climate change event in the early 1800s was capable of such destruction and of shaping human affairs to the extent that I have described in this book, then the future impacts of multi-decadal climate change must be truly off the chart."

Hon. Peter Adams served as the Liberal MP for Peterborough from 1993-2006.



**Finding Champlain's Dream: Champlain, First Nations and French Culture in Peterborough and the Kawarthas.** Edited by Elwood Jones, Peter Adams and Alan Brunger. Trent Valley Archives. August, 2015. Canada. 96 pages.

**F**inding Champlain's Dream is a unique approach to celebrating the 400th Anniversary of Champlain's presence in the Peterborough area. A collection of both previous publications and original works, it provides the reader with a number of different perspectives about Champlain's two journeys through Peterborough and The Kawarthas in 1615.

The commemoration project was spearheaded by the Trent Valley Archives, which has, since 1989, promoted the preservation, identification and care of archives in the Trent Valley region. It currently houses about 1,000 cubic feet of documents relating to people, events and places connected with the Trent Valley. Located in the township of Selwyn, the archives do a tremendous job of preserving Peterborough and Peterborough County's history.

The project was led in part by our former colleague Peter Adams, who served both in the Ontario Legislature from 1987 to 1990 and as the federal member of parliament from 1993 to his retirement in 2006. In this project, Peter has drawn on his expertise as an academic in the geography department and coordinator of the northern studies and research program at Trent University in Peterborough, where he is now a professor emeritus.

Peter was joined in the project by his academic colleague Alan Brunger, also from Trent University and by Elwood H. Jones, archivist at the Trent Valley Archives.

The book is a fascinating read and

## Former MP traces Champlain's visits to Peterborough and the Kawarthas

By Hon. Andy Mitchell

provides numerous perspectives on the life of Samuel de Champlain, but focuses mostly on his visits to the Peterborough area in the early 17th century. It is wonderfully illustrated with numerous pictures and many reproduced maps of the time.

The book has a number of themes that flow from Champlain's journey through the area. This includes an examination of the early history of the French in Ontario as well as the Aboriginal history of the area, more broadly, the early relationship between First Nations and European settlers.

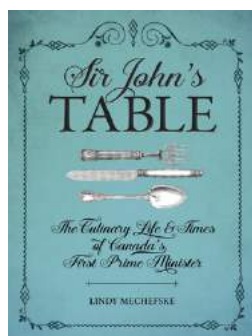
As a local resident, I was particularly fascinated by the various essays, which examined Champlain's legacy in the area. This included the connection with Trent University, the Battle of Nogojiwanong and the Champlain research undertaken by the late Leslie Frost. In doing so, this former premier of Ontario added his perspective on the possible route the explorer may have taken through the area.

The book also contains a unique section that describes the various historical markers in Ontario and New York that recognize the travels of Champlain. By themselves, they provide a unique narrative on the legacy that Champlain left in the area.

In addition to being a fitting 400th anniversary tribute to Champlain's journey through the area, *Finding Champlain's Dream* is an entertaining and informative collection of essays, which will both fascinate and inform the reader.

As an area resident, I am thankful to professors Adams and Brunger, along with archivist Jones for researching and publishing such a unique perspective on a piece of local history that is also an important part of our national heritage.

The Hon. Andy Mitchell was a Liberal MP for the riding of Parry Sound-Muskoka from 1993 to 2006. He also serves as CAPP's President.



# A delicious read

## A look inside the culinary life and times of Sir John A. MacDonald

By Hayley Chazan

**Sir John's Table: The Culinary Life and Times of Canada's First Prime Minister.** By Lindy Mechefske. Goose Lane Editions. September 1, 2015. Canada. 232 pages. ISBN 978-0-86492-881.

**S**ir John's Table: The Culinary Life and Times of Canada's First prime minister is three parts biography, two parts timeline of Canadian history, and one part survey of the culinary habits of Canada's first Scottish settlers. Authored by Lindy Mechefske, the book is a unique, albeit abbreviated, perspective on early life in Canada.

What makes this work different from the various other books about Sir John A. MacDonald and early Canadian history is that at the end of each chapter, the author links the story back to food; more specifically, the type of food Sir John A. would have been munching on during the various seasons of his life. Each chapter also includes a recipe taken directly from cookbooks of the 1800s.

Mechefske focuses each of the book's pithy 21 chapters on a period in MacDonald's life. Similar to many historical biographers, she uses anecdotes to give readers a taste of the more conspicuous events of each time period, and fills in the blanks with relevant historical facts.

### Macdonald probably didn't eat McDonald's

Our first PM's life was jam-packed, and fast-paced from the very start. As a young boy, he immigrated with his family on a voyage across the Atlantic to Quebec City. They then made the long trek across Quebec, through (what's now known as) Ottawa, to Kingston where the MacDonald family first settled.

His adult life was no less eventful—he became a lawyer before even completing his formal legal training, and his political escapades are well known.

Perhaps his vast reserves of energy

### Victoria Sandwiches Recipe

**Ingredients:** 4 eggs; their weight in pounded sugar, butter and flour; ¼ spoonful of salt, a layer of any kind of jam or marmalade.

**Mode:** Beat the butter to a cream; dredge in the flour and pounded sugar; stir these ingredients well together, and add the eggs, which should be previously thoroughly whisked.

When the mixture has been well beaten for about 10 minutes, butter a Yorkshire-pudding tin, pour in the batter, and bake it in a moderate oven for 20 minutes. Let it cool, spread one half of the cake with a layer of nice preserve, place over it the other half of the cake, press the pieces slightly together, and then cut it into long finger-pieces; pile them in cross bars on a glass dish, and serve.

**Time:** 20 minutes. Average cost, is 3d. Sufficient for 5 or 6 persons. Seasonable at any time.

were a result of his diet. Staples from the period included fresh vegetables, whole wheat, and the wildest game and fish available. In contrast to the highly processed, salty food of today, it's no wonder that Sir John A. was able to accomplish as much as he did.

It's interesting to contrast the eating habits of our earliest statesmen with those of today's parliamentarians. Even before Confederation, when the seat of Parliament was in Montreal and MacDonald had to make the long trek east from Kingston by horse-drawn carriage, he frequently dined on hearty home-cooked meals in taverns along the way. Today's MPs are often forced to eat on the rubber-chicken circuit, or grab a salty breakfast sandwich from Tim Hortons in the course of their duties.

Mechefske is not shy about discussing the darker parts of MacDonald's life, including the infamous alcoholism that has been said to have held him back, in spite of all he accomplished. Apparently MacDonald was particularly fond of wine, which was unusual at the time.

His indulgence didn't stop with alcohol. Particularly later in life, he was fond of extravagant feasts, including sugary desserts. This highfalutin taste was developed in England, where he liked to travel to rub shoulders with nobility.

One of his favourite recipes he encountered on a voyage to London was the Victorian sandwich. Mechefske provides this period recipe in her book. It was also a favoured dish of Queen Victoria.

### Digestible History

Nothing in the book will be particularly groundbreaking for most students of Canadian history, at least as far as the biographical information goes. In fact, there are a number of recent works by noted Canadian writers that take a more comprehensive look at our first prime minister.

But in fairness to the author, she is not trying to offer any new facts or interpretations of history. She is trying to teach readers about the culinary styles of MacDonald's lifetime, and in this she rises to the occasion.

In fact, by taking such a unique perspective, she is making Canadian history just a little bit more accessible to those who may not be as familiar with our country's birth.

If you're looking for a dense, thorough biography of Sir John A. MacDonald's life, then this book won't satisfy your appetite. But it is still worth the read, especially if you want some conversational fodder for your next dinner party. After all, you can be sure most of your guests won't be as well versed in the eating habits of Canada's first prime minister as you will be, having read Sir John's Table.



# Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Harrison Lowman

## Hon. Stewart McInnes

Former Progressive Conservative MP, Hon. Stewart McInnes passed away at his home on October 3, 2015 of heart failure. He was 78 years of age. Stewart was born to parents Donald and Betty in July of 1937. He was raised in Halifax. During his childhood, he was plagued by polio, which left him in a state of paralysis for six months. Years later, he would describe how much of a “lucky guy” he was to have survived the childhood disease, as well as having beaten prostate cancer later in his life.

Stewart attended Ottawa’s Ashbury College, but returned to Nova Scotia to gain his undergraduate and law degrees from Dalhousie University, a university that would later name him *Alumnus of the Year*. In 1962, armed with his degrees, Stewart made his way to the law firm, now known as McInnes Cooper, which his grandfather founded and where his father practiced. He made the trip to the Supreme Court of Canada on two occasions.

Twenty-two years later, Stewart entered the world of politics, representing the constituents of Halifax in the House as a Progressive Conservative MP. He eventually became Minister of Supply and Services and then Minister of Public Works and Housing. In 1988, having been defeated, Stewart returned to practising law, focussing specifically on mediation and arbitration. He turned down a Senate appointment twice.

According to former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Stewart was in the driver’s seat when it came to helping create the Confederation Bridge (linking New Brunswick and PEI), the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Atlantic Accord on offshore oil and gas and the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement.

“He became a very close adviser to me and a very valued friend,” said Mulroney.

Among his many titles, Stewart was president of the Canadian Bar Association (Nova Scotia), the North British Society, the Halifax School for the Blind, and the Halifax Club, director of



*Hon. Stewart McInnes.*

the Halifax Board of Trade, the Parkinsons Society for the Maritimes, and the Arbitration and Mediation Institute of Canada, a board member of the Halifax Foundation, the Mayor’s Task Force on Drugs, a chief negotiator for the federal government on Maritime Aboriginal claims and a trustee of St. Matthews Church. He also chaired various not-for-profits in the Maritime region.

In the for-profit world he served on the boards of businesses such as Canada Post, Keltic Mines and Defence Construction Ltd. Stewart also received the Queen’s Golden Jubilee Medal and the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Medal.

Stewart was a lifelong athlete. He excelled at squash, hockey, golf and skiing, was a provincially-ranked tennis player, member of the Dalhousie Sports Hall of Fame, coached football and was captain of the Dalhousie Football team. He was part of the national executive of the Olympic Trust of Canada, director of the Canada Summer Games (1984), director of the Pan American Wheelchair Games and he chaired the capital campaign for Alta Gymnastics Club.

When Stewart was not sweating on the sport field, slope, court, or rink, he could be found playing bridge, or in his half-hectare garden. Stewart was renowned especially for his beautiful spring tulip bulbs, which numbered over 16,000 and made appearances in Canadian magazines.

“A highly respected and accomplished figure, he remained a pivotal member of the Progressive Conservative Party of Nova Scotia until his passing,” de-



*Moe Mantha.*

scribed former Conservative cabinet minister and Nova Scotia native, Peter MacKay.

“It didn’t matter whether you were a political friend or foe or whether you were on the other side of a lawsuit or whether you played on the other team if it was hockey,” said longtime friend and colleague George Cooper. “Stewart was your friend.”

“Stewart was a skilled lawyer, compassionate politician and generous friend,” said Nova Scotia PC leader Jamie Baille. “He will be sorely missed.”

Stewart leaves his legacy and flowers to his loving wife of 30 years, Shirley, his kids Donald, Janet, Ted, Sarah, and Constance, his five grandchildren and various nieces and nephews.

## Moe Mantha

Former Progressive Conservative MP Moe Mantha passed away peacefully in his home on September 19, 2015. He was 81 years of age.

Moe was born in North Bay and first dipped his toe into the political waters at the municipal level. He served as a councillor in Sturgeon Falls, eventually becoming reeve in the Springer Township. Moe was specifically remembered for his guidance during the West Nipissing amalgamation.

In the early eighties Moe tried his hand at federal politics, running as the Progressive Conservative candidate in Nipissing in 1984. He won the election and went on to serve a term in Parliament. Moe was defeated in 1988.

“When he was our MP he took a real

hands-on approach,” said friend Brian Lafleche. “He helped the whole area, North Bay and Sturgeon Falls, and he always had time to listen to your concerns. Then, he’d look at you and say, ‘I know what has to be done’ and he’d do it.”

Looking back at his time in office Moe’s family remembered his commitment to constituents, whether that meant never missing a community event or the fact that he drove his car back and forth to Ottawa to save taxpayer’s money.

The former parliamentarian loved sports, playing hockey in the AHL, QHL and the WHL before stepping off the ice in 1970. Moe’s son, Moe Mantha Jr., played 12 seasons in the NHL and is currently head coach and general manager of the French River Rapids in the NOJHL. His grandson Ryan was drafted by the New York Rangers in the 2014 NHL Entry Draft.

Moe was also an avid golfer, having established the Laurentide Golf Course in Sturgeon Falls. In order to build the course, Moe drove a tractor across a piece of farmland far away from the center of town. When he broke ground there, only a handful of people in Sturgeon Falls even knew how to play golf. The location is now quite successful.

“Moe Mantha was highly respected in West Nipissing,” said West Nipissing Mayor Joanne Savage. “He operated the golf course for over 50 years, and was always happy to assist with fundraising and sponsor community events. He was always involved in hockey too, encouraging young people to pursue their dreams. But he was also a strong supporter of the West Nipissing Hospital. He is going to be missed by a lot of people.”

“He had a big heart and truly believed in giving back to his community and country,” described North Bay Mayor Al McDonald, who purchased his first set of golf clubs from Moe.

“He was loved, respected and admired by everyone whose lives he touched,” added his daughter April.

Moe is survived by his wife Kae and children Moe Jr., Bobby, and April. He was predeceased by his daughter Andrea. He also leaves behind his grandchildren Ashley, Devin, Brody, Robert, Natalie, Ryan, Eric and Mathieu.



*Hon. Robert Coates.*

### **Hon. Robert Coates**

Former Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative MP Robert Coates passed away on January 12, 2016, in Halifax after a short period of illness. He was 87 years old.

Robert was born on March 10, 1928, in Amherst, Nova Scotia. Before getting bitten by the political bug, he worked as a lawyer and author. In 1977, he served as Tory party president. Six years later, he threw his support behind Brian Mulroney and worked on the would-be prime minister’s leadership campaign.

Robert was elected in 1957, in the riding of Cumberland-Colchester. He would remain in the House for the next 31 years, winning 11 consecutive elections.

While in Parliament, Robert was first a backbencher in the Diefenbaker and Clark governments. He was known to vocalize his concerns about his own party.

Robert contributed to the development of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Confederation Bridge linking P.E.I. and New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia’s offshore mineral rights deal.

In 1984, Robert was appointed defence minister by then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. While in office, he successfully re-introduced separate uniforms in the land, naval and air branches of the Canadian Forces. He also pushed for closer military ties with the U.S and their Star Wars missile defence plan.

Robert retired from cabinet leading up to the 1988 election, following an incident in West Germany. However,



*Hon. John Harvard.*

the Tory was not absent during the Free Trade election; he could be found in a small committee advising the prime minister on political strategy.

Prime Minister Mulroney soon appointed him to take part in a federal trade tribunal, where he worked for ten years before retiring and heading back to the Maritimes.

“Bob and I were very close over the years,” former premier and Cumberland East MLA Roger Bacon said. “He was very dedicated to the people of his riding and he had that quality that he would work for anyone no matter their politics. He was very well liked.”

Bacon added that Coates taught him to be always conscious of those who he was serving. “One of the most important things he taught me was that when you’re in politics you have to respond to every letter and phone call you get as quickly as possible.”

“As a practicing politician, he had few peers,” remembered Mulroney. “He was a pro.”

### **Hon. John Harvard**

Former Manitoba lieutenant-governor and Liberal MP John Harvard left us on January 9, 2016. He was 77.

John’s father arrived on Canada’s shores in 1903, having left his native Iceland. John’s mother, whose family was also from Iceland, was born in Canada. She gave birth to John in 1939. He would become the 11th in a family of 14 children.

Before becoming a parliamentarian, John worked as a radio broadcaster for CJOB radio and the CBC.

John was elected in 1988. He would go on to serve the riding of Charleswood-St. James-Assiniboia in Winni-





Patrick Crofton.



Gérald Laniel.

peg for the next 20 years. While in the House, John served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Trade, as well as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-food. He left politics in 2004.

That same year, John had the honour of being appointed the 23rd lieutenant-governor of Manitoba. He remained the Queen's representative until 2009.

"Manitoba lost a good soldier," said current Lieutenant-Governor Janice Filmon. "There are differences made because he walked here amongst everybody."

"The overriding thing one thinks of when one thinks of John was his passion for social justice, his passion for those who were less advantaged in the world," said Anita Neville, former Winnipeg South Centre MP.

Prime Minister Trudeau said John, "served the people of Manitoba with distinction."

"He had a true passion for a better Manitoba," voiced Manitoba Premier Greg Selinger.

### Patrick Crofton

Former Progressive Conservative MP Patrick Crofton passed away on January 5, 2016. He was 80 years of age.

Patrick entered this world in May of 1935, on British Columbia's beautiful Saltspring Island. His pioneer family spent their time owning and operating the region's Harbour Hotel (1916-1964). As a young boy, the eldest son could often be found with a rugby ball or tennis racquet in his hands. When it came to academics, Pat attended both University School and Royal Roads Military College.

He chose to continue his relationship with the military, serving on an assortment of Canadian ships as a navigating lieutenant. While on training in Greenwich, England, he was encouraged to call on Patricia Williams, the sister of Saltspring's family doctor, living in Europe. "The Pats" were wed within a month and soon set sail for Canada.

Patrick retired from the Canadian Forces with the rank of lieutenant-commander, CD (Canadian Forces' Decoration) after 18 years of service, deciding to spend his days operating the family farm. His journey into public life was gradual, first campaigning for candidates in all levels of government in the 1970s, then sitting as an elected alderman in the Municipality of Saanich from 1980 to 1984. This climaxed when he was elected as the MP for Esquimalt-Saanich in 1984.

While in Parliament, he was once chair of the Standing Committee on National Defence, a member of the Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations and a member of the Standing Committee on External Affairs National Defence. Patrick was known to spend his evenings hogging the phone from his daughters as he spoke to Saanich residents about their community concerns. He left the House in 1988.

Patrick's retirement from political life saw him serving on the local boards of groups like Oak Bay Lodge, Camosun College and the Commonwealth Games Society. He was also an active Victoria Rotary Club and Victoria Golf Club member. In his later years, Pat's love for sports took the form of strict adherence to the TV schedules of the Olympics, NHL playoffs and Grand

Slam tennis. His daughters recall him as the dad who could be heard yelling words of support and seen writing game notes from the sidelines of their field hockey matches.

Patrick leaves behind his wife of 58 years, Patricia and his daughters Marietta, Virginia, Susanna and Tessa. He also leaves behind his eight grandchildren Kel, Blake, Taylor, Mika, Hannah, Piers, Marissa and Marcus. His extended family remembers him as both a listener and a mentor.

### Gérald Laniel

Former Liberal MP Gérald Laniel passed away on February 2, 2016, at the age of 91.

Gérald was born on August 8, 1924 in Salaberry-de-Valleyfield, Quebec. During WWII, he served as a flying officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force's Coastal Patrol. He navigated the skies from 1942 to 1945, and then went on to serve as a captain in the 61 Light Anti Aircraft Regiment, as a reservist. He held this post from 1949 to 1958.

Gérald then entered the world of insurance brokerage. He was also a very active member of his community, playing key roles in the Jeune Chambre de Commerce and other local associations.

In 1962, Gérald tried his hand at federal politics, succeeding in the riding of Quebec's Beauharnois-Salaberry. He remained in Parliament for 8 consecutive terms. During his time in the House, he served as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce and as the Deputy Speaker and Chair of Committees of the whole of the House of Commons. He was also president of the Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française. In 1984, having served 22 years as a parliamentarian under a variety of Liberal leaders, Gérald left the Hill.

Outside of the political realm, he became vice-president of the St. Lawrence Seaway. He retired in 1993.

Gérald is predeceased by his wife Janine Sauvé. He is survived by his children Normand, Marie-Andrée, Michel, Jean-François and Christian. He also leaves behind his 14 grandchildren.

# Ending atrocities in China

## Organ pillaging from Falun Gong

By Hon. David Kilgour



*From left to right: David Kilgour (L) with David Matas (C) and Ethan Gutmann (R), author of *The Slaughter: Mass Killings, Organ Harvesting, and China's Secret Solution to Its Dissident Problem*. Photo Credit: Simon Gross/Epoch Times.*

In 2006, the International Coalition to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong in China asked lawyer David Matas of Winnipeg and me to investigate seemingly bizarre claims of organ pillaging and trafficking from those who follow the modern exercise and spiritual movement Falun Gong across China. The group draws from and combines ancient Chinese traditions. By the Beijing party-state's own

estimate, they have attracted 70 to 100 million adherents across the country by the late 1990s, since becoming public in 1992. Fearing threats to their ideological supremacy, the Chinese government banned the movement in 1999 and considers it a cult. They continue to demonize Falun Gong through state media.

Working as volunteers, Matas and I completed two reports and a book en-

titled *Bloody Harvest*. We concluded, with dismay, that for 41,500 of the Chinese transplants performed in the years 2001 to 2006, the only plausible explanation for sourcing was Falun Gong practitioners. We are convinced that China's party-state has been committing systematic murder against the community for almost 15 years. We termed it a "new form of evil on the planet" and continue to investigate.



**“We are convinced that China’s party-state has been committing systematic murder against the community for almost 15 years.”**

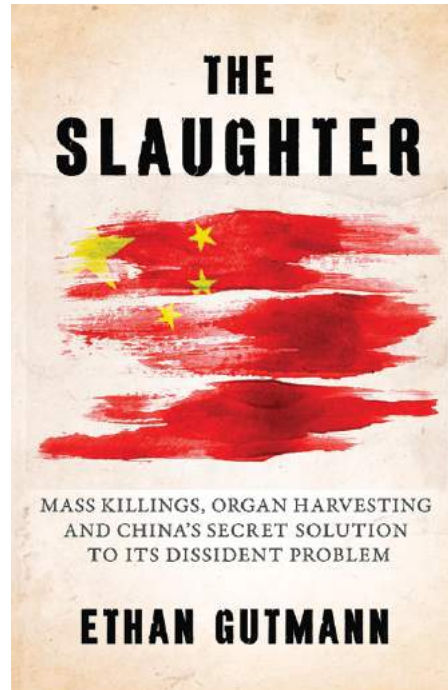
One of our 33 methods of proof was to have investigators make calls to hospitals, detention centres and other facilities across China, claiming to be relatives of patients needing transplants. The investigators would ask if they had any organs of Falun Gong for sale. We obtained admissions on tape in which individuals from a number of these facilities admitted the availability of Falun Gong organs. These admissions were transcribed and translated.

Our main conclusion was that there, “Continues today to be large-scale organ seizures from unwilling Falun Gong practitioners.” More specifically, “Their vital organs, including kidneys, livers, corneas and hearts, were seized...for sale at high prices, sometimes to foreigners...” These organ seizures are separate from those seized from convicted persons sentenced to death.

In the 2014 book *The Slaughter: Mass Killings, Organ Harvesting, and China’s Secret Solution to Its Dissident Problem*, author Ethan Gutmann puts the persecution of the Falun Gong, Tibetan, Uyghur and House Christian communities in context. He explains how he arrives at his “best estimate” that the organs of 65,000 Falun Gong and 2,000 to 4,000 Uyghurs, Tibetans and House Christians were “harvested” in the 2000 to 2008 period. These organs are obtained for wealthy Chinese and “organ tourists” from abroad. Unlike other countries, these Chinese “donors” do not survive the process, because all vital organs are removed.

#### **Condemnation from Canada**

Acknowledgement of these atrocities has now made its way to the halls of Parliament. In February of 2015, Canada’s all-party House Subcommittee on International Human Rights released a statement condemning the pillaging of organs. It expressed, “deep concern over credible allegations that prisoners of conscience and members of religious and ethnic minority groups, including but not limited to practitioners of Falun Dafa and Uyghurs, in the People’s Republic of China are being executed for the purposes of



harvesting and transplanting their organs.”

Among other assertions, the subcommittee, “Calls on the Government of Canada to consider ways to discourage and prevent Canadians from taking part in transplant tourism, where the organs have not been obtained in an ethical, safe and transparent fashion.”

Many Falun Gong prisoners of conscience (persecuted based on their beliefs) survive in the estimated 350 forced labour camps across China, until they are selected by computer data banks as “organ donors” for recipients waiting in hospitals in cities such as Shanghai.

Matas and I visited about a dozen countries to interview Falun Gong who managed to leave both the camps and China. They indicated that Falun Gong were the only camp inmates to be examined regularly and carefully by doctors, but were also made to work in appalling conditions for up to 16 hours a day with no pay, little food and regular torture. The inmates make a range of export products often destined for multinational companies.

This is gross corporate irresponsibility

and a violation of World Trade Organization agreements. Every government should place an onus on its importers to prove their products are not made in effect by slaves.

#### **Manufacturing Change**

Professors Peter Navarro and Greg Autry of California point out in their book, *Death by China: Confronting the Dragon- A Global Call to Action*, that across the U.S., more than 50,000 manufacturing plants and more than 20 million jobs in the sector have been outsourced over several decades, mostly to China. How many manufacturing jobs have been lost in Canada and elsewhere for the same reason?

Governments, investors and business in Canada should examine why they are supporting the violation of so many basic human rights in order to increase trade and investment with China. For years, it has resulted mostly in jobs being outsourced to China and continuous increases in bilateral trade and investment deficits. Are we consumers so focused on access to inexpensive goods that we ignore the human, social and environmental costs paid by Chinese nationals to produce them?

The world’s democrats, including Canada’s federal government and civil society institutions, should nonetheless continue to engage with Beijing and the broadest possible range of its citizens. None of us should forget that the values we represent include dignity for all, rule of law and independent judges, multi-party democracy, corporate social responsibility, transparency, accountability, a good natural environment and no trafficking in pillaged human organs.

The vast majority of the Chinese people seek the same features in their government as the rest of us. They and the rest of the world must help stop organ pillaging now.

The Hon. David Kilgour was a member of Parliament for 27 years (1979-2006). He served under the Progressive Conservative Party, the Liberal Party and sat as an independent.

*The views expressed in this column are the opinions of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Beyond the Hill.*



Geoff Scott.

# The Trump Tower of Inferno

By Geoff Scott

Donald Trump has captured the nation's anger, and a lot of the disaffection people feel towards politics in general.

**Y**ou may not like him. You may not accept him. You absolutely cannot ignore him. I have a confession: for the past six months, I have been both fascinated and frightened by the spectacle of Donald Trump. The “Offender-in-Chief” has changed the political conversation in America. Either his candidacy for the Republican Party nomination is the most unique and refreshing political experience to come along in ages, or we are witnessing a deepening descent into demagoguery in the world's greatest democracy. Donald Trump connects, but he also scares the hell out of a lot of people.

At this writing, the race for the nomination could heat up in a very different way. However, barring any totally unforeseen move by a desperate Republican Party to take him out, Donald J. Trump will almost certainly be the GOP nominee against, most probably, Democrat Hillary Clinton next November.

Since 2007, Barack Obama has been the face of change in the U.S. He has been a transformational figure, not just because of what he has done, but because of who he is. The yearning for change is just as high now as it was back during the 2008 election. In many ways, Trump is the new Obama. While the current president is disciplined, thoughtful and professorial, Donald Trump says he's the bull who will break every piece of china in Washington. Angry and disaffected Republicans are responding to that. While he makes most of us gasp with practically every utterance, the media, and even some reluctant GOP establishment, have come to accept that Donald Trump is the most unconventional

politician to come along in our lifetime. He is still confounding just about everybody with the realization he has a real shot at the White House.

## Trump Twitter tirade

Donald Trump requires media attention like you and I need air and water. After decades of New York tabloids and other media exposure, television — especially cable news — has fuelled Trump's campaign, by giving wall-to-wall coverage of his rallies and his often vicious, hateful trash talk on Twitter; it has the flavour of a reality TV show. There is even a Survivor element here: Who gets to stay as this fight goes on? Donald Trump has captured the nation's anger, and a lot of the disaffection people feel towards politics in general. Conservative talk radio hosts maintain their listeners are fed up with the system. They claim talk radio is giving voice to listeners: a growing army of Trump supporters who feel he speaks for them. As for the other candidates fighting him? It's like throwing pebbles at an aircraft carrier.

The brilliance of Donald Trump is that he can set the agenda on almost any given topic for a week. He sends his target on the defensive by throwing a lot of things against the wall, with personal insults directed at his rivals in long speeches. Then he waits to find the one that does stick. Once he connects, he hits it over and over again, throwing his opponents off message. He fully understands what TV needs. He has obviously blown ratings and web traffic through the roof. His appearances at rallies and on live TV are frequently repellent, but always riveting. It's becoming impossible not to watch Donald Trump's in-

vective, and the “Oh, my God, did he just say THAT?!” nationwide reactions. It's like trying not to rubberneck an accident on the opposite lane. It is, of course, what draws Republican voters to the brash billionaire. Even though he is an unrepentant, irascible racist and religious arsonist, and has demonized almost every group of Americans, his supporters won't hear anything bad about their hero. Not to mention that they are increasingly becoming more violent at rallies.

These are just a few verbatim quotes picked up from Trump fans and onlookers. You couldn't make these up:

- “Who's cuttin' off peoples' heads? Who's bombing buildings? Who's bombing airplanes? Not the Christians, not the Jews, not the Buddhists — it's the Muslims!”

- “[He's] not your typical politician who says everything that is politically correct. I want somebody who is able to stand tall and say there are serious issues in this country and they need to be addressed. We give Iran billions and our bridges are collapsing. Seriously? I'm more interested in leadership experience than political experience.”

- At an Ohio rally, one high school girl turned to her friends and said of Mr. Trump, “I didn't think he was real, y'all. I thought he was a hologram.”

- And from a columnist at The New York Daily News: “Donald Trump is like a 1950s B-movie. He just swallowed some plutonium and he blew up to be Atomic Regular Guy. You know, he's just bigger; everything he does is bigger. I'm bigger, I'm better, I'm more fabulous.”





*Presidential candidate Donald Trump addresses a cheering crowd in Des Moines, Iowa. Photo by Max Goldberg.*

### **Our bad boyfriend at the bar**

Donald Trump is our bad boyfriend. He's the bad biker boyfriend who abuses us, but we stick with him because there are scarier people out there, and we need someone like that to protect us; and you don't find that strength anywhere else. He is the bad boyfriend that you don't want to take home to your parents. The Republican Party doesn't know what to do with him either. Trump is doing well for being Trump; this is what openly horrifies the GOP. There's a paralysis within the establishment. They don't want Trump to be the nominee. They fear a public feud with the insult-spewing media figure. While almost everyone in the party's upper echelons agrees something must be done to take down Trump, almost no one is willing to do it. This is infuriating the GOP, which has no idea what Donald Trump is about to do next. This has led one prominent Republican strategist to label his party as "a dumpster fire". Other stalwarts maintain the party is so divided over the Trump juggernaut, "we cannot agree on the colour of an orange."

Every time Donald Trump doubles down on his belligerent statements, on his anti-Muslim crusade, he creates even more arched eyebrows, not only in the GOP, but also in the mainstream media.

There's a superficial feel to his assertions that the U.S. should just let China deal with North Korea, or Germany deal with Putin in Europe, or that he would bomb ISIS into oblivion. But simplicity sells with Donald Trump. He has a great ear. His instincts are right in tune with a very populist appeal. What you're getting from Trump is what they most want to hear.

Anybody who doesn't understand Donald Trump doesn't drink enough. Because every bar in the country, around about 11:30 p.m., is stacked with three or four Donald Trumps. Much like the real Donald, it's impossible to hold them to account the next day.

Donald Trump has been speaking a very interesting kind of common American English. It is vulgar, obscene and bullying. Often, it is just raw, unvarnished, bigoted racism. But people are experiencing a great relief sometimes at hearing what they regard as straight talk, instead of complicated Washington-speak. While other traditional candidates sound as if they've been briefed and stuffed, Trump just says what comes into his head. People say, "Yeah, that sounds a bit like what goes on at the bar." It's the old question of, "Who would you rather have a beer with?"

### **Lady and the Trump?**

Are we, in fact, watching a marathon-length reality TV show? When you think of it, a lot of this campaign is about a new kind of reality TV. Hillary Clinton is one of the great celebrities in the world, as is Donald Trump. We're judging them, not as ordinary political candidates, but as celebrities. The Republican Party agenda is now being driven by someone who is a demagogue and a neo-fascist. Trump's entire campaign is based on the rhetoric of strength and fear.

The Globe and Mail's Marsha Lederman said it most succinctly: "Mr. Trump talks about making America great again, but he has no idea what made it great in the first place. He doesn't understand what builds a country: it's people—indigenous and immigrants." Lederman correctly points out what we all celebrate: America, like Canada, has been made great by the people who were here first, and the people who came, and are still coming, to our shores.

Love him or loathe him, one way or another, Donald J. Trump will be a Very Big Deal in the 2016 race for the White House.

Geoff Scott served as a Progressive Conservative MP from 1978-1993 in the riding of Hamilton-Wentworth.

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\* 30 minutes was added to the total travel time by car in order to account for traffic and bad weather en route.

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