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SUMMER 2018

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Voting by “selfie”?

Annual General Meeting

**Do demonstrations in
Parliament actually
work?**

**Personal legal files of
retired MPs disappear
from federal mailroom**

**Beyond Confederation:
the other events of
1867**



Regional meeting in Victoria

Photo Credit: Paul Forseth, Susan Simms, Brian MacDonald and Francis LeBlanc



The CAFP hosted a regional meeting in Victoria, B.C. in September 2017.



Lt. Governor of Victoria, the Hon. Judith Guichon.



Business Meeting at BC Legislature.



Maureen Forseth and Kathy Hays.



Hon. Vin Kochhar, Janis Clarke and Hon. Andy Mitchell.



Left to right, Lynn McDonald, Libby Davies, Bill Clarke, Lynn Hunter, Hon. Audrey McLaughlin and Jean Crowder.



Douglas Fee, Hon. Judd Buchanan and Bill Fee.

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 14, Issue No. 1

Summer 2018

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A bird's eye view of the new House of Commons chamber as of July 2018, where members will sit for the next decade while Centre Block is under renovation. More on the story in the next issue. Photo by Bernard Thibodeau.

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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. Website: www.exparl.ca.

Beyond the Hill welcomes new intern

Born and raised in Ottawa, Maya Gwilliam is a recent graduate of Carleton University's School of Journalism. She is a passionate writer who tries to bring a refreshing take on Canadian politics, at each level of government. When Maya is not chasing down sources for this publication you can either catch her with her nose in a good book, or at the latest exhibit in one of the capital city's many lively museums.

Maya has exhibited a keen interest in politics ever since she was a child. She remembers the first time her father took her to Parliament Hill.

"I was about eight years old when I first stepped foot in the Parliament buildings and I still remember the sense of wonder I felt when I realized I was inside the four walls where history often takes place," she explained. "It's crucial to understand the immense impact politics and politicians have on our society, and even more so, to report on it."

As a journalist, Maya hopes to be a positive addition to *Beyond the Hill* magazine and is excited to see where the future takes her.

Thank yous

Dear CAFP,

My family and I would like to thank you for organizing such a lovely day and such a moving commemorative service to honour our father and other former parliamentarians.

I would like to thank you for having chosen me to read that wonderful text. It was an honour for me to be able to pay tribute not only to my father, but also to all former parliamentarians who dedicated their lives to serving Canada and Canadians and have now passed away. Our country is what it is today because of them, and I was very touched to be able to participate in



Maya Gwilliam.

this tribute in such a special way.

Thank you once again to Céline, Susan and your whole team. I hope to see you again in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Isabelle Guay, daughter of the late former Liberal MP Raynald Guay

...

Dear CAFP,

I have been writing some comments on articles in a paper in my old riding about proportional representation. The interest seems to be continuing with no sign of abating. I very much enjoyed Dorothy's article in your Fall 2016 issue.

Thank you,

Jim Gouk

MP BC Southern Interior 1993 to 2006

Corrections

From the previous issue:

- p. 17, we failed to caption the photo of the gentleman holding up the Stanley Cup. Our caption should have included former Liberal senator and NHL player Frank Mahovlich. He is third to the right. *Beyond the Hill* regrets this omission.



Hon. Andy Mitchell.

How the President sees it

The women and men who are former parliamentarians have a body of knowledge and experience that can be a valuable resource for shaping the public agenda in Canada.

The contribution of former parliamentarians takes many forms. Some go into careers in the private sector, where their knowledge of government helps shape their decisions. Others go into academia, where they have the opportunity to influence the next generation of leaders. Still others go into the not-for-profit sector and help deliver initiatives they helped shape while in office.

These are all important roles that allow former members to contribute immensely to public and private life in Canada. The reality is, however, that beyond our personal contributions, former parliamentarians can make a collective impact. The value of the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This is where CAFP can and should make a difference.

When one considers the many issues facing us today, such as managing the federation, re-negotiating NAFTA, preventing climate change, transporting our natural resources to market, adapting to a digital world, investing in Canadians and ensuring a safe and equitable workplace, who better to provide advice and insight than those who have faced similar challenges in the past.

As an association, we have worked hard to provide additional opportunities for our members to continue their contributions. I believe this needs to be a key objective as CAFP meets its mandate of strengthening democracy at home and abroad.

In 2019 CAFP will welcome a new cohort of former MPs and senators who will have spent a number of years engaging in the debates shaping Canada. They are likely to want to continue to contribute. It will be important that CAFP help to make this happen.

I welcome your ideas and suggestions on things we should consider doing as an association that will help our current and future members further contribute to public life in Canada. Please send your suggestions by email, or better still, come to the AGM where we can discuss them in person.

**Hon. Andy Mitchell,
President**

P.S. At the AGM in June, 2018, Andy Mitchell completed his term as president. The new president is Dorothy Dobbie.





Francis LeBlanc

Executive Director's Report

By Francis LeBlanc

I have long felt that former parliamentarians in Canada constitute a potentially powerful network and a force for good in this country. We are, in a sense, the “alumni” of the institution of Parliament. Therefore, we bear a special responsibility, by virtue of our experience, to the continuing strength and vibrancy of our democratic system and values.

The role of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians is to fortify this network, by connecting our members and promoting their work, provide services relevant to them, advocate on their behalf and find ways to deploy them in support of democracy in Canada and abroad.

These aims have been foremost in my mind since I resumed my position, more than a year ago. Let me offer a word or two on some recent initiatives.

Improving connections

Last fall, on the margins of our very successful regional meeting in Victoria, I travelled to the four western provinces on an outreach tour. Events were organized in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton and Saskatoon. It was a great way to connect personally with members who are unable to make it to Ottawa. More of these tours are being planned in other parts of the country.

I have established the practice of sending out regular emails with news and information under the title “From the Executive Director’s Desk”. I always appreciate your comments. If you do not receive these emails, it’s because we do not have your email address. Please send it to us so we can stay in better touch.

Over the past several months, staff have been working hard to revamp and modernize our website www.exparl.ca into a functional tool that will allow

us to keep in touch with one other and the wider world through news blogs, events, social media and web-based services. It is my hope, too, that this website will showcase the many interesting things our members are doing.

Adding to our services

This association should be a natural home for former parliamentarians from the moment they leave office. To make this organization appealing, we have to constantly find ways to be on the radar of current parliamentarians and to improve the value proposition of becoming active members of the association.

One way we can do this is to assist with the difficult transition many defeated members face. Defeated MPs from recent elections have valuable lessons to share on how transitional support from the House of Commons could be made better. By working with the party whips we hope to enact some of these ideas, for the benefit of those who, inevitably, will face defeat following the next general election in 2019.

We are working on other possible member services too: such as preferred travel rates, home and auto insurance and hearing services. We’re even looking into pre-planning for funeral arrangements, which could be available through affinity partnerships that offer discount programs.

Working for you

Our association should be an advocate for our members. Whether that involves lobbying for pension and related benefits that are fair and generous, or working with authorities to ensure that our access to the Parliamentary Precinct is reasonable and convenient, members should be able to count on their association to work for them. We are establishing networks in order to be more effective advocates for you.

Promoting democracy abroad

Whether it’s monitoring elections abroad or speaking to your local high school or service club, there are many things former members can do to be champions of democracy and good government.

The House of Commons would like former members to be more involved in civic education in their communities and I have begun working with the House of Commons Clerk Charles Robert to help make that happen. We both believe that the effectiveness of programs that our Education Foundation helps to fund, such as the Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy and the Forum for Young Canadians, would be enhanced if teachers and students, after returning home from their time in Ottawa learning about Parliament, could draw on the mentorship of a former MP or senator living right in their community. You’ll find more about how to be a part of that in the pages of this magazine.

Our members have valuable experience in international democratic development, and are often hired by organizations from the U.S. and other countries engaged in this work. This work includes support for free and fair elections and parliamentary capacity building in fragile emerging democracies. Unfortunately, despite its reputation internationally as a shining example of democracy and good government, Canada provides limited opportunities to share this knowledge abroad. I am not alone in thinking that investing more in democratic development so that our expertise can be made available under a Canadian brand, would be good for Canada and good for the world.

A builder of bridges

Bryon Wilfert receives CAFP's Distinguished Service Award

Story by Hayley Chazan, photo by Bernard Thibodeau



The Hon. Bryon Wilfert receives CAFP's Distinguished Service Award.

For more than 5,000 days, the Honourable Bryon Wilfert represented his constituents with both distinction and devotion in the House of Commons. Receiving the greatest compliment a politician can receive from those he seeks to serve, Bryon was elected five times between the years of 1997 and 2011 to represent the riding of Oak Ridges and then Richmond Hill in Ontario.

On June 5, 2017, as parliamentarians both past and present gathered in Ottawa, Bryon received another important honour: the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians' 19th Distinguished Service Award. The prize aims to recognize a former member who has contributed greatly to the promotion and understanding of Canada's parliamentary system.

Throughout his approximately 15-year career as an MP, Bryon worked tirelessly to strengthen Canada's relationship with Japan, serving more

than 10 years as chair and in other posts on the Canada-Japan Interparliamentary Group. In 2011, Bryon was bestowed with the Order of the Rising Sun, an honour presented by His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, to individuals who have made significant achievements in international relations, the promotion of Japanese cultural advancements in their field, development in welfare, or preservation of the environment.

While Bryon is perhaps most celebrated for his contributions to foreign affairs, his colleagues are quick to fondly mention his sense of humour and mischievous nature.

"Bryon has an important ability, one that all parliamentarians should have, and that's the ability to occasionally see the imperfections, not only of the other side, but of his own side as well," said House of Commons Speaker Geoff Regan. "There is nothing Canadians like more than

people who take their work seriously, but not themselves."

Today, Bryon continues to be a respected voice on Asia-Pacific issues as a result of his years spent in the region building relationships and leading several successful international trade missions. In 2014, he was appointed honorary consul for Canada to the Republic of Myanmar, where, for the past four years he has been able to provide his experience and talents to the benefit of both countries.

"The advancement of issues like human rights, empowering women, promoting education and dealing with governance issues both at home and abroad are very important to me," said Wilfert during his acceptance speech. "I take this award not on behalf of myself, but on behalf of all parliamentarians both past and present who work so hard in this regard."

Former parliamentarians recall political lives lived

Story by Harrison Lowman, photos by Christian Diotte



Current and former parliamentarians and bereaved family members gathered in the Senate chamber to honour former parliamentarians who left us over the past year.

At a gathering meant to bring together old friends and colleagues, former parliamentarians were also reminded of the companions who were unable to join us for the festivities. During CAFP's 2017 Memorial Service, members remembered 30 former parliamentarians, from across the country, who passed away since the last time they gathered beneath the Senate chamber's stained glass windows. Twenty served in the House of Commons, six in the Senate, and three in both houses.

"Whether our time here is brief, or whether it spans the course of many decades, parliamentarians are united by a passion to serve, their love for this great country of ours and their desire to improve the lives of fellow Canadians," explained Speaker of the Senate George Furey. "We must never take for granted the privileges and the responsibilities that have been entrusted to us to serve for the betterment of our country."

Furey detailed an intense bond that he feels all parliamentarians share, a

bond built by the sacrifices members of all parties make in leaving family and friends, as well as the intense personal satisfaction they receive from serving Canadians.

Elizabeth Rody, chief of protocol and director of events in the Parliament of Canada, explained the rewards the public reaps from those stepping up to the plate to serve their country.

"Our democracy and the freedom which we enjoy, relies on people stepping up and being accountable, doing their work diligently, more often than not out of love," she said.

CAFP president Andy Mitchell detailed the lives of those who passed, some of whom lived long and fulsome lives, others who were snatched from us suddenly, and far too soon.

"They applied their diverse talents to making Canada and the world a better place. We are grateful to them for their service, and to their families for sharing them with us," said Andy. "We all are enriched by their being with us."

Speaker of the House of Com-

mons Geoff Regan was especially moved by the ceremonies. The Liberal MP had worked closely with some of those who died, including Mauril Bélanger, who succumbed to ALS at 61 years of age.

"On behalf of all the members of the House of Commons, I offer my sincerest condolences on the passing of too many friends and colleagues from Parliament, some of whom I had the good fortune to serve alongside," he said. "We are poorer for their departure, but richer for the time they spent in this place."

In this time of condolences, where the partisanship is washed away with the tears, Furey called for togetherness and inspiration from across the aisle.

"May we always remember to seek the best in each other and value the time that we spent together in this place," he explained. "May we draw strength and courage from the experience of those before us and may the memory inspire us to overcome the challenges that still lie ahead."

Annual General Meeting (AGM) Business

Members met at the Sir John A. MacDonald building and received updates on the financial standing of CAFP. They also listened to a speech from Chris Ragan, chair of Canada's Ecofiscal Commission, an independent economics organization set on growing the economy while improving environmental prosperity in Canada.



Francis LeBlanc and Hon. Andy Mitchell.



Maurice Harquail.



Jack Harris.



Presentation by Christopher Ragan of Canada's Ecofiscal Commission.



Jesse Flis.



Happy 30th birthday CAFP/ACEP!

AGM Senate reception

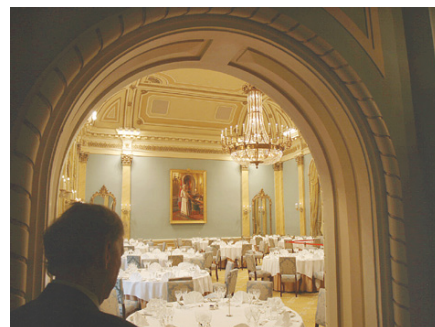


Following the memorial service, members and the families of the deceased gathered in the Senate foyer for refreshments and conversation.



Former members were treated to a private speech and Q and A from Minister of Transport Marc Garneau on trade ties between Canada and the U.S. in the Trump era.

A tour of Rideau Hall



Former members were taken on a private tour of Rideau Hall, home of the Governor General.

AGM Speaker's reception



Members were treated to speeches and drinks in Speaker Regan's Salon in Centre Block.

Lyn Murta and Hélène LeBlanc.



Left, Hon. Don Boudria, Auguste Choquette, Hon. Mary Collins and Doug Rowland.

Hon. John Reid and David Daubney.

Hon. Eleni Bakopanos and Hon. Sue Barnes.

“Don’t count us out”: Bob Rae addresses former parliamentarians upon being presented CAFP’s Lifetime Achievement Award

Story by Harrison Lowman, photos by George Pimentel



Hon. Bob Rae is presented with the CAFP’s Lifetime Achievement Award.

While former Ontario premier, federal Liberal interim leader and special envoy Bob Rae has worn many hats over the course of his forty-year career, he is not ready to pack them away in storage just yet. Instead, the veteran politician said it is the job of him, along with other former parliamentarians, to tell those now entering public life, what it is like to wear them.

“I’m tired of being ‘former’. We’re alumni of the political process,” said Bob to a packed room at Toronto’s Fairmont Royal York Hotel. “We still have stuff to do. We still have stuff to give.”

“Don’t belittle experience. Don’t engage in this stupid kind of ageism,” said Bob. While he understands this country’s more seasoned politicians have to make way for the next generation. “We also have to share with people the ben-

efits of our experience.”

On Wednesday, May 16, 2018 in downtown Toronto, the Honourable Bob Rae was awarded CAFP’s fifth Distinguished Service Award. The award aims to recognize former members who have contributed greatly to Canadian life and politics and acted as community role models.

A wearer of many hats

Bob Rae’s career spans across various countries, peoples and levels of government. Bob was first elected to Parliament in 1978, as the NDP MP for the Toronto riding of Broadview.

In the early 1980s, he shifted his focus to provincial politics, becoming the leader of Ontario’s NDP. It was at Queen’s Park where Bob finally got a chance to govern. During the 1990 election, he won a stunning victory, becoming the first and only NDP leader

to be elected. His premiership was short-lived however. Ontarians are still divided over Bob’s ability to respond to the economic recession of the time. In 1995, the electorate rejected his party, losing him 57 seats.

Bob left the legislature a year later to work in law and serve as an advisor. This included helping the Liberal government investigate the Air India bombing and assisting the Canadian Red Cross in recovering from a major blood scandal.

Bob is not ashamed to admit that the hats he has worn over the course of his political career have changed colour. In the early 2000s, the politician said he felt his party was misguided in its bias against Israel and its rejection of globalization. He soon left the NDP for the federal Liberals.

“Like Winston Churchill, Bob Rae



A packed room at Toronto's Fairmont Royal York Hotel.



Leo Duguay.



Hon. Bob Rae.



A musical interlude.



Hon. Bob Rae with partner Arlene Perly Rae.

changed political flavours,” explained former journalist John Fraser.

Bob admitted that while he did change teams, “the driving force behind my politics has never changed.” He said he has always tried to do good for people.

After losing the 2006 Liberal leadership race, Bob returned to Parliament Hill donning red, having been elected in a Toronto Centre by-election. In 2009, he tried again to be leader but withdrew from the race. When former Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff lost big during the 2011 election, Bob was made interim leader.

Throughout his time in the House of Commons and Queen’s Park, Bob is remembered fondly for his oratory.

“He was a good master of words,” proclaimed former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in a tribute video.

“The whole without notes, in both languages. And with a judicious, compelling, self effacing demeanor, that one plaudits from all sides of the House,” added former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada and Liberal MP Irwin Cotler.

Stepping away from politics

In Bob’s third act, he left Parliament to enhance the voices of those less for-

fortunate, working outside of the legislature. In 2013, he became chief negotiator for First Nations in talks with the Ontario government about the development of northern mineral deposits.

Bob describes working towards truth and reconciliation as “the greatest piece of unfinished business in our country”.

Bob’s latest assignment took him overseas, to the Southeast Asian nation of Myanmar. In 2017, Prime Minister Trudeau made Bob Canada’s special envoy to Myanmar. The country is currently undergoing what many believe is the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya Muslim people. The result has meant nearly a million people are still crammed into unsanitary refugee camps. Bob released his final report to the prime minister on the refugee crisis in April.

“Bob, you’ve spent a lifetime championing the needs of others and making a difference for Canadians. Your contributions have gone beyond Parliament and beyond partisanship,” said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to Bob through a video message at the dinner. “You show us what it means to lead with integrity and serve with courage.”

Taken as a whole

Does Bob Rae have a fourth act? The

award recipient reminded the audience that in Malaysia, the population just elected a 92-year-old prime minister. “In 2041, I’m ready,” the 70-year-old Bob, quipped.

What one can glean from Bob’s remarks that night is that whatever hat he wears next, he will wear it behind the scenes, rather than front and centre—a tactic that could be seen as stepping on the toes of the latest crop of parliamentarians.

“One of the reasons I left Parliament was I said, ‘I’m not going to be crazy uncle Bob in the attic coming down and saying to people, ‘Now don’t do this.’”

Instead, his role will likely be imparting wisdom to Canada’s next generation of politicians, something he said is not seen as valuable, or happening nearly enough.

According to Bob, there is much to be learned from “listening to the elders”. “The fact is we are living longer. And hey, we’re not going away,” said the former interim Liberal leader and Ontario’s 21st premier. “We’re still here.”

After all, Bob joked, “My life isn’t over yet, I’d like to, sort of, reflect on that at a later date.”

Parliamentarians celebrate 150th anniversary of first meeting of Parliament

Story by Maya Gwilliam, photos by Christian Diotte

On Nov. 6, 2017 past and present political figures came together to celebrate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the first meeting of the first Parliament of Canada.

The celebrations began during Question Period, where speeches were made by various party leaders, who reflected on the changes within Parliament since June 8, 1866, when a mere 84 members met in the not yet fully constructed parliament buildings in Ottawa.

“Day after day, year after year, members sit in this House and do important work on behalf of Canadians, work that impacts families and communities, work that shapes the course of people’s daily lives,” Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said during his remarks. “Let us never lose sight of the fact that we are all here for the same reason, to make our country better, to improve the lives of the people we serve. We may have different ideas on how to get there, but there is always common ground.”

Conservative leader Andrew Scheer echoed Trudeau’s sentiments and also spoke of the importance of taking pride in Canada’s merits, despite its past flaws.

“For 150 years, our Parliament has been a reflection of Canada and Canadians. It is more than a building. It is the embodiment of our national character, its virtues and vices, its strengths and its weaknesses,” Scheer expressed. “It is in our nature as Canadians to be self-deprecating, but sometimes, maybe once every 150 years, it is okay to acknowledge what the rest of the world tells us: we occupy a special place in the fellowship of free nations, and our institutions, including this Parliament, are the envy of other nations.”



A new stained glass window commemorating the 150th anniversary of Confederation was unveiled.



Left, Hon. Jean-Jacques Blais, Ross Milne, Hon. Lorna Milne, Henri Tousignant, Francis LeBlanc and Hon. Raymond Setlakwe.

Following speeches, House of Commons Speaker Geoff Regan unveiled a new stained glass window commemorating the 150th anniversary of Confederation, designed by Phil White, Canada’s Dominion sculptor. It is White’s job to carve statues, portraits and decorative pieces that commemorate Canadian history for government buildings.

Dozens of parliamentarians, including four former prime ministers, along with sitting and former MPs, attended the unveiling and the rest of the proceedings. Former Speaker of the House Peter Milliken said the event was the perfect opportunity to reconnect with his former peers.

“It’s not often we get together as a group, with former prime ministers and speakers,” the former Liberal MP acknowledged. “Some of us haven’t seen each other in years and it was a nice opportunity to visit and have a good time together.”

Former Speaker John Bosley had only returned to the House of Commons a few times since he left in 1993, but during the reunion, the former PC MP said he felt as though he never left.

“There’s a feeling about being in the House of Commons that any former MP will tell you. There are no words for it, but it’s a wonderful feeling that you’ve been part of something useful and important, and it’s very uplifting,” Bosley explained.

He also praised additions that had been made to the House of Commons since his last visit. “There are new gargoyles and an Indigenous collection. It was really special to me, seeing how the art of the building, which tells the story of the building, has been augmented, through the last 20 years, and especially from its beginnings from 150 years ago.”

A balancing act

The MP's job description

By H       LeBlanc

On May 2, 2011, I was elected the NDP member of Parliament for LaSalle-      , Quebec. As you can imagine, it was a very unlikely victory. To everyone's surprise, a Liberal stronghold had just turned NDP. Like many newcomers in politics, I knew about the role of a candidate but less about the role of an MP. Upon my arrival in the House of Commons, it seemed I was not the only one.

During my first few days in my office on Parliament Hill I had to go through a large pile of mail that had accumulated since election day. One text in particular caught my eye. It was an article written by Samara Canada (a non-profit organization interested in the work of Canadian parliamentarians) about interviews they had conducted with former members. Participants had agreed to answer a fundamental question: What is the role of an MP? The result was surprising. There were almost as many definitions of the role as interviewees. Samara grouped the answers into different categories. While some considered riding work to be the most important, others thought work on Parliament Hill was the main task of elected representatives. Still others believed it was a balance between the two.

Come together

I believe I belonged to the final category. I found the work on Parliament Hill extremely stimulating. The meetings I had as the Official Opposition critic for science and technology, industry and co-operatives, taught me a lot about current issues. I was fortunate to meet leaders from various spheres of Canadian society and industry. I took the opportunity to see everything, to know everything and meet as many people as possible. Is it not the very essence of politics to make connections, build relationships and try to



H       LeBlanc.

establish harmonious interactions between various parties? I loved that part of my job.

I also appreciated the work in the standing committees of the House of Commons. I still believe these committees play a vital role in our democratic system and that there is a need to make their work better known to the general public. In committee, members from all parties can ideally work together to achieve common goals. This is unfortunately not always the case. From my observations, there is still room for collaboration rather than confrontation.

Going home

The House of Commons can be frustrating at times, especially during Question Period and debate. During my mandate, I realized my limitations. The traditions that prevail in that place -verbal jousting and partisan strategy- are wasting the valuable time of elected officials and Canadian citizens. This was the case in the 41st Parliament. To counter this, I found refuge and energy by meeting with my constituents. It was in my riding, alongside those I represented, where I felt I could make a difference.

I had a great time in my riding. I met people who were warm and committed to the well-being of their families and their community. LaSalle-       was (the boundaries have since changed) a culturally diverse

constituency that welcomed about a thousand new Canadians each year from four continents and more than 40 different countries. I organized an annual reception for those who had recently received their Canadian citizenship. It was during these local events that marked my mandate and remain some of my best memories of my time as an MP.

In recent years, constituency office budgets have increased. This has allowed for a full-time team to answer citizens' questions and concerns, whether it involves immigration, taxes, or employment insurance. This part of the job gave my team and I the satisfaction of helping our people in a meaningful way.

Confronted by complexity

Nevertheless, it was difficult at the beginning of our mandate to set guidelines and understand my role in handling constituents' cases. Citizens found the governments' complex rules confusing. As an elected official, I had to explain that it was impossible for me to reverse decisions made by public servants. Instead, my role was to guide constituents through administrative mazes, while working to introduce bills and motions to alleviate problematic practices. To this day, I ask myself, "Is it our role as MPs to be the intermediary between public servants and Canadians?"

Throughout my term, I saw that the role of a member of Parliament has many facets. Freed from the current constraints that impede their full participation, members could better combine all aspects of their work as citizens' representatives and as parliamentarians. Whether it is work in the House or in their riding, working as an MP is an art form, a balancing act that involves juggling the numerous aspects of the job.

H       LeBlanc served as an NDP MP in the riding of LaSalle-      , Quebec from 2011-2015.

Forget the lines: The company behind voting by “selfie”

By Harrison Lowman

On Monday October 19, 2015, the Lawsons had had enough. It was federal Election Day across Canada, and the Halifax couple travelled all the way to their voting station, only to be met by winding lines and sluggish staff. And so they left without marking their ballots.

“I’m so damn fed up with it. I’ve never seen a system so bad,” Donald Lawson told CTV News. “They just got it all screwed up. You get fed up. They don’t seem to know what the hell they’re doing.”

“We’re in our 80s and it’s ridiculous that you gotta stand there and wait so long,” added his wife Shirley Lawson. “I don’t think I’m even gonna vote.”

It is these voices – those that believe the way we currently vote is inefficient, archaic and perhaps even insecure – that inform the work of Smartmatic, a multinational company bent on upending the ways in which citizens across the globe choose their governments. They want to ensure that those like the Dawsons have the chance to mark their Xs on E-day, assuming that they know how to use a smartphone. The company is trying to get people to vote via selfie and they’ve developed the technology to make it so.

Bringing the ballot to the voter

Unlike the current Canadian voting process, voters using this system are able to make their pick from anywhere; no lines, no paperwork. Those at Smartmatic believe this will appeal to a population on the go and used to consuming services remotely; for instance, those who shop for clothes or order tickets online. In the Canadian context, it could also service remote Indigenous communities.

“The problem is that the old traditional method is fundamentally flawed,” said Mike Summers, the UK-based director of online voting for Smartmatic. “It was created at a time when there was no other way of people getting together to cast their opinion. It was created in a time when people



Any way that helps make voting easier is at least worth checking out. Photo courtesy of Smartmatic.

had to go to a town hall because you didn’t have telecommunications, so you didn’t have internet or anything like that.”

Rather than a lack of faith in the democratic system, Summers believes it is barriers to accessibility that are keeping people away from the ballot box. When one looks at the Canadian data, it would seem Summers is correct.

According to Elections Canada, 48 per cent of those who chose not to vote did so because they were “too busy/family obligations/conflicting work or other schedule”. Fifteen per cent said they were “out of town or away from home”. Meanwhile, nine per cent said they “felt voting would not make a difference”. Another nine per cent said they were “not interested in politics”.

Summers said the selfie technique would also lead to more accuracy, criticizing the judgment of human vote counters who can make mistakes. Implementing his method would essentially mark the end of the recount.

“Electronic systems count things more accurately and precisely than tired human beings that have to count pieces of paper,” he said.

Those at Smartmatic also insist that

using their electronic voting system will mean “significantly” less costly elections. According to Elections Canada, our last federal election cost taxpayers \$471 million dollars. In 2011, it cost us merely \$290 million, albeit, the latest election featured a longer than usual campaign and more ridings.

More importantly, Summers said using their application would lead to a boost in voter turnout. He noted that some jurisdictions in the United States that have used online voting for those overseas and members of the military, have increased turnout from around 20 to 30 per cent up to 90 per cent.

However, Canada seems to be bucking the disengagement trend already, without tossing aside pen and paper. During the 2015 election, 68.5 per cent of Canadians came out to vote. In 2011, 61.1 per cent of the population showed up.

Holes in the process?

While this convenience-focused technology would no doubt eliminate some accessibility barriers, concern has been raised over how secure Smartmatic’s online system is from hacking or technical malfunctions. Following the 2016 U.S. presidential election,

beyond spreading misinformation throughout the public, Russian operatives were accused of hacking electronic voting systems in as many as 39 states.

“We are in a climate of fear about elections and potentially state-sponsored manipulation of elections,” explained Summers.

But he stressed that there has never been a single incident of someone hacking his system. Summers said the application cannot be fooled into thinking a photograph or video of someone is the actual person taking the selfie and explains that once someone casts their vote it cannot be changed by someone later on or be intercepted.

A sacred act?

There is also the question of whether voting via selfie online dilutes the seriousness that comes with casting a vote. It could be argued that choosing your leaders should require real effort on the part of citizens; that it shouldn’t be mere button clicks away, made from the comfort of your couch; that it shouldn’t be as easy as buying a sweater or U2 tickets.

Former Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne even mentioned we might be losing something by taking votes online. “It is a community activity. It is people coming together to do a collective thing,” she said. “Let’s be a little bit careful about doing away with the opportunity for people to take part in this democratic exercise together,” she told an audience of Ryerson University students.

When voting is done using a photographic technique made famous by egotistical social media users, is the democratic process not made petty and frivolous? Absolutely not, said Summers.

“I don’t believe in any way, shape or form that voting – the process or the importance of the process – is diminished by not having to stand in line,” he argued. “That is absolute nonsense. Why should you have to wait to do something that’s so important?”

Catching on?

Smartmatic says more governments are becoming interested in their re-

How it works

Smartmatic’s electronic voting system, called “TIVI”, covers registration, authentication, voting and tabulation. It can be accessed through an application users can download on their cellphones.

Users register to vote by scanning something like a driver’s license that features a picture of themselves. The application then asks you to take a selfie – which the Oxford Dictionary defines as, “A photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media.”

Smartmatic says it ensures the person in the selfie is the same person on the scanned ID card. It tells picture-takers to remove hats and sunglasses and have a “natural and neutral facial expression.” It then shoots this information profile off to servers to be certified further.

When voting day arrives, the user can log back onto the application, where they are instructed to take another selfie. This photo is cross-referenced with the previous selfie and ID photo. If all pans out, the voter is presented with a digital ballot specific to their riding. They can then make their candidate choice and hit the vote button.

mote voting system. The company has run elections using similar technology in Estonia, the international leader in online voting, since 2005. During the country’s last election, in 2015, citizens cast ballots from approximately 116 different countries. Around 30 per cent of eligible voters voted online in that election. However, electronic voting has not led to a noticeable increase in turnout.

The company has yet to make major inroads into Canada, where our government insists on sticking with tried and true methods. Canada’s minister of democratic institutions Karina Gould, has said that cyber security ex-

perts advise that we stick with what we have, “because the reliance on paper-ballot results is a more secure system.”

“Polling places will continue using paper ballots, marked and counted by hand,” wrote government officials in a recent Elections Canada request.

When figuring out what is fueling the current concern, look no farther than the NDP’s 2012 online leadership vote, where hackers attacked the balloting system, slowing down the process.

While he recognizes the Canadian federal government’s hesitancy, Summers called this country “one of the pioneers of online voting.” Online systems have been used in Canadian municipalities and townships, and have led to small increases in turnout. The 2019 federal election will feature electronic polling books – laptops or tablets managed by an outside firm, allowing workers to find and cross off names digitally, rather than using paper poll books and voter lists.

But Summers wants this country to take the extra step, eliminating the need for our country’s 25,000 polling stations. He’d like to have a word with our minister of democratic institutions.

“I would sit down with the minister and I would get her to break down the process, end-to-end, and I would show that every step of the way, our electronic systems mitigate the risks they’re concerned about,” he said. “And address the failures of current paper-based elections.”

Whether or not that meeting will ever happen and whether it would actually lead to substantive changes to the way Canadians vote is, of course, completely up in the air.

Until then, Donald and Shirley Lawson will continue to be greeted by lines; the next one will form in October 2019, during the next Canadian federal election. Meanwhile, across the pond, Mike Summers will likely be stewing over a queue of his country’s own making.

“I’m probably the most frustrated voter in the UK. Full stop,” he admits. “I stand in line, and I know there’s a better way.”

From Parliament to City Hall

The journey from federal to municipal politics

By Hayley Chazan



Halifax Mayor Mike Savage, centre, attending a renewal of vows ceremony at Halifax's Grand Parade.

It was a warm and sunny day in July 2015; a fitting day for a celebration and to take in the moment. As Halifax Mayor Mike Savage gathered outside of the Maritimes city hall, he couldn't help feeling nostalgic.

Ten years ago to the day, back in the summer of 2005, Canada marked the legalization of civil marriage for same-sex couples. As a Liberal MP at the time, Mike played a small role in the passing of that landmark legislation. Nevertheless, he always felt proud to play a parliamentary part of

that significant moment in Canada's history and was determined to do something to honour the occasion a decade later as the head of a municipal government.

And so, he did. Mike and his team invited 27 Nova Scotian couples, in both same-sex and straight marriages, down to city hall to partake in a vow renewal ceremony called "You're Still the One". Mike presided. Each couple, including the local police chief and his wife, recited their vows in front of a crowd of 150 onlookers.

"I was struck by the number of

people who came up to me after the event and said, 'I really feel welcome here.' To me that's what politics is really all about," says Savage. "It was a way for me to bridge what I did as an MP with what I do as a mayor."

Answering the call

In all, the Library of Parliament estimates that over 800 parliamentarians have gone on to serve as mayors.

For Mississauga mayor Bonnie Crombie, a former Liberal MP, and Vaughan mayor Maurizio Bevilacqua, another former Liberal MP, a



Vaughan mayor Maurizio Bevilacqua stands alongside Prime Minister Trudeau and then Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne during the 2017 grand opening of a subway station. Vaughan is located just north of Toronto.



Mississauga Mayor Bonnie Crombie addresses crowds during her 2016 State of the City Address. Mississauga is a large city neighbouring Toronto on Lake Ontario.

strong devotion to serve the public was the reason they eventually decided to get involved locally.

"My major focus was public service and how I could best use my skills to serve the people," says Maurizio. "For me it's really about answering the call. Wherever I am needed, wherever I am required, that's where I choose to serve."

Bonnie, who represented the federal riding of Mississauga for three years, had never considered a career in municipal politics until her unexpected defeat in 2011.

"I knew that I wasn't through serving the community," she explains. "There was a lot I still wanted to accomplish from a public service standpoint."

After becoming a city councillor, she went on to become mayor of Mississauga in 2014, succeeding Hazel McCallion, now 97, who had been the city's mayor since 1978.

Measuring municipal politics' direct impact

Bonnie says she'll never forget the moment she realized that the most relevant level of government was municipal.

It was 2011, and she was out knocking on doors in her riding during the federal election campaign. Bonnie was just starting her canvas and walked up to the first door on the street. After introducing herself, she asked the man who answered the

door if she could count on his support. He skeptically replied, "I want you to tell me right now what you've done for me."

She responded confidently, citing her committee work, community advocacy and debate on the budget bill. But as soon as she said it all out loud, she realized how trivial it sounded. All of her hard work seemed so far removed from the residents she was so devotedly trying to represent.

At the municipal level, Bonnie says, she is able to do so much more that directly affects the lives of residents.

"As a mayor, you can very quickly change peoples' lives for the better," explains Bonnie. "With one phone call, I can call and say the trash wasn't picked up, a neighbour didn't mow his lawn, get those leaves collected. I can really fix things."

Crombie says municipal politics is the level of government where the "rubber meets the road", since in an instant, you can touch people's lives.

Nevertheless, city hall is not Parliament Hill, and MPs turned mayors do miss certain elements of their federal careers. They yearn for the camaraderie of being part of a caucus, where you can feel like you are part of a team. They describe the "magic" of working inside such a majestic building, feeling the history as you push open the old doors of Centre Block.

Making a difference on the big issues

Mayor of Halifax Mike Savage explains that more and more, the world is seeing mayors move the ball forward on big issues that have traditionally been left to other levels of government. These include the environment, health, immigration and human rights.

Maurizio feels that the role of mayors has become enhanced in recent years, since most people now live in or around large urban centres.

While he's proud of the economic success his city has experienced since he took over as mayor in 2010, Maurizio says what is most important is that it has been matched by a social conscience. That, he explains, comes with a recognition that the only way to move the city forward is to not leave anyone behind.

His advice for federal politicians considering a move to municipal government is first and foremost to always focus on serving the public.

"Whether you go and give your gifts and blessings to the city and or to the country, as long as you're serving for all the right reasons, you're going to have a very enjoyable, meaningful and rewarding life."

Beyond the Hill did reach out to MPs turned city councillors beyond the former Liberal MPs but they did not immediately respond to our requests.

Demonstrations on the House floor – do they work?

By Maya Gwilliam

An Australian senator breast-feeding while addressing the Senate, a Canadian MP wearing braids while delivering a speech on body shaming in the House of Commons, an elected member throwing a dead salmon onto the House desk of former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney after criticizing his approach to West Coast salmon fishing. What do these actions all have in common? They're all demonstrations made in legislatures by people determined to bring attention to issues they believe have been overlooked by their government. Their method: to put the problem squarely in policy makers' sightline and within the view of cameras.

The question is whether these public demonstrations and performances actually lead to substantive change. While some of these actions may lead to greater conversations, others have lackluster effects based on the way individuals sought attention for their cause.

In June 2018, Australian Greens Senator Larissa Waters moved a motion on black lung disease which affects coal miners, while breastfeeding her daughter Alia in the chamber. Funnily enough, the parliamentarian admitted that her 14-week-old also “moved her own motion” in the process. Alia is the first baby to be breastfed in the federal parliament Down Under. A year previous, such an act would not have been allowed.

“We need more women and parents in Parliament. And we need more family-friendly and flexible workplaces, and affordable childcare, for everyone,” insisted Senator Waters, who regularly has her baby accompany her around the upper chamber.

This June, Democratic Institutions Minister Karina Gould breastfed her baby boy Oliver in the Canadian House of Commons, during Question Period. Gould is the first Canadian federal cabinet minister to ever take maternity leave.

Power in numbers

According to Emmett Macfarlane, an associate professor of political science at the University of Waterloo, in this case,



Australian Senator Larissa Waters of the Greens Party carries her baby daughter Alia Joy. Photo credit: Reuters.

the Australian senator likely accomplished her goal of raising awareness.

The academic noted that because this is one of many worldwide instances of parliamentarians breastfeeding at work and because the image is so striking, it has likely had a sizable impact. When it comes to public demonstrations on the floor, it appears to be power by numbers.

“This has likely encouraged a broader culture of respect for breastfeeding in public and at work, though it is hard to quantify whether it has had an impact on public opinion in that regard. But the symbolic importance certainly was reflected in media coverage,” he added.

David Smith, a distinguished visiting scholar at the department of politics and public administration at Ryerson University, seemed to agree with Macfarlane. In order to have effect, the protest message must be replicated elsewhere, involve an issue that already touches the lives of a large portion of society and be recorded so that it can be quickly exchanged.

“Unless the protests are linked to some kind of policy that has a public impact or public responsibility, I don’t see that they would be effective,” Smith said. “While they might attract

momentary attention, they would be very short-lived.”

Stressing the need for repetition, Smith said that if similar activist acts are repeated elsewhere it leads to a snowball effect. Look no further than those who rejected the Vietnam War, said Smith.

“The decision took a long period of time and it was an issue people had strong emotions about. I don’t see singular demonstrations as having a very strong or continuing impact on either public opinion or the actions and opinions of politicians,” he explained.

A place for disruption?

Macfarlane said the most memorable political demonstration he has witnessed was not carried out by a sitting member, but by another type of parliamentary employee – a Senate page.

During the 2011 throne speech 22-year-old Bridgette DePape broke protocol and brandished a sign reading, “Stop Harper!” in the middle of the Senate chamber. The young woman was dissatisfied with the direction then Prime Minister Harper was taking the country, claiming that his policies encouraged “fear and war” over “compassion”. She was ultimately let go from her job for breaking non-partisan protocol. The

"If you're a member of the House of Commons, you have a legitimate place within that chamber, a page or a spectator doesn't. They are welcome to say what they want outside the chamber but not to speak in it."

- Stephen Azzi, associate professor of political management at Carleton University

stunt made national headlines, but Macfarlane said he thinks the spectacle had very little influence, largely due to when it took place.

"The page's protest came right after the 2011 election when the Harper Conservatives received a majority government," recalled Macfarlane. "There was something absurd about the timing, in that respect, and there's no evidence the protest had any impact on public opinion."

Stephen Azzi, an associate professor of political management at Carleton University, said he believes the activist's choice of location deserves criticism. While he said there are certain instances where you need to break the rules to make a point, it was inappropriate for the page to disrupt the chamber while it was in session, just because she selfishly wanted to convey a message.

"If you're a member of the House of Commons you have a legitimate place within that chamber, a page or a spectator doesn't," he said. "They are welcome to say what they want outside the chamber but not to speak in it."

Tools at their disposal

It is these rules and regulations that limit a politicians' ability to add colour to their potential demonstrations. Those that want to be heard need to be inventive.

According to Cristine de Clercy, an associate professor of political science at Western University, Canada's Parliament has internal rules on what types of communications are permitted. For instance, members aren't allowed to use physical props while making speeches in the House of Commons.

As a result, demonstrations rarely involve physical aids. Unless they're willing to face punishment, federal politicians must strictly rely on oral communication to deliver their demonstrations.

However, some MPs are more inventive than others. Last year, Liberal MP Celina Caesar-Chavannes brought attention to the fact that some girls in Canada and abroad have faced prejudice in or been banned from schools for their hairstyles; whether it be braids, dreads,



Liberal MP Celina Caesar-Chavannes wore her hair in braids in the House of Commons to draw attention to body shaming. Photo credit: CPAC.

afros or hijabs. The Ontario politician emphasized her point by wearing her hair in braids. "I will continue to rock these braids," she emphasized during her speech to the House.

Azzi said he approved of this particular demonstration.

"She's raising an important issue, she's doing it within the rules and confines of the House of Commons and that strikes me as perfectly legitimate," he noted.

Choosing a messenger

When parsing parliamentary demonstrations, the question becomes, what has more of a long-term impact, a protest group unraveling an environmental banner from the public gallery, or an MP below speaking passionately and analytically about reducing climate change?

According to de Clercy, because politicians are the ones who actually have the power to create policy, they are the best ones to raise red flags within Parliament when change needs to occur. While public demonstrations by members of the public have a spotty success rate, political representatives know the legislative system that change must travel through, and therefore know how to direct that change for maximum impact.

"People who are or were members of the legislature are more privy to the rules and nuances regarding communication, that other people who tune into the legislature might not appreciate," she explained. "So when people make impactful communications in the House, they do so in a way that is sort of a privileged communication, aimed at members of the House, so those people's evaluations



Former Senate page Brigette DePape is escorted out of the Senate by the sergeant-at-arms after unveiling a "Stop Harper" sign. Photo credit: Chris Wattie/Reuters.

tend to be sharper than outsiders."

Smith said he believes people need to understand that regardless of the type of demonstration, it takes a substantial amount of time for a policy to be altered; that revisions don't instantaneously appear. At the end of the day, he said, a demonstration within Parliament is successful if it actually changes Canadian policy.

"I think a demonstration's success is measured by whether the policy is altered, or conforms to what the demonstrators are seeking," Smith insisted.

"It just depends on the legitimacy of the place, of the person in that place and the [question of whether] they're bringing an important issue to the public's attention or just drawing attention to themselves," added Azzi.

While demonstrations performed by the public within Parliament usually get the most media attention because of outlandish actions, Azzi said there are effective ways for those who aren't members of Parliament to voice their concerns. Apparently, they just have to do it beyond the walls of Parliament.

"In the U.S. right now, school children are marching in the streets for gun control. They're not disrupting the proceedings in the House, but they're drawing a lot of attention to the cause through peaceful demonstrations in the streets," he said. "I think it depends on the circumstance, but I think what they're doing is very successful and I think if they start disrupting the proceedings of Congress, that public opinion would turn against them."



Lynn McDonald.

Not just Canadian Confederation – a look back at 1867

By Lynn McDonald

Now that we have recovered from celebrating the 150th anniversary of Canada's founding, we might look at some of the other great events of that vintage year, 1867.

There was electoral reform, health care reform, and the first recognition of the state's obligation to provide care. There were notable achievements in technology (Alfred Nobel patented dynamite, where profits later funded the Nobel prizes), medicine (surgeon Joseph Lister pioneered antiseptic surgery and cut post-surgery death rates), pollution abatement (to reduce acid rain in the UK), protection of biodiversity (a petition to protect bird habitats led to legislation and the early conservation movement).

Other events of note in 1867 were the Alaska Purchase (making America greater), the first publication of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (his theoretical justification for the downfall of capitalism). And last but certainly not least, 1867 was the year the Canadian Lacrosse Association, for Canada's national summer sport, was founded.

Reducing suffering and expanding suffrage

While the British North American Act was making its way through Westminster, so too were two other bills that got much less attention: the Representation of the People Bill, which extended the franchise to urban working-class men, and the Metropolitan Poor Bill, which upgraded the workhouse infirmaries of London – the hospitals for the poor notorious for bed sharing, vermin and lack of

care generally. Both bills would greatly influence Canada.

On May 20 1867, philosopher-turned-MP, John Stuart Mill, moved an amendment to the Representation of the People Bill, requesting to substitute the word "person" for "man", thus giving women the vote. It was defeated 196 votes to 73. Numerous attempts in the following decades would also be defeated. Nevertheless, his motion inspired women's suffrage movements around the world. Most Canadian women only got the vote after the First World War.

The Metropolitan Poor Bill, which Mill also responded to, can be seen as a major step towards the public provision of healthcare in the UK, eventually provided through the National Health Service in 1948. The bill improved hospital standards and established medicine dispensaries, but fell short of what the workhouse reformers, including Florence Nightingale, the founder of nursing, had hoped for.

Nightingale gave a brief to the parliamentary committee that preceded the bill on the inclusion of trained nursing (the workhouses then had occasional visits from doctors, but only drunken "pauper nurses"). She had sought the requirement of professional nursing care, while the bill only permitted it. On amendment, the bill allowed for nursing schools to be founded at workhouses, again

a move to higher quality care. Workhouses with progressive governors and boards not only upgraded the nursing and established nursing schools, but built new, safer hospitals. Without these advancements, the establishment of the United Kingdom's National Health Service, a body that greatly influenced Canada's approach to publicly funded hospitals and medical care, would not have been possible.

Social reform versus Communism

German philosopher Karl Marx's 1867 book *Das Kapital*, alongside *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848 (by Marx and Friedrich Engels) theorized the overthrow of capitalism, arguing that it could not be reformed. However, the two reforms previously mentioned can be seen as key measures that belied that prediction. The Metropolitan Poor Bill led to vast improvements in the provision of health care for all, regardless of one's ability to pay. The Representation of the People Bill helped to extend franchise, although groups like Canadian women and Aboriginals still had a long fight ahead of them. Both laws showed that significant reforms could be made, short of revolution and violent overthrow. Contrary to what was written in Marx's 1867 text, democratic institutions could make life better.

Considering the environment

The progress made in 1867 on bio-

diversity protection was prompted by a petition to UK Parliament to “limit the slaughter” of birds, seen especially on the east coast, thanks to the growth of steam travel. Day trippers killed for sport, even bringing some species to near extinction. The petition called for a heavy tax on guns and the protection of habitats. Birds were not only “ornamental” and gave pleasure, but destroyed insects that damaged crops: “Birds perform a most useful part in the economy of Nature.” Scientists took up the call, a Sea Birds Preservation Act was adopted in 1869 and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds was hatched. Canada’s Migratory Birds Convention Act, which protects certain bird species was established in 1917.

Environmentalists today can also learn from the discovery of various emissions in 1864, with a damning report by chemist Robert Angus Smith in 1867 that led to major pollution abatement measures. Smith discovered that the required 15 per cent reductions in acid rain emissions had been achieved, but total emissions rose as the number of emitting factories increased. The same holds for “per barrel” reductions of greenhouse gas emissions in the oil industry. The atmosphere is influenced by total emissions, not per capita or per barrel.

A final (curious) note

The British North America Act, 1867 that established this country all those years ago may have actually given some Canadian women the vote on July 1, 1867, were it not for a drafting mistake, missed in the House of Lords, where the government introduced the bill, that was “corrected” in the House of Commons. An MP asked if the intention was “to give the franchise to females,” because the original wording specified “every British subject” would be allowed to vote in a certain region of northern Ontario, without mentioning gender. The response? The word “Male” was inserted to avoid such an unintentional mistake. It was the only change British legislators made to the document.

Lynn McDonald served as an NDP MP in the riding of Broadview–Greenwood, in Toronto, Ontario from 1982-1988.

Personal legal files of five retired MPs disappear from federal mailroom

By Maya Gwilliam

A federal department has lost the sensitive information of five former members of Parliament, in what appears to be government-wide privacy breach.

Public Services and Procurement Canada (PSPC) allegedly lost packages of original legal files concerning retired MPs and their spouses in a suburban Ottawa mailroom. The documents included home addresses, telephone numbers and pension information, along with their original or notarized power-of-attorney declarations. The department was in the process of attempting to return the documents to the former parliamentarians.

Since the November 2016 slip-up, PSPC has been reassuring the affected parties that they are still on the hunt to retrieve their personal information.

“While the loss of this document is regrettable, we want to assure you that safeguards and quality assurance measures remain in place to ensure the ongoing integrity of your pension account,” a copy of a letter sent to those affected, obtained by the CBC, said. “In the event that the document is ever located, you will be contacted and advised immediately.”

PSPC’s communications advisor Jean-François Létourneau said that the department is obligated to report all material privacy breaches to the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada for their review. They did so in August of 2017, more than nine months following the loss.

Those affected had the option of filing a formal complaint. To his knowledge, none have done so. Those affected were originally contacted by phone last June.

Létourneau further explained that the documents went missing

when they were being transferred between Ottawa and Gatineau. He gave his assurance that more safety precautions have since been put in place.

A March 31, 2016 internal review of the department’s privacy policies showed large oversights.

“There is no formal privacy training provided to employees to provide them with the knowledge and awareness necessary to meet privacy obligations,” it read. “Processes for managing personal information shared with third parties are not in place.”

Two years ago, in one of the worst reported breaches, the department accidentally emailed out the unencrypted personal information of 12,901 federal employees, including salaries and test results.

In an effort to mitigate a future privacy breach, the administration of MPs’ pension plan has been transferred to the federal pension centre in Shediac, New Brunswick.

“As the pension centre in Shediac only has one document centre, this eliminates the risk associated with documents being transferred,” Létourneau said. “The pension centre has put in additional security measures as it relates to these files. Only a limited number of employees have access to the files and the access is controlled by a rigorous authentication process,” he added.

Létourneau also explained that when a privacy breach occurs, it is policy that the identities of those affected are withheld. What is known is that some are retired MPs and spouses who receive part of the pension of a deceased MP.

Despite the fact the files have yet to be found, no other pension-related privacy breaches involving former or current MPs have been reported since the last incident.



Dorothy Dobbie

Leaving the Indian Act behind to find freedom and a future

By Dorothy Dobbie

When I was a newly minted member of Parliament, I was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs. I was genuinely thrilled at the appointment, as it seemed to me to be just the place I needed to be. I spent two fascinating years in the portfolio and loved every minute.

The first day on the job, I was greeted with a stack of briefing papers. I read everything in the stack, but the document that gripped me the most was the Indian Act. By the time I finished reading it, I was trembling with rage. How could generations of sensible people have imposed such a malicious set of rules on another group of people in a free and supposedly democratic society?

The next morning a dozen people from the department tramped into my office to brief me. My first reaction was to throw down the copy of the Act and ask, "What's the long term plan to get rid of this pernicious document?"

They looked at me in dismay, and then explained with great patience, "But Madame Dobbie, we do not make long term plans in this place."

That did not deter me. Over the next two years, I struggled with how to change things; not that I was able to do much, but I felt I had to try. One small accomplishment, however, was to convince the minister to underwrite a new program to recognize the achievements of Aboriginal youth.

Role models

This came about when a group of young people from a Manitoba First

Nation, Waywayseecappo, won an international baseball championship, but it was not covered in the local press. I was appalled. Any other group would have made it onto the front page. This got me thinking about role models and how important achievements like these are to youth. These kids were just beginning to obtain a higher education, but their focus then was largely on social work, police work, nursing or, in a few cases, law – positions of authority they were exposed to in their everyday lives.

The fact that they weren't aspiring to be scientists, business people, or athletes seemed to be a direct result of our lack of recognition of those who had succeeded in the larger world.

So, I wrote an impassioned memo to my minister, the Hon. Pierre Cadieux. His response was the birth of the Aboriginal Achievement Awards, which continue to this day under the name the "Indspire Awards".

I like to think this act of recognition was one of the things that contributed to the changes I witnessed at a recent Business Council of Manitoba dinner, where scholarships were presented to a variety of young Indigenous People. I was delighted to see that the scholarships were offered within a variety of disciplines- from the trades, to business, to sciences, as well as in law, welfare, education and health. One young woman at my table was on her way to a PhD in physics! I can't wait to learn how she views the world in scientific terms.

The open door

The second thing that sticks in my mind came from a brilliant civil

servant name Harry Price, who was then deputy minister of the department. Over dinner, Harry proposed to me that one way for First Nations to shuck off the yoke of government dominion over their lives was to offer an open door policy wherein a First Nation could opt to leave the shelter (or shackle) of the Indian Act and take control of their own destiny. This would give them ownership of the lands reserved for their community and autonomy in running their own affairs. One time compensation would be part of the deal.

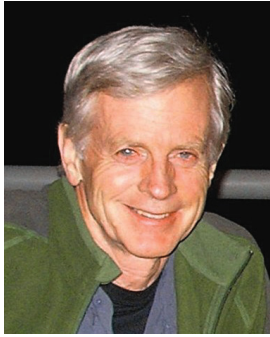
That doesn't mean to say that the Indian Act could not be altered in the meantime, just that there was an escape hatch for those who wanted it.

The open door policy would overcome the difficulty of getting all First Nations to agree on some universal terms of autonomy. Indeed, many Indigenous People I spoke to were resentful of the way previous governments had ignored their individual voices by putting all the negotiating control in the hands of the Assembly of First Nations. "We are many nations, not one," they told me. At the time, the department frowned on the use of the term "First Nations" (plural), deliberately steering Indigenous People into a collective that the bureaucrats could better "manage".

It seems to me that the open door policy is still a valid option that should be available to and encouraged among First Nations communities. Those who have moved forward through the door have prospered.

The Indian Act

The Indian Act is still a pernicious



Hon. David Kilgour

Encouraging multi-party democracy internationally

A niche role for former Canadian parliamentarians?

By Hon. David Kilgour



West German citizens gather at a newly created opening in the Berlin Wall at Potsdamer Platz in November 1989. Photo credit: U.S. Department of Defense.

In 1989, as the Berlin Wall came down, it appeared that totalitarian governance was mercifully gone and a peaceful and rule of law world was finally attainable. Government of, by and for citizens was thought to have won the great ideological battle of the 20th century.

Unfortunately, it is democratic governance that is today under attack in many of the world's almost 200 independent nations. According to the Freedom in the World report recently published by the United States-based non-governmental organization, Freedom House, democracy faced its most serious crisis in decades during 2017. Seventy-one countries suffered net declines in political rights and civil liberties, with only 35 showing gains.

Since 2006, 113 nations have experienced a net decline, and only 62 have seen an overall improvement.

Troubling trends

Nations that a decade ago were democratic success stories – Turkey and the Philippines, for example – today face authoritarian if not totalitarian misrule. Some long-established democracies are also mired in seemingly intractable problems at home, including rapidly widening economic disparities, cynicism among citizens and terrorist attacks.

Populist leaders who appeal to xenophobia and offer short shrift to civil and political liberties gained votes and parliamentary seats in France, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria during 2017. They were kept out

of government in all but Austria, but their success at the polls helped to weaken established parties from across the political spectrum. Centrist newcomer Emmanuel Macron handily won the French presidency, but in Germany and the Netherlands, mainstream parties struggled to create stable governing coalitions.

Basic human rights are also reported to have been diminished in almost two-thirds of the 113 countries surveyed for the 2018 Rule of Law Index. There continues to be widespread concern that there is a rise of authoritarian nationalism and a failure of governments to meet international legal obligations. Venezuela is last on the list and the Philippines fell 18 places to 88th.

Non-discrimination, freedom of expression and religion, the right to privacy and workers' rights were all examined when calculating the index. The respondents' belief in the protections afforded by such rights dropped in 71 of the 113 countries measured.

Exporting anti-democracy

Not coincidentally, the world's largest dictatorships, China and Russia, have not only increased domestic repression, but have exported their practices. Beijing recently proclaimed that it is "blazing a new trail" for developing countries to follow; one that in practice would not provide rule of law, free and fair multi-party elections, gender equality or social inclusion, while fostering crony capitalism, official corruption and state violence against disfavoured communities.

Carl Gershman of the U.S.-based National Endowment for Democracy noted: "Russia, China, and other authoritarian countries are using sophisticated soft power techniques and multilateral coalitions like the Shanghai Co-operation Organization to subvert the global norms contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to replace them with the norm of unlimited state sovereignty." He added, "They're using trackers, trolls and other instruments to subvert the integrity of the media space in Europe and elsewhere to spread confusion and divisions and to undermine the institutions of the West."

The spread of anti-democratic practices internationally also poses economic and security risks. When more nations are free, all countries are safer and more prosperous. When more are autocratic and repressive, treaties and alliances weaken, nations and regions become unstable, and violent extremists have increased room to operate.

Worrisome, too, is that some young people, who have little memory of the long struggles against totalitarianism in various forms, might be losing faith in democratic governance. A determined struggle to rebuild it must begin immediately.

Canada's role

Canada, as an internationally respected parliamentary democracy, is not carrying its weight in encouraging multi-party democracy. It has been estimated that our government allocates a mere 1.4 per cent of its international assis-



At the Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement panel on Tuesday February 6, 2018, the all-party Democracy Caucus introduce themselves and explain their motivations for forming it. From left to right are vice-chair Kennedy Stewart, MP Burnaby South, chair; Anita Vandenbeld, MP Ottawa West-Nepean; director Randy Hoback, MP Prince Albert; and vice-chair Elizabeth May, MP Saanich-Gulf Islands. Photo by Justin Tang.

tance project budget to strengthening parliaments and political parties.

Among the issues raised at a February 2018 joint event of the House of Commons' all-party Democracy Caucus and the Carleton Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement:

- Canada as a respected nation is well placed to "up its game" significantly in helping to strengthen parliamentary democracies and civil societies around the Commonwealth and in other nations, with significant help coming from former MPs and senators. One expert told those present at the event that Canadians working internationally on governance issues for Canadian NGOs are virtually non-existent.

- Globally, political participation remains the sphere where the least progress has been made in closing the equality gap between women and men. Women are especially effective at negotiating security and social issues. Jacqueline O'Neill, president of Inclusive Security, a Washington-based group that works to increase the number of women in peace and security activities internationally, noted that currently only around 24 per cent of parliamentarians globally are female (around the same percentage as in our House of

Commons). Only around 14 heads of state are women. How can parliaments and political parties make measurable progress for greater participation of women in politics?

- Parliamentary and election support initiatives are cost-effective "force multipliers", in the sense that those involved interact daily with MPs, programs and the executive branch of governments. Parliaments of other major nations are able work directly with legislators abroad.

- Francis Le Blanc, executive director of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, noted that as part of offering "more Canada" to strengthen democracy elsewhere, our ex-MPs, having been in Parliament, are now available to programs expanding across the globe.

In short, if ever there was a good time for Canada to do significantly more in this area of international cooperation, it is on democratic governance, and now.

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

A different version of this article appeared in The Epoch Times.



Hon. John Reid.

Our new nuclear age

By Hon. John Reid

When the American President Donald Trump and the leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-un, threatened nuclear warfare last August, my mind went back to 1945. I was eight years old, in elementary school, and understood that something monumental had taken place in the war. Atomic bombs had been dropped on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with unprecedented power and destruction. But no one was able to tell me what an atomic bomb was, except that it was something new, very powerful, highly destructive and had helped to end the war in the Pacific. I was told that someone named Albert Einstein had invented it, but not until I got to university was I able to get a full explanation. We were told that while only our side had the new bomb, dangers existed because we did not know how to handle it.

Nuclear tit-for-tat

After the Second World War, the United States continued to test bombs in the Pacific. It was not too long after, in 1949, when the news came out that the USSR had their own bomb. The Cold War began with each side armed with nuclear weapons. Just before Eisenhower became president in 1952, the Americans succeeded in testing a hydrogen bomb. The Russians were not too far behind in their research. In the 1950s, strontium-90, a byproduct of nuclear testing, started showing up in dairy products. Because the USSR had a nuclear arsenal as well, people began to take precautions.

I recall the drills where we hid under our desks, and elders ensured we knew how to quickly get down to our basements (we did not have one). There were even families who built bomb shelters, stocked with emergency food and water.



A North Korean navy truck carries a submarine-launched ballistic missile during a military parade in April, 2017. Photo credit: Reuters.

While this was going on, the Korean War ignited. Although China intervened militarily, no nukes were involved. When the war halted with the signing of an armistice in 1953, around 2.5 million died, a large portion of them civilians. Canada sent 26,791 military personnel, and suffered 516 casualties with over 1,500 wounded. But there was no peace treaty made then and there still isn't one today. Unless the recent photo opportunity between President Trump and Kim Jong Un amounts to substantial cooperation, technically, North and South Korea, along with China and the United Nations are still at war.

The Cold War started in 1947 and lasted until the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. We are the children that grew up in that period, and lived through all those threats of war. The doctrine both sides adhered to was Mutually Assured Destruction – MAD. The incident I remember most vividly is the Cuban

Missile Crisis when it appeared that the USSR was building a nuclear missile base in Cuba, directly threatening the U.S., just as the Americans had threatened the Russians by building ballistic missile bases close to the USSR. Fortunately, the matter was resolved, but there was a great deal of tension in the Americas because it meant the oceans no longer provided protection. Now that the superpowers had developed intercontinental ballistic missiles, the old age was gone forever.

Over the 40-year period of the Cold War, there were sufficient emergencies to deal with as the nuclear club gained new members, like China, Britain, France, India, Pakistan, Israel, and lest we forget, North Korea.

Fearful flashbacks

Nuclear technology was just so new. The sensing systems to keep an eye on the enemy were also new. There seemed to always be incidents of either the USSR or the U.S. making forays

into the other's territory.

The Canadian Arctic, both air and sea, was a very busy place. In the last few years, there have been acknowledgements that competent military officers in charge of ICBMs on either side prevented missile launches when their sensing equipment gave false readings.

That continues to be a problem even today, as we discovered in January when a false reading came in and all of Hawaii was warned that a missile was coming at them. It took 38 minutes before people were told it was a false alarm. It was harrowing for the residents of Hawaii and a reminder of the Cold War. Now that the Americans and the Russians are modernizing their nuclear weapons, one hopes that these false positives will no longer occur. However, since we are still in the early days of understanding artificial intelligence, this is not likely.

Our generation grew up under MAD. Until 1991, there was always the fear that an incident could trigger a nuclear war, where there would be no winners. The fear twisted North American societies. The rise of McCarthyism, the Nuclear Bomarc question in Canada, the USSR successfully launching Sputnik into space, Ronald Reagan's Star Wars project, all helped mould a culture of fear. We are the first generation to live with the reality that weapons we created could wipe out humanity entirely.

It was Albert Einstein in 1905 who first uncovered the code to help explain nuclear energy. It took 40 years to understand how to unleash this power. Like most things, this power can be used for good or ill. The clash between the president of the United States and the ruler of North Korea and the recent scare in Hawaii, are reminders that we not only live on a fragile planet, but that we humans are also very fragile in our emotional and intelligence states. As technology advances, it becomes easier to make nuclear weapons but it is clear that we have not worked out how to cope with the challenges of the expansion of the nuclear age. The nuclear threat has been re-born.

The Hon. John Reid served as a Liberal MP in the riding of Kenora-Rainy River, Ontario, from 1965-1984. He is also a former president of the Canadian Nuclear Association.

Parliament to campus program

How to get involved in educating the next generation about Canadian democracy



The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians "Parliament to Campus" program brings together former parliamentarians, university and college students, as well as their teachers. Professors from schools across Canada are invited to request the presence of former parliamentarians to address classes or simply to participate in events on campus. Specialized courses where former members may prove to be most beneficial can be Canadian politics, democratic theory, law, international affairs, journalism, or public administration. There are no fees involved.

Former parliamentarians have much to offer today's students and

are eager to engage in a conversation about the relevance of an institution they appreciate critically. Created in 2007, hundreds of former parliamentarians have taken part in the program. Reflecting on their past as political activists and as members of Parliament, their aim is to help students discuss the merits of political life, the functions of Parliament and the quality of democracy in Canada. They base their comments on their personal experiences and speak about the realities of Canadian politics in a non-partisan manner.

If you would like to get involved with the Parliament to Campus program, please contact the CAFP office at exparl.gc.ca or 1-888-567-4764.

Staying in touch

By Hayley Chazan and Scott Hitchcox

"I remember commenting to a friend that I clearly didn't get the memo that I was retired, because when you look at my agenda, I've actually got several things on the go every week. There's hardly a day that goes by where I'm just sitting at home."

– Hon. Marjory LeBreton

Gerald Keddy

(Conservative MP, 1997-2015)

Q: You retired from politics just prior to the 2015 federal election. What does a typical day look like for you now that you're back in Nova Scotia full-time?

The first year or two of retirement, you end up working as hard or harder than you did than when you were an MP. You do all these little projects around the home that you didn't get done when you were traveling back and forth to Ottawa.

Before I started working in politics, I was a Christmas tree farmer. When I retired and came back to Nova Scotia, I was able to get my business back up and running. I own a small Christmas tree acreage, about 25 acres of trees, and I sell them to a wholesaler. In returning to the business, I put my fences back up, fixed up my land, got my roads back in shape and even bought a little flock of sheep. It's been a whirlwind of activity.

Q: What do you enjoy most about being back in Nova Scotia?

The best thing about being home is being able to spend more time with my family. It takes a while to realize that you're not getting up in the morning and heading to the airport.

We have four kids living in the Yukon and they are doing well. So, in the summer time, it's not a matter of finding a long weekend to go up and see them. We try to go for three weeks or a month. The first year that I retired I went up to the Yukon and went hiking with my three sons. We had an amazing time and got to see a big piece of the country that is just a wonderful part of the world. It's very "frontier-spirited". There are a lot of good folks who live there. Lots of opportunity.

As an MP, you forget just how much time you spend on the road or abroad, because it really becomes part of your



Gerald Keddy visiting the Arctic Circle.

life and part of your responsibility. I know parliamentarians who have been in politics for so long that they end up losing their connections to the world outside of Ottawa. When you actually have those connections again, you cherish it.

Q: Do you miss politics?

Every once in a while an issue appears in the news that makes you nostalgic for the cut and thrust of the parliamentary system. But I'm more than happy in retirement. After serving for 18 years as an MP, I was ready to move on to another phase in my life.

Many parliamentarians find it difficult to make the transition. Some have trouble finding work, others just go back to their normal lives. In my case, I just went back to running my business, albeit on a smaller scale.

I also continue to stay involved at the local level. I recently took on the role of president of the South Shore-Saint Margaret's Conservative riding



Hon. Marjory LeBreton.

association. It's not something I plan to do forever and I think they need someone with a bit more free time, but they had a vacancy they needed to fill and I felt it was my duty to give back.

Hon. Marjory LeBreton

(Conservative Senator, 1993-2015)

Q: What have you been up to since you retired from the Senate?

I've been retired from the Senate for about two and half years. Immediately after, I got involved in the 2015 federal election campaign, so that occupied my time for the first few months.

Even though I'm not on the Hill on a daily basis anymore, I still stay on top of the news. I have three newspapers delivered to me daily. I spend the first couple of hours each morning watching and reading the news. Similar to many people, I'm fixated with what's going on south of the border. I can hardly believe it.

"I sat on the subcommittee on international human rights, which really affected me. I still keep in contact with some of my colleagues on the committee. I believe there's a very strong connection between arts and culture and human rights, so I'm working on bringing those a little closer together."

– Tyrone Benskin

Q: You now have more time to be with family. What's that been like?

My family life has kept me busy throughout my retirement. In 2016 we had a wedding, then my granddaughter made me a great-grandmother at the end of October, 2017.

I have also been dealing with my husband's health issues. Having been involved in organizing and events came in handy, because I became a full time organizer and advocate for my husband's health. It's very important to be an advocate in our health system these days.

Q: To what extent are you still involved in your community?

I went back on the board of directors at Mothers Against Drunk Driving. I attend a lot of community events in Manotick, a suburb of Ottawa where I've lived since 1975. I recently got involved in an organization called Rural Ottawa South Support Services. I bring expertise to that organization because I was minister of state for seniors for three years. I also try and attend events put on by the Monarchist League of Canada.

I remember commenting to a friend that I clearly didn't get the memo that I was retired, because when you look at my agenda, I've actually got several things on the go every week. There's hardly a day that goes by where I'm just sitting at home.

Q: You were involved in Kevin O'Leary's bid to become leader of the Conservative party. What was that like?

I actually didn't involve myself at first. I just went to events as the various candidates declared. Then, when Kevin O'Leary expressed an interest and asked if I'd be willing to have a chat with him, I said of course. I was very happy to have been part of his campaign. I think he brought a lot to



Tyrone Benskin. Photo credit: Reisler Talent.

the race, including excitement and new members. He got people debating issues that really mattered, like the state of our economy and Canada's place in the changing world. I thoroughly enjoyed that.

Q: Do you miss parliamentary life?

I worked on the Hill since 1963 and I never ever tired of walking up that main walkway and looking up at Centre Block. I was always quite in awe of the place and I know that anyone who has been involved in politics and Parliament, in whatever role, has had that same feeling. But you know, I did it so long and I met so many interesting people that I felt, after all those years, I was ready to move on. So I don't miss it on a day-to-day basis. I certainly do not miss some of the things going on

in the Senate. I do miss my caucus colleagues and the political side, but I've managed to stay involved. I go up to the Hill regularly and have lunch with people in the media and with former colleagues. I still watch Question Period as much as possible.

Q: What are your hobbies?

I'm an avid gardener. I live on the shores of the Rideau River and have a perennial garden. I'm always experimenting with new plants. I'm also a pet lover. I have several cats. And I'm a big hockey fan, although I'm kind of disappointed with what the Senators are up to these days.

**Tyrone Benskin
(NDP MP, 2011-2015)**

Q: What have you been up to since your time in Parliament?

Well, before I became an MP, I was, and still am, an actor. I've been a working actor for 30 years, so I found myself very quickly back in the creative field. I guess it was rather poetic that I had my first gig on October 19 (the day of the 2015 election); I was in the studio doing some voice recording.

Since then, I've also done film, TV episodes, theatre pieces and voice work. I've been staying busy. During the last two years or so of my mandate, I sat on the subcommittee on international human rights, which really affected me. I still keep in contact with some of my colleagues on the committee. I believe there's a very strong connection between arts and culture and human rights, so I'm working on bringing those a little closer together.

Q: Looking back at your time on the Hill, what would you say are some of your proudest moments?

Even though the bill was defeated, I was pretty proud to put together Bill C-427, which called for income tax averaging for artists. This was some-

"I crossed the floor from the NDP to the Liberals, which was part of a trade with then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, in exchange for a process that would divide the Northwest Territories; once an agreement on a boundary and a referendum was held. The result was eventually the creation of Nunavut in 1999."

– Peter Ittinuar

thing that, during my time as national vice-president of ACTRA (the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists) before I became an MP, was high on the list of things that we artists were looking for. To be able to draft a bill and have that bill debated was definitely a proud moment.

I also drafted a bill to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act to allow individuals fleeing conjugal violence from any country to be able to claim refugee status in Canada. This came out of a situation where a Mexican woman from my riding was fleeing conjugal violence. She built a life in Canada, had two children, and was living here for six years while her claim was processed. Ultimately, the claim was rejected and she was deported back to Mexico. Now in her case, she was able to re-apply, not as a refugee, but as an immigrant, and was granted status. But, another woman was deported for the same reason, and she was killed. So, the impetus for me was, whether you're fleeing from the U.S., Europe or wherever, if you feel the need to leave your country to protect yourself, it should be our duty to offer you asylum. To say that a country has laws on the books against conjugal violence that will infallibly protect you is quite frankly nonsense. We have an obligation to help those that fear for their lives.

Q: Do you still have connections with your riding of Jeanne-Le Ber, Quebec?

Oh yes, I still live there. I'm still involved in organizations there in varying degrees, and I still obviously care about the area. It's my home and has been since 1990.

Q: How would you summarize your time as an MP?

It was the most extraordinary experience in my life. I don't think there's



Peter Ittinuar. Photo credit: The Cord.

a person that you'll meet that will say anything different. I think the last 10 years or so were probably the most extraordinary 10 years this country has ever faced. I was a part of making people aware of what was happening in Canada and within its democracy. It is a flawed system for sure, but it is a system that deserves respect. It is a system that requires us to sit down and work together to make the necessary changes to make it better. Anything can grow, no matter how good it is. And to be a part of that for four years was pretty extraordinary.

Peter Ittinuar
(NDP, Liberal, Independent MP,
1979-1984)

Q: You were the first Inuk MP. What did that mean to you?

I was the first Eskimo member of Parliament in Canada, so I guess technically speaking, I made a bit of history. I tried to represent the people that beforehand had not been represented by any of their own race.

Q: What do you consider to be your biggest accomplishment during your time in politics?

A couple of things stand out. One was Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution, which recognizes First Nations, Inuit and Métis, and I had a pretty good hand in that. That's my baby.

The second thing I can think of was of a bigger nature. I crossed the floor from the NDP to the Liberals, which was part of a trade with then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, in exchange for a process that would divide the Northwest Territories; once an agreement on a boundary and a referendum was held. The result was eventually the creation of Nunavut in 1999.

Q: What have you been up to since you left politics?

Quite a number of things, but for the last 14 years or so, I've been a land claims negotiator for the Ontario government, which I still am today. I find time to go back to the territories and visit family, but I now live in Brantford, Ontario, work in Toronto and travel all over the province. It's a pretty fulfilling life.

Q: What do you like to do for fun?

I like to golf. I also write a little. I've written a book. I dabble in films. I'm now working on a Hollywood biopic about my grandfather. Just living now at our age is fun. Getting up everyday and saying, "Wow, I'm still here," is fun.

Interviews have been shortened for length.

Capturing parliamentarian perspectives

By Hayley Chazan

Last summer, Scarborough MP Arnold Chan stood up in the House of Commons to deliver an impassioned plea to his fellow parliamentarians.

Chan, who at the time was fighting a losing battle with cancer, implored his colleagues of all political stripes to elevate the debate in the Commons and to treat one another with respect and civility.

Listening may be more important than talking, he said.

Three months later, nearly to the day, Chan lost his battle with cancer and died while in office. His passing prompted an outpouring of support from colleagues past and present. They praised him for his positivity, energy and optimism, and most importantly, for his commitment to serve Canadians.

Of the 4,419 MPs elected to the House of Commons since 1867, 521 have died while in office. That number includes four in the past parliamentary session: Arnold Chan, Mauril Bélanger, Jim Hillyer and Gord Brown.

The death of four sitting MPs in the span of merely two years stood out for longtime political staffer and Ottawa law professor Penny Collenette.

In a column in the *Toronto Star* published shortly after Chan's death, Collenette wrote that honouring the memories of departed MPs in meaningful ways can give their legacies more influence and stamina. However, she says more needs to be done. While parliamentarians who have passed can live on in the names of public buildings and streets, she has other ideas.

"Establishing scholarships for students or awards for outstanding individuals inspire and tell new stories while simultaneously allowing a legacy to be inclusive and diverse," she wrote.

Dying while in office brings with it unique considerations, says Collenette. Often times, the causes that MPs championed take on a greater weight after they die than they had during their lifetime. An example is that of the late Mauril Bélanger, whose deathbed wish was to make Canada's na-



Members of Parliament who passed away during the 42nd session of Parliament, from top left: Liberal MP Arnold Chan, Conservative MP Jim Hillyer, Liberal MP Mauril Bélanger and Conservative MP Gord Brown.

tional anthem gender neutral. Several months after his passing, the Liberal government made his dream a reality.

Capturing the stories of the living

But, Collenette also strongly believes that it's not just departed MPs who should be entitled to memorialization. All parliamentarians, departed or not, deserve to have their stories told and their legacies guarded, she argues.

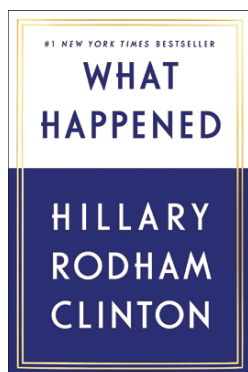
"So many good people get elected for short periods of time, some of them in a minority Parliament, and for them, it was the highlight of their life," she explained during a telephone interview with *Beyond the Hill*. "Then they go back and do their regular jobs and I'm not sure we truly capture their descriptions of what they saw or what they thought about the events they observed."

In 2009 and 2010, Samara Canada, a charitable organization focused on strengthening Canada's democracy, tried to address this issue. Through a partnership with the CAF, Samara conducted the country's first-ever

series of exit interviews with 65 former members. From these interviews emerged four reports, which recorded reflections of their time in office and advice and recommendations for future parliaments. Samara is currently releasing findings from a more recent round of exit interviews with members who sat in the 41st Parliament.

Collenette, a former PMO senior director during the Chrétien years, said she believes that this initiative should be formalized to include glimpses of Canada's history through the eyes of all MPs. She thinks the best way to do this would be to conduct exit interviews with former members within a year of their retirement, resignation or defeat.

"MPs have formed the backbone of Canada's history for the past 150 years," explained Collenette. "Knowing their valuable stories and guarding their memories can serve to connect us with the past, while at the same time linking us to the future. We may even learn to listen to each other – just as Arnold Chan wished."



Hillary Clinton's cracked glass ceilings – how she lost to Trump

Reviewed by Hon. Peter Adams

What Happened by Hillary Rodham Clinton. Simon and Schuster. September 12, 2017. United States. 512 pages. ISBN 978-1501175565.

Hillary Clinton was the most prepared candidate ever to run in a United States presidential election.

Her lifetime in politics covered all the bases. She served terms as an active first lady in both Arkansas and the White House. She was senator for New York and secretary of state under Obama. She ran tough nomination races against Obama and Sanders and became the first female running for the presidency in U.S. history to represent a major party. She pierced or badly damaged glass ceilings as she went.

Hillary Clinton's book, *What Happened*, is a personal account of her winning the Democratic nomination and her grueling campaign against Donald Trump in the election of 2016. It is her explanation of her defeat in the Electoral College, after winning the popular vote by almost three million votes.

The book is more readable than many political memoirs. It systematically covers all aspects of the campaign and the election, with portions that reach back into her personal life from childhood on. One chapter, "On Being a Woman in Politics", should be read by all actual and prospective MPs, male or female. She surely is the authority of her era on this topic.

Too much prep?

As a self-described policy wonk, she never gets over the fact that she had to run against Donald Trump who did not believe in meticulous preparation. An extreme example of this is her description of the "Commander-in-Chief Forum", carefully staged aboard an aircraft carrier. The event was an op-



Hillary Clinton on the campaign trail during the 2016 election campaign. Photo credit: Gage Skidmore.

portunity to discuss global affairs, a topic right up the alley of a former secretary of state. Each candidate would have a half hour or so to answer questions in separate sessions. Clinton went first and virtually all of her session was spent talking about her use of private email services (already an old issue) while she was secretary of state. This allowed Trump to avoid detailed questioning on his approach to international affairs. Preparation did not matter.

Clinton was almost too prepared, too pre-programmed. As she herself says, the voters were simply looking for a candidate as angry as themselves.

She devotes one whole, dense, chapter to her use of those personal email services. She sees this as a dumb mistake made by her, a relatively technologically challenged person. Inquiry after inquiry found little improper and nothing illegal. But the issue pervaded the whole campaign, culminating with the public comments of James Comey,

then director of the FBI, close to election day.

It still smarts

Clinton reveals herself to be a remarkably thin-skinned policy wonk. For example she devotes a whole chapter to a "gaffe" she made in a piece on the U.S. coal mining industry and the great trials of people in coal mining (and rust belt) states. As part of an answer on energy policy she said, "We're going to put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business." This was immediately interpreted as an admission that she was fighting a "war on coal". Clinton says it's the comment she regrets most. She devoted precious campaign time to explaining her true position on this meeting with concerned families and community leaders.

Russian meddling

Russian interference in the presidential campaign, is something that could undermine democracy for years to come. As Clinton says, cyber war-

fare is the future. It is interesting that both Trump and Clinton had experience with Russia before the election. Clinton as secretary of state was the civil servant tasked with “resetting” (complete with reset button prop) America’s relationship with Russia in 2009. Instead, the relationship eroded as Clinton criticized Putin. Trump’s involvement was through various business dealings, including a Miss Universe pageant in Moscow. It now appears that the Russia government, through the hacking and leaking of the Democratic National Committee emails, had an almost daily influence on the campaign.

Isolating the issues

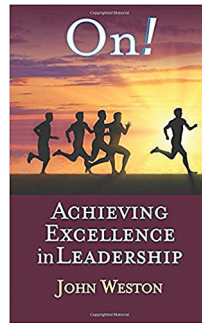
After combing through the entrails of the most divisive presidential campaign in U.S. history, Clinton sees the key reasons for her loss as being her private email server (exacerbated by the untimely intervention of the director of the FBI), Russian interference and her own inability to capture the deep anger many Americans feel towards the state of their government.

Every Canadian MP can relate at some level to her description of election day. Until late afternoon the Clinton campaign thought they had it in the bag. Then cracks appeared and widened into the early hours of the morning. They had won the popular vote only to lose in the college.

Throughout her book, Clinton is seized with a sense of her place in history. She clearly feels a responsibility towards young women. Having done so much over a lifetime to bring women into politics, she felt the burden of her role as the champion of women, as she approached the “highest and hardest of the ceilings”. She clearly blames herself personally for the defeat.

After a lifetime of public service, Hillary Rodham Clinton had the misfortune of undertaking her greatest challenge, the 2016 presidential election, in a year when a significant number of Americans were not looking for a president highly experienced in government. They were simply seeking someone who would shake that government up.

Hon. Peter Adams served as a Liberal MP in the riding of Peterborough, Ontario from 1993-2006.”



On!: Achieving Excellence in Leadership by John Weston. Published May 19 2017. Canada. 192 pages. ISBN 978-09959927902

Being a hard-charging, over achiever is almost a prerequisite for anyone who wants to serve their country as a parliamentarian. But former Conservative MP John Weston (West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country, 2008-2015) takes productivity to a whole new level.

In his new book, *On! Achieving Excellence in Leadership*, John provides readers - whether they're parliamentarians, CEOs, doctors, students, or regular Joes - a blueprint to build themselves into principled, productive leaders who consistently perform at a high-level. At the age of 21, John was already helping to patriate the Constitution in British Columbia and Quebec. Since then he's served in Parliament and practiced law in Taiwan (he can speak Mandarin).

What makes John's book stand out from the plethora of other leadership and self-improvement books on the market is his credibility. It is easy for authors to tell people to “find direction”, but John not only talks the talk, many would conclude that he walks the walk. Consider how he approached his new job when he was first elected. While newly-minted politicians no doubt have a wide array of files they want to impact when they enter Centre Block, John decided he and his staff would focus on three core priorities: national security, Indigenous affairs and Senate reform. Pointing to private members' bills and his committee work, the author says this focus allowed him to accomplish more during his time in Parliament than the average backbencher. John says he was only one

Leadership

Reviewed by Hayley Chazan

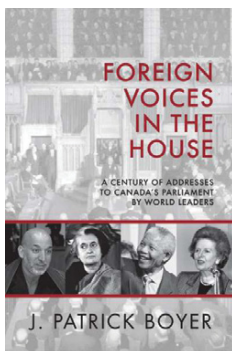
of two MPs who passed two private members' bills and got three private members initiatives to first reading in Parliament. Witnessing how John applied these principles of leadership to his own life gives readers confidence that they will work in their lives, too.

In explaining why he wrote the book, the former parliamentarian says our society has fallen into a sort of malaise; we've become disengaged, disinterested and generally blasé. His goal with the book is to help people learn how to turn themselves “on” so that they can make valuable contributions to their families and communities.

Fighting fit

Although some of his principles of success are predictable, such as always acting with integrity, others are more surprising. For example, he dedicates an entire chapter to physical fitness. It is not immediately clear what fitness has to do with leadership, but John goes on to make the case. In essence, he says that to lead others, we first need to take care of ourselves. A leader who feels fatigued and physically unwell is going to have a difficult time helping others reach their full potential. John then goes a step further. He makes a plea for everyone in the public eye, including parliamentarians, to act like role models in order to achieve a healthier, fitter society. The reason? So that all Canadians can function at their best. During his time on the Hill, John even helped launch a national program on health and fitness and formed an inter-party fitness regime for MPs.

By thinking big while putting pen to paper, John sets *On!* apart from other leadership books on the market. His principles aren't just narrowly focused on making the individual reader a better leader. Instead, they try to raise the bar for all Canadians.



Foreign voices in the House

Reviewed by Sergio Marchi

Foreign Voices in the House: A Century of Addresses to Canada's Parliament by World Leaders by J. Patrick Boyer. Dundurn Press. Feb 2017. Canada. 600 pages. ISBN 978-1-45973-685-6

I got to first know Patrick as a fellow MP, and he always struck me as an astute and articulate representative. This also applies to his writing skills.

Patrick's new book, *Foreign Voices*, is a fascinating compilation of speeches given in our Parliament, by a rich variety of foreign leaders – elected and non-elected, young and old, women and men. We read their visions, 64 in all, spanning from 1917 to 2016. Moreover, Patrick provides the reader with a sprinkling of behind the scenes nuggets, as well as insights and analysis that transcends the years.

Going through these speeches, we come to better understand ourselves, our country and the world around us. Through these addresses, you are transported on a global journey, highlighting the critical forces and institutions that defined the moment: wars, famine, poverty, disease, the ending of colonial and imperial eras, the development and transformation of the UN, NATO, and NORAD, JFK's "New Frontier", the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ending of South Africa apartheid, and so much more.

Words of wisdom from abroad

The bonus is that the speech-givers all had a hand in and front row seat for those international events, allowing their audiences to get a rich take on the globe's messy ebbs and flows.

Outsiders to Canada's Parliament offer a unique and valuable lens into the workings of our own society. They see things we don't. They have different interpretations. We therefore stand to



Nelson Mandela receives a standing ovation in the House of Commons on Sept. 24, 1998. Photo credit: Tom Hanson/The Canadian Press.



British Prime Minister addresses Canadian Parliament in 1941. Photo credit: Library and Archives Canada.

learn much from their insights.

For the most part, their speeches were complimentary towards our country. They celebrated our sense of generosity, tolerance, diversity, serenity, and unity between French and English and old and new Canadians alike. They offered a ringing endorsement of the Canadian experiment.

Most of these leaders found a way to humour and entertain us. Some inspired us. Others tugged at our emotions. Whether it was the 1941 address by Britain's war-time prime minister, Sir Winston Churchill, a master wordsmith; or the moral messages weaved by Nelson Mandela; or French President François Hollande's stirring words



Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in Ottawa.

so soon after a terrorist attack within our own parliamentary buildings, their words served to lift our spirits, rekindle our confidence, and maintain our hope in mankind.

They spoke to shared values. These are values that don't pay homage to any borders, ethnicity, skin colour, language, or God. These are values that could potentially bridge our divides and unite citizens from all corners of the globe.

These leading figures did not merely speak to the assembled MPs, ministers, senators and other dignitaries in the galleries. Through the power of the media, they had the ability to touch our nation, while creating headlines in

other world capitals. Their words have thus become part of a much broader political narrative.

As such, *Foreign Voices*, chronicles our history. Readers get the opportunity to relive the passions and tensions of eras gone by, when the likes of a Václav Havel, Barak Obama, Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, King Hussein, Boris Yeltsin, or a Kofi Annan, took to the podium.

Not all roses

Proceedings did not always follow a standard, feel-good script. Some speeches elicited negative reactions. When then U.S. President Ronald Reagan addressed a joint sitting, an NDP MP was not shy about yelling out his

disapproval. When Thatcher made an unabashed pitch for selling us British-built submarines, the Rt. Hon. John Turner, then Liberal Party leader, was not impressed.

My view, though, is that these ruffled feathers served a purpose, because they helped stir a debate on issues here at home. Our guest speakers, inadvertently or intentionally, became tools for stimulating public discourse among Canadians and their elected representatives. All for the good, I say.

Playing audience

This book helped me recall those speeches I had the privilege of hearing from my seat in the House of Commons. Excitement always filled the air when the guest speaker was minutes away from entering the House, accompanied by our own PM.

For me, the most stirring remarks were those from the mouth of Nelson Mandela. The first was delivered in 1990, in his capacity as deputy president of the African National Congress. At the time, he wasn't even allowed to address his own parliament. Mandela then returned even more triumphantly in 1998, and spoke as the president of a very different South Africa. It was obvious to all that Mandela was a giant of a man, evoking unmatched integrity and aura. But to see and hear him up close was magical. His words were moving, and combined with a life lived by principles and sacrifice, his speeches were powerful moments that spoke to the embodiment of true moral and political leadership. For me, he was in a league of his own.

Finally, I was left wondering who the next prominent foreign speakers to grace our Parliament will be. One day, given their global leadership, the president or premier of China will be a sure bet. Will Russia have to wait for a post-Putin era in order to finagle an invite? And will we ever hear The Donald speak from our House of Commons?

Clearly, the story of *Foreign Voices* is an ongoing one.

Author J. Patrick Boyer served as a PC MP for Etobicoke–Lakeshore from 1984-1993, at one point serving as parliamentary secretary to the secretary of state for external affairs.

The Hon. Sergio Marchi served as a Liberal MP for York West, Ontario from 1997-1999.

Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Harrison Lowman and Lauren Malyk

Hon. Robert Stanbury

Former Liberal MP the Hon. Robert Stanbury passed away on February 10, 2017 in Burlington, Ontario. He was 87.

Born in 1929, “Bob” was born in Exeter, Ontario. He graduated from the University of Western Ontario. He went on to study law at Osgoode Hall, graduated in 1955, and practised law for many years. Bob first tasted politics in the early 1960s, when he was voted in at the North York School Board.

In 1965, Bob was elected the representative for York-Scarborough, working under then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. He would serve as a cabinet minister for a variety of departments; this included working as minister of national revenue and Minister of communications, minister without portfolio responsibilities for citizenship and information. He was also made parliamentary representative at the United Nations. He left politics just before 1978.

Upon leaving public life, Bob worked his way up at Firestone Canada Inc, eventually becoming their chairman and CEO. In the mid-1980s, he returned to law, providing his services to the Hamilton law firm of Inch, Easterbrook and Shaker.

He continued to give back to his community as president of the Hamilton & District Chamber of Commerce, the Hamilton Foundation, the Canadian Council for Native Business, and the Art Gallery of Hamilton. Bob was also the founding member of the Nunavut Arbitration Board and became the territory’s first integrity commissioner.

The former parliamentarian is remembered for his humbleness, his love of this country’s North and his great sense of humour.

Bob was predeceased by his wife Miriam Rose Stanbury. He leaves behind his loving children Susan, Carol, Ian and Duncan. He will be sorely missed by his five grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.



Hon. Robert Stanbury.



Gérard Lamy.



Dr. Charles-Eugène Marin.

Gérard Lamy

Former Social Credit MP Gérard Lamy left this Earth on October 26, 2016 in Trois-Rivières, Quebec. He was 97 years, having been born in 1919 in Grand-Mère, Quebec, just a few months following the close of the First World War. During his younger years, he worked as a contractor.

Lamy ran for the Social Credit Party of Canada, and won at the ballot box in 1962, in the riding of Saint-Maurice-Lafleche. That year, he was one of 26 Social Credit candidates from Quebec who were granted a vote of confidence. While on the Hill he took part in the standing committee on miscellaneous private bills and the standing joint committee on printing. In 1963 he lost to future prime minister Jean Chrétien. Lamy attempted to run under different party’s banners but was unsuccessful.

Lamy was predeceased by his wife Simone, his son Denis, his daughter Suzanne and his sons-in-law Alain and Marc. Lamy leaves behind his children Clauge, Paulette, Nicole, Michel, Lisette, Hélène, Carole, Lucie, Estelle, Claire, Pierre, Yves and Diane. He also bids adieu to his 33 grandchildren and 48 great-grandchildren.

Dr. Charles-Eugène Marin

Former Progressive Conservative MP Charles-Eugène Marin left us on June 7, 2017 in Sainte-Anne-des-

Monts, Quebec. He was 91.

Charles-Eugène was born in 1925; the ninth of 14 children. Before knocking on doors, he worked as a physician, having studied at the University of Montreal. He then began to specialize in psychiatry, which brought him to Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts.

In 1977, Dr. Marin became mayor of Sainte-Anne-des-Monts, a position he held until 1984.

He was first elected to Parliament in 1984, in the Quebec riding of Gaspé. He was re-elected in 1988 but defeated in 1993. Among other duties, he served as the chair of the standing committee on forestry and fisheries. While in office, Charles-Eugène attracted major investment to his region. He helped form an addictions centre, bring the Sainte-Anne-des-Monts airport to the area and also worked to have various ports in the Gaspé repaired.

In 1995, the doctor founded the Exploramer museum, a place meant to educate visitors about the Gaspé Peninsula and its marine life. At his death, he left \$200,000 to the addictions centre. He was awarded the Order of Canada.

“He was completely devoted to improving his community and always believed in our region’s potential,” said Liberal MP Rémi Massé.

“He would take a file in hand, we heard about it for a short time and suddenly, it was settled,” explained



Hon. Ron Atkey.



Fred King.

his friend Jean-Pierre Pigeon, who worked with Charles-Eugène on many elections. “He had this gift of approaching ministers and it worked.”

The former politician is survived by his brothers and sisters, his brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and his nieces and nephews.

Hon. Ron Atkey

Former Progressive Conservative cabinet minister the Hon. Ron Atkey passed away on May 9, 2017 at his home in Toronto. He was 75.

Ron was born in Saint John, New Brunswick and raised in Petrolia, Ontario. The Atkey household hummed with discussions of politics and current affairs. Ron sought his education at Trinity College, Western University and Yale University, focusing on law. He later taught as a professor.

In 1972, Ron first won the support of the constituents of St. Paul’s (Toronto). A few years later Prime Minister Joe Clark made him minister of employment and immigration. While at the helm of this ministry, and working closely alongside his colleague Flora MacDonald, Ron greatly influenced the government’s decision to accept 50,000 Vietnamese refugees into Canada. The minister was determined to show “the world that we are a compassionate nation.” In the end and following threats to the Atkey family, Canada would accept 50,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos and

Cambodia in 1979. Another 10,000 were welcomed by the close of 1980. Ron also reconfigured the sponsorship system, to allow churches, community groups and citizens to sponsor immigrants. Before his passing, he worked hard to bring Syrian refugees safely into Canada.

“Many of us in public life have had the privilege of being present when the world turns, but Ron had his hand actually turn the wheel that turned the world,” said Joe Clark at a memorial service.

Following his time in the House of Commons, Ron returned to practicing law. He was named the first chairman of the security intelligence review committee, which reports to Parliament on the activities of CSIS. He was also an advisor on the commission of inquiry into the wrongly accused terror suspect Maher Arar. Ron also acted as a legal advisor to former Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto. After receiving some writing tips from star Canadian author Margaret Atwood (she told him to stop writing like a lawyer), Ron even penned a spy novel entitled *The Chancellor’s Foot*.

Ron was a lover and supporter of the arts. He often encouraged family and friends to gather around the piano as he took to the keys. When he wasn’t entertaining, he could be found on a bike or on skis in Collingwood, Ontario.

“Ron was a lawyer who helped build

Canada’s national security review system, then persistently advocated correction of its shortcomings; a warm mentor who supported more junior colleagues; a politician who put country before party and a humanitarian who acted on his principles,” recalled law professor Craig Forcece.

He leaves his wife, Marie, his children Matthew, Erin and Jennifer, and four grandchildren.

Fred King

Former Progressive Conservative MP Fred King passed away on August 30, 2016 in Penticton, British Columbia. He was 93.

Fred was born in Kaleden, British Columbia in 1923 to parents Billy and Annie. During the Second World War he served with the RCAF in what was then Burma. Once Fred was back on Canadian soil he was, unfortunately, diagnosed with tuberculosis. The diagnosis however would come with a silver lining. While at a sanatorium he crossed paths with Audrey. They were wed in 1948 and would be together for the next 65 years. He put money on the table by working as a postmaster, fruit farmer and manager of the provincial crop insurance program.

Fred tried his hand at politics in 1978, and he won his first election in 1979 to become the MP for the Okanagan-Similkameen riding. He was victorious again in 1980 and 1984. Immersed in the political world, Fred worked to assist farmers, and was also elected chair of NATO’s human rights commission. He worked tirelessly to assist Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union.

In 1988, after losing the federal election, Fred returned to Kaleden and decided it was time build a new house overlooking the Skaha Lake.

Although he had left politics, he remained active in the community. He worked as director of the South Okanagan Similkameen Medical Foundation and worked hard to have veterans recognized. In 2016, Carey Theological College awarded Fred an honorary doctorate.

Friends, colleagues and family recall Fred’s warmth, honesty, humour

and down-to-earth nature.

Current Conservative MP for Central Okanagan-Similkameen-Nicola, Dan Albas reports it was Fred who encouraged him to get into politics.

"I always appreciated Fred's smile and his advice, and they were always delivered in that order," he said. "He always met you with a handshake and a smile," he added. "Everyone should have a Fred King in their life; I will miss him greatly.

"He always had a lot of energy and it was inspirational to see his spunk and passion for the region and community," remembered Penticton mayor Andrew Jakubeit. "He was a great personality and certainly will be missed."

Fred leaves his children, Gordon, Margot and Cathie; eight grandchildren: MacKenzie, Riley, Trione, Joshua, Jordan, Tara, Lucas and Tasha, and 11 great grandchildren. His wife Audrey passed away in 2013.

Dianne Brushett

Former Liberal MP Dianne Brushett left us on July 11, 2017, after a battle with leukemia. She was 74.

Dianne was born in Bath, New Brunswick. She attended the University of New Brunswick. Rewarding herself, Dianne spent the following six months hitchhiking across Europe.

In 1966, Dianne married her husband Sam. They had two children. While raising a family, Dianne built Dominion Biologicals, a maritime biotechnology company. She also obtained a master's degree from St. Mary's University in Atlantic Canada.

In 1993, Dianne gained the confidence of Cumberland-Colchester voters and was voted in as their MP, the first female to be elected in that riding. While in the House, she served on a variety of parliamentary committees. She was defeated in 1997.

She loved keeping up with her granddaughters Willa and Hanna during the summer months. She watched over and took care of her mother Margaret until her death in 2014.

"A graceful warrior, with a sharp,



Dianne Brushett.

witty, irreverent personality, Dianne was an adventurer, gourmet cook, avid gardener, lover of animals and music, faithful church member, devoted daughter, mother, and grandmother," recalled one of her children.

"Words just can't express my profound feeling of loss with losing Dianne, wrote her friend Karen Norrie Awad on a memorial website. "She was a powerful lady, a great mom, a good business partner and... she had a curiosity and capacity for learning that was a constant with her."

Dianne is survived by her daughter Samara and son Sean; many nieces and nephews and her four cherished grandchildren, Shannon, Sammy, Willa and Hanna.

Hon. Allan J. MacEachen

Former minister and Liberal MP, the Hon. Alan J. MacEachen died on September 12, 2017. He was 96.

Described by many as one of the pre-eminent parliamentarians of his time, Alan wore many ministerial hats during his parliamentary tenure. Through it all, however, he never forgot that he was the son of a Cape Breton coal miner who retired without a pension.

Alan entered this world in 1921 in Inverness, Nova Scotia. The backdrop of his childhood was the Great Depression. After receiving his education, he served as an economics professor at Francis Xavier University.

When he was first elected for Inverness-Richmond in 1953, the Liberals were led by then Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. He won again four



Hon. Allan J. MacEachen.

years later, then lost, then went on to win eight elections.

Alan was assigned his first cabinet role as labour minister in 1963 by Lester Pearson. In 1966, he was appointed the minister of national health and welfare. It was in this position that Alan arguably made the most change, implementing Medicare in Canada.

"In 1966, when Prime Minister Pearson needed someone to actually make it happen, to design the legislation and to get it through a minority parliament, he turned to Allan J. For that and for so many other things, Canada is a better country because he was in it and he served it," said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Alan was an asset to Pierre Trudeau as his right-hand man. He worked tirelessly to steer Liberal policy through Parliament, often pitting opposition parties against one another. As House leader, he led Liberal MPs to reject the PC's first budget, thus defeating Joe Clark and leaving a hole for Trudeau senior to return from semi-retirement to lead the party.

"Alan was like a great political bloodhound, sniffing the parliamentary air, detecting the changing currents and nimbly setting off in a new direction with the parliamentary pack baying at his heels," recalled Tom Axworthy, a key advisor to Pierre Trudeau.

Alan went on to serve as the first deputy prime minister, as finance minister and twice as the government's secretary of state for external affairs.



Judge Reid Scott.



Derek Blackburn.

Former federal Liberal interim leader, one-time NDP MP, and premier of Ontario, Bob Rae recalls seeing Alan as a guide on the Hill in 1966. Years later, he found himself facing off against the then finance minister as the NDP's finance critic. When Bob decided to run for the Liberal leadership in 2006, Alan called him out of the blue and asked to pitch in. He ended up co-chairing his campaign. Bob would this past September give Alan's eulogy.

"He had a philosophical, sometimes theological, even mystical, quality of mind, but he was also intensely practical, pragmatic, and shrewd. He was also very funny, loyal, and warm," Bob said during the proceedings.

In 1984, Alan was welcomed to the Senate, where he served until 1996. Even in the red chamber, the Cape Bretoner made some waves. In the late 1980s, Alan led Liberal protests against the Progressive Conservative government's free-trade treaty with the United States. He was named an officer of the Order of Canada in 2008.

As noted above, Alan never forgot where he came from. He was not afraid to don a kilt, could speak fluent Gaelic and made frequent trips to Scotland.

"He was the son of Inverness, Cape Breton," declared current Nova Scotia Premier Stephen McNeil. "He was focused and dedicated to his community, his province, the country and its people."

Reid Scott

Former NDP MP Reid Scott passed away on March 2, 2016 in Ajax, Ontario. He was 89.

Reid was born in 1926. He attended the University of Toronto, studying economics and political science. He was also a graduate of Osgoode Hall Law School.

In 1948 Reid was elected as a provincial MPP in Ontario, representing the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in the Toronto riding of the Beaches. He was the youngest MPP ever elected in Ontario, at the age of 21. His record was only broken two years ago.

He entered national politics in 1962, when the Danforth riding in Ontario made him an NDP MP. In the House Reid had the honour of being selected to be a part of the 15-member parliamentary committee tasked with coming up with a flag for Canada. Reid was the only NDPer in the group, and would one day be the committee's last surviving member. Reid stayed in the House until 1968.

Reid worked closely with Liberal MP, heraldic expert and committee head John Ross Matheson. Debate over the flag consumed Parliament for 37 sitting days, while the committee worked tirelessly in the background, pouring over thousands of designs submitted by citizens across the country.

The NDP's recommendation which featured a single maple leaf, flanked by small blue bars. After much debate, group made its pick. The flag was officially inaugurated on Febru-

ary 15, 1965. Reid considered the role he played in that decision to be one of the proudest moments of his life.

The former parliamentarian also served the city of Toronto as an alderman and his province as a provincial court judge, having worked early in his career as a lawyer.

Reid, who in the end served all three levels of Canadian government, leaves behind his children Janette, Karen, Lesley, Greg and his grandchildren Lindsey, Michael, Katie and Sash.

Derek Blackburn

Former NDP MP Derek Blackburn left us on October 12, 2017 in Gatineau, Quebec, after struggling with a lengthy illness. He was 83.

Derek was born in 1934 and raised in Stratford Ontario. He attended Western University. Derek would go on to teach himself (high school), before making his way into politics. In a 1971 byelection, he was elected the MP for Brant. He stayed there until 1988.

In 1993, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney then made a judge on the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada.

Friends and colleagues recall numerous times Derek went well out of his way to lend a helping hand to his constituents. Former NDP candidate Marc Laferriere recalls Derek once insisting on personally driver a women escaping an abusive relationship to a shelter.

Current Liberal Brant MPP and Queen's Park Speaker Dave Levac said the community lost an "icon".

"You could see at the door just how loved Derek was," said Wally Lucente, a former Brantford city councillor who used to canvass with Derek. "What stands out in my mind was at the doorsteps people may not have liked the party he ran for, but they would vote for him because he was such a likeable guy and they often would tell you how he helped them."

When he wasn't discussing politics around the dinner table, Derek adored reading, painting and caring for animals.

He leaves behind his nieces Robin,

Carole, Lisa, and his nephew Edward. He was predeceased by his loving wife Monique.

Hon. Tommy Banks

Former Liberal Senator, the Hon. Tommy Banks, passed away in Edmonton on January 25, 2018 after struggling with leukemia. He was 81.

Born in Calgary in 1936, Tommy had a passion for music and started his professional career at age 14 years old, playing in the band of jazz saxophonist Don Thompson. At age 18, he was music director of Edmonton's Orion Musical Theatre, and co-ordinator for the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra.

Tommy is remembered by many Canadians and music enthusiasts for his numerous albums and CDs, performances with symphony orchestras all across North America and television programs. His show, *The Tommy Banks Show*, ran throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

He had a profound respect for his country, and represented Canada at the 1988 Olympic Games in Calgary, having composed the music for the opening ceremonies. He repeated this at various other major international sporting events. In addition, he produced and conducted performances for special guests, including Queen Elizabeth II and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

A member of the Canadian Senate for 11 years, he was first appointed to the position by then Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in 2000. He served on a panel that advised the government during the NAFTA negotiations.

A fixture in the community, Tommy was a founding member of the Alberta Foundation for the Performing Arts and chaired various music committees and centres. He also founded the Yardbird Suite jazz club in 1957.

Tommy was "instrumental" in forming MacEwan University's music program as a faculty member and program chair. He would frequently speak to students and try to encourage the next generation of musicians.

Tommy is a member of the Edmonton Hall of Fame, a recipient of the Order of Canada, the Alberta Order



Hon. Tommy Banks.



Arnold Chan.



Louis-Paul Neveu.

of Excellence, the Sir Frederick Haultain Prize, a Juno, a Gemini and Lifetime Achievement awards from AC-TRA, among other accolades.

Even when diagnosed with leukemia, Tommy was still on the road sharing his love of music.

"Edmonton, Alberta, and Canada have lost a cultural icon. My deepest sympathies to the family and friends of Tommy Banks – former senator, jazz pianist, and true champion of Edmonton and its vibrant music scene," said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

"Senator Banks made Alberta proud through his tireless work in music and culture. He was a star abroad but focused on serving others here at home: helping young artists, building communities and as a senator. In my neighbourhood we remember his jazz at Yardbird Suite. Thank you, Tommy," said Alberta NDP Premier Rachel Notley.

He is survived by his wife Ida, his children, Jill and Tom Junior, and his grandchildren, Mallory, Matthew, Thomas and Jenna.

Arnold Chan

Former Liberal MP Arnold Chan left us on September 14, 2017, following a battle with nasopharyngeal cancer. He was 50 years old.

After high school, Arnold went on to pursue an undergraduate degree and master's degree in political science at the University of Toronto and a law degree from the University of British Columbia. While raising his

family, Arnold later earned a masters in urban planning from the University of Toronto.

Prior to entering the federal arena, Arnold was an aide in the Ontario Liberal government, working for now minister of international trade, Michael Chan, as his first chief of staff. He was also a senior adviser on intergovernmental affairs to Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty.

Arnold was first elected to the House of Commons in a by-election in 2014 in Scarborough-Agincourt. From 2015 to 2017, Arnold served as deputy House leader of the government.

Arnold was first diagnosed with cancer in 2015. He was forced to take time off from his political duties to pursue treatment. After a routine checkup he learned that his cancer had resurfaced in March 2016.

His last speech in Parliament made an impression on many, as he urged MPs to elevate their behaviour, drop their talking points and to listen to one another. Ontario MPPs paid their respects by having a moment of silence in Chan's honour.

Just over a month after Arnold's passing, his wife Jean Yip announced her intention to seek the Liberal nomination for her husband's seat. She picked up her husband's legacy and won the federal by-election race for the Scarborough-Agincourt riding in December 2017.

"He reminds us that real democracy means listening to each other in-



Hon. Bert Brown.



Dr. Frank Philbrook.

stead of talking over each other, and that our civic duty includes not just casting a ballot but taking care, in our everyday actions, of the country we are lucky to call home,” said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau referring to Arnold’s final speech.

“Heartbroken to hear we have lost friend, fellow MP Arnold Chan to cancer. He was a brave, caring and decent man. Love and sympathy to Jean,” said Green Party leader Elizabeth May.

He is survived by Jean and his children, Nathaniel, Ethan and Theodore.

Louis-Paul Neveu

Former Liberal MP Louis-Paul Neveu passed away at the age of 86 on December 14, 2017.

Louis-Paul was born in Saint-Césaire, Quebec in 1931. On top of his public service, Louis-Paul spent 50 years of his professional life working as an insurer, with 30 of those years employed as a manager in the industry.

From 1965 to 1968, he served the Quebec riding of Shefford. During his time in office, he was a member of, among others, the standing committee on northern affairs and natural resources, the standing committee on public accounts, the standing committee on agriculture, forestry and rural development.

He later ran for office three more times in 1968, 1972 and 1974 – but was unsuccessful.

He is survived by his wife Monique, his children Mireille, Lyne and Colette, and his grandchildren Kevin, Anouk, Miguel, Alexie and Fannie.

Hon. Bert Brown

Former Conservative senator, the Hon. Bert Brown, died on February 3, 2018 at 79 years old. He was the second senator to be elected by a province and appointed by a prime minister.

Born in Calgary in 1938, Bert attended Mount Royal College and later completed a civil engineering degree at the University of Oklahoma.

Prior to his appointment, he was the only man to have run in all three Senate elections in Canada’s history. In 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced Bert would join Canada’s upper chamber. He served there until his retirement in 2013 at the age of 75.

Bert was dedicated to fighting for an elected, equal and effective Senate and founded the Committee for a Triple E (Elected, Equal, Effective) Senate. His passion led him and a team of fellow farmers to plow their message “Triple-E Senate or else” into his neighbour’s barley field. In addition to his efforts, he was also an advisor to Alberta’s former premier Don Getty during the Charlottetown Accord.

Bert was also known as a loyal Conservative. Two weeks after the Conservatives tabled the Senate Reform Act in June 2011, Bert wrote a letter to his fellow Conservative senators

urging them to remember their loyalty lies with “the man who brought us here, the man who has wanted Senate reform since he entered politics, the Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper.”

Over the course of his career, Bert was a farmer, a property development consultant, a property manager and a columnist with the *Calgary Herald* and the *Calgary Sun*.

He served his community in many capacities, including as past director of the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, working with the Fraser Institute, the Woodrow Wilson Centre and the TransAlta Utilities Southern Alberta Advisory Board, among others. In 2003, he was the recipient of the Alberta Centennial Medal. Bert also earned a pilot’s licence after Vietnam veterans taught him how to fly.

“My thoughts and prayers are with his daughter, Angela,” said the Hon. Kevin Sorenson, Conservative MP for Battle River-Crowfoot, Alberta.

“So sad to learn of the passing of a good friend, Senator Bert Brown. A wonderful man, a great senator and a visionary Canadian,” said former Calgary city councillor Jim Stevenson.

He leaves behind his daughter Angela.

Dr. Frank Philbrook

Former Liberal MP Frank Philbrook passed away at 85 years old on Oct. 30, 2017.

Born in 1931, Frank was a native of Port Credit. He studied pharmacy in 1954 and medicine in 1958 at the University of Toronto.

Frank practiced medicine in Oakville and Cochrane before becoming supervisor of a mission hospital in Kashmir, India in 1961. He also served as a medical officer for a World Bank foreign aid project in Mangla, Pakistan from 1963 to 1967. He later returned to Oakville and became the director of medical research and a member on the board of directors for a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson called Ortho Pharmaceutical. Prior to seeking the Liberal nomination, he was a partner at the medical office of Brickley, Thurley and Philbrook.

Frank was elected as an MP for the

Liberal Party in 1974 for Halton and served under former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

During his time in the House of Commons he was vice-chair of the standing committee on health, welfare and social affairs.

"I would like to thank Frank for his service to Oakville, this place, and to all Canadians. My thoughts are with his loved ones. Rest in peace, Frank," said Liberal MP for Oakville John Oliver.

He is survived by his daughters Marni, Catherine and Jacqueline, and his grandchildren Zachary, Alexis, Harrison, Courtney and Patrick.

Royal Galipeau

Former Conservative MP Royal Galipeau died on Jan. 27, 2018 from complications with multiple myeloma. Royal held the riding for Orléans (formerly Ottawa-Orléans), for almost 10 years. He was 71.

From 1982 to 1985, he was a member of the Gloucester city council, where he promoted the development of light-rail transit.

Royal was also dedicated to education, serving two terms as trustee and vice-chair of the Ottawa Public Library, championing the installation of adult filters on children's library computers.

In addition, former Ontario Premier Bill Davis appointed Royal to the board of the Ontario educational communications authority (TVO) not once, but twice. While active as a TVO board representative, he worked on the implementation committee of the Ontario French-language Educational Communications Authority (TFO).

Royal was a longtime Liberal who worked for MPs Mauril Bélanger and Eugène Bellemare, but chose to run for the Conservatives in 2006 because he agreed with former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's economic ideas. He won the seat for the Tories that year, and in turn in 2008 and 2011.

In the House of Commons, Royal served as a deputy speaker. He left his mark as an advocate for cleaning up the Ottawa River and as the proud sponsor of the private member's bill



Royal Galipeau.

that created Canada's National Tree Day, which passed through Parliament in March 2011.

A year before the 2015 election, Royal was diagnosed with cancer but chose to run again. After his defeat he pledged to step back from politics to focus on his health.

"Royal was always a true gentleman and was a passionate voice for Orleans as a city councillor, library board member and MP. Rest in peace," said Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson.

"A proud Canadian, historian, staunch defender of Canada's official languages and a passionate public servant. He will be missed," said former Conservative MP James Moore.

He is survived by his wife Anne, children Louis, Paul, Claude and Miriam and his grandchildren Oona and Lila.

William Douglas Stewart

Former Liberal MP William Douglas Stewart passed away at the age of 79 on March 2, 2018, following his battle with cancer.

William was born in Victoria, British Columbia in 1938. He was elected student president of Oak Bay Senior Secondary, The University of Toronto's Victoria College, the Beta Theta Pi fraternity, and the University of British Columbia's Alma Mater Society. He graduated with degrees in commerce and law.

William started his career in politics in Kimberley, British Columbia, where he was practicing law at the time. He was elected a Liberal MP for Okanagan-Kootenay B.C. riding



William Douglas Stewart.

in 1968, and later elected again in 1972. During his time in the House of Commons, William served as vice-chair of the standing committee on privileges and elections as well as sitting on the standing committee on agriculture, the standing committee on finance, and others.

Post politics, he and his family moved to Victoria, where he worked for the ministry of the attorney general until his retirement in 1992.

His wife Penelope and his four children Duncan, Allison, Cameron and Lauren all survive him.

Dave Barrett

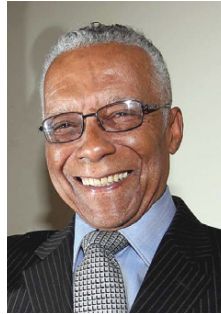
Former British Columbia Premier and NDP MP the Dave Barrett passed away on February 2, 2018 after his struggle with Alzheimer's. Dave was B.C.'s 26th premier and the province's first elected New Democrat in the position. He was 87 years old when he died.

Dave was born in 1930 and grew up in east Vancouver. After graduating from Britannia Secondary School, he studied at Seattle University in 1948 and later earned a masters in Social Work from St. Louis University. He worked as a social worker at the Haney Correctional Institute in Haney, B.C. There, he came in contact with members of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (which later became the provincial New Democratic Party), which eventually persuaded him to seek office.

Dave was first elected with the CCF in 1960, and then re-elected under the BC NDP banner in 1963, 1966



Dave Barrett.



Dr. Howard McCurdy.

and 1969. Dave led the province from 1972 to 1975 and in those three years passed 367 bills.

During his first meeting with his cabinet, he is remembered for posing the question: “Are we here for a good time or a long time?” Known for his sense of humour, Dave referred to himself as “fat lil’ Dave” after reporters nicknamed him the “little fat guy.” In 1983, following a debate over a spending restraint program, he was hauled off the floor of the legislature after refusing an order by the Speaker to leave. He was subsequently banned from the legislature for several months because of his actions.

During his term, his work made an impact on the province with the creation of the Agricultural Land Reserve to protect farmland, the creation of the Insurance Corp. of B.C., setting up Pharmacare, banning pay toilets and spanking in schools, lowering the drinking age to 19 years-old, increasing the minimum wage, establishing air ambulance service, introducing French immersion into the British Columbia school system and implementing a mineral royalties tax, to name a few of his measures. In the legislature, he left his mark with the introduction of question period and Hansard.

Dave successfully ran for the federal NDP and was elected MP for Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca in 1988. He went to bat for pro-choice causes, improved child care, introduced aid initiatives for homeless children. He held the riding until 1993.

After leaving politics, Dave publicly

threw his efforts behind investigating a leaky condo problem in Vancouver at a public commission in 1999. In 2005, he was appointed an officer of the Order of Canada. Membership in the Order of B.C. came May, 2012.

“He was an inspiration to me and many other British Columbians, and I am grateful for his friendship and guidance over the years,” said B.C. Premier John Horgan.

“My favourite B.C. politician! Had a chance to run twice for legislature under his leadership. Always caring, passionate and entertaining,” said former B.C. Premier and former Liberal Minister of Health Ujjal Dosanjh.

Dave is survived by his wife Shirley and their three children Dan, Joe, Jane and their grandchildren Andrew, Hannah, Jacob and Noah.

Dr. Howard McCurdy

Former NDP MP Howard McCurdy died in his hometown on Feb. 20, 2018 at the age of 85 from cancer. He was the second black member of Parliament in Canada.

Born in 1932 in London, Ontario, Howard moved to the Amherstburg area, near the Detroit River, at the age of nine. In his youth, he became passionate about civil rights, and was intent on pursuing more equality in his community. He graduated with a bachelor of arts from Western University, a bachelor of science degree from the University of Windsor and went on to earn a master of science followed by a PhD in microbiology and chemistry from Michigan State University. While studying in Michigan,

he founded a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In 1959, Howard joined the University of Windsor’s biology department, where he became the first African-Canadian to be a department head and the first tenured black professor in Canadian history.

Later in 1962, he founded the Guardian Club, a civil rights organization dedicated to fighting racial discrimination in Windsor. Years later in 1969, he founded and became the first president of the National Black Coalition of Canada.

Before shifting his attention to the federal level, he served on Windsor city council from 1979 until 1984.

In 1984 and 1988, Howard won election as a New Democrat MP in Windsor. In that role, he pushed in Ottawa for Canada to exert pressure against South African apartheid. It was his influence that went on to impact then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who was at odds with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, giving him all important encouragement to stand his ground.

Howard was defeated in the 1993 federal election.

In the late 1990s, following his retirement from politics, Howard dedicated his time to his family, golf, cooking and watercolour paintings. When Nelson Mandela visited Canada for the first time in June 1990, he asked to meet Howard.

Among the accolades Howard has received are the Canadian Centennial Medal and the Queen’s Silver Jubilee Medal. He was named to the Order of Ontario and designated a member of the Order of Canada in 2012.

“He was a trailblazer – a powerful civil rights activist, our party’s first black MP, and a role model from my hometown of Windsor,” said federal NDP leader Jagmeet Singh.

“Scientist, civil rights activist, New Democrat, husband, father, grandfather and the NDP’s first black MP – we all owe a huge debt to Howard McCurdy,” said Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath.

Howard leaves his wife Brenda, four children and 10 grandchildren.

*Geoff Scott.*

The Trumpocracy

By Geoff Scott

R. Nixon (1973): I am not a crook.

D. Trump (2018): I am not a bigot.

As the old adage says, history repeats itself, and we may be witnessing 1973 all over again. There are astounding parallels between the unraveling of the Nixon White House over the Watergate scandal, and the current Oval Office reality show episodes about Donald Trump's connections with Russia. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, who together investigated the Watergate scandal for the Washington Post, say today, "We're here again. A powerful and determined President is squaring off against an independent investigator operating inside the Justice Department."

Trump's Russia responses are eerily similar to Nixon's leading up to the Watergate scandal's Saturday Night Massacre. Both presidents Nixon and Trump wanted to make their probes go away by their incessant, compulsive and continual lying. Both scandals hinge on the existence of secretly recorded tapes. For Donald Trump's downward spiral after only the first year-and-a-half of this 45th Presidency, it's the same feeling as Watergate, which has explosive relevance today- the walls are closing in at the White House. Mr. Trump really, really doesn't want to see this investigation go forward. He will take great risks to try to stop it.

There has been mounting evidence of potential obstruction of justice against the President himself, as well as members of his family.

For more than four decades, the scandal of the Watergate break-in and cover-up had been history-making and legendary. It was the stuff of reporters' instant fame, followed by sensational books, movies and conspiracy theories.

Until now.

The perpetual darkening cloud of Russia abroad and the now clear pic-

ture of their government masterminding an attack on American democracy leading up to, and since, the 2016 election domestically, presumably with Donald Trump's tacit approval; the stunning fall from grace and criminal investigation of the President's personal lawyer; along with the dismal personal popularity ratings due to Trump's behaviour, could conceivably eclipse Watergate. It could even mean that this president may not finish his first full term.

Historians are assessing whether America has ever seen anything like it. Many conclude there are all the other presidents of U.S. history, and then there's Donald Trump. He has pushed the boundaries of the presidency in several strange directions: as a New York City tabloid sensation, as a real estate billionaire, as a reality television star, as a beauty pageant owner, as a man famous for messy divorces and behaving inappropriately towards women, as someone who uses bar-room language to trash anyone who challenges him, by firing an FBI director who says he's running the White House like a mob boss, by calling the media "among the worst human beings on earth", observing that some white supremacists are "very fine people", while referring to portions of the developing world as "shithole countries", facilitating a revolving door of staff, fending off legal battles over hush money paid to silence a porn star, and finally by forever tweeting nonsensical propaganda at the crack of dawn to prove he's the most consequential president in the modern era. You couldn't make this stuff up.

This past year and a half has featured a whirlwind of chaos - a discombobulated White House where staffers don't seem to know which way is up, a lot

of hot rhetoric and Congress getting hardly anything done. We can only imagine what the end of Trump year two will look like.

A new CNN slide?

Every day is Groundhog Day in this administration. A new slide should replace CNN's "Breaking News" title. It should read "He Said WHAT Now?!" So many of this president's statements just don't add up with reality.

The way President Donald Trump speaks has become a real problem. You can't really be sure what exactly he means. The President Trump you see on Tuesday is not the same President Trump you'll see on Thursday. He takes everybody utterly by surprise with his seat-of-the-pants decisions.

Donald Trump's Twitter tweets are all about himself. He tends to personalize everything so that it fits his world view and is prone to sound off on any issue. His posts are then deemed official presidential statements. Anything or anybody that the President doesn't like will be the subject of inflammatory, knee-jerk, and sometimes incoherent comments. Trump's mood swings are something to behold. It has been reported that, "he's bouncing off the walls" with rage. The psychology of Donald Trump is at the heart of why he acts so abnormally. Reporters are trying to peel back the curtain and find out why he behaves so erratically. They only add to peoples' armchair diagnosis.

Sometimes I wonder if the President is living in a time warp. It seems as though he is trapped two or three generations ago. He is dealing in racial stereotypes from his childhood, questioning the need for immigration from non-white countries. In many ways he is kind of like your old grandfather.



The infamous Richard Nixon. Photo credit: Associated Press.

Anti-media voices are the loudest

Never in my memory can I think of a president whose relationship with the media is so poisonous. When Donald Trump says, “There’s nothing there”, the media’s first reaction is, “There’s something there”. When Trump’s people brush off an obvious untruth or allegation as a “nothing burger”, you can bet it’s a 21st century version of “Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain”.

Forgive me a slight detour here. Having spent all my life in journalism (with a 15 1/2-year detour via the House of Commons), I have very real sympathy for my fellow reporters in Washington. The unprecedented challenges they must face 24/7, covering the avalanche of scandals and mini-scandals emerging from the Trump administration has been unequalled by anything we’ve had to cope with on the Canadian political scene. A close exception might be the declining stages and chaotic months of former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker’s reign. In 1962, “The Chief’s” narcissism and paranoia about the hated media meant that he felt that everybody was out to get him, “except the people!”

When it comes to communications, President Trump has basically made it his own brief. He is constantly adding to or contradicting his own message. As with almost every issue swirling around the White House, reporters rightly conclude somebody is lying. The atmosphere of suspicion and cover up suggests that the President’s men knew they were doing something wrong, or have something to hide.

Where there’s smoke...

The word around Washington is that if you shake every tree in the Trump forest, a Russian will fall out of it. Russia

is the undisputed headline of the Donald Trump White House during his first year-and-a-half as President. There are serious and troubling decisions still looming like a great bear’s shadow over the administration. David Frum, a senior editor at *The Atlantic*, author of *Trumpocracy: The Corruption of the American Republic*, and a Canadian, observes that while there is no smoking gun, “the floor is littered with cartridge casings, there’s a smell of gunpowder in the air, bullet holes in the wall, and a warm weapon on the table.”

This has been like reading a spy novel. What is coming clearer into focus is that President Trump has surrounded himself with a lot of people who are very dishonest, who have committed crimes, who have contact with the Russians and who have lied about those contacts. Each passing day, special counsel Robert Mueller’s team is proving there’s been something terribly nefarious going on beneath the surface.

Follow the money

As they said in the film *All the President’s Men*, “follow the money” if you want to find out the truth about anything. If there’s one thing this president holds more dear than anything else, it’s money. Money laundering could likely be a large component of the special investigation. The President’s finances are a deep well, and he and his family may be in deeper trouble than most people think. Jared Kushner’s financial dealings with Moscow are being actively pursued by the special counsel. This look at the President’s son-in-law could lead to a devastating revelation.

If money laundering is indeed at the heart of the Mueller probe, it could involve Deutsche Bank. In the 1980s and

1990s, most of the New York banks wouldn’t deal with Donald Trump after his series of bankruptcies, so he used Deutsche Bank exclusively. If there’s anything untoward there, special counsel Mueller is going to find it. This is what has fueled the President’s erratic and explosive behaviour: he is furious about the overhanging Russia investigation, as they follow the money.

A blue wave coming?

Think of what a massive approaching wave looks like when you’re standing on the beach looking out toward the ocean. You can’t tell how tall it is. You can only guess that it’s a big one. Will the expected “blue wave”, crashing on shore this November during the midterm elections, be enough to topple one or both Houses of Congress to the Democratic side?

Republicans no doubt fear the 2018 midterms will be based, not only on the potential criminal indictments of people surrounding Donald Trump, but on a profound, personal reaction to Trump himself. They admit the Grand Old Party, like it or not, has become the Donald Trump Party. Off-year elections are almost always a referendum on the president. This time, Americans will likely be voting based on the conduct, character and the temperament of this commander-in-chief.

There is an incredible amount of real energy out there. What to make of the thousands of angry women who marched in hundreds of U.S. cities to protest the President? The post-Harvey Weinstein #MeToo movement has only gained more traction, with constant news stories about indignities to porn stars and Playboy bunnies. A poll by Harvard CAPS/Harris in April showed only 35 per cent of women support Trump. If that number holds up in November, the Houses may change colour. Meanwhile, we could experience a youthquake, as young voters voice their frustration over gun rights. I’m feeling tremors. Stay tuned.

As we near the year-and-a-half mark of the Donald Trump Presidency, what will resonate most with voters the next time they head to the ballot box? We leave the last word to the incomparable jazz pianist Fats Waller: “One Never Knows, Do One?”

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

Join us in Montreal for the CAFP Regional Meeting September 23-25, 2018



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If you are from outside of Quebec, don't miss this unique opportunity to experience what's happening in Quebec today. If you're from Quebec, join the tour and share your insights and perspectives, with our colleagues from the rest of Canada. Contact us for more details.



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