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WINTER 2022

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

In Profile:

Mary Clancy, Hon. Tony Clement, Judy Wasylycia-Leis, Hon. Eleni Bakopanos . . . and Hon. Ione Christensen's sourdough!

Official Residences

Words on the Hill

Being "Frank",
and The Hill Times

PM 40027604

Remembering the good times B.C. (Before COVID-19)



Hon. Peter Milliken, Hon. Mary Collins, Doug Fee and Hon. Roy Cullen at the Victoria Regional Meeting.



Sandra Hellyer, Hon. Paul Hellyer and Dorothy Price, in Normandy.



Hon. Jim McGrath, Doug Rowland and Hon. Roger Simmons at the Newfoundland Regional Meeting.



Léo Duguay, Alexa McDonough, Hon. Audrey McLaughlin and Hon. John Buchanan.



Parliamentary Librarian, William Young, Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper, President Barack Obama and Hon. Peter Milliken.

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 17, Issue No. 2

Winter 2022

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*View from the patio at the Chateau Laurier.
Cover photo by Dorothy Dobbie.*

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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.

REMEMBRANCE DAY



The Hon. Jim Munson represented CAFP and placed a wreath at the Remembrance Day Ceremony at the National War Memorial on November 11, 2021. Mr. Munson retired from the Senate this past summer and this fall joined the Board of the Educational Foundation of CAFP. Photo credit: Carina Legault-Meek.

Parliament to Campus program gathering steam

We have had four first round of speakers in the Parliament to Campus program and to follow are just a few of the many comments we have received. Thank you to Dr. Shannon Sampert for taking this on and for managing the program to such good effect.

Robert Sopuck made a good impression

We had a very engaging class with former MP Robert Sopuck. The e-mail from one of my students below gives you a sense of the experience:

"I'm just reaching out to provide some feedback regarding yesterday's guest speaker. Yesterday's class was one of the most engaging, enjoyable classes I've attended during my time at Carleton. As a very politically left-wing person, I really appreciated hearing Mr. Sopuck's views. It's not often we as university students get to see outside our bubble, and I believe interacting with people like Mr. Sopuck is one of the most valuable ways we can prepare ourselves for the outside world as students of political science and related fields.

In future classes I would definitely recommend having guest speakers like him come in, as I think it is an engaging way to stimulate discussion and debate, as most discussions with fellow classmates are generally made up of constant agreement, with few new ideas or healthy debate."

As you can tell from this, Robert Sopuck was outspoken, challenging student's assumptions, and (mostly) taking their questions seriously. I invited him back to speak to my grad students on Nov. 12.

Peter Andrée, PhD

*Professor, Department of Political Science
Carleton University*

Jeff Watson was a hit

Jeff Watson came to speak to the class. We met for an hour over zoom.

I gave the students a mini quiz to do after for bonus marks, and the responses about "what they learned"

were really interesting. Students found him engaging and indicated that they hoped they would have another chance to do something similar in the future.

From my point of view as an educator, the fact that he randomly and unexpectedly explained 1-2-3 line whips in the middle of his talk was incredible, because they really didn't get it from the textbook or the class more broadly, but they all get it now.

Thank you again, I'd love to organize another classroom visit next semester.

Amanda Bittner

Bryon Wilfert made headlines!

Please see below the article the Munk School posted about Mr. Wilfert's visit. Thank you again for facilitating this; the students were absolutely thrilled.

<https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/former-parliamentarian-and-japanese-ambassador-engage-with-students-in-mga-course/>

*Phillip Y. Lipscy, Associate Professor
Department of Political Science
Munk School of Global Affairs and
Public Policy*

The Hon. Tony Clement pleased U of A class

Students appreciated his frankness when he talked about the challenges he faced as a cabinet minister. He was also quite charming and answered all their questions. I was quite pleased.

*Angelina Wagner,
University of Alberta*

Members like the hard copy of Beyond the Hill

Periodically, a board member will raise the issue of whether we should continue to produce Beyond the Hill in printed form. Below is a sampling of comments from some of our members responding to this question:

I don't know why, but I only just read the Summer 2021 edition. I noticed that you are soliciting views on it.

I retired in 2008. Since then, I have looked forward to and have enjoyed reading the magazine. It has kept me informed on a variety of issues, not the least of which is passing of former parliamentarians.

I like receiving a hard copy magazine; thus I have no interest in receiving it digitally. I prefer the magazine format to a periodic newsletter.

I hope this has been helpful.

*All the best,
Tom Wappel
1988-2008*

Dear Friends,

You have asked for our opinion on the value of Beyond The Hill.

If you decided to discontinue the magazine, I think a civil war would break out.

I am not one of those former MPs who, when asked, "Do you miss politics?" answers by saying, "Not one bit."

I miss it all the time. I miss the camaraderie, the talking to persons who think different from myself, imagining policy, debating with vigour, believing that your job really matters, helping those who can't make government work or understand their situation and the list goes on.

Beyond The Hill is my connection. It lets me know what others are doing and some articles are a cause for worthy thought.

On today's issues I still debate them in my mind even if I now cherry pick which issues I think I have a point to advocate.

So, don't ever have another discussion on whether or not Beyond The Hill should continue. Just do it. It is good medicine.

If Beyond The Hill were judged by figure skating officials it would get five "10s."

*Arnold Malone
1974-1993*

I have just finished reading the latest edition cover to cover. I found it both interesting and informative. I appreciate having a printed copy, much preferred to a digital edition. Thanks to everyone involved in bringing this resource to us.

*Lynn Hunter
1988-1993*



Dorothy Dobbie.

President's report

By Dorothy Dobbie

Welcome to all our potential new members. Whether planned or involuntary, leaving the Hill is always a huge adjustment. Your Association of Former Members is here to ease the separation and to keep you in touch with friends and former colleagues who have been through the same experiences you have. We hope you will join as an ongoing member this coming spring and that you will become active in the Association.

Since our last issue of *Beyond the Hill* this past spring, we held our second virtual annual general meeting and memorial service September 14, 2021. This is not as satisfying on the screen as it would be if we were all together, however, our staff and the House of Commons put in great effort to make it as nice as possible. My thanks to all of them.

I would also like to thank our new board member, Robert-Falcon Ouellette, for performing the drum song at the end of the memorial service and your vice-president, Eleni Bakopanos, for recording the French part of the service. This year, Eleni and I came to Ottawa so that the House of Commons could do the production themselves. Welcome to Lynn Yelich and Matthew Dubé, who have also joined our board. We are delighted to welcome back Jack Harris, who served with us before he was elected and then retired a second time.

Starting in September, Dr. Shannon Sampert got the Parliament to Campus project up and running to the delight of the students who have been exposed to the experience and wisdom our members and the surprise (I think) of some of the professors who have engaged them. I have included several letters to give you some indication of the response and to encourage more of you to let Shannon know that you are interested in taking part. Just contact the office for the details. Your personal accounts of how things work in Parliament and around the world make democracy much more real to students and this has never been more important than it is now.

Dr. Sampert and I are now discussing the possibility of having members record half-hour to 45-minute talks or panels that could be made available to profs on short notice. This would also serve as a historic record of your experiences for students and others in the future.

As you may be aware, our dear Céline Brazeau Fraser is retiring at the end of this year. The House of Commons has found a replacement for her. Her name is Isabelle Chénier. I know you will all look forward to meeting her.

Two years from now, Susan, too, will be retiring. I have met with the new supervisory staff to discuss the changing needs of the Association and we agree to work together over the coming months

to modernize their job descriptions.

I attended the 100th Anniversary of the first female MP on December 7 as organized by Equal Voice. Eleni Bakopanos has just completed her term as president of that organization. This also gave us a chance to thank Céline for her 17 years of service to the Association. She has done a wonderful job for us over the years, and we will miss her very much.

The Association, under the guidance of Léo Duguay, has arranged for a quick tour to Sint Maarten in January. It was booked within a few hours of sending out the announcement as people are very excited to travel again. Treasurer Chungsen Leung is looking into arranging a study tour of Taiwan for late fall 2022 or for early 2023.

Please stay in touch and visit us on Facebook or at our Facebook Group where you can add your comments or thoughts or news.

Meanwhile, we have initiated a newsletter known as *Only the Good News*, which has been getting an excellent response. Please keep us up to date on what is going on in your life.

Thank you for your continued support as we come nearer and nearer to the end of this very difficult period of COVID-19. I am longing to see you all in person again. Perhaps next spring!

Dorothy Dobbie
President

The revival of Parliament to Campus

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

Over the past year and a half, the world has seen both new developments and the acceleration of pre-existing changes to our society. The revival of the Parliament to Campus program is well positioned to respond to these changes.

Program manager Dr. Shannon Sampert explains that with this program's resurrection comes a hope that more people, particularly young students, will engage critically and openly with the democratic process. The opportunity to talk to for-

mer parliamentarians and listen to their experiences enables students to better understand how the country works. Dorothy Dobbie, CAFPPresident and former program participant, says she believes this program is important in a world

where we feel increasingly disconnected from politics and our democracy. She adds that the media often compound the public's sense of disconnection from their political representatives by filtering political information, often skewing it to produce a more sensational or generally accepted story. This distorts images and perceptions in a way that can promote cynicism and even anger toward those in public office.

As Dr. Sampert points out, at the academic level, education is based on the theoretical, discussing ideas that instructors themselves may only understand in an incomplete way. The Parliament to Campus program provides experiential learning for students in order to connect what is happening in theory to what is happening in the real world, she says.

This personal understanding of what it means to be a former parliamentarian can also dispel the notion that parliamentarians are bitterly opposed to each other all the time. Close friendships are often formed across party lines and collaboration within Parliament happens more frequently than people are taught to believe. The beauty of Parliament, as Dorothy explains, is that it promotes the critical exchange of ideas which is how good policy is developed.

Opposing views are not only crucial to Parliament but having the ability to debate, respectfully and with an open mind, is an essential skill to teach in academic conversations. "People need to debate and to hear more than one perspective in order to formulate new ideas and hone concepts."

The Parliament to Campus program also allows former parliamentarians to share their personal stories in a way that allows students to relate to them at an intimate and personal level. This sets up accessible role models and the experience can leave a deep impression when a very articulate former member attends the classroom.

This program is important to the preservation of our democracy: it allows young people going into politics to understand how our political institutions really work and to learn more about the people who do this



Campuses like McGill University are among the campuses taking part in the Parliament to Campus program. Photo by Hannah Judelson-Kelly.

and what it takes to operate within these systems. By reflecting on the real stories of former parliamentarians, we preserve the integrity of the very institutions upon which our democracy is founded.

Through the program the next generation becomes familiar with what and who has come before them and understands the importance of honouring the established traditions, as well as honouring the sacrifice that so many individuals have made for their country. You soon come to recognize the commonalities between all former parliamentarians, because with very few exceptions, they all stepped forward to serve their country and to make it better for those living in it.

Dr. Sampert and Dorothy both stressed this unifying quality and, that while disagreement quite rightfully occurs, the shared value of giving back to the country runs deep within every parliamentarian. It is an essential value for every future poli-

tician, and this is a piece of information that would help every voter to understand as they form their opinions, go to the polls and contribute to this country. We must understand the nature and motivation behind public service.

When asked what they would like to add, both Dr. Sampert and Dorothy simply said they hoped every former parliamentarian would take the opportunity to participate in this program. Everyone has something to offer.

If you are interested in volunteering for the Parliament to Campus program, please get in touch with Dr. Sampert at shannon@mediadiva.ca.

Dorothy Dobbie served as a member of Parliament for Winnipeg South for the Progressive Conservative Party between 1988 and 1993. She is also the president of the CAFPP and the editor-in-chief of Beyond the Hill. Dr. Shannon Sampert is a political analyst, lecturer and media specialist.

Parliamentary Internship Programme brings youth to the Hill and a life of politics

By Gina Gill Hartmann

As Canadians, we are exposed to politics from a sideler's viewpoint. We can volunteer on campaigns or shake hands with our candidates on the election trail. We can email our local MP or watch question period on television from the comfort of our living room. But it's not until you step onto the Hill ready to serve Canadians that the magnitude of what it means to be a parliamentarian can be fully understood.

The Parliamentary Internship Programme (PIP) of the Canadian Political Science Association is one of the few experiences that opens the doors to Canadian citizens and gives them a sneak peek into the life and office of a Canadian MP. For former NDP parliamentarian Judy Wasylycia-Leis, her time as a PIP intern was life-changing and memorable.

"I actually applied twice because I was so determined that this was the absolute fit for me," said the former MP. "It was a time of great transformational change in Canada. It was the height of the women's movement and there was a message being sent out that if you want to change the world, get involved. That had a huge influence on me."

Judy had determined that her long-term vision was a life in politics, so she decided to look for ways to learn more and gain understanding about the process and inevitably PIP was the perfect stepping stone towards the Chambers.

Along the way, Judy kept numerous journals about her time with the Programme. She took into account everything she learned, moments that stood out, and life changes that occurred.

"That is how transformative this



James Hurley and Judy Wasylycia-Leis at the 50th PIP anniversary.

programme was to me. I've kept every minute in diary form."

The Programme was founded in 1970, with all-party support from the House of Commons. The idea was formed by Progressive Conservative member Alfred Hales as a non-partisan opportunity for 10 new university graduates to work alongside members of Parliament and gain a rare opportunity and experience in the world of politics. It is a 10-month tenure where interns shadow an MP, taking in all aspects of working in the House. Participants write speeches, listen to debates, travel to other legislatures and act as legislative assistants. Judy is one of two interns, who was later elected to the House of Commons. Arif Virani, who currently sits in the House, was the second alumni of the programme to become a serving MP.

During the internship, Judy worked

for John Rodriguez, an NDP MP representing Nickel Belt.

"He was active, outspoken, constituency focused and truly progressive politician who believed in the programme and me. He involved me in every aspect of his office. He allowed me to learn the whole role of the MP from all sides and all aspects," she said.

A moment that stands out to Judy was in January 1977 when a piece of legislation about reform to the Unemployment Insurance Act was being debated and Rodriguez was positioned on the third reading. At the time the rules did not prohibit filibusters, and he was told he had unlimited time.

"I remember it like yesterday, Stanley Knowles sending a note over to John as he got up to speak saying, 'Take your time. You have unlimited possibilities.' Then began the mad scramble to come up with as many



Judy in Washington, an intern trip with PIP.

speaking notes as we could. From all directions we divided into teams, dug up material for every aspect of unemployment insurance and beyond to keep him going,” she recalled. “He was able to speak for six hours straight the first time. That was something that was unexpected. It was thrilling and it was an unbelievable moment to see how you can advance an issue.”

While some of Judy’s experience was alongside Rodriguez who was a member of the NDP, during her second term with the Programme, she worked with a Liberal MP in rural Quebec: Claude Tessier. Though Tessier was well aware that Judy’s affiliation was clearly orange, they were able to work well across party lines and she learned more about politics by working with other political stripes.

“He was wonderful about understanding that I was NDP, and I wanted to learn from him. We both wanted to learn each other’s respective languages – I wanted to improve my French and he wanted to learn more English. We had a great working relationship.”

Judy’s time with Tessier was cut short when she was nominated as a candidate for the NDP in the provincial seat of Carleton and she took a leave of absence from the program for a month.

Judy did not win the provincial election at that time and completed the programme. She later won the 1986 provincial election in Manitoba representing St. Johns and became the Minister of Culture, Heritage and Recreation from 1986 to 1988



Judy Wasylycia-Leis with Stanley Knowles wearing t-shirts emblazoned with “A woman’s place is in the House of Commons”.

in Howard Pawley’s NDP government. She won her seat when Pawley was defeated by Progressive Conservative Gary Filmon in 1988, but resigned in 1993 to run for federal politics. In Judy’s first run she lost but she kept at it and ran again to win.

She was finally elected in 1997 and won successive elections, serving until 2010. Her riding was first called Winnipeg North Centre, and then with redistribution, it became Winnipeg North. During that time, she sat on the other side of the desk of the PIP programme, as an MP with an intern working alongside her.

“I got to work on both sides, and I benefitted each time, enormously. The programme is not just about working in an MP’s office but it’s about learning all the ins and outs of Parliament and all the people who make it run smoothly. It prepares you for all of the interests of politics and to use that knowledge to influence your life going forward, whichever career one chooses.”

Judy Wasylycia-Leis later ran twice for mayor in Winnipeg and today is one of the three founders of Manitoba’s chapter of Equal Voice, an all party organization that champions political opportunities for women.

From the Senate to the kitchen

The Hon. Ione Christensen's famous sourdough

By Gina Gill Hartmann

Former Senator Ione Christensen has been a lot of firsts. She was appointed the first woman justice of the peace and judge of the juvenile court in the Yukon, the first woman mayor of Whitehorse and the first woman to be appointed as commissioner of the Yukon.

But one of her most iconic moments was not a first but a second: her famous sourdough was the second in Canada to be inducted into the Puratos Sourdough Library located in St. Vith, Belgium.

"You know, I have had the sourdough all my life and it goes back to the Gold Rush. The story about my sourdough sort of got circulated around Canada and this library of sourdough got ahold of me and said they wanted to come to see it. I thought that is a long way to come for sourdough," said Ione.

For Karl De Smedt, librarian of the sourdough library and baker, the travel from Belgium to the Yukon was well worth it. Ione's sourdough is one of the oldest to ever be collected – clocking in at over 120-years-old. The library marks its earliest date as 1898.

The sourdough had belonged to Ione's great-grandfather who travelled from New Brunswick, through the Chilkoot Trail riding into the Yukon for the Gold Rush and from there he laid the groundwork for the family's baking tradition.

"Now we never knew exactly where they got the sourdough, but we thought it may have come from Dyea, Alaska. The DNA testing from the Puratos Library showed a connection to the California Gold Rush so that would confirm the Dyea connection. One of the four sons, David, stayed in Dawson City and with his Irish bride, they raised five children. The sourdough was passed down to his children and now everybody has sourdough," said the former senator. "My grandmother always used it for breakfast, and she made bread and



Judy Dabbs, Ione Christensen, Pat McKenna at the Bake tent on the Chilkoot Trail in 1998.

used it every day, so she kept it going and then gave it to my mother and when I left home, it was given to me."

From a small corner of Northern Canada in Dawson City, Ione's sourdough has traveled beyond the Yukon and Belgium.

"I get requests from all over the world. From Switzerland, British Isles, Australia and New Zealand. It's certainly all across Canada," she said.

If you would like to try out some of Ione's famous sourdough, she sends starter samples out to those interested. It arrives in an envelope with the history of the dough along with recipes for pancakes, waffles and bread. Of course, with more people at home over the last two years, Ione has had more requests for her sourdough than ever before.

"You could dry it or freeze it. It just keeps coming back. You can't burn it; it doesn't do well after that. It's sort of funny because I have done other things in my life and suddenly, I am the sourdough lady."

Ione has certainly done many other things indeed. She was appointed to the Senate for Yukon from 1999 to 2006. She served as Commissioner of Yukon in 1979. She was made a member of the Order of Canada and a member of the Order of Yukon. Just like her sourdough popularity, politics was not something Ione had expected for herself.

"I never had any ambition to be in politics. I started to think when my sons go to school, I'm going to get a degree in law and that was my plan. Then a good friend of mine, who was the mayor of Whitehorse at the time, said, "Why don't you run for mayor? You're working with the city, you know all the people, you work with the city manager and council and you have a solid background," recalls Ione. "But I wasn't interested in politics, so I said I'd think about it and a couple of other people approached me. One was a very strong Liberal and one was a strong Conservative. I thought if two sides think I might do something, maybe I should try it."

Ione was the mayor of Whitehorse from 1976 to 1979. From there, she ran in the 1980 federal election as a Liberal candidate for the riding of Yukon where she lost only by 101 votes. Before running, Ione wasn't involved with a party.

"I started getting calls while on my vacation in Hawaii, asking if I would run as a Liberal candidate and I said no. I never held a party card, never been to any event. My husband said to me, "You know some people don't get asked these things. Why don't you give it a try?"

Ione then went to a meeting of the Liberals and then researched background on all three major parties to figure out which one had similar beliefs as herself and discovered the Liberal party had the balanced approach she wanted.

While Ione has formulated a lasting political legacy, she has also cooked some great waffles and cinnamon buns from a sourdough created well before her time. And that is something everyone in town knows her for!

"Frequently when I go into town, I will be stopped by people asking me for sourdough and I have them come over and give them some live starter and now that's what I am known for: Sourdough Queen of the Yukon."

The prime minister's other residence

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

The prime minister's summer residence hit the news in March 2020 when it was revealed that Sophie Grégoire Trudeau had moved there with her children to be joined later by the prime minister himself. Many questioned the advisability of Prime Minister Trudeau travelling between the summer residence in Quebec and Ottawa in the middle of a pandemic. Others argued that considering the mere 30-minute commute, this was no cause for concern. Otherwise known as Harrington Lake, this cottage and second home for prime ministers and their families has a long history and is a significant landmark for the country's prime minister. For Prime Minister Trudeau, it has a special sentimental value as he also spent time there as a child.

Although the cottage was built in 1925, its history stretches back long before then. The house is named after the lake it resides on, Harrington Lake, which got its name in the 19th century when the Harrington and Mousseau families settled in the area. In fact, the lake is known as Lac Mousseau in French. Although owned by two Americans for a time, part of the property was inherited by Colonel Cameron Macpherson Edwards from his uncle, Senator William Cameron Edwards in the 1920s. Both individuals played a large role in the development of the Ottawa region both economically and socially. W.C. Edwards in fact was a prominent lumber baron.

When Colonel C.M. Edwards inherited the property, he expanded its use to reflect his stature, building the summer house, a 16-room house of the Colonial Revival style, that we see on the property today. In addition to this, there is the farmhouse and when partnered with the main cottage, it becomes clear how and why this property is used often for both political and private affairs in addition to its function as a retreat; the buildings as well as the property are quite large. The property spans over 13 acres.*

The federal government had pur-



Harrington Lake summer residence, prior to renovations. Photo courtesy of National Capital Commission (NCC).

chased the property in 1951, but it wasn't formally used as a retreat for Canadian prime ministers until 1959 after the Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker won the 1958 election. Diefenbaker's decision was largely based on his context; coming from Western Canada, he did not already own a private summer retreat nearer Ottawa, meaning he was the first to have a true motivation to make Lake Harrington the summer retreat for the prime minister and his family. Since 1959, the house has been the country estate of six Canadian prime ministers and their families, including Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. His son, the current prime minister, would have returned to the cottage with many fond memories from his childhood.

Since 2018 the property has been undergoing major renovations as its buildings were found to have been in critical condition. Both the cottage and the farmhouse were renovated placing particular emphasis on the importance of maintaining the historical and heritage elements of the buildings. Costing \$8.6 million, the renovation not only

improved the living conditions of Harrington Lake but made the property more suitable for political functions of the 21st century. This picturesque property boasting beautiful views of nature in Gatineau Park and newly renovated buildings is now ready for an increased capacity and official use by the prime minister.

In a way, a property like this is a representation of Canada. The Harrington Lake property reminds us that our country is made up of wide swaths of nature: mountains, lakes, prairies, rainforests, seacoasts and many more natural phenomena. The prime minister's ability to retreat to a natural environment like this allows the natural beauty of the country to act as a source of grounding for the office holder that relieves some of the pressures of government.

**Editor's note: The 13-acre Harrington Lake property includes four buildings: the main house, the staff cottage, the upper guest cottage and the lower guest cottage, plus an additional house that was built in 2019 to house the family while renovations were underway in the main house.*

How Rideau Cottage became home to the prime minister

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly



Rideau Cottage from 1845-1930. Photo by William James Topley.

When thinking of the official residences of those in government, we think of Rideau Hall and 24 Sussex Drive, where governors general and the prime ministers reside. And yet with 24 Sussex Drive being deemed unsafe and uninhabitable by Prime Minister Trudeau when he was first elected, the question arose about where he would live.

Instead of sinking millions of taxpayer dollars into renovations, the prime minister chose to live in Rideau Cottage, a smaller home situated behind Rideau Hall. The vacancy of 24 Sussex is not unusual; throughout Canadian history, prime ministers have sometimes resided elsewhere. But what is Rideau Cottage and where is its place in Canadian history?

Although labelled a 'cottage', Rideau Cottage is in fact a 14-room, mid-Victorian house. Located on the landscaped grounds of Rideau Hall, it is picturesque in its character and situation. The beauty of the landscape is reinforced by the fact

that Rideau Cottage was built on what used to be a wooded area of the grounds.

The Cottage was originally built between 1866 and 1867 as an ancillary building at Rideau Hall and was the home for the secretary to the governor general. Living in a building on the grounds of Rideau Hall facilitated the work of the secretary who was responsible for the business and administration side of the office of the governor general. Until 2015, the residence housed the secretary or military attaché to all governors general.

In 2015, Prime Minister Trudeau announced that his family would be moving into Rideau Cottage instead of 24 Sussex. This decision was graciously accepted by the secretary to the governor general at the time. Initially, it was unclear whether the prime minister would be moving back to 24 Sussex, however this possibility was quickly brushed aside given the cost of renovations and resulting political cost of such a decision to renovate. That being said, renovations

were nevertheless untaken at Rideau Cottage when the prime minister moved in, ensuring it was fit for the family of five.

The decision on the part of the PM to move to Rideau Cottage could mean even closer access between the prime minister and governor general. However, this decision has reduced public access to the Rideau Hall and its grounds. Rideau Hall is a historical landmark, open to the public for visits; a ticket includes a tour of the grounds.

The decision by Prime Minister Trudeau to reside in Rideau Cottage was made based on safety concerns, but it still leaves the question open of where future prime ministers will live. While this is a good temporary fix, the Cottage does have a proper owner and the prime minister a proper house. If money is never invested in the revitalization of 24 Sussex, what will happen to the possibility of an official residence for the prime minister? And how will such a decision be reached?

Not your typical farm

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

Unlike the homes of many other politicians, the residence of the Speaker of the House of Commons is a little further outside Ottawa. But what is the history of this residence, dubbed The Farm by past generations?

In Kingsmere, a small community in Gatineau Park, The Farm sits on 1.74 hectares of land and includes a home for the Speaker. Its rural location sets this residence apart from other politicians' Ottawa homes. While the Speakers of the House are also afforded a two-room apartment closer to Parliament for work, their official place of residence is located off the beaten track.

William Lyon Mackenzie King had fallen in love with the area back in 1901 and purchased property nearby. After being elected as Canada's prime minister for the second time in 1926, he bought what became The Farm, which was built in the mid-19th century by pioneer Henry Fleury. When it became available in 1927, Prime Minister Mackenzie King saw his chance and took it. The Farm originally included a main farmhouse, a series of smaller buildings, and an expansive natural space including fields and forests.

Already owning some surrounding forested land and cottages, King saw this as an opportunity to expand his already extensive country estate.

King's goal at the time was to promote scientific agriculture and having now purchased enough land to start this endeavour, he was halfway there. Faced with disappointment after trying his hand at sheep breeding, the prime minister neglected his new property altogether for some years, instead focusing only on his previous country estate.

By 1935 King had a new vision for his country property and hoped to create a year-round residence. He hired architect J. Albert Ewart to refurbish the house and transform it into a retreat for him to escape to whenever he felt the need. With the Second World War only a few years



The Mackenzie King Estate, otherwise known as the Farm, is perfectly situated with both a landscaped garden and surrounded by forest. Photo by Wilder.

away this need became greater. He would often take distinguished guests for walks over the nature trails he had established.

The Farm became one of King's favourite places upon his retirement in 1948 and he eventually passed away there on July 22, 1950.

King left his property to the government and people of Canada, expressing his desire that it become a public park as well as a place for future prime ministers to escape the eyes of the public. His wishes were only partly respected, as the residence was passed to the Speaker of the House of Commons. Instead, the government purchased the Harrington Lake property for the prime ministers in 1951.

Today The Farm is notable for its picturesque architecture located in the heart of Gatineau Park and surrounded by nature. The park sees hundreds of thousands of visitors each year,

so in a way, King got his wish. The beauty and tranquility of the natural environment is experienced by the public just as he had hoped.

The history of this property distinguishes the importance of the Speaker of the House among his or her peers. While other politicians might have summer homes in the Park, the Speaker has an official home surrounded by nature with their secondary home being in the city.

Even its name – The Farm – indicates that this property is different. Whether it be through the nature that surrounds it, or the legacy of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, or even just the functional value of this house, The Farm remains a unique landmark within Canadian politics.

It certainly reflects the unique role of the Speaker of the House and remains to this day a reminder of Prime Minister King's time in public office.

The Hon. Eleni Bakopanos, champion for women

By Hon. Sue Barnes



Hon. Eleni Bakopanos.



On May 10th 2021, Eleni received the Medal of the National Assembly of Quebec in recognition of her exemplary commitment in promoting women in all spheres of Quebec society, especially in politics. It was awarded by Marwah Rizqy, Member of the National Assembly for Saint-Laurent.

We all choose our paths after politics. The Hon. Eleni Bakopanos, four-term Quebec MP from 1993-2006, chose to continue her interest in advancing and supporting the role of women in society. She has done so within various organizations and in personal mentoring. Both have been rewarding activities for her and she always encourages more women to become involved.

Eleni stated, “I believe that I have a responsibility, even a duty, to assure that other women, especially those from diverse communities and who are underrepresented in politics, to have the same incredible opportunity and life changing experience to serve in the Canadian Parliament. I know that by adding more women we change politics.”

In summer 2021, Eleni was awarded the Medal of the National Assembly for her extensive contributions to women in Quebec. Like many of our pandemic activities and celebrations this medal was presented in a virtual format.

Eleni has served in various executive roles in a variety of Quebec

women’s organizations, among them the Montreal Council of Women, the Shield of Athena, the Quebec Community Groups network, the Business and Professional Women’s Club, and the McGill (her alma mater) Women’s Alumni Association. Eleni is Chair of the McGill Women’s Alumnae Association Homecoming in celebration of the 130th Anniversary of the group and the 200th Anniversary of McGill University. In 2010 the Montreal Council of Women named her Woman of the Year.

“I have volunteered and chaired, before and after my political career, a number of not-for-profit and non-governmental organizations that educate, empower and motivate women as well as provide services to women. As chair, I have successfully promoted a more diverse and inclusive board of directors. I have also advocated for more stable and long-term government funding for these organizations.”

Dorothy Dobbie, CAFP’s President, offered these sentiments: “The first time I met Eleni, she was sitting right up front at a CAFP meeting, exactly where I like to be, so I sat

with her. Immediately, I recognized a kindred spirit in that she was energetic, outspoken, and totally sincere. I liked her immediately.”

“I love her enthusiasm, her warmth and her willingness to pitch in and get things done. She also has a lively sense of humour. In the world of former parliamentarians, the ability to accept and embrace all schools of thought is an important quality. Eleni has that ability, respecting her fellows no matter that their philosophy may differ from her own. I am so glad to have her standing beside me as vice-president. And the Association is lucky to have her devotion and commitment.”

Now Eleni devotes many volunteer hours to her interests both inside and outside politics and much of her current work is of a non-partisan nature. Eleni recently retired as the President of the National Board of Directors of Equal Voice. She is currently Vice President of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.

She said, “One of my most memorable and emotionally moving experiences as President of the Board of Equal Voice, was to have been

thrice part of our signature event, The Daughters of the Vote. Three hundred and thirty-eight young women, one for each federal riding, were privileged to sit in the House of Commons and make statements on public policy issues that concern them directly. They also had the opportunity to hear from all the political party leaders, including the prime minister. Some of the “Daughters” who were inspired by their experience have already run successfully for public office”.

To know Eleni as a friend and former colleague is to understand her reliable talent and focused energy which numerous organizations have benefitted from over the years. She is fluent in three languages – English, French, and her native Greek. She was the first woman born in Greece to serve in the Canadian House of Commons and holds the Order of the Hellenic Republic.

During her parliamentary career, Eleni received the Order of Portugal. Her work here and abroad earned her other recognition including the European Women’s Award, the Ecumenical Hellenism Award, the Canadian Ethnic Media Award for Public Service, and the Canada 150th Anniversary Medal.

Following a busy life as the MP for Ahuntsic, Eleni first worked in a caucus liaison role for the Honourable Stéphane Dion, then leader of the Liberal Party of Canada. Returning to her home in Montreal, Eleni held the post of Senior Director for Government Relations at McGill University.

Now her family and husband Constantin and two adult daughters and both living parents provide ongoing delight along with the volunteer activities that fill her days and nights. Eleni, we are all grateful for your continued public service.

The Hon. Sue Barnes represented the riding of London West from 1993 to 2006 as a Liberal member of Parliament.

A major reform of the voting system is needed to meet modern needs

By Lise Bourgault

We have just experienced two elections in 4 years with 67.3 per cent of eligible voters voting in 2019 and 62.3 per cent in 2020. These two elections cost more than \$1 billion, an astronomical figure – let’s face it – even though democracy is worth it.

Prime Minister Trudeau has just given us the opportunity to seriously consider our voting system, since he assures us that we will not go to the polls for four years. We therefore have time to consult, evaluate and propose to Parliament, with the assistance of Elections Canada, a major reform of how voters could vote in 2025.

Technology must be put at the service of democracy

The election of September 20, 2021 in a pandemic period has shown us logistical and organizational challenges that we will have to deal with in the future. In addition, epidemiological experts predict that COVID-19 will continue to poison our existence and that it is already essential to learn to live and cope with this virus and possibly other viruses. The current voting system has proved its worth, but the future challenges are to:

- (a) find suitable voting premises during a pandemic, especially on weekdays
- (b) find election officials who agree to work longer hours a day
- (c) get older voters out to vote
- (d) create interest in going to the polls
- (e) reduce the costs of an election in Canada

We were surprised at the high



Technology offers increased options to simplify the voting process.

number of voters who chose postal voting. It is interesting to note that this formula could be improved and to study its logistical impacts.

Electronic voting: why not consider that in the future, each voter would have a unique electoral code allowing us to vote with our cell phones.

I am sure that there are imponderables to consider, which I do not know, and which should be evaluated. The Association of Former Parliamentarians, all parties combined, would, in my opinion, be a credible interlocutor with the Canadian electorate.

I propose the creation of a special committee of former parliamentarians and experts in collaboration with Elections Canada to propose to Parliament a major reform of the voting system before the next election in 2025.

Lise Bourgault, former Progressive Conservative member of Parliament from 1984-1993 and is the former Mayor of Brownsburg-Chatham.

Outspoken, but well-liked, Mary Clancy

By Ty Bradley

Mary Clancy has a reputation of having been a sociable and well-liked parliamentarian. She often speaks of cross-partisan friendships and has stories to tell about colleagues of all political persuasions. A testament to the former Halifax MP's ability to bridge divides is that she has one of the only CVs on earth which lists both Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien as references.

Mary's friends throughout her life have included former Republican presidential nominee John McCain, her former Progressive Conservative opponent Terry Donahoe and former NDP premier of Ontario, Bob Rae. She also speaks very fondly of her now deceased caucus mates Shaughnessy Cohen and Herb Gray.

Mary is a Liberal by birth, with her two grandfathers having been involved with the Liberals and Conservatives respectively. Mary recalls that when her father asked for her mother's hand in marriage he offered to convert to Catholicism, to which the man replied, "Who a man prays to is his own private business, but you've got to turn Liberal!" From that point on Mary was immersed in Liberal politics.

She recalls her first campaign assignment was delivering poll results by tricycle at age three. She began doing serious campaign work from her early teenage years onward. Since then, she has consistently been active in Liberal politics. She now serves as the vice-president of the Nova Scotia Liberal Party and of the Nova Scotia section of the Liberal Party of Canada.

Mary comes from a family of strong independent women. Her mother was the first woman who was not a nun, but rather became a school principal. Mary's aunt Sarah worked as a codebreaker in Bletch-



Mary Clancy sat down with us to discuss her career, her motivations and life after Parliament. Photo: CBC

ley Park, the home of the World War Two codebreakers, after a Navy commodore saw her do a crossword puzzle in a mere eight minutes while she was waiting to be picked up after work. Sarah had a highly confidential job in intelligence for the next 22 years.

Mary says that, as an MP, she was motivated by the cause of women's rights. She says that no woman has ever stuck their head out of the trench without someone trying to shoot them down. Despite this, she says that she did not face gender discrimination during her parliamentary career and that her male colleagues were very open-minded and did not tolerate blatant discrimination.

She recalls that during Opposition Days the Liberal leader stood surrounded by the women of the caucus, but that only one woman got a question at each Question Period. Mary successfully fought for a woman to receive the Leader of the Opposition's question slot on certain days when the leader was absent.

As a woman of status, who had powerful parents, Mary says she was never subjected to sexual harassment, although some of her friends during her younger years were. She also

credits many of her Liberal colleagues and mentors such as Herb Gray with being strongly supportive of her position as a woman parliamentarian.

Mary had expected her 1997 defeat by Alexa McDonough. She recalls that she knew she would lose when she saw how many "tweed commandos" (her term for out-of-town political operatives) the NDP sent to the Halifax race. Following her defeat, she received a call from the prime minister, offering her either the role of high commissioner to Haiti, or consul general to Boston. She swiftly chose Boston, as she prefers cold winters over extreme heat. Gilles Bernier, the MP for Beauce and father of Maxime Bernier of the People's Party, received the posting in Haiti.

As consul general, Mary expanded the role of the office by using her extensive network of connections. She would often arrange for cabinet ministers and premiers to visit New England for a visit and to lecture at Harvard. Mary served uniquely long as consul general because they kept her on for an extra year to ensure continuity during the turmoil of 9/11.

Mary served for one year as the President of Burlington College in Vermont. She is a woman of strong opinion and during her time in Vermont, she became acquainted with Bernie Sanders, of whom she is not fond. Clancy says that Sanders is not a feminist, and "jokingly" made belittling comments about his wife behind her back. Clancy is not supportive of those who engage in such behaviour. She also recalls that during a summit between Burlington, USA, and Burlington, Canada, then-Congressman Sanders was visibly impatient during an indigenous delegation's dance performance.

Clancy chastised Sanders, saying, "In Canada if we come to an event, especially when it is sponsored by the

indigenous people, it is considered really, really rude not to stay". He left early despite her warning. Clancy describes Senator Sanders as, "Just not a nice man." She admits, "I just don't like him".

Although Mary hates online meetings, she has managed to continue her community involvement throughout the pandemic. In addition to her involvement with her

party, she serves on the board of Neptune Theatre, which is a fixture of the Halifax cultural scene. Mary describes herself as an advocate for the theatre and works to help them receive more funding from the federal and provincial governments. Mary is also a recurring political pundit on various forms of media.

When asked what advice she would give to current parliamentarians she

initially jokes that everyone should cross the floor to the Liberals, but then says: "Enjoy it. You'll never reap the same satisfaction that even the small victories give you. Also remember that it is possible to be witty and incisive, while remembering to be kind."

Mary Clancy served as the Liberal member of Parliament for Halifax from 1988 to 1997.

The Hon. Tony Clement

"Since leaving Parliament I haven't retired from life"

By Ty Bradley

The Hon. Tony Clement is somewhat new to being a former parliamentarian, having only retired in 2019. This was following a long and influential career in provincial and federal politics as a minister under former Ontario Premier Mike Harris and Rt. Hon. Stephen Harper. "Since leaving Parliament, I haven't retired from life," he says. He has "kept the pedal to the metal."

In the last two years Tony has been involved with half a dozen Canadian start-ups in the health and technology sectors and has been a popular commentator on economics, business and politics. His show Boom and Bust is on cable TV and has featured guests such as former prime minister Brian Mulroney, former Parliamentary Budget Officer Kevin Page and the finance ministers of Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. Although many of his guests are Conservatives, the show looks to different perspectives as well, which former Ontario Premier McGuinty's cabinet minister Sandra Pupatello often provides. Tony is currently also working with Pupatello on a national initiative to render Canada's supply chains more secure.

Tony has a podcast called And Another Thing which he hosts with businessman Jodie Jenkins. The show has now had 100 episodes. Politicians, especially Conservative politicians, are recurring guests on the podcast, but the scope is wider than politics. Guests have included prominent musicians, sports players, entrepreneurs and jour-



The Hon. Tony Clement.

nalists.

Tony has a passion for music. Any followers of his Instagram will regularly see posts about guitars and rock 'n' roll. He hosts a monthly local radio show called Tony's Rockin' Shindigs in which he shares his fine musical taste with the residents of Muskoka.

Tony is proud of his government's record in office and points to the creation of a pandemic readiness plan following the 2003 SARS outbreak as a proud policy achievement. Tony was the lead man on that initiative as the Minister of Health. He is also proud of his record as Minister of Industry on strengthening Canada's supply chains, another policy point that is now being discussed more because of the pandemic. Tony's cabinet role in the twilight years of the

Harper government was the President of the Treasury Board, a role in which he focused on fiscal responsibility and balanced budgets.

When asked if the country would be different had he won the Conservative leadership in 2003 Tony makes it clear that he was happy just to have had the chance to run in the same leadership race as former Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Tony says they are different people, so the country would undoubtedly be a bit different, but that Harper is an "impressive cat" to whom he is grateful to have had the chance to serve with in government.

When asked what advice he would give to current and future parliamentarians Tony emphasizes balance. He says that yes, serving one's country is important, but that parliamentarians should also remember to prioritize their mental health.

"It's so easy to get out of balance in Parliament and to lose track of your family and just be caught up in the moment," said Tony.

Tony has struggled with mental illness and urges everyone to find coping strategies to maintain their mental health, such as meditation and prayer. Tony says he could also give advice on more political issues like choosing what hill to die on, but that he thinks wellness is really the most important aspect of parliamentary life that he can advise on.

The Hon. Tony Clement served as the Conservative member for Parry Sound-Muskoka from 2006 to 2019.



Hon. Frank Oberle.

Democracy in peril

By Hon. Frank Oberle

These are not great days for governance in Canada. The level of trust that Canadians have in their governments and in democracy is disturbingly low and many voters think that elections really offer just one outcome – elected representatives who are seen to put ideology over the needs and expectations of citizens. In the late 1960s, close to 80 per cent of Canadians citizens, like their American counterparts, expressed high levels of trust and support in their government. In the years since, some more recent surveys indicate numbers between 20 and 30 per cent. Citizens are losing faith.

When governments are not trusted, consequences present themselves: Increasing difficulty in obtaining citizen support for new directions and blanket rejection of government policies, regardless of their merit; citizen disengagement in democracy, leading to an increasingly uninformed electorate; and less compliance with government mandates and rules (Putnam 2000). All of this leads to poorer government performance because governments have more difficulty acting, which in turn leads to further mistrust of government – a vicious circle.

Canada's governance model has never been accused of being too open, engaging, transparent or consultative. In fact, recent governments can be accused of moving in the opposite direction. Yet those very values – openness, engagement, transparency and consultation – are a large part of what defines our modern society. Increasingly, these are the values that citizens are becoming used to in their everyday work and private, dealings – except with their government.

To assess Canada's prospects in this climate of revolutionary change we

must first and foremost be assured of the stability of our own political system. We must give Canadians cause to recover a much higher degree of trust and confidence lost during the last few decades. We must find a new commitment to the most basic and cardinal principles of democracy.

There are numerous models of electoral rules and procedures among the western democracies, from which certain components might be selected to construct a system for Canada which would not only be worthy of people's support, faith and trust – as an essential first step toward progress.

Given the enormous power our constitution has invested in the Office of the Prime Minister, it is nothing less than preposterous to leave it to just a tiny number of citizens (a select group of members of the political party) to cast a ballot in support of aspirations for leadership. In a general election, it is not uncommon to see a prime minister installed in office with less than 40 per cent of the popular vote cast. Democrats elsewhere would consider it no less peculiar to elect candidates to the House of Commons or any of the provincial legislatures with anything less than 50 per cent of popular support.

Perhaps the best example to demonstrate the hazards of governing without the people's trust was in the result of the 1993 election. Leading up to that election it had become imperative that only a major fundamental reform of the system of taxation could prevent a serious calamity to our fiscal and monetary integrity. In this instance, the government looked to its partners in the free market economies throughout the western world for inspiration and guidance. It was discovered that all of them, except the United States, rely on a con-

sumption tax as the main pillar for their revenue requirements.

I was a member in the Brian Mulroney cabinet at the time. Monitoring the public mood, none of us were under any illusion that with the imposition of the Goods and Services Tax we would be respected for choosing the right over any politically expedient approach. No one, however, would have anticipated the verdict delivered by the electorate. Not only did we lose 150 of the 152 seats we held at the beginning of the election, but the party itself did not survive the aftermath.

On the issue of electoral reform, one would need to focus on three elements of the present system that would bring it into conformity with the practices in most other jurisdictions and all the generally accepted principles of democracy.

The conclusion is hard to escape. Canada's current system of governance is simply not up to the challenges of today's society, much less tomorrow's. Instead of delivering innovative policy solutions, challenges such as electoral reform, citizen engagement, globalization of trade, climate change, health care and economic inequality have become intractable issues. Even more pressing, perhaps, are the disturbing trends toward the realignment of the world's superpowers' military, economic and ideological influence and strength which will manifest itself in the new world order.

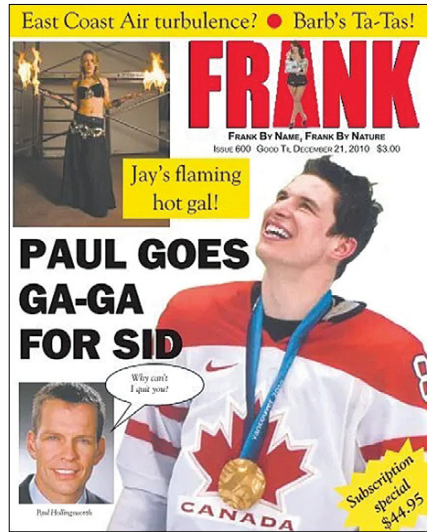
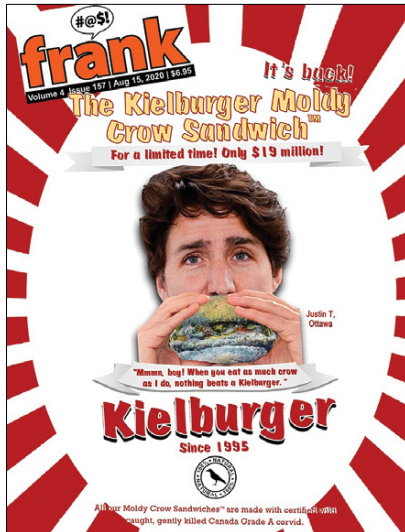
If we want to take our rightful place in that order, we cannot avoid committing to fundamental change in the order by which we govern ourselves. We need solutions. Now.

The Hon. Frank Oberle was the Progressive Conservative member for Prince George–Peace River from 1972 to 1993.

Who is Frank?

The history of Frank Magazine

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly



Politics is widely thought of as a serious profession, stemming from a desire to serve and translating to the implementation of legislation and policies to better the country. And yet politics, this serious profession, is accompanied by humour and satire; they are two sides of the same coin. Canada has a history of political and historical satire, including figures such as the political cartoonist Serge Chapleau along with the Beaverton on-line series.

The satire of Frank Magazine is no different, providing levity while poking fun at political occurrences within (and outside) Canada. However, the story of the magazine is anything but funny, having faced twists and turns throughout its entire history. The magazine has experienced multiple defamation lawsuits by those written about in the magazine, so Frank's history has certainly been rocky.

Perhaps the most famous campaign by the magazine was the 'Deflower Caroline Mulroney' piece in 1992, widely criticized for its offensive and ethically questionable intentions. While satire is certainly meant to provoke, many felt this stepped too far over the line.

The first national edition was published in 1989, and as a political satirical magazine, thrived on gossip on the Hill and real-life events to create com-

edy with the intention of pointing out weaknesses within Canadian society and politics. This first iteration of the publication went under in 2004. It was brought back in 2005 to 2008, and began publishing again in 2013.

Despite these setbacks, the role of satire and constructive political criticism remains as important as ever and is a torch that Frank Magazine continues to carry. Clearly the magazine has had its ups and downs over the years. Yet it still takes its role of political satire extremely seriously, releasing new satire on a regular basis. As the country's source of political satire, the role of Frank Magazine remains important in providing Parliament with constructive feedback in a way that promotes open dialogue.

Satire is meant to open playful conversations between politicians and critics. Frank Magazine might be the first to say that this dialogue does not always translate to open collaboration, but as in any democracy, the importance of free speech and criticism should be encouraged. After all, criticism is one way to improve policies and legislation. Good satire also encourages individuals including politicians not to take themselves so seriously. And in a world of pandemics and new changes every week, sometimes all we need is a good laugh. Of

course, the work of Parliamentarians is extremely important, stressful and time-consuming. But good satire reminds us of our humanity and encourages us to reflect inwards.

Even Frank's name suggests a relationship of honesty between the magazine and the reader. After all, what is satire without honesty? This of course does not mean that the magazine will land every time. But as a leader in Canada when it comes to satire, Frank Magazine certainly carries great responsibility. By promoting a platform that openly disagrees with others, the magazine highlights a discourse of reflection and betterment within society. Not only does it provide an alternate discourse in the world of politics, but it also brings more unknown national histories to the forefront, something done subtly but effectively.

Throughout the magazine is a tone of mockery of itself as well. Frank understands that in order to credibly mock others, your own magazine must have faced its own weaknesses and mockery.

Frank Magazine – in its newest iteration – finds itself in the crucial position of providing criticism and feedback to politicians in a manner promoting open communication and collaboration. It invites politicians, the media, writers, and the public into conversation about current events and politics.

Who shapes the immortal words of prime ministers?

The speech writers behind Canada's political leaders

By Gina Gill Hartmann

Political leaders truly depend on the written word – influential words on the campaign trail can gain a win while stoic and genuine words in the face of tragedy can uplift a country. Confident words can leave an impact amid uncertainty. For political leaders who sit at the helm of Parliament Hill and speak on behalf of all Canadians, their words mean everything.

Behind every political leader is a writer – someone who helps them polish their message. Leaders often need someone to draft their messages in a way that can evoke emotion. In politics, it takes a village, as they say.

The speechwriter to Former Prime Minister Paul Martin, Scott Reid said providing structure and rhythm is the key difference between speech writing and other forms of writing.

“Rhythm is the essential difference – rhythm as dictated by the voice of the person who’s speaking. A good speechwriter is somebody who sounds different each time they write for someone different,” he said. “You have to capture the rhythms of moving an audience. I like the informality, the pace, and I like the implied persuasion that comes with a speech because ultimately, you are attempting to woo an audience to your point of view.”

L. Ian MacDonald, speechwriter to Former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, said ensuring a speech is accurate is the most important thing.

“I learned in the Prime Minister’s Office that you need to factually support your statement because what you say will be examined pretty closely by the press who are just doing their job,” recalled the writer.

In order to garner the listener’s attention, Chris Mallinos, a former speechwriter for NDP leader Tom Mulcair, says it’s all about capturing the moment.

“The major thing that sets speech



Scott Reid.



L. Ian MacDonald.



Chris Mallinos.

writing apart from other forms of writing is that the words you write are meant to be heard, not read. What you write has to be perfectly clear and engaging the first time around because your audience can’t go back and re-read what you wrote. If you don’t achieve what you need to achieve at that moment, it passes, and you can never get it back.”

Grabbing that moment could make or break a political career and one way to always hold the audience’s attention is through the heart.

“Ultimately one of the things that matters most is how you make people feel. At the end of the day, your audience will remember a small portion of the words you wrote, but they will remember how they felt when they heard them,” said Mallinos. “They will remember if you made them feel heard and understood, if you made them feel energized and ready to act, or if you were out of touch.”

Although the person speaking the words may not have fully written them, Reid, MacDonald, and Mallinos said the speakers were fully involved in the process – and it was their own words they were speaking.

“The speech belongs to the person who delivers it. There are few other vocations that require more humility

because the message is not yours, it is theirs. In my experience, politicians I have worked with care desperately about the speeches they deliver and the issues they address, and they usually get hip-wader high in the content and the process,” said Reid.

During their time on the Hill, each writer recalls moments that stood out to them with lasting impact.

Even though MacDonald had left the PM’s office by 1990, he will never forget when Nelson Mandela came to the Hill after his release from prison.

“Because of the position Canada had taken on apartheid and his release, Mandela called the Prime Minister and said ‘I’d like my first speech to a free parliament to be in Canada’ and Mulroney said, ‘Would you like me to send a plane today or tomorrow?’ That was an amazing thing to witness.”

When it comes to speeches, MacDonald distinctly remembers working on Mulroney’s Joint Address to the U.S. Congress on Free Trade, Acid Rain, and the end of the Cold War in 1988.

“On free trade, we had reached an agreement with the U.S. in 1987, just hours before the expiry of the President’s fast track negotiation authority. The FTA was then before Parliament in Ottawa and coming before Con-

gress in Washington and of course it would be the defining issue of the 1988 election.”

During Reid’s time in Parliament, he learned the importance of structure.

“Prime Minister Martin cared passionately about speeches, a trait he inherited from his father. He had strong views about structure and voice. He had strong views on a structure that sometimes led to lengthy edit sessions and it was enormously good training for someone young at the time. It forced me to learn and to appreciate structure.”

He also recalls writing a speech for Martin and analyzing it with the PM on the drive to the Couchiching conference. Reid was feeling confi-

dent about the content but when the prime minister fell asleep on the long drive, he muttered in his sleep that the speech had to be fully re-written.

“When we arrived, he said we would go to his room and rework the speech. It taught me to not for one second to think a speech is done until the words drop from the mouth of the speaker.”

Mallinos will never forget a day in Canadian history when the Hill stood still: the Parliament shooting in 2014.

“There was a lot of chaos and uncertainty that day. When I wrote Tom’s House speech the day after the shooting, I remember thinking that as Leader of the Official Opposition, potentially millions of Canadians are going to be listening to him. It was a challenging and emotional moment

in the country, so it was an important speech,” he recalls. “It had to express sympathy and sorrow, solidarity and unity, but at the same time defiance in the face of an attack on the heart of our democracy. It had to do a lot at once and Tom really rose to the occasion.”

Political leaders represent their constituents in a vast number of movements, ideas, and events. Their voices need to be well-paced, factual and inspiring, while their words should be held in memory and quoted for a lifetime because they moved their listeners and swayed them.

It’s just one more thing leaders are expected to do with jest and ease. Speech writers support them in that mission simply through words.

The role of media in the election deserves scrutiny

By Hon. Bill Blaikie

Reprinted with permission from an article published by the Broadband Institute October 4, 2021.

The analysis of the 2021 Canadian federal election carried on for a couple of weeks. Most of that analysis was to the effect that it was a somewhat useless event, an unnecessary election that simply reproduced the previous Parliament. Some analysis is devoted to the role of Maxime Bernier’s People’s Party, some to the flip flopping of Erin O’Toole on the banning of certain guns, and his ambiguous position on vaccine mandates, and of course, some to the staying power that anger about an unnecessary election played.

This is not an exhaustive summary. Elections are complicated events.

But the one factor that doesn’t receive much, if any, attention by the media is the role of the media itself. In this respect I am thinking in particular about two media influences, although doubtless there are others.

The first is the calling of the elec-

tion itself. Without making excuses for Trudeau, who was ultimately responsible, I believe that the uncritical hyping of a possible election in the months leading up to it, created an environment in which Trudeau was more likely to think he could get away with it. Instead of salivating about a possible election, there should have been a lot more coverage of the way such an election call violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the fixed date election law and the difficult spot that Trudeau was putting the new Governor-General in. Noting more often that he was emulating Stephen Harper in 2008 would have been in order. Both blamed allegedly toxic Parliaments on the Opposition, when their MPs were instructed to create such a condition.

The second is the role that the media-staged English language debate played in reversing the decline of the Bloc Québécois in Quebec. The arguably ill-advised question to the Bloc leader, about discriminatory legislation in Quebec enabled the

Bloc leader to play the Quebec bashing card, and from there on the Bloc decline began to abate. Without that question, and the way it played out, it is conceivable, perhaps even likely, that the Liberals, Tories, and the NDP would have won those seats that they narrowly lost to the Bloc. Not only that, but to the extent that the Bloc reversal of fortune after the debate made things dicier for the Liberals in Quebec, it also affected the national narrative in a way that enabled fear mongering by the Liberals about a Tory victory, and the poaching of progressive votes from the NDP.

Though the new Parliament may be almost identical to the last one, it was not necessarily so. The role the media played, among other things, in facilitating the election call, and in facilitating a game changing question, is an aspect of the 2021 federal election that needs more analysis.

The Hon. Bill Blaikie served as a New Democratic Party MP for the riding variously known as Winnipeg-Birds Hill, Winnipeg-Transcona, Transcona-Elmwood and Elmwood from 1979-2015.

Sometimes a newspaper is about baloney

A little history of The Hill Times

By Jim Creskey

It was the best of times; the Berlin wall had fallen, the cold war ended and the environment and a peace dividend were being optimistically discussed. It was the worst of times; home mortgage rates were north of 13 per cent, Canada was sliding into a recession and a double digit unemployment rate was soaring upward. For many people the spring of hope did become the winter of despair. It was a risky time. But it was also a time for taking risks.

It was a time, Ross Dickson and I believed, to start a new newspaper where one was most needed. And we did.

The first issue of The Hill Times arrived on October 5, 1989, and never stopped coming.

In the days before the paper moved to its old art deco office behind the PMO a young reporter arrived on the scene from Yellowknife and went right to work building the Rolodex and the reputation that would see her become one of the most humble yet best-respected journalists on Parliament Hill. Kate Malloy not only became editor of The Hill Times, but she also tied her entire journalistic career to the little paper that grew and grew. And it was her unflagging commitment that brought The Hill Times from a little shop with one reporter to the largest Parliamentary news organization in Canada.

Governments rose and fell: Mulroney, Campbell, Chrétien, Martin, Harper and Trudeau – and The Hill Times kept growing. The paper's first website appeared in 1995, years before most people realized that the digital revolution was going to remake the newspaper world.

Today, The Hill Times is still a printed newspaper, published twice a week. In this age of every possible screen gadget and social media invasion it is still possible to do some-

thing special with newsprint. Stop for a moment, if you haven't seen it, and have a look at the print special issue for Canada's first National Truth and Reconciliation Day. You can download it for free from the Hilltimes.com website.

But as much as we enjoy the print editions, we know that no newspaper has survived the digital revolution without also remaking itself into a robust, online source of news and comment. The Hill Times is no exception. Editors Malloy, Charelle Evelyn and Samantha Wright-Allan oversee a breaking news website and specialized newsletters deep with Canadian politics and policy content seven days a week.

But bragging about how politically and policy comprehensive, how insider, The Hill Times is starts to sound like a lot of baloney. So, I'm going to finish with a story about baloney from a past issue of The Hill Times. It was written by Bill Curry who is deputy Ottawa bureau chief at the Globe and Mail and was once a deputy editor at The Hill Times. Bill wrote this for an anniversary issue of The Hill Times in 2009:

"...I was working on Mel Cappe's expenses. He was the Clerk of the Privy Council and the receipts showed he ate out at fancy restaurants, but not any more than one might expect.

"With a full 'Civil Circles' column to fill, I convinced myself there must be a few readers who would like to know where the most powerful civil servant in the land does lunch. The story went ahead in that vein. Not as an exposé, but rather a peek into life at the top."

The next week a man Bill described as "stocky", showed up at the Sparks Street Hill Times newsroom with a package.

"It was a bulky brown envelope

from the Privy Council Office...I opened it and pulled out its contents: A baloney sandwich on white bread in a Ziplock bag. There was also a note."

The next issue of The Hill Times ran a photo of its deputy editor pretending to dig into his PCO sandwich.

Years later, Bill finally met Mel Cappe face-to-face at the 2009 budget lockup.

Cappe's words were, "You owe me lunch!"

Ottawa memories run long and baloney sandwiches, especially, have a long shelf life.

"I told him," Bill writes, "Kate Malloy at The Hill Times had just asked me to tell the baloney sandwich story." He laughed and said his advisers at PCO had urged him not to send the sandwich. His staff told him reporters don't have a sense of humour.

"Turns out you did," he said.

If I had to send anyone a baloney sandwich, I would have made it on Rideau Bakery rye bread, but Mel Cappe probably could only find white bread on Sparks Street in those days.

Cappe is still active and was quoted in The Hill Times in September by reporter Neil Moss on a question of a tepid Afghan withdrawal response during a federal election.

Today, the large oak-floored Queen Street Hill Times newsroom and offices are slowly starting to fill up after nearly two years of COVID-19 induced remote working for the 46 people who work at the paper and its sister publications.

People are trickling back and laughter can again be heard. A sense of humour has not disappeared at The Hill Times.

Jim Creskey is a founding editor and publisher of The Hill Times.

Trans-Pacific trade bloc better without China

By Hon. David Kilgour and David Matas

A major goal of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), intended to cover about 40 per cent of world trade, was to ensure that rule of law nations, not China, would write the rules for the world economy in the 21st century.

The Obama administration concluded the TPP would spur economic growth and create new jobs, while building U.S. strategic interests in Asia. Trump saw it as adding to American decline in manufacturing and withdrew immediately on taking office in 2017.

The remaining 11 signatories continued talks, seeking to salvage a pact without America. Their efforts resulted in the successor Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), which had already been ratified by a majority of members, including Canada, and came into force on December 30, 2018.

In February 2021, after its formal departure from the European Union, the United Kingdom requested membership. Taiwan and China recently applied, further pressuring the Biden administration to join itself as part of his 'Build Back Better World'.

Negotiating entry for China would face numerous obstacles. Most democratic governments deplore how Xi Jinping's increasingly totalitarian regime treats workers, farmers, Hong Kongers, Tibetans, Falun Gong practitioners, Uyghurs, Christians and other communities outrageously. The dystopian police state includes forced labour.

The latest outrage stems from the United States dropping of extradition charges against Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou. The espionage charges against the two Canadian Michaels were obvious retaliation for Meng's detention – hostage diplomacy of a kind usually associated with terrorist

Countries that have officially joined into the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) to date:

Mexico
Japan
Singapore
New Zealand
Canada
Australia
Vietnam
Peru

organizations.

The Canadians should never have gone through China's nightmarish legal system for 1019 days as pawns in Beijing's attempt to distort international law. We now have a world where Beijing not only knows it can get away with hostage diplomacy, but that it can secure what it wants via acts of international piracy. Some governments might now ignore lawbreaking by Chinese nationals lest their arrest result in the kidnapping of one or two of their own citizens on trumped-up charges. Persons like Meng might be untouchable, immune to our laws, and unaccountable for their actions.

XI is now also in continuous breach of the international treaty his predecessors signed with the United Kingdom in 1984 – the Sino-British Joint Declaration – in which Beijing promised to uphold "one country, two systems" and a "high degree of autonomy" for Hong Kong until 2047. Less than halfway through, Xi tore up the promises.

Unfortunately, with the U.S. trade deficit with China for the first eight months of 2021 alone being \$US 75.7 billion (AP News), some CPTPP-member investors still insist that our goods and services can obtain better

access to China's market by having China in the pact. The same naïvete prevailed in 2001 when China was admitted to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Canada alone has since lost about 600,000 manufacturing jobs, no doubt some to thinly-disguised slave labour today in China.

Most say that Japan, India, the United States, Taiwan, Canada, and a number of other nations with the rule of law joined in the CPTPP, remain the best trade option in the Asia Pacific.

Fortunately, Japan, the world's third-largest economy, is throwing its business, diplomatic and political weight behind India and the CPTPP. India, Asia's fastest-growth economy, is expected to surpass China in population by 2022. Under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, its increasing self-confidence and need for investment is resulting in falling trade and investment barriers.

While visiting Tokyo, Modi reproached the Beijing party-state on its misbehaviour in Asia, alluding to the Chinese military buildup in the South China Sea, its heavy-handedness in Tibet, and its territorial ambitions in northern India. He added, "Everywhere ... we see an 18th-century expansionist mindset: encroaching in other countries, intruding in others' waters, invading other countries and capturing territory."

The world economy is now improving overall and unemployment is mercifully falling in some nations despite predatory trade and other economic practices by China and others. Canada should still trade cautiously with the Middle Kingdom, but trade cannot outdo a judicious advancing of our strategic interests in concert with those who share our values.

In short, we believe an enlarged CPTPP without China is undoubtedly the best choice for the democracies in Asia and beyond.



Dorothy Dobbie.

The disruptors and how easy it is to destroy democracy

By Dorothy Dobbie

Is there solace in understanding that periods of political upheaval and disruption are cyclical, or should we take lessons from the past as guideposts to our future?

In some ways today feels more like 1891 than 2021 as we consider what is happening in our world. As it was back in that era, we are going through a period of tremendous unrest and political polarization, one that I would not characterize as being Liberal versus Conservative or NDP or even left versus right. Instead, there is another influence upsetting the pendulum balance of political activity in our world.

The perpetrators are described by some as being “woke” and they seek to dominate the narrative by creating division and confusion, playing on old grievances and vague feelings of guilt, magnifying “wrongs” and painting the world in stark blacks and whites.

This is a disruptive influence that crosses all political lines. On the outer edges of both sides of the political spectrum we see righteous proclamations and exaggerated characterizations of events. The aim of these disruptors is to disrupt and to take advantage of the resulting chaos and confusion to make change for whatever purpose is motivating them.

From their outrageous claims of “mass graves” to equally outrageous claims of “voter fraud”, their aim is to create doubt in the minds of the public, to create fear, unsteadiness, and confusion. This movement pits members of the population against one another. It sets accepted customs on its head and strives to convince people that they have been wrong all along in their attitudes, perceptions, and conduct. Do you really believe that Canada is a nation of genocide, racists, and misogynists?

Is this something new? I think it is

Seven steps on the road to destroying a democracy

1. Infiltrate schools and bend the minds of the emerging generation;
2. Choose a set of “victims” to polarize the population;
3. Play on feelings of guilt in good people;
4. Develop a lexicon of labels and apply them freely to individuals to keep them in line;
5. Coerce the media and shut down independent organs of free speech and thought by applying the labels and shouting down any dissent;
6. Undermine democratic state infrastructure by constantly overriding or ignoring precedent;
7. Tell the public what it wants to hear while doing whatever suits the agenda of the disruptors.

not. At the end of the 19th century, perhaps starting after the Civil War in the U.S., several significant movements manifested. Recent Immigrants to the U.S. and Canada were amassing wealth, particularly as the industrial revolution reached its peak. Wealth was being consolidated as Big Business began to establish. As today, there was great disparity between the very, very rich and the rest of the population.

The emerging generation of the wealthy had grown up with money and had never faced adversity. Their perceptions of what it took to be successful were skewed by unrealistic notions of how wealth is generated. They were easy targets for what some today call “social justice warriors”, the element of society that were just the same old disruptors, the forerunner of those in operation today.

So, what does a disruptor look like? A portrait is slowly emerging. They are often people with a huge sense of entitlement, who have a “God” syndrome. They honestly believe that they know more than the rest of the population and have a right to call the shots. This is nothing new in the history of mankind. There are always some who claim the “moral” ground and work hard to impose their will on others. Various religious movements have occupied this space over time.

Dictators are motivated by power, but disruptors are motivated by righteousness. Both are dangerous to the democratic way of life we have enjoyed for so long. Shutting down debate is the first sign that these influences are gaining the upper hand. Declaring that there is only one “right way” to think, refusing to listen to counter argument, demonizing opposing schools of thought . . . all these are signals of danger. Today, disruptors are aided by the fear of the pandemic that has forced people around the world into hiding in their closets. (Even writing this puts me in danger of being called some terrible name and having vicious motives attributed to me.) Fear is a great ally of the disruptor.

American historian Richard Jensen wrote in his 1971 book, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896*: “Partisanship ran deep in the Midwest. The Civil War was a living memory; more than anything else it fused the loyalty of Republicans to the ‘grand old party’ that had saved the Union and abolished slavery — just as it fused the loyalty of Democrats to the poor man’s party which had defended constitutional liberties in an era of despotism and corruption. . . . Men spoke of political attachments in the same breath as loyalty to religions.”

He goes on to outline how the me-

dia had become “semi-official party organs”.

“The news was almost as biased as the editorials. The weaknesses of the opposition grew into fatal flaws, their blunders magnified into heinous crimes against American liberties, and their policies metamorphosed into evil designs of conspiratorial juntas.”

Things were also in turmoil in Europe and Britain, where Darwin and others in the 19th century “contributed to a worldview, giving rise to representations of society in the strongly biological terms of “social eugenics” and other variations of “racial” thought, such as the idea of the “degeneration” of the working class.” The norm was being challenged; social structure was under reorganization as the welfare state began to take hold. Notions of a “new world order” were promoted by people such as Marx and Engels who together formulated what became known as Marxism.

Think about some of the events that followed upon this period of disruption: the murder of the Russian royal family and the consequent dictatorial rule of the communists who left a trail of death and destruction that is still being felt; the discontent that made the First World War possible and paved the way for the takeover of Germany by Nazism, followed by murder of millions of Jewish people; the emboldening of Japan and the disruption in Asia that destroyed the Chinese dynasty system and replaced it with an even less benign dictatorship of the state.

Throughout this period countless millions lost their lives. Democracy and freedom shrank. Misery prevailed in much of the world.

Now, I am not suggesting that we are on the brink of such a horrific time. However, I worry that without a sense of some alarm, we might be lulled into thinking that “this too shall pass”, as it did during the disruption of the 1960s and 70s.

Perhaps it will, but those of us who have been here a long time must remind the new generation that what is past is prologue and that it is prudent to tread cautiously.

Dorothy Dobbie was the Progressive Conservative MP for Winnipeg South, 1988-1993.

So long, Céline

By Dorothy Dobbie

After 17 years of dedicated service, our much-loved Céline Brazeau Fraser is retiring from the House of Commons and leaving us. We will miss her deeply. She always had a warm smile and a lovely laugh that kept us feeling up even when things were down. But, as her co-worker Susan Simms noted, “Céline was always very professional. She liked to do things right. She has a lot of class.”

Susan will particularly miss her. “Céline has been like the other part of my brain. We worked together so well. We were always very collegial and in tune. I have known her for 31 years. We laughed together and we cried, too, when members passed on and at Memorial Services.”

She laughs and adds, “Céline liked to eat every two hours. Without her around maybe my waistline will get smaller!”

Former president, Léo Duguay said, “Céline is a stylish, thoughtful, positive person. She also missed her calling as a



Céline's husband Mark is reclaiming her from us. Our loss is his gain.

mimic – she has a repertoire of president-mimics which didn't include me (I think). CAFP is much better because of her devoted contribution. Happy retirement, Céline (and here I thought retirement was for old people!)”

I know many people will echo these comments, and Céline promises to be nearby when Isabelle or Susan need help in the future.

Thank you for your many years of service and for being our friend, Céline.

Meet Isabelle Chénier, CAFP's new staffer

Isabelle is originally from Rockland, Ontario, and now lives in Ottawa. She holds a Bachelor of Social Sciences degree with a major in psychology and a minor in business administration.

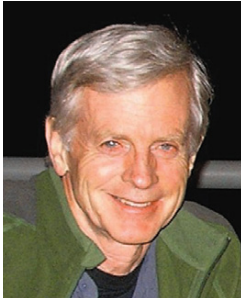
In 2009, while still in university, Isabelle began her career at the House of Commons as a messenger, discovering a wonderful organization and the clients it serves. In 2011, she began working at the Office of the Sergeant-at-Arms as a senior administrative assistant. As part of her role, Isabelle had the privilege of helping MPs with various requests related to their activities on Parliament Hill. She also organized several events attended by high profile clients and provided planning and logistical support to the Sergeant-at-Arms during his transition to the role of Canadian Ambassador to Ireland.

In 2016, with an interest in human resources, Isabelle became a recruitment



coordinator at the House of Commons. In 2018, she joined the International and Interparliamentary Affairs Directorate where she held various positions, including that of logistics officer.

Isabelle is proud to have the opportunity to assist the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians and the Parliamentary Spouses Association. She is enthusiastic about her new position and is determined to honour it.



Hon. David Kilgour

Democracy and lessons learned from Afghanistan

By Hon. David Kilgour

With democrats everywhere grieving over recent events in Afghanistan and the 20th anniversary of 9/11, it is worth recalling that as the first plane struck the World Trade Center tower on 9/11 all 35 Organization of American States (OAS) member governments were in Peru, signing a democratic charter, which denied membership in the organization to any dictatorship.

Democratic governance has expanded across much of the world since the 1970s. In 1977, only 35 of 143 nations with a population of at least 500,000 qualified by Polity as democratic. By 2017, 96 of 167 countries were deemed democratic; only 21 remained unreformed autocracies. Democratization has unfolded in a myriad of narratives.

In 2004, for example, 80 per cent of Afghans risked their lives to vote in their first presidential election. One was Dr. Sima Samar, later deputy president in the Afghan Transition Team but afterwards compelled to resign for questioning religious laws. She lobbied for democracy as chair of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Sudan. Samar has dedicated her life to women's empowerment.

The now controversial Aung San Suu Kyi spent almost 18 years under house arrest in Myanmar/Burma. In 1990, her National League for Democracy (NLD) party won the majority of election votes but weren't allowed to take their seats. On February 1, 2021, the military staged a coup following the NLD's landslide election victory. The world is horrified that the generals have killed over 1,000 protesters to date, including children.

The late Václav Havel, the Czech dissident whose dissections of totalitarian rule helped to destroy it in revolutions that brought down the Berlin Wall in 1989, asked about his country's new-found freedom. "From where did [Czechoslovakia's] young people...take their desire for truth, their love of free thought, their political ideas, their civic courage...?" The answer lies in the human desire everywhere to choose the types of societies we want to build for ourselves – ones grounded on values of human dignity for all and the rule of law.

Democratic governance implies freedom of speech, association, assembly and belief/non-belief – essentially the freedom for individuals to express who they are and what they believe as long as they do not infringe on the freedom of others. Along with strong non-governmental groups, such as unions, democracies must enshrine freedoms and responsibilities in constitutions, laws and cultures.

Fundamental to any democracy is an independent judiciary. Independent judges, with power to strike down unconstitutional acts passed by legislators, are necessary safeguards, making it possible for minorities and marginalized groups to live as equal members of society.

In the 54-nation Commonwealth, shared governance values were reflected in the Harare Declaration of 1991, when governments pledged their commitment to the protection and promotion of the Commonwealth's democratic political values and rule of law. Members in good standing must have civilian, democratically elected governments.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

enhances democracy from "Vancouver to Vladivostok" through monitoring democratic processes among 57 participating states.

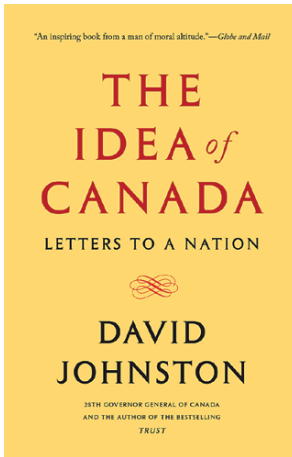
La Francophonie comprises 88 member governments and observers that share French as a common language. It represents 300 million Francophones on five continents. Canada has worked with it to support democracy, undertaking several informal political initiatives in countries at risk.

Representative democracy appears indispensable for a peaceful, prosperous world with equality for all, although the roads to open democratic societies are challenging. With the economic crisis arising now from COVID-19, democracies face both enormous pressures and new opportunities. This turmoil tests our commitment to democratic principles and best governance practices.

Democracy works in tandem with the spread of the rule of law and the enhancement of human dignity. International institutions must accord incrementally more weight to human rights, the rule of law, and multi-party democracy. We must safeguard and enhance our democratic practices and help to strengthen democracies abroad, remembering always that it begins with each of us as individual citizens.

In Afghanistan, the 20-year struggle to build democracy faced many significant failures. Its present situation illustrates what can result if democratic governance – however imperfect – is replaced by intolerance and violence against fellow citizens.

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



David Johnston's The Idea of Canada advances an optimistic view of what civic virtues our nation represents

Reviewed by Ty Bradley

The Idea of Canada: Letters to a Nation by David Johnston. Published in 2016 by the Penguin Random House Company. 320 pages. \$32.00.

This collection of letters serves as both a compilation of Johnston's opinions on various issues and as a cohesive view of his personal philosophy. Johnston is pragmatic, endlessly optimistic and focused on promoting the very best aspects of the human spirit. He also has an obvious love of literature and reading of any kind. He mentions that even while playing hockey for the Harvard University team he found time to read. Johnston's prose is thought-provoking without being overly flowery. He knows how to address an issue in a hard-hitting way and how to inspire his audience to want to be better people.

Johnston presents a view of Canada as a continuing project worthy of praise and full of virtue. Early in the book he references Canada's early settlers as positive role models to look to as we chart a new Canada. This type of reference is needless to say not very common in today's political climate. Whether these explorers brought virtue or carnage, it is still fascinating to see Johnston's perspective that our current pioneers should look to the figures that built Canada as we know it for inspiration. Johnston seems to believe in Canada as a civic ideal, which is a form of Canadian nationalism which many Canadians ascribe to.

Johnston's letters follow a theme of being about important yet non-



The Rt. Hon. David Johnston.

partisan issues and being written to people who are doing important work on these issues. Some of the most powerful letters in this book are about the waste of life that war entails, ending sanctioned violence in hockey, adopting foster children, the vastness of our nation and the lessons we can learn from Samuel de Champlain.

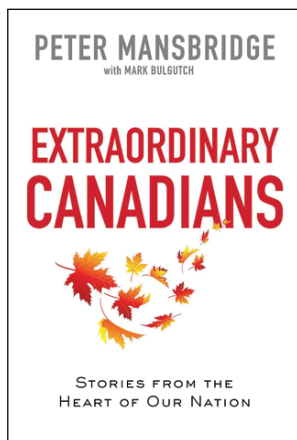
Many of these letters are love letters to intellectualism. It is safe to say that Johnston thinks we would all be better off if we read more books and engaged in discourse with each other more. It is likely true that if we engaged more in open-minded conversation with those who we disagree with we would be better off. Perhaps this would allow us to reach ever closer to the high-minded "Idea of Canada" inspired by people such as George-Étienne Cartier,

Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Jack Layton.

The title, *The Idea of Canada*, perfectly encapsulates what this book is about. It is difficult to place Johnston in one of the boxes of either believing in the classical Conservative idea of a "community of communities" or the classical Liberal idea of Canada being one project founded on shared ideals. Johnston recognizes the virtue and diversity of all Canada's regions, but also seems to think of Canada as one large community of neighbours who should be committed to each other's well-being based on a shared belief in justice. Johnston is pro-science, supportive of the role religion plays in society, passionate about traditions like mailing letters and optimistic about where the next generation of Canadians will bring us. To which political orientation you ascribe his views will probably be informed by your own bias, as he chooses to speak in a way that unites us rather than divides us.

Reading this book is an excellent use of one's time. You will emerge from it thoughtfully informed on topics you had never even considered before. Your intellect will be stimulated and you will be impressed by the nimble and versatile mind of its author. You may even emerge optimistic about the idea of Canada and inspired by how you can work with those around you to advance the common good.

David Johnston served as the governor general of Canada from 2010 to 2017. He previously worked in senior roles at many of Canada's universities.



The hero, passion and empowerment in those who live among us

Reviewed by Hannah Judelson-Kelly

Extraordinary Canadians: Stories from the Heart of Our Nation by Peter Mansbridge with Mark Bulgutch. Published in 2020 by Simon and Schuster. 335 pages. \$17.99.

From the very opening of his book, *Extraordinary Canadians: Stories from the Heart of Our Nation*, Peter Mansbridge explains who he will be travelling with: heroes. But not just any kind of hero. He explains that “it’s about people who have put the lives of Canadians of all walks of life first. That’s what being a hero means to me.” For him, being extraordinary is something that we become through our actions, touching people in some way that makes their life better and that makes the country better.

There is no doubt that every single one of the Canadians included in the book is extraordinary. Their legacies will live on, all pushing for radical change in some way, all speaking from intimate experience about the issues they are tackling and the struggles they and others have faced. In a way, there are so many lessons to learn and so many ideas to take away, that you almost are unsure of what to think by the end, left simply pondering the many ways these individuals have challenged society and lifted others up. There is a unifying factor – Mansbridge opens by explaining the heroic nature of each individual in the book. Another common thread is left up to the reader to infer. And that is the theme of passion. The overwhelming passion each of these extraordinary Canadians has for their cause and for their country.

Passion breeds purpose and each of these individuals has grown into their passion. It is what makes this book resonate with us as readers. We are invited to reflect on our own passions as we explore those of others. These heroes invite us to lean into uncomfortable spaces, to learn from them and to connect this with our own passions in an effort to make the lives of those around us better.

Mansbridge does not narrate this experience and yet his storytelling is clear; he gives others the space to tell their stories, acting more as a messenger. He delivers the stories of those who are not always heard. Indigenous women, women of colour, women with disabilities, men who suffer in silence over mental health and people belonging to every part of society. Not everyone belongs to the group of people they might be advocating for but every person has made a lifelong commitment to amplifying the voices of those that are too often ignored.

The powerful story of Cindy Blackstock starts the book off. A Canadian-born Gitksan activist advocating for child welfare, Blackstock starts her story with a description of her own childhood and her own experiences of racism and the systemic oppression of indigenous peoples in Canada. It is her resilience and drive that shines through as she describes her experiences as an undergraduate at the University of British Columbia that led her to her job in child welfare. Although she has had her own personal experiences with the child welfare system as an indigenous woman, her work clearly comes first as she dedicates her life to bettering the lives of other

children. She uses her experience to her advantage without allowing it to overpower the stories of others. And she closes her section with the powerful explanation that it is the big and meaningful victories that make the difference.

Next, Gina Cody speaks of her experience as a woman and a woman of colour studying engineering. At a time when women made up roughly 5 to 10 per cent of the students in her class, she explains the feeling of alienation and the skepticism many had of women’s abilities in the field. However, her story is one of incredible perseverance as she slowly chips away at a male-dominated industry, lifting up other women along the way.

Later on, Susan Rose explores her experiences with her own sexuality. She speaks of a time where although her parents may have been open and accepting, society was not ready yet. Her story is filled with both happy and painful memories and yet Rose’s bubbling personality is what shines through. She describes coming out on live television and the discrimination she faced as a teacher after that decision and the reasons why she eventually left teaching and became an advocate and member of Egale Canada. Her story, although one of struggle, also shows her incredible ability to lift others up and help them navigate their own journeys.

All of the stories in Mansbridge’s book speak to the heart of what it means to have passion, what it means to empower others and what it means to push the boundaries we find in life, hoping to eventually break them down.



I Think You're Wrong (But I'm Listening)

Reviewed by Ty Bradley

I Think You're Wrong (But I'm Listening) by Sarah Stewart Holland and Beth A. Silvers. Published in 2019 by Thomas Nelson. 224 pages. \$41.99.

The book *I Think You're Wrong (But I'm Listening): A Guide to Grace-Filled Political Conversations* is written by two friends who have differing political views, Sarah Stewart Holland and Beth A. Silvers. They prescribe solutions to polarization primarily in the form of personal advice on how to talk with those you disagree with.

It is difficult not to be sympathetic to Silvers and Holland's call for a more nuanced and dialogue approach to politics. After all, one of the reasons Canada's democracy is so much healthier than that of the U.S. is that we are not afraid to befriend people of different political beliefs. It should be a good thing for the toxic partisanship of the U.S. that these women want to throw away the shackles of their partisan identities, right?

But when one considers the political landscape of the U.S. it is clear that these women are speaking from a position of privilege that is not available to many people in their country.

Silvers is a Republican and Holland is a Democrat, but they are both well-off, white and Christian women from the South. This is not to say that there is anything wrong with these identities, but these wom-

en seem to be saying that everyone should have cross-partisan relationships that are more like their own.

Their argument seems a bit hollow and out of touch when you consider the position that you're putting marginalized people in when you ask them to get along with hardcore supporters of Trump's GOP. Are we expecting immigrants to get along with those who feel the country would be better off without them? Are we expecting Black Americans to have a mutually beneficial dialogue with those who think that racism against white people is the real discrimination in modern America? Can a person who has had an abortion really have a calm chat about the issue with someone who thinks abortion is murder?

It is also not difficult for these two women to get along because they already agree on a lot. One is a centrist Democrat and one is a centrist Republican. It would be much harder for someone who wants democratic socialism to agree with those who want to curtail government spending. Holland, the supposed liberal, even admits to having voted for Rand Paul, the Republican senator who now rails against Doctor Fauci and lockdowns.

It is of course true that discourse is important. There is no way that America will progress if Democrats refuse to speak with Republicans. After every election they do after all have to live in the same country. Acknowledging the need for dialogue doesn't need to mean drawing a

false moral equivalency between the Trump GOP and the Biden Democrats though.

We can agree that the only pragmatic way to quell political tensions and polarization is respectfully talking with each other but these women seem to ignore the extremely unsavoury aspects of the nationalist movement that entered the White House in 2016. One would almost assume that this book had been written when McCain or Romney was the standard bearer for the American right. Drawing a moral equivalency between the vitriol of modern republicanism and the excessive zeal of liberalism seems outdated. The storming of the Capitol in particular seems to me to have rendered this book obsolete. Anyone still supportive of Trump supports a former president who railed against the will of the people and encouraged his supporters to incite a coup. There can be no compromise with those who do not believe in democracy.

Reading this book made me glad I live in Canada. We can reach out across the aisle without the need for the absurd optimism and ignorance of this book. This is because we do not have such deranged views represented and can find legitimate respect for each other's views. Still, Canada has been getting worse in that regard over the last few years. Despite the flaws of this book, we can still take its core messages to heart. We should be open-minded, talk to those we disagree with and seek nuance rather than sides.

Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Ty Bradley, Gina Gill Hartmann and Hannah Judelson-Kelly

Hon. Marisa Ferretti Barth

April 28, 1931 – March 28, 2021

Appointed to the Senate in 1997 by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, Marisa was the first Italian Canadian to enter the Senate. Her political careers saw her involvement in the standing committees on Finance and Human Rights.

She immigrated to Canada from Italy in 1963 in her early 40s. She lost no time in getting to work in her new country becoming an immigration consultant and very involved in the Italian community.

In the early 70s, she started CRAIC, the Regional Council of Italian-Canadian Seniors and was eventually responsible for more than 80 of these clubs. She helped other ethnic groups, including the Afghan, Chinese, Laotian, Lebanese-Syrian and Russian groups start their own clubs.

Marisa received Quebec's Lieutenant Governor's Medal in 2009, the *Prix Hommage Aînés* from the *Table de concertation des aînés de l'île de Montréal* in 2010 and the *Prix Grand-Aînée* from the Observatory on Aging and Society in 2015. She was named a Grand Officer of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic in 2003, and a *Chevalière of the Ordre national du Québec* in 2008.

Thomas Rodney Berger

March 23, 1933 – April 28, 2021

Thomas R. Berger was a federal and political politician, a lawyer and judge who is remembered for his dedication and respect for indigenous rights.

At the age of 29, Thomas entered the House of Commons, as a young MP representing Vancouver-Burrard with the NDP. Thomas only served for one year from 1962 to 1963. He returned to politics at the provincial level in 1966, representing Vancouver-Burrard at the British Columbia Legislative Assembly until 1969. He also briefly served as the leader of the B.C. NDP party in 1969.

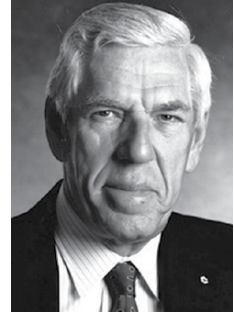
Considered an advocate for indigenous rights, Thomas was a lawyer for



Hon. Marisa Ferretti Barth.



Thomas Rodney Berger.



Hon. Claude Castonguay.

the Nisga'a Nation in the landmark Clader vs B.C. case held throughout the 60s and 70s. This case inaugurated the concept of the 'Aboriginal title' in Canadian law.

"The issue of Aboriginal title was something that had to be faced in Canada. That Aboriginal title was Canadian Law," said Thomas regarding the case, in a feature presented by the Indigenous Foundations Art.

Thomas chaired a royal commission on Family and Children's Law from 1973–1975. He was the royal commissioner of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry from 1974–77 after he had been appointed to the B.C. Supreme Court (1971–1983). The inquiry was to investigate the social, environmental and economic impact of a proposed gas pipeline that would run through the Yukon and the Mackenzie River Valley of the Northwest Territories.

"Progress involved pipelines, so the idea that someone would say no to the pipeline, hadn't entered into the equation," said Thomas in the feature.

Thomas recommended a delay on the pipeline to deal with certain aspects, including Aboriginal land claims.

"As a lawyer, judge and commissioner, he helped countless ordinary people in their struggles against powerful interests. He changed life in this province and in this country for the better," said in a statement made by John Horgan,

Premier of B.C. "He spent a lifetime moving all of us towards a just society. For that, we owe him our thanks and gratitude. His kindness and generosity will long be remembered. His thinking will continue to influence us for generations to come."

He was made an officer of the Order of Canada in 1990 and as of 2006 he had sat on the advisory council of the Order of Canada. In 2004 he received the Order of British Columbia. He was an honorary member of the Royal Military College of Canada and awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal in 2012.

Upon hearing of his passing, Independent MP, Hon. Jody Wilson-Raybould tweeted: "Tom was a great champion of indigenous peoples and rights... A true trail-blazer who helped change this country for the better while personally sacrificing to do so."

Tom is survived by his beloved wife, Beverley Ann. Together they raised two children, David and Erin.

Hon. Claude Castonguay

May 8, 1929 – Dec. 12, 2020

The Hon. Claude Castonguay was born in Quebec City. He took his science degree at Laval University and an actuary science degree at the University of Manitoba.

He was elected to the National Assembly of Quebec in 1970 but did not run

*Clément Couture.**Benno Friesen.**Hon. Alfonso Gagliano.*

again. Instead, he became the president-elect of the Canadian Institute of Actuaries and later the CEO of the Laurentian Group Corporation and chairman of the Conference Board of Canada.

He was appointed to the Senate by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1990. Back before he was the Minister of Health in the National Assembly of Quebec, he wrote a report on universal health care that was later adopted. This activity earned him the title, Father of Universal Medicare in Quebec. He was also one of the inspirations behind the Quiet Revolution.

Later, in 2008, Claude released a mandated report on the province's healthcare system that recommended that visits to the doctor should cost \$25 to help defray growing costs and overuse.

He was given the Order of Canada, 1971; made an officer of the National Order of Quebec, 1991, elevated to Grand Officer in 2014. He had eight Honorary Doctor of Laws.

During his brief tenure in the Senate, Claude Castonguay co-chaired the Joint House Senate Committee on the Renewal of Canada until he retired from service due to ill health.

Clément Couture

Aug. 2, 1939 – July 8, 2021

Clément Couture was the member of Parliament for Saint-Jean from 1988–1993. He died on July 8, 2021, at the age of 81.

Clement was a Progressive Conservative who served as a vice-chair on the Standing Committee on Finance and the Subcommittee on Regulations and Competitiveness. He was also a member of the Standing Committee on Industry,

Science and Technology, Regional and Northern Development and the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages.

In later life, Clément served from 2009–2013 as the mayor of Sainte-Anne-de-Sabrevois. He was married to the late Ginette Chevrier.

He is survived by his partner of 29 years, Solange Daudelin Gardiner, and children Isabelle (Stéphane Béland) and Alexandre, step-daughters Julie and Michèle and grandchildren.

Benno Friesen

June 27, 1929 – Sept. 29, 2021

Former parliamentarian Benno Friesen is remembered as a sharp and witty orator with a passion for classic literature. Prior to his parliamentary career he worked as a professor of English literature since his he was in his 20s. He then leveraged that experience to found an evangelical college. He served as a professor and as dean of students there. This college, then called Trinity Junior College later grew in size and is now known as Trinity Western College.

Theology and faith were important to Friesen and were an inspiration throughout his career. His daughter says that he loved to quote scriptures and did so up until the very last days of his life. He was also well-versed in more secular works, such as those of Shakespeare. Friesen's favourite poet was the Anglican writer John Donne, who also served as a member of Parliament.

Friesen brought his professorial eloquence to the House of Commons in 1974, defeating an NDP incumbent in South Surrey-White Rock. He was re-elected in every election he stood in after

that. In Parliament Friesen served as the parliamentary secretary for External Affairs, Agriculture, Employment and immigration, and the Solicitor General.

He also passed a Private Member's Bill criminalizing the abduction of children by their estranged parents.

Friesen was known as someone who could get opposing sides to agree to a compromise and leveraged this skill as Chair of the Progressive Conservative Caucus.

Before every election Friesen consulted with those who were most important in his life, to see if he should stand for re-election. He wanted to ensure that he had the full support of his family to continue as a parliamentarian. In 1993 Friesen decided to retire so as to spend more time with his loved ones.

In retirement Friesen pursued his passion for golf extensively. He was also hired for public speaking opportunities and continued to explore his passion for English literature.

Friesen is survived by his children and grandchildren. His beloved wife Marge passed away in 2019.

Benno Friesen served as the Progressive Conservative member of Parliament for South-Surrey White Rock from 1974 to 1993.

Hon. Alfonso Gagliano

Jan. 25, 1942 – Dec. 12, 2020

Born in Italy, Alfonso immigrated to Montreal in 1958 as a young man of 16. In 1984, he was elected to Parliament as the Liberal member for Saint-Leonard-Anjou and was re-elected in 1988, 1993, 1997 and 2000.

He served as chief government whip under Prime Minister Chrétien before he was appointed Minister of Labour and then as Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Upon his retirement, he was appointed ambassador to Denmark, but was forced to retire as he was implicated in the sponsorship scandal. In retaliation, he sued the government of Paul Martin for \$4.5 million for defamation, but the lawsuit was ultimately dismissed.

In 2008, he retired to a vineyard in Dunham, Que. where he built a successful business in winemaking. Despite his tumultuous political career, he is staunchly defended by the colleagues as

a fighter, an ardent Canadian and a very good minister.

Claude Girven (Girve) Fretz
March 4, 1927 – Nov. 5, 2020

Claude was born in Ridgeway, Ont. His ancestors immigrated from the United States to Canada in the days of the Loyalists.

He worked as a retail merchant for many years and served as Mayor and Councillor in Fort Erie before being elected to Parliament.

Girve was elected in 1979 as the Progressive Conservative member for Erie and he served in that capacity until 1993. During his parliamentary career, he twice served on the House Standing Committee for External Affairs and for Defence.

In Opposition, he was the critic for Consumer and Corporate Affairs. In Government, he was the Parliamentary Secretary for Indian and Northern Affairs and later to the Minister of State for Mines.

John Paul Lunger Harney
Feb. 2, 1931 – Oct. 4, 2021.

Born in Quebec City, John Paul had a poet's heart and a sailor's sensibility. Receiving his MA from Queen's University in 1961, he became an assistant professor of English at the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph and a humanities professor at York University in 1970. He was a long-time member of the CFB Trenton Pipe Band and the Picton Legion Band.

John Paul was a staunch NDP member and ran for a seat in Parliament 11 times, succeeding in 1972 as the NDP member for Scarborough West. He twice ran for the leadership of the NDP, coming third behind David Lewis.

Fluently bilingual, he became leader of the Quebec NDP in 1984 and helped relaunch the party in Quebec in 1985.

He was a frequent commentator on CBC/Radio Canada. John Paul passed away in Picton County, Ont.

Hon. Paul Hellyer
Aug. 6, 1923 – Aug. 8, 2021

Paul Hellyer of Ontario passed away on August 8, 2021 at the age of 98.

Born in Waterford, Ontario, Hellyer



Claude Girven Fretz.



John Paul Lunger Harney.



Hon. Paul Hellyer.

served in the Canadian Armed Forces early in his life as a pilot in the Royal Canadian Artillery and then in the military during the Second World War. His involvement here would later inform his seminal work in the Canadian government.

When he was elected as a member of Parliament in 1949 representing the Liberal Party of Canada, Paul Hellyer was the youngest member of the House of Commons. He served on the Canadian government from 1949–1957 and then from 1958–1974. His roles as parliamentary assistant to the defence minister and then associate minister of national defence under Prime Minister St. Laurent ultimately led to his becoming the Minister of Defence under Lester B. Pearson. It was in this role that he fought hard to integrate and unify the Canadian military under one organization, the Canadian Armed Forces. Paul also acted as Minister of Transport for a brief time. He was extremely active within the Canadian government, sitting on countless committees and forming two separate federal political parties, Action Canada in 1971 and the Canadian Action Party in 1997.

He is remembered by many for his eccentric personality, but also for staying true to himself. Richard Alway is the former president of St. Michael's College at University of Toronto. He recalls that in Paul, "There was never any self-doubt. He had a very broad appreciation of his own abilities. He was not what they call a team player and that's what you need in politics. He was the quintessential individualist." Paul's grandson, Josh, recalls that "Canada was the first love of his life. I don't think I've ever met any-

one who loved this country as much as my grandfather did."

Paul held many other interests, writing about 20 books, and spending time in journalism, the business world, investment, and engineering. And in later years his deep religious beliefs turned his attention towards philanthropy. He was also the longest serving Privy Councillor of the Queen at the time of his death.

Paul is survived by his second wife Sandra, and his three children, five grandchildren, and six great-grandchildren.

Hon. Ron Irwin
Oct. 29, 1936 – Dec. 5, 2020

Born in Sault Ste. Marie, the Hon. Ron Irwin would spend his life working for the betterment of his town. After earning his undergraduate degree from the University of Western Ontario he went on to earn a law degree from Osgoode Hall at York.

In 1972, he became mayor of Sault Ste. Marie, after having served as school board trustee and city councillor. In 1975, he was made a member of the Order of Canada.

The Hon. Ron Irwin was elected to Parliament from 1980 to 1984 and then again from 1993 to 1997 as the Liberal MP for Sault Ste. Marie. In 1980 and became parliamentary secretary to Jean Chrétien while the latter was justice minister.

Re-elected in 1993, he was appointed Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. He retired in 1997 and was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Ireland and, later, as Canadian Consul General in Boston.

He always took great pride in being involved in his community and country.

*Hon. Ron Irwin.**Hon. Judith Keating.**Carole Lavallée.***Hon. Judith Keating****May 19, 1957 – July 15, 2021**

The Hon. Judith Keating passed away in Fredericton, New Brunswick at the age of 64.

Judith was appointed to the Senate on January 31, 2020, sitting with the Independent Senators Group. She served in the Senate until her passing. She represented the province of New Brunswick in the Senate and was extremely involved in advocacy surrounding gender equality and indigenous issues. Although a Senator for only a year and a half, her experience and passion for politics extended throughout her entire life.

Judith was looked up to in Parliament. Prime Minister Trudeau expressed his sadness in a statement: “Ms. Keating will be remembered as a distinguished legal and constitutional expert and as a champion for women’s empowerment in the legal profession.”

Senator George Furey, Speaker of the Senate shared his memories, recalling, “Of her many contributions, Senator Keating will be remembered as a tireless advocate for the equal status of the English and French languages in New Brunswick, the equal and just treatment of women in the legal profession and the promotion of indigenous issues in her role as provincial chair of the Working Group on Truth and Reconciliation in New Brunswick.”

Before serving for the federal government, Judith was a senior public servant in the New Brunswick government for over 30 years, joining in 1985 as legislative counsel and later becoming the first female provincial deputy minister of justice and attorney general.

She worked as a chief legal advisor to N.B. premiers of both the Progressive Conservative Party and Liberal Party and chaired the province’s working group on reconciliation with indigenous peoples.

In 2002, Judith was appointed Queen’s Counsel and then in 2015 was honoured with the Muriel Corkery-Ryan Q.C. Award from the Canadian Bar Association’s New Brunswick branch in recognition of her outstanding work in the legal profession.

Judith was a trailblazer as the founder and first president of New Brunswick’s Women in Law in 1993. She was also an extremely well-respected and experienced legal and constitutional expert.

Judith was known to be funny, smart, insightful and her family notes that they will remember her most for her dedication to her family. She is survived by Michael, two children and four grandchildren.

Carole Lavallée**Jan. 23, 1954 – March 26, 2021**

Carole Lavallée, who represented the riding of Saint-Bruno–Saint-Hubert from 2004 to 2011, passed away in Montreal on March 26, 2021.

Carole is remembered as a passionate defender of her community and ideals. Carole was involved with the sovereignist cause for many years, having headed communications for the Parti Québécois prior to being elected to the House of Commons.

Carole’s background outside politics was in communications and journalism. In parliamentary affairs her most notable position was that of vice-chair of the Canadian Heritage Committee. She was

the Bloc’s critic to the Minister of Labour until she was defeated in the 2011 federal election.

Prominent Bloc Québécois politicians have paid tributes to Carole’s career and unique characteristics. Former leader Gilles Duceppe lauded her drive to help others and noted that it is because of her the kindergarten age has been lowered and Bill 23 has been adopted.

Leader of the Bloc Québécois, Yves-François Blanchet, praised Carole’s wit, debate skill and flair.

Following Carole’s political career, she remained engaged in her community by working with the radio station FM 103.3 and serving as a school board president.

Carole is survived by her beloved husband Jean Marc Leclerc, as well as her children, grandchildren and siblings.

Hon. Shirley Martin**Nov. 20, 1932 – Sept. 16, 2021**

On Sept. 16, just 21 days after her husband Jack passed away, Shirley Martin joined him after 69 years of marriage.

She did not grow up in a privileged world, going to work at 14 to help support her widowed mother. Starting as a switchboard operator at Bell, she moved up the corporate ladder while helping Jack run the family farm. After 36 years of service, she retired from Bell and, in 1984, she ran for Parliament as a Progressive Conservative in the riding of Lincoln, Ont. which she represented for the next nine years.

In Parliament, she served first as parliamentary secretary to the minister of Public Works and then elevated to Minister of Transport and later to Minister of State for Indian and Northern Affairs. She is remembered as a warm and get-it-done sort of person.

Former prime minister Brian Mulroney is reported as saying, “What attracted me most, and the reason I decided to put her in the Cabinet, was she was such a people person.

“She knew everything that was going on in her riding and her community but most of all she was a very valued friend and a very effective member of Parliament.

“I have very fond memories of Shirley. I see her in my mind’s eye as we are speaking right now. As I look back on

our time together, I can't recall her ever coming to a meeting or to see me without her glorious smile. She was just a happy person – delighted with her constituency and her family and doing God's work," said Mr. Mulroney.

In her community, Shirley was known as a humanitarian and a successful fundraiser for local causes. In 2006, Shirley was awarded the Senior Achievement Award for her contributions to the community past the age of 65.



Hon. Shirley Martin.



Hon. Elaine McCoy.



Howie Meeker.

Hon. Elaine McCoy

March 7, 1946 – Dec. 29, 2020

Born in Brandon, Man. the Hon. Elaine McCoy was appointed to the Senate for Alberta by Prime Minister Paul Martin in 2005. Growing up, her father's job took the family across the country and even overseas and she eventually ended up in Alberta where she married.

She completed a BA and LLB at the University of Alberta but would spend her working life with TransAlta Utilities.

In 1986, she was elected MLA for Calgary-West and served as the Progressive Conservative member where she was appointed Alberta Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and as Minister of Labour.

In the Senate, she was the founding member and first leader of the Independent Senators Group, later joining the Canadian Senators Group in 2019.

Elaine lived a full life inspired by intellectual curiosity and public service.

Howie Meeker

Nov. 4, 1923 – Nov. 8, 2020

Howie Meeker lives on memory as a Canadian hockey legend, as much for his career in broadcasting as for his time on the ice.

He served two years, from 1951 to 1953, as the Progressive Conservative member of Parliament for Waterloo South while still playing for the Toronto Maple Leafs. But politics was not for him, and he went back to hockey, later becoming the coach of the Leafs. His career then moved to broadcasting where he became the Don Cherry of his time.

He was given the Order of Canada in 2010. He is commemorated in both the Ontario Sports Hall of Fame for his

hockey career, and the Hockey Hall of Fame as a broadcaster. Howie was famous for advising, "Keep your stick on the ice," a phrase that covered a lot of points in life.

He also ran hockey schools in both Canada and the United States and published a book on hockey basics.

Howie became involved in the Special Olympics and was a fundraiser for them in B.C. for 30 years, well into his 90s. He passed away in Nanaimo, B.C., where he spent his last years.

John Mullaly

Nov. 28, 1930 – Feb. 7, 2021

John Mullaly of Halifax, Nova Scotia passed away on February 7, 2021 at the age of 90.

Born in Gowan Brae, P.E.I., John represented the King's riding in the House of Commons as a member of the Liberal Party from 1963 to 1965. He served under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. His riding was later reconfigured in 1968 to become the Cardigan riding of P.E.I. He was known as someone with a deeply gentle and kind soul.

John was extremely dedicated to public service and as such, held many other roles as a public servant. Before moving to Halifax, John was executive assistant to the federal Minister of Environment and director of Federal-Provincial Relations for P.E.I. He also served in the Nova Scotia provincial government.

John held multiple different deputy minister positions, including that of deputy minister for Natural Resources, Municipal Affairs and Fisheries. One of John's former colleagues, Greg Beaulieu, expressed his sadness over John's passing, "Sorry to hear about the passing of

John Mullally. He was my first deputy minister when I joined [Municipal] Affairs in '85 and was a truly fine man." Clearly John had a lasting impact on Greg who still remembered their time together 25 years later.

John was well known as a kind, gracious, humble and honourable man. He loved lifting up those around him with his positive and infectious approach to life. He received his BA from Saint Dunstan's University in 1953. But it was when he retired in 1993, that he truly shone, happy to be able to spend more time with his family, helping them in any way he could. He was also extremely proud of his Irish heritage. John Mullaly is survived by his five children, grandchildren, and great-grandson.

Hon. Robert Peterson

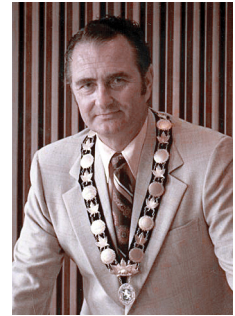
Oct. 19, 1937 – Nov. 5 2020

The Hon. Bob Peterson was born in Rose Valley, Saskatchewan in 1937. He had strong rural roots in his province and shared his pride in the produce grown there whenever the opportunity offered itself.

A graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, Bob was a member of the Association of Professional Engineers and spent over 25 years in that profession. He ultimately became President and CEO of Denro Holdings.

He was appointed as a Liberal Senator by Prime Minister Paul Martin in 2005, where he was a fierce defender of the Canadian Wheat Board.

Bob served on many Senate committees, including the Aboriginal Peoples Committee and on the Energy and Environment Committee. He was a champion for rural citizens in poverty.

*John Mullaly.**Hon. Robert Peterson.**Hon. Gerard Phalen.**Jerry Pickard.**Allan Ernest Pietz.*

He was a lifelong and committed Liberal and was the “go-to” guy in Saskatchewan and a “back-room problem solver”.

Hon. Gerard Phalen

March 28, 1934 – Oct. 25, 2021

The Hon. Gerard “Jigger” Phalen of Glace Bay, Cape Breton passed away on Oct. 25, 2021 at the age of 87.

Gerard was appointed Senator in 2001 by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and sat in the upper house as a Liberal until March 2009. He served on the Committees for Foreign Affairs, Fisheries, Transport and Communications, Aboriginal Peoples and a special committee on Bill C-36.

Before entering the Senate, Gerard was an industrial mechanical instructor at the Nova Scotia Eastern Institute of Technology and then Cape Breton University (CBU) until his retirement in 1991. During his time at CBU, he served as Chairman of the Faculty Association and was a member of the College Council for six years. He also served as Chairman of the Negotiating Committee and was also involved in other committees at the university.

Gerard was well known as a union leader. He served as a board member and then vice-president of the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union (NSGEU) from 1970 to 1976. He was then the president of the NSGEU from 1976 to 1979. Gerard continued his involvement with unions as the vice-president of the Council of Atlantic Provincial Employees and as a board member of the National Union of Provincial Government Employees. From 1995 to 1997 he was a board member with the Nova Scotia Labour Standards Tribunal.

Gerard will be missed by his wife of 63 years, Chrissie, three children Kelly Jane, Nancy and Paul, as well as his grandchildren and great-granddaughter.

Jerry Pickard

Nov. 14, 1940 – July 27, 2021

Reginald “Jerry” Pickard, former member of Parliament for Chatham-Kent-Essex passed away on his 58th wedding anniversary to his wife Caroline (Foex) on July 27, 2021.

Jerry was heavily involved in his community, having been involved with the Chatham Jaycees, the Kingsville Kinsmen Club, Kingsville Lions Club, Chatham Rotary Club and the St. George’s Masonic Lodge. He was also a coach for the local baseball, soccer and chess clubs.

Jerry received a Bachelor of Arts and a master’s in education from the University of Windsor and worked as a teacher.

Jerry’s political career began with his tenure on the Kingsville Town Council, in which he represented constituents as Councillor, Deputy Reeve, and Mayor. He was in municipal politics for 14 years before moving on to federal politics (1974–1988).

Jerry entered the House of Commons in 1988 with the Liberal Party. He served as parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Industry, parliamentary secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (Border Transit) and as parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Jerry also served on various other committees throughout his 18-year parliamentary career (1988–2006).

In 2003, Jerry was appointed to the Privy Council of Canada.

Former Minister Hon. Ralph Goodale remembers, “He was dedicated to his constituents and worked his heart out to faithfully and successfully represent the people he was elected to serve.”

Jerry kept active throughout his retirement by playing softball, bowling, and enjoying other leisure activities throughout the winters in Fort Myers.

He is survived by his grandchildren, children, and his high school sweetheart turned lifelong partner Caroline.

Allan Ernest Pietz

June 18, 1925 – April 24, 2021

Allan Ernest Pietz began his 45-year-long political career when he was 26 years old. He sat on councils in the former Crowland Townships and Welland County before becoming mayor of Welland in 1965. He remained mayor until 1978 and returned to municipal politics in 1981 as a Niagara Regional Councillor for Welland.

Allan ran for federal politics unsuccessfully in 1958, 1962 and 1979. In 1984, he was successful and won the riding of Welland, a seat he held until 1988 with the Conservative Party. But his political career didn’t end there, he again returned to municipal politics in his previous post as Niagara Regional Councillor for Welland in 1991.

Current mayor of Welland, Frank Campion, who worked on Allan’s successful federal campaign said, “He was a bigger-than-life politician in Welland for many years.” (Welland Tribune).

“He was dedicated for Welland. Allan always worked on behalf of the people of Welland and the city. His strength was

his ability to communicate with people. He had that smile, and he was ready to shake your hand. And it was always with sincerity,” said ally and friend, Bob Saracino, the mayor for Port Colborne from 1977 to 1995.

Outside of politics, Allan owned and operated Sunnyside Dairy with his sister Edith for almost 35 years. During his time in municipal politics, he was the morning radio farm reporter for the local radio station CHOW-AM.

Allan was predeceased by his wife Alice and children Paul and Cathy. He will be remembered by grandchildren, friends and family.

Raymond Savard

June 29, 1927 – July 20, 2021

Raymond Savard of Montréal, Quebec passed away on July 20, 2021, at the age of 94.

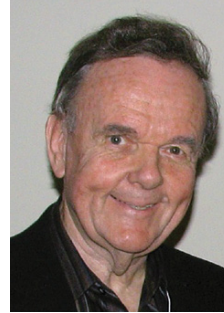
Raymond represented the Verdun riding in the House of Commons as a member of the Liberal Party from 1977 to 1984. He first entered politics through a by-election in 1977, and was re-elected in the 1979 and 1980 federal elections.

Raymond served on several parliamentary committees while in office. He was the parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Public Works (1980–1982). He acted as the chair of the Standing Committee on Labour, Manpower and Immigration in his first term and remained a member of this committee into his second term. He was also a member of the Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills and Standing Orders as well as the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs for three terms. In addition, he was a member of a variety of other Standing Committees over the course of his time in office.

Raymond’s involvement in politics did not stop with the federal government. He served his local government in Verdun for many years, serving as a city councillor between 1973 and 1985 and becoming their mayor between 1985 and 1993. He was extremely invested in his chosen hometown of Verdun, taking leadership roles within local community organizations and clubs. His wide range of skills as a merchant, store owner, stockholder, administrator, businessman, all helped him in his contributions to his community.



Raymond Savard.



Geoff Scott.



Hon. Raymond C. Setlakwe.

The current mayor of Verdun, Jean-Francois Parenteau, expressed his sadness at Raymond’s passing, saying, “The death of Mr. Raymond Savard is a great loss for the Verdun community. Through his vision and his political action, he was a pioneer in the development that Verdun is experiencing today.”

Raymond’s service to his community was unwavering, showing his dedication to family and the betterment of those around him throughout his entire life. He always tried to bring a smile to the faces of his family, friends and community.

He is survived by his wife Lucille, two children, three grandchildren, three great-grandchildren and other family and friends.

Geoff Scott

March 2, 1938 – Aug. 5, 2021

Geoff Scott’s puckish grin and irrepressible sense of humour will long be remembered for the joy and chuckles he brought his friends and colleagues. He passed away on Aug. 5, 2021. He was 83.

Geoff was a journalist. He attended Carleton University to study journalism, where he got to know Rich Little who would become a very famous Canadian comedian. They were two of a kind and even performed together doing vocal impressions.

Geoff was the first journalist to report from Parliament Hill in the 1960s, starting his own company, Geoff Scott Communications, in the 70s. He was active in the Ottawa Beer and Skits, playing the harmonica and performing with the band. He both interviewed and mimicked prime ministers from John Die-

fenbaker and onward. Prior to his parliamentary career, Geoff was president of the Ottawa Press Club.

He became the Progressive Conservative MP in 1978, winning in a byelection. He went on to win four more elections for Hamilton-Wentworth.

An inveterate prankster, Geoff, Svend Robinson and Beryl Gaffney were once expelled from China for “laying flowers for pro-democracy protesters”.

For many years Geoff was our associate editor for Beyond the Hill and he always had the last word in the book, leaving us with a laugh over some anecdote he would pen. His piece was always a highlight in the magazine, leaving us with a good feeling as we closed its pages. We at the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians loved him dearly and will miss his wit and humour. Beyond the Hill will not seem the same without him, either.

After he left politics, Geoff went back to journalism and even had a radio show on CMHL radio and was a frequent commentator on the local television station.

He left behind his wife Janette, his dearest companion of many years.

Hon. Raymond C. Setlakwe

July 3, 1928 – Oct. 14, 2021

Thetford Mines lost an important citizen on Oct. 14, 2021, with the passing of former Senator Raymond Setlakwe. A lawyer by training at Laval University, he dedicated his life to the family business, A. Setlakwe Limited, which opened its doors back in 1925.

In his business life, Raymond was known to be a warm and caring busi-



Marcel R. Tremblay.



John Barry Turner.

nessman by his customer and business associates, a trait he passed on down to the way he treated his employees. He was also passionate about golf and loved skiing. His community life was marked by acts of charity, and he was instrumental in helping many immigrants.

Raymond was a lifelong Liberal, very passionate about and engaged in politics. He was awarded the Order of Canada in 1996 and was appointed Senator in 2000. He took an interest in Armenia, the land of his forefathers. In 2016, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec awarded him the Medal for Exceptional Merit.

He married Yvette Bourque, who became his greatest companion and partner in all things. Together they raised four children.

Raymond and Yvette were very active in the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, always willing to engage in whatever adventure was on the horizon. He was much loved for his sense of humour and engaging personality. His favourite line was, "Did I ever tell you that you are my last best friend that I have in the world?" He would say this with great sincerity leaving the listener with a rush of warmth and laughter.

Raymond will be very much missed by his colleagues, friends, and family, and most of all by his true best friend, Yvette.

Marcel R. Tremblay

March 30, 1943 – April 21, 2021

Marcel R. Tremblay was born in L'Ange-Gardien, Que. on March 30, 1943. After graduating from Laval University with a bachelor's degree in Commerce (1966) and a master's degree in Accounting (1967), Marcel worked as

an advisor with Price Waterhouse in Montreal and later in Quebec. Afterward, he was a member, co-founder and shareholder of Group Solaris. He was a director of finances and controller of the Industrial Research Center of Quebec and then became vice-president director general of a manufacturing company. In 1994, Marcel founded and directed a commercial firm.

Marcel left the firm for the House of Commons, serving as MP for Quebec-East from 1984 to 1993 with the Progressive Conservative Party. During his time on the Hill, Marcel took on numerous roles including: parliamentary secretary to the President of the Privy Council (1993), parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada (1993), parliamentary secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister (1993), parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Finance (1993), parliamentary secretary to the Minister of State (1991–1993), parliamentary secretary to the Deputy Leader of the Government in the House of Commons (1991–1993) and parliamentary secretary to the Minister of State (1991–1993).

After leaving the House, Marcel eventually returned to Quebec City to be closer to his family and founded a center of development for businesses, mergers and acquisitions of companies, strategic alliances and private financing, under the corporate name Le Groupe Marcel R. Tremblay Inc.

Marcel sat on numerous boards of directors, including as a member of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians. He sat at the CAFP executive committee as finance chair and on

the board of directors of the Quebec Metropolitan Chamber of Trade and Industry. He acted as vice-president of La Société Grand Village, president of the Rotary Club of Quebec from 1997 to 1998 and was awarded the Paul Harris Fellow by the Rotary Foundation in 2003 and 2010.

Marcel is survived by his wife Martine Bougie and his children Lissia C. (Claude Drapeau) and David R. (Mylène Levesque) and grandchildren.

John Barry Turner

April 11, 1946 – Oct. 20, 2021

J. Barry Turner of Ottawa passed away on Oct. 20, 2021 at the age of 75.

Barry was elected to the House of Commons in the 1984 election for one term under PM Mulroney's government. He represented the Ottawa-Carleton district with the Progressive Conservative Party, a traditional Liberal riding formerly held by John Turner, which Barry won in the 1984 Progressive Conservative sweep.

Barry spent most of his life in one type of public service or another. After his parliamentary term, he was appointed to the Public Service Staff Relations Board as an arbitrator. He later became Director of Government Relations for Ducks Unlimited Canada.

Before Parliament, Barry learned how to speak Swahili while working for the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) where he was a Game Warden in the Mkomazi Game Reserve located in northern Tanzania, East Africa. Based on his experiences and adventures, Barry wrote the book, *From the Plains of Africa to the Jungles of Parliament*.

He served as Chairman of the Board with the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario.

Barry also made an outstanding contribution to the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, which he served as the chairman, president and CEO during the early years after the Association was formally acknowledged by Parliament in 1996 in a bill (C-275) passed on May 9 of that year. (CAFP was founded based on a proposal presented by James McGrath and John Reid was the founding chair).

Barry is remembered by his colleagues as a warm and gentle man.



Hon. Bill Blaikie.

Around the world with friends on the other side

By Hon. Bill Blaikie

Bill Blaikie has graciously agreed to fill the pages previously occupied by our colleague Geoff Scott for many years. We will miss Geoff, but we welcome Bill who has a raft of memories to share after spending 36 years as a member of Parliament.

Parliamentary travel abroad is often the source of great memories for former MPs. This is certainly true for me. Over almost 30 years as an MP I had many such opportunities and have many stories I could tell. One of my favourite sources of such stories took place in the spring of 1984, when a delegation from the Canadian Parliament visited India as the guest of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Speaker Ram Jarak. The Lok Sabha is the Lower House in India's Bicameral Parliament.

It had been a busy time for me before the trip. As NDP Health Critic I had been preoccupied for months with the legislative process that finally led to the passage of the Canada Health Act, and I was ready for a diversion. My wife Brenda missed the trip as she thought it best that she not travel. She was pregnant with our son Daniel, the future MP for Elmwood-Transcona.

The visit to India had many highlights, and many interesting meetings, not the least of which was a meeting with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. We had been warned that the meeting would be either very brief or very long, depending on her mood. As it turned out she was up for a long meeting. As the only New Democrat I was low man on the totem pole and got to ask her a question right near the end. All the

predictable questions had been asked including questions about tensions in Punjab, tensions which would ultimately lead to her assassination in October of that year. In any event, 1984 was the year of the movie Gandhi so I asked her what she thought of the movie. We were treated to an extensive but sympathetic critique of the movie as well as some personal recollections of her relationship with him as a teenager. She remarked that he had turned out to be right about a few things they disagreed about at the time.

On the way home from India, we flew from Mumbai to London. By the time I got home I had circumnavigated the globe. Winnipeg to Vancouver, Vancouver to Hong Kong, Hong Kong to New Delhi, Mumbai to London and back to Canada. In London we were at a dinner hosted for us by the Canadian High Commissioner Don Jamieson, a former Liberal cabinet minister who was from Newfoundland. At the end of the formal dinner, Jamieson asked the two Newfoundlanders in the delegation, MP John Crosbie and Senator Bill Doody, up to another room for a night cap. Doody suggested that I should join them, and I did.

Bill Doody had been a member of the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly from 1971 to 1979. He lost a leadership race to Brian Peckford and was appointed to the Senate that same year by Prime Minister Joe Clark. I had spent the two weeks in India being driven around in the same car as Doody and his wife Doreen. It was a memorable experience, as was listening to the three veteran Newfoundland politicians swap political stories from

years gone by. The stories about the Joey Smallwood era were especially interesting. It was an education. I hardly said a word.

As an aside, in 1979 I had one of my first open line radio show experiences on a trip to Newfoundland. The radio host was Basil Jamieson, brother of Don Jamieson. I was in Corner Brook, Newfoundland to speak at an event for Fouse Faour, an NDP MP who had been elected in a by-election in October 1978 and re-elected in the general election of 1979. Fouse was a lawyer. He was defeated in February 1980 by another Newfoundland radio personality, Brian Tobin, who would become Premier in 1996.

Senator Doody and his wife Doreen would remain friends for many years thereafter. I particularly remember their kindness to our youngest daughter, when we met at summer CPA gatherings in various provinces.

At the end of the day, some of the best parliamentary memories are memories of time spent with people from other parties in a context removed from the daily adversarial realities of the House or Senate. But they aren't just nice memories. They are reminders of the importance of times in which we experienced the humanity of our political opponents, something essential to a healthy democracy.

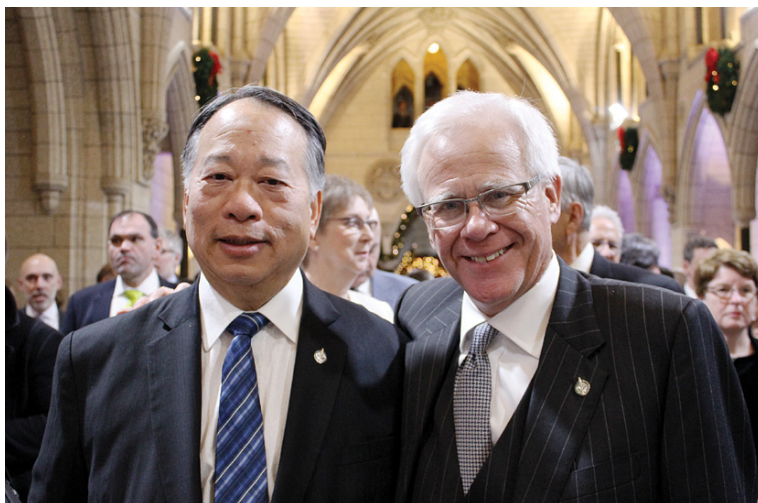
Parliamentary travel is not just a "perk" in the pejorative sense. At its best it is part of the process of creating a better parliamentary culture.

The Hon. Bill Blaikie served as a New Democratic Party MP for the riding variously known as Winnipeg-Birds Hill, Winnipeg-Transcona, Transcona-Elmwood and Elmwood from 1979-2015.

Remembering the good times B.C. (Before COVID-19)



Andrée Allen, Hon. Jean Charest and Hélène Tremblay.



Chungsen Leung and Bob Dechart on Parliament Hill and Holiday Reception.



Marcel Tremblay, Yvon Côté, Jean-Guy Guilbault, Gabriel Fontaine and Lise Bourgault at a reception.



Hon. Vim Kochbar and Hon. Audrey McLaughlin at Study Tour in Turkey.



John and Julia Murphy at Regional Meeting in Muskoka.



Study Tour in Turkey.

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Parliament to Campus seeks to bring former parliamentarians, either in person or by using virtual technology, to university campuses to speak to university students. During a Parliament to Campus session, a former parliamentarian shares their insights and experience of serving in elected office. If you would like to participate, please send us an email at exparl@parl.gc.ca

The combined knowledge and experience of former parliamentarians is significant—and valuable. By joining the association and volunteering to participate in our Parliament to Campus Program, you can share your expertise and work to build and improve the mechanisms of democracy.