



SUMMER 2022

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

**Study tour to
the Caribbean**

**Musical members
on the Hill**

**A brief history
of political parties
in Canada**

**Collaboration
in the House**

2021 Holiday Reception



Benoit Raymond, Isabelle Chénier, Hon. John Reid and Keith Penner.



Ron Catterall and Marlene Catterall, the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell and Dorothy Dobbie.



Benoit Raymond, Mark Fraser, Anthony Merchant, Hon. Pana Merchant, Gina Hartmann, Bernadette Salama and Léo Duguay.



Matthew Dubé and Hon. Gar Knutson.



Dorothy Dobbie, Chungsen Leung and Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell.



Retiring staff member, Céline Brazeau-Frazer; her replacement Isabelle Chénier, and Susan Simms.

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 18, Issue No. 1

Summer 2022

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Charlette Duguay photographing a historic church from the Parliament Building in Barbados.

Cover photo by Dorothy Dobbie.

Editor-in-Chief

Dorothy Dobbie

Assistant Editor

Gina Gill Hartmann

Editorial Interns

Ty Bradley, Hannah Judelson-Kelly

Editorial Board

Hon. Herb Breau, Dorothy Dobbie,
Hon. Peter Kent, Derrek Konrad,
Arnold Malone, Hon. Frank Oberle
and Hon. John Reid.

Editorial Board Emeriti

Hon. Jim Fleming, Claudy Lynch,
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Contributors

Hon. Bill Blaikie, Dorothy Dobbie,
Arnold Malone, Hon. Frank Oberle,
Hon. Joe Volpe

Production Assistants

Isabelle Chénier, Carina Legault-Meek,
Susan Simms, Karl Thomsen

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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 CAFPP 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.



Become an active member of CAFPP... and realize the benefits of life after Parliament

Please visit our website <https://www.parl.ca> to pay or renew your membership.

CAFP brings former parliamentarians together with:

- An Annual General Meeting (AGM) in Ottawa
- A Regional Meeting each year (September 2022 in Winnipeg)
- Study Tours (March 2022 to the islands of Saint Martin & Barbados and November 2022 to Taiwan)
- Receptions, podcasts and Zoom panel discussions

CAFP celebrates former parliamentarians with two peer-selected honours:

- The Distinguished Service Award, usually conferred at each AGM
- The Lifetime Achievement Award, conferred at a gala dinner

Each year we organize a solemn Memorial Service to commemorate the public service of our recently deceased.

We help former parliamentarians stay in touch, via:

- Our website, www.exparl.ca
- Beyond the Hill, CAFPP's full-colour magazine
- Database of former members, discretely managed and available to others on a confidential basis, by email at exparl@parl.gc.ca or by calling the CAFPP office, toll free 1-888-567-4764 or 613-947-1690

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- A group auto and home insurance plan available through Co-operators; 1-800-387-1963. Mention that you are a CAFPP member for preferred rates.
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We arrange opportunities for our members to continue to serve the cause of democracy, by speaking in universities, participating in election observer missions, and other activities.

There's life after Parliament.
Join us to find out more!



Dorothy Dobbie.

Report from the President

What's up at your Association!

By Dorothy Dobbie

The past six months have been eventful, given the starts and stops of the pandemic restrictions. For example, the study tour to Saint Martin originally planned for February was postponed until late March due to the pandemic. That meant some people had to cancel and, indeed, two of the participants got COVID-19 and couldn't go till much later.

Meanwhile, we have become concerned about the plight of parliamentary women who have been left behind in Afghanistan. Our vice-president, Eleni Bakopanos, now supported by the Hon. Maryam Monsef and most recently with the help of current Senator Marilou McPhedran, and former Quebec MNAs Marie Malavoy and France Dion, have been looking into ways to make it a departmental priority to get more of these MPs out of Afghanistan. It is difficult due to the concerns over Ukrainian refugees, but we feel a great obligation to the women in Afghanistan. After all, these women followed our lead in taking on a role that exposes them to great danger since the U.S. and Canada pulled out of their country.

If this matters to you, and I hope it does, please contact Eleni and offer your help. We can use our network and influence to build support for their cause.

As in the past, I remain preoccupied with the health of the Association. We are in the midst of trying to convince Parliament to better fund CAFPP so that we can do more to preserve and promote democracy and to better fulfil our legislated mandate. Today, democracies everywhere are feeling a sense of urgency about the fragility of our free world. To my



After a two year short hiatus, study tours resumed earlier this year with a trip to the Caribbean.

mind, our role as former parliamentarians has never been more important. I will keep you posted.

In December, we welcomed Isabelle Chénier who has replaced Céline Brazeau-Fraser. Many of you will have met Isabelle remotely and I am sure you have found her to be very helpful and cheerful in her work. Carina Legault-Meek has continued to support us part time.

We have started something new; an ongoing podcast on a wide range of topics. The first one can be viewed at <https://exparl.ca/news/podcast-between-4-former-parliamentarians/>. The guests are three former hockey players: Léo Duguay, Hec Clouthier, and Paul DeVilliers. The topic was how did your hockey experience influence your time on the Hill? The answers are interesting, and these three lively guests did a great job of both entertaining and informing us.

Léo Duguay has agreed to take on the task of creating a French show

and he will also host some of the English shows.

The ultimate purpose of the podcasts is to provide a learning opportunity for would-be MPs and Senators and for anyone who has an interest in public policy and history. The podcast is just one more opportunity to promote former members, who really are the keepers of our democracy and its corporate memory. The collegiality of the broadcast illustrates how well members really get along.

My plan is to include a mix of the fun and the serious. Future shows will include a look at China and what motivates this country: What happens when you win; how do new MPs assimilate? What happens when you lose; what are the traumas to be expected? A look at the Hill experiences of some of our Indigenous members; were the experiences good or could there be improvements? Immigrant MPs and how they fared; how hard is it to adjust to a new world and become a leader? Playing together; Hill songsters, bands and other groups.

There are literally hundreds of ideas, and I would love to hear from anyone interested in being a guest on the podcast and the topic you think would be worthwhile.

I would like to include a mix of political backgrounds and, from time to time, have sitting MPs or senators also guest on the show.

Thank you for your continued support. I am always pleased to hear from you with your ideas and suggestions. Remember, if you haven't formally joined the Association (the magazine goes to all Formers for whom we have addresses), please join today: <https://exparl.ca/who-we-are/membership/>

Dorothy Dobbie
President

Study tour to the islands of Saint Martin and Barbados

By Dorothy Dobbie

After a two-year hiatus, thanks to COVID-19, members of CAFP, thanks to Léo Duguay, finally had an opportunity to visit some foreign soil and discover the real story behind the governance of the three countries we visited. We met with parliamentarians, diplomats and local business. It was quite revealing.

Saint Martin and Sint Maarten

We began with a six-day visit to the tiny Island of Saint Martin where two separate countries, the French Saint Martin and the Dutch Sint Maarten, exist side by side on 78 sq. km (34 sq. miles). Compare this to Canada's smallest province, PEI, at 6,586 sq. km (2,195 sq. miles), and you have some sense of the scale. This is a tiny Island with a permanent population of about 611 people per sq. km, a number which swells in tourism season.

Both the airport and the seaport are on the Dutch side of the Island, but we stayed on the French side. Although two distinct countries, there are no physical barriers for travel between the two. However, there are two separate currencies, so it is easiest to simply bring U.S. dollars which are accepted pretty well everywhere.

We visited the Parliament of Sint Maarten, which has 15 members and a multitude of parties known locally as "factions". In 2010, the country's relationship with the Netherlands changed so that the country is now autonomous with a mother country relationship that is somewhat stronger than that between Canada and Britain.

This is a unicameral system with a complicated executive branch of government. Elections are to be held every four years, but there has been an election every two years since 2014. Currently a coalition of centre left (six members) and centre right (five members) is in power. There is a scattering of other "factions" in the coalition



The delegation poses in front of the hotel lobby the first day on Saint Martin, where we stayed on the French side of the island. Charlette Duguay, Matt DeCoursey, our bus driver, Léo Duguay, Dorothy Dobbie, Ken Hughes, Denise Hughes, Judy Saxby, Hon. Maryam Monsef and Chungsen Leung. Susan Simms was behind the camera.

and only two opposing members. The governance rules are complicated, and we did not get a clear answer as to who constitutes the "government" and how "ministers" are chosen. Ministers are not chosen from the 15 elected MPs.

On the business front, we were delighted to meet, among others, with René Lépin a locally based Canadian developer whose father built the Olympic Village in Montreal. His brother is a well-known Ottawa developer running the family business, Groupe Lépin. We had a truly spectacular dinner with the very busy vol-

unteer Canadian Consul Pierre DeCelles and wife, Micheline DeCelles that evening.

On the French side of the Island, elections were in progress. We were invited to visit a polling station where we met Louis Mussington, the man who was the next day elected "President" of the "collectivity" government. Elections here are held every five years to choose the 23 members who make up the territorial council. Their relationship with France is closer than that of their Dutch counterparts with the Netherlands. They are still viewed as a colony and, indeed,



The delegation at the Sint Maarten Parliament on the left, with the Sint Maarten MPs on the right.



Saint Martin and Sint Maarten Canadian Consul Pierre DeCelles.



Marcel Gumbs, Past President of Saint Martin, with Dorothy.



Ken Hughes, Barbados President of the Senate, Reginald Farley and Léo Duguay.

are part of the European Union.

We also spent a day in Saint Barthélemy, St. Barts, as it is known by most, a small island 35 km southeast.

It is one of the world destinations for the very wealthy. The harbour was teeming with yachts.

On board the ferry, we met Sint Maarten's past president Marcel Gumbs, as well as his daughter, MP Melissa Gumbs and Raeyhon Peterson of the Party for Progress, the opposing "faction" of two in the parliament.

Barbados

The second leg of our journey took us to Barbados which has recently declared itself a republic, independent of Britain. We were surprised to learn that the country still considers itself as part of the Commonwealth. Its MPs were very proud to have Prince Charles take part in their official ceremonies this past year.

We spent the better part of a day with the Bajan parliamentarians. The very popular prime minister, Mia Mottley, was out of the country so we were entertained by the deputy prime minister, Santia Bradshaw, and Senate president, Reginald Farley. The island is divided into 30 ridings, which recently elected a labour government in a second landslide. There is currently no Opposing member in parliament.

The Canadian banking system figures largely in all three countries we visited, but in Barbados, our banks are very active although highly regulated, creating some disincentives for business to establish on the island. Nevertheless, the Canadian presence is large here, particularly in financial institutions.

Bajans have a very warm feeling for Canada and Canadians are among the top tourists. Our High Commissioner, Lilian Chatterjee, is stationed

there, overseeing 13 Caribbean countries for our Barbados embassy. We spent a pleasant visit with her chatting about our mutual interests.

These study tours are an important part of the role of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians. Former members have an opportunity to often reconnect with colleagues of the past and to leave the country being visited with a sense that even as individuals, they are still important to Canada.

Members pay their own way, a good thing, but unfortunate for those who cannot afford the expense. It does limit access to some.

It is our goal to travel next to Taiwan, arranged by Chungsen Leung who was born there. We hope many of you will be with us, however, the number of places is limited so keep your eye on our Facebook page for details when they have been confirmed.



Nigel Jones, Clerk of the Barbados Parliament, with Dorothy Dobbie.



Santia Bradshaw, Deputy Prime Minister of the Barbados Parliament, with Chungsen Leung.



Hon. Maryam Monsef and Beverly Gibbons.



Léo Duguay and Carmel Haynes, of Barbados International Business Association.



Visiting the Sint Maarten Parliament.



Léo Duguay is interviewed at a polling station in Saint Martin on the eve of the election that voted out our host as president.



Breakfast meeting with the business leaders of Saint Martin.



Denise Hughes and Charlette Duguay.



Dinner with Canadian Consul Pierre DeCelles (upper right).



Speaking with new Saint Martin President Louis Mussington (left).



A visit to the Barbados parliamentary restaurant.



Visiting H.E. Lilian Chatterjee, High Commissioner of Canada in Barbados (font centre in green and blue dress).



Palm outside the hotel lobby in Saint Martin.



A street in St. Barts.



This little fellow posed prettily for his photograph.

Celebrating 100 years of women MPs

Story by Gina Gill Hartmann, photos by Tamam Ahmed Jama



CAFP president Dorothy Dobbie (right) poses with the former and current senators and MPs who were at her table. Thanks to Hon. Marilou McPhedran (centre back row in blue) for bringing this group together for the photo.

On December 6, 1921, Agnes Macphail was the first woman MP elected in Canada. A 100 years later, Equal Voice and the Equal Voice Foundation celebrated this historic anniversary and the accomplishments and milestones of women throughout the past century.

Equal Voice is a multi-partisan organization dedicated to the election of more women in all levels of political office in Canada.

During the day, the public gathered at an Equal Voice event in Ottawa and across Canada via livestream as current and former MPs shared their experiences and wisdom.

The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians was proud to join attendees to celebrate this great milestone in Canada.

Many former women parliamentarians came forward to share their experiences on the hill and talked inspiringly about their achievements, lessons learned, boundaries faced and challenges accepted. Speakers included: Canada's first female prime minister, The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, Hon. Jean Augustine, Hon. Eleni Bakopanos, Nancy Karetak-Lindell, Laurin Liu, Rechi Valdez and Salma Zahid.

In the evening the Equal Voice Foundation hosted a celebratory gala attended by 750 people (the maximum given COVID-19 capacity limits). The Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and all federal party leaders attended as well as eight Ministers, 62 MPs, 14 Senators, four Ambassadors, and numerous elected officials from other lev-

els of government and former MPs.

Speakers at the reception included Hon. Marci Ien, Minister for Women and Gender Equality and Youth; Hon. Erin O'Toole, Leader of the Official Opposition; Yves-François Blanchet, Leader of the Bloc Québécois; Jagmeet Singh, Leader of the NDP; Amita Kutter, Interim Leader of the Green Party.

At the gala dinner, Althia Raj was the Master of Ceremonies. Speakers included: Shirley Tolley, Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council's Women's Representative; Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell and Hon. Chrystia Freeland, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

We are very proud that CAFP vice president, Hon. Eleni Bakopanos, was the outgoing president of Equal Voice at this event.



The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell was the keynote speaker.



Shirley Tolley, Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council's Women's Representative.



Hon. Marci Ien, Minister for Women and Gender Equality and Youth.



Some of the luminous women who attended the dinner.



Hon. Chrystia Freeland, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.



Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau.



Althia Raj was the Master of Ceremonies.



Hon. Erin O'Toole.

Pier 21 offered a warm welcome to many immigrants such as former Senator Con Di Nino

By Gina Gill Hartman

Pier 21 in Halifax was the first place many people put their feet on Canadian soil. In 1951, it was thus for the Hon. Consiglio Di Nino, Con to his many friends.

“For some people, Pier 21 built Canada. I think there are very few who wouldn’t agree with me that coming to this wonderful place called Canada has been a life changing experience. This country has become the envy of the world because of its open-door policy of saying ‘Come and join us to build Canada,’” said the former Senator.

When Con first stepped off the SS NEA Hellas, which departed from Naples, he was just 13 years old. He remembers that the weather was “quite strange” that day, much different from his hometown of Pratola Peligna in the Abruzzo district of Italy, but he didn’t realize the significance of the journey until long after they had settled into their new home in Canada.

“For me, the boat and trip were an adventure. I was a young boy. There was this feeling of excitement and anticipation. But looking back, I realize that it wasn’t an easy thing to come to Canada. We had very little when we arrived. Once we were settled, we shared a room. You did whatever job you could get. It wasn’t until I was about 17 when I heard my parents crying about how to buy food that I understood. So, I quit school in grade ten.”

Con never let his departure from school define his future success. In 1955, he started work as a messenger boy at what was then called the Dominion Bank now known as TD. Through hard work and determination, he managed to improve his education and eventually moved up in the bank. Twenty-two years later, in 1979, he founded the Cabot Trust



The passport photo of 13 year old Hon. Consiglio Di Nino (with his mother) when he arrived at Pier 21 in 1951.

Company before Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed him to the Senate.

Aside from school, Con faced other hurdles upon his arrival to Canada. It was not long after the end of WWII. Italians had been declared enemy aliens during the war. Con and his family lived in the neighbourhood of Parkdale in Toronto, which was where, he said, “all of the DPs gathered.” DP stood for ‘displaced persons’, which was a pejorative term at the time. Young Italian men were easy targets in the area. Con was no pushover, though.

“I got beat up more than a few times, so my friends and I decided to

start a baseball team so we could walk around with bats and not be questioned by police,” Con said. “The bats were for self-protection.”

Emotions left over from the war were still raw. His second or third day in Canada, Con and an Italian friend were walking down the street and a woman shouted at them. Con couldn’t understand what she was saying but learned later that she said they were responsible for killing her son.

“When I thought back to it later and I could finally understand what she actually meant, I cried. Her son had obviously died in the war. She wasn’t blaming me for killing her son, she was blaming the war. We should



Hon. Consiglio Di Nino (3rd from left) revisits Pier 21 with friends and family on the 70th anniversary of his arrival.

never assess or evaluate anyone because of the actions of a small minority.”

Among the new arrivals the day that Con and his family arrived at Pier 21, was 10-year-old Joseph Tanzola. “We were friends for about fifty years before we learned that we arrived here on the same boat!” explained Con.

“At a get-together someone asked me what year I came to Canada. I said 1951. Joseph, whom I had met in the early 1960s, turned to me and asked, ‘What month?’ and I said, ‘August’. We suddenly realized that we had arrived in Canada together. We had also both come to Toronto. I probably saw him, but I never knew who he was. We met about ten years after we arrived. Our wives became good friends. We were neighbours who saw each other frequently.”

Con and his parents almost did not settle in Toronto. After being away from his family for ten years in the war, and being a prisoner of the war, Con’s father wanted to find a country where there was no battle. He looked at Australia as well as Canada but chose the latter because his sister lived in Sydney, Nova Scotia. The final de-

Pier 21

Pier 21 served as the ocean liner terminal and immigration shed from 1928 until 1971 when the last of the immigration sheds was closed. It re-opened as an independently run museum in 1999 and operated that way until its ultimate dedication as a national museum in 2011.

Pier 21 is only the second national museum to be located outside Ottawa. In 2008, legislation was passed to develop the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg. With this precedent, it was hard to justify any further delay in the national museum designation of Pier 21. Prime Minister Stephen Harper made the announcement of intent on June 25, 2009.

cision to move to Toronto rested on the fact that Con’s uncle lived there.

Con and Tanzola returned to Pier 21 on the 70th anniversary of their landing. They were joined by former Senator Don Oliver and his wife

Linda. “They came and spent most of the day with us. We are good friends, and we did a lot of things together in the Senate, particularly in the areas of fundamental rights and freedoms. We supported each other.”

The Pier 21 building is now the Canadian Museum of Immigration.

“While I was in Parliament, I was active in helping commemorate Pier 21. It had been suggested years before that it be made a national museum. At the time, there were no national museums outside Ottawa and the idea was met with great resistance,” said Con. “We were finally successful in getting the legislation passed to make Pier 21 a national museum in 2011.”

Pier 21 has welcomed families into Canada, like lifelong friends Con and Joseph who voyaged here after the war with their families ready to start a life. It was also a welcoming space for friends and former parliamentarians like Con and Don to come together and celebrate a significant part of Canada.

For many Canadians, Pier 21 will always represent the welcoming arms of Canada that helped create the foundation of our country.

Collaboration in Parliament from the female point of view

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

In a world where political systems seem increasingly polarizing and populations tend to have steadfast and unchanging beliefs, the concept of cross-party collaboration seems elusive in political systems. Caucus meetings and Question Period, while crucial to democracy, are also times when partisanship is heavily encouraged. And yet no matter how partisan politics is, there will always be sources for collaboration. Three women weighed in on their opinions regarding cross-party collaboration and their own personal experiences as both a politician and a woman: the Hon. Marie-P. Charette-Poulin, Liberal Senator from 1995 until 2015, Lynn McDonald, NDP member of Parliament from 1982 until 1988, and the Hon. Mary Collins, Progressive Conservative member of Parliament between 1984 and 1993.

The frequent sources of collaboration mentioned by all three women were the opportunities presented for working across party lines during committee meetings. In this setting, politicians find themselves out of the spotlight, and focussed on specific studies and lines of questioning which more easily opens up the floor up to finding common ground.

“The opportunities in committee work were precious to cross-party collaboration. This is where politicians learn how to cooperate with other parties,” explained Marie Poulin. Lines of questioning often overlapped between parties as committee members share the same goals of uncovering a truth or completing a study rather than fighting each other.

Section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was a particularly notable moment of collaboration for Mary Collins: the committee travelled across the country to hear input from Canadians on this equal rights legislation described she described as an instance where parties came together to represent

and ask questions of their country. The atmosphere was simply more open and friendly for collaboration explained Lynn McDonald.

While majority government hands much of the power in Parliament to one single party for decisions, minority governments can force collaboration between parties as bills, in order to pass, must be backed by a majority of politicians in both houses and thus by representatives from more than one party. There are simply more opportunities for negotiation in a minority government explained both Lynn and Marie.

Lynn McDonald herself introduced a private member’s bill, the Non-Smoker’s Health Act, which passed in 1988 and was heavily reliant on support from other parties. “It was during a Progressive Conservative majority government that this bill was introduced, and it was brought forward under the explanation that it was a health rather than a smoking issue,” recalled McDonald. “Arnold Malone and Paul McCrossan were both extremely active advocates for the bill within the Progressive Conservative caucus itself,” she went on, explaining that it was this support from the Progressive Conservatives that contributed to the bill’s success. And civil society’s support as well helped put pressure on those in power to view the bill favourably. As a member of Parliament at the time as well, Mary Collins also recalled this bill as a crucial moment in cross-party collaboration. Because private members bills are brought forward by one person only, the partisanship often associated with parties is skirted, providing the potential for more collaboration.

In addition to these examples, Marie Poulin’s experience in the Liberal caucus informed her understanding of cross-party collaboration. “Cross-caucus collaboration must happen first in order for legislation to even

be introduced,” she explained. Even within parties, opinions differ, for example between rural and urban politicians, which means that collaboration within the party itself must be present first, before collaboration between parties can even be brought to the table. What goes on behind the scenes is just as important when reaching across the aisle as the act itself.

As all three women made clear, female politicians, just like any other, represent their party and caucus within the political sphere, making them no less naturally prone to collaboration than others in their experience. There is one exception: addressing women’s issues in Parliament. One thing that all female politicians have is their experience in society as a woman. That can make them more inclined to support gender issues in Parliament regardless of their party.

“The All-Party Women’s Caucus dealt more with issues around women such as women’s access to washrooms, safety issues for women, and language in the House,” explained Mary Collins. Here it was the mutual experience of being a woman that brought these female politicians together in unity. Mary herself was the minister responsible for the Status of Women for a time, directly dealing with women’s issues, but what was clear in all three interviews was the mutual understanding of what it means to be a woman in Parliament.

The Hon. Marie-P. Charette-Poulin served as a Senator for the province of Ontario on behalf of the Liberal Party between 1995 and 2015. Lynn McDonald served as a Member of Parliament for Broadview-Greenwood on behalf of the New Democratic Party between 1982 and 1988. Hon. Mary Collins served as a Member of Parliament for Capilano and Capilano-Howe Sound on behalf of the Progressive Conservative Party between 1984 and 1993.

A brief look back at political parties in Canada

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

In Canada, various political philosophies and preferences are represented through big tent parties, each of whom approach politics and legislation slightly differently. Each of these parties has been through many iterations with ideas and philosophies fluctuating, and with groups rising and joining forces, then drifting apart, and then merging with fragments of former parties. Currently, there are 23 registered parties in Canada but only five have seats in the House of Commons.

Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, belonged to the Conservative Party of Canada (at that time known as the Liberal-Conservative Party). It was officially founded in 1867 at the inception of Canada's current governing system. However, the party's origins date back to 1854 in the pre-Confederation coalition government which went on to establish Canada's first formal government in 1867. This version of the Conservative Party went through multiple iterations including the Unionist Party and a reversion to the Liberal-Conservative Party. In 1942, the party started its evolution into what became known as the Progressive Conservative Party, a transition that reinvigorated the party, electing several governments, including two back to back majorities led by Brian Mulroney. This party was almost wiped out in 1993 when it went from Government to just two seats, thanks to the emergence of the right-wing Reform Party. In 2003, under the leadership of Stephen Harper, the Progressive Conservative party merged with the Canadian Alliance (the renamed Reform Party) to become the Conservative Party of Canada.

The Liberal Party of Canada finds its roots in "The Reformers" throughout the 19th century, united in their rejection of the ruling class theory. Led by Louis-Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada and William Lyon Mackenzie King in Upper Canada,



The five Canadian political parties that have won seats in the House of Commons.

The Reformers continued to push back against those in power throughout the first half of the century. Finally in 1867, after some failed attempts at combining, the Reform (or Liberal) Party of Mackenzie, Blake and Laurier was officially formed, opposing the Liberal-Conservative Party of the time. Wilfrid Laurier was an extremely important figure in the Liberal Party; Prime Minister between 1896 and 1911, he rapidly advanced the popularity of the party and spread the theories of liberalism more widely around the country. William Lyon Mackenzie King was the next historical figure of the party, leading it for 29 years and Prime Minister for 21 years including during the 1920s, the Depression and World War Two. The rest of the 20th century saw the Liberals periodically in power for long stretches before 1984 when the Progressive Conservatives took over for almost a decade. In 2006 the Liberals suffered such a loss that it took them until 2015 to regain traction, now the party is in power with a minority government.

The much newer party of the New Democrats (NDP) was founded in

1961 out of the old CCF Party (The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), a coalition of socialists, labour groups and farmers. Its first leader was Tommy Douglas. The NDP is still largely recognized as a socialist party. While it had various leaders throughout the 20th century, Jack Layton's leadership of the NDP led them to become the Official Opposition in 2011, their highest achievement on election day to date, winning 103 seats. While their popularity has dropped since, they remain one of Canada's main four parties.

The Bloc Québécois, like the NDP, is not quite as large as the Liberals and Conservatives but was founded in 1991 with the very specific purpose of gaining independence and sovereignty for Quebec from the rest of Canada. Their immense popularity in Quebec and its francophone ridings has led them to become the Official Opposition between 1993 and 1997 and they continue to find success in Quebec. While the Quebec Referendum in 1995 occurred on the provincial level, the Bloc Québécois certainly invested themselves in this due to its alignment with their own party's platform.

Canada also has a rich history of independent parties with the most current being the Green Party. Founded in 1983 to advocate for the environment and conservation of natural resources at the federal level, hoping to replace the left-right discourse. Elizabeth May in 2011 became the party's first Member of Parliament, marking a historical achievement. They currently hold two seats.

Canada's political party history is clearly rich and is filled with many ups and downs. But what remains true is that real democratic discourse is marked by having a variety of voices at the table to discuss the well-being of the country and represent constituents. And with such diverse parties, Canada certainly has plenty of advocates in Parliament.

Former Parliamentarian Co-Chairs of the Coalition for a Better Future show how the non-partisanship of Formers pays off for all

By Ty Bradley

“I don’t think that this would be working as well as it is but for the fact that we are strictly non-partisan.”

– Hon. Lisa Raitt

Former Parliamentarians Lisa Raitt and Anne McLellan are the co-chairs of the Coalition for a Better Future. This coalition binds a vast number of not-for-profits, businesses, advocacy organizations, and industry associations together in the shared advocacy of sustainable economic growth. The former Conservative Deputy Leader and the former Liberal Deputy Prime Minister spoke with *Beyond the Hill* about this initiative and how being former parliamentarians informs their work. McLellan stresses that this is a fiercely non-partisan group, and Raitt says; “I don’t think that this would be working as well as it is but for the fact that we are strictly non-partisan.” The two convey that many Canadians are anxious about the prospects for economic growth, and they wish to see cooperation at the highest level rather than infighting.

In comparing their post-parliamentary careers with their work as parliamentarians, Lisa and Anne found both similarities and differences. It is similar in the extensive stakeholder consultation involved with the Coalition for a Better Future. It is different in how the environment in which they work is not confrontational. The co-chairs compared it to the multi-party fact-finding missions they undertook as parliamentarians.

This coalition, which promotes sustainability and is backed by Canada’s largest corporations, could be seen as greenwashing, but Lisa says it is doing the opposite. Anne emphasizes that the Coalition promotes a “scorecard” by



Hon. Lisa Raitt.



Hon. Anne McLellan.

which they measure metrics on how prosperous, sustainable, and inclusive the Canadian economy is. In measuring companies by these standards Lisa says greenwashing can be prevented, as companies can be held accountable. The Coalition envisions a future in which stakeholder capitalism dominates, and the scorecard reflects this. Lisa says that someday stakeholders, such as communities and Indigenous nations, may be held in higher importance than shareholders, but returning a dividend to shareholders will always be a priority. She emphasizes that although they are proud that some member association groups are adopting environmental, social, and governance (ESG) criteria as a priority, many other companies are not.

Both Lisa Raitt and Anne McLellan are adamant that big business is not the

villain when thinking about Canada’s future. They acknowledge the importance of the small businesses that are integrated into our communities, but also point out the advantages that large corporations have. Lisa points out that there are more small businesses than big businesses, but that the big businesses “employ a hell of a lot of people”. She also mentions that large amounts of taxes in Canada are paid by a relatively small number of wealthy individuals and successful businesses. Publicly traded corporations are transparent and accountable to the public.

The two are concerned that increasing regulation and hostility to corporations are making more people decide to keep their companies privately owned, which makes it harder to get companies on board with the values promoted by the Coalition for a Better Future. Lisa

mentions that in the last federal election all three major parties ran campaigns against big business and were competing on who could tax and take on big business more than the other parties. The Coalition co-chairs warn of a future in which Canada is not a competitive jurisdiction to do business and they stress the need for growth-oriented policies and corporate responsibility.

The Coalition member organizations include a student union, a nature conservancy organization, think tanks, Indigenous advocacy groups, fertilizer and cement industry groups, and airlines. It is notable that although their scorecard includes measures related to income for workers, none of the Coalition's hundreds of member organizations represent organized labour. Anne and Lisa say that this is not for lack of effort. They theorize that organized labour may be more careful not to take measures that offend their membership. Organized labour could also be hesitant to be seen to be on the side of big business, even though organized labour agreements are mostly with big business and governments. The co-chairs say that they do their best to represent the needs of unions when advocating for responsible economic growth.

Anne McLellan emphasizes that this Coalition was created because economic growth is so important that it transcends partisanship. It also tran-

What the Coalition stands for

The Coalition for a Better Future represents a diverse and growing community of business leaders, community and civic organizations, social policy advocates, youth, Indigenous groups, environmental NGOs and concerned citizens. Each of us brings to the table a unique perspective, but we are united in our belief that economic growth is a necessary precondition for job creation, rising incomes, a cleaner environment, and a better quality of life. – from <https://www.canada-coalition.ca/>

scends industry, as demonstrated by the fact that the Coalition represents large swathes of society. She says that growth is important to everyone and that different sectors may have more in common than they think. She gives the example of groups representing persons with disabilities not seeming to have very much in common with large banks. The Coalition represents both of these sectors in pursuit of economic growth, and Anne believes that the goals of these organizations may be more linked than each individual stakeholder realizes.

When asked how the Canadian

economy will be different in 2050, the Coalition co-chairs say it will be broadly similar in that we will continue the solid fundamentals underlying our economy, but that biodiversity will be prioritized more, there will be more Indigenous representation in institutions, enhanced respect for Indigenous land, and there will be less carbon in the air. They believe that the continuation of the resource economy is essential to producing green tech such as hydrogen fuel and electric vehicles. They also believe that Canada will continue to lead in sectors such as banking and technology.

The non-partisanship, expertise, and optimism that these two former parliamentarians bring to their work is a breath of fresh air in Ottawa. They are extremely well versed in industry matters and have positive ideas for Parliament. They want levels of government to work together more productively, and they want parliamentarians to treat each other like human beings. They think politicians should receive respect, so as to not discourage the best people from entering public life. Lisa Raitt and Anne McLellan urge future parliamentarians to come to Ottawa to do something rather than to be someone.

For more information on the Coalition for a Better Future visit <https://www.canadacoalition.ca>

Parliament to Campus Program is back

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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.



Hon. Frank Oberle.

Equity and fairness in providing pensions

By Hon. Frank Oberle

"The moral test of government is how it treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children; those who are in the twilight of life, the aged; and those in the shadows of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped."

– Hubert H. Humphrey

Of course, it is not always useful to compare ourselves to societies in other parts of the world which have more progressive social benefit structures. There are certain deeply entrenched cultural differences and economic models that enter any equation. But the concept of universality is generally accepted as the best measure of social programs such as health care and old age security.

Canadians should take no comfort from the fact that our neighbours to the south, despite their enormous wealth, are widely considered to be among the least socially conscious in treating the disadvantaged among their citizens in a fashion that could be considered fair and equitable. The Canadian healthcare system leaves much to be desired, but with all its shortcomings, it is universally accessible to everyone.

In the area of old age pension, however, Canadians are divided into three distinct classes. The most privileged among us are employed by the government, its agencies and crown corporations. Those employed by large private corporations participate in pension plans similar to those in the public service. However, employer contributions to such plans are deductible from taxable income, thus creating a tax expenditure for the federal government, and of course, large private and public corporations find ways to pass the costs of their generosity on to their customers.

The largest numbers in the Canadian workforce – people in the service

sector tied to a low-wage economy – are in the main, dependent on moving toward retirement on the basic Old Age Security (OAS) and the still immature Canada Pension Plan (CPP). Needless to say, people on minimum wage or living from payday to payday in the small-business service sectors have little or no disposable income to save for retirement. Well-intended programs such as the Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) or the Tax-Free Retirement Savings Plan (TFRSP), designed to encourage such savings, are of no benefit to them. Neither are they protected from such basic health costs as dental care, eyeglasses, or drugs, all features of government and most private pension plans.

That leaves a third, rapidly growing sector of self-employed individuals or contract employees who generate taxable income and can afford to supplement their healthcare coverage and perhaps manage to put aside some money for retirement. It's ironic that the income tax this group submits to the treasury offsets some of the costs incurred by the federal government in support of the more privileged.

The European approach differs from ours in that the first responsibility to plan and safeguard a comfortable and financially secure retirement rests with the individual. In general terms, a premium of approximately 20 percent of monthly earnings, shared equally between employers and employees, entitles the beneficiary to a pension ranging between 60 and 75 percent of their last

pay cheque at the end of his or her working career.

In 1968 Lester B. Pearson launched a courageous government initiative to implement a universal pension plan. It was tailored to mirror the practices of most, if not all, European countries. Being conscious of the impact such a programme would have on the general economy, the government implemented a plan that allowed for a period of modest incremental adjustments to the premiums imposed on both the employers and the employees.

The government, as well, recognized the need to provide, from general revenue, for some bridge funding in form of the Old Age Security programme. This was to be a temporary measure until a universal pension scheme is fully subscribed and funded.

The public service superannuation (pension plan) dates back to 1924. It was to provide government employees with suitable and sufficient income after retirement. Likewise, private sector pension plans have been in existence in various forms long before 1968. The need for any so-called bridge funding for this group of workers was therefore misguided at the very beginning.

Now, after 50 years of the government's initiative to embrace the entire workforce within a pension scheme, the programme is still less than half subscribed and the need for public funding from general revenue will be with us for some time to come.

In the meantime, the OAS pro-

gramme, indexed to inflation, represents the single biggest public expenditure – close to 50 billion dollars in the 2018 budget; a sum princely enough to significantly tip the scale in favour of our society's worth as it cares for those in their twilight years. However, the massive drain on the public purse generated by the OAS leaves other critical areas such as healthcare and education starved for money.

Successive governments never had the courage to follow Pearson's intention to raise monthly premiums to the required level. Had we carried through with Pearson's plan the government role would be reduced to that of an actuary administrator. Instead, the crime in our approach has been to perpetuate the myth that certain rights and freedoms are absolute. To impose a burden of responsibility of this sort on the general public could be seen as the government's failure to protect those rights.

Every politician is aware of the rewards in the polls during elections following the implementation of programs such as the OAS, but they are also keenly aware of the enormous political risks in phasing out programs whose objectives have been met and are therefore redundant.

Our system of government is incapable of committing to the kind of fundamental change required to redress such situations, and we can only speculate on what our present-day fiscal situation would look like had the federal government's budget been augmented by over 600 billion dollars over the last fifteen years.

Born in Forchheim, Germany, Frank Oberle survived the turmoil of Hitler's Germany and post-war chaos before immigrating to Canada in 1951. During his career he tried his hand at many jobs, including logger, gold miner, rancher, and town mayor, before serving six consecutive terms as a member of Parliament.

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

A center-left view on economics in policy

By Ty Bradley

People from many respected professions choose to become members of Parliament. Doctors, activists, business leaders and lawyers have been well represented in the House of Commons throughout Canadian history. One of the most respected sources of expertise in politics is that provided by economists. Economists bring a level of analysis and a way of thinking about governance that is particularly useful in debates over economic policies, but not just economics.

Economist former parliamentarians CCF member Erin Weir, Liberal member the Hon. John McCallum, and Liberal member the Hon. Francis LeBlanc spoke to *Beyond the Hill* on their experiences as economists in politics. Liberal John Godfrey, a trained economist who practiced as a journalist, also shared his experience on condition that it be clear that he was an economic historian and not an economist.

Erin Weir

Prior to his parliamentary service Erin Weir worked as an economist for the United Steelworkers. He agrees that politics and economics involve trade-offs and that, sometimes, optimal economic policies may be compromised by political considerations. Still, he always approached economic issues from a social democratic perspective, and never felt he had to run on a policy that he found economically unsound.

Erin was the first MP to propose a carbon tariff, tempered by enhance-

ments to the fiscal stabilization program to better support provinces that rely on commodities and face volatile prices. However, Weir believes that, under recent leadership, the NDP has drifted too far in hostility toward any fossil fuel project. He notes that both his original proposals have been adopted by the Trudeau Liberals since he left parliament.

Erin laments that power in political parties is increasingly centralized, which makes it harder for each MP to bring their own perspective and knowledge to their advocacy as they are forced to vote a certain way and to use party talking points. He finds it important that MPs come from a variety of lived experiences, and that economics is just one of many useful perspectives. He doesn't think that respect for economics has declined, but he does think that politics has shifted away from bread-and-butter issues of how wealth is produced and distributed, and toward issues of identity and culture that are not as relevant to economics.

Hon. John McCallum

Prior to John McCallum's career as a cabinet minister, he served as RBC's chief economist. He says that his background in economics was particularly helpful when he had explicitly economic portfolios, but that even in seemingly unrelated roles it gave him a useful perspective with which to approach issues. He states, "Once you're an economist you're always an economist in terms of how you think about certain things."

John believes that politics and good economic policy are not mutually exclusive, but that politicians may prioritize getting elected over economic concerns. All parliamentarians come to parliament with different concerns and perspectives, so the views of economists may not always be prioritized.

John always felt that his background as an economist was respected. He says that nobody ever said, “Well you’re just an economist,” in a derogatory way. He notes that in this world of populism respect for economists has declined in some circles in the same way that respect for scientists, parliamentarians, and the media has. Despite this, he feels that overall economists are still well respected by most people.

Francis LeBlanc

Prior to his election as the MP for Cape Breton Highlands-Canso in 1988, Francis LeBlanc worked as a policy analyst at Employment and Immigration Canada, where he used his training as an economist to advise the Government on ways to reform Canada’s Unemployment Insurance System.

In his first term, he served as a trade critic for the Liberal Party in opposition, and then later applied his experience and skills to help guide the Chrétien government’s reforms that reduced UI benefits and led to the creation of the Employment Insurance system we have today. LeBlanc accepts that the changes were controversial but maintains that they were necessary at the time to get the deficit under control. “Those were difficult decisions for a Liberal government to make”, Francis says, “but they helped strengthen the finances of Canada and I think my training as an economist helped me see this in a broader perspective.”

Francis believes that good economics makes for good policy and that good politics and good economics are mutually reinforcing. “Bad economic policy will inevitably catch up to a government.” He identifies himself as a progressive in his economic thinking and attributes this to the

influence of his mentor in politics, former Deputy Prime Minister Allan MacEachen, who was also trained in economics. Allan MacEachen, associated with many achievements of previous Liberal governments such as Medicare, was considered to the left of the Liberal Party in his day. Francis agrees with the progressive policies that MacEachen championed but does not think that deficits can be ignored.

Hon. John Godfrey

John Godfrey was an economic historian before entering politics. He uses this background to perceive how societies change economically over time, to plan for the future, and to study how governments react to economic crises. His book *Capitalism at War* studied how the French economy was mobilized during the First World War after many of their factories had been captured.

John compares the viewpoint of an economist to that of an economic historian by addressing the Russian aggression against Ukraine. He says that an economist would look at demand for oil being high with supply being cut off and conclude that Canada should meet that demand by building pipelines. An economic historian would view this in terms of societal change and say that this should be met with an increased devotion to renewable energy, because of the long-term economic crisis of climate change.

John Godfrey regrets that politicians tend to focus more on short term electoral gains than on long term goals. Despite this, he does think that it is good politics to make things better for the future. He says this with the assumption that everyone is in politics to change things rather than to maintain the status quo. Godfrey emphasizes that we must think beyond the traditional paradigms of economics in order to address serious issues like the existential threat of climate change, and how to grow the economy.

He also thinks the perspective of an economic historian is valuable to understand why Toronto is

a tech capital yet has no businesses that grow to the size of companies in other tech capitals, like Amazon and Microsoft. He thinks this is because governments often provide the wrong incentives for growth. Godfrey thinks that people are right to be skeptical about economics because, “Microeconomic reasoning is taking over governing institutions in a bad way.” He thinks that people aren’t looking to economists who don’t think outside the box, because these economists don’t offer a way to revolutionize systems to encourage innovation.

An important economic issue to be focused on now, says John, is making sure that tax havens are cracked down upon so that wealthy individuals and corporations pay their fair share. Despite this he is no socialist and thinks that following COVID-19 the government should lower spending, just as they did after the Second World War. Godfrey thinks it is important to find a balance between providing important programs like childcare and dental care, and not getting in the way of free market forces. Godfrey has been retired from parliament for many years but has remained consistently engaged in advising governments on economic policy, especially regarding climate change.

The economists interviewed for this article all stressed their respect for means of analyzing politics other than the rules established by economics. Economics is extremely relevant to politics, but it does not have the answer to every question. These economists also all saw their economics education as more than an understanding of economic issues. They see it as a way of seeing the world. While they had varied answers on how to reconcile economic policy with electoral goals, all of them defended the economic policies that they put forward to voters. As our country looks at how we will address economic issues such as climate change, inflation, and taxation it is beneficial to consider the perspectives of Former Parliamentarians with backgrounds in economics.



Hon. John Reid.

The Hon. Len Marchand a trailblazer with a long list of firsts to his name

By Hon. John Reid

Most MPs do not pay much attention to the past lives of their colleagues in the House of Commons. The reason is that all MPs have gone through the same process to get elected so everyone starts somewhat from the same place. The House of Commons is not an easy place to enter and it takes time for individuals to accustom themselves to their new reality. There are, of course, some who are more equal than others, usually cabinet ministers and those who have come in with a political reputation. But all are subject to the same discipline – you have to get elected. There is about a 35 per cent change in the House after a normal election, made up of those who did not run again, those who passed away and those who were defeated. There is always a large number of newbies in the House.

Into the House of Commons after the election of 1968 came Len Marchand. He came with a political reputation as he had won the Kamloops riding from Davie Fulton. Fulton was a real power in the House of Commons, for his common sense and his activism in trying to find a solution to constitutional problems that were being debated. Finding a way to amend our constitution was a difficulty and the Fulton/Favreau formula was an important step towards finding a solution.

Len came in quietly to the House of Commons. He was a status member of the First Nations, and as it turned out, he was the first to sit in the House of Commons*; but we did not know it at the time and it only emerged after he left. It turned out that Len was a trailblazer, with a great number of "firsts". Winning Kamloops was not his first foray into new territory. Len was not a political "newbie". He had worked for Arthur Laing and Jack Nicholson, both cabinet members elected in BC. He

worked on Indigenous issues for them. After being elected, he was made parliamentary secretary to Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs.

Len was born in 1933 to illiterate parents, a member of the Okanagan Indian Band. He went to the Kamloops Residential School for two years and described the experience as formative for his future. He had two complaints: he disliked the food, and hated the coal oil shampoo which was designed to kill lice. He described the education he received there as very good. It led to his entry to Vernon High School. He was the first Status Indian to graduate from there.

He had to repeat his final year, however, since he did not have the courses required to enter UBC. There he was one of the first Indigenous people to enter university. He earned a degree in forestry, and followed it up with an MA in forestry from the University of Idaho. He worked in the Kamloops Research Centre and was co-author with others in a number of papers.

He had been admitted to take his PhD in forestry when he got a call from the president of the Kamloops Liberal Party offering him the nomination for the 1968 election. He hesitated but decided to run since, if he won, he would go to Ottawa; if he lost, he could proceed with his PhD. It was Pierre Trudeau's election and Len was elected. After being parliamentary secretary to Jean Chrétien, he became Minister of Small Business, with responsibility for getting the metric system in place. He succeeded and became Minister of the Environment (1977-79). He lost in the election of 1979. However, he was appointed to the Senate in 1984. He served until 1998 and then retired before retirement age.

Returning to Kamloops, Len took on the position of Chief Administra-

tor of the newly formed Nicola Tribal Association. He was given great credit for his ability as administrator but also, because of his stature, he was the leader of the organization. Over time, the organization became very successful. Upper Nicola Chief Harvey McLeod said that the new organization needed a man of Len's stature to take a lead role with the five bands, to develop a relationship with the Federal Government and the surrounding communities. He was very successful.

Len had an active career as an academic, as a politician and as an advocate for the various Indigenous communities. He provided a very positive image as to what could be accomplished, and his work for his people was huge, both in what he accomplished and in the example he provided. He appeared to be very quiet, but privately he had a quick wit and was always ready to talk.

Len Marchand was a true leader of his people and the larger community of Kamloops which he represented in the House of Commons for a decade. He was a man of many firsts and showed the way to participate in politics and community society. He wrote an autobiography entitled "Breaking Trail". It was aptly named because that is just what he did.

Len was married to Donna Parr for 56 years. They had two children. Lori Marchand is an arts administrator in BC; her brother, Len is a member of the BC Court of Appeals.

**Louis Riel, a Manitoba Metis, was the first Indigenous person to be elected to the House of Commons but he never took his seat, although he was elected three times, the first time in 1869, then in 1873 and finally in 1874. There was a price on his head for the execution of one Thomas Scott during the Riel Rebellion.*

Hon. John Reid was the Liberal MP for Keno-Rainy River from 1965 to 1984.



Dorothy Dobbie.

The voice of reason: is it lost forever?

By Dorothy Dobbie

There have always been extreme voices on either side of any debate, but the voice of reason has prevailed over the second half of the past century. That is not to say that we have not had moments when tugs to the right or tugs to the left have not ignited the imaginations of our youth. We went through the sixties and seventies with some pretty polarizing ideas, many of which are resurfacing: the issue of equal rights and opportunities for women, for Indigenous people, for Black people, for gay and lesbian-plus people. Interestingly, many of the issues are still the same: equal pay for equal rights, access to education and opportunity, the right to marry whom you love no matter what their sexual orientation.

The sixties and seventies were a disruptive time. Cops were called pigs. There were kidnappings and assassinations next door and even in Canada with the Quebec crisis. There were lamentable wars in third world countries. Riots and civil disobedience fueled by drugs were rampant, especially south of the border. There were Indigenous protests and blockades. Certain issues were so fiercely supported that people even self-immolated to make a point.

Not only that but droves of young people were abandoning our civil society, looking for a new way to live together without property rights in communes where everyone was equal, and one worked for all. The unpopulated mountains of British Columbia were a popular destination for starting a fresh new life in Canada where free love could prosper in a new utopia.

I viewed it all with detachment, busy bringing up a young family and struggling to make ends meet by working and eventually helping

to build a business. There were no 24-hour news channels, so the terrible things were not really part of the fabric of our daily lives. We were not bombarded with tragedy from morning till night.

Eventually, reality and reason crept in with maturity and the period of economic regression was followed by a period of excess where there was too much money and too little self-discipline. Free Love turned into Where's the Money? We took it for granted that the battles had been fought and won. Women were being elected, everyone had a black or gay or "aboriginal" friend – or all three. We introduced consideration for the disabled. We got rid of the death penalty, made abortions legal and started passing restrictions on gun ownership. We even adjusted our language to keep up with the latest social justice trends.... all of this before the turn of the century.

Yet even through all the turmoil of those thirty or so years, it seems that there was always a steady hand on the tiller that kept us safe from the worst excesses. Namecalling and the blame game were not that much in vogue. Occasionally, reporters would decry the antics of MPs in Question Period, and much was made of the odd senator who fell asleep in the Chamber, but these were passing things that scarcely left a mark on our consciousness.

Then a remarkable thing happened that augured great good for the future. The Iron Curtain around the Soviet Union fell, and it was as if a giant weight had lifted from the shoulders of the world. The threat of imminent nuclear conflict that had consumed the Boomer generation from the time we were in grade school and told to "duck and cover" in case a bomb landed on us in class, was miracu-

lously dissolved. We could breathe freely again. We felt no threat from China. It was still struggling since the death of Mao in 1976, to overcome the disastrous things he had done to their people and economy. The world seemed safe again.

Fast forward a couple of decades and we begin to see the old familiar pattern. After a period of reasonable stability with three quite solid governments in control in Ottawa, that of Mulroney, Chrétien and Harper, unrest was building. An emerging generation was looking for something new. Well nourished, well educated in everything but history, and armed with technology, their educators sent them forth to change the world back into that old utopian dream – the one that had been abandoned for lack of practicality, reality, and reason so many decades before.

This time, though, they would shake things up just a bit more. Burrowing through the arsenal of old lessons in the art of war, they chose Divide and Conquer. First, draw up the "ten commandments", the virtues of all that they deemed to be right in the world. Second, create a language to describe these virtues. Third, conjure up an imminent threat consisting of a cause or causes that virtuous people could fight for. Fourth, identify victims that the virtuous could cling to that would anchor their cause. Fifth, name the enemy, label him as unvirtuous and ultimately "dangerous" to the cause. Characterize him as evil if he questions the virtues, or the danger, or the cause.

By now the stage was already set for serious disruption but then, to help the disruptors, a serendipitous thing happens. A world-wide virus sets upon us, posing an "existential" threat to our world. In the name of

safety, people must conform to new virtues and new restrictions. The word “freedom” becomes an anti-virtuous term. A new God named “science” is called forth to add testament to the mandates of the virtuous. The disruptors, neither right nor left, but omnipresent, have more ammunition to season the pot of virtues.

And suddenly, without even noticing, our trusted democracy no longer works so well. Services we have long relied on are not delivering. Systems break down. Governments cannot respond because there is confusion all around. There are protests, “supply chain” issues, long lineups, food supply shortages, rampant inflation at the same time, inexplicably, that there is low employment and nobody looking for jobs. Old alliances are broken as countries abandon a hopeless task they had assumed in running another peoples’ business. A new war erupts as another country tries to impose its will.

Now I know this looks like a terrifying scenario, but I am not blaming it on anyone. Not only is blame one of the weapons of disruptors, but this whole mess is also a cyclical thing that the element I call disruptors are quick to exploit. Who are the disruptors? Dissatisfied, angry folks who have always felt their lack of control very keenly. They are of no particular colour or political stripe or religious belief. They are among us, filled with bitterness, and they get satisfaction from seeing turmoil. They play on our fears and natural biases because they feed on negativity.

Those of us who have lived long and have seen this before must try to take the long view of what is happening and be the voice of calm and reason. I believe this period of turmoil will right itself, but perhaps we can help cushion the landing.

Each of you will know instinctively what to do, how to quell the passions created by fear and uncertainty in your own communities. The main thing is that the voice of reason rests with us.

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

The future is bigger

How the number of seats in the renovated chambers is being determined by the Centre Block Team

By Gina Gill Hartmann

So many Canadians have come in and out of the great halls of Parliament Hill. Every new election brings both familiar and new faces to take their seats behind the heritage desks lined up within the chambers.

As time has passed and things progress, more and more people are needed to represent larger populations within their regions which begs the question, where will they all go?

An estimated 400 seats will be required to accommodate an increase in population by 2071. The folks working hard on the Hill to create an updated and safe space for all Members and visitors did not pull that number out of a proverbial top hat.

“When we first tackled this project, we thought it was going to be pretty straightforward, and that we could simply look at the census data and population growth. We thought if we looked at growth patterns going back ten years we could just come up with a number. When we did that, we came up with a number over 400 which seemed a bit high,” explained Darrell de Grandmont, director of the Centre Block Program. “It’s actually more complicated than that. You have to look at the Fair Representation Act combined with the census, and the Act has a formula attached to it that allows you to look at population growth and trends while also considering things that could amount to a decrease in the population as well.”

Canada is currently divided into 338 electoral districts, each of which sends one Member to the House of Commons. Following

each decennial census, the number of electoral districts to be apportioned among the provinces is calculated by Elections Canada on the basis of Statistics Canada’s population figures in conjunction with a formula outlined in section 51 of the Constitution Act, 1867. In the context of the Centre Block rehabilitation, to project the number of seats required in the Chamber in coming years, the House of Commons collaborated with Elections Canada to generate an estimate. It is estimated that there will be 400 Members in the year 2071.

The Centre Block program team recognizes that finding ways to accommodate the growing number of Members in the Chamber is extremely important and it is part of the Long-Term Vision and Plan (LTVP) that gets updated on a regular basis.

“In terms of accommodating more Members in the future, we are looking at options – it’s something that is ongoing and we will continue to update the LTVP and work towards evolving the designs to get us to a place where we can accommodate those 400 Members. But there will be a time in thirty years from now when someone will have to look further than that. It’s a moving scale where we can only look at what we know right now,” said Darrell.

The Centre Block Program has also looked outside of Canada to consider challenges faced by other growing parliaments.

“When you look at the UK parliament, their chamber exceeds the number of people they can accommodate, and they have looked at it in different ways than we have be-

cause they also vote differently than we do. In the end it comes down to procedure and Members deciding on some of these things as well.”

Darrell and his team have been concentrating on creating the proper space for all Members in years to come – without compromising the aesthetics and heritage of the Chamber. When the Chamber seating was brought up to the current number of 338 members, the team’s trade services had to create reproduction desks to look like the other original pieces in the space.

“They look incredible. They do a remarkable job,” notes Darrell. “Our heritage desks are very valued and our trades people are extremely skilled and can make it look as though it’s part of the original Chamber.”

That type of approach will continue as any new pieces are added to

the space but ultimately the current size of the heritage desks, and how many people the space can accommodate might have to be looked at again if the number of Members grows after reassessment of the census.

“We have told parliamentarians to expect a phased approach with regards to Chamber seating, and that can be anything from the reduction of heritage desks or having some of the benches with flip-down seats. However, we have been told that Members do not like the current flip down seats so it will be a balancing act between maintaining the heritage aspect while also increasing to a number that is practical.”

The main struggle with the flip-down seats in the Chamber was that it didn’t allow for easy circulation as Members were book-ended

by their colleagues in the row. If one had to get up from their seat, they would have to ask others to move, flip up their seat and disrupt them in the process, similar to the noticeable exit at a cinema in the middle of a movie showing.

“You never want to get up to get more popcorn if you’re going to bother the whole theatre,” joked Darrell about the process.

Though this issue may seem minute, it is something that has affected the work of Members, and one that the team is looking at addressing in the rehabilitated Chamber.

“We will do everything we can to maintain the heritage desks and we are listening to what Parliamentarians need and what challenges they are facing in the current Chamber. That will take several strategies and we are continuing to look at new approaches for seating.”

The status quo seat allocation formula

The current formula for allocating seats in the House of Commons among the provinces was passed by Parliament in the Representation Act, 1985. It is based on the following steps as outlined in section 51 of the Constitution Act, 1867:

Step 1 is based generally on the principle of representation by population in determining an electoral quotient (which theoretically represents the average population per seat). The electoral quotient then divides the population of each province to determine the initial number of seats allocated to each province.

- The formula set 279 as a permanent divisor in determining the electoral quotient. 279 was the number of provincial seats in the House of Commons at the time that the formula was passed in 1985. This divisor was not allowed to readjust over time to reflect the actual number of provincial seats

in the House of Commons (which is currently 305).

Step 2 provides additional seats to certain provinces when the seat count determined under Step 1 is lower than the number of seats they are entitled to under one of two minimum seat guarantees outlined in the Constitution:

- The “Senate floor”: Added in 1915 and outlined in section 51A of the Constitution Act, 1867, the Senate floor guarantees that no province can have fewer seats in the House of Commons than it has Senators.

- The “grandfather clause”: Added in 1985 and outlined in section 51 of the Constitution Act, 1867, the grandfather clause guarantees that no province can be allocated a number of seats that is less than the number of seats it had in 1985.

Step 3 adds the provincial total seats and one seat for each territory to determine the total number of seats.

The combined effect of fixing the divisor at 279 and the seat guarantees to slower-growing provinces prevents faster-growing provinces from receiving a share of seats that is in line with their relative share of the population. Currently, all provinces except Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta benefit from a constitutionally guaranteed seat floor.

While the current formula has tempered the rate of growth in the House of Commons, it has done so at the expense of provinces with faster-growing populations. Faster-growing provinces have accordingly become significantly and increasingly under-represented in the House of Commons relative to their population and are likely to become even more under-represented in future seat reallocations with this formula.

From the government of Canada’s website - section Fair Representation act.

Musical members: Bands on the Hill

By Ty Bradley

Members of Parliament work hard for their constituents both in Ottawa and in their constituencies. One tried and true way that MPs decompress is playing music. Some groups of MPs have taken this to the next level by assembling musically talented MPs into bands. These bands have allowed MPs to form lasting friendship and promote camaraderie among sitting members from different regions of the country.

MP5 Gospel Group

Certain Conservative MPs during the Harper government were part of a band called the MP5. These five MPs held Wednesday night practices after supper, which were full of fun and improvisation. Ed Fast, the Conservative MP for Abbotsford, is a very talented piano player, who could play almost any song on request. The other members of the group were vocalists, and together they formed a five-part harmony. The band specialized in southern gospel music, but also dabbled in 1950s classic rock and favourites such as Beatles tunes. Chuck Strahl sang bass, Randy Kamp sang baritone, Mark Warawa sang lead, Kevin Sorenson sang tenor. Two things are essential to a gospel quartet. A great piano player and a good high tenor. Fast brought his high skill level to the piano, and Sorenson was able to sing high notes with power to excite the audience. Strahl remembers improvisation during songs, and slides and alternation between deep bass and high tenor to have fun with the audience. The MP5's audiences included the annual House of Commons Christmas concert, fundraising events, churches, and political events. One notable event was a fundraiser at the National Arts Centre, where they played the song "The Rumour Mill" in reference to the Ottawa political audience.

Bons Jacks

Following the 2011 NDP Orange Wave in Quebec, a group of francophone New Democrats created a band called the "Bons Jacks", named for the late Jack Layton. They were inspired to create the band at an NDP meeting where Charlie



Bon Jacks. Photo by Robert Aubin.

Angus was playing music. Tom Mulcair asked if there could be a French equivalent to this at the NDP meeting. The Bon Jacks took it upon themselves to play francophone Quebecois music for the social democratic gatherings. Robert Aubin had the most official musical education in this group, having received a degree in music. He sang and played the piano. Pierre Dionne Labelle was the group's guitarist, François Lapointe was the percussionist, and Jean Rousseau played the bass. Every member of the group brought unique and useful talents to the band. The Bon Jacks converted an office into a permanent musical space and practiced there weekly. The Bon Jacks played at all NDP meetings and played in many regions of Quebec to raise money for riding associations. What held this group together was the great friendship formed among the members as they played their traditional francophone music for various social democratic audiences.

True Grits

One year after the election of the Chrétien government, a group of Liberal MPs decided to form a musical group to celebrate the anniversary of their triumph. Their mission was to assemble every Liberal who played an instrument into a group called the True Grits. London MP Joe Fontana was the drummer, Stan Keyes played a keytar, Tony Valeri played bass, Roger Gallaway played the organ, Ron Irwin played the piano, Fred Mifflin played the guitar and sang, Pierette Ringette was the lead vocalist, and Don Boudria played guitar. Prime Minister Chrétien would



Hon. Don Boudria plays guitar (of the True Grits). Photo by Jean-Marc Carisse.

also join sometimes and play his valve trombone. The True Grits were known to perform more than they practiced, but they did practice somewhat often in Joe Fontana's office in the Confederation Building. The True Grits often performed at Liberal Party gatherings, including the Liberal Christmas Party at the Congress Centre. The True Grits once played for hundreds of Liberals at a summer caucus retreat in Shawinigan. They also recorded a "National Unity Cassette" in the lead up to the 1995 referendum. Two defining moments for the True Grits were playing at the prestigious Politics and the Pen event and playing on the Julie Snyder show in Montreal. The True Grits music of choice was 1960s and 1970s rock and roll. They always had a laugh and a good time, and sometimes a few beers at their practices. Their sessions in Fontana's Hill office often went late into the evening. The band was great for caucus morale, as it broke down tensions and brought everyone in caucus together for a good time.

MPs must work hard for their constituents, but this hard work must be balanced with camaraderie and fun. This allows MPs to be energetic and effective in their advocacy. These bands allowed MPs to form diverse friendships and strengthen their relationships with other parliamentarians. The MP5, the Bon Jacks and the True Grits are from three different political traditions, but three very similar human traditions. They all involved people assembling to create music, entertain others, express themselves and form lasting friendships.

Hélène LeBlanc wonders, why can't there be more collaboration in the House?

By Gina Gill Hartmann

Hélène LeBlanc sat in the House of Commons for one mandate and in those four years she took away a lot more than she ever expected.

"I was really privileged to be the science and technology critic and then the industry critic for the official opposition. It gave me the opportunity to meet a lot of people and to learn an awful lot," recalled Hélène. "At the end of my mandate I had the privilege of being Chair of the Standing Committee on the Status of Women. The members of the Official Opposition have just a few committees in which they can hold the chair positions."

After her defeat in 2015 Hélène went through a period of grieving.

"It was a bit of a shock. I think for candidates in a campaign it is similar to what an athlete shooting for the gold medal goes through; you are completely focused on winning the election. Then, when you lose, it is sudden, everything just stops."

As happens to a lot of former parliamentarians, adjusting took Hélène some time. While closing the office in Ottawa and the office in her constituency, and at the same time having to say goodbye to her team and colleagues, she had to consider what her next step would be.

Eventually, in 2016 she moved from Montreal to Toronto where she met up with former colleagues who came together as a "sort of support group." While there, Hélène decided to help organizations that tackle issues in line with her values. She was a member the board of directors of Women Healthy Environments Network (WHEN) and volunteered with Sustainability Consultant Network.

In 2017, Hélène moved to the tourist area of Prince Edward County and decided to open a bed and breakfast. It was her first time working as an



Hélène LeBlanc.

entrepreneur and though she worked in customer service previously, her experience in politics was an asset in public relations and marketing. She was an active member of the local chamber of commerce as well as being a tour guide for the county historic society.

"I wanted to continue what I was doing in politics – meeting people and building contacts. I really enjoyed that," she said.

"You can take somebody out of politics, but you can't take the politics out of someone once they are touched by the experience. I was always interested in politics and had to stay involved." In 2019, she helped with the federal campaign for the NDP in the Bay of Quinte.

"I was happy to accompany and help our local candidate," she said. "I really enjoyed being a mentor this time. We had a dynamic young woman as a candidate, and it gave me a lot of satisfaction to share my experience with her. I also put up signs and went door to door. It was great and it was also a kind of healing experience."

Hélène's first experience in politics

was at the municipal level in 2009, when she ran for the position of Councillor for the district of Saint-Paul-Émard.

"Municipal politics was my first love because it's very concrete. You deal with issues that affect people on a daily basis. Also, my mother was the mayor of my home town," she explained.

So back in Montreal, Hélène volunteered for the Projet Montréal municipal election. Once again, she found herself behind the scenes supporting local candidates, going door to door and making phone calls. The campaign was successful.

"It was nice to experience victory with the people here and that was very satisfying. We had a lot of fun. I still love talking to people and getting involved in that way. It was wonderful."

Hélène, now works full time teaching French in a local high school in Montréal.

During her time in the House of Commons, Hélène wished there would have been more cross-party collaboration such as happened in the all-party caucuses. She was a member of the co-operatives, and aerospace caucuses.

"This gave members the opportunity to openly discuss issues of common interest.

It was great to collaborate with colleagues from all parties and all regions of Canada. I wished it was more like that in the House of Commons. I also wished committee work was more in the forefront of the media and more appreciated by the leaders' offices, because that is where there is collaboration in a non-partisan way," she stated.

"We are working for the people of Canada, not the party. We should be able to have a vision of what is good for Canada in the long run, not a vision of the next election."

Hon. James Moore put his parliamentary experience behind him to take on the most important job of his life

By Gina Gill Hartmann

Former MP James Moore is an extremely accomplished and successful person, but he left politics for the more important task of being a father.

He was a Member of Parliament by the age of 24 and remained in the House until he was 39 – and that’s just the cusp of his many achievements. During his time on the Hill, he was the Minister of Industry, Minister of Canadian Heritage and Foreign Languages and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

He has sat on a variety of boards in the past and currently sits on many more. He is now a senior business advisor at the multinational firm of Dentons Canada and a public policy adviser at the global firm, Edelman.

All these experiences are important, and they have taught James many lessons and skills, but this is not exactly how he measures his personal success. The former MP takes the most pride in his decision to walk away from Parliament after 15 years to be more available to his son.

“I do not put judgment on people who chose to stay in politics but being from British Columbia, it’s a long haul and you don’t get those years back. Missing another term in government might be a regret but missing out on your child’s childhood and being there as a dad was not something I was going to compromise,” explained James. “There are a lot of people who could be member of Parliament for Port Moody-Westwood-Port Coquitlam and a lot who could serve as Minister of Industry but there is only one person on this planet who could be Spencer’s dad. It was time to go home.”

He remembers the day he had made the decision to leave politics. His son Spencer had been born with skeletal dysplasia and while his wife attended a typical doctor’s appointment, James FaceTimed the appointment with her from a phone booth in the House of



Former MP Hon. James Moore. Supplied photo.

Commons. The care instructions his wife received for Spencer was a long, overwhelming list and James felt so significantly far away from his family. At that moment, he knew he was ready to leave.

Of course, fifteen years in office is nothing to shake your head at – especially since he started at a relatively young age and even received his master’s degree while he served in Parliament. His time after his departure was also tremendously meaningful.

“Instead of running an election campaign that fall, my dad came over every Sunday with Chicago mix popcorn and we ordered pizza and watched back-to-back football with Spencer for that whole football season. The Seahawks made a good run that year. In the spring of 2016, my dad had died but I got that previous year to be with him and my son and it was probably the most precious six months of my life,” recalls Moore. “A lot of people don’t have that opportunity and I did, so I took advantage of it and set up the world I live in now.”

James remembers his time on the Hill as a great privilege that is extremely meaningful and important.

“Being a member of parliament was not so much a career but an opportunity

– an opportunity to serve and to genuinely do something that will give you and your family a lifetime’s worth of pride in what you have accomplished.”

When the Conservatives had finally won a majority government in 2011 during James’ time on the Hill, he recalls looking at his wife sitting in the kitchen and telling her the good news. Without the threat of a potential upcoming election, James felt more stable in his mandate going forward that year and he thought, it’s time to get married.

“In the summer of 2011 I proposed to my wife, and we got married just after Christmas that year in the Francophonie room in Centre Block on Parliament. Ten months later Spencer was born. It was a small wedding, and it was beautiful. We went back to Ottawa a few years ago and my son said, ‘Oh, look! It’s the mommy and daddy wedding castle!’”

For those entering federal politics, James wants them to know that while being in office is a great opportunity, it is also temporary. It is important to make the best of your time there.

“The responsibilities are enormous, but they will come and go. There were dozens of people in the job before you, and there will be dozens more after you. This is a chance to do good things and do hard work and contribute to the country. Act accordingly. There are things you can do in politics that could hinder your ability to succeed after politics, so be careful about that,” recommends James.

He adds, “Just carry yourself in a responsible and thoughtful way so that people will want to work with you in the future. Take the honour and responsibility seriously but don’t take yourself too seriously. Be very focused on the things you want to get done.”

Hon. James Moore was the Conservative member of Parliament for Port Moody-Coquitlam-Port Coquitlam from 2000 to 2015.

In the beginning...

Being an MP is not a one person job: "It takes a village!"

By Arnold Malone

I was raised on a farm on the north rim of the Battle River Valley six miles south of the Village of Rosalind, Alberta; population one hundred and fifty. Rosalind, like many small prairie towns, was a place where people had friends for twenty miles in all directions. Business was done through conversation and a nod for agreement. People just took others at their word.

After leaving Rosalind, I received a degree in Agricultural Science and a Master of Arts in Interpersonal Communication. I was employed with the Alberta 4-H Clubs organization working from Edmonton. This continued my association with people connected to farms, usually near small towns.

I had an ongoing interest in politics. Becoming a Member of Parliament was a reoccurring dream. Sadly, the hard working and much appreciated Member of Parliament in my home area, Harry Kuntz, died while in office. A by-election was never held. The Battle River constituency was eighteen months without representation.

In the spring of 1974, I received the nomination from my chosen party for the upcoming election. Victorious on election night, I was in a euphoric mood as supporters gathered in a party atmosphere and showered me with unending and undue compliments.

I knew that I would need to sell my Edmonton house and relocate. In the short term, I would stay with my oldest brother on the home farm. After the victory party I drove home.

The next morning the phone rang. A constituent had an issue. After I hung up, the phone soon rang again. It was another constituent with a need. My mother had moved to an apartment in Camrose taking with her the letter-writing paper. My brother kept exacting farm accounts in a bound book. Tearing pages out of his book was unthinkable. Quickly, I ran out of writing paper. In time, I was taking notes on the margins of



At retirement, left to right; Susan Malone, Arnold Malone, Cecile Simpson and Kerry Hunter (born Moran).

old weekly newspapers.

A year and a half without representation resulted in a flood of unattended needs. The phone just kept ringing.

Without experience, how does one navigate the departments of government? What are the phone numbers, which department needs to be contacted, who is the correct person? I wanted to be a good servant but this was a difficult moment.

After more than a week of unending phone calls and being exasperated by the variety of issues I knew I needed help and parliament was in recess.

Without a plan I bought a ticket and flew to Ottawa. Whatever the outcome, this was hope hunting for luck.

I arrived in awe at the massive door beneath the Peace Tower and walked into Confederation Hall.

Inside, a commissioner stopped me and asked, "May I help you?"

(The next few of sentences are the proof-absolute that I was raised in a small rural community.)

"I want to see a Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament." I replied.

The Constable asked, "Which Member would you like to see?"

"It doesn't matter, any Progressive Conservative Member," I replied.

I don't know how the signal was

sent, but many commissioners came running from various hallways towards us in the grand rotunda. They pressed tightly around me. One of them stared straight through me with that look of, "How dare you."

"Why do you want to see a Progressive Conservative member?" a commissioner demanded.

Nervously I explained, "I have just been elected and Harry Kuntz had died in office and I am getting an over whelming backlog of cases. I need help."

It was concluded that I was not a terrorist. That was utterly obvious. A terrorist would have been better prepared.

The commissioners had studied the names of the new MPs. I was recognized. Handshakes took place. One constable said, "Mr. Kuntz was a gentleman." Another said, "I saw Marcell Lambert go into his office this morning."

Marcel Lambert, MP for Edmonton West, told me to get a senior secretary right now. He wrote out the name of a person along with her phone number and said, "Hire her."

I don't recall how I made this happen but somewhere there was a list of persons who had previously worked with members that had either retired or been defeated. I set up two days of interviews. I hired the extraordinary Cecille Simpson as my senior assistant. She was full of positive energy and was very adept at working through the maze of government bureaus. We found a vacant office and soon, case by case, we came into the sunshine.

MPs are dependent on their chosen staff. It is their experience that lights the road ahead.

A few days later I saw Marcel in the hallway. "You didn't hire the person I told you to," he admonished. That was known, but I also knew I was being very well served.

My staff became my village. It was with them that trust was absolute. No MP succeeds alone; it takes a village.

Hon. Joe Comuzzi, Parliamentarian

By Hon. Joe Volpe

The Hon. Joe Comuzzi, my friend of thirty-three years from 1988 (when we were both elected to serve in Canada's Parliament), passed away on New Year's Eve. For twenty years, until he retired in 2008, he also served as my self-described "older brother". We were not related. Luckily, I did not protest too vigorously.

It is not my intention to reflect on his immense political talents and civic engagement; I would have to deliver on my commitment to author that book on my political experiences to do him his well-deserved credit. Rather, the designation is intended to speak to his character, the loss his passing represents and the gratitude we, and me especially, owe him and his family.

I did not ask him to play the role. He insisted on watching over me, on giving me advice whether I wanted it or not, on mentoring me, on watching out for me, on educating me in the ways of Canadians from the North, on teaching me about the forestry and lumber business, the role of government to the survival of the North (as in Ontario, primarily), the importance of the transportation sector to Canadian unity, and on dealing with Aboriginal communities as integral to the diversity of peoples in Canada. That is just a start.

My friendly protestations that I was an MP from Toronto, not from Thunder Bay, flowed off him like water off a duck. He would say, "Toronto has more than enough MPs capable of mucking things up. Be different. Thunder Bay needs an MP from Toronto; we will take what we can get... that would be you. Besides, what else are you going to do in Parliament, practice your oratorical skills? Look around, everyone else reads from prepared texts. By the way, Ottawa can be a marriage breaker; you are young and have a young family. Work will keep you out of trouble."

In other words, he was not going to allow me freedom of choice. The problem for me was that he was a bottomless pit of knowledge and acumen. From network-building to administrative competence, to understanding national issues; from bilingualism to Canada-USA relations, to international commerce, to working with and advocating for Aboriginal communi-

ties and peoples of diverse backgrounds, he was without comparison. He worked at it.

I developed the impression that the man had an indefatigable work ethic, "tempered" only by his devotion to his family and his religion.

His wife Janet would tell me how at age 40 he returned to school to earn his law degree, to then work as a crown attorney, travelling the breadth of Northern Ontario, keeping alive the image of Canadian justice for Aboriginal and single Industry towns that peppered the Boreal forests. She confided that she often felt he might have been afraid to have "moss grow under his feet." She need not have worried.

He was driven, almost obsessed, by a need to be thorough in his research for and delivery of any "position." Every institutional official, Library of Parliament researcher, industry sector representative, related Parliamentary Committee MPs or interested Parliamentary Associations would form a line to his office for input or to serve as a sounding board. That was the case when we were in Opposition, in the backbenches or in Cabinet.

His office was across from mine; he demanded I also join the line – for my own education, he would add. Only his family could interrupt the conduct of his business. He treated his constituents like his family... me, like his understudy. I was not always a willing participant, for which hesitancy I would earn his reproach: "you're going to be a big deal around here; you had better start behaving like you are prepared to learn something about this country's people and its priorities."

Before we were sworn into cabinet, he caused me to decline a trip to Italy to promote a tour agency's initiatives in a Southern region of the peninsula because he had already organized a lobbying exercise in the USA. In three days, we met with 96 Senators, Representatives of the House, the Secretary of Commerce (later with his Deputy and senior staff) various Committee Chairs and Lumber Industry lobbyists.

Unapologetically, he would point out that this is an ongoing exercise if "we [Canadians]" want the Americans to take us seriously. When we both eventually went into Cabinet, I thought he should have

been the obvious choice for Canada-USA relations (Global Affairs, Defense, International Commerce, etc.). However, pettiness being what it is, even at the highest levels... But he soldiered on. Apparently "they" regarded him as an "independent thinker." Wonder what "they" thought of everyone else.

No matter, this reflection is about a man who understood and demonstrated a sense of purpose even when others looked to the short-term, easy way out. He worked for solutions risking his own position in the process. It is a life-skill characteristic inherent in "a person with a sense of honour" sadly rarely seen in today's value structure.

When the same-sex marriage issue threatened to tear apart the Cabinet in 2005, he quietly offered to withdraw, mute his disagreement and work behind the scenes to provide protections for those with a different religious value. I know it was tough. It was the only time I ever heard him question the sanity of some of the Supreme Court Justices who demanded we legislate according to their decision.

"I entered the political world to facilitate, not to obstruct", he would say to me. "The trick to life is to know when you have to go from one to the other, and when you have to step aside." Later in our political career, the small minds in his Party and mine, notwithstanding our quasi-insignificant position in Parliament, drew a line in the sand forcing him to choose between the Party and support for cancer care programs in Thunder Bay's Regional Health Centre.

It reminded me of the quote attributed to St. Thomas More in Reformist, sixteenth century, England: "Place not your faith in Princes". The Party lost an icon of political integrity. Thunder Bay got its health care funding.

Others continued to benefit from his tireless energy until the good Lord and his wife called him to their side, on December 31. He was a great role model. I did not get a chance to say good bye.

Even if it may appear unseemly and self-indulgent, here's how Janet explained to her daughters who I was when we first met at a convention dinner, while Joe and I were busily "working the room": "He's a younger version of your father".

The Speaker and why it's so important they don't fit in

By Hannah Judelson-Kelly

“The Speaker is representative of the House as an institution.”
– Hon. Geoff Regan

“**T**he Speaker is representative of the House as an institution,” explained the Hon. Geoff Regan, Speaker of the House of Commons between 2015 and 2019. The Speaker is more than a figurehead, as he or she presides over the House of Commons, overseeing procedure and protocol and making crucial decisions about the flow and organization of proceedings within the chamber. The Speaker has a crucial role to play in the very fabric of Canadian democracy as the one impartial individual in the House of Commons.

The Speaker of the House has three main responsibilities, to preside over the House of Commons, to oversee the administration of the House of Commons, and international diplomacy. “The Speaker is required to apply the Standing Orders for the House of Commons, to make rulings, and to exercise judgment,” Geoff explained. The Speaker also oversees the administrative staff of the House of Commons. The Speaker represents the institutions of the House, frequently meeting with the 120 Ambassadors and High Commissioners in our country to carry out ceremonial international business and to discuss the diplomatic relationship between countries including multilateral and bilateral relationships.

As someone who represents the whole institution of the House of Commons rather than just one seat or one party, the importance of impartiality in the role of the Speaker is critical. In Canada, the head of the government, the Prime Minister, presides over his party at the House



The Honourable Geoff Regan served as Speaker of the House of Commons between 2015 and 2019. Photo by Sean Kilpatrick.

of Commons, making the Speaker's impartiality all the more important.

“There are a number of conventions used to maintain this impartiality, including withdrawing from the party's caucus, refraining from donating to the national party, refraining from making partisan statements, not speaking or voting (unless in the case of a tie) in debate,” explained Geoff. In May 2016, Geoff faced his first tiebreak vote, when a vote of 139 to 139 occurred in the House over a proposal to change the requirement for Air Canada to maintain maintenance operations in Winnipeg, Montreal and Mississauga. Neutral or not, he was obliged to support the government.

Given the representation of the entire House by the Speaker, the fairness of the Speaker is a frequent topic of conversation to ensure they are carrying out their responsibilities on

behalf of all. “The speaker acts like a referee, particularly when many sides disagree and attempt to gain favour,” noted Geoff. “The days when each side was equally unhappy with me were the best days,” he laughed.

Meanwhile, Speakers maintain their seats as members of Parliament during their tenure, juggling these two responsibilities and potential conflicts of interest. “There is a dramatic difference between these two roles,” noted Geoff, but his background in law and experience as parliamentary secretary to the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons made the role appealing.

Geoff continued representing Halifax West while Speaker of the House, relying on staff in his riding from his days as a regular MP, to address riding issues. Unable to speak or vote in the House of Commons, he had one other advantage. “What you can do is speak directly to ministers and other MPs and intervene on a constituent's behalf through them,” he explained.

The office of Speaker is a central pillar of any democracy to allow fair access by every representative to contribute their opinions and represent their constituency in parliament. The existence of a “referee”, someone to moderate and allow everyone to speak respectfully and vote carefully ensures that this happens. Geoff Regan carried out his duties with dignity and the respect of the House.

The Hon. Geoff Regan served as a member of Parliament representing Halifax West on behalf of the Liberal Party between 1993 and 1997 and then between 2000 and 2019. He was Speaker of the House of Commons between 2015 and 2019.

Our tribute to those who have passed on

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



William Attewell.



Léonel Beaudoin.



Hon. John William Bosley.

William Attewell

Jan. 21, 1932 – Dec. 24, 2021

William (Bill) Attewell passed away on December 24, 2021, at the age of 89.

He began his career in finance before becoming increasingly involved in the Progressive Conservative Party in 1963. Bill served as the MP for Don Valley East from 1984 until 1988 and Markham from 1988 to 1993.

Bill acted as the parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Kim Campbell during her brief term. He worked on several standing committees and legislative committees, and he provided his expertise for topics ranging from finance to human rights to immigration. His prior financial experience particularly helped him on the Finance Committee in Parliament.

He was Canada's representative to the United Nations at the 1998 Expo in Paris and was also honoured throughout his career to meet other leaders such as the Queen.

Bill was known to be an extremely kind man with a vibrant family life. He volunteered and shared his knowledge with those around him and was an active advocate for his community throughout his entire life. "He was a true gentleman" said the Mayor of Markham Frank Scarpitti.

He is survived by his wife, Sandy, his children, Howard and Pamela and his grandchildren and his great-granddaughters. His daughter Leslie passed away in 2017.

Léonel Beaudoin

Sept. 13, 1924 – July 28, 2021

Léonel Beaudoin passed away at age 96 on July 28, 2021. He was born in Cookshire, QC in 1924.

Léonel worked as an insurance agent before being elected with the Ralliement Crétiste Party in 1968, and then with Social Credit Party in 1972 and 1974. He was in office for ten years from 1968 to 1979.

Léonel served as the Social Credit caucus chair in 1968. He served on a variety of committees throughout his parliamentary career and held a long and consistent membership on the Agriculture Committee.

Léonel Beaudoin lived in Sherbrooke and is survived by his 11 children and 30 grandchildren.

Hon. John William Bosley

May 4, 1947 – April 28, 2022

After attending Upper Canada College, Trinity College and the Universities of Toronto and York, the Honourable John Bosley worked for a time for the family business, Bosley Real Estate.

Prior to his election to Parliament, John served on the Metro Toronto Council from 1974 to 1978.

In 1979, John was elected to the House of Commons for the Progressive Conservatives as the MP for Don Valley West. He was appointed parliamentary secretary to Prime Minister Joe Clark.

Re-elected in 1980 and 1984, he was nominated by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney as Speaker, becoming the

second youngest Speaker in Canada's history. He resigned this post in 1986, becoming the last speaker to be nominated by the prime minister. All others since have been nominated and elected by secret ballot.

While he was Speaker, John made some rule changes, one of them requiring MPs' questions to be relevant and on topic. Hon. Bill Blaikie, who served for some time as Deputy Speaker, said that John was honest and fair in his role and decisions.

After politics John spent his life engaged in advising on parliamentary governance and capacity building for organizations in Africa.

In 2002, John received the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee Medal and in 2012 the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal.

He leaves behind his daughter, Yanette, and his partner, Mary.

T.A. Bud Bradley

April 30, 1938 – March 18, 2022

T.A. Bud Bradley passed away on March 18, 2022.

Born in Niagara Falls, ON, Bud moved to Dunnville, ON, in 1942. When he was ten years old, he moved to Montreal and signed with the Jr. Canadiens before moving to Claresholm, Alberta. He attended the University of Alberta and played football and hockey for the Golden Bears.

Bud left university after joining Canadian Officer Training Corps and from there decided to join the army full time. He attended training in Camp Borden, and then attended Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in Victoria, BC in 1970, he returned to school at the University of Alberta to study dentistry and become an army dentist.

In 1979 Bud was elected to the House of Commons representing Haldimand Norfolk for the Progressive Conservative Party. He remained in the House until 1988. During his time served, he was a parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Supply and Services and to

the Minister of Defence under the government of Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney.

Bud returned to Alberta to practice dentistry once again until his retirement in 2005.

“Bud would do anything to help anyone. He once accepted a dental payment in the form of a cow, a black Angus named Suzy Q,” said Ontario MPP Toby Barrett in a statement. “He could talk politics for hours. He could fix anything. He loved dogs and was quite the gardener.”

He is missed by his wife, Susan, his children Michael, Sandra, Tracey, Nicole and Drew and his many grandchildren and great grandchildren.

Hon. Claudette Bradshaw

April 8, 1949 – March 26, 2022

Before becoming an MP, the Hon. Claudette Bradshaw worked in the non-profit sector for years and founded Moncton Headstart Early Family Intervention Centre, a program supporting children and families at risk.

She entered the House of Commons in 1998 and served until 2004 representing Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe for the Liberal Party.

During her time on the Hill, she was the parliament secretary to the Minister of International Co-operation and Minister responsible for Francophonie. She was appointed Minister of Labour in 1998 and re-appointed to this position after the 2000 federal election. In 2004, she was appointed as Minister of State. From 1993 to 2004 she was the Federal Coordinator on Homelessness.

In 2005 she announced that she would not be running for re-election.

“There’s no doubt she changed the lives of many – and made this country a better place,” said Prime Minister Trudeau.

“I am saddened to hear of the passing of my friend and former colleague Claudette Bradshaw. A former MP for Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe and Minister of Labour, her lifelong dedication to assisting those in need had an immense impact on countless Canadians,” stated Minister Dominic LeBlanc on twitter.

She will be sorely missed by her husband of 54 years, Doug Bradshaw; and her two sons: Christopher and Nicholas (Danica), both of Moncton.



T. A. Bud Bradley.



Hon. Claudette Bradshaw.



Joseph-Roland Comtois.

Joseph-Roland Comtois

March 3, 1929 – Oct. 31, 2020

Joseph-Roland Comtois served as the Liberal MP for Terrebonne from 1968 to 1984, save for a one-year resignation from 1976 to 1977 when he ran as a provincial Quebec Liberal candidate. His bid for provincial seat was unsuccessful so he successfully returned to federal politics in a by-election.

Prior to his political career, Roland was an engineer who assisted in the urbanisation of the City of Repentigny in the 1950s. He also helped found the local Hospital Pierre-Le Gardeur.

As a Member of Parliament, Roland secured infrastructure for his constituency, including a new highway, a park, and a network of daycares. Roland served as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministers of Finance, Defence, and Communications at various points in his career. While on the Hill, he chaired the Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills and Standing Orders and the Standing Committee on Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs.

Roland received a Distinguished Service Award from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians in 2005. Roland is survived by his two sons and his two daughters, as well as his grandchildren.

Hon. Joseph Comuzzi

Apr. 5, 1933 – Dec. 31, 2021

The Honourable Joe Comuzzi of Thunder Bay, ON, passed away on December 31, 2021 at the age of 88, surrounded by his family.

Joe served as a Member of Parliament representing the Thunder Bay-Superior North constituency from 1998 until 2008. His political affiliations changed over the course of his career, represent-

ing the Liberal Party for his first two terms, briefly being an Independent and then finishing as a representative of the Conservative Party of Canada. His commitment to the Conservative financial portfolio is ultimately what led to his change of affiliation. He held multiple roles in Parliament, most notably as a member of Cabinet for the Liberal Party for the Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario before crossing the floor. He chaired many Cabinet committees including the committee for Aboriginal Affairs and Canada-US relations. He lent his expertise as an Assistant Critic in the House to labour, transport, and consumer affairs.

Joe was known to always stand up for what he believed in and to be fearless as he did so. “He delivered the goods. There’s no doubt that when stuff had to happen, he came to the table and was not shy about going to sit in the prime minister’s office until he got what he wanted,” recalled former Liberal MP Ken Boshcoff. His riding of Thunder Bay always came first for him, and it was of the utmost importance to him to represent his constituents to the best of his ability.

After Parliament he was the Chair of the International Joint Commission from 2010 until 2014, continuing his political advocacy and his deep commitment to community.

Joe is survived by his four children: Deborah, Elizabeth, Mary-Catherine, and James and his ten grandchildren and four great grandchildren.

Hon. R. John Efford

Jan. 6, 1944 – Jan. 2, 2022

The Honourable R. John Efford of Newfoundland and Labrador passed



Hon. Joseph Comuzzi.



Hon. John Efford.



Ken Epp.

away at the age of 77 on January 2, 2022.

John served in politics at both the federal and provincial levels.

Within his province, he served as the Liberal MHA for Port de Grave in Newfoundland and Labrador's House of Assembly from 1985 to 2001. During his time in provincial politics, he was opposition critic for consumer affairs, public works, fisheries, health and social services. When the Liberals won the 1989 election, John held many portfolios becoming Minister of Works, Services and Transportation and Minister of Fisheries and Aquaculture.

While his bid to become leader of his province was unsuccessful, he later ran for federal Parliament and gained a seat in the House of Commons in 2002. He is remembered for his deep and sincere dedication to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. He served from 2002 until 2006 as the Liberal member of Parliament representing Bonavista-Trinity-Conception and Avalon in respective terms.

He remained a member of cabinet until the end of his term, having acted as both the cabinet minister for Newfoundland and Labrador and the Minister of Natural Resources. He was a member of many Parliamentary committees including for Fisheries and Oceans and Canadian Heritage.

His provincial political experience served him very well on the federal level as well. "Without a doubt, John was one of Newfoundland and Labrador's most recognizable and colourful figures, inside and outside the political arena," recalled Newfoundland Labrador's current Premier, Andrew Furey. John was known to be a pioneer and advocate for his province.

John was diagnosed with dementia in 2017 and conducted many interviews in an effort to raise awareness about the disease. His dedication to advocacy was strong throughout his entire life. He is known as a very fierce and strong figure of the Newfoundland and Labrador community having represented it for so long. His legacy in the province runs very deep.

John is survived by his wife, Madonna, three children and three grandchildren.

Ken Epp

May 11, 1939 – Feb. 20, 2022

Ken Epp (Marvin Kenneth Epp) passed away on February 20, 2022.

Ken served in the House of Commons for just over 14 years from 1993 to 2008. He was the MP for Elk Island from 1993 to 2004, and Edmonton-Sherwood Park from 2004 to his retirement in 2008. He started his career with the Reform Party of Canada and served as a member of the Conservative Party after the Progressive Conservative and Alliance parties merged.

During his time on the Hill, Ken held a variety of roles including deputy house leader of the Official Opposition in 1997.

Before entering politics, he was a math instructor at Edmonton's Northern Alberta Institute of Technology.

Born in Swift Current, SK, Ken was involved in provincial politics after leaving the House of Commons and became the vice-president of the Strathcona Wildrose Alliance Association in 2010.

Rod Frank, Mayor of Strathcona County, tweeted that he was saddened to hear of the passing of Ken and in council stated: "I would like to remember Mr. Epp as a man who made an im-

pact on community."

"Saddened by the death of my friend & former Parliamentary colleague Ken Epp. A profoundly decent and humble man with an abiding faith. My condolences to his family and friends," said Alberta Premier Jason Kenney.

Hon. Joyce Fairbairn

Nov. 6, 1939 – March 29, 2022

The Honourable Joyce Fairbairn was born in Lethbridge, AB, where she started her journalism career. She had a column titled Teen Chatter in the Lethbridge Herald when she was just a student at the Lethbridge Collegiate Institute. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in English at the University of Alberta and the continued her education at Carleton University, earning a degree in journalism.

Joyce's first experience in politics was as a journalist in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. She then went to work for Rt. Hon. Pierre Trudeau as his legislative assistant in 1970 and in 1980 she was the communications coordinator for the Prime Minister's Office.

She was appointed as Senator for Alberta in 1984 until her departure in 2013. During her time in the Senate, she was the co-chair of the National Committee for the Liberal Party in 1991 and the vice-chair of the National, Western and Northern Liberal Caucus from 1984 to 1991.

In 1993, Joyce became the first woman to be appointed to the cabinet as Government Leader in the Senate by Rt. Hon. Jean Chrétien. She also became Minister with special responsibility for Literacy. In 1997 she became the Advisor on Literacy to the Minister of Human Resources and Skills Development.

Joyce also chaired the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the Special Senate Committee on the Anti-terrorism Act. In 2015 she was appointed Member of the Order of Canada. In 2018, the Senator Joyce Fairbairn Middle school opened in Lethbridge, AB.

"It is with great sadness that I learned yesterday of the passing of former Senator Joyce Fairbairn, a wonderful friend both to my father and me, a passionate and brilliant Albertan, and above all, a truly dedicated servant of Canada," said Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau in a statement.

“Her efforts brought national attention to adult literacy, helped reduce stigma for adult learners, and provided Canadians with essential tools and resources to support their learning goals.”

In 2011 Joyce was inducted into the Canadian Olympic Hall of Fame for her support in growing the sport in Canada. She helped found the Canadian Paralympic Foundation in 2000 and also became chair.

“She was a pillar of the Paralympic Movement in Canada for many years, including in critical years of growth, and her leadership, passion, and determination to strengthen Paralympic sport made a world of difference,” said Marc André Fabian, president of the Canadian Paralympic Committee.

Jean-Guy Guilbault

March 14, 1931 – March 4, 2022

Jean-Guy Guilbault passed away on March 4, 2022. He was 90.

He had a long and eventful life, starting out by working in a textile factory and taking night classes in finance, accounting, and business management.

In 1959, he and his first wife Lise Paul started a retail store and eventually transformed the business into a successful pharmacy. He was also a business partner for Silo Supérieur and Sealstor Structure Inc. During that time, Jean-Guy became increasingly involved in community affairs with a long list of presidencies on volunteer boards. In addition, he took a deep interest in education and first got involved politically by serving on the local school board for Saint-François and later for Drummondville's school board.

Jean-Guy was elected to federal politics in 1984, representing Drummond for the Progressive Conservative Party. He was re-elected in 1988 and served as the parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Supply and Services and to the Minister of Public Works.

He was an avid reader and loved hunting, fishing, golf, tennis, and music. The people of his community said of him, “His life experience, as a family man, a factory worker, and a businessman, make him one of the most representative figures in the county and the most capable of managing public funds.”

He is survived by his second wife Rolande Ouellet, his sons Jean-Jacques and Daniel Guilbault, and his four grandchildren.



Hon. Joyce Fairbairn.



Jean-Guy Guilbault.



Hon. Leonard Gustafson.

Hon. Leonard Gustafson

Nov. 3, 1933 – Mar. 18, 2022

The Honourable Leonard (Len) Gustafson passed away on March 18, 2022. Before entering the House of Commons, Len was a farmer in Macoun, SK. After his family moved to Washington State, Leonard took over his father's building moving company.

In 1979 Leonard was elected to the House of Commons representing Assiniboia (later known as Souris-Moose Mountain) with the Progressive Conservative Party. He served four mandates from 1979 to 1993. He was parliamentary secretary to Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney from 1984 to 1993.

Shortly before retirement, Len was appointed to the Senate in 1993 where he served on numerous committees, in particular the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

“When you are appointed to the Senate, there is a steep learning curve, as many of you know. Back then, there were two caucuses, and Len and I were on opposite sides of the chamber. It was in committee, though, where those divisions were less pronounced,” said Hon. Terry M. Mercer in a statement. “Len and I still played for different teams, but I saw him as a coach, with me as the rookie, especially on the Agriculture Committee. I do not think that Senator Gustafson knew then just how much I was paying attention to him, the only farmer on the committee at the time.”

Hon. Donald J. Johnston

June 26, 1936 – Feb. 4, 2022

The Honourable Donald J. Johnston passed away on February 4, 2022.

Born in Ottawa, ON, Donald Johnston attended McGill University earning a Bachelor of Arts degree and then

transferring to the university's Faculty of Law. He graduated in 1958 with a faculty gold star. He continued his studies in Grenoble, focusing on economics and political science.

Donald practiced business and tax law for Stikeman Elliot, the law firm of John Turner. He then founded his own firm with partner Roy Heenan.

In 1978, Donald won a federal by-election representing the Liberals in Saint Henri. He served in the cabinet of Pierre Trudeau as President of the Treasury Board, Minister of State for Science and Technology, and Minister of State for Economic and Regional Development from 1980 to 1984. He ran for the Liberal Party leadership but lost to John Turner. He later became Minister of Justice and Attorney General under John Turner's leadership.

Donald served as a federal MP until 1988 and from 1990 to 1993, he served as the president of the Liberal Party of Canada.

In 1994, Donald was elected for the position of Secretary-General of the OECD which he held until 2006 under the leadership of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. He was the first non-European to hold the post.

He was awarded Japan's Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun for his work as Secretary-General. He received the Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Léopold II, the Commander's Cross with the Star of the Order of Merit of the Republic by the President of Hungary and the Order of the White Double Cross, First Class, by the President of the Slovak Republic.

In 2008, he was appointed as an officer of the Order of Canada and in 2011, he was made an Officer of the National Order of the Legion of Honour. In



Hon. Donald J. Johnston.



Robert Kilger.



Hon. David Kilgour.

2002 and 2012, he was given the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee Medal.

He was an author of many books and articles, as well as a musical composer.

“Under his stewardship, the OECD implemented recommendations for good governance and expanded dialogue on matters of global concern such as democracy and economic development,” said Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in a statement. “He was a visionary leader, a gifted politician, and a dedicated educator. His contributions to Canada will not be forgotten.”

Robert Kilger

June 29, 1944 – Nov. 29, 2021

Bob Kilger was the popular Liberal MP for Stormont-Dundas and then Stormont-Dundas-South Glengarry from 1988-2004. Bob notably served as Chief Government Whip, as well as Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons. He was also the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole of the House of Commons from 2001 to 2004. Bob was friendly with his Conservative opponents and was known as someone who always worked to achieve results for his community.

Following his parliamentary career, Bob served as Mayor of Cornwall, where he was known to grab a drink with a colleague after having a heated debate. Bob is remembered fondly by Cornwall’s subsequent mayor, current Senator Bernadette Clement.

“He was mayor when I was first elected as a councillor in 2006 and we enjoyed two terms together,” she said in the *Standard-Freeholder*. “He showed me, he showed us all, what it is to represent people with grace, dignity and firm resolve. He worked to see his constituents succeed and to make sure our

region took its rightful place in local, provincial, and national conversations.”

Bob’s municipal colleague and NDP opponent Elaine Macdonald said she felt like Bob and she held the same values. Many of his former colleagues remember how collegial he was and how he was a firm believer in following rules.

Bob was a hockey player and played Junior A division. Prior to his political career Bob was an NHL referee and in 1981 became coach for Cornwall Royals. He was also a talented hockey player and respected local hockey coach.

Bob is survived by his wife, Courtney, and his three sons Jason, Chad, and Ryan.

Hon. David Kilgour

Feb. 18, 1941 – April 5, 2022

The Honourable David Kilgour was well-known for his passion for human rights. His championship of causes around the world not only gained him notoriety but brought attention to serious issues that he was able to occasionally influence.

Growing up in Winnipeg, he went to St. Johns Ravenscourt School where he won the Governor General’s medal. He graduated from the University of Manitoba with a BA in economics in 1962 and received a law degree from the University of Toronto in 1966. He was the crown attorney in northern Alberta to the Canadian cabinet minister.

In many ways, David was larger than life. He came from a privileged family in Winnipeg. His sister Geills married former Prime Minister John Turner. David and his sister’s are the great nephew and niece of John McCrea, the poet who wrote *In Flanders Fields*. Their great uncle, John Wentworth Russell, painted the Sir

Wilfred Laurier portrait in the House of Commons. David’s own life reads like a version of Anthony Adverse: he was a ranch hand, a honey bee farmer, a trail guide rider, a copy writer for the *Winnipeg Free Press*, a journalist with the *Toronto Star*, a city prosecutor, a crown attorney and an avid sports participant in boxing, hockey, football, skiing and jogging.

David served in the House of Commons for 27 years. He was first elected in 1979 for the Progressive Conservative Party representing the Edmonton-Mill Woods-Beaumont. As a Tory, he served as parliamentary secretary to the President of the Privy Council, the Minister for CIDA, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Minister of Transport.

He left the PC party in 1990, after voting against the GST, and joined the Liberal Party, where he served as the Deputy Speaker (1993 to 1997), Chairman of the Whole House of Commons, Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa) from 1997 to 2002 and Secretary of State (Asia-Pacific) from 2002 to 2003.

In 2005, David left the Liberal Party over the genocide in Darfur, Sudan to sit as an independent. As an independent, David’s efforts contributed to Canada’s decision to finally send humanitarian aid to Sudan.

Each time that David left a party, it was for something he truly believed in and he stood by his beliefs, rather than by his party. He was not afraid to stand up to leaders and remain vocal in the Chambers for human rights, especially on an international level.

After he left politics, David remained a human rights activist, challenging China’s treatment of citizens following the Falun Gong religion, was just one endeavour. He frequently shared his passions for causes with the readers of *Beyond the Hill*. He continued to write on global human rights issues for many newspapers and his own website. In 2007, David wrote a book with David Jones, a former American diplomat titled *Uneasy Neighbour(s)*.

In 2010, David was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize alongside David Matas for their work on Kilgour-Matas report which researched allegations that many people had been killed to supply China’s organ transplant industry. They

won the Human Rights award from the German International Society for Human Rights in 2009.

In 2021, David was given the Global Humanitarian Leader of the year award by Canadians in Support of Refugees in Dire Need (CSRDN).

“Tireless crusader in the fight against genocide and ethnic cleansing in any part of the world, Nobel prize nominee, firebrand of Canadian politics who put humanitarian principle above partisanship – tens of thousands of words have been written in David Kilgour’s lifetime and after his death to capture the essence of this extraordinary man,” wrote Susan Korah in the Catholic Register.

He will be missed by his wife, Laura Scott Kilgour, his children Margot (Nathaniel), Eileen, Hilary (Ryan), Dave (Ella), Tierra (Vlad) and his six grandchildren. He is also survived by his sister Geills McCrae Turner.

Alexa McDonough

Aug. 11, 1944 – Jan. 15, 2022

Alexa McDonough passed away on January 15, 2022.

Born in Ottawa, ON, Alexa McDonough first attended Queen’s University and then transferred to Dalhousie University graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in 1965. She went on to become a social worker.

She entered politics in 1979 and 1980, running unsuccessfully for the federal riding of Halifax. She then went on to run as the leader of Nova Scotia’s NDP party and won by a landslide in 1980, she became the first woman to hold the title. She remained leader of the party until 1994. She was the longest serving leader of a major party when she stepped down.

Alexa represented Halifax Fairview from 1981 to 1995 in the Nova Scotia Legislature and then went on to enter federal politics. She became the leader of the federal NDP party in 1995 and in the 1997 election, she won and represented Halifax. Her party won 21 seats that year. She would win her seat three more times before retiring from politics in 2008. She stepped down as leader in favour of Jack Layton in 2003, serving as his shadow minister for International Development, International Cooperation and Peace Advocacy.

In a statement at the House of Commons, current NDP leader Jagmeet



Alexa McDonough.



Hon. Josée Forest-Niesing.



Christian Ouellet.

Singh said of Alexa, “She broke barriers for people in a profound way. She broke barriers so that other people could dream big and so the same. Her story is truly one of dedication, determination and decency. She was a remarkable trailblazer.”

After her retirement, Alexa became interim president of Mount Saint Vincent University in June 2009. She was appointed officer of the Order of Canada for her leadership in both the provincial and federal NDP parties. In 2012, she received an honorary Doctor of Civil Laws from Acadia University.

“Throughout her career, she was a trailblazer for women in politics and an inclusive voice for progressive change in Canadian politics. In the House of Commons, Ms. McDonough was a strong advocate for gender equality, support for marginalized people, and a more compassionate government,” said Prime Minister Trudeau in a statement.

Alexa is survived by her sons, Justin and Travis, her brother, Robbie and seven grandchildren.

Hon. Josée Forest-Niesing

Dec. 18, 1964 – Nov. 20, 2021

The Honourable Josée Forest-Niesing tragically passed away on November 20, 2021 due to COVID-19.

Before being appointed to the Senate in 2018, Josée was trail lawyer in Sudbury, ON. She served on a variety of boards including the Art Gallery of Sudbury, the Carrefour Francophone de Sudbury, the University of Sudbury and the Ontario Arts Council.

Senator Forest-Niesing, a Franco-Ontarian, was known as a passionate and engaged senator who fought against cuts to French programs from the Laurentian University. She success-

fully passed a motion calling on the government to provide support for francophone post-secondary education in Northern Ontario.

Josée was an ally of Senator Kim Pate and assisted her in her fight for prisoners’ rights. “We hit it off the minute she arrived in the Chamber. Her positive attitude, that effervescent personality and brilliant smile,” said Senator Pate.

Senator Bev Busson said that Josée “was a great champion for French-language rights, human rights in general, gender equality, indigenous rights” and that she was “a hammer in a velvet glove.”

Despite medical difficulties Josée continued to participate in Senate proceedings, including pursuing reforms to modernize Senate committee mandates. Josée brought valuable expertise and lived experience to the Senate, having previously served as a Sudbury lawyer and Superior Court of Justice Small Claims Court judge.

“We in the Senate have lost a remarkable colleague and Canadian, the brilliant and beautiful Josée Forest-Niesing. Witty, graceful, a passionate champion of Franco-Ontario, and of human rights and social justice, she brought intellectual rigour and compassion to every debate,” stated Senator Paula Simons.

She was a loving grandmother, mother, and wife.

Christian Ouellet

Apr. 22, 1934 – Dec. 21, 2021

Christian Ouellet of Quebec passed away on December 21, 2021, surrounded by his family, at the age of 87.

Christian served for two terms, from 2006 to 2011, as the member of Parliament for the Bloc Québécois, representing Brome-Missisquoi. He was dedicat-

*Julian Reed.**Hon. Bob Speller.**Larry Spencer.*

ed to environmental issues, serving on both the Natural Resources Committee and the Committee for Environmental and Sustainable Development. He also served on many Parliamentary associations and Interparliamentary groups including those advocating for Canada-China, Canada-Japan, and Canada-United States collaboration.

He was the Bloc's critic for social housing.

In 2009, Christian tabled a Private Member's Bill to get rid of waiting times for Employment Insurance benefits. While in Parliament, Christian committed himself to engaging with his constituents and the communities within his riding and around the province of Quebec, making sure to bring them up to date on important issues raised in Parliament.

Outside his political service, Christian was a professor and an architect with a master's degree in building from the University of Manchester in England. He advocated for ecological housing and was involved in the housing business through his work as an architect and designer and beyond.

"He had a passion for politics" said his colleague and former mentee, MP Andréanne Larouche. He was known as a strong leader and his passion for politics inspired others.

Christian is survived by his partner of over 40 years, Estelle Côté, his sons, Simon, Louis-Martin, and Vincent, and his grandchildren, Jordan, Roman, and Fannie.

Julian Reed

Jan. 27, 1936 – Jan. 6, 2022

Julian Reed of Norval, ON, passed away on January 6, 2022, at the age of 85.

Julian represented his constituents at both the federal and provincial level throughout his political career.

From 1993 until 2004, Julian represented the riding of Halton in the House of Commons as a representative of the Liberal Party of Canada. During this time, he served as parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and parliamentary secretary to the Minister for International Trade.

During his time in opposition, Julian served in the shadow cabinet and was on a number of committees including the Committee for Natural Resources and Government Operations, the Committee for Environment and Sustainable Development, the Committee of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Committee of Aboriginal Affairs and the Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food. His repeated experience on these committees meant that he continued to provide his expertise to the political areas he was passionate about, particularly his passion for renewable energy. His experience as a pig farmer also served him in politics of the agriculture sector.

Prior to his federal political experience, Julian was a Liberal member of Ontario's provincial parliament from 1975 until 1985.

"He just had a wonderful sense of the community. He loved to tell stories. He loved to talk. He was full of fun and love," recalled his colleague, former Premier David Peterson. He was an extremely fun-loving individual with an "infectious smile" according to former federal Minister of Environment Sergio Marchi. He had a deep love for his family, music, farming, and his hometown of Norval.

Julian is survived by his wife, Dean-

na, children Chris, Rob, and Melanie, grandchildren Elgin, Avery, Shannon, and Weston and brother Laurie.

Hon. Bob Speller

Feb. 29, 1956 – Dec. 16, 2021

Former Agriculture and Agri-Food Minister and Member of Parliament for Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant, the Honourable Bob Speller passed away on December 16, 2021 at age 65.

Bob is fondly remembered by Prime Minister Paul Martin who said, "From the very beginning, he was the kind of person that you would want to talk to when problems seemed unsolvable. He demonstrated this as a member of Parliament, as a minister of the Crown and as a friend."

Bob served in Parliament from 1988 to 2004, serving in Jean Chrétien's Liberal government as parliamentary secretary to the Minister for International Trade from 1998 to 2000. He chaired Chrétien's 2001 caucus task force on future opportunities in farming.

He served on numerous committees related to agriculture, steel, and trade. Rt. Hon. Paul Martin named him Agriculture Minister in 2003 where he was focused on outbreaks of mad cow disease and avian flu. He led the initiative for an aid package supporting farmers affected by the mad cow outbreak,

As an Opposition MP, Bob was associate trade critic, youth critic and chair of the Liberal rural caucus.

Bob was remembered as devoted to his constituents and having a deep knowledge of agricultural issues.

"We are saddened to hear of the passing of Bob Speller, former Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food. We join with members of the Canadian Ag community in grieving his passing and sharing our thoughts with his family and friends," tweeted Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada.

Bob is survived by his wife, Joan Mouland, and his two adult children, Christopher and Victoria.

Larry Spencer

Dec. 21, 1941 – Mar. 14, 2022

Larry Spencer passed away on March 14, 2022 at the age of 80.

Larry was born in Stockton, Missouri and raised on a farm. After graduating high school, he worked for Hallmark Cards for eight years and then worked

as a farmhand. He owned Larry's Dairy and raised his own cattle on his farm in Missouri.

Larry went on to study theology at Southern Baptist College in Walnut Ridge Arkansas. In 1970, he began his first pastorate. In 1974 he moved to Canada to work as a church planner in Regina, SK.

He was the leader of many ministries and a planner of four Canadian churches. Larry established Discovery Baptist Church in Regina in 1978 and pastored there for 27 years. He later assisted in the Calvary Baptist Church.

Larry was involved with the Northern Lights Association and the Canadian Baptist Convention. He also worked with the Canadian Baptist Builders Disaster relief team and South Garland Church in Texas on the rebuild team / Habitat for Humanity.

In 2000, Larry was elected to the House of Commons representing Regina-Lumsden-Lake Centre with the Canadian Alliance Party. When the Canadian Alliance merged into the Progressive Conservative Party, Larry did not join them and became independent. He ran as an independent in the next federal election in 2004 and lost. In 2006 to 2008, Larry was the international president of the Christian Heritage Party.

Larry wrote a book about his experience as an MP titled *Sacrifice: Truth of Politics*.

Larry will be missed by his wife, Betty, his daughter, Olivia, and a grandson Spencer.

Ron Stewart

April 13, 1927 – Jan. 10, 2022

Ron Stewart passed away on January 10, 2022. He was a long-standing politician and businessman. He was 95.

During his time on the Hill, Ron was responsible for tabling the private member's bill that led to O Canada being adopted as the national anthem in 1980.

Born in Beeton, ON, Ron left his studies at Waterloo College to help his father run the family business in Barrie. He went on to run Stewart Wholesale Company Limited successfully and opened five locations before selling the business in 1997. Ron did return to school at Wilfred Laurier



Ron Stewart.

where he earned a degree in political science in 1977.

In 1979, Ron ran for the Progressive Conservative Party to represent Simcoe South. He was elected and served until 1988. As a member of the opposition in his 1980 tenure, Ron was the assistant critic for Small Business and Tourism. After the 1984 election, the Tories had regained power and Ron was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Public Works and then the parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Supply and Services.

"He was gregarious, he loved people, and he was such an optimist. And he lit up a room!" said his daughter Julie. His son Shane added, "He absolutely followed his conscience. He followed the advice he got from his constituents, and above all else, he was honest, and I think those were his greatest characteristics when it came to him being a successful politician."

Ron leaves behind his wife, Emma, four children, eight grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Maurice Tremblay

April 23, 1944 – Feb. 20, 2022

Former MP Maurice Tremblay passed away on February 20, 2022.

Born in Jonquière, QC, Maurice represented the Lotbinière from 1984 to 1993 for the Conservative Party.

Maurice showed an interest in sports at a young age, and he had ten siblings who helped him play hockey by each providing him with a piece of equipment. He played junior hockey with Le Marquis de Jonquière, and many said he could have easily played with the NHL. He also was an avid football player and was a star football receiver with Le Carrabin of l'Université de Montréal, who wanted to send



Maurice Tremblay.

him to university in America to pursue football. He even trained with les Alouettes. However, Maurice realized his dream of pursuing law while attending l'Université de Montréal.

Maurice specialized in labour law and human rights and became a member of le Barreau du Québec in 1971. He became a labour lawyer for Alcan and later became vice-president and lawyer for Vic Métal. During his time in Parliament, Maurice became one of 16 international students to be accepted into l'Institut de droit de l'espace aérien de l'Université McGill.

As chair of the Chair of the Subcommittee on International Human Rights of the Standing Committee on Human Rights and the Status of Disabled Persons, Maurice had the honour of hosting Nelson Mandela on his first international trip after being released from serving 27 years in prison. He was also a host to the Dalai Lama when he visited Canada. He travelled to Africa several times to oversee a variety of democratic processes including elections and human rights policies.

In 1992, Maurice was based in New York representing Canada with the United Nations for six months.

Once Maurice left parliament, he worked and consulted with Boucher & Associés and also dedicated ten years to the United Way. In the last nine years of his life, he worked six days a week at his daughter's grocery store Épicerie De Grand-Pré.

During his time at university, he met his wife, Hélène Dupéré, and they had two children: Isabelle and Jean-Phillippe. Maurice also had three grandchildren, Louka, Janou and Béa. His children and grandchildren were the loves of his and his wife's lives.



Hon. Bill Blaikie.

The day I took down three Liberal luminaries with one shot

By Hon. Bill Blaikie

Hockey hardly comes quickly to mind when thinking about the life of a member of Parliament. Nevertheless, my time in the House provided me with a number of occasions to indulge my lifetime love for Canada's special sport.

I first played hockey back in the day when we were called the PeeWees instead of the Timbits. After all, I am of the generations who first watched hockey when there were only six teams, and it wasn't unheard of for the Toronto Maple Leafs to win a Stanley Cup or two. There are so many teams now that I have a hard time keeping track of them. Years later, at Victoria University in Toronto, I had fun playing for my seminary team in an intramural league. We held down the bottom spot in the league. Whenever we lost to the commerce team, we used to joke that it was God vs. Mammon, with Mammon winning again. Perhaps it was a foreshadowing of my future political life. But I digress.

A few things come to mind when thinking about hockey and the House.

First of all, there was the opportunity to work with some hockey stars from my youth, like MP Ken Dryden and Senator Frank Mahovlich. They weren't the first NHL players to serve in Parliament. Before my time in the House, there had been Howie Meeker and Red Kelly, and perhaps others of whom I am unaware.

Then there was the time that the Stanley Cup came to the Hill, and I got to briefly hold it – a great householder picture. I think that might have been the time I met Don Cherry, who mused that somebody as big as me would have been a good guy to have on the blue line.

Indeed, my early years in Parliament provided several opportunities to be on the blue line. There were charity games between MPs and others, between MPs and pages, and between MPs themselves. Sometimes former NHL stars



Young hockey player Bill Blaikie and Rocket Richard.

came to Ottawa to referee some of the charity games. Most notable of these was Maurice "The Rocket" Richard, who gave me a penalty. Not something that kept me from having my picture taken with him at the end of the game. Another notable referee was the legendary Montreal defenceman Doug Harvey.

Finally, there was the annual outdoor hockey game between government and opposition MPs on Dow's Lake in Ottawa during the Ottawa winter festival, Winterlude. It always seemed to be on the coldest night of the year. In February 1984, it was the Tories and NDP versus the governing Liberals. The Liberal goalie was then future Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who was sharpening his deflecting skills for future considerations. In the net for the opposition was goalie Mike Wilson, soon to be Minister of Finance after the election later that year. I was playing defence as usual.

Three Liberals were coming down the ice on a breakaway, and through a combination of events, somehow, they all seemed to hit me at once, or I hit them. Down they all went. I was still on my feet. No political metaphors intended, but one can imagine a few. In



MPs Terry Sargeant, Hon. Warren Allmand and Hon. Bill Blaikie with referee Doug Harvey (legendary Montreal Canadiens defenceman) at a charity hockey game in 1983.

any event, a great sense of personal accomplishment ensued until my ribs started to hurt in the change room after the game. I consulted Dr. Bruce Halliday, one of the Tories on the team. He advised me to go have myself checked out at emergency. The good doctor was the MP for Oxford from 1974 to 1993.

My friend and colleague, Terry Sargeant, the NDP MP for Selkirk-Interlake from 1979 to 1984, took me to emergency at the Ottawa Civic Hospital where I had an Xray. I was told my ribs were only bruised, and that they would heal in due course. We made it back in time for the end of the post-game party. Wait times in emergency wards were shorter then.

The parliamentary hockey games were opportunities for cross the aisle camaraderie, as well as cross-checking. I remember them fondly. In conclusion I should observe that most of my parliamentary colleagues were much better hockey players than I was. Nobody ever suggested to me on the ice that I had missed my calling.

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 1979-2008.

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