

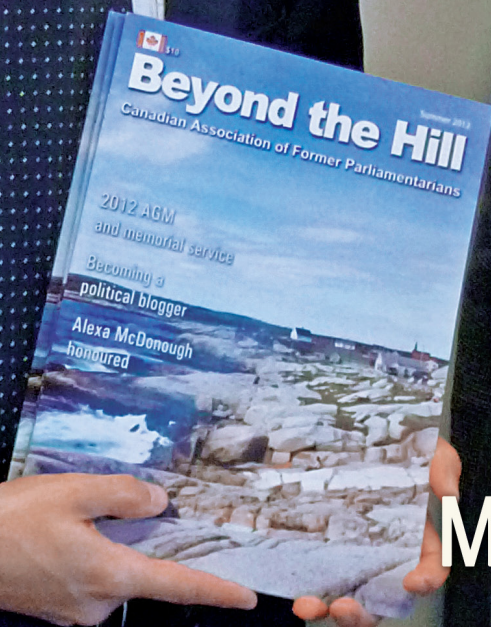


\$10

WINTER 2013

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians



Turkey tour  
Election tricks  
Meeting in Quebec  
Remembering



# Study tour to Turkey



*Wreath ceremony at Anıtkabir.*



*Left: Paul and Sandra Hellyer.*

*Below: Vim Kochhar and Audrey McLaughlin.*

*Below left: Dawn Black and Lynn Hunter.*



*Margaret and Ron Irwin.*



*Marlene Shepherd and Francis LeBlanc.*



*Marlene and Ron Catterall.*

*Léo Duguay signs the guest book at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.*





# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 9, Issue No. 1

WINTER 2013

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Wendy Lill and Richard Starr.



Fashion show at a leather manufacturer in Istanbul.



View of Istanbul from the Canadian Consulate in Turkey.



Shawn Steil, Canadian Consul and Senior Trade Commissioner and Léo Duguay, at the Canadian Consulate in Istanbul, Turkey.

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**ISSN**  
1920-8561

#### Our Mission Statement

*Beyond the Hill*, a magazine for former parliamentarians, is designed to engage, enlighten and inform its readers about each other, their Association and its Educational Foundation. Its aim is to encourage participation in the Association and to promote democracy. The views of the contributors to this publication do not necessarily represent those of 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](mailto:ex-parl@parl.gc.ca). Website: [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca). *Beyond the Hill* is published quarterly.

## Idle no more

It was a blustery day in winter Winnipeg, temperatures in the minus twenties, wind blowing tufts of gritty snow in eyes and mouths as Glenn and I were returning home at 7:00 in the morning after an hour-long workout at the Reh-Fit Centre. Suddenly, the traffic jammed at a usually lazy corner in Winnipeg's affluent Tuxedo area. We soon learned why; there was a demonstration at the corner lights and only one or two cars at a time were getting through.

"Get lost you lazy bums," shouted a raucous voice. "Go back to the hell-hole you came from." There was more like this although the language was not quite so mild. The demonstrators were being upstaged by an anti-demonstration demonstrator.

I opened my car window to see better. Someone thrust a box at me with the question, "Wanna a cookie? Have a cookie."

I didn't "wanna" cookie, which I politely declined, but I did want to see who was staging the event. There were signs saying "Idle No More", the emblem of the current aboriginal protests.

Otherwise, it was hard to tell, because there was not a single aboriginal face in the crowd of well dressed protesters. The white people, the rich white people according to the designer coats they were wearing, had stolen the show, and like the Occupy movement, there was just as little pointedness to the demonstration.

No one was saying, "Let's get a new deal for the Indians," or "Put an end to hardship on reserves" or even, "Get rid of the Indian Act". No one was saying anything much, just stopping traffic and offering cookies.

The protests continue. Today, Jan. 16, according to CTV news, "First nation leaders and activists" blocked the CN rail line near Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. "Percy Ballentine," they reported, "a residential school survivor, said he was willing to put his life on the line to try and protect the environment, his children, grandchildren and all who live in Canada." All fine sentiments, but little beef. It's that kind of movement it seems.

So where is or what is the beef? This round of protests seems to be just one more in a long line of these activities-

that spring up generationally but never change anything much. They all more or less, white or aboriginal, say, "The people are discontented. They feel the huge gap between the very rich and the barely-staying-alive."

Clearly, the demonstrators want answers, even if they don't know the right questions.

As the parliamentary secretary for Indian and Northern Affairs for two years, I had ample time to study the issues and to think about solutions.

Critical to the plight of these people is the welfare system. Welfare destroys initiative. It kills pride. It extinguishes life. It doesn't matter who you are, the impact of welfare is the same. The federal government and the First Nations people of this country have to first get their heads around that fact, then negotiate a new deal that is based on transactions that encourage mutual respect.

Fact one: we have already agreed that the whites took the land and that we should pay for it, but *how* is the question. The answer lies in changing the debilitating, paternalistic system we have now, where we "give" resources (resentfully in most cases) and dole out money that we believe we have "earned" through our hard labour.

Instead, why don't we simply pay for what we use? We could add a royalty on all raw materials coming out of the land from this point onward. The royalty could even be assessed to the company (often foreign) that extracts the resource so the taxpayer burden (and the stigma of welfare) would be removed from the money. The entitlements would then be elevated to the same level as any fee-for-product earnings. First Nations people could become billionaires as a group and more power to them.

So I say to my First Nations' friends: send the white people and their cookies home. Decide on a plan of action and what you want. Face the fact that you have to begin to dismantle the Indian Act, but do so on your initiative, at a comfortable pace, bit by bit, until you have once again established your independence and freedom.

Idle no more? Good for you. But make this round of restlessness really count.

Dorothy Dobbie was parliamentary secretary to Indian and Northern Affairs from 1989 to 1991.





# How the President sees it

**E**ach time I sit down to write this column, I am pleasantly surprised to be reminded about how much is happening in our organization.

## **From the Turks to the Incas to Polar bears**

I'm pleased to report a very successful study tour of Turkey following in the footsteps of our first trip to Australia and New Zealand. Participants had an opportunity for serious exchange with some members of the Turkish parliament and a chance to do some sight-seeing. A detailed report appears in this issue of *Beyond the Hill*.

For 2013-2014 we are currently looking at a proposal to visit Inca culture in Peru and to look at the thriving economy that Chile has become. Since this trip would take us to the southern hemisphere we are looking at a January 2014 trip in order to visit these countries during a warmer time of year. Members who are interested in learning more about this expedition should keep an eye out for information in the magazine and other mail outs.

We are looking forward to our 2013 regional meeting next autumn in Winnipeg which will be combined with a sight-seeing trip to Churchill, Manitoba since this is polar bear season. This will be the most northern part of the country the CAFP has ever travelled to as a part of a regional meeting and it should prove to offer some remarkable scenery and experiences for our members.

## **Annual dinner a success and fun, too**

Our 8th annual Douglas C. Frith Dinner to raise funds for the Education Foundation was once again a resounding success. CFL Commissioner Mark Cohon drew a very interesting parallel between success on the football field, success as a parliamentarian and success in life. Attendance was high and participants expressed very favourable sentiments to us. I'm happy to report that all of our corporate sponsors have committed again for next year.

## **Democracy Week**

As you know the Association continues to build a relationship with current Members of Parliament and Senators who are our future members. A reception held for the opening of Parliament drew over 100 guests and we look forward to more moments when past and present members of Parliament can come together.

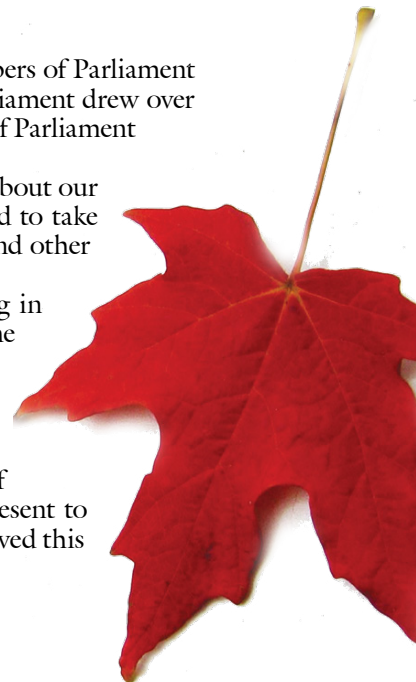
We have been working in collaboration with Elections Canada to foster learning about our democracy across Canada as a part of the annual Democracy Week. I was honoured to take part in a panel discussion in Ottawa (see an article in this issue of *Beyond the Hill*) and other members were active in events across the country.

I attended a meeting of all the agencies in the world that do election-monitoring in Washington. I met privately with members of the National Democracy Institute, the National Republican Institute and the House Democracy Partnership, to explore increased collaboration of former Canadian parliamentarians in international activities for democracy-building and election-monitoring.

## **Lest we forget and thank you Hon. Bill Romkey**

Finally, our association has continued the tradition of laying a wreath on behalf of our Association at the Cenotaph on Nov. 11. The Hon. William Romkey was present to present the wreath during a ceremony to honour the memories of those who have served this country in a military capacity.

**Léo Duguay**  
President







## Executive Director's Report

Turkey tour and dinner, regional meetings and staff changes

By Jack Silverstone

### Study Tour

I'd like to offer sincere thanks to all who took part in our second annual study tour. This year we combined visits to cultural, historical and archaeological sites in Turkey along with extensive interaction with the country's former and current parliamentarians. We sincerely appreciate the work of Ambassador John Holmes and his staff at our Embassy in Ankara and Consulate in Istanbul; they provided us with invaluable briefings. I hope we succeeded in our goal of balancing visits to points of interest along with creating opportunities to meet with our parliamentary colleagues in Turkey and discuss bilateral and regional policy issues in depth.

### Annual Fundraising Dinner

Just prior to our departure to Turkey, our annual gala fundraising dinner for the Educational Foundation took place at the Chateau Laurier in cooperation with the Canadian Football League. It was a glittering success enjoyed by our

hundreds of guests and sponsors. It was particularly exciting to have the Grey Cup in the ballroom and interesting to see how many current and former parliamentarians were either players or executives in the League. I'd like to extend kudos to CFL Commissioner Mark Cohen for an entertaining and inspiring speech on the occasion of 100 years of the Cup.

### Investment Policy

Staying with the theme of our Educational Foundation, the Board is developing a detailed and forward-looking investment policy designed to ensure the long-term independence and viability of the organization. We plan to initiate energetic initiatives to raise endowment funds for the Foundation soon.

### School of Public Service MOU

I am also pleased to report that a Memorandum of Understanding has been concluded with the Canadian School of Public Service. This will put our deep and important relations with that body

on a more predictable footing.

### Regional Meeting

Our regional meeting in September in Québec City was well attended. Everyone enjoyed the dignified beauty of that province's very special capital. Most of our meetings took place amid the incomparable charm and historic decor of the National Assembly buildings. Following the business portion of the event, a coach tour of the historic Île d'Orléans on a brisk but sunny day gave everyone a chance to see some more of the province's unmistakable charm.

### Global Democracy Initiative

I met by teleconference with my colleagues at the U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress in Washington and the European Union Former Parliamentarians in Brussels to discuss advancing the newly created Global Democracy Initiative (GDI) as the successor organization to the International Election Monitoring Institute. We are working on promotional materials

## Bringing democracy to the classroom

By Mike Power

CAFP President Léo Duguay continued the association's proud involvement in Canada's Democracy Week by joining a panel of Canada's civic education leaders at the Government Conference Centre in Ottawa on Sept. 19.

The panel, moderated by youthful Ottawa city councillor Mathieu Fleury, included Marc Mayrand, chief electoral officer of Canada; Paul Taillefer, president of the Canadian Teachers Federation; Jeremy Diamond, director of development and programs from the Historica-Dominion Institute; and Taylor Gunn, President of

the CIVIX student vote program.

The panelists spoke to students from the University of Ottawa's teacher's college about the importance of instilling democratic values in Canada's elementary and high school students.

"It was a cool to hear from the Chief Electoral Officer," said Phil Crichton, one of the teacher's college students. "Our prof made attendance mandatory so hopefully more of my classmates will realize the importance of teaching civics."

Leo drew on his experience as an educator to connect with the students in the room and provided valuable insight

into how to make democracy teachable in the classroom. He spoke about the CAFP's schools program where former parliamentarians visit schools across the country to speak about elections, democracy and the importance of being engaged.

Taylor Gunn of CIVIX discussed the Student Vote program whereby "elections" are held in elementary and high schools, parallel with official elections. Not only does this program engage students in an election in which they would not otherwise have a voice, but it also serves as a reminder to their parents to go to the polls.





*Julie Mertens.*

which will assist in accessing funds for the new entity. It is always gratifying to work with my respected and valued colleagues in these other two international capitals.

### Staff Changes

I regret to have to report to our members that as a result of the government's workforce adjustment policy, which extended to Parliament, we were obliged, after a very difficult process, to downsize our office from three logistics officers to two. Unfortunately, after six years of dedicated and valuable service, our friend and colleague Julie Mertens had to leave us. We thank her for all her contributions and wish her every success in her new position as a House of Commons Page supervisor. This is a major loss in our small office that will have an impact on our activities. I hope that we can count on your understanding and support as we try to cope.

### Léo drew on his experience as an educator to connect with the students

Canada's Democracy Week is organized and facilitated by Elections Canada. In 2012, events were held from Sept. 14 to 25 across the country in cities and towns including Vancouver, Edmonton, Sudbury, Montreal, Fredericton, and Paspébiac, Quebec.

In addition to holding events throughout the week, Canada's Democracy Week provides ongoing learning resources for teachers to use in the classroom. These include lesson plans for elementary and secondary school teachers and additional resources for English as a second language students and low literacy students.

## Where are they now? Intern Edition

By Will Stos



*Lauren Krugel, multi-media Jack of all trades.*



*Mark Masters, sports reporter.*

Speaking to a graduating journalism class in 2004, Carleton professor Peter Johansen said that one of the greatest things about his profession is that he rarely ever had to wonder where his former students went or what they were doing. All he had to do was to pick up a newspaper to read their bylines, listen to the radio to hear their voices or turn on the television to watch them on a newscast. Our former interns have been no less active and successful.

### Lauren Krugel

Lauren Krugel, a BTH intern from 2004-2005, graduated from Carleton University that year and spent the summer working as an intern at The Canadian Press. After volunteering for a school building project in Tanzania, she returned to CP in various contract positions before becoming a full-time business correspondent for the organization based in Calgary.

"I spend most of my time writing about the oil and gas sector, though from time to time I get to write about railroads, airlines and agriculture," she says. "Some diversions from the business file included following newlyweds Will and Kate around Calgary during their royal tour last summer and covering the most recent Alberta election. I'm a multimedia jack-of-all-trades, providing print, radio and video content to our clients."

Lauren says her favourite memory of her time at BTH was a tribute she wrote to the late CBC Ottawa correspondent Tom Earle.

"I travelled by bus to the depths of Gatineau one snowy day to access transcripts of interviews Earle had done for the Parliamentary Library's Oral Histories collection," she remembers. "Earle even had an Oral History of his own, conducted by fellow journalist Doug Small. That allowed me to add his voice to my story, even though

he had passed. I just loved poring over those interview transcripts. They were utterly fascinating and took me back to a different era."

### Mark Masters

Mark Masters, a senior intern from 2006 until he graduated Carleton University in 2008, started work with the Olympic consortium shortly after leaving BTH. He prepared scripts for Olympic highlight reels and features for CTV's "Road to Vancouver." At the Vancouver Games he was a media liaison for the curling and figure skating events as well as handling all international media requests.

After the Olympics, Mark found his way to the National Post reporting on the Canadian Football League. "Go Argos!" he cheers. "It was really a great job. I loved it. I got to go to games all the time."

Mark covered the prolonged debate in Hamilton about whether to build a new stadium and where. Though it was still part of the sports beat, he said his political writing experience at BTH helped him navigate countless city council meetings. "I went to more to Hamilton city council meetings than I'd like to admit!" he laughs.

Mark currently works for The Sports Network as a dedicated hockey reporter, both online and on the air. Based in Toronto, he jokes that his reporting on the Maple Leafs has not helped the team. "Sorry Leaf's Nation," he says. "And to everyone outside of Toronto, you're welcome."

Mark says he misses the BTH editorial board meetings where he had a chance to hear what former parliamentarians thought of his work. He especially misses the staff at the CAFP. "Hanging out with all those guys, it was fun. I always left with a smile on my face and sometimes tears in my eyes if we were struggling to put out the magazine," he laughs.



# Happy days in Quebec City

By Mike Power



*A group picture in the beautiful Quebec House of Assembly.*

Attendees at the CAFP's 2012 annual regional meeting gathered in Quebec City from Sept. 9 to 11, 2012 to reconnect with friends and colleagues, to learn about exciting new technology being used by a local business and to enjoy the region's breathtaking beauty.

The members in attendance were given a splendid tour of the National Assembly in the provincial capital before enjoying a wonderful lunch at the parliamentary restaurant on Sept. 10, 2012.

## A visit to Medicago

The next item on the itinerary was a visit the facilities of Medicago Inc., a Quebec company that produces vaccines in an unorthodox fashion. Medicago makes plant-based vaccines instead of the traditional method of using eggs to grow a benign version of the virus. The company, which employs 190 people, has received significant investment from Japanese conglomerate Mitsubishi as well as investment from the United States federal government.

Medicago produces vaccines for a va-

riety of strains of influenza including H1N1, commonly known as swine flu and H5N1, known as avian or bird flu.

Whereas traditional egg-based vaccines only have an efficacy rate of about 50 per cent in the elderly population (also the population most susceptible to influenza), the plant based vaccine is effective almost 100 per cent of the time. Furthermore, using Medicago's technique, the process of producing the first batch of vaccine can be done in as little as 20 days, compared to the six-month production time of an egg-based vaccine.

Medicago, which provides rapid response vaccines to high risk populations including police, paramedics and doctors, is aiming to become a second vaccine supplier to the Canadian government when new contracts go to tender in 2014.

## The greenhouse

After the process was explained, members excitedly donned lab coats to see the plants in the greenhouse firsthand.

The plant that Medicago uses is a wild



*Hon. Aurélien Gill, Hon. Lucie Pépin and Serge Ménard.*



*Raymond and Yvette Setlakwe, Léo Duguay, Judd Buchanan, Liz and Byron Wilfert.*





*Hon. Aurélien Gill and Louis Duclos.*



*Former Senators Aurélien Gill, Raymond Setlakwe, Lucie Pépin, Marcel Prud'homme and current Senator Dennis Dawson.*



*Léo Duguay welcomes members to Québec City.*



*Marcel R. Tremblay, Yvon Côté, Jean-Guy Guilbault, Gabriel Fontaine and Lise Bourgault.*



*Romuald Rodrigue and Louis Duclos.*



*Hon. Judd Buchanan and Francis LeBlanc.*



*Hon. Sue Barnes and Hon. Judd Buchanan both represented the riding of London West, ON.*



*Yasmin Ratansi, Colleen and Pierre Beaumier, Raymond Dupont, Susan Simms and John Barnes.*

Australian variant of the tobacco plant, that is then impregnated with a solution, incubated in the greenhouse for eight days, harvested, purified and then extracted from the plant. In contrast to the traditional method, the plant-based pharmaceutical is much more efficient. One egg provides only one or two doses of vaccine, while each little tobacco plant can produce 10-20 vaccines.

The technique results in a vaccine that is not a "live" virus like the traditional vaccines, yet the human body believes that it is and still produces an antibody. This process results in fewer side-effects than the traditional mode.

The members and their spouses were virtually unanimous in their praise for Medicago's work.

#### **Dinner and a reception**

The day was concluded with a sumptuous supper and reception at the Chateau Frontenac.

The next day began with a guided tour of Ile D'Orleans. A visit to the Domaine Steinbach orchard was first on the agenda.

At Domaine Steinbach, members sampled the full range of ciders, vinegars, jams, mustards and confits that the family-run orchard offers.

Some of the most popular products amongst the members in attendance were the "Cristal de glace," a cider that is made in a fashion similar to ice wine; the "Dionysos" cider, which is designed as a substitute for white wine; and the "Tourlou," a maple infused digestive cider. Attendees also enjoyed a full range of mustards to sample.

The day and the meeting ended with a fantastic lunch at Les Ancêtres Restaurant.

Next year's regional meeting is tentatively scheduled for autumn in Churchill, Manitoba, the polar bear capital of the world. The CAFP will be providing updates to members once planning is fully underway.



# The new old Parliament Buildings

*\*This is the first in a two-part series on the renovations on Parliament Hill.*

By Harrison Lowman



*The billion dollar renovations on the Hill are changing the face and the guts of the parliamentary precinct. The work is set to last 30 years.*

Parliamentarians and staffers are enduring reams of yellow tape and the constant drone of bulldozers, as renovations on the Hill continue into winter months. The current construction represents the first five-year phase of the government's "Long Term Vision and Plan for the Parliamentary Precinct."

## Disruption

After receiving approval for shovels to hit dirt in February 2011, West Block remains in its demolition stage. Following its anticipated completion in 2017, construction will move to Centre Block.

According to staffers of all stripes, the renovations are proving to be a challenge to routine.

"It's especially annoying because some of the entrances are blocked off," said Vanessa King, an intern for the Minister of Finance. "So it's not as easy to access the Hill."

Justin Reist, a Green Party outreach volunteer agrees. "It is kind of disruptive, just going by Parliament, and seeing the construction fences up and this huge trench," he said. "It's a strange atmosphere."

## West block the worst

West Block, built in three phases between 1859 and 1906, is considered to

be in the worst state of decay, necessitating that it be the first building to be renovated. The restoration of the Gothic Revival Style structure includes the removal of asbestos, masonry repairs, seismic upgrades, and a new roof and windows.

"The West Block is in an advanced state of deterioration and requires a stem-to-stern overhaul," said Public Works in an email.

## Something had to be done

CAFP Director and former Minister of Public Works and Government Services Don Boudria agrees the building was becoming dilapidated. He recalled West Block being "freshly renovated" when he worked as a staffer in 1966. However, he said there was little care taken to preserve the historical appearance of the building. Four decades later the need for renewal is apparent.

"The water was seeping all over the place. There was asbestos insulation in the building; just a ton of wrong things," said Boudria. "There's no doubt something needed to be done."

According to Public Works, restoration has included the careful consideration of art and artifacts. In 1976, the Parliament Buildings and their public grounds were designated as National

Historical Sites. Walls and floors have been protected by plywood encasements and sculptures have been secured using foam padding. Movable materials, such as paintings, have been put in storage to be later repaired and reinstalled.

## Glass centre court to house Commons Chamber

The refurbished West Block will accommodate nine committee rooms, members' offices, and support services. It will also include the construction of a permanent infill in the building's courtyard. This \$115 million glass edifice is expected to add 50 per cent of new space to West Block. It will first act as temporary accommodation for the House of Commons Chamber, allowing renovations to the Centre Block to be completed. It will then be used as committee rooms.

According to some staffers, more space cannot come quickly enough to the Hill.

"I think making more space is great," says Reist. "In Elizabeth (May)'s office we have seven people in an office built for three. I mean you just don't have the right amount of space."

## Over a \$ billion just for West Block

Undoubtedly, renovations have been putting an increasing dent in the tax-





*Gargoyle, inset, is a symbol of the deterioration of the precinct.*

payer's cheque book, spurring controversy. In 2005, the Treasury Board approved costs of \$769 million to restore West Block. By November 2012, public accounts documents showed estimate costs reaching \$1.17 billion.

#### **Costs audited**

Public Works brought in PricewaterhouseCoopers to complete a financial audit of the construction management process. The RCMP had previously launched an investigation into a contract to renovate the West Block's north tower. According to Public Works, West Block's construction management contract was awarded based on the "best value" and a "competitive approach," in which seven firms competed.

Boudria says rising costs are expected and that renovations to parliament are a no-win scenario. He adds that governments are constantly stop and go when it comes to the construction contracts; fearful of public backlash. The former parliamentarian was a member of the Board of Internal Economy and assigned the contract to renovate the Library of Parliament.

"Renovating public buildings is a damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't proposition. Because if you spend a ton of money on a government building,

you are seen as somehow squandering the money," he says. "If you fail to do so, you are seen as neglecting the project. You can't win no matter what you do."

Boudria says these types of arguments will undoubtedly continue as Centre Block renovations, which are still in its planning stage and only expected to begin in 2018, progress.

#### **Centre Block next in 2018**

According to Boudria, MPs may reconsider the renovations to Centre Block when the time comes to vacate the building. While in Parliament, he was part of a delegation sent to England to examine how the British government approached renovations. Apparently, MPs remained in Westminster while the building was being rehabilitated.

"The first thing the British told me was, 'Why do the MPs put up with being kicked out of their building?'" he said. "When it gets in the present tense here I don't know whether the people will still have the prevailing view or whether they'll look at it differently."

#### **MPs may have to move**

Nevertheless, parliamentarians may have little choice but to move. In testimony before the Public Works committee on December 6, 2012, assistant

deputy minister Pierre-Marc Mongeau reported that Centre Block is deteriorating at a rate that could lead to a "critical risk of total failure" by 2019.

Boudria notes that renovations to Centre Block will also be a hard pill to swallow for the public, as they begin to see symbolic buildings shrouded in white tarps. Boudria says while they may be tolerating the scaffolding around the West Block, significant renovations to Centre Block will obscure a major part of the Canadian identity.

#### **The symbolic attraction**

"They associate with the Centre Block and the Peace Tower and none of the other buildings," said Boudria. "They don't even know the other buildings are called Parliament Buildings." As a whole, the Hill hosts over 1.5 million visitors each year and the iconic structures in the Centre Block prove to be the central attraction.

Nevertheless, the former parliamentarian acknowledges a crucial need for renewal.

"It is the property of the people of Canada. Parliamentarians are the custodians of that property, not the owners," he said. "You can neglect your own house, but not the house of the people you have to take care of."



# The Brockville Infantry Company celebrates its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary

By Harrison Lowman



*Flying the flag that sowed the seeds of Canada's future independence.*



*Ready. Aim. Fire!*



The citizens of Brockville are used to seeing red. They're not angry though, merely observers of history. Every few weeks, their eyes catch the glimpse of crimson uniforms, their ears play audience to the tap of military drums, and their noses experience the scent of musket powder.

This year marks the Brockville Infantry Company's 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Now one of Canada's longest active companies, they have become a mainstay in the community. Since their resurgence as a reenactment group in 1990, the company has appeared at a variety of public events, including opening the Upper Canada Village and marching during the city's Santa Claus parade.

After retiring three years ago, former Liberal cabinet minister, the Hon. Paul Cosgrove became the company's administrative clerk. He ensures drills are tight, and historically accurate buttons are polished.

"We're a bit of a fixture," Paul says of the group, whose members include truckers, paramedics, lawyers, children, and farmers.

"All of the public events in Brockville over the last 20 years have had the Brockville Infantry Company with their

red coats as part of the colour."

In December of 1862, local lawyer Jacob Dockstader Buell began commanding the militia unit; a group composed almost entirely of volunteers. The company totaled three officers and 55 militiamen, taken from Brockville's population of 4,000. Four years later they were called into active service to defend Canada's borders.

## The Fenians are coming

Canada in the 1860s was consumed by the threat of an invasion by the Fenians. Upon settling into civilian life, the Irish American veterans from the American Civil War had hopes of conquering Canada and trading it to Britain in return for Ireland's independence. The experienced soldiers then acted on their emotions, launching a series of failed attacks along the Canadian border. Although few shots were fired, the events had a strong political impact. It has been argued that the Battle of Ridgeway, the largest engagement during the raids, was the first to be fought and led exclusively by Canadians.

Peter Macleod, pre-Confederation historian at the Canadian War Museum, suggests that collective defence and security were catalysts for Confederation.



*Infantry tents.*



Canada in the 1860s was consumed by the threat of an invasion by the Fenians. Upon settling into civilian life, the Irish American veterans from the American Civil War had hopes of conquering Canada and trading it to Britain...



*Attenshun!*



*A proud mustache in remembrance.*

He says discussions centred on “how the colonies might be better off combined to unite against threats from the south, rather than dealing with them on their own, one by one.” The museum plans to explore the influence of the raids in an exhibit in the winter of 2016.

#### **Overdue commemoration**

According to Paul Cosgrove, commemoration of the Fenian Raids has been long overdue, perhaps overshadowed by nationalistic sentiment surrounding the War of 1812. He asserts that the raids featured more entrenched Canadian citizens, fighting for a society they themselves had created, with an absence of British participation. He points to the creation of school boards, tax collection and infrastructure as developments that spawned civil responsibility.

“I think it’s the first time that we see, in Brockville, that realization of community,” says Paul. “The first time that we band together, we commerce together, we build together, our kids go to school. And now we’re being called upon to protect what we’ve got.”

Brian Porter, one of the reenactment group’s founding members, agrees. He says 1812 Canada was a primitive rural

society with only inklings of national consciousness. By the 1860s, Canadians were able to come together and protect their creation.

“We had a wider concept here, we can build something bigger,” says Porter. “They see they are creating something worth fighting for.”

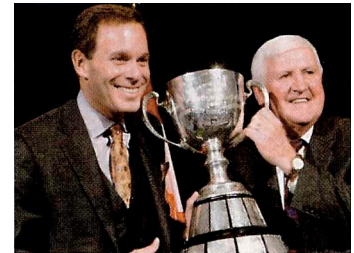
On the field, Porter has made a hobby of channeling Sir John A. Macdonald. During an encampment in 1998, one of the company members suggested the Minister of Militia should inspect the troops.

“I found a top hat and swallow coat and put together a bit of a look, a mock speech,” says Porter. “I tell you, this man is being forgotten in this country. What kind of nation allows these important people to disappear?”

Cosgrove plans to do some teaching of his own. He has a line ready for when the company is mistaken for 1812 reenactors this year.

“We say what we did was prevent the war of 1863,” says Paul. “In other words, had it not been for the volunteers and the organization of local people, the Americans might have thought it would be an easy thing to come across the river.”

## CAPF dinner on *Hill Times* Best Party list



*President Léo Duguay with CFL Commissioner Mark Cohon and the Grey Cup.*

The Hill times recently published its *Power and Influence* issue for 2013, revealing the 101 most influential people in government and politics. Guess who was front and centre in the section on the best parties? You guessed it. The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians Annual Douglas C. Frith fundraising dinner at the Chateau Laurier each autumn was right near the top of the list.

The annual fundraising dinner raises money to support our educational foundation, which is dedicated to promoting democracy and knowledge about democracy across Canada.

CAPF president, Léo Duguay was pictured with Canadian Football League Commissioner Mark Cohon who gave a lively presentation about 100th anniversary of the Grey Cup and its place in Canadian history.

The dinner is always interesting and fun. In the recent past, CBC’s Amanda Lang brought us up to date on the state of the Canadian economy. Other speakers have included luminaries such as Vancouver Winter Olympics char, John Furlong, television broadcaster, Don Newman, and former Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, among the many.

Each year the dinner raises more than \$100,000 for the benefit of the foundation and the good work it does.



# Coming together to remember

Story by Harrison Lowman

Photos courtesy of Royal Canadian Legion



*A detail of the sculptures on The War Memorial.*

**B**ronze sentinels stand steadfast before a solemn audience. The strokes of their sculptor are still visible on their jackets and boots. The soldiers march into an invisible expanse. Their eyes transfixed. Their limbs battered and bruised, wound with dressings of gauze and cloth.

Caught in mid-step, they trudge through muck and sludge towards an objective never to be achieved. They haul mechanical burdens of soldered metal; artillery that will never be fired, grenades that will never be thrown. These men and women wear their livelihood on their backs—rifles, canteens, picks, and gas-masks.

High above, two angels are inter-

twined. One holds a wreath, the other a torch. Their flowing garments cascade over rocks below.

The National War Memorial reprised its role as permanent centerpiece for Remembrance Day ceremonies in Ottawa on November 11. During a break in showers, a crowd dotted with flecks of crimson gathered around the granite cenotaph to pay their respects.

Children perched atop iron fence posts, craning their necks to spot a glimpse of the decorated. Delegates stood with wreaths at the ready. Former Liberal senator William Rompkey represented the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians. The soundtrack was the drone of bagpipes and the cry of bugles.

“The young and old come together today, as partners in the battle against evil,” said Rabbi Reuven Bulka, honorary chaplain of Dominion Command, as he addressed the masses. “They are Canada’s best.”

His remarks were coupled by the deafening burst of artillery fire, as white smoke curled behind the hill. Passersby put fingers in ears for the next round of fire.

Geffrey Hall’s paper poppy stood out amongst a sea of felt. The young man was on business with the British government, but took a break from work to see how Canadians commemorated across the pond. Earlier this month in Chelton he packed his Scouting uniform into his suit-







*Veterans, both male and female, gathered to remember our war dead.*

case with hopes of meeting fellow Scouts and witnessing a Canadian perspective.

"It's nice that it happens all around the world at the same time," he said. "In London, Australia, and Canada."

Still, others held emotions closer to home. Captain Andrew McGregor took time out of his day to watch the commemoration with his spouse.

"I think a lot about my time in Afghanistan and the people I knew and people I know. Definitely about friends and soldiers lost. But I also think a lot about buddies of mine who have been hurt and are still dealing with issues from that," said McGregor. "So for me, it's both to remember guys we've lost, but also guys who are back here still fighting."



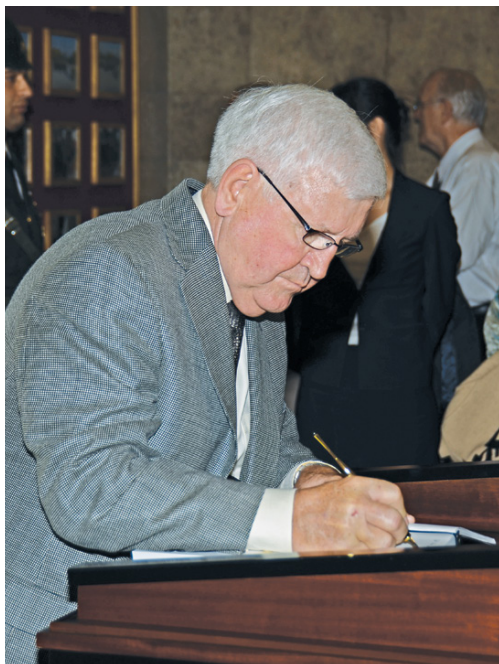




# Former Parliamentarians tour Turkey

Story by Francis LeBlanc  
Photos by members of the tour

*Study tour participants and Captain of the ceremonial guards lead the procession at Anitkabir.*



*Léo Duguay signs the guest book on behalf of CAFP.*

Former Parliamentarians had a chance to experience the dynamism and strategic importance of modern Turkey and to come face to face with old controversies that remain sensitive during a study tour organized by the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians in early November 2012.

## Great way to spend Hallowe'en

Our tour began in Ankara on Oct. 31 with a comprehensive briefing from Canadian Embassy staff. The briefing reviewed the history of Turkey from the struggles leading to its founding in 1923 under the visionary leadership of Mustafa Kamal Atatürk, to the present day.

The presentation examined the geopolitics of Turkey's key role as a member of NATO, its position as a bridge to both Asia and the Muslim world and the challenges Turkey faces with its neighbours. Canadian-Turkish relations, including the touchy issue of Ar-

menia, were also discussed with nuance.

## Old wounds heal slowly in Turkey

The following day, we toured the Turkish Grand National Assembly and met with parliamentary leaders. Our 29-person delegation of former Parliamentarians, their spouses and guests were given a stern 20 minute lecture on why the Canadian government and Parliament were wrong to declare the events of 1915 in Armenia as a "genocide" committed by the Turks on the Armenian people.

Canada is alone among the world's nations to hold this view we were told, incorrectly, and this is preventing the development of friendship between our two countries. In the minds of our hosts, what Canada needed to accept was a joint panel to review the historical evidence.

The lecture was given by Nevzat Pakdil, Secretary General of the Union of Turkish Parliamentarians, and by Nabi Avcı, chairperson of the Turkey-Canada



"Canada is a good friend to Turkey and we want to be a better friend," Léo said. "So we just need to keep talking about the issues we disagree on and not let the disagreement colour our relationship."

*Procession at Kemal Ataturk's memorial.*



*Rug factory tour.*



*Tour of Hagia Sophia Museum in Istanbul.*



*Cappadocia Vista.*



*Weaving demonstration.*



*Turkish Grand National Assembly.*



*Blue Mosque Tour.*

*Cover photo with Stawn Steil and Léo Duguay at the Canadian Consulate in Istanbul.*







*Lunch hosted by Turkish Parliamentarians at the Grand National Assembly.*



*Closing Dinner at the Crowne Plaza Hotel in Istanbul.*

*Tour of pottery factory in Avanos.*



*Inset: rock formations in Cappadocia.*

*Balloon ride in Cappadocia.*



### Inter-parliamentary Friendship Group. **Good friends keep talking even when they disagree**

The Canadian delegation chose not to provoke our hosts by challenging these assertions. Instead, the Chair of the Canadian delegation, CAFP President Leo Duguay, adopted the diplomatic principle that "discretion is the better part of valour," and elegantly sidestepped the controversy by telling our hosts that good friends can disagree and, when they disagree, they just keep talking until they find a solution.

"Canada is a good friend to Turkey and we want to be a better friend," Leo said. "So we just need to keep talking about the issues we disagree on and not let the disagreement color our relationship."

Leo also drew attention to the fact that of the 100,000 young Turkish students who study abroad, only 3% do so in Canada. "We should work together to change that and find ways to increase the number of contacts between the young people of our two countries."

The message was well received and, following an exchange in which delegates asked how Canada could be helpful in the crisis in Syria, praised Turkey on its performance in the Paralympic games, and wondered at Turkey's impressive rate of economic growth, we were treated to a formal luncheon by our Turkish hosts.

### **Wreath laying, underground city, balloon rides**

Before concluding our two-day tour of Ankara, we paid a visit to Anitkabir

where our president laid a wreath on behalf of CAFP at the tomb of Turkey's revered founder, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. The delegation also visited the Museum of Anatolian Civilization, a showcase of ancient Hittite civilization, on the Citadel overlooking the Capital.

We left by bus to Cappadocia for a tour of the volcanic valleys, "fairy chimneys" caves, and rock formations. We also visited the Kaymakli Underground City, where early Christians built an elaborate system of caves in which to worship and hide from their enemies. Not on the tour, but a highlight for those who experienced it, was an early morning flight over the region in a hot-air balloon. We learned that Cappadocia is the most popular site for hot-air ballooning in the





*Courtyard of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.*



*Visit to Grand Bazaar in Istanbul.*



*Walking tour in Cappadocia.*



*Rug weaving demonstration.*

world with more than 100 balloons aloft on any given morning.

#### **Ahhh, Istanbul**

We concluded our tour in Istanbul, visiting such monuments to civilization as the Hagia Sophia, the Blue Mosque, and the Topkapi Palace, and meandering through the Bazaars and marketplaces of this magnificent city. Thanks to the good offices of Canada's Consulate in Istanbul, the delegation participated in a seminar on Turkey's economic and geopolitical situation with Canadian Consul and Senior Trade Commissioner, Shawn Steil, the Turkish Director for Scotiabank, Oguz Kinik, and Director of the Istanbul Policy Centre, Dr. Fuat Keyman. The seminar and the Embassy briefing on the first day were informative

book-ends to an enjoyable and enlightening visit.

#### **Watch for next year's tour**

The eight-day visit to Turkey is the second study tour organized by the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians for its members. The first in 2011 went to Australia and New Zealand. The purpose of the study tours is to enable members to learn about the politics and culture of varied and interesting parts of the world, in a congenial atmosphere, and to make connections with the Parliaments there. All expenses for CAFP Study Tours are covered by the participants themselves. Watch the CAFP website [www.exparl.ca](http://www.exparl.ca) for the location of the 2013 Study Tour, to be announced early in the New Year.



# Libraries, Legislation and Technology in the Lone Star and Golden States

By Rebecca Katz, Norah Kielland, Katie Meredith, Francis Perreault and Zoe Savage

In California, the Sunset review seeks to create more efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and accountability and attempts to find out if an agency's functions continue to be needed. If it fails to meet the prescribed tests, the agency is abolished.

Thanks to generous funding from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, five research interns from the Library of Parliament took a southern sojourn in March, 2012.

Trips to Austin and Sacramento were undertaken to learn about the Texas and California legislative systems and to study the broad themes of the delivery of legislative services in the face of budgetary restrictions, the use of social media in engaging legislators and the unique auditing style of Texas.

## Texas Legislature

Sitting only 140 days every other year, the Texas legislature is one of the few states to operate only part-time. Texas legislators earn only \$600 per month and a per diem of \$150 for every day the legislature is in session. The low salary and short legislative session reinforce the underlying nature of small-c conservatism in Texas as well as the idea of a "citizen legislature."

Described as a legislative system designed to kill bills, the 2011 legislative session saw 5,938 bills introduced and only 1,380 become legislation. Unsurprisingly, the large quantity of bills combined with the short legislative session has led many, including House Parliamentarian Chris Griesel (similar to Canada's Clerk of the House of Commons), to liken the Texas voting process to an auction block.

## California Legislature

The California legislature stood in stark contrast to the small-c conservatism of Texas. With a population and



Left to Right: Katie Meredith, Francis Perreault, Norah Kielland, and Zoe Savage stand in Texas' part-time legislature. The state's assembly meets only 140 days every other year and pays its legislators a part-time salary.

economy slightly larger than the whole of Canada, California has spent the past four years weathering a severe budget crisis. The Californian initiative process has resulted in a hybrid form of governance that incorporates elements of representative and direct democracy.

After several successful initiatives, the ability of the legislature to enact measures to increase state revenues is limited. As a result, in 2008 then-Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger imposed mandatory furloughs on state agencies in order to reduce spending. Inevitably,



# Don the music maker

The Twitter and blog platform of the Texas and California legislatures are used to increase the avenues of current information and emphasize important legislative issues.



*Don and Maryanne make lovely music together.*

One thing we need to acknowledge is that our members are a pretty diverse and talented group. There are among us, actors, sports heroes, doctors, lawyers, teachers and writers to name just a few of the extra-curricular accomplishments of former parliamentarians. Many have now retired to a more sedentary life, but there are still some who take up a hobby or an old career and rejuvenate it and themselves.

The Hon. Don Boudria and his wife Maryann are two of these. Don has rediscovered his first love, namely music. He with his guitar and Maryann on the mandolin are members of the Ottawa Bluegrass Society.

They jam several times a month at various events including music festivals and campgrounds. They play old rock and roll, country, and bluegrass music. Maryann, who had never played a musical instrument until April 2011, plays with Don at all of the jams.

## Keep us in the know

If you have taken up an unusual passtime or career, let us know at *Beyond the Hill*. We love to hear from you.

The Hon. Don Boudria P.C. served in the House of Commons from 1984 to 2006 as the MP for Glengarry –Prescott-Russell. He served in Prime Minister's Jean Chrétien's cabinet for seven years. After 'retiring', he joined Hill & Knowlton Canada and does government relations, specializing in Parliamentary affairs. He has also learned to speak a third language, namely Spanish.

improved service, the interns gleaned a more optimistic take on the otherwise gloomy issue.

California's budgetary crisis has the people of the state paying attention and this in turn gives the state agencies and legislative bodies a historic opportunity to rebuild a performance-based model of government driven by the population's demand for change.

## The Sunset Advisory Commission

Unlike traditional auditing agencies, the Sunset Advisory Commission has a binding component in its conclusions. It performs mandatory financial and management audits of over 150 state agencies and departments every 12 years. Approximately 20 to 30 agencies undergo the Sunset process every legislative cycle.

The Sunset review not only seeks to create more efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and accountability but also attempts to find out if an agency's functions continue to be needed. After submitting its recommendations to a bipartisan Sunset Commission, the committee decides to either abolish the agency or to introduce the recommendations to the Legislature as a bill. If the bill fails to pass through the Legislature, the agency is abolished. Although unparalleled in the Canadian parliamentary context, the Sunset Advisory Commission is an interesting study for government accountability.

## Social Media

The interns were particularly interested in exploring the use of new technology, such as social media, by the

Texas and California legislatures. After meeting with representatives from the Legislative Reference Library of Texas it became evident that their use of social media plays an important role in their strategy to engage legislators.

Their twitter and blog platform are used to increase the avenues of current information and emphasize important legislative issues. The interactive and accessible nature of social media has enabled the Texas Legislative Reference Library to track the popularity of certain feeds to successfully push their content and cater to the informational needs of their legislators.

The entrepreneurial librarians of the Texas Legislative Reference Library also use these social media tools to bridge the gap between legislators, researchers, civil society and individual citizens.

## Reflections

Upon returning to Canada, the interns shared their experiences and lessons learned in an information session for their Library of Parliament colleagues. In an era of dynamism and uncertainty, the ability to continually re-examine best practices and find new and effective ways of doing business and engaging legislators is of utmost importance.

Thanks to the generous contribution of the CAFP, the Library of Parliament's research interns were able to glean the wisdom of their Texas and California counterparts, and bring new ideas home to the Canadian context. It was a valuable experience and one we will not soon forget!



# Royal memories

By Harrison Lowman

\*The second part in our feature on former parliamentarians' encounters with the monarchy.

## William McCrossan

Former Progressive Conservative MP William McCrossan has a unique connection with the royal family. In 1939, the King George and the Queen Mother criss-crossed Canada in an effort to gain support for what had become the inevitable Second World War. During their tour, the Queen Mother had a private dinner with an old childhood friend she had met in Girl Guides called "Mrs. French" at Toronto's King Edward Hotel. The meetings had become customary during the monarch's visits to Canada. Royal protocol required Mrs. French have a chauffeur. McCrossan's father happened to have his chauffeur's license.

"And so Mrs. French asked my father whether he would polish up the car and drive her to meet the King and Queen in 1939," says Bill McCrossan. "My dad, who (shall we say) was a nobody, was actually the driver who took Mrs. French for the private meeting with the Queen Mother in 1939."

When the Queen Mother visited Canada years later, Bill and his mother were invited to attend lunch with Her Majesty at the same King Edward Hotel.

"It was one of the thrills of my mother's life," he admits.

## David Collenette

Former Liberal cabinet minister, the Hon. David Collenette, had the opportunity to escort the Queen during her visit to Toronto in 1997. He accompanied her to a Chinese Canadian cultural event downtown. Coincidentally, while the Queen was at the Chinese gathering, Prince Charles was in Hong Kong. The Royal was there to witness the exchange of Hong Kong to China.

"Suddenly there was a TV that showed Prince Charles in Hong Kong live," explains David. He says he di-

rected the monarch towards the screen, from which she could not take her eyes. "She was quite fascinated by the fact that she was in Toronto doing an event and saw her son officiating an event in Hong Kong."

## Paul Cosgrove

Shortly after the signing of the Constitution Act, former Liberal cabinet minister, the Hon. Paul Cosgrove accompanied Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip through the refurbished East Block During his tour, the Queen unveiled a plaque dedicated to the re-opening of the section of Parliament. Prince Philip thought it would be a good time to offer his opinion regarding the upkeep of the House of Commons.

"He said, 'Why don't you clean your buildings?'" says Paul. "And before my mind is thinking, my mouth is speaking and I said, 'Well your Excellency, we don't have very many old buildings, and if we cleaned them we feel they would lose their oldness.'"

## Sarmite Bulte

As head of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, former Liberal MP Sarmite Bulte attended Golden Jubilee celebrations at Westminster Abbey and Buckingham Palace.

"I felt like Alice in Wonderland," says Bulte. "I had to keep pinching myself."

After being introduced to Her Majesty at the Westminster reception, she was in the Queen's presence the following day. Much to Bulte's surprise, the Queen remembered her.

"Her Majesty said, 'We met last night,' explained Sarmite. "I was very impressed, because there were hundreds if not thousands of people at that."

## Ken Boshcoff

Former Liberal MP and Thunder Bay mayor Ken Boshcoff had the chance to meet the Queen during her visit to Ex-

hibition Place in Toronto. He was one of about one hundred Ontario mayors, adorned with their chains of office, encircling Her Majesty.

"It's a pretty impressive sight," says Ken. "There was a fair amount of hardware out there."

## Michael Wilson

Former Progressive Conservative cabinet minister, the Hon. Michael Wilson, was in charge of escorting the Queen throughout Toronto in 1984. During a royal dinner he sat beside Her Majesty, and was immediately surprised by the lack of attention the Queen was giving him.

"For the first half of the dinner, she talked to the person on other side of me," says Wilson. "And I thought, 'What did I say wrong? She's totally ignoring me and how can I break into this conversation?'"

Once the plates for the first course were cleared she turned towards him and conversed for the remainder of the meal.

"I realized that she wasn't ignoring me but that that was the way she did things," says Michael.

## John Crosbie

Former Progressive Conservative cabinet minister, the Hon. John Crosbie, had the privilege of representing Queen Elizabeth II as the twelfth Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador. Like most lieutenant governors, he met the Queen during a customary trip to England.

He was given precisely 20 minutes in Her Majesty's audience. John says the monarch is an expert at meeting delegates.

"She doesn't have to say anything when the meeting should end," he says. "You just instinctively know when the time has come that you should give her a break and go on your way."



# Meeting of les Amicales

By Francis Leblanc



*Participants at the meeting were, in the front row (left to right): Pierre Gingras, Vice-President of the Amicales; Yvon Bordeleau, Director; Carole Th  berge, President; Francis LeBlanc, CAFP; and Muriel Smith, Co-ordinator of Activities with the Association of former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Back row (left to right): Gilles Morin, Vice-President of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians; Marie Tanguay, Secretary of the Amicales; C  cile Vermette, Past President of the Amicales; Linda Asper, President of the Association of former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba; and Cliff Evans, Secretary and Youth Parliament Coordinator for the Association of the former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.*

Former members of the provincial legislatures of Ontario and Manitoba were hosted by the *Amicale des anciens parlementaires du Qu  bec* in the Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine room at the National Assembly Parliament Building in Quebec City on October 1, 2012 for a working meeting.

As president of the Educational Foundation, I was pleased to attend on behalf of CAFP. The session was an opportunity for the associations in attendance to share experiences and ideas with the aim of broadening the network and encouraging the participation of former parliamentarians from other Canadian provinces.

Gilles Morin represented the Asso-

ciation of former Ontario parliamentarians. Three provincial colleagues from Manitoba attended the meetings and agreed to host next year's session in Winnipeg in September 2013.

The welcome was warm and the meetings well prepared. The Association of former parliamentarians from Qu  bec, under the leadership of President Carole Th  berge and Secretary-General Marie Tanguay, is very active on many fronts and the meeting demonstrated that there is much to be learned by further exchanges.

Participants at the meeting were, in the front row (left to right): Pierre Gingras, Vice-President of the Amicales; Yvon Bordeleau, Director;

Carole Th  berge, President; Francis LeBlanc, CAFP; and Muriel Smith, Co-ordinator of Activities with the Association of former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Back row (left to right): Gilles Morin, Vice-President of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians; Marie Tanguay, Secretary of the Amicales; C  cile Vermette, Past President of the Amicales; Linda Asper, President of the Association of former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba; and Cliff Evans, Secretary and Youth Parliament Coordinator for the Association of the former members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.



# Dirty tricks in politics

In electioneering, “dirty tricks” appear to be much in the eye of the beholder, the natural companion to cries of foul play.

By Harrison Lowman

As shouts of foul play continue to echo through the halls of Parliament over the results of the last federal election, academics and former parliamentarians alike cannot help but reassess the catchall phrase “dirty tricks.” Canadians have used the term to describe controversial acts on the campaign trail since the country’s inception. However, according to experts, the dirty tricks label has become ambiguous in the twenty-first century.

## What’s a “dirty trick” today?

“The precise meaning alludes me,” confesses University of Toronto political science professor Lawrence LeDuc, who researches Canadian political parties and elections. LeDuc believes the term is used loosely. He says its meaning and acceptance can shift depending on the morals of those using it.

For many, dirty tricks are committed on a large scale by parties themselves. For others, they are done merely at the hands of campaign volunteers. Former Liberal MP Colleen Beaumier recalls canvassing as a youth throughout Toronto, mimicking the actions of her adversaries as she ascended apartment complexes.

## “Everybody did it.”

“If two or three parties were all canvassing at once, everybody’s jackets were just stuffed full of the other guy’s literature that they would pick up,” says Beaumier. “But everybody did it, you saw people doing it.”

Former Liberal communications strategist Jim Maclean considers certain types of media to fall under the dirty tricks category. “I think negative advertising in a sense is a dirty trick because it debases and degrades politics and politicians of all stripes,” he says.

Similar to LeDuc, University of Toronto associate political science professor Nelson Wiseman notes the obscu-

rity of the dirty tricks definition. “What it comes down to is in the eyes of the beholder,” he says. According to Wiseman, these eyes change their perspective repeatedly over time. This makes it difficult to define the legitimacy of modern campaign practices when comparing them to the past.

## Society is changing

“It’s not like comparing mathematics; it’s not comparing Hailey’s Comet,” says Wiseman. “Society is constantly changing, values are evolving, values are changing.”

Former Progressive Conservative minister, the Hon. Paul Dick took a front row seat during some of these changes. He remembers campaigning for Conservative provincial MLA George Chalmers as a law student in New Brunswick, and “treating the voter.”

## His trunk was full of booze

“His trunk was full of booze, and he told me to take the car and here’s where to drop the bottles off,” recalls Paul. “It was the tail end of the old booze game.” By the time of his own first election in 1972, he understood these practices were no longer tolerated. He told his campaign manager they were not to allocate funds for gifts of alcohol. “I said, ‘Hey we’re in the voting business, not the booze business; tell them to close all the booze down,’” recalls Paul.

## The public is watching

Paul Dick’s experiences match another realization of political academics. The public now expects more from its political system. According to Carleton University political science professor, Jon Pammett, politicians now face increased scrutiny for their remarks and actions.

Alternatively, LeDuc believes the public has placed more faith in the regulatory agencies created to control politicians. “So we know there are things in place that should work,” says LeDuc.

“And if they don’t work or if they don’t work well enough, then I think that rattles people a little bit.”

According to LeDuc, the recent rise in safeguards has been coupled by a rise in the malicious nature of Canadian electioneering. The academic describes recent “no holds barred” tactics used by the modern campaign. “In Canada, it’s this idea that you try to crush your opponent at all costs,” he explains. He says these techniques are being imported from the United States, which Canada uses as a breeding ground for its advisors and advertising firms.

## Obsession with negativity

Former Liberal MP John Reid says he has also witnessed a shift. He highlights an obsession with negativity, which he claims leads to dirty tricks. John says he is concerned about the Canadian electorate becoming accustomed to new dirty tricks.

“The real dilemma is that the electorate seems to accept this as okay,” he says. “Therefore these systems pollute the body politic and pollute our ability to do things in common.”

## The dirty tricks don’t mean votes

Pammett says dirty tricks are far less influential than some may think. He says the acts have little effect on campaign results. “To the extent that people are very committed to parties or candidates, the chances of disinformation having a major impact are probably very low,” explains Pammett. “People will be perhaps extremely suspicious of attempts to shift them, or discredit people they are quite committed to.”

Paul Dick agrees that what most consider dirty tricks continue to be taken with a grain of salt. “Getting out and doing the ordinary legwork that has to be done during an election campaign, I think will bury that other stuff,” says Dick. “Face to face, you can’t beat it.”



# A new CAFP member reflects on his time in the Senate

Excerpt from Michael A. Meighen's farewell address to the Senate

Michael A. Meighen was appointed to the Senate as a Progressive Conservative in 1990. In his farewell address to the Senate he praised the value of public service and urged Senators to work across partisan lines for the good of the country.



*Michael Meighen.*

To my sons and all members of their generation, it is my sincere hope they will begin to reverse the decline in interest amongst today's youth in public service.

Whether it is at the community, municipal, provincial or federal level, Canada will need your energy, optimism and ideas – and ideals – in the decades ahead.

And if you choose to offer your name in politics, or through work in public or community service, I can guarantee you the following: you will discover that there is so much more to life, as Wordsworth reminds us, than just the business of “getting and spending.”

In paying tribute in the 1930's to Sir Robert Borden, Arthur Meighen wrote;

“Happier still are they who, as the shadows lengthen ... enjoy the undimmed confidence of everyone who shared with them their struggles and anxieties, and who have just cause to hope that when all is over there will be heard from their fellow men the simple and sincere benediction: ‘He served his country well.’”

## Partisan co-operation

Through our national political parties, we have forged compromise and understanding. We have also forged a nation.

That nation – Canada – must be continually renewed. Our political parties remain the best vehicle for each succeeding generation to do just that: renew and build Canada in the best way we can.

I also ask my sons' generation to never lose sight of the founding cornerstone of our country and its future; the partnership between English and French that first united us in 1867. This partnership must remain central to your concerns as you move Canada forward.

Proud partisan that I am, I would still be less than honest if I did not say I have found the last decade disconcerting in some ways. Partisanship should be a way of uniting and building, not dividing.

Here in the Senate I hope that in the years ahead, Honourable Senators will put aside the easy temptations of blind partisanship – to which I too have yielded during my career.

## The Senate as a workshop

As some of you will know, my grandfather sat in this special place for a decade. He served as both a Cabinet Minister and Opposition leader during his service as a senator.

“The second chamber,” he said in the 1930's, “should be a workshop and not a theatre.”

He left history the following warning concerning the health of this body.

And I quote;

“The Senate is worthless if it becomes merely another Commons divided upon party lines and indulging in party debates such as are familiar in the Lower Chamber, session after session. If the Senate ever permits itself to fulfill that function ... then the sooner it is abolished the better.”

Despite my fears, I am also fortunate to look back at my involvement here and recall many examples when I experienced the Senate at its best, “a workshop” indeed. In my view, the best workshops of the Senate are its committees.

In my final words as a Senator, I will not be quoting from Arthur Meighen. Instead, I will follow his example and turn to the words of his great and worthy opponent, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Through Laurier, Canada's first and greatest French Canadian Prime Minister, I wish to again offer my advice to my children and their generation.

Laurier said the following:

“Canada first, Canada last, Canada always.”

May those words guide each and every one of you in the years ahead.





*The Hon. John Reid.*

# Getting the news you need

By John Reid

The traditional mediators of our news are less and less available as newspaper reporting contracts. Today, you need to work the Internet to find out what you need to know, but who can you trust to tell you?

When I was growing up in a little town in northwestern Ontario, we had four newspapers coming into the house – the Winnipeg Free Press, the Winnipeg Tribune, the Toronto Star and the Fort William Chronicle. A few years ago, on my birthday a friend gave me a copy of the front page of the Winnipeg Free Press of February 8, 1956. There were 12 stories on the front page, all important. Today, a big news day might have up to four stories on the front page, including “human interest” stories.

There was a lot of content then, and because of its importance, a great deal of news from abroad. Of course, in those far-off days, TV was just beginning and relied on newspapers for its news; even radio used the CP teletype news feed.

Today, newspapers are fighting for survival. The fear that computers would diminish the use of paper has come to pass, as the sale of hard copies of newspapers, books, and magazines, has fallen off significantly.

We now use the internet to surf to find our news and opinions. Where it used to be that we could find what we needed (or thought we needed) in one or two places, now the information is scattered and we have to search for what we want.

Newspapers, their editors and reporters, once acted as our gatekeepers. Content was extensive but controlled. Papers had character and one could readily

discover their bias; but since they were usually locally owned, they served their communities well and reported on a wide variety of events and personalities. The presence of at least two papers in each of the larger population centres also created competition and kept the gatekeepers in check. But multi-newspaper cities are now an exception in North America and there are many more places competing for our attention.

We are in an interesting time as consumers of news and media. Entertainment is very easy to obtain – the problem is how to avoid it! Scarce are sources for comprehensive reporting of hard news.

News organizations have already significantly cut out the numbers of reporters and production staff and have merged TV, radio, newspapers and magazines (and reporters) into large corporate organizations. Consequently, there are fewer and fewer people to do the hard work of researching and writing stories. Much of the “filler” in our papers comes from other countries, usually the U.S.

What is published in the traditional media has become less coherent and more random. It is little wonder that our political and social memories appear to be so poor; there is now little or no continuing coverage of many stories.

We are told that young people seldom read newspapers anymore, preferring instead to browse what is available for

free on the electronic media (especially blogs) and to see what their friends post on social media networks. This creates the problem of an information bubble – you end up reinforcing your existing views and there are fewer chances of reading information that may challenge your biases.

How can we get the information we want and need in this new media environment? Here are some ideas. I find that in some ways, the electronic versions of newspapers are deeper than what is now published on paper and the same applies to the older broadcast media. Although many news organizations are building online paywalls, a subscription to a newspaper or magazine usually results in an electronic subscription as well.

There are news aggregators that draw on a variety of sources as well. For example Yahoo, Sympatico and some blogs draw on diverse voices and many news organizations. You might have to do some investigative work, but these sources can replace, or at least enhance the news consuming experience.

In the new digital world, we have to increasingly find our own sources of useful information, from friends, from surfing, and from luck. There are challenges as we rely less on the traditional information gatekeepers, but there are rewards as well. To get you started, here is the site I often use. I warn you that it can be addictive – [www.alddaily.com](http://www.alddaily.com).



# The country club bombe incident

By Geoff Scott



*Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, left, and Leader of the Official Opposition George Drew, right, came under some friendly fire at an Ottawa area country club.*

*St. Laurent Photo from Library and Archives Canada/C-11578. Drew Photo from Library and Archives Canada/Gaby/C-00071.*



**T**his summer marked my own 60th jubilee of sorts – in 1952, I experienced my first encounter with federal politics. And, quite literally, I bombed.

My best friend that summer still won't let me forget how the horrible incident went down. Parenthetically, you should know that my lifelong buddy, then and now, is famed impersonator Rich Little; we grew up next door to each other; our parents told us we wet our diapers together. Similarly, we stumbled into our first summer jobs at the naive age of 13 or 14: we were hired as busboys at the exclusive Country Club on Aylmer Road outside of Ottawa. Famous people from the arts, judiciary, diplomatic corps, along with all sorts of very well-heeled socialites from the nation's capital, numbered among the Country Club's routine clientele. And, of course, let's not forget the crème de la crème of Ottawa's political elite.

## Special assignment

That's where your trusted busboys came in. Because we had apparently charmed everyone with our exemplary service in the kitchen (albeit occasionally spiced with primitive imitations of radio and film stars), Rich and I were designated to perform an extra-special duty on this "day of days" at the Country Club.

A high-level political luncheon – extremely hush-hush, we were told – was to take place poolside on this picture-perfect August noon-hour. The event would have some "very special guests who MUST see the Club carry off this affair without blemish or incident," we were told. "You boys MUST be on your very best behavior!" intoned the Alice

in Wonderland-like Wicked Witch of the West manager, whom we only knew as Miss Malone. (Rich remembers that, later each day, once the ever-present Seagram's 'medicine' clicked in, she mellowed into 'God love you, pet.')

Meanwhile, back in the kitchen, Banquet Commandant 'Gert', a loud and lovable female version of Archie Bunker, was putting her troops through their final rehearsal. "Nothing can go wrong today," barked Gert, "not with the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition on our property!" To us menial busboys, names like Louis St. Laurent and George Drew were just other Important People who sat drinking and eating every day in the dining room or down by the pool.

Above all, Gert fussed over her dessert. She had taken custody over it before dawn and when presented the huge bombe of ice cream, generated the oohs and ahhs of everyone Gert could round up. The bombe would be her pièce de résistance.

## The countdown to the distinguished lunch had begun

With drinks, hot hors d'oeuvres and sandwiches successfully completed, your trusty busboys were signaled to proceed, very slowly and very carefully, with the treasured dessert. I was to carry the tray while Rich was to guide me and hold the tray as extra support. At that point, we didn't care who the dignitaries were at the poolside destination; our total concentration was in transporting Gert's prized bombe, slow-motion step by excruciating step.

## Negotiating a hazard

To this day, Rich and I argue as to whose idea it was to bypass the three

little flagstone steps and proceed smoothly down the gentle slope to our left. No matter really; we both agreed it was a good idea at the time. That was about a millisecond before Rich saw a wayward hose at the base of the slope, silently dribbling out enough water to make what happened next seem like greased lightning.

I remember my feet becoming levitated, Rich going down almost simultaneously, and the ice cream bombe being launched poolside. I can still see the stately George Drew jumping up, unsuccessfully avoiding the splatter, and one RCMP constable's Boy Scout hat dripping caramel and his tunic looking less than scarlet. Other plainclothes security were scrambling to protect their charge from the airborne ice cream. I wish Prime Minister St. Laurent or his staff were around to assure me he had escaped the tasty missile.

Sitting wet and muddy on the soggy slope and absolutely terrified about facing Gert, Rich, I swear, started laughing. Sheer nerves, of course, but what else could we do? The chaotic climax to the lunch was something we only heard about in shocked and muttered tones later. After Gert got over her apoplectic fit, we were summoned to Miss Malone's office. Having reached a state of exhilaration not entirely attributable to good health, Miss Malone commiserated with her "God love you pets," and fired us on the spot.

So, I can honestly say that, long before any of my election campaign gaffes, I badly, but very memorably, bombed before my very first federal audience! And my buddy Rich is still laughing.



# So what's the big secret?

By Peter Mazereeuw

Photo by Harrison Lowman

"Bureaucracy always seeks the path of least disclosure."

—Darrell Evans, executive director, B.C. Freedom of Information and Privacy Association

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government received a dubious honour recently when the Canadian Association of Journalists announced the winner of its annual Code of Silence award. The award was a reminder of the prime minister's sometimes strained relationship with the news media and is the culmination of years of criticism for the government's perceived lack of transparency.

But how does this government compare to its predecessors and why are governments sometimes compelled to restrict media access in a democratic system?

Past administrations, dating back to John Diefenbaker (and indeed to the beginning of confederation), were tight-lipped on some subjects and to some reporters, said Geoff Scott, who worked for years as a reporter in the parliamentary press gallery before serving as the member for Hamilton-Wentworth for 15 years.

Historically prime ministers have typically been open with certain journalists they considered "friendly" in order to get their message out, Geoff said. However, if anyone in the media gets such special treatment by the current team, "they are few and far between," he said.

The rapid evolution of communications technology has also played a role in the government's handling of information. Prime ministers have grown more secretive over the years partly out of necessity, said Geoff.

Use of social media and the Internet by political and bureaucratic staff has increased the chance of uncontrolled information leaks, he said.

Geoff says the level of secrecy in a



government is generally based on two factors.

"It very much depends on the personality of the prime minister in office, and it depends on the control that the prime minister has over the bureaucracy and his individual Members of Parliament."

Prime Minister Harper is widely seen as having strong control over caucus communication; however, the Harper administration is giving more leeway to the federal bureaucracy, said Mary Francoli, an open government expert at Carleton University.

"If we look at the guidelines for social media use for public servants that the Treasury Board came out with last fall, they're kind of a signal that more communication between citizens and the bureaucratic arm of government is okay," she said.

This freedom is at least partly a result of a push from within the bureaucracy, said Francoli.

"The best weapon of a dictatorship is secrecy, but the best weapon of a democracy should be the weapon of openness."

—Niels Bohr

"There is a sense that the political arm kind of holds them back...that they can't do or say everything that they would like to," she said.

As well as loosening its grip on the bureaucracy, the government signed onto an international open government partnership last fall. Its Action Plan on Open Government includes 12 commitments that it promises to implement over the next three years, including expanding public access to government-managed raw data, engaging the public on regulatory reform and making government information available to the public by default unless it falls under specific criteria for non-disclosure.

These commitments would make the federal government more transparent, if not necessarily improving its handling of the media, said Francoli.

Practical as well as political concerns often dictate what information is made public and how quickly, said Ross Reid, a deputy minister in Newfoundland and Labrador, former federal fisheries minister and former director of the now defunct Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society.

Reid pointed out that government resources are tied up processing information requests, which may factor into delayed responses. Open information, however, is essential for government accountability, he said.

"For years people have sweated over conflict of interest rules and regulations. Get rid of all of them, just make sure that all of the information that matters is public. That'll bring compliance faster than anything."



# A question of power

"Secrecy is the first essential in affairs of state."

—Cardinal Richelieu

Secrecy in government is not limited to the Canadian system and it is certainly not a new complaint. The recent Wikileaks scandal illustrates the tug of war that continues between the secret keepers and the secret seekers.

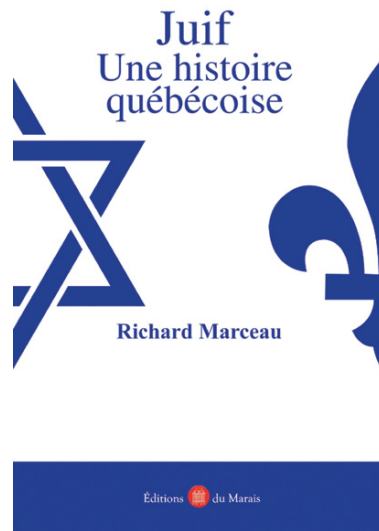
In spite of the efforts by many countries to limit secrecy, it continues/and may even have escalated in some regards after the installation of information access laws. Nor is it only politicians who promote secrecy. In Canada, in his 2000-2001 Report to Parliament, the Canadian Information Commissioner, the Hon. John Reid, noted that after 18 years, some major federal government departments are still having problems delivering the federal government access to information program and a culture of secrecy pervades the public service.

The Canadian Access to Information Act was passed in 1983.

It is no different south of the border. In the U.S., the *Yale Law and Policy Review* recently published an essay by Steven Aftergood, director of the Project on Government Secrecy at the Federation of American Scientists, who wrote of the Obama regime:

"Ensuring appropriate public access to government information, while establishing proper boundaries around the exercise of official secrecy, has proved to be an elusive goal. The expansive secrecy practices of recent years appear to have enhanced the case for a new approach by illustrating the unintentional costs of secrecy, as well as its corrosive effects on government performance and public confidence."

So why are governments so secretive? Perhaps John Reid put it best, when he said in 1999, "For the most part, officials love secrecy because it is a tool of power and control, not because the information they hold is particularly sensitive by nature." This is probably just as true of the political class as it is of the public service. -DD



« Juif - Une histoire québécoise » By Richard Marceau, Éditions du Marais, Montréal, 341pp. \$25.00 (Soft Cover.) Reviewed by Jack Silverstone

This highly readable volume by former Bloc Québécois MP Richard Marceau is a record of one of the more unusual political and ideological odysseys on the contemporary Canadian scene.

It is the fascinating story of a young lawyer from the Quebec City region who grew up as a practicing Catholic, entered politics and then underwent a profound spiritual transformation.

Richard Marceau, who held the Charlesbourg riding for the Bloc from 1997 when he was elected at the age of 26, until 2006, wound up converted to the Jewish faith and became a professional pro-Israel activist following his political career on the Hill.

Once you get past the purposely jarring title, the book is a moving personal narrative filled with facts, observations and questions about the Jewish faith, its place in Québec and Canadian society and its relationship to Israel.

The author crafts a detailed analysis making the case for better understanding and support of Israel and the Zionist cause. From an historical perspective I found the author's references to René Lévesque, who drew favourable comparisons between Israel's and Québec's political and cultural struggle, to be thought-provoking. This is especially

# The Catholic who converted

Former MP Richard Marceau converted to the Jewish faith and became a professional pro-Israel activist following his political career on the Hill.

true when the position of the revered founder of modern Québec independence is contrasted with the contemporary Bloc Québécois perspective on the Arab-Israel conflict.

Marceau writes extensively about his struggles with his own Party when he questioned their reflexive pro-Palestinian views after his first eye-opening visit to Israel where he discovered parallels between that tiny Middle East country and Québec.

It is a courageous piece of writing by someone who required fortitude in order to take the decisions he did both personally and politically. An ardent yet always rational defender of Israel, Richard Marceau recounts the difficulties he encountered as he adopted a new religion and political perspective. Indeed one of his chapters is entitled "Mon coming out" and he confronts anti-Semitism head-on throughout!

The book, which has also been translated into English, includes some interesting photographs of the author with various international personalities, including Mahmoud Abbas. It is replete with extensive endnotes and even a brief glossary. An index would have been helpful, but this in no way detracts from the value of the book as a unique and, I think, valuable first person study of one aspect of Québec politics and sociology. At the same time it is a useful and thoughtful introduction to Jewish and Israeli history and philosophy.



# Staying in touch

By Harrison Lowman

"Don Boudria and I, we got together and we changed the Bankruptcy Act. That Bankruptcy Act is history today.

That was a tremendous piece of legislation."

—Felix Holtmann

**Felix Holtmann, former PC MP (Manitoba)**

*What would you say brought you into politics?*

Well you know I had an agriculture background. I was in farming and I had set up an export business. I was absolutely frustrated with the way I had to deal with Ottawa to export purebred Canadian hogs to other countries. Ed Lumley, who was the Liberal trade minister at the time, invited me to come to Ottawa to discuss how we could improve.

So I think that meeting of me coming to Ottawa, and telling the politicians, as a farmer and as an exporter, how we should do business in Canada was intriguing to me. I liked his style, and at certain times in politics you do put your political affiliation down and go with common sense.

*Do you find there is too much partisanship in federal politics now?*

I'm not sitting at these committee hearings where all this work gets done; I don't know how much acrimony there is. I realize there is always going to be some because you have different visions of how things ought to go. All I can tell you is I was not going to get into that debate; it wasn't me.

If I was sitting on the government side and I needed to talk to somebody, I would just go and prance right over and sit beside him. Their heads would all be spinning, "What's he doing on our side?" I'm just talking to the guy. It made sense.

*What would you consider to be the highlight of your political career?*

In the portfolios that I was involved in, they gave us some very strategic bills to deal with.

The post office was one they gave me. The legislation was to really make the post office self-sufficient. The government was subsidizing it to the tune of up to six hundred million dollars a year. I tell you, we had to fight our opposition. We also got them to cooperate

with the idea of why should the government keep giving money. Little post offices in rural Canada that had only nine people had a postmaster. And that postmaster was making \$29,000 a year. You know that's the kind of nuts that was going on.

I was telling my daughter as we were driving, "You see that communal postal box? Instead of home delivery, there'll be twenty boxes and you go pick your mail up." People were adamantly against it; I mean their world was going to come to an end. I'm here to tell you life went on and now nobody even talks about it. You see, bringing about change is difficult. However, we made it happen.

The next big issue, Don Boudria and I, we got together and we changed the Bankruptcy Act. That Bankruptcy Act is history today. (If someone goes bankrupt) a worker gets paid first, not the bank. The guy that's owed his wages gets paid first. That was a tremendous piece of legislation.

*What is it like for you to attend meetings such as the AGM and get together with people you have worked cooperatively with in the past?*

I think Walter McLean said it perfectly (at his award ceremony). He said, "We can't be in front of the people in our country; we shouldn't be behind them. We should be beside them." None of us are experts, but collectively we have some ideas that maybe we should share with other countries and people. And the camaraderie is awful nice. Maybe we have to come and stand beside these guys and bring some civility back to parliament.

**Colleen Beaumier, former Liberal MP, elected 1993 (Brampton)**

*What did you do before you entered politics?*

I mostly dealt with refugees and immigrants; I've been doing that to one degree or another since I was about 20. It wasn't organized volunteering; there was a need and a bunch of us would get



Colleen Beaumier.

together and do it. It actually started when I was about seventeen, when refugees were coming from Eastern Europe to our town. They needed clothing, they needed furniture and it was always just something I really loved doing.

*Why did you want to become a Member of Parliament?*

I didn't. One of the ethnic communities approached me and wanted me to run because I had worked with Vietnamese refugees, I'd worked with the Punjabi refugees, South American refugees. And they wanted me to run. They said you're the only person who can defeat this candidate.

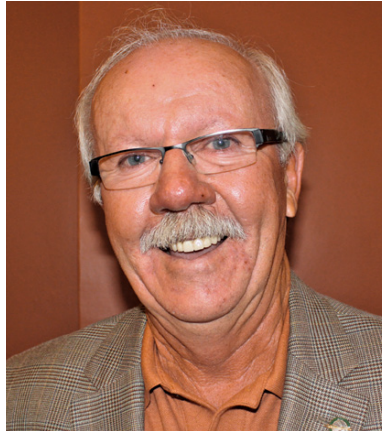
My biggest fear was winning. I was so afraid I was going to disappoint everyone because I'm kind of a free spirit. I always do what I want to do when I feel like doing it. I was devastated, "What am I going to do now!?"

*What was it like functioning as a free spirit under the rules of Parliament?*



My biggest fear was winning. I was so afraid I was going to disappoint everyone because I'm kind of a free spirit. I always do what I want to do when I feel like doing it.

—Colleen Beaumier



John Macdougall.

The Free Trade Agreement, to me, was over top of everything. If we didn't have that agreement in place, can you imagine where we would be today?

—John Macdougall

I think that Jean Chretien may have been the bravest and wisest Prime Minister this country has ever seen because he didn't come down with a heavy hand. I brought in the first private member's bill in a justice committee since probably the fifties. I was never punished for that. I wasn't overlooked. I didn't feel like I ever had to worry.

*Where did your drive come from during your political career?*

I was in human rights, immigration, and into helping people who had nowhere else. For many people I was the stop of last resort and we'd fight to help our people. It wasn't a lot different from the things I was doing before, except now I had a semblance of authority.

When you get into politics there's only one thing you can be sure of. And that is, if you're really lucky, you can leave the job with the same sense of self-respect as when you came into it. And no one can take it from you; you can only give it away.

*Having now left the political fray, how do you keep busy?*

I am now a horse breeder of racehorses. Caledon East is where my horses stay, and they race at Woodbine and Fort Erie. I fell into it. Someone was in trouble and when they needed some money they offered to sell me a horse. So I bought this horse and it was a winner. And it won and it won and it won. She's just had a baby!

*The rider has had a baby?*

No, the horse! We don't care about riders; they're a dime a dozen. Her name is "Real Topsy" and so we've called the baby "Topsy's Magic".

I'm having a wonderful time. I can't imagine why anybody would want to be involved in politics when there are horses out there.

**John Macdougall, former PC MP, elected 1982 (Timiskaming)**

*What was life like before you were an MP?*

I was from the riding of Timiskaming in Northern Ontario. My background is industrial hardware and mining.

*Why do you feel mining is so important to Canada's makeup?*

To me it's the backbone of our country. The resources are so important and we've always been noted in Canada as being leaders in both the development side, but also in safety, occupational health and environment. Around the world, when you make a call and you say that you're from Canada and you manufacture something, there's always interest.

*What was it like bringing your passion for natural resources to the halls of Parliament?*

When I came down here, first I was opposition from 82' to 84'. Then in 84' I came in and served my first two years in Indian Affairs. Then the Prime Minister asked me to become parliamentary secretary of Energy, Mines and Resources. I was right at home. You know, you come from Northern Ontario, you grow up in a mining community, and you've worked in the mining industry. It was like a home run.

*What made you want to get involved in federal politics?*

My great uncle was a Member of Parliament, so it's certainly in your genes. But I think the other side of it was I felt

I had a responsibility to try to do something to enhance Northern Ontario and enhance Canada.

I met John Diefenbaker in 1957, when I was ten, and my dream was to become an MP. My dad and I were walking out of a rally of John Diefenbaker's and I turned to my Dad and said, "That's what I want to do".

*What would you consider to be the climax of your time in office?*

The Free Trade Agreement, to me, was over top of everything. If we didn't have that agreement in place, can you imagine where we would be today? I wasn't going to run in 88', but because of free trade I did.

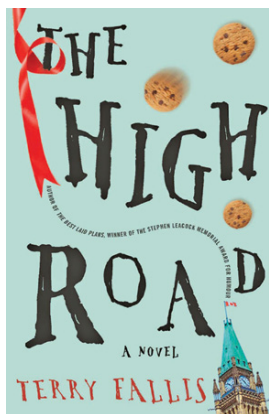
The tragic part about The Free Trade Agreement was that it became an emotional issue more than dealing with the facts. I had seven debates during it. I sat on the statute committee and then I sat on the standing committee, so I had pretty good knowledge of what was in that agreement.

*What's life like now outside of politics?*

Well I've become a golf pro! No, not really. I've been doing some work with companies in regards to new technology, and environmental energy saving. They have about 25 patents that are just about ready. Depending on what happens with those they want to look at doing some North American distribution, and I'll probably help them.

I'm not really interested in working seven days a week any longer. But, I've still got that burning feeling. And setting up an entire North American distribution, it's going to be something that I'd love to look at doing.





# Humour in politics is no oxymoron in Terry Fallis book

The author has a nice “over the top” style for handling such things in a way that stirs the soul and tickles the fancy of any former parliamentarian.

*The High Road: A Novel.* By Terry Fallis, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto 352pp. \$19.99 (Soft Cover). \$13.99 (eBook). Reviewed by Peter Adams

The High Road is a sequel to Terry Fallis' earlier novel, *The Best Laid Plans* (reviewed in the last edition of *Beyond the Hill*). The formerly reluctant Liberal candidate, Angus McLintock, and his executive assistant embark on the campaign trail again. With a Conservative famous for his negative campaigning (he is called the “flamethrower”), an independent right wing candidate, and the NDP, readers now experience a more normal campaign.

This campaign includes a large, hotly contested Conservative nomination (which produces the Independent), some good all-candidates' meetings (partisan audiences, planted questions and hecklers), a sign campaign (our hero uses red ribbons in place of lawn signs), door-to-door canvassing, and some bitterly negative politics.

There is a particularly good section on the Leader's visit to the local campaign and the team's debate on the value of such visits and the local/national control of them (“Why doesn't the buffoon go somewhere else?”).

Election night produces a Liberal minority government and a narrow local victory.

The author has a nice “over the top” style for handling such things in a way that stirs the soul and tickles the fancy of any former parliamentarian.

After the election, our maverick MP and his executive assistant again experience the parliamentary process, but this time it's from the government perspective. He finds the government caucus to be quite different from opposition caucus – not just the room itself but also the

presence of “lower ranking PMO staff.” I will leave our hero's role in changing the government's first budget for your reading pleasure, and a surprise offer at the end of the novel raises the possibility of still another sequel.

One episode is worth mentioning here. It is decided that the President of the United States will have an informal meeting with the new prime minister, at the MP's home beside the Ottawa River. The description of the security arrangements for the visit is a good read.

For me this was a cross between my memories of Bill Clinton's visit to the Hill and Jean Chrétien's visit to our home. In the case of the latter, a neighbour said that all the black cars made her think there was a funeral following a death in our family.

Reverting to my true persona as a cynical former parliamentarian, I cannot help but add some more or less technical comments.

As a former chair, I take obvious exception to the reference to Procedure and House Affairs as a “lowly Standing Committee.” The reluctant MP should have been proud to serve on such a distinguished committee which performs valuable services including being a safety valve for the House (allowing it to let off steam) and being the figurative sewer system for the House of Commons (all difficult House matters are flushed down to it).

Our reluctant MP rapidly masters the Standing Orders and uses them to good effect. However if his executive assistant was as good as he purports to be, he would have provided a new MP of this calibre with the Annotated Standing Orders. One consults the former but reads the latter.

On the top of the Standing Orders,

I would remind readers that while for dramatic effect our hero had to arrive towards the end of the crucial vote to defeat the government, the rules require that only Members present at the start of a vote may, in fact, vote.

At one point the executive assistant suggests that “Ottawa is a giant meat grinder that takes in idealism at one end and spits out sausages at the other.” Although this is not said in anger, I feel obliged to point out to my fellow former Parliamentarians that those sausages are us.

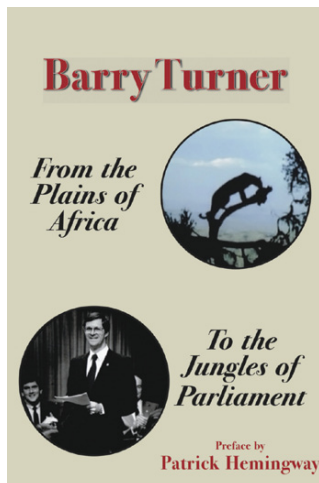
As a crusty former academic, I found the treatment of the University of Ottawa rather flattering, in both novels. However, I did notice a glowing testimonial for the novel from our colleague, the Hon. Alan Rock, who happens to be that university's president.

Also, both the author and the executive assistant are a little bit hung up on vocabulary, grammar and syntax. There are some disparaging references to the use of language in federal political circles (including our circles). All I can say to this, fellow former parliamentarians, is that you and I should strive to boldly go forth into obscurity, minding our Ps and Qs while avoiding split infinitives.

Both Fallis novels are great reads for everyone who has been involved with elections and Hill politics. They are particularly evocative for us, that tiny privileged minority that went on to become MPs, but they will be enjoyed by the many others who were candidates and everyone who has been a part of the riding, regional and national party associations which are the foundation of our electoral system.

I am grateful to Will Adams and Alan Brunger for their comments on this piece. Peter Adams was a Liberal MP for Peterborough, Ontario.





## An unusual conversion

At times, it feels more as though you are with Barry in a favourite pub where, with a Tusker beer in hand, he is the star storyteller.

*From the Plains of Africa to the Jungles of Parliament.* By Barry Turner. Optimum Publishing, 203 pages, \$45 (hardcover). \$29.95 (paper). Reviewed by Keith Penner

Barry Turner, a lifelong conservationist and adventurer, former public servant and parliamentarian, has written a cracking good account of his time in Africa and in the Canadian House of Commons.

This tale gets up close and personal as we ride with Barry through the herds of animals in the Serengeti and join him in a tent resisting the allure of an Italian Countess who is set on the seduction of our hero.

The writer makes us feel the heat of the equatorial sun and delights us with the taste of wild game, consumed after a difficult and dangerous hunt. He invites us to share his gusto for the African experience and his abiding fondness of the land and all who inhabit it. You will meet some of his many friends and other fascinating characters who join the author in pursuits and escapades that are not, as he may say, “for the fearful or the timid.”

His special love for Tanzania is abundantly apparent. As you become enthralled with the excitement and enthusiasm that he generates for his life as a gamekeeper, it is easy to forget that you are reading a book.

At times, it feels more as though you are with Barry in a favourite pub where, with a Tusker beer in hand, he is the

star storyteller. If you think that, at the end of any one scene, you can come up with a topper, you will be forced to reconsider. He steals the whole show.

There is a poignant retelling of his parents’ visit to Africa. The son, desperate for mom and dad to sense it all, nearly does them in. His mother noted that in Barry’s first African home there was no cook, no water and after dark it was a lonely place without even a transistor radio. Upon arrival at this outpost Barry made drinks, proposed a toast, kissed his mother and shook hands with his father as a welcome. But his mother had the last word when she wrote of this home, “I am glad it was his and not ours.”

When he guides reader from the intense heat of the African plains to the steam generated within the House of Commons, the tone of the book changes noticeably. What remains, for Barry, are the wonders, excitement and thrill of it all. Anyone, upon first being elected to parliament, will recall that moment of awe when you gazed at the Peace Tower for the first time as an MP.

As with every Member of Parliament, Barry cherishes his accomplishments. Among his was the saving of the Mile Circle from development. He takes pleasure and delight in meeting newsmakers and in the enhanced opportunities given to MPs to travel to other parts of the world, either on special assignment or part of a delegation, sharing parliamentary and democratic practices.

While it has never been true that MPs are no more than trained seals, everyone elected to this office knows about hitting the brick wall - that which we want to do and believe should be done often cannot be achieved simply because the system will not allow it at a given time. For Barry, this moment came when he promoted his National Wildlife Initiative. This noble endeavour to have a designated tax to provide adequate funding to maintain our wildlife heritage was widely supported. In the smaller world of Ottawa, however, it was out of sync with the status quo. When there is a change in this thinking, the resulting legislation should be designated as the Barry Turner Act.

Every parliamentarian can join with the crooner in saying, “regrets, I’ve had a few.” But Barry will not continue in singing the next line, “but then again, too few to mention.” He is forthright in talking about the disappointment of being defeated, losing nominations and not being summoned to the Senate. These regrets and others loom large for this former parliamentarian.

In strong language, Barry states his deep and abiding commitment to free speech and concludes by expressing concerns that, in what he observes today, it may be a diminishing right. But, even if so, it is a right that appears none diminished in this lively and telling book.

Keith Penner was an MP from Northern Ontario, 1968-88.



# Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Will Stos



## The Hon. Harvie Andre

The Hon. Harvie Andre, a former Progressive Conservative cabinet minister in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government, passed away at age 72 on October 21 after succumbing to cancer. Harvie, who represented Calgary Centre from 1972 to 1993, was born in Edmonton and studied to be a chemical engineer at the University of Alberta and the California Institute of Technology before becoming a professor at the University of Calgary.

After his election in 1972 he served as a critic in various portfolios while in opposition before being named to cabinet as Minister of Supply and Services in 1984. Over the next five years he did stints as Associate Minister of National Defence, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion, before assuming the role of Government House leader from 1990 to 1993.

He was noted in the press as being "one of Brian Mulroney's most reliable troubleshooters, a real go-to guy in the Progressive Conservative cabinet." In a tribute after his passing, Mulroney wrote that he was "a force of nature. Principled, strong, determined and successful. That is a summary of Harvie's life and the tremendous contribution he made to the Government of Canada for almost a decade, and to Canada throughout a life of commitment and achievement."

After leaving politics Harvie became president of Cresvard Corporation, a strategic planning and management consulting firm. He later became active in the energy sector as president and chief executive officer of oil and gas drilling equipment manufacturer Wenzel Downhole Tools Ltd., and chairman of Bow Energy Resources Corp., an oil exploration company.

Harvie is survived by wife Joan, daughters Coryn and Lauren, son Peter, and four grandchildren.

Mulroney noted in his tribute that he "admired Harvie greatly and deeply appreciated his wise counsel and his effective service. He will be greatly missed by all who were privileged to know him and call him a friend."

## The Hon. Lincoln Alexander

Lincoln Alexander, a man of several historic firsts in Canadian politics, passed away at the age of 90 on October 19.



Born in Toronto to parents of West Indian descent, Lincoln, or "Linc" as he was affectionately known, served as a corporal in the Royal Canadian Air Force during WWII before earning his bachelor of arts from McMaster University in 1949 and a law degree from Osgoode Hall in 1953.

Elected as a Progressive Conservative in Hamilton West in 1968, and re-elected in 1972, 1974 and 1979, he became Canada's first black Member of Parliament and first black cabinet minister when he was named Minister of Labour in Prime Minister Joe Clark's government.

Following his appointment to Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board in 1980, Lincoln became Ontario's lieutenant governor from 1985 to 1991, Canada's first black vice-regal, and used his tenure to focus on youth and education.

After his term ended Lincoln became the longest-serving chancellor in the University of Guelph's history, from 1991 to 2007, and published his memoir "Go to School, You're a Little Black Boy: The Honourable Lincoln M. Alexander: A Memoir" in 2006.

Current Ontario Lt.-Gov. David Onley noted in a statement that "at a time when racism was endemic in Canadian society, he broke through barriers that treated visible minorities as second-class citizens, strangers in their own land. Lincoln Alexander's whole life was a rebuke to those who would equate ability with skin colour. He overcame poverty

and prejudice to scale the professional and political highs."

Lincoln is predeceased by his first wife, Yvonne Harrison, and survived by wife Marni Beal and son Keith Alexander.

## James "Jim" Jordan

Former Leeds-Grenville MP Jim Jordan, a man known in Ottawa and in his constituency for his folksy charm, passed away on September 18 at the age of 84 after a battle with cancer.

An educator by training, he began his teaching career at Canadian Forces Base

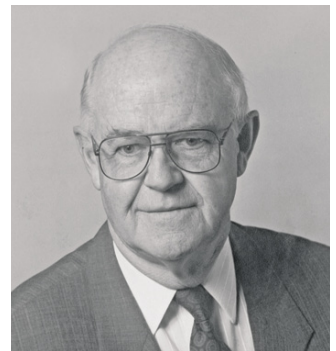
Petawawa, rising through the ranks as principal, and school inspector. From 1969 to 1985 he served as the first director of education for the Lanark, Leeds and Grenville Separate School Board.

Upon his retirement he ran unsuccessfully for the provincial Liberals in 1987 before winning federal office in 1988. Trustee Robin Riel, who was hired by Jim, says "the system thoroughly loved him. When he went into politics, he had literally hundreds of teachers working on his campaign."

As an MP, Jim was known for his strong constituency work, advancing the issues of literacy and post-secondary education, and advocating for persons with disabilities. He is well remembered for successfully lobbying for federal funding for a highway extension in his riding.

When Jim retired in 1997, he was replaced by his son Joe Jordan. This marked the first time a son directly succeeded his father as MP in the same riding. Joe remembers his father as "a folksy guy and he never forgot where he came from. The security guards loved him. The people that cleaned the House loved him."

Predeceased by his wife Mary and son Paul, Jim is survived by six sons, David, Bob, Joe, Tom, Mike, and Andy,





Harvey Andre was noted in the press as being "one of Brian Mulroney's most reliable troubleshooters, a real go-to guy in the Progressive Conservative cabinet." In a tribute after his passing, Mulroney wrote that he was "a force of nature. Principled, strong, determined and successful."

15 grandchildren, and one great granddaughter.

### **The Hon. Herbert "Herb" Orval Sparrow**

Long-serving Saskatchewan Liberal Senator, the Hon. Herb Sparrow,



passed away on September 6 at the age of 82 from complications from a stroke.

Remembered as a "renaissance man," while working as a car salesman in the 1950s, Herb opened "the Ranch House," the Battlefords' first drive-in restaurant. In 1958 the restaurant became the third Kentucky Fried Chicken Franchise in Canada, and only the 11th in North America. Herb eventually owned several franchises in North Dakota and Meadow Lake before expanding to farming and cattle ranching, excavation, waste disposal, land development and even gold mining. Herb also cofounded the first school for developmentally challenged children in the Battlefords.

Appointed to the Senate by Prime Minister Lester Pearson in 1968, Herb quipped "You have to be wealthy, good looking, well educated, and bilingual -- but they couldn't find anybody like that so they appointed me."

During his almost 37 years in the Senate, Herb took on a variety of projects. In 1969, while working on the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, he did undercover research by posing as a homeless man on Vancouver's skid row and living for a week with \$1.50 and some food stamps.

His crowning political achievement was producing "Soil at Risk: Canada's Eroding Future," as Chairman of the Agriculture, Fisheries and Forest Committee. With more than 50,000 copies distributed, it became the most published government committee report ever, and he travelled extensively to

speak on the dangers of soil erosion.

At the time of his retirement Herb was dean of the Senate.

Family members remembered Herb as "a man of wit and wisdom, courage and compassion, empathy and energy, humour and humility. A man who led by example to not only stand up for what you believe, but to dedicate your energy to improve the situation, to be the solution not the problem, and to treat all with dignity regardless of circumstance."

He is survived by wife Lois and many children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

### **The Hon. John George Lynch-Staunton**

The Conservative Party's first interim leader, the Hon. John Lynch-Staunton,



passed away suddenly from a heart attack on August 17 at age 82.

Born in Montreal, he developed a close working relationship with famed Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau first as a city councillor representing the Côte des Neiges district from 1960 to 1974, and then as vice-chairperson of the city's executive committee. He ran unsuccessfully for the Union Nationale in the 1968 provincial election. After his time in municipal politics he became president of John de Kuyper Ltd., a liquor importer, and was named president of the Montreal Board of Trade in 1985.

Named to the Senate by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1990, he served as Leader of the Opposition in the Senate from December 1993 until 2004. Following the merger of the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives in 2003, John served as interim leader of the new Conservative Party for several months. Prime Minister Stephen Harper called John a "principled and passionate advocate for Canada" and a crucial figure in the uniting of Canadian conservatives.

Following his retirement in 2005,

John ran successfully for a council seat in Stanstead in 2009.

Senate colleague Jean-Claude Rivest remember John as a remarkable man who contributed much to the Senate and the city of Montreal. "We used to say he was extending his municipal career in federal politics. As soon as we mentioned Montreal he would light up. He was very dedicated to the economic development and progress of Montreal, and he was someone who believed in consensus-building between the francophone and anglophone populations."

Friend John Scott, described him as "a very witty man, and a man of great generosity of spirit [and someone...] always interested in everything going on in life, books, theatre, the arts as well as politics."

John is survived by wife Juliana de Kuyper, sons Mark, Peter, and Sean, daughters Gabrielle and Sophie, and eight grandchildren.

### **Gordon Joseph Sullivan**

Former Liberal MP Gordon Sullivan,



who is remembered as humble and devoted, passed away on October 7 at the age of 91 after a brief illness.

Born in Hamilton, Gordon graduated from McMaster University in 1944 and Osgoode Hall Law School in 1947 and started a law firm with his brother later that year. During his legal career he played a significant role in establishing Ontario's Smart Serve certificate program for bartenders. He sought to bring the case of his client, a man charged with impaired driving, to the Supreme Court to ensure the establishment that served him alcohol would be held responsible for his actions.

Elected in the riding of Hamilton Mountain in 1968, Gordon made headlines by being the only Liberal to vote against the government historic omnibus legislation in 1969. Following his defeat in 1972 he was appointed to county judge, a position he held for more than 22 years.

During his time on the bench, Gordon



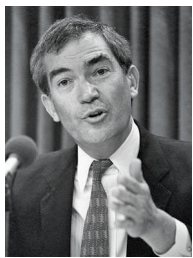
championed court efficiency and attempted to prevent backlogs by contacting lawyers prior to trial to try to work out settlements in advance of a trial. A “settle-first” judge, he was called a pioneer of the province’s pretrial system.

Gordon was well-known as a mentor of Hamilton-area Liberals and continued to attend party events into his 90s.

Predeceased by his wife of 59 years, Winifred, Gordon is survived by daughter Patricia Elvikis, sons Michael, Brian, Hugh, and Joseph, and many grandchildren.

#### The Hon. Robert “Bob” Kaplan

Long-time Liberal MP the Hon. Robert Kaplan, a passionate advocate



for justice, passed away on November 5 at age 75 after a battle with brain cancer.

Born and raised in Toronto, Bob earned a bachelor of arts and a law degree from the University of Toronto and was called to the Ontario Bar in 1963. After working in corporate and tax law for a number of years, he became involved in Pierre Trudeau’s successful bid to win the Liberal leadership in 1968. Later in the year he was elected to the House of Commons in the newly created Don Valley riding. After losing his seat in the 1972 election, Bob moved to the York Centre riding in 1974 where he was continually elected until his retirement in 1993.

During Prime Minister Trudeau’s last term in office Bob was named Solicitor General. During his tenure in cabinet he helped to reorganize the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, create the Canadian Security Intelligence Service and implement the Young Offenders Act.

Bob also advocated taking action against war criminals living in Canada and successfully extradited former Nazi Helmut Rauca. Bernie M. Farber, former CEO of the Canadian Jewish Congress, said it was “the first and only successful case of a Nazi murderer with blood on his hands ever extradited from Canada... [and Bob] deserves to be remembered for his tenacious commitment to justice in the Rauca case.”

Following his retirement Bob was named honorary consul general of Kazakhstan in Canada in 1994 and sat on numerous boards of directors, including TV Niagara and European Gold-

fields, and was an active volunteer in Toronto’s Jewish community. He also co-authored a book on bicycling in Toronto with his wife.

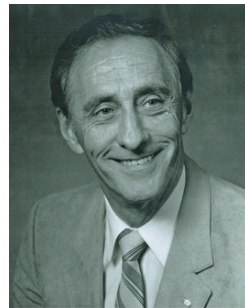
In a statement, interim Liberal leader Bob Rae called Bob “a real gentleman, thoughtful, intelligent, who cared a lot about policy and ideas.”

Predeceased by wife Estherelke, Bob is survived by his children Jennifer Mia Chown, John David, and Raquel Katherine Shulman and 12 grandchildren.

#### Jacques-R. Tremblay

When Jacques-R. Tremblay passed away on August 2, 2012 in Sorel-Tracy at age 88, he left a long record of public service.

Jacques-R. graduated with a business degree from the Collège du Sacré-Cœur in Sorel and later trained with the Life Underwriters Association of Canada. After serving in the Canadian army from 1941 to 1943, he became a member of the Federal Commission on



Prices from 1943 to 1945. While working as an announcer for Radio-Richelieu and as a publicist-translator for Eaton’s from 1946 to 1952, he married Éthel Crépeau, on October 12, 1946.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Jacques-R. was also employed as a production planner for Sorel Industries and a sales representative and manager with The Prudential Insurance Company of America.

Jacques-R. was a founding member of the Quebec Liberal Federation in 1955 and served as a Liberal organizer during the four provincial elections from 1960-1970. He won a by-election in Richelieu-Verchères on, May 29, 1967, but opted not to run for re-election in 1968. Instead, he became assistant to the federal Minister of National Revenue from 1968-1969 and regional coordinator for Robert Bourassa in 1969. Turning to provincial politics, Jacques-R. was elected as Liberal MNA for Iberville in 1973 before his defeat in 1976.

Following his time in politics, he served on the War Veterans Allowance Board from 1977 to 1980 and on the Canadian Pension Commission from 1980 to 1985 before working on con-

tract for the Commission and the Bureau of Pensions Advocates in 1985.

Jacques-R. leaves his wife, his children, Yves and Louise (Michel Deschênes), his granddaughter Elaine Anne, as well as other relatives and friends.

#### André Bernier

André Bernier, who served as a Social Credit MP for Richmond—Wolfe in 1962-1963, passed away at age 81 on May 29, 2012.

Born on October 29, 1930 in Windsor Mills, Quebec to Albéric Bernier



and Marie-Ange Mercier, André was an accountant by trade before entering the House of Commons in 1962. While MP for Richmond-Wolfe, Bernier was a member of the standing committee on banking and

commerce and later on the standing committee on external affairs and the standing committee on privileges and elections.

After his time in politics, André continued to have a passion for economic and monetary policy. He teamed with former parliamentarians the Hon. Paul Hellyer and the Hon. Jack Murta among others on the Victory for the World website which provides essays and information on the possibilities of global co-operation to reform private banking systems.

Message from family: “*Merci pour toutes ces belles années, pour tout ces nombreux repas autour de la table qui on su toujours nous garder uni. Maintenant et hors de tout doute, tu peux te dire mission accompli et on se revoie à ta maison de campagne atabler pour une prochaine discussion.*”

André is survived by Francine Bouchard, sons Jacques, Robert, Yves (Linda Trubiano), Serge (Marie - Lyse Rodrigue) and daughter Diane, grandchildren Jezebel, Elodie, Philippe, Guillaume (Raphaëlle Granger), Maxime, Ariane, Edward and Donovan as well as great-grandson Loïck.

#### Paul Langlois

Long-time Liberal MP Paul Langlois passed away on July 17, 2012 at the age of 85. Born on December 4, 1926, Paul studied at the Mont-St-Louis Institute before beginning a career as a businessman and industrialist.

First elected in Chicoutimi in the

1965 general election, Paul was re-elected in 1968, 1972 and 1974. Langlois served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Public Works from 1968 to 1969 and as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs from 1969 to 1970.



During his lengthy parliamentary tenure Paul sat on numerous standing and special committees and during his final term in the House of Commons he became chair of the Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Estimates.

Deciding not to seek re-election in 1979, Paul served as a Commissioner at the Canadian Transport Commission until his retirement in 1988.

Paul, who was predeceased by his beloved wives Yolande Langlois (2001) and Ruth Daneau (2011), leaves to mourn his sons Pierre (Antoinette Stokes) and Michel, his granddaughters Marie-Michelle, Émilie and Isabelle, and many other friends and family.

#### **The Hon. Laurier LaPierre**

Retired senator, the Hon. Laurier LaPierre, a well-known former journalist and historian, passed away at the age of 83 on December 16, 2012.

Born in Lac-Mégantic, Quebec, Laurier studied at the University of Toronto, receiving his B.A (1955), M.A (1957) and Ph.D (1962) in history. The author of numerous books, including the acclaimed biography *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Romance of Canada*, he later taught at McGill University.

Laurier is perhaps most well remembered for his time as a co-host for the CBC television current affairs program *This Hour Has Seven Days*. The innovative and often controversial program mixed news, interviews, documentaries, commentary and satire and Laurier's passion and emotion on the air became one of its trademarks.



Following an interview with the mother of Stephen Truscott, a boy sentenced to life in prison for the murder of an Ontario girl, Laurier wiped tears from his eyes and told the viewing audience that a bill to abolish the death penalty was currently before Parliament.

Laurier's co-host on the program, Patrick Watson, noted that the program was cancelled three weeks later when their contracts were not renewed. "There were people in CBC management who were profoundly offended by that," Watson said, "but the audience loved it — they felt they were looking at a human being. There was this extraordinary combination of the serious journalist and historian, and the playful challenger of conventionality and stuffiness, and he was able to range though both in a single interview with extraordinary skill and grace."

In his later years Laurier became an activist with EGALE, a lobby group for gay and lesbian rights, after coming out in the 1980s. He became Canada's first openly gay senator when appointed to the Red Chamber by Prime Minister Jean Chretien in 2001. He served until he reached the mandatory retirement age in 2004. He had previously run unsuccessfully for the New Democratic Party in Lachine, Quebec during the 1968 election.

Following his retirement, we at Beyond the Hill were honoured to welcome him aboard as a member of our editorial board.

Former CBC executive Richard Stursberg called Laurier "a great patriot [who] believed in the importance of Canada and its amazing culture throughout his entire professional life. He lived for one thing and one thing only: to remind us all who we are and to celebrate our absolute uniqueness in the vastness of the world."

Laurier is survived by his partner, Harvey Slack and his two sons from a previous marriage.

#### **Nunzio (Nick) Discepola**

Long-time former Liberal MP Nick Discepola passed away from pancreatic cancer on November 21, 2012, days before he would have marked his 63rd birthday.

Born in Voltura Iripina, after immigrating to Canada at age 9 he spent his high school years heavily involved in track and field and student council.

Nick obtained a Bachelor of Science (1972) and a Master of Business



Administration (1977) from McGill University. Skilled with computers, Nick worked as a specialist for Bell Canada and the federal government before branching out on his own and founding his own high-tech company N.D. Computer Re-

sources at the young age of 26.

Following a period as a city councillor, as mayor of Kirkland, Quebec from 1989 to 1992 he oversaw the building of the community's city hall and library. Sam Elkas, who preceded Nick as mayor, said he "was a joy to work with and he showed leadership qualities at an early stage in his career. He contributed so much to the region. He brought his business expertise to the table. He loved challenges and rarely gave up a fight for what he wanted for his constituents."

Switching to federal politics, Nick was elected to the riding of Vaudreuil (later Vaudreuil-Soulanges) in 1993 and held it until his defeat in 2004.

Diagnosed with cancer in 2008, Nick drew from his own experience with the disease and his wife's past struggle with a rare form of blood cancer to passionately advocate for a national catastrophic drug coverage program. Nick's account of the tremendous cost of such a diagnosis can be found at <http://www.fairtreatment.ca>.

"He defined stubbornness and perseverance," recalled his brother Marino Discepola. "And the most important thing for him in his life was family."

Nick is survived by his wife Mary Alice, his children Lisa (Marc Price), Laura (Daniele Vassallo), Michele (Andrea Webb) and Marco and grandchildren, Chiara, Gianluca and Natalya.





Keith Penner.

# Political power What is it and who has it?

By Keith Penner

"It is not true that [persons] in my position have power.  
We only have responsibility."

Robert Caro, author of the three-volume *Years of Lyndon Johnson*, was once asked for his definition of political power. He fumbled the answer. Apparently, it is easier to describe the use of political power than to say what it is.

The author was able to show how LBJ successfully used his power to marshal his predecessor's Civil Rights Bill through Congress, but yet was unable to end the tragic military misadventure in Southeast Asia.

The notion of political power, like a slippery eel, is elusive and difficult to grasp. As an elected MP, I knew that I possessed no political power, but was quite certain that it resided abundantly on the treasury benches. Cabinet ministers were less assured and referred to the constraints they experienced from senior public servants, the Cabinet itself and from the Prime Minister's Office. Prime ministers, for their part, may well echo the lament of Winston Churchill, who said, "Headmasters have power at their disposal with which prime ministers have never been invested."

May it then be the case that political power is moving out of legislative assemblies and onto the streets? To believe that is to flirt with an illusion. You can never predict the outcome of spontaneous public protest.

When the Arab Spring in Egypt was over, the protestors were left with a dismal choice: more or less of the same domineering governance or the threat of theocracy and the loss of much personal freedom. Narrowly, they have chosen the latter and we can only hope that time will moderate the outcome.

In some jurisdictions, the pursuit of public office and the promise of political power is little more than an opportunity for personal gain. The American General, H. R. McMaster, a military scholar, recently returned from 20 months of service in Afghanistan. He noted that the abuse of official positions of power is robbing Afghanistan of much needed revenue, undermining the rule of law, degrading the effectiveness of state institutions and eroding popular confidence in the government. For some, political power and corruption are inevitably

bound together.

All of the usual synonyms for power seem to chase the concept but fail to catch it. Power is defined as authority, control, influence, command or mastery. To all of these one can say "yes, but.....". It is like going to the dictionary to search for "ball" and it says "sphere". When you look up "sphere," it gives you "ball." Thanks, but not much help.

And so the task of defining political power became a challenge. After some persistent digging a nugget finally came forth. The prize came from an unlikely source. It was in a statement made by a former chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada. During an interview, the late W. Earle McLaughlin responded to a question by saying: "It is not true that [persons] in my position have power. We only have responsibility." He went on to say: "Only politicians and public servants talk about power. I wish that politicians would thank the electorate for voting them back into 'responsibility.'"

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





*CAFP Study Tour group in Cappadocia.*



*Wilbert and Anne Keon.*



*Francis LeBlanc in Cappadocia.*



*Tour guide Mustafa and Léo Duguay.*



*Audrey McLaughlin and Raymond Setlakwe.*

*Inset: Anne Keon and Marlene Shepherd at a carpet factory in Cappadocia.*

*Below: Mike Kruger, Sandra and Paul Hellyer.*



*Gabriel Fontaine and his wife, Renée Allen.*



*Closing Dinner in Istanbul: Ron Irwin, Francis LeBlanc, Marlene Shepherd, Midge and Frank Philbrook and Wilbert Keon.*



*Ron and Marlene Catterall, Sandra and Paul Hellyer, Andrée Allen.*



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See you at the  
**Annual General Meeting**  
in Ottawa this spring.  
Starting **June 9, 2013.**