

 \$10

SUMMER 2014

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians



Mandela tribute

The Black Rod

South American Tour

Study Tour to Peru

Photos by Susan Simms



In the Peruvian parliament.



In the Peruvian parliament.



Léo Duguay with Céline Heinbecker, Embassy of Canada, Peru.



Above: Ian Waddell, Raymond Setlakwe, Blaine Culling & David Angus explore Lima.

Right: Raymond & Yvette Setlakwe with friend in Cusco.



Yvette Setlakwe and David Angus.

Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 10, Issue No. 2

Summer 2014

CONTENTS

Study Tour of Peru	2	Preserving Mandela's Legacy	20
Photos by Susan Simms		By Catherine Cross	
CAFP News	4	On the front lines: the constituency project	22
How the President sees it	5	By Will Stos	
By Léo Duguay		The art of the Cabinet shuffle	23
Executive Director's Report	6	By Caresse Ley	
By Jack Silverstone		Baptism by fire: The Black Rod on the	
Reflections on the Educational Foundation	7	speech from the throne, pomp and protocol	24
By Francis Leblanc		Story and photos by Catherine Cross	
Peru and Chile	8	The human factor in the democratic ideal	26
Story by Karen Redman, photos by Susan Simms		By Hon. John Reid	
CAFP bursaries bringing teachers to parliament	12	It seems to me	27
By Christine Ivory		By Dorothy Dobbie	
Jean Chrétien turns 80!	13	Gender budgeting: A new way of measurement	28
Photos by Jean-Marc Carisse		By Caresse Ley	
Leo's Song: The mostly unwritten story		Bully Pulpit	29
of political music in Canada	14	By Keith Penner	
By Will Stos		The Longer I'm PM	30
Staying in Touch	15	By Harrison Lowman	
By Caresse Ley		Square astronaut, round hole!	31
Does Question Period work anymore?	16	By Caresse Ley	
By Caresse Ley		Fog of war	32
Oxford study trip	17	By Harrison Lowman	
Story and photo by Graeme Ching		Political Passages	33
Champlain and French heritage in Peterborough	18	By Harrison Lowman	
By Hon. Peter Adams		Remembering the Rt. Hon. Jim Flaherty	38
		By Caresse Ley	
		The Pearson Diefenbaker snub of 1963	39
		By Geoff Scott	





Maria Colan Villegas, President of Peruvian Former Members Association and Léo Duguay. Cover photo by Susan Simms.

Editor-in-Chief
Dorothy Dobbie

Associate Editor
Geoff Scott

Editorial Interns
Harrison Lowman, Senior Intern;
Caresse Ley, Catherine Cross

Editorial Board
Bill Casey, Dorothy Dobbie,
Simm Holt, Hon. Betty Kennedy,
Keith Penner, Hon. John Reid,
Doug Rowland, Geoff Scott

Editorial Board Emeriti
Hon. Jim Fleming, Claudy Lynch

Contributors
Hon. Peter Adams, Jean-Marc Carisse,
Graeme Ching, Dorothy Dobbie,
Léo Duguay, Christine Ivory, Francis
LeBlanc, Keith Penner, John Reid,
Karen Redman, Geoff Scott,
Jack Silverstone, Will Stos

Production Assistants
Céline Brazeau-Fraser,
Karl Thomsen, Colby Marjerrison,
Susan Simms

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Our Mission Statement

Beyond the Hill, a magazine for former parliamentarians, is designed to engage, enlighten and inform its readers about each other, their Association and its Educational Foundation. Its aim is to encourage participation in the Association and to promote democracy. The views of the contributors to this publication do not necessarily represent those of CAFP nor its Educational Foundation. *Beyond the Hill* welcomes letters to the editor, submissions and suggestions. P.O. Box 1, 131 Queen St., House of Commons Ottawa, ON, Canada, K1A 0A6. Telephone 1-888-567-4764, Fax: 613-947-1764 E-mail: ex-parl@parl.gc.ca. Website: www.exparl.ca.

CAFP Regional Meeting in Whitehorse, Yukon in September 2014

All former parliamentarians and their guests are invited to the CAFP Regional Meeting, which will take place in Whitehorse, Yukon from Sunday, September 14, 2014 to Tuesday, September 16, 2014.

Our exciting and informative program will begin on Sunday, September 14, with the President's Reception from 5:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. at the Westmark Whitehorse Hotel.

The following day, Monday, September 15, 2014, we will officially begin our regional meeting with a guided tour of the Yukon Legislative Assembly followed by our business meeting and lunch at the Westmark Hotel. That evening we will go for dinner and the Muktuk Adventures tour.

On Tuesday, September 16 we will visit and have lunch at the Yukon College Research Centre (YRC). Six key programs operate there: Biodiversity Monitoring, Cold Climate Innovation, Northern Climate Exchange, Technology Innovation, Science Adventures, Resources and Sustainable Development for the Arctic. After the YRC tour we will visit the Yukon Beringia Interpretative Centre and will end the evening with dinner at Antoinette's restaurant.

The regional meeting registration fee is \$150.00 per person and includes Sunday's reception, all guided tours and lunches and dinners on Monday and Tuesday. The same \$150.00 registration fee applies for all spouses and guests.

For those needing overnight accommodations, we are holding a block of 30 rooms at the Westmark Whitehorse Hotel at the cost of \$139.00 per night, plus applicable taxes. The Hotel is located at 201 Wood St, in Whitehorse. To make your reservation, please call 1-800-544-0970 or online at www.westmarkhotels.com and refer to the **Group Code: FPPA091414** before August 14, 2014. For additional information on the hotel, please visit their website at www.westmarkhotels.com.

If you wish to attend, please RSVP no later than Friday, August 29, 2014, by mailing your registration form to the CAFP along with a cheque payable to the CAFP for the registration fees in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Remember that you can also register and pay the

registration fees on our website at www.exparl.ca.

Please do not hesitate to contact us by e-mail at exparl@parl.gc.ca or by telephone at 1-888-567-4764 should you have any questions. We hope many of you will be able to join us!

Sincerely,
Leo Duguay
President

Member insurance

Dear Member:

Single trip cancellation insurance and additional health coverage can be prohibitively expensive. This has forced some of our members to take a chance and do without, sometimes with disastrous consequences.

There is a solution for any of our members who are currently receiving, or who will be eligible to receive benefits under the Public Service Superannuation Plan (or from the RCMP or Canadian Forces Superannuation Plan, or the Judges Plan).

The FSNA (operating as the National Association of Federal Retirees, formerly the Federal Superannuates National Association) makes advantageous travel insurance benefits available to their members through MEDOC Travel Insurance in cooperation with Johnson Insurance. Benefits may include an unlimited number of trips of up to 40 days each year with no medical questionnaire required, as well as trip interruption and cancellation coverage. They are able to offer very favourable premiums since they coordinate with your Public Service Health Care Plan. If you are already an FSNA member, you may contact MEDOC by phone at 1-855-733-6815 or online at www.Johnson.ca/fsna.

If you wish to become a member of FSNA, please contact them directly at 613-745-2559, or online at info@fsna.com. For more information, you may also consult their website www.fsna.com, or contact the CAFP office at 1-888-567-4764.

CORRECTIONS

From the Winter 2014 issue:

p. 3, p. 20: Should be "Cleaning up the Balloons" not "Clearing up the balloons"

p. 6: The caption "Former Manitoba MLA, Linda Asper and her husband, Aubrey" is incorrect and should read "Linda Asper and Derwyn Canon Shea."

p.26: George Brown became a senator in 1873 not 1973.



How the President sees it

How the President Sees It

As I sit down to write this entry of *How the President Sees It*, I am stung by the realization that it will be my last time doing so. It was a bittersweet moment to retire as President of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians this June. These last few months have been some of our busiest yet. It is a delightful experience looking back at what this association has been able to accomplish, while looking forward to what awaits us in the future.

CAFP's Journey to South America

Our trip to Peru and Chile was a great success. In both nations, we found the people to be warm and friendly. In Peru, former members had the chance to spend some time in Canada's embassy and the Congress of the Republic of Peru. Our talks with officials centered on how their country was protecting the environment. When we weren't discussing modern politics, we were traipsing through ancient worlds. We visited Machu Picchu, the Sacred Valley, and other historical Inca sites.

In Chile, we sat in on a session of the National Congress of Chile where we were recognized by Michelle Bachelet, President of Chile, and other members. We also had the chance to meet with the president of the Canada Chile Parliamentary Association. You can read about our trip to South America in this issue of *Beyond the Hill*.

From November 8 to 15, former Canadian members along with former members of the American Congress will be making the trip across the pond to Normandy, France, where we will be taking part in the 71st anniversary of D-Day. There will no doubt be WWII veterans among us.

CAFP Salutes Michael Wilson

I am so proud that we were able to develop a Lifetime Achievement Program, an award that honours the best of the best. On May 21st this association honoured Michael Wilson. He is the epitome of what the public wants a politician to be - a great citizen and an exceptional Member of Parliament. I commend him especially on his incredible work in the private sector regarding mental health.

This Summer's AGM

Members experienced another fabulous annual general meeting this June 8th and 9th. We have mastered the event, even with the tight budget we have experienced as of late. In September, members will have the chance to meet again in Whitehorse for our regional meeting, organized by the talented Audrey McLaughlin.

Handing Over the Reins

My predecessor Doug Rowland planted the seeds for many of the great activities this association takes part in. In the past half decade, I feel like these ideas have grown into alliances and events of which former members should be extremely proud.

By forming partnerships with like-minded organizations with built in administrative structures (CIVIX, the Forum for Young Canadians...etc) under our Educational Foundation, CAFP has been able to operate effectively with its constrained budget. One area where we still have room to develop is with the Global Democracy Initiative. I am optimistic that we will find partners that will allow us to deploy our many resources.

My Trip to Europe with the Global Democracy Initiative

On that note, I recently had the pleasure of travelling to Paris, France, to meet with former parliamentarians from around the globe. In total, I met with representatives from approximately 30 countries. This included the U.S Association of Former Members of Congress and the European Parliament Former Members Association.

CAFP, along with our counterparts, are in the process of developing our global approach to democracy. We want to help young developing parliaments with democracy building. This would include travelling to countries and observing conditions before elections, monitoring elections as

Continued on next page



How the President sees it
Continued from previous page

they take place, and returning to the given country after elections to help citizens develop and set up structures and operations. One of the locations we looked at is Ukraine.

During the trip we tossed around the concept of holding meetings with former policymakers from across the globe, where we would broadly discuss emerging world issues in a UN-style environment; a sort of world meeting of all former parliamentary organizations. We also looked into the possibility of providing entrance fees or registration fees for parliamentarians interested in participating in events held by our sister organizations around the world. Finally, our hope is to one day create an interactive website that would allow members across the world to express and discuss their views on how to resolve issues. We have a whole raft of volunteers ready and willing to take part in democracy building initiatives.

Bidding Farewell

The past five years have taught me that while the array of skills members of Parliament and Senators have is essential to forming laws within the confines of the House, it is matched by the help it allows us to provide to others once we have breached its doors. All of us went into public life to do good. When we leave, there is still a large number of things we can do. This is an association that allows former members to use their wealth of experience. The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians is not an organization that does things for you. It is an organization that helps you do things for others and for the advancement of democracy. It has been an honour to have been your president. Thank you.

**Léo Duguay,
President.**

Ed. note: Léo's message was written before the recent AGM. The new president of CAFP is Andy Mitchel. He will appear in the next issue.



Executive Director's Report

By Jack Silverstone

I am pleased to advise you that our activities proceed apace. We have received several new and interesting funding inquiries from organizations whose goal it is to enhance participation in the Canadian political process at all levels. Over the past year, new and old friends with whom we partner and that we support in their activities, recognized the value of our efforts. Many informative events in the nation's capital involve our members. Organizers realize the value former parliamentarians can add to their seminars and we very much enjoy working with them. We often receive requests to make our members available for instructional video recordings and I am happy to say that the production value and quality of these sessions increases exponentially year-by-year.

Youth Education Outreach

I have had the opportunity and privilege to attend several events organized by our funding partner beneficiaries and I have seen the impact that our modest but strategic contributions make to the involvement in civics among youth in this country. Whether it is educators who come to Ottawa from across the country, where they spend an intensive week learning about the value and methods of teaching civic education in their classrooms, or the young students who visit Ottawa under various guises; they are universally appreciative of the support, both moral and financial, that they receive from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians. I am proud to see that recognition generously and publicly given.

10th Annual Douglas C. Frith Dinner

Our calendar never stops and after our Lifetime Achievement Award event in Toronto on May 21, which was an outstanding success, planning is well underway for our annual Educational Foundation fundraising dinner to be held in Ottawa on October 22 this year. The venue is the Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel and I know we will see many old and new friends at the event that has been named, for the second year in a row, by the Hill Times' "Power and Influence" magazine one of the best Ottawa gatherings of the year. It was described as, "a unique opportunity for young politicians to connect with Parliament's past."

Regional Meetings

CAFP continues to show its commitment to Canada's great North. Last autumn after the regional meeting in Winnipeg, many of the group traveled to the northern port of Churchill, Manitoba, learning about its important rail, sea and air facilities. They also studied the fascinating and delicate ecology of the area. This year's regional meeting is planned for Whitehorse, Yukon, from September 14 to 16. Here again participants will be given a wonderful opportunity to learn about the geography, economy and politics of one of Canada's most important northern regions.

Memberships

It is already well into that time of year when we call on you to renew your membership with the Association. Numbers do matter. Please take a minute to complete the form and send in your membership dues, or do it online. It's quick and easy! Thank you. Your Association needs you!



Francis LeBlanc

Reflections on the Educational Foundation

By Francis LeBlanc

The Douglas C. Frith Annual Dinner has raised over one million dollars in its 10 years.

Following the June 2014 AGM, my five years as President of the Educational Foundation, a stewardship I've been happy to share with CAFP President Léo Duguay, has come to an end. It is timely, therefore, to reflect on where we've come as a Foundation and on where we might go from here.

When I assumed the reins in June 2009, the Educational Foundation, thanks to the strong leadership of my predecessors, was already well established. The energy and vision of Douglas Frith and the strong support of people like Doug Rowland and Torrance Wylie gave birth to the Annual Dinner for the Educational Foundation in 2005. After Mr. Frith's sudden death in March 2009, the dinner was appropriately named the Douglas C. Frith Annual Dinner in his honour.

Investment policy established

This dinner, now in its tenth year, remains the key source of funds for the Foundation. It has raised over \$1,000,000 during this period and enjoys the loyal support of highly respected corporate sponsors in Ottawa. However, like any product, one has to expect that, sooner or later, it will run its course and so other fund-raising channels need to be developed. That is why, last year, an Investment Policy was established and the Foundation by-laws were updated to provide better guidance in the management of foundation funds for investment. We have given ourselves ambitious goals for the future and we want generous individual or corporate benefactors to be assured that funds entrusted with the Educational Foundation will be properly invested according to our mandate.

And what is that mandate? Article

III (A) of the Educational Foundation by-laws states that its purpose shall be, "to raise funds in support of domestic and international educational programs of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians (the Association) directed towards the fostering of democratic institutions in Canada and abroad and *towards encouraging young Canadians to become well-informed and engaged citizens* [italics mine]."

Still so much to be done

I would have to say that the emphasis of this mandate, at least during my time as President, has been in the part of the purpose statement that I have put in italics. There is much here to be done. We continue to be reminded of the worrisome decline in voter turnout and citizen engagement, especially among young people in Canada. We have excellent organizations that work in this area to help connect young people with their democratic institutions and build the leaders of tomorrow. These organizations can put our financial support to good use. More importantly, they can use the experience and wisdom of former parliamentarians to mentor and teach people, if we can find better ways to work together. That has been one of my priorities as President.

Among the organizations who have been receiving financial support from the Educational Foundation are: the Forum for Young Canadians, the Parliamentary Internship Program, Historica-Encounters With Canada, the Teacher's Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy, and CIVIX (Student Vote). They do excellent work and value their relationship with us. We continue to open new links with other organizations; such as Apathy is Boring, as resources permit.

As well, of course, the Foundation funds our two proprietary initiatives, Parliament to Campus (P2C) and the Schools Program. The former brings our members into university classrooms, the latter into primary and secondary schools. They are vehicles by which interested former parliamentarians can share their experiences with young people and perhaps awaken a spark of interest in public service. However, while the members who volunteer to participate in the Schools or P2C program are well received and often asked to return, to have a real impact these programs need to be scaled up and integrated with other civics educational activities.

More volunteers needed

As President, I have made most attempts to do this. During the 2013 provincial elections in British Columbia and Nova Scotia I invited former parliamentarians from those provinces to volunteer as resource people in parallel elections that were organized throughout schools by CIVIX. Seven volunteered in BC and two in NS. It is early days. If we had a much larger expression of interest, say for a future federal election, a genuine partnership could be established.

My engagement in CAFP and within the Educational Foundation over the last five years has been motivated by the genuine pleasure of the company of former colleagues across Canada (including my fellow Board members) and the strong belief that we have something truly important to contribute in sustaining and revitalizing democracy in Canada and abroad. This is important work and we are only scratching the surface of what we can do.

Francis LeBlanc was a Liberal MP for Cape Breton Highlands-Canso from 1988 to 1997.

Peru and Chile

Story by Karen Redman, photos by Susan Simms

The brochure announcing the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians' Study Tour of Peru and Chile in January 2014 referred to it as a trip of a lifetime. Admittedly, I was a tad sceptical of such a lofty billing, however, it was an amazing experience. The richness of the experience was partially due to the amazing places visited and the intellectual component provided by embassy briefings, but also in large part to the camaraderie of the group.

Partisanship was left at the door for the most part. There was just enough political banter to keep everyone on their toes. Former Progressive Conservative MP Leo Duguay provided quiet, competent leadership and clearly demonstrated he was adept at interfacing with the diplomats and groups of former parliamentarians who we met in each country. In response to his introduction of our group as one that included not one, but two former Liberal Whips on the trip, former whip Marlene Catterall quipped, "There are fewer whips in the Conservative Party because they are easier to whip than Liberals."

Traveling with celebrities

Try walking down the street in Peru and have a stranger shout out, "Hey, it's the Big M! Hi, Frank." Former Senator Frank and Marie Mahovlich may be used to random greetings of this sort, but in Peru? Or dining in a restaurant in Cusco and running into a family friend of former Senator Raymond Setlakwe. You haven't really received the 'gold standard' wine tour unless, you have been hosted by a sommelier as your guide and received the benefit of Lena and former MP Gary Pillitteri's expertise while touring Casa Blanca wineries outside of Santiago, Chile. Needless to say, everyone consuming wine had amazing selections for that leg of the tour.

There was also great substance in our experience. It came as a result of briefings by embassy personnel. In Peru, Ambassador Patricia Fortier and her very knowledgeable staff provided



Peru's world heritage sight of Machu Picchu



Ian Waddell gets friendly with the locals.



Exploring the ruins of Machu Picchu.



Peru's most famous export - potatoes.

insight into Peru's political issues and economic trends, as well as Bolivia's, for which they are also responsible. The briefing notes indicated that Peru is Canada's second largest bilateral trading partner in Latin America and the Caribbean (excluding Mexico). It is the third largest destination for Canadian direct investment in South and Central America. The relationship be-



The group was greeted by cool, wet weather at the ruins.



Taking time to see the real Peru.



Getting a lesson in dying yarns.



The ruins of Machu Picchu spread out behind Ian.



Taking a moment to admire the view.



Gary Pillitteri sits in front of the breathtaking view of the Andean mountains.



Surrounded by the ruins.



Briefing and panel discussion at the Canadian Embassy in Santiago, with Ambassador Patricia Fuller, Professor Andreas Feldmann, and James Callahan, ex-President of Scotiabank, Chile.



National Congress of Chile, Valparaíso.



Ian Waddell and Lena Pillitteri with Sommelier and Guide, Martin Mantegini.



Meeting with Roberto Del Mastro Naso, (back right), President of the Canada-Chile Parliamentary Group.

tween Peru and Canada is reflected in increasing bilateral interactions at all levels. Canada and Peru hold bilateral political consultations annually to discuss issues of interest to both countries. Peru regularly welcomes visits by Canadian Members of Parliament and senior officials. Investment in resource exploration is a large focus for Canadian companies with over 100 publicly listed extractive companies (mining, oil and gas). Questions from the delegation were wide ranging with some centered on aspects of corporate social responsibility practices.

After the briefing, we heard from Secretary General of Transparencia, Gerardo Távara. He outlined the challenges in advocating for the election of more women in the Peruvian parliament.

Peru utilizes a system of placing candidate names on party lists during elections to increase the prospects of women being elected in winnable circumscriptions. This practice is similar to those used in Australia. Chile faces these challenges as well. Candidate loyalty becomes disproportionately fixed to the interests of the party, due to the power of list placement and less to the interests of citizens.

In Chile, we were briefed by Canadian Ambassador, Patricia Fuller, who drew on her specialization in economic and trade policy to set the stage for a panel discussion. At her invitation, the former head of Scotiabank Chile James Callahan was joined by Andreas Feldmann, Associate Professor at the Institute of Political Science at

the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. This panel of experts provided context to address our questions on the political and economic situation throughout South America. Personally, as we travelled through Chile, I was struck by a disconnection between the sophisticated urban setting displaying similarities to Canada and the well-documented abuses that occurred under Augusto Pinochet's regime.

Political discontent was evident by the student and worker demonstrations we observed as we travelled to the seat of the Chilean government. While this is a healthy indication of current tolerance of civil disobedience, it is troubling to learn that the structural changes implemented under Pinochet now prevent constitutional change.

Ian Waddell presents his book to Marie and Frank Mahovich.



Léo Duguay and Yvette Setlakwe celebrating her birthday.



Lena Pillitteri and Yvette Setlakwe.



Karen Redman and Charlette Duguay at closing dinner.



Karen Redman and Gary Pillitteri enjoying ocean view in Valparaiso.



Marlene and Ron Catterall in the Casablanca Valley.

Constitutional changes are required to move Chile forward towards institutionalized democratic principles.

Visiting the world UNESCO heritage site of Machu Picchu was the jewel in the crown of the experience. In preparation for the high altitude, the group flew from Lima to Cusco for a few days to acclimatize. In order to achieve this, the best advice was to perform all physical exertion slowly. There had been a landslide the previous week on the switchback road leading to Machu Picchu and it was not clear until we left on the Hiram Bingham train that we would be able to visit the ancient Inca site. Staying at the Sanctuary Lodge next to the site's entrance afforded us an enhanced experience. A small group of us ventured

onto the site at sunrise. We met scores of hikers who had been on the trail for several hours during the night to share the same experience. Later that morning, a few of us hiked up to the Gate of the Sun to view the entire valley which rises above the clouds. For anyone who has scaled the Great Wall of China, it is a similar experience of uneven and steep footing.

This was the first time my husband Warren and I travelled as part of a CAFP tour. We came away with two observations. The opportunity to see a country and receive political and economic information through embassy briefings was a vibrant aspect of the experience. The second reality was that this group has game. When I queried if we needed to train in ad-

vance to be in shape to hike at Machu Picchu, I was advised by the travel agent that it probably wouldn't be necessary. She observed that we sounded somewhat younger than some of our colleagues on the trip. One of the members of our group did celebrate an 86th birthday in Chile. However, in Chile, people were swimming daily in the pool and hiking uneven craggy paths in the Sacred Valley. In Cusco, they were singing opera with the professional entertainers at dinner. For an amazing experience with interesting, engaged people, my advice would be to sign up to the first trip that fits with your schedule. You will have the time of your life.

Karen Redman was a Liberal MP for Kitchener Centre for 1997 to 2008.

CAFP bursaries bringing teachers to parliament

By Christine Ivory

The Parliament of Canada is currently recruiting for the 18th edition of the Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy. It will run from November 2 to November 7, 2014. The Teachers Institute is a week-long intensive professional development program that immerses teachers in the parliamentary system and offers them an insider's view of the work of Senators and MPs. Each year, 70 teachers from across the country are selected to take part in this unique program organized by the Library of Parliament under the auspices of both Speakers.

Since 2007, the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians, through its Educational Foundation, has been a Contributing Partner for the Teachers Institute, offering seven bursaries to teachers with financial constraints who would otherwise be unable to participate. For teachers who benefit from the CAFP bursaries, this financial aid is the difference between an experience of a lifetime and the disappointment of not attending. Although the Parliament of Canada covers most of the Institute's costs, supply costs are not included. For many teachers, recent budget cuts and restrictions on professional development in their respective provinces or territories has meant that employers refuse to cover supply teaching for their time in Ottawa. Therefore, the CAFP bursary becomes a lifeline that helps these teachers recover some of the significant costs they personally take on to attend the program.

The continuing support of CAFP for the Teachers Institute has had a tremendous impact on the lives of participating educators. In the words of some of our bursary recipients:

Dennis Braam, North Vancouver, BC:

"As pleased as I was to be accepted to the 2013 *Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*, the reality of funding created a bit of anxiety for me. By receiving a generous bursary from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians I was able to afford the opportunity to participate in the programme. My week in Ottawa last November was



Back row: Laura Erola - Ontario, Erica Long - Saskatchewan, Zoe Higgs - BC, Tanya Abbott - BC Front row: Michael Bylsma - BC, Dennis Braam - BC, Francis Leblanc - CAFP, Vincent Gagnon - Quebec, Adrian French BC. Photo by Francis LeBlanc

the best professional development activity I had ever experienced in my twenty-six years as an educator. Thank you so much for your support in a very worthwhile endeavour."

Erica Long, Saskatoon SK:

"I had the extreme pleasure of being a member of the 2013 *Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy*. Without the financial support of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians my attendance would not have been possible, and I would have missed out on the most powerful and meaningful PD of my teaching career! The experience not only helped me grow personally but ignited a fire within me to share my passion for citizenship education with even the youngest of students!"

Zoe Higgs, BC:

"The *Teachers Institute on Canadian Parliamentary Democracy* is hands-down the most valuable professional development I have participated in thus far in my career. It has bettered my understanding of government and its inner workings, transformed the lessons I teach (and how I teach), and truly reminded me of the importance of actively participating in our democratic processes. Without the finan-

cial aid so generously given by the CAFP, this experience simply would not have been a reality for me. I am so thankful to have been chosen as a bursary recipient in 2013, and expect that there are many other teachers out there just like me hoping to attend the Institute but facing financial obstacles. Thank you to the CAFP once more for their support of this important and transformative program."

Tanya Abbott, BC:

"I am so grateful for receiving the Jack Ellis Memorial Bursary from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians. Without their help I would not have been able to attend the *Teachers Institute*, which was the best professional development I have ever attended. I now have an understanding of the parliamentary system that I would never have had without this hands on experience. I am able to teach my students about democracy in a much more meaningful way with confidence and pride. Between so many inspirational presenters and so many amazing other teachers I have taken away an experience of a lifetime. This experience would not have happened without this bursary from the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians."

Jean Chrétien turns 80!



Chrétien takes to the podium at his 80th birthday celebrations.

And the former PM is joined by 700 of his closest friends, former parliamentary colleagues, and political foes for a lively, fun-filled evening of tributes, roasts, and reflections, to celebrate the illustrious career and 50 years of public service to Canada of the “Little Guy from Shawinigan.”

Photographer Jean-Marc Carisse was there and took these pictures of that special evening.

The event was held on January 21st at the Westin Harbour Castle in Toronto with proceeds going to “La maison de la francophonie de Toronto.” For a gallery of Jean-Marc Carisse’s and information on Carisse Studio Cafe visit: www.carisse.org



Chrétien receives birthday cake from Mark Critch (of This Hour Has 22 Minutes) as Peter Mansbridge holds fire extinguisher.



Brian Tobin, Chrétien and Roy Romanow.



Pat Gossage, Stéphane Dion and David Anderson.



Jean Charest and Jean Chrétien with Bob Rae on piano.



Chrétien, Sergio Marchi and John Crosbie share a laugh.

Leo's song

The mostly unwritten story of political music in Canada

By Will Stos

In his 21 year career as a politician in Kenora, Ontario, Leo Bernier accumulated a lot of goodwill from his supporters. The long-time Progressive Conservative MPP's files in the Ontario Archives are filled with letters of thanks and well wishes from constituents whom he assisted and many are effusive with praise. But at least one constituent felt compelled to express his feelings to Bernier in a novel way. He wrote him a song.

The unsigned, hand-written song lyrics were probably submitted for use at one of the MPP's annual parties in the late 1970s, where his supporters would eat, drink and mingle with invited dignitaries from the PC party who made the trip up North. It is also a piece of political ephemera that may have been lost to time, had it not made its way to the Ontario Archives as a part of Bernier's collection.

Songs lost to time

Madeleine Boyer, a York University and University of Toronto graduate student who is completing a Master's thesis on Canadian political songs, says finding this obscure song buried deep in a personal archive is indicative of the difficulty ethnomusicologists face when trying to research this subject matter. Yet tracing the development of pre-1960s political and protest songs is even more difficult.

"Lots of time and effort has been afforded to political music post 1960s, especially since recording technology has helped document and preserve this as well as the ever-growing online world, but not before this time," she notes.

Boyer suggests much music, specifically folk music, was typically oral in tradition. Illiteracy, especially of musical notation, depending of social background, was common, and many songs were learned by ear, and borrowed tunes from well-known songs.

Without being preserved in a written form, there was a much greater chance

Song written for Ontario PC MPP and cabinet minister Leo Bernier, circa 1977.

*Now us folks don't live in the city.
We live in the mighty North west.
Northwestern Ontario is pretty.
But I think Ear Falls is the best.*

*So let's all get out behind Leo.
The man who will hear what we say.
He's not one to wait for tomorrow.
He gets the job rolling today.*

*There's things to be done in the country.
There's much to be done every day.
We know Leo's not just a [illegible].
Cause Leo knows just what to say.*

*Arr rum tum tum tum for the Tory.
The people can never be wrong.
This isn't the end of the story.
It's only the end of the song.*

songs would be lost over time. It was not until the folk music revival that this music was consistently written down and preserved through recordings.

Why some songs survive

But Boyer says there were often other issues at play, which hindered the preservation of political music.

"We need to understand that within music there is a hierarchy when it comes to genres of music and their historical importance," she explains. Classical music has been continually documented and studied throughout history due to its association with the upper and middle class society and the "educated" elite. Folk music, on the other hand, tended to possess political connotations and was deemed to be the "the voice of the people" and typically linked with lower/poorer classes who were illiterate. As a result, less attention and care in preservation was usually afforded to these songs.

The works that do survive from earlier

times tend to surround major political events or contentious elections. Dating from the 1869 Newfoundland election, "The Anti-Confederation Song" is one example of a song emerging from a political crisis. Warning of high taxes and praising the colony's independence and ties to Britain, the lyrics state that Newfoundland's "face turns to Britain, her back to the Gulf, Come near at your peril, Canadian Wolf!" Heeding its warning, Newfoundlanders did not join Canada for another 80 years.

Some other songs sung around election time included 1882's "Ontario, Ontario," which was apparently used to great effect against the Liberal Party, and "La Mairie à Longueuil," sung to the tune "Partant pour la Syrie" for the 1904 municipal election in Quebec. Yet these appear to be relatively few and far-between – at least in terms of what survived.

Boyer speculates the delayed solidification of the Canadian governmental system in comparison to the American system may partially explain why partisan political songs from the period are more evident south of the border.

Most political songs which survive from the pre-1960s time period tend to be ones generated along class lines, that dealt with working conditions in places such as mines or logging camps. But even these were often concealed from outsiders who may have documented them.

Overtly political songs may have been suppressed due to the climate of the time, Boyer suggests. Citing the McCarthy era as one example, she says, "Music is indeed a powerful weapon and can incite revolution and awaken political inklings and emotions." Fear of repression or reprisal may have hidden this form of protest.

Folk revival

The folk music revival of the 1960s, in conjunction with widespread protest and liberation movements, gave birth to numerous new political musical vi-

"Music is indeed a powerful weapon and can incite revolution and awaken political inklings and emotions."

– Madeleine Boyer, currently completing a Master's thesis on Canadian political songs at York University.

gnettes. In Quebec and Eastern Canada especially, the Quiet Revolution and the Acadian Awakening produced numerous singer-songwriters such as Georges Dor, Gilles Vigneault, Calixte Duguay and Edith Butler.

In the 1980s and 1990s, events such as the first Quebec referendum on sovereignty were set to the score of Vigneault's "Gens du pays," and Mark Labelle's "Do Not Leave Us if You Love Us/Ne nous quittez pas si tu nous aimes," while composer Valdy wrote "Hey Mr. Michael Wilson," during the GST debate and "Ten Little White Men: The Ballad of Meech Lake."

But political commentary set to music is only one half of the political music equation. Candidates have increasingly taken to employing songs during their runs for office – either specially written or pre-existing songs with messages they like.

Boyer says she believes that using original songs for campaigning purposes as opposed to pre-existing rock or pop songs are more effective. "By painting the candidates character and platform through the lyrics of an original song, individuals can relate more and are enticed more because the lyrics have more meaning to the actual situation," she says.

There are also other benefits to looking for original works. Bernier's admirer, for example, may have created a further bond with the politician when he took pencil to paper to craft his song. As Boyer notes: "When you believe in something, you want to participate in any way you can, be it leafleting, campaigning from door to door, or composing songs, or creating banners and other artwork."

This unknown songwriter believed in Leo Bernier enough to write him a song, and it's hard not to think that it put a smile on the politician's face and possibly a spring in his step as he set out to campaign.

Staying in touch

By Caresse Ley

**The Hon. Frank Mahovlich
(Liberal Senator, 1998-2013)**

Q. What have you been doing since you retired?

I have been busy with my cottage. I'm opening my cottage up for the summer and I'm just trying to relax. People are saying, "take up art." Well, I don't have time. I do a lot of gardening. I have a garden in the city in Toronto and a garden at my cottage. I play a little golf, too.

Q. Do you have any plans?

I haven't got any plans. It's my time to do nothing for a while. Something will fall into place. My wife took me to Palm Springs for three months and I was bored. I didn't know what to do with myself. It was a little slow for me.

Q. What is your favourite memory from your time served in the Senate?

I have many favourite memories. We had the memorial ceremony today [and it honoured] John Lynch-Staunton [Conservative Senator 1990-2005]. He was quite a nice gentleman. He was with the Conservatives at the time that I arrived and I became friends with him. I played for the Montreal Canadiens and every once in a while he would bring me an article from Montreal and he would present it to me in the Senate. I've got so many nice memories.

Q. What do you hope your lasting legacy will be?

I think that I was active and contributed to all the committees. I think committee work is the most important for the Senate. I was told that when I came here by many former Senators, and this is what I hope I contributed.

Yasmin Ratansi

(Liberal MP, 2004-2011)

Q. What have you been doing since you left Parliament?

Before I was de-elected? I travelled to east Africa, then went on an assignment

to Vietnam, where I was working with parliamentarians to introduce gender budgeting. I decided to re-educate myself. I had to get a focus on what I really wanted to do. International assignments are good but they're not constantly. I looked at the not-for-profit sector to see what it does to fill the gaps that the government doesn't do. I realized through our tax system and donations we were giving \$112 billion dollars to that sector, yet we still have not alleviated poverty. I came up with Ethical Edge to help with financial inefficiencies. We provide an operational review. I have also been approached by different international agencies to help enhance the skill sets of their parliamentarians in the areas of public accounts.

Q. What is your favourite memory from your time in Parliament?

I think the public remembers me chairing the government operations and when Minister Baird was making a fool of himself. He was trying to be foolish about laws and committee processes. Either you're a minister or a witness. You can't be both.... So I say, "Security, throw the minister out." He didn't know procedure and he was pretending he knew it. Across Canada, I had people send me emails saying, "You know, good for you." That was my biggest highlight.

Q. What do you think your lasting legacy will be?

I think my lasting legacy will be that I was a very fair chair. I remember when I was doing the issue around human trafficking. I had Rob Nicholson, Stockwell Day and Diane Finley, and people from my side were being impolite and I had to put a stop to it. Minister Finley wrote me a note saying thank you for being such a fair chair. So I think my fairness, and I was friendly with everybody and I was very non-partisan that way. I believe in building bridges with everyone.



The Hon. Frank Mahovlich. Photo by J. M. Carisse.



Yasmin Ratansi

Does Question Period work anymore?

By Caresse Ley

“O*ral questions, questions orales.”*

When the Speaker says those words, every parliamentarian knows the House of Commons is about to get a lot louder. Question Period is about to begin.

It is almost always opened with a challenging and feisty question from the opposition leader, followed by an unsatisfactory answer from the government. This repetitiveness has led many Canadians to tune out altogether, frustrated by what are often seen as evasion tactics, hyper-partisanship and adults behaving like school children.

In fact, just this year, school children from Alberta's Innisfail Middle School will no longer be attending Question Period. After making an educational visit to watch QP at the Alberta legislature, 90 Grade six students witnessed members making crude motions to one another, threatening to fight one another, and multiple interjections by the Speaker. The school will no longer be taking their students to observe the event.

It is not called Answer Period

Looking at the exchange in general terms, one expert is quick to point out that it is, by nature, “question” period, not answer period.

“Question Period is not debate. It's sequential monologue,” said Yaroslav Baran, former advisor to Prime Minister Stephen Harper and a partner at Earncliffe Strategy Group. “It's essentially an exercise in contrast positioning or framing of an issue by both sides.”

But if many Canadians don't see it that way, then what is it good for?

“Just because it's partisan and just because it's often tense doesn't necessarily mean it's not effective,” said Baran. “It's where ideas are tested, positioning either takes root or it's blown up.”

But some think Question Period should be about questions that lead to a healthy back and forth.



Justin Trudeau queries the government in Question Period. Photo by Sean Kilpatrick / The Canadian Press.



John Baird responds. Photo by Chris Wattie / Reuters.

“I think that it's largely ineffective,” said David Collenette, a Liberal MP who sat from 1974 until 2004. “There's been a drastic change since when I was first elected in 1974, when you used to have riveting debates in the House of Commons.”

Great theatre

Collenette said he thinks one obstacle to having an effective Question Period is creating a government that truly wants to answer questions and resolve issues.

“It's become very much theatre,” said Collenette, citing the time limit on questions and answers as a major problem.

Collenette said he remembers when larger-than-life politicians from all parties – like John Diefenbaker, Ed Broadbent, Tommy Douglas, Robert Stanfield and Pierre Trudeau – would speak for several minutes in Question Period and the entire House would listen respectfully. Today, most politicians are shouted over and heckled by their colleagues.

The time limit, said Collenette, has taken away from the spontaneity and eliminated politicians' ability to give meaningful, albeit lengthy, context to their questions and answers.

However, Baran points not to a time limit, but to the installation of television

cameras in the House as the problem with Question Period.

“Currently, Question Period is all about playing to the camera,” he said. “Success is measured by the best zinger or most effective sound bite.”

Pull the cameras!

The solution, he said, is simple.

“If we don't want Question Period to be that, then pull out the cameras, force it to be reported through the filter of journalists, who would then have to cover it, have to paraphrase and they would have to contextualize. Then it would become more about content and quality than about the sound bite.”

But Collenette notes that British Parliament “has some great debates” even though it is also broadcast on television. Similarly, he says Australia's debate sessions seem more respectful and productive than Canada's sensationalized Question Period.

“I don't know whether it has to do with the political culture of Canada, but there's no question in my mind that Question Period here has become rather staged,” said Collenette.

Regardless of whether Question Period has become overly staged, one thing is clear: the loudest voice gets on the news. Whether that translates to votes or voter confidence remains to be seen.

Oxford study trip

Story and photo by Graeme Ching



Students of the 2014 Oxford Study Programme (left to right): Sabrina Dollmont, Joe Ferrant, Ian Gallagher, David Feddema, Anna Beresford, Caitlin Lake, Stacy Rice, Amy Wiseman, Rebecca Wilson, Jocelyn Sennema, in front of The British Museum.

A trip to London, England, is always an adventure, but when the usual crowds and confusion are accompanied by pouring rain, gusts of wind, cancelled reservations, and a strike by subway (“tube”) workers, the adventure really begins. Fortunately, the ten students in this year’s Oxford Study Programme, along with their leaders, were up to the task, and nothing that man or nature threw in their way kept them from visiting the Palace of Westminster, otherwise known as the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

The date was February 8, 2014, and these students, like those of previous years, were full of excitement, optimism, and – of course – curiosity. Some of them were fascinated by the building itself, describing it as “visually stunning,” “absolutely gorgeous,” and “unforgettable,” but most of all they were deeply impressed by the sense of political

history. As one student remarked, “I found it incredible to be able to stand in those places, where real people fought for their right to help rule the country they lived in.” Another added that “it was particularly interesting to discover that the Queen herself is not actually allowed inside the House of Commons, a tradition taking its roots from Charles I. I loved how deeply symbolic this was of the true power of the people in Parliament.”

Students were also keen to discover “the traditional and precise way in which the laws and bills of the country are passed,” and to learn more about the people who make those laws and bills, whether those of past years who are now represented by the numerous statues and paintings, or those who currently serve their people by representing them in government.

The purpose of the visit to the UK Parliament, and of the Oxford Study

Programme in general, is to give students the opportunity to broaden their perspectives through new and educational experiences, as well as to initiate thoughtfulness about the world around them, beyond what is represented in books and by cultural artefacts. In this respect, their visit seems to have been a success. As one student put it, “I think what I’ll take away from the trip was not only the knowledge that I’ve gained but the conversation about our current government that was sparked after taking the tour. It really did make us think.”

The students and administrators of the Oxford Study Programme would like to express their deep thanks to the Former Parliamentarians of Canada for their support in helping make this experience possible.

Submitted by Graeme Ching, Oxford Programme Director Crandall University, Moncton, NB, CANADA

Champlain and French heritage in Peterborough

By the Hon. Peter Adams



The Champlain monument near Orillia, Ontario commemorates the 1615 expedition of Champlain and his First Nation allies. Photo by Al Brunger.

There has been a spate of Champlain anniversaries lately. This is not surprising as between his arrival in North America in 1603 and his death in Québec City in 1635, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of New France, touched places as far south and east as the West Indies and as far north and west as the upper Great Lakes. This means that around 400 years ago, he visited an awful lot of places in eastern North America, especially Canada. Some of these anniversaries, notably the 400th anniversaries of An-

napolis Royal, Nova Scotia (2005) and Québec City (2008) received a great deal of publicity; others less so.

Champlain's visits, in 1615, to what is now the federal riding of Peterborough, Ontario, do not rank with his long stays in Annapolis Royal or Québec but they are important to people of that part of Ontario and they were significant in terms of his relations with the First Nations of eastern Canada and the U.S., as well as his contributions to the early mapping of Canada.

Champlain's raid

During June of 1615, Champlain met, below the rapids where Montréal is today, with his First Nations allies, notably the Huron and Algonquin of what is now, Ontario. It was agreed that a small group of armed French, led by Champlain, would accompany a punitive raid on the Iroquois of modern northern New York State, enemies of the Huron, Algonquin and French. This expedition was to start from Huron territory, Huronia, on the shores of present-day Georgian Bay, Ontario, off Lake Huron.

The federal riding of Peterborough, along with other Ontario communities touched by Samuel de Champlain, will be celebrating important 400th anniversaries in 2015.

Champlain, with a dozen or so Frenchmen and First Nations allies, left Montréal in early July, traveling up-stream by canoe. To avoid Iroquois war parties, they traveled by the northern route, leaving the St Lawrence for the Ottawa River, circling round to Lake Nipissing, visiting First Nations en route. Champlain, as usual, mapped the country and wrote notes on it and its diverse peoples. He had traveled part of this Ottawa River route two years before and was quite well informed about it from information obtained from both his native allies and young French interpreters, who had lived in that region.

On September 1, more than 500 Huron and Algonquin, with the French musketeers, set off to attack the Iroquois town to the south of Lake Ontario in modern Syracuse, NY, by Lake Onondaga. They traveled along a well-used First Nations route, through the Kawartha Lakes and down the Trent River to the eastern end of Lake Ontario. This is more or less the route of Parks Canada's Trent-Severn Waterway of today. The locks of the modern waterway cut out the portages, which the war party had to use. While traveling through the Kawarthas, the army was fed through large-scale hunts in which hundreds of deer were killed. Champlain recorded such activities and set down the first European observations of the region.

Champlain's first visit to Peterborough

The federal riding of Peterborough is near the middle of this route. Upon reaching the riding, the expedition would likely have left the lakes near modern Bridgenorth (in the north-western corner of the riding), and then followed the long-established portage to the Otonabee River near downtown Peterborough of today. This route persists as Chemong Road

in the layout of the modern City and County of Peterborough. They descended the Otonabee to the Trent River and Lake Ontario.

After reaching Lake Ontario, the expedition proceeded around its eastern end to Lake Onondaga and attacked a remarkably well-fortified Iroquois town, using a mixture of Huron and European tactics. They were repulsed. Champlain was wounded in the leg by arrows and had to be carried by his allies part of the way back to Peterborough Riding.

On the return journey, probably to avoid Iroquois, they seem to have moved inland nearer present-day Kingston, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, rather than returning to the Trent River. They then looped round to the northeast corner of Peterborough Riding. In the vicinity of Clear and Chemong lakes, where their return route intersected their outward route, they rested for some weeks to recuperate and hunt.

Champlain's second visit to Peterborough

This became Champlain's second, extended visit to the riding. Champlain was detained in the riding by the necessity of recovering from his wounds. The site of this recuperation is known colloquially as "Champlain's Rest" and its precise location has been much debated, a sort-of scholarly "quest for the rest". While convalescing, Champlain described for the first time the Peterborough region as it was in the 17th century. The region was unpopulated at the time although it showed signs of quite recent First Nations settlement.

After recuperating in the Peterborough riding, Champlain returned to Huronia in late December 1615 and spent the winter visiting various First Nations in that area. His base, the 17th century Huron town of Ca-

hiagué, has become the most studied archaeological site in Ontario. He left Huronia in May 1616, to arrive in Québec in July, returning to France in August. Champlain's alliance with the Huron and Algonquin was sufficient to deter Iroquois raids for the subsequent quarter century, which in turn aided the expansion of the fur trade and missionary activity in Huronia and beyond.

Peterborough's development

As things turned out, Europeans did not settle in the Peterborough riding for 200 years after Champlain's visits. Early settlers were predominantly Irish, although a substantial francophone population soon followed them, this time from the Province of Québec, rather than France. These settlers came initially for the lumbering, but later for other work. During the 19th century, the southern end of Peterborough became known as "French town". A recent mayor of Peterborough, Paul Ayotte, is a member of a large family, and a direct descendant of these early Québécois settlers. The home of their ancestor Joseph Ayotte is now proudly preserved in Lang Pioneer Village, the County of Peterborough's living museum.

The federal riding of Peterborough, along with other Ontario communities touched by Samuel de Champlain, will be celebrating important 400th anniversaries in 2015. The Trent Valley Archives (www.trentvalleyarchives.com) is publishing a special edition of its quarterly Gazette of the Trent Valley. This will recognize Champlain and his allies and the francophone heritage of the region.

I am most grateful to Al Brunger, Elwood Jones, and the Trent Valley Archives for their help with this article.

The Hon. Peter Adams was Liberal MP for Peterborough from 1993 to 2006.

Preserving Mandela's legacy

By Catherine Cross.

In supporting Mandela and fighting Apartheid, Brian Mulroney stood up to his powerful best friends Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.



Brian Mulroney with Nelson Mandela in front of a cheering crowd on a three-day visit to Canada in 1990 (William DeKay / The Canadian Press file photo)

On June 18, 1990, four months after being released from his South African prison, Nelson Mandela addressed a joint session of Canadian Parliament. He had yet to be elected head of state, making his speech before Parliament an aberration, but he spoke in gratitude for Canadian support to end apartheid.

He opened his speech by giving thanks for the opportunity to speak before Parliament, noting the irony that he could not at that point do the same in his own country, still under oppressive apartheid policies. Yet, Mandela spoke of hope.

"Today the hope is abroad among our people that those in our country who saw themselves as the master race have . . . realised that tyranny is but the progenitor of the forces of its own destruction. There is hope that perhaps, at last, those who sought to deny the humanity of others have understood that by that act they also dehumanised themselves," he said.

"We are made better human beings by the fact that you have reached out from across the seas to say that we, too - the rebels, the fugitives, the prisoners - deserve to be heard."

In the speech, Mandela referred to Brian Mulroney as a "true friend", referencing the Mulroney government's work to bring an end to apartheid through economic sanctions that other world powers were hesitant to make.

Mandela died Dec. 5, 2013, at the age of 95. The revolutionary, politician, and philanthropist played a key role in ending apartheid in South Africa. He was a political prisoner for 27 years because he fought against the oppressive system, and after his release was known for forgiving his oppressors and hoping for a brighter future.

The Right Side of History

Canada had a special role in the fight to end apartheid, which is why Mandela honoured Canadian Parliament with his visit so soon after being released. Opposition to apartheid from the Canadian federal government stretched over decades, beginning with Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, and under the leadership of former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and former Prime Minister Joe Clark.

Under Mulroney's leadership, in 1986, Canada implemented sanctions against South Africa. Mulroney also campaigned for Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher's support in these sanctions. In these waning years of the Cold War, Reagan was reticent in part due to fear that Mandela was a communist. Thatcher said that sanctions would be counterproductive, and argued that apartheid needed to end "by negotiation."

Meanwhile, thousands of Canadians fought for many years through their churches, labour unions, universities, and non-governmental organizations to bring an end to apartheid. These citizens raised awareness of the limitations apartheid placed on the lives of black South Africans, and placed a critical eye on Canada's economic links to South Africa.

Some municipal and provincial governments likewise put economic pressure on South Africa. In the early 1980s, the City of Toronto began to boycott banks dealing with South Africa. By 1985, South African wines were banned in Ontario, Manitoba, and Quebec. Certainly not all Canadians supported Mandela, but many supported bringing an end to apartheid.

One of our Own

On Nov. 19, 2001, Mandela became the first living person to be made an honorary citizen of Canada. Since Mandela's death, individuals and organizations worldwide have been working to solidify his legacy. Here in Canada, one of these groups is the Mandela Legacy Committee.

"We have a unique relationship with Mandela because of our part in the struggle. He's an honorary Canadian citizen. He's one of our own," says Walter McLean, a Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament from



Stephen Harper pays tribute to Mandela.

1979 to 1993, whose career has long been intertwined with African nations and the issues that Mandela fought for in his own country. He now works with the Mandela Legacy Committee.

McLean recalls greeting Mandela only weeks after his release in Lusaka, Zambia, where Commonwealth leaders had gathered. He remembers telling Mandela, "All of my professional life, you have been in prison for issues that I hold dear."

Working to end apartheid had to be carefully negotiated by the Canadian government, McLean recalls.

"At that time, the ANC was viewed as a terrorist organization. It was a balancing act. The government wanted to end apartheid, but [did] not get too close to the ANC," McLean says.

McLean recalls a celebratory dinner for Namibia's independence on March 20, 1990. He remembers Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk, the last South African president before apartheid was dismantled, seated together at the same table.

"It was amazing to see the acceptance and forgiveness between Mandela and de Klerk," says McLean.

Keeping Memories Alive

Working with the Mandela Legacy Committee, McLean aims to keep Mandela's life and values vibrant in



Brian Mulroney, Kim Campbell, Jean Chretien and Steven Harper on the plane.

public memory today. The committee is working to bring the Nelson Mandela exhibit from the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, to tour Canadian museums. The tour would begin at Winnipeg's new Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

"We want to tour it so schoolchildren can learn about his life. We need to keep alive the spirit of racial equality," McLean says.

"Even though I've been out of Parliament for nearly 20 years, these issues are ongoing," he says. "We need to make sure we never move into official or unofficial apartheid."

Keeping Mandela's legacy alive is one way the committee hopes to reinforce the Canadian values that condemned and fought apartheid decades ago.

On the front lines

Ryerson students take part in new constituency project

By Will Stos

As recently as a few decades ago, constituency offices didn't exist in Canada. Now, they are hives of activity, as MPs and their staffers offer all kinds of front line services and advice to their constituents.

Patrice Dutil, a professor in the Department of Politics and Public Administration at Ryerson University, has long recognized the importance of these offices, but speculated that many of his undergraduate students might not even be aware of them if they had not had reason to visit one.

With scholarly literature on Canadian constituency offices still in its infancy, Dutil, who is a past acting executive director and director of research at the Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC) and director of the CAF's Parliament to Campus Program, decided to send his students into the trenches to get some first-hand experience.

The Constituency Office Project was born in the summer of 2012 and fashioned into a fourth-year level course to build upon Ryerson's push to broaden its experiential learning programmes. Its first participants were put to the test during the winter 2013 term.

Dutil, who suspected that MPs and MPPs in a busy urban area like Toronto could probably use some help in their constituency offices, received a phenomenal response with 50 MP or MPP offices from all three parties (split roughly half and half) expressing interest.

"It was self-sustaining," he said. "We had no problems and I was really delighted with the response I received from the MP and MPP offices."

Dutil suggested that the educational aspect of this program attracted much of the interest from the offices – this wasn't simply a volunteering exercise.

"The real world"

The course required students to participate in an orientation prior to the beginning of the term, spend a minimum of 80 hours in the constituency

office, write weekly reports on their experiences, give an oral presentation on a research topic, and complete a 25-page paper following their time in the field.

Eddie Baruela, who recently completed his third year as a Politics and Governance major at Ryerson, said his first thought upon hearing of the placement was that it was, "about damn time I get to learn about politics outside of the classroom! My decision to take part in this allowed me to escape the monotony of the academic classroom environment and apply the issues I'm learning about in the classroom to 'the real world.'"

Baruela, who is politically engaged but not a member of any party said he had an incredibly worthwhile experience while working in Trinity-Spadina former NDP MP Olivia Chow's constituency office.

"Truth is, I went into this project as a blank and was unsure as to what to expect," he said. While in the office he found there was always something to do, whether it was dealing with constituent cases on immigration, pensions, or citizenship, participating in community outreach projects, or conducting legislative research pertaining to Chow's former role as the Official Opposition's transport critic.

Baruela said he enjoyed his work in the office so much that he far exceeded the minimum 80 hours of work the course required.

Stories from the field

Students came back to the classroom with stories ranging from the amusing (one constituent came in warning that UFOs were landing along fields in Serbia) to the heartbreaking (struggles for family reunification).

Although students were doing similar work in federal and provincial constituencies, Dutil noted that MP offices most often dealt with citizenship cases, while MPPs were frequently helping with healthcare, housing, infrastructure and other local issues. In fact, many stu-

dents stationed in MPP offices opted to focus on private member's bills addressing local concerns for their research papers.

Olivia Cimo, a fourth-year student in the Politics and Governance program, explained that the project was appealing because students often do not have the opportunity to move away from the theory common in university classrooms, and into a more substantive and practical operation of how political systems work "on the ground."

Non-partisan spaces

"Interestingly, one misconception I had upon entering the course was that I would gain fortitude and exposure to partisan politics," she noted. "I was posted at (former Ontario Liberal MPP) Donna Cansfield's constituency office, only to find constituency offices are non-partisan. My experience at the constituency office gave me a refreshing restoration of community."

In addition to simply learning about the existence of these offices and the steady traffic and caseloads common in major urban ridings, Dutil said he believes students came away with an impression of just how under-staffed and stressed these offices are.

"I had numerous students tell me that three people in an office was way too low," he recalled. "We're dealing with constituencies of up to 140,000 people here."

As a pilot project, there were some kinks identified that will likely be resolved over time. Cimo noted that not all students were able to work alongside the politicians (although this was not a requirement for participation in the programme), and many constituency assistants were not always sure what to do with them or how to help with their research. Nevertheless, both Cimo and Baruela said their colleagues have also given very positive reviews and hope this will become a mainstay for the Politics and Governance program.

The art of the cabinet shuffle

By Caresse Ley

"It's a stressful time for the PM because at some point he's going to have to disappoint some people and make others happy. Unhappy caucus members can become troublesome. It's a real art... It's probably one of the toughest jobs a Prime Minister can do."

-Sheila Copps, former Liberal MP.

Last July, Prime Minister Stephen Harper shuffled his cabinet, adding eight new faces to the mix. The media went wild, trying to analyze what each appointment meant. No doubt a lot of thought went into Harper's selections; former MPs agree that appointing the cabinet is one of the most important decisions a Prime Minister must make.

"It's a stressful time for the PM because at some point he's going to have to disappoint some people and make others happy. Unhappy caucus members can become troublesome," said Sheila Copps, a former Liberal MP who sat in the House from 1984 until 2004. "It's a real art... It's probably one of the toughest jobs a Prime Minister can do."

There are some obvious considerations when composing a cabinet. Regional balance must be considered. Gender, a mix of young and old, and often ethnic or religious diversity come into play. The strategy behind a cabinet shuffle is extensive.

One of the surprising aspects of Harper's latest shuffle was the number of fresh faces he brought into cabinet. This could have been for a variety of reasons, from trying to rejuvenate the face of his government, to giving newer MPs the chance to get a handle on being a minister; preparing them for more significant postings later on.

The new politicians with less experience are sometimes shuffled into ministerial posts if they are considered high-profile candidates, added Copps. In the last cabinet shuffle, Julian Fantino, a freshly-elected MP, was shuffled into the Veterans Affairs portfolio. Copps said this is likely because he came into the party as a high-profile candidate with a communications background (as York Regional Police Chief). She added that

while Veterans Affairs is a well known and visible portfolio, it is not a major economic one, so it would be a good place for someone like Fantino to start.

After all, said Copps, the learning curve in a new portfolio is steep.

In fact, she said that her time in cabinet (serving as heritage minister for six years) taught her that to get anything done, a minister needs at least three years in a post.

"It takes six months to a year before you feel comfortable enough with the file, before you start moving forward with your own imprint," said Copps, explaining that to pass any meaningful legislation would take a new minister much longer.

However, this Prime Minister's record shows he has shuffled his ministers every year or so, with a handful of exceptions.

This highlights one of the biggest strategies behind the cabinet shuffle: long-term appointments versus refreshing posts regularly.

Copps said this is about personal preference for many prime ministers. There are also deputy ministers, she notes, who are often in their positions longer than the ministers themselves in order to maintain some stability in the portfolio.

Another reason a newer face may be chosen over a seasoned MP is if someone is a particularly good communicator. Copps said if someone has been successfully communicating the party message to the public and media, he or she could easily be chosen for a ministerial post



Sheila Copps.

over a more experienced MP.

In the recent cabinet shuffle, one of the most puzzling moves occurred when Harper switched the roles of two heavyweights, Rob Nicholson and Peter MacKay, who respectively were the justice minister and national defence minister until last July's shuffle.

Some speculated that MacKay was shuffled because he was getting too personally involved in his file, something Copps said

happens often. She said it can also happen because of a controversial issue, like the F-35 debacle.

"That will happen if there's something that's very controversial and the country or party is split," said Copps. "If the file gets too hot, the easiest way to deal with that is to move the minister out. And that doesn't mean that you're walking away from the policy, it just means that you're changing a perspective."

Still, Copps acknowledged that, "there is a danger in staying in any portfolio for too long," explaining that it's good to have fresh perspectives and for MPs to challenge themselves with new posts.

A cabinet shuffle is about optics as much as it is about putting the right people in place to get the job done. Luckily, almost any MP would be qualified to be a minister, said Conservative MP Steven Fletcher. He was shuffled out of cabinet last July.

His is perhaps the most apt sentiment to describe the mystery of the cabinet shuffle: "Sometimes you're in and sometimes you're out."

Baptism by fire

The Black Rod on the Speech from the Throne, pomp, and protocol

Story and photos by Catherine Cross

He says it has been a “baptism by fire.” Greg Peters, Usher of the Black Rod, had only 15 days to prepare for the Speech from the Throne, the highlight of his new role.

The former Superintendent and Director of Strategic Partnerships and Heritage at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has been the Usher of the Black Rod with the Senate since Oct. 1, 2013. His appointment was announced Sept. 27, and he retired from his position with the RCMP on Sept. 30. On Oct. 16, Peters was directing the Speech from the Throne, the largest event for which the Black Rod is responsible.

The Speech from the Throne

“It is one of the few times when you have the Crown, the Senate and the House of Commons – you get that triumvirate – involved in the Speech from the Throne for the opening of Parliament. For our democracy, it’s probably the most important symbolic event,” he says.

The Usher is responsible for planning the logistics of the Speech from the Throne in the weeks leading up to it. During the ceremony, he summons the members of the House of Commons to the Senate. In a centuries-old tradition that Canada inherited from the British Parliament, he knocks three times on the door of the House of Commons; first for the Speaker, second for the legislature, and third for the Executive. The Speaker gives him permission to enter as the messenger. He then delivers the message from the Governor General requesting the presence of the Members of Parliament, and leads them to the Senate.

“There was a real sense of accomplishment and an incredible sense of pride to be the individual honoured and privileged to carry the Black Rod and to knock three times on the door of the House of Commons, to know that you’re on the shoulders of giants – like [René] Kimber, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod from Confederation in 1867 to 1875,” he says. “To be immersed in this pageantry, and



Greg Peters stands in his official uniform for his role as the Black Rod of the House of Commons.

to have the high honour of walking from the Senate to the House of Commons – that has been my greatest privilege.”

The Speech from the Throne was quickly followed by the Ceremony of Remembrance, the swearing-in of the Senate Pages, a traditional Royal Assent ceremony before Christmas, and an extremely busy sitting period for the Senate.

“Much has been accomplished and I

have experienced a great deal of what the role of the Usher of the Black Rod is in a very short period of time after my arrival,” Peters recalls.

As Usher of the Black Rod, Peters also leads the daily Senate Speaker’s parade and is responsible for security within the Senate Chamber. He also oversees the Senate Page Program. As Parliament’s most senior protocol officer, he is tasked



Although highly symbolic, The Black Rod plays a vital role in the ceremonial events of the House of Commons.

with planning and participating in many ceremonies. He is personal attendant to The Queen and the Vice-Regal, Governor General David Johnston, and is part of the welcoming party for visiting heads of state and heads of government.

Peters says his experience with the RCMP prepared him well for his role. He spent 32 years with the RCMP, 26 of which he describes as being “steeped in RCMP ceremonies and heritage.”

His experiences with the RCMP and the relationship he established with Her Majesty The Queen and the Royal Family prepared him for his new role, where he continues that linkage with The Queen and the Governor General.

A Monarchist Background

“Mr. Peters’ wealth of experience in the areas of ceremonial and protocol operations with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, as well as his appreciation for our parliamentary institutions will enable him to serve with distinction in the Senate of Canada,” said Prime Minister Stephen Harper upon Peters’ appointment.

The year 2012 was a very notable one in Peters’ career. As Director of Strategic Partnerships and Heritage at the

RCMP, he played an important role in the RCMP’s involvement in the Diamond Jubilee year. Most notably, he served as the RCMP Diamond Jubilee Contingent Commander, and led the historic mounting of The Queen’s Life Guard. This marked the first time that a non-British paramilitary mounted unit had performed The Queen’s Life Guard since the 17th century. At the end of the Diamond Jubilee year, he was the only Canadian named to the Royal Victorian Order, an honour bestowed personally by The Queen. Accompanied by his wife, Sherry, and son, Bennett, Peters was invited to Windsor Castle, where The Queen presented him with his insignia.

“My time at the RCMP allowed me the unique privilege to build an important relationship with Her Majesty The Queen and other members of the Royal Family,” he explains. “Part of the reason that I was so interested in the role of the Usher of the Black Rod was a desire to continue to build on this important relationship with the Monarchy,” Peters continues. “Given that the Black Rod is the personal attendant and messenger of Her Majesty The Queen and her repre-

sentative, the Governor General, when either is in Parliament, I felt that this position would be an appropriate next step in my life. I feel incredibly privileged to be here.”

The Value of Tradition

Peters was chosen as the 17th Usher of the Black Rod since Confederation. Through his career at the RCMP and as Usher of the Black Rod, Peters has become well-accustomed to ceremonies and pageantry. He believes that these traditions are a critical component of stability and diplomacy in today’s world.

“The architecture of these traditions forms the basis of a quiet diplomacy and a respect among nations, which I think is very important in an ever-evolving world,” he says.

“It always amazes me to see the ceremonial arrival of a head of state or a head of government of a country where there is war and conflict, but still there’s that sense of decorum, tradition and diplomacy surrounding the official ceremonial arrival. The continuance of these historic ceremonies and protocols and the related pageantry play an important role in our democratic process.”



The Hon. John Reid.

The Human factor in the democratic ideal

By John Reid

For Lincoln, democracy was a governing system, of, by, and for the people. Churchill saw democracy as the worst form of government, but better than any of the alternatives. The flaw and indeterminate aspect in a democracy is certainly the human element. This is true elsewhere, as well. The investor, Benjamin Graham, has noted that, in his business, the investor's chief problem is likely himself or herself.

Three recently published books aim to help us understand the unpredictable human factor in our lives. These volumes endeavour to show us why that which we believe ought to be, so often, simply is not.

Mistakes Were Made (But Not by Me) by Carol Tavris and Elliot Aronson is a study in human decision-making. The authors examine situations where errors have been made; where those involved go to extreme lengths to justify what has occurred. In the process, it becomes evident that the buzzword "accountability", in the political and business world, is really a rather elusive and perhaps even unattainable objective.

Nobel Prize-winning psychologist Daniel Kahneman, in *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, applies his expertise in behavioural science to economics. He challenges the notion that we are, more often than not, rational decision makers. He demonstrates that when we think fast we tend to look for patterns in data, jump to conclusions and react emotionally. Thinking slow is more difficult, involving the careful examination of information, determining the facts



Winston Churchill, having had first hand experience, was all too aware of the realities of democracy. Photo courtesy of U.S. Federal Government.

and then applying seasoned reasoning and judgment. This is hard work and our emotional make up tends to resist the process. It is less common than we might imagine.

Finally, in *The Black Swan*, author N.N. Taleb challenges assumptions about predictability. He asserts that we live in a random world where unexpected events inevitably interfere with our carefully made plans. The syllogism "all swans are white" is simply not true.

It can be argued that human nature, alongside the manner in which we so often think, and the inherent randomness

in our existence, often combine to make the task of transplanting democracy a difficult and uncertain undertaking. It takes much more than free and fair elections to introduce a democratic system to new terrain. If the established infrastructure is not hospitable to democracy, then, as in trying to grow a tree in poor soil, it will not take. For example, in developing countries, transferring power from the loser of an election to the winner is often a dilemma. It is in these situations that we so often see the phenomenon of the "one-election democracy".

The U.S., which likes to see itself as a model for democracy, has its own built-in contradictions and obstacles to governance of, by and for the people. More likely it is in reality a system that favours only some of the citizens only some of the time. Among the barriers to a free and open system are: gerrymandering, the money-game, and the trend to more frequent political deadlock in Washington.

The democratic ideal embraces the opportunity for all voices to be heard, for public policy issues to be fully and carefully debated, and for decisions to be reached through the means of a logical and rational process. These decisions, and how they will operate, must then be clearly communicated to the electorate. In fact, all of this is extraordinarily difficult to achieve, even in an advanced and sophisticated society. Lincoln saw the possibility for democracy, but Churchill was all too aware of the reality.

The Hon. John Reid was Liberal MP for Kenora-Rainy River from 1965 to 1984.



Dorothy Dobbie

The erosion of our rights in the name of security and privacy

By Dorothy Dobbie

We have willingly allowed our liberties and freedoms to be truncated and the concept of privacy misused because we are afraid of everything and accept responsibility for nothing.

It is surprising what rights and personal liberties people will surrender in the name of perceived safety.

Here in Canada we have given up some rights to security of person at airports on the off chance that some nutcase will be smuggling a dangerous weapon or a bomb on board our aircraft. We allow strangers to make us show them our personal items, to insist that we remove parts of our clothing and even bare our feet; we allow them to confiscate personal property, and suffer our bodies being poked and prodded and our personal belongings searched as if we were all criminals.

Protection or liberty?

This penchant for protecting me while eroding my personal liberty and right to privacy is manifested in a long list of contradictory laws.

Thanks to the privacy laws, I cannot get access to information about the family telephone bill because my husband set it up in his name. My friend cannot help manage her 19-year-old daughter's schizophrenia, although she has to care for her, because the doctor is forced to consider the daughter's privacy as an adult. As a business operator, there are over 200 steps the regulations recommend I take to secure the privacy of the credit card information I am given when a reader wants to buy a \$30 subscription.

Government exemptions

Ironically, government has enacted exemptions from these laws for a number of federal agencies and some private concerns that empowers them to access a large amount of intimate information about me. These laws that are also passed in the name of security (theirs, not ours), allow complete strangers –

banks and rental agencies – the right to demand our once private social insurance numbers and sometimes even our tax returns to prove our solvency.

Email clampdown

As of this July 1, a new sidebar to the Privacy Act says I cannot email a new friend or business association without their express consent. Supposedly these laws protect me from unwanted emails called SPAM, except that they don't as all an enterprising SPAMMER has to do is to set up an offshore account and bombard me from there. It makes no matter to government that some SPAM is useful to me – I need to see it to know what's going on out there and to inform my business. Now I have to hope I will get this information from another country.

Do not call puts me on another list

Of course, the reverse happens with telephone calls – I put my name on the DO NOT CALL list only to be inundated with calls. The list seems to have made me a target, so now I do what I used to do – I don't answer the phone unless I know who is calling. The massive amount of SPAM I have received in the few weeks since the new anti-spam laws came into effect gets treated as it used to as well – I simply set my anti-SPAM filters to get rid of it.

There are many other invasions of privacy forced on us as measures of security. I no longer have the right to drive my car unencumbered by a "safety" harness or ride my bike without a helmet to keep me intact.

The airport security invasions are based on our fears of a terrorist attack, which could happen anytime, anywhere and not just on a plane. The privacy restrictions are based on the fear that

someone may get some inside information on an individual and share it with someone who can use it against that person. The telephone and anti-spam laws are based on even vaguer notions – someone in Canada may contact me with harm in mind. Is it necessary to point out that the laws do nothing to protect us from off-shore intrusion? These laws also fail to recognize that we bear a responsibility to protect ourselves and to make informed judgments about our own security, privacy and protection from unwanted information.

Hiding behind the Privacy Act

Governments now routinely hide behind the Privacy Act when it comes to withholding information that may tend to embarrass them. However, the exemptions they have given themselves and their agencies permit almost unfettered access to our private information along with the right to redistribute it, not just among themselves, but now to foreign governments as well. Hmmm.

All of this is our own fault. We have willingly allowed these truncations of our liberties and freedoms and the misuse of the concept of privacy because we are afraid of everything and accept responsibility for nothing. You may find this sheltering arm of the government to be comforting. I just find it oppressive.

Does it matter anymore? I don't know. With the pervasiveness of the Internet and the willingness of many people today to spill their personal beans all over the ether, it may well be that liberty and personal privacy are notions of a disappearing world. Still, ironic contradictions in government enactments and policy deserve to be noted.

Dorothy Dobbie was Progressive Conservative MP for Winnipeg South from 1988 to 1993

Gender budgeting

A new way of measurement

By Caresse Ley

The idea of gender budgeting began to take hold at a conference in Beijing in 1995. It is a concept promoted by the United Nations.

Six years after the financial crisis of 2008, the economy is still on the minds of many Canadians. Federal government spending has been highly scrutinized in the past few years. Many of the provinces are facing financial hardship as well.

As countless non-profit organizations hold everything from bake sales to marathon races to raise money for social causes, it begs the question: where is the government falling short?

Some former MPs believe the solution to these shortfalls can be found in gender budgeting.

Men and Women to be equal

The United Nations Platform for Action Committee defines gender budgeting as, “an attempt to assess government priorities as they are reflected through the budget and examine how they impact women and men and within that, certain groups of women and men.” The focus is on ensuring that men and women are equally impacted by budget spending in a positive way.

Yasmin Ratansi, a former Liberal MP for Don Valley East, said this matters because the government allocates roughly \$280 billion each year in the federal budget, yet “we haven’t addressed the issues of child poverty or inequity.”

Ratansi believes spending could be more effective if the government developed its policies with a gender lens. She said gender budgeting is important because it can help the government “get a more effective return on investment” by adding another dimension to how policies are developed and evaluated.

The idea of gender budgeting began to take hold at a conference in Beijing in 1995. It is a concept promoted by

the United Nations and is being slowly adopted by countries around the globe to varying degrees.

The Nordic Council of Ministers conducted a three-year study that concluded in 2006 to test gender budgeting. Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Norway participated in the project. The results varied, but were generally positive. It is important to know that gender budgeting is not all about just making things better for women, either.

“Some of the projects incorporating a gender perspective showed a clear difference between the projects’ impact on men and women. For example, the effect of preventative home visits was positive for women, but almost non-existing for men,” concluded Danish officials in the report titled *Gender Budgeting – Integration of a gender perspective in the budgetary process*.

Sweden and Denmark, in particular, continue to try to implement gender-based analysis into their budget planning.

Canada has done some gender budgeting

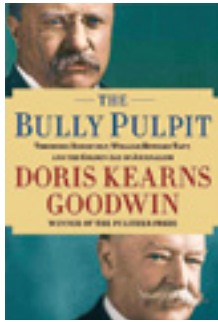
Canada has also done work in the area of gender budgeting, but to a lesser extent. When Ratansi chaired the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women in 2008, the committee produced a report on incorporating gender-based analysis into budget work. The report, titled *Toward Gender Responsive Budgeting: Rising to the challenge of achieving gender equality*, was tabled in the House of Commons in 2009. The government responded to the report, expressing its intent to implement some of the recommendations the committee made.

“The central agencies have also appointed gender-based analysis champions and have incorporated the Status of Women Canada gender-based analysis training in their departmental curriculum in order to strengthen their capacity. The most sustainable organizational approach to gender-based analysis is the one that fits its culture the best, and this may not necessarily be a specialized gender-based analysis unit,” read the response.

Making child tax credit more effective

Former Liberal MP Maria Minna explains that gender budgeting could be used to make the child care tax credit more effective. Currently, parents are able to claim an annual tax-free allowance for childcare on their tax returns, provided they meet the proper eligibility criteria. Minna suggests the system may function better if families’ needs were assessed and families were provided assistance throughout the year. This, she says, would make it easier on single-parent families. But gender budgeting is not without its criticisms. Gender analysis with an eye to budgeting takes time and resources. It may slow the budget process because every tax break and area of spending would need to be analyzed to ensure both genders are being treated equitably.

Ratansi is still active in promoting gender budgeting around the world. She has spoken at a women’s conference in Geneva and has worked with parliamentarians in Vietnam and Mali to implement gender budgeting. She recently travelled to Nigeria to work with their parliamentarians as well. For her part, Minna has been asked to help Turkey learn to use gender budgeting.



Bully Pulpit

"That damned cowboy is now in the White House."

By Keith Penner

Theodore Roosevelt, born into privilege, was an unexpected reformer and progressive, but he came to epitomize that great American movement.

The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism by Doris Kearns Goodwin. Simon & Schuster, Toronto, Canada, 929 pages. ISBN 978-1416547860.

For those who have retained a zest for politics, *The Bully Pulpit*, by the Pulitzer Prize-winning author, Doris Kearns Goodwin, is certain to give you many hours of pure pleasure. This engaging story of Theodore Roosevelt (TR) and his dear, close friend and, later, political foe, William Howard Taft, is intertwined with the captivating tale of muckraking journalism at the turn of the 20th century.

Ms. Goodwin, in her early years, worked as a White House Fellow during the L.B. Johnson administration. She went on to earn a doctorate in government from Harvard and to write absorbing biographies of Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson and Abraham Lincoln.

A ball of enormous energy

TR, born into privilege, was an unexpected reformer and progressive, but he came to epitomize that great American movement. He was always an inner-directed person of enormous energy and enthusiasm for life in general and for politics in particular.

William Taft, to the contrary, was mostly other-directed, first by his father and then his wife, Nellie, and later by TR himself. Among the most decent of men, Taft would have been totally content to spend his years serving on the bench, but was driven by others to become politically involved, a way of life that he never fully enjoyed.

TR was an unlikely President. As a reforming NYC Police Commissioner, state legislator and Governor, he alienated much of the Republican Party hier-



Theodore Roosevelt. Photo by Pach Brothers

archy, but endeared himself to the growing progressive movement in the US. In order to isolate and neutralize his influence, the party bosses maneuvered him into becoming the VP to President McKinley. When McKinley was assassinated, shortly after his re-election in 1900, TR assumed the office, to the lament of one senior Republican who said, "That damned cowboy is now in the White House."

Huge victory

TR served out McKinley's term and then went on to win a huge victory in 1904, on his significant record as a reforming progressive. At the outset of this campaign, he resolved not to seek a third term. He lived to rue this commitment and said later, "To rescind this pledge, I would be willing to cut off my hand at the wrist."

As an active and deeply committed reformer, TR sought out journalists who would become allies in his fight for social change against the laissez-faire attitude of the Republican Party bosses. The so-

called muckraking press played a significant part in arousing the spirit of reform in the U.S and enabling TR to get much of his legislation through Congress.

A probing publicity into industrial scandals and the horrifying abuse of working-class Americans was carried out under the inspiring leadership of Sam McClure, who ran the popular magazine *McClure's*, assisted by a talented and dedicated team of writers, including the famous, Ida Tarbell, once described, in her time, as, "The most famous woman in America." When these investigative journalists turned their attention to political corruption, TR lost much of his interest in their efforts.

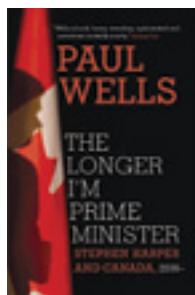
Expedition to Africa

Leaving the presidency at the early age of 50, TR embarked on an extended expedition to Africa and later to Europe. On his return, he became increasingly disappointed with the record of Taft, a man he had groomed as his successor.

Unable to secure the Republican nomination in 1912, he broke with the party and organized the Progressive Party. At the polls, he garnered a higher percentage of the vote than Taft, but split the Republicans, leaving the door wide open for Democrat Woodrow Wilson to become President. Although the Progressive Party met defeat, the cause continued to influence American politics for years to come.

In his post-political years, TR spent his time writing, public speaking and travelling. Before his death in 1919, he and Taft reconciled. In 1921, Taft finally went to the Supreme Court as Chief Justice. He had not relished his time as President and said before his own death, "I don't remember that I was ever President."

Keith Penner was Liberal MP for Northern Ontario from 1968-1988.



The longer I'm PM

By Harrison Lowman

The leader does not model himself after Conservative prime ministers.
He models himself after successful prime ministers.

The Longer I'm Prime Minister: Stephen Harper and Canada, 2006- by Paul Wells. Random House Canada, Toronto, Canada, 448 pages. ISBN 978-0307361325

In the world of feature writing, journalists tout the story *Frank Sinatra Has a Cold* by Esquire journalist Gale Talese as the holy grail of profile pieces. The story is lauded both for its immersive descriptors, and for its ability to get inside the head of its subject, without ever having sat down with him. Talese was sent to Los Angeles in the winter of 1965, with strict orders to interview Sinatra. Instead, he was told that the musical giant had a debilitating head cold and would not be available. But, rather than heading home with his tail between his legs, the journalist spent the next five weeks interviewing everyone imaginable that had interacted with Sinatra: actors, musicians, studio executives, even the lady who tended to his hairpiece. These tiny tiles of information would fill a large character mosaic. The technique was called the “write-around”.

The greatest “write-around”

Upon flipping through the pages of Macleans political editor Paul Wells' latest book, *The Longer I'm Prime Minister: Stephen Harper and Canada, 2006-*, it becomes quite clear that the journalist has probably written the greatest Canadian political write-around of all time. While the veteran reporter believed he might have been granted an interview with the Conservative leader, the sit-down was ultimately denied. Regardless, Wells' knowledge of Canadian political history coupled by candid interviews with strategists and staffers exposes readers to the psyche of Canada's ninth longest serving prime minister and the legacy he hopes to achieve.

The central thrust of Wells' book is to make readers understand that above all else, Prime Minister Stephen Harper's main objective is to last. “The point of everything he does is to last,” Wells writes. Harper's ascent to power took place on a rickety drawbridge. He was handed the smallest minority in the history of Canadian federal politics, along with the smallest percentage of total seats and the largest number of seats short of a majority. During his flight from Calgary to Ottawa following his victory in 2006, Wells says Harper realized that his central objective as prime minister had to be survival above all else. In doing so, the leader does not model himself after Conservative prime ministers. He models himself after successful prime ministers.

Harper the man

According to Wells, Canadians know less about Prime Minister Stephen Harper than about any other prime minister who has lasted as long as he has; and the Conservative leader likes that just fine. The journalist says Harper is a politician who prides himself on being “formless”, an attribute that provides less fodder for his critics, and makes it easier for his supporters to like him. Connecting Harper's technique to those used by fairy tale writers, Wells explains that the less your audience knows about a protagonist, the simpler it becomes to identify with them. The effort by the Conservatives to reign in signs of character can be witnessed during Harper's speeches. Wells reports that the prime minister intentionally edits out “memorable turns of phrase and identifiable ideas”; content with making as few waves as possible. The effort can also be witnessed in the leader's restricted media access.

Apparently, the prime minister knows Stephen-Harper-the-man is not the most liked by the public. Early in his admin-

istration, Conservative research showed that Canadians were not warming up to Harper personally. It was not until the 2008 election that the Conservatives made the Harper name a central part of their campaign pitch. Even in the most recent federal election, Wells reports that the Conservatives made a concerted effort to limit Harper's small chat to maintain a single party message. Wells continues, in stating that Harper can attribute both his 2008 and 2011 election wins largely to the fact that while voters don't particularly like him, when faced with the alternatives, they will support him. For many, the Conservative leader remains the best of a bad bunch.

Think big

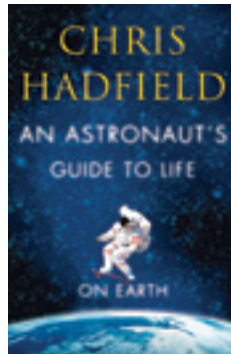
The Longer I'm Prime Minister observes Canadian federal politics from a height unlike other political works. At 30,000 feet, Wells takes the blinders off political junkies fixated on day-to-day scandals on the Hill and forces them to think long term. In 2006, Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper found himself in territory that had been dominated by Liberals for a half century. In order to ensure that both he and his policies lasted, he emulated Prime Minister Mackenzie King, “muddling” through his tenure. Harper learned from the past. Trudeau and Mulroney taught him that prime ministers who decide to “chase dragons” (grandiose policy initiatives) would exhaust the electorate's patience. Chrétien and Mulroney taught him that politicians who do not put a muzzle on rising lieutenants will later find they become rivals. Keeping this in mind, Harper has kept his changes targeted and incremental. As Wells characterizes it, “This is the politics of boiling a frog: if you raise the temperature a degree at a time the frog won't notice.” Harper also made an effort to only reward ministers who are completely loyal to him.

He is the first prime minister in the history of the country who has wanted to leave behind a government that is doing substantially less than when he arrived.

Changing a mindset

By widening the lens watching the Harper government, Wells shows readers that Harper's finish line is changing the national mindset. A Conservative strategist tells Wells that their party has faced an uphill battle, in that most of the symbols associated with Canada – health care, The Charter, The CBC – are tied to Liberal governments. The Liberals were the “Canada Party.” The Conservative politician has thus taken it upon himself to lay the seeds of change for both his immediate party and for the conservative way of thinking. In order to benefit the party, he has worked to vacate the Senate, courts, and bureaucracy of Liberal supporters. He has also worked to implement enduring change (that would remain even if he was defeated), while reducing the size of government; limiting the tools available to his successors who desire activist federal governments. Wells writes, “He is the first prime minister in the history of the country who has wanted to leave behind a government that is doing substantially less than when he arrived.” In order to further conservatism, Harper has made more and more Canadians comfortable with voting to the right. He is attempting to make conservatism a habit in Canada.

The Longer I'm Prime Minister is an essential feature for the Canadian political junkie's shelf. Wells' two-decades-long career on the Hill is shown in his writing, which features revealing jewels from the Conservative machine, and analysis laced with humour. The book is a must-have for former parliamentarians fascinated with a lengthy political tenure that has proved fortune telling pundits and politicians wrong for years. While the Harper ship has faced churning waters and sprung many a leak, she remains afloat.



Square astronaut, round hole!

By Caresse Ley

Space wasn't as glamorous as he'd always imagined.

An Astronaut's Guide to Life on Earth by Chris Hadfield. Random House Canada, Toronto, Canada, 336 pages. ISBN 978-0345812704

Chris Hadfield spent his whole life looking up. While his feet were planted firmly on earth, his eyes were scanning the galaxy above, dreaming of what it would be like to float among the stars.

An Astronaut's Guide to Life on Earth transports readers from Hadfield's humble Ontario beginnings, to his exciting but stressful time training in the United States, right up into space.

Less preachy than the title suggests, Hadfield artfully weaves his own experiences leading up to and including his time as an astronaut with bits of advice, mostly meant to keep readers looking on the bright side.

Still, the book doesn't entirely hide its efforts to impart wisdom – it's just done in a less cheesy way than others of its kind.

The thesis of Hadfield's book is perhaps best summed up by something he writes early on in the novel. He explains that getting out into space wasn't as glamorous or romantic as he'd always imagined.

“The hatch was small and circular, but with all my tools strapped to my chest and a huge pack of oxygen tanks and electronics strapped onto my back, I was square. Square astronaut, round hole,” he writes. “It was the story of my life really: trying to figure out how to get where I want to go when just getting out the door seems impossible.”

He drives his message home, writing “I wasn't destined to be an astronaut. I had to turn myself into one.”

Hadfield encourages readers to do the same: keep working towards their dreams and believe in their own abilities.

The book reads like a memoir, revealing Hadfield's wit, humour and generally positive disposition along the way. But it also reveals that Canada's star astronaut and space cowboy had serious doubts about whether he would ever realize his dream.

He began training to be an astronaut at a time when Canada didn't even have a space program, and the United States didn't accept Canadians into its program. He soon found himself married with three children, with a far-fetched dream and bills to pay. However, with a bit of luck, a lot of support from his wife and hard work, he is now one of Canada's biggest celebrities.

Whether you're interested in learning exactly what an astronaut can teach us earth dwellers, if you're obsessed with space, or just looking for a good book for the cottage, *An Astronaut's Guide to Life on Earth* is definitely worth reading. Hadfield's memories of his first jaunt into space will remind you of being a kid at Christmas, each moment packed with magic. It's a quick read, and Hadfield's larger-than-life stories from space make the book feel like it hovers somewhere between fact and fiction. If you read this book, one thing is for sure: you'll start saving your dimes to buy a ticket to space.



Fog of War

By Harrison Lowman

The Fog of War offers readers a more critical perspective of Canada during wartime.

The Fog of War: Censorship of Canada's Media in World War Two by Mark Bourrie. D&M Publishers Inc., Vancouver, Canada, 334 pages. ISBN 978-1-55365-949-5

During the 17th century, military theorist Carl von Clausewitz described the “fog” of war as the struggle for accurate information in the inherent confusion on the battlefield. In *The Fog of War: Censorship of Canada's Media in World War Two*, veteran journalist Mark Bourrie extends this sentiment to Canada's buzzing newsrooms during the Second World War. The author details a vetting machine, with cogs stationed in various provinces. He brings to life hectic duties of sparse wartime censors, clamoring to extinguish brush fires across the country.

Bourrie is an award winning Ottawa-based journalist. His work has appeared in Canada's national publications, including the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, and *Ottawa Magazine*. He holds a Master's in Journalism from Carleton University, and a PhD in History from the University of Ottawa. The author began studying wartime censorship after interviewing Fulgence Charpentier, Canada's last press censor. Previous subjects of his books include the parliament buildings and Great Lakes shipwrecks.

A press stifled

In his tenth non-fictional work, Bourrie showcases a press stifled by an anxious government ruling with an iron fist. He explains how censors depended on the obedience of media outlets, hampered by limited manpower and their voluntary advisory role. There was a close and abusive working relationship.

Bourrie's research is thorough and detailed. He pulls information from Directorate of Censorship records, histori-

cal texts, military journals, newspaper articles, and interviews. Each chapter of *The Fog of War* delves into separate issues censors faced, concluding with a summary where Bourrie's opinion permeates. These challenges included spy interceptions in the Maritimes, U-boat attacks on the St. Lawrence River, POW abuse in Bowmanville and domestic military revolts.

Racist silencing

The author also describes the racist silencing of immigrant media. He details the experiences of Japanese Canadian, Tommy Shoyama, who operated British Columbia's Japanese-Canadian “New Canadian” newspaper. Censors forbade the editor from using a camera or telephone. Nonetheless, Bourrie praises censors who advocated for the paper's survival; maintaining an immigrant voice in a province otherwise dotted by internment camps.

Bourrie stresses that the censor system's sphere of influence ended at Quebec, where the nationalist press spread fascist ideals. He highlights articles complimenting Nazi-controlled Vichy France and discriminating against Jews. Bourrie describes the Quebec censors' tolerance as “...a stain on the nation's war record”.

Bourrie advocates on behalf of his ancestral wartime reporters, critiquing an institution that turned a blind eye to freedom of the press. He only briefly denounces journalists who did not challenge the system. He argues the overbearing and politically driven censor system ran roughshod over most Canadian media outlets. His thesis encourages readers to question the need for such a strict censorship apparatus. Wartime censors existed to protect vital intelligence and maintain morale, ultimately preserving Canadian lives abroad. However, Bourrie says there is only limited proof the in-

tense vigilance of Canadian censors had an effect on our enemies' decisions. He limits their measurable success to halting the Japanese balloon bombing campaign in eastern Canada. As Bourrie mentions, it is difficult to locate intelligence that would provide more examples. Nevertheless, the author could have considered extending his research beyond Canadian archives. The United States National Archives has released over 300,000 pages of documents involving Nazi and Japanese intelligence.

Mackenzie King accused of suppressing information

Bourrie's thesis also encourages readers to question the censorship system's motives. He criticizes censors for straying from their nationalist objectives and into partisan territory. He describes an organization comprised of Liberal affiliates, swayed by the forceful hand of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. The author cites the government's blatant acceptance of Quebec's pro-fascist press to maintain the electoral support of French elites. He also highlights their decision to hide evidence of under-equipped Canadian troops overrun in Hong Kong. However, some might consider this critique to be unfair. Prime Minister King faced immense pressures; he was responsible for the lives of thousands of Canadians. One could argue his overwhelmed government was entitled to be excessively cautious about releasing any wartime information.

The Fog of War offers readers a more critical perspective of Canada during wartime. Bourrie's work represents one of the first examinations of the Canadian censorship system. While the text can be dry at times, it is a fascinating case study into the consequences of failing to provide a rulebook to a powerful institution with a free wielding mandate.

Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Harrison Lowman



George Whittaker



Marcel Ostiguy



Francine Lalonde

George Whittaker

Known for his love for the great outdoors, an avid hunter and fisherman, George Herbert Whittaker passed away at Kelowna General Hospital on August 26, 2013, at the age of 93.

George was born in 1919 in Bon Accord, Alberta. In school, he was an avid athlete playing a variety of sports. After graduating from high school he enrolled at Vermilion Agricultural College.

In 1941, George enlisted in the Air Force, where he was stationed at Bombing and Gunnery Schools. He served as Officer Commanding Bombing Flight in Mossbank, Saskatchewan for the next four years. In 1944, he married Anna Marie Moore. Following an Honourable Discharge, George began working for a radio and appliance firm out of Vancouver, until health concerns led him to move to Kelowna in 1946. It was here that he purchased his orchard. George would go on to devote much of his life to Canadian nature.

In 1950, George lost Anna and was left to tend for his three sons: Rick, Ron, and John. In 1951, he married Betty May Jackman, a widow who had a daughter of her own named Wendy. Soon after, Betty gave birth to their daughter Betty-Ann.

It was around this time that George became heavily involved in the fruit industry. In 1954, he was elected to the Board of Directors of the Kelowna Growers Exchange Packing House.

George maintained this position for twelve consecutive years, eight as president. George also served on the Board of Directors of B.C. Tree Fruits Ltd/Sun Rype Products Ltd. In 1971, he was named Director of the Horticultural Council. George spent much of his time travelling around the world, observing fruit growing operations and bringing their methods back to Canada.

George's hard work soon garnered the attention of the Progressive Conservatives, who encouraged him to run in the Okanagan-Boundary riding in 1972. He went on to win three straight elections in 1972, 1974, and 1979.

A year after electoral defeat, George moved to South Surrey and retired. Tragically, his wife Betty passed away in 1992. In 2003, he travelled back to Kelowna, where he resided with his partner Maria Veenbrink.

Son Rick Whittaker said his father was a very modest man who viewed being an MP as an extension of what he had done throughout his entire life.

"All the family members are proud of his achievements through his whole life," he said.

George is survived by children Ron, Rick, John, Wendy Lawrence and Betty-Ann Bainbridge, along with 10 grandchildren and six great-grandchildren.

Marcel Ostiguy

On January 21st 2014, former Liberal MP Marcel Ostiguy passed away

at the age of 84 in Laval, Quebec at the Cité de la Santé.

After studying administration at Laval University, Marcel began working at the family business in Saint-Hyacinthe and Marieville. He then entered Quebec provincial politics. He was first elected as a member of the Quebec Liberal Party in the Rouville riding in 1970. Marcel was then re-elected in 1973 in the riding of Verchères. Defeat came in 1976. He then tried his hand at federal politics.

In 1978 Marcel became a federal MP for the riding of Saint-Hyacinthe. He was re-elected in 1979 and 1980. In 1991, he was appointed as a member of the Commission for Protection of Agricultural in Quebec.

"He was a laughing man, affable, a worker who was always happy to meet people," remembers Huguette Corbeil, former municipal councillor in Saint-Hyacinthe and mayoral candidate in 2009. "Among conservatives, some called him the 'door opener'"

Marcel is survived by his wife, Claudette Girard, and children, Ginette and Manon, daughters of the late Pierrette Coupal.

Francine Lalonde

Former Bloc Québécois MP Francine Lalonde passed away in her Laval home following a seven-year battle with bone cancer on January 17, 2014, at the age of 73. Francine is best known for her push to have a right-to-die bill passed by Parliament. She died only hours after the Supreme Court of Canada decided to hear an appeal regarding whether the prohibition against assisted suicide is constitutional.

On two occasions, in 2009 and again in 2010, Francine introduced private member's bills allowing legally assisted suicide for someone who is seriously ill into the House. Both were defeated.

Francine was born in Saint-Hyacinthe. Before entering politics, she taught history and Latin. Soon, she became leader in Quebec's union movement. In 1976 she was the first

female vice-president of Confédération des syndicats nationaux labour federation. In 1985, she was named the minister responsible for women's affairs by PQ leader René Lévesque. She would later run unsuccessfully to replace him.

Francine entered the House of Commons during the Bloc wave in 1993. She was elected in the Montreal riding of Mercier in 1993, 1997 and 2000 and in La Pointe-de-l'Île in 2004, 2006 and 2008. As a member of the Bloc's shadow cabinet, she focussed on Human Resources, Industry, and Foreign Affairs. She kept her seat until 2011, when she left the House due to her deteriorating health.

"She fought to the end," said her partner Guy Lamarche.

Gilles Duceppe, former leader of the Bloc Québécois, said Lalonde was determined to lead the fight to die with dignity, which she did until the very end, he said.

He described her as, "an admirable woman."

Hon. John Ross Matheson

The Honourable John Ross Matheson, father of the Canada's Maple Leaf flag, passed away due to respiratory complications at Kingston General Hospital on December 27, 2013 among the company of his children and grandchildren. He was 96.

John was born in Arundel and grew up in Quebec City. In 1940, he graduated from Queens University with a degree in economics. The young man was then sent off to war, serving with the First Regiment, Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, 1st Infantry Division. Near Ortona, Italy, the Forward Observation Officer was injured. An exploded German shell was lodged in his head, paralyzing him from the neck down for some time. He would meet his wife Edith Bickley, a radiologist's assistant, while recovering at Veterans Hospital in Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, Quebec. In 1945 the two were married. Having returned to academics, John then earned a law degree from Osgoode Hall.

In 1948, Edith and John made a home in Brockville, where John helped form the firm Matheson, Henderson and Hart. He entered politics in 1961, when he became a Liberal Member of Parliament for Leeds in

The Honourable John Ross Matheson was the father of the Canada's Maple Leaf flag, and was also responsible for the idea behind the Order of Canada.



Hon. John Ross Matheson



Alex Macdonald

a by-election. John was again victorious in 1962, 1963, and 1965. He was the Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Pearson. While in the House, John helped head the parliamentary committee that brought in the Canadian (Maple Leaf) flag through Parliament in 1965. John was told to use his knowledge of heraldry to develop a distinct, modern flag to take the place of the Red Ensign, leading up to 1967 Centennial celebrations. He worked hard to have the single Maple Leaf nestled between two red stripes unanimously approved by the 15-member committee and passed by Parliament. John was also responsible for the idea behind the Order of Canada, which was introduced in 1967.

"Canada has lost a great public servant," Prime Minister Stephen Harper said in a statement. "John R. Matheson played key roles in both the creation of the [Canadian] flag and the Order of Canada."

John returned to law in 1968, where he became Judge for the Judicial District of Ottawa-Carleton. In 1985 he was appointed a Judge of the District Court of Ontario and served on the Ontario Court of Justice (General Division) from 1990 to 1992.

In 1993, he was named an Officer of the Order of Canada. In 1999, CAFPP awarded John the first ever Distinguished Service Award. While John's body may have grown older, his spirit did not. At 80 years old, he celebrated his 53rd wedding anniversary

by skydiving.

John leaves behind his loving wife Edith (Bickley), sisters Dorothy Parnell of London Ontario, Catherine Carty of Montreal Quebec, and Margaret Slemon of Toronto Ontario; children Duncan and his wife Madeline (Coté), Wendy and her husband Michael Simpson, Jill and her husband David Van Every, Donald and his wife Kathryn (McWhinnie), Roderrick and his wife Janet (Biewald), Murdoch and his wife Mary Jane (Cook); eighteen grandchildren, and one great grandson.

Alex Macdonald

Alex Macdonald passed away on March 5, 2014, due to various illnesses. He was 95. Alex was born in Vancouver, British Columbia in 1919. He attended school at University of British Columbia and Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. Alex became immersed in politics after serving as secretary to M.J. Coldwell, leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. While working in the nation's capital he met his wife Dorothy. They would be married for 64 years, before she passed away in 2008. In the late 1940s, the couple settled in Vancouver and started a family. It was not until 1957 that he was elected as a CCF Member of Parliament, representing Vancouver Kingsway. Alex also tried his hand at provincial politics. In 1960 he became an MLA for Vancouver East. He went on to win eight more elections. From 1972 to

Robert Ringma headed the military's role in the Queen's 1964 visit to Quebec. The following year, he coordinated the Shah of Iran's visit to Quebec.



Norm Warner



Robert Ringma



Rud Whiting

1975, the NDP formed its first majority government in the province, with Alex taking on the role of Attorney General. It was the same post that his father held 50 years earlier. Upon being appointed Alex said, "It's been a devil of a long time for the office to be out of the family." Alex was known for his wit. He was also never afraid to tell you that he was a proud socialist.

Upon leaving politics, Alex became a writer and teacher. During his political retirement, he penned three books and two pamphlets on public policy. Whether he was in the halls of government or education Alex made sure to keep physically fit, reaching for a squash or tennis racket at numerous occasions. He also was an adjunct professor at Simon Fraser University's Department of Political Science. According to Vancouver Sun columnist and friend Vaughn Palmer, Alex, "wanted very much to get people thinking. He also left them laughing."

Alex leaves his daughter Christina, her husband Luca, his grandsons Andrew and Michael, along with his numerous nieces, nephews.

Norm Warner

Former Conservative MP Norm Warner passed away at the age of 70 from a battle with cancer on Tuesday April 1, 2014.

Warner was swept into the House of Commons in 1984 on the Conservative wave led by former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. In doing so,

Norm took part in one of the biggest electoral upsets in Cornwall's history; defeating star Liberal incumbent the Hon. Ed Lumley.

Norm was a member of parliament for four years. During his tenure he worked hard to declare Akwesasne an international banking centre. Outside of politics, Norm made a name for himself in the insurance industry. Norman Warner Insurance Brokers operated numerous offices. He then went on to run a consulting business, focussing on Chinese business opportunities.

Norm acted as president of the Cornwall and Area Insurance Brokers and the Cornwall and District Chamber of Commerce. He was also the director of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce.

Norm was also an avid runner, even in his old age. Between the ages of 60 and 70 he ran in 14 marathons and three ultra marathons. The Cornwall Multisport Club made him male runner of the year in 2010.

Kevin Wilson, a local radio personality and good friend of Norm's said the former MP was always ready and willing to lend a helping hand.

"He always wanted to know how things were going, and how he could help," said Wilson.

Norm is survived by his son Michael, his brother John, daughter-in-law Steffi, former wife Elizabeth, and his family Shirley, Sebastian, and Miranda.

Robert Ringma

Former Reform MP Robert Ringma passed away on March 31, 2014, at the age of 86. Bob was born in Richmond B.C.'s Lulu Island on June 30, 1928. He was the second son of Eva and Richard.

Bob attended school at Renfrew Public, Britannia High and UBC. He was then enrolled at the Canadian Officers Training Corps in 1946. In order to pay for school, Bob drove a taxi.

Robert would eventually serve in Korea from 1951 to 1952, under the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group. Bob was tasked with operating the Mobile Laundry and Bath Unit, which played a role in capturing the brigade's first POWs. He later penned a book sharing his experiences during the war.

Bob went on to attend the Canadian Army Staff College and the National Defence College. He headed the military's role in the Queen's 1964 visit to Quebec. The following year, he coordinated the Shah of Iran's visit to Quebec. During the FLQ crisis in 1971, Bob could be found commanding a service battalion in Quebec. In 1973 he served in Vietnam. He then served as the Canadian Military Representative to the Supreme HQ Allied Powers in Europe, stationed in Belgium. Later he became a bureaucrat and the Logistics Branch Advisor at Canadian Forces HQ. Bob concluded his military career as a major general.

As a citizen, Bob soon became dissatisfied with politicians in Ottawa. Spurred by a desire to change things he joined the Reform Party. Following the 1993 election, he won in the riding of Nanaimo-Cowichan. Due to family reasons, he left politics in 1997.

In 1954, Robert married the love of his life Paula. They were married for 59 years until her passing. Bob leaves behind his daughters Katherine Davie (Phil Dupuis), Julia Ringma (Peter Reichert), Norah Ringma (Gord Tomlinson) and grandchildren Will Davie and Liz Davie.

Rud Whiting

Former Liberal MP Rud Whiting passed away on February 13, 2014, at the age of 84. Rud was born on July 30, 1930, in Montreal to his parents Lester and Netta Whiting. After mov-

ing to Oakville in 1946, the young boy attended Oakville Trafalgar High School. It was there that Rud was bit by the political bug, elected as president of the Young Liberals Association.

In 1968, Rud was victorious at the federal level, when he became Liberal MP for Halton, Ontario. Within the House of Commons, Rud sat on various committees and, at one time served as the vice chairman of the Public Accounts Committee.

After being defeated in 1972, he entered the private sphere, working as a marketing manager with Heslop Industries, a land development company. In the early 80s, Rud tried his hand at real estate at ReMax Suburban Real Estate; a company he would purchase alongside seven other colleagues. He was soon elected company president.

Rud's retirement took him and his wife Sandra to Ridgeway, Ontario, where the former MP favourite pastime became perfecting his golf swing, a sometimes frustrating affair.

Rud's friend Carol remembers a good man who she will not soon forget.

"I am truly saddened by the loss of Rud," she said. "He was indeed a very special person and I am blessed to have been able to call him my friend. I will miss him and think of him often."

Rud is survived by his wife Sandra, children David (Jennifer), Stephen (Caroline), Paul, Jamie (Susan), Tracy (Richard), Lisa and Lori. He will also be missed by his siblings Pamela and Linda (John), nieces Nancy (Travis), Erika (Shaun), Kirsten (Karl) and 12 grandchildren.

Right Honourable Herb Gray

One of Canada's longest serving MPs, the Rt. Hon. Herb Gray passed away peacefully at the Ottawa Hospital Civic Campus on Monday, April 21, 2014. He was 82.

The former politician acted as the Liberal MP for Windsor West for nearly 40 years, having been elected in 1962. Herb, then a Windsor lawyer, was first elected to the House of Commons at the young age of 31. The people of Windsor West would keep Herb in Ottawa for 12 consecutive elections. In the November 2000 election, he received over 20,000 votes, more than

His constituents remember Herb Gray as a practical politician that often shed his partisan robes to meet their concerns.



Right Hon. Herb Gray



Dan Heap

twice that of his nearest competitor.

His constituents remember Herb as a practical politician that often shed his partisan robes to meet their concerns. In Windsor West he was known as "the godfather of politics."

Herb's first posting was in the Official Opposition to the government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. His nine cabinet portfolios included national revenue, consumer and corporate affairs, and industry. He also led a file on Aboriginal residential school abuse, working to settle outstanding claims with native groups.

The Canadian political giant appointed by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was Canada's first Jewish federal cabinet minister. When Herb finally left the Hill in 2002, he was Deputy Prime Minister of Canada.

Herb is remembered for his prowess during Question Period, including his ability to evade and deflect questions from the opposition. It was for this reason that he was nicknamed "The Gray Fog."

"I remember Herb Gray calmly swatting away our questions in QP when we were in opposition. It was a marvel," said Industry Minister James Moore.

When he wasn't tossing barbs at his opponents, Herb was sharing laughs, often at his own expense, and taking part in Canada's political satire scene. Herb was also a classical pianist, whose musical taste also included the rock 'n' roll tunes of Bruce Springsteen and Bob Seegar.

Outside of the halls of Parliament, Herb became the Canadian Chair of the International Joint Commission of Canada and the United States. He was also Chancellor of Carleton University. He wasn't showing no signs of retiring any time soon.

"Beloved by all, Herb devoted a lifetime to his party and his country, in both good times and bad," Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau said in a statement. "He has left behind an immense legacy unmatched by most in Canadian history."

Prime Minister Stephen Harper gave his condolences as well. "He was an honourable parliamentarian who served his country well," he said.

"He was very humble in a true sense. He didn't self-promote. He never tried to draw attention to himself," Herb's son Jonathan said during his father's eulogy. "He just worked hard at his tasks, and he didn't spend a lot of time trying to get credit."

Herb leaves behind his beloved wife Sharon Sholzberg-Gray, and his children Dr. Jonathan Gray (Dr. Rachel Gray) and Elizabeth Gray-Smith (James Smith). He also leaves behind his grandchildren Levana, Ziva, Bat-sheva, Ezra, Ovadya, Raphael Gray, Molly, and Lauren Smith.

Dan Heap

Former NDP MP Dan Heap passed away passed away on Friday April 25, 2014 at the age of 88. Dan is remembered not only as a parliamentarian, but as a strong advocate for social justice outside of the halls of government.

"Don", as he was called by his

Dan Heap was influential in the founding of the Housing Not Hostels Coalition, and this ultimately led to the first provincial housing subsidies directed towards single homeless people.



Ambrose Hubert Peddle



Jim Schroder

friends, was born in Winnipeg on Sept. 24, 1925. He was educated at Upper Canada College, McGill University, Queen's University and the University of Chicago. Don first began work as an Anglican parish priest in Quebec. In 1954 he immigrated to Toronto to work in a cardboard box factory. The 28-year-old made it his life's mission to discovering how the working class could find their place in history.

In 1972, Don was elected to Toronto city council. He made the leap to the federal level 9 years later. His first victory came in 1981, as an NDP candidate in the old riding of Spadina during a byelection. Don won again in 1984 and 1988. He retired in 1993. Don worked in the House of Commons for a total of 12 years.

Don's home in Kensington Market, which he shared with his beloved wife Alice (who passed away in 2012), acted as the headquarters for countless student activists who protested against war and apartheid. Daily outings often included picket lines and sit-ins, sometimes ending in arrest.

Don was influential in the founding of the Housing Not Hostels Coalition in the early 1980s. This ultimately led to the first provincial housing subsidies directed towards single homeless people. A little more than a decade later, Don co-founded the Toronto Disaster Relief Committee. This encouraged the federal government to appoint its first minister responsible for addressing homelessness.

In 2005, Don experienced a heart attack and was diagnosed with Alz-

heimers. After having trouble finding adequate long-term care facilities, the Don and Alice settled into the Kensington Gardens long-term care home.

It was here that Don would be visited three times a week by street nurse and longtime friend Cathy Crowe. It was Cathy's job to inform Don about current events and remind him about his work. And what fulsome work it was.

Don continued his fight for social justice into his old age. "Don Heap was a heroic Canadian figure," said street outreach worker Beric German. "Sometimes he led us, sometimes he was right beside us, and often in his older age he watched our back."

Ontario NDP Leader Andrea Horwath remembered Heap as "a man of conviction who fiercely fought against injustice." "He worked hard to make the city and country he loved a better place," she said. "He was a friend to many and a crusader for all."

Toronto mayoral candidate and former NDP MP Olivia Chow worked in Don's federal constituency office in the early 1980s. She called the former parliamentarian her "political mentor."

"After seeing his example, I got inspired to think maybe I, too, can make a difference," said Chow.

Don spent his final days with his seven children, with whom he shared stories and sang along to protest tunes. He is also survived by 17 grandchildren.

Ambrose Hubert Peddle

Former Progressive Conservative MP Ambrose Hubert Peddle passed

away on Monday March 10, 2014. He was 86. Ambrose was born on October 8, 1927 to Grace and James Peddie in Corner Brook, Newfoundland.

Growing up, Ambrose worked for the Newfoundland Railway from 1945 to 1947. He went on to work for the Unemployment Insurance Commission, as a retail furniture and appliance store sales manager, and owner of Small Business Enterprises. Ambrose entered politics in 1961, when he was elected Mayor of Windsor, Newfoundland and Labrador. He was then elected to Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly. In 1968, Ambrose became a Progressive Conservative MP for the riding of Grand-Falls-White Bay-Labrador. In 1975 he was appointed Newfoundland's first ombudsman; a position he held until 1990.

Tom Marshall, Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador honoured Ambrose after his passing.

"A native son of Corner Brook, Ambrose Peddle touched the lives of many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians over the years. A former businessman, Mr. Peddle led an admirable life in public service as Mayor of Windsor, as a Member of the House of Assembly, and as a Member of Parliament," he said. "...Mr. Peddle listened to the concerns of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians and worked diligently on their behalf to ensure they were treated fairly by government."

Ambrose is survived by his wife Bessie, son David (Madeleine), siblings Sylvia and Gerard, grandchildren Jennifer (Gent), Laura (Craig) and Michael (Nina), great grandchildren Liam and Matthew, as well as his cherished dog Winston.

Jim Schroder

Former Liberal MP Jim Schroder passed away on December 13, 2013. He was 95 years old.

Jim was born in 1918 in Guelph. It was in this city in southwestern Ontario that he attended Victory Public School. After gaining his high school diploma, Jim enrolled in pathology courses at the Ontario Veterinary College.

Nazi Germany ensured Jim would not put his knowledge to use just yet. One month following his gradu-

ation in 1942, he enlisted in the Canadian army and was shipped across the Atlantic; first to England, then North Africa, Italy, and various stops throughout Western Europe. Jim first served with the Canadian Headquarters Staff, followed by the Royal Canadian Artillery.

Back in Guelph, Jim took up a post teaching at the veterinary college. Soon, he left for Minnesota's Mayo Clinic to complete his graduate work in comparative pathology. Jim said he was captivated examining diseased cells.

During his time in the United States, Jim also met his wife Elizabeth. The two returned to Guelph in 1951 as a married couple and built a home together. Elizabeth passed away in 1992. The couple had four children together, who he now leaves behind—Elizabeth (Brent McArthur), who lives in Guelph, Anne (Paul Mulligan), who lives in Ottawa, James (Joanne), who resides in British Columbia, and Don (Sandy), who lives in Toronto. His grandchildren include Melissa and Nicole.

It wasn't until 1980, as he was preparing to retire from his job teaching at the Ontario Veterinary College, that the Liberals came knocking on Jim's door. At the age of 62, Jim was elected to the House of Commons as the Liberal MP for Guelph-Wellington.

"I think every Parliamentarian will say that really impresses you is your first day in the House," he told *Beyond the Hill* shortly before his passing. "Just imagine that. What an honour to be chosen by your constituents, to represent them in the House of Commons."

Jim became Parliamentary Secretary to then Minister of National Health and Welfare Monique Bégin. He helped her push the Canada Health Act through the House of Commons. Among other things, the veteran would serve as Vice-Chairman of Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence.

"I thought he was a first-class fellow," said Bill Winegard, the Progressive Conservative who defeated Jim in the 1984 election.

"He had time for everybody. He was interested in people," said his daughter Anne.



Remembering an Irish Lion

The Rt. Hon. Jim Flaherty

By Caresse Ley

It was a rare sight on April 10, 2014, when Members of Parliament crossed the aisle of the House of Commons to shake hands and console one another. In a poetic final act, former finance minister Jim Flaherty upheld his reputation for bipartisanship.

Flaherty's unexpected death came just three weeks after his retirement from cabinet and rocked the nation's capital and politicians across the country alike. The day of his death also marked his three thousandth day as a federal MP. Prior to turning to federal politics, Flaherty served as a Member of Provincial Parliament in the Ontario Legislative Assembly for 10 years.

Jim Flaherty leaves behind his wife Christine Elliott (an Ontario MPP who is now touted as a potential leader of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party), and his triplet sons John Galen, and Quinn.

Messages from current and former parliamentarians emphasized how Flaherty was a strong-willed, but kind-hearted politician.

Treasury Board President Tony Clement, who worked alongside Flaherty since his days as an MPP and called him a "longtime friend," said via email that, "Jim was a dedicated and passionate Member of Parliament. His contributions to Canada, his sound economic policies and his Irish charm will be remembered."

It is clear that Flaherty had many friends on both sides of the aisle throughout his career. Former Ontario Liberal MPP Sean Conway served

with Flaherty in the Ontario Legislature for eight years.

"He wasn't afraid to go into the corners in hockey or in politics. He was very direct in his dealings. He would tell you what he thought and if he didn't agree with you he'd tell you why and you'd better be willing to defend your position. We didn't always agree but he was good company," said Conway.

Former Ontario PC MPP Janet Ecker said Flaherty taught her that, "you can have strong convictions and strong principles, and still be able to work with people across the aisle."

Flaherty was also known by both sides as a man who got things done.

"Well, he was a colourful and combative fellow who was obviously determined to make change, not just in terms of the public policy agenda for Ontario, but also within the Conservative party," said Conway.

"He was an incredible legacy politician," added Ecker. "He really wanted to make things happen, to solve things. Whatever the issue was, whatever portfolio he was in, he was like, you know, 'How do I make a difference? How do I fix the problem; get the puck down the ice?'. He wasn't a stand back, status quo kind of guy."

But Ecker said the most important lesson Flaherty leaves Canadians is teaching them that, "there is value and fulfilment that can come from public service, that you can make change."

May the feisty Irishman rest in peace.



Geoff Scott

The Pearson Diefenbaker snub of 1963

By Geoff Scott

"It's the most awful thing!" Mr. Diefenbaker thundered on nation-wide TV to the forest of microphones. "He wouldn't get out!"

Beyond the Hill readers of a certain age will remember election campaigns of the 1960's as if they had happened last week. Our most vivid memories invariably centre on the party leaders: the commanding Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, Nobel Peace Prize recipient and Liberal Leader Lester B. Pearson, and longtime CCF Saskatchewan Premier and first NDP national leader T.C. "Tommy" Douglas. All three men were quite remarkable characters around Parliament Hill, especially (some folks say) when compared with their counterparts 50 years later.

This is a campaign story from 1963 you couldn't make up. Four people have heard the punch line; only one is mercifully alive to tell it – me.

It happened during the Diefenbaker-Pearson contest in the late winter of 1963. "Dief the Chief", the grandiloquent, evangelistic Prime Minister was fighting to regain his huge Progressive Conservative majority government, reduced to a 116-99 minority by the Liberals in 1962. The PC Chief was being challenged for a third time by the reluctant politician but renowned diplomat, Liberal Opposition Leader "Mike" Pearson.

Naturally, these two totally differing political personalities attracted enormous media attention during the six-week election. Canada's mainstream TV, radio outlets and all major newspapers in the Parliamentary Press Gallery vigorously vied for seats on the twin Canadian Pacific DC-6B passenger jets, commandeered by both parties to hopscotch around the country.

As an independent television reporter, I was fortunate enough to land

a space on both the Liberal and Conservative aircraft. On the rare occasions when the Diefenbaker and Pearson tours intersected, we journalists scrambled to switch campaign planes, in an effort to project our intended objectivity (and, of course, save our employers travel expenses.)

A Spectacular encounter

The first planned changeover occurred three weeks into the campaign, in British Columbia's Okanagan District. The Prime Minister's party was travelling on a beautiful sunny afternoon by bus from Revelstoke, where Mr. Diefenbaker spoke at lunch. We were heading for Penticton, where, by happy coincidence, the Pearson plane was landing that afternoon; the Liberal bus then departing for an evening rally in Revelstoke.

Perfect. As per a prior arrangement with the campaign teams, the Prime Minister's bus disgorged all journalists, camera personnel and our voluminous luggage at the side of the Okanagan Highway. The Revelstoke-bound Pearson team was scheduled to stop on the other side. The press gangs would switch buses, luggage and all. The Prime Minister and Mr. Pearson would smile and shake hands as a great photo-op against the spectacular backdrop of the Rockies.

Never happened. The whole entourage – motorcycle escorts, RCMP security car, the Pearson limousine and the Liberal campaign team bus – came into view from the south. It never even slowed, just roared by us at thundering speed. The only faces the Diefenbaker Party ever saw were the Pearson campaign press gang frantically waving out the rear window as they figuratively

and almost literally left us eating their dust.

"It's the most awful thing!" Mr. Diefenbaker thundered on nation-wide TV to the forest of microphones. "He wouldn't get out! He wants to be Prime Minister of Canada and he wouldn't get out! It's another arrogant Liberal insult, that's all. Most awful thing!" fumed the apoplectic PM. The Liberal campaign team later confessed that their plane had been much later landing at Penticton than expected, making the media switchover impractical. That fell on deaf ears.

Crossing paths again

Fast forward three weeks. I'm now en route to Sydney, NS on the Liberal plane. Just before final approach, the future Prime Minister's press secretary Dick O'Hagan advised me it was my turn for a one-on-one chat with Mr. and Mrs. Pearson in the beautifully appointed front cabin of the aircraft.

At the tail end of the campaign, Mike Pearson seemed relaxed and buoyed by encouraging poll numbers. Suddenly, a loud click in the plane's public address system, "Mr. and Mrs. Pearson, ladies and gentlemen, if you care to look out the starboard side, you can clearly see the sister Canadian Pacific DC-6B aircraft which is carrying Mr. Diefenbaker and his party, having just departed Halifax."

And there it was, glinting brightly in the morning sun, about a half-mile away. That's when Mr. Pearson, with his trademark grin and slight lisp, said to no one in particular: "Oh fine. I wonder if he expects me to get out NOW."

Geoff Scott was Progressive Conservative MP for Hamilton-Wentworth from 1978 to 1993.

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