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WINTER 2014

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

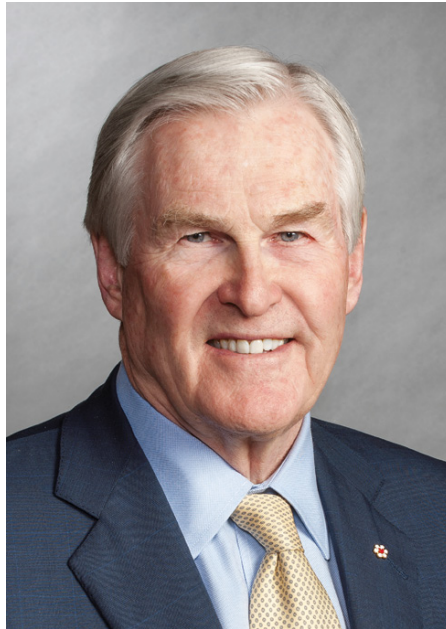
**Regional Meeting in  
Winnipeg and Churchill**

**The cats have left the hill**

**Korean War remembered**



## **Please mark your calendars**



## **An Evening to Honour the Hon. Michael Wilson, P.C., C.C.**

Please join the Canadian Association  
of Former Parliamentarians (CAFP)  
as we honour our friend and colleague,  
the Hon. Michael Wilson with  
a Lifetime Achievement Award.

**Wednesday, May 21, 2014**

6:00 p.m. ~ Reception

7:00 p.m. ~ Dinner & Programme

**Fairmont Royal York,  
Canadian Room**

100 Front Street, West, Toronto

Contact Basset Events Inc., at 416-966-4660 or at  
[jbassett@bassettevents.ca](mailto:jbassett@bassettevents.ca) to purchase tickets

# Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Volume 10, Issue No. 1

WINTER 2014

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*Polar Bear at Churchill. Cover photo by Alexander de Vries.*

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**ISSN**  
1920-8561

#### **Our Mission Statement**

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

## Former Congressman Visits Carleton Campus

By: Caresse Ley



*Jack Silverstone with Dennis Hertel*

**F**ormer congressman Dennis Hertel began the month of June with a talk about Canada-U.S. relations at Carleton University. The Democrat hails from Detroit and served as a congressman for Michigan from 1981 until 1993.

The former politician's discussion focused on a variety of topics, including energy, the economy and a changing American political landscape. All subjects had a common thread, however – American ignorance.

"Frankly, Americans don't know enough about Canada, even though you're our most important friend and ally for over 200 years," said Hertel in an interview.

Hertel said that "even Americans in government" don't know basic facts about Canada. For example, they have no idea about the size of its population, who the prime minister is, or how Canada's parliamentary system works.

"When you have ignorance, you've got to attack it," he said.

Hertel pointed to student exchanges and joint initiatives between current and former elected members in both countries as ways to improve Americans' un-

derstanding of Canada. While Canadians tend to know more about America, there is always room for deeper understanding of the States, he added.

Still, he maintained that "there is a core group of people that is totally informed."

Hertel also observed that the average American is unable to launch an inexpensive political campaign and win, unlike when he started in politics. It's not unusual for Congressional campaigns in Michigan to cost upwards of \$20 million nowadays, he said. Meanwhile, the job pays \$174,000 per year, a mere fraction of that cost.

This, he said, makes government less accessible than when he was in Congress. Questions about who is funding campaigns and who is benefiting from certain election results affect how both Americans and Canadians view the U.S., he said.

Despite the differences between the two countries, Hertel believes, "there is nothing more important to [the United States] than our friendship and alliance with Canada." Though Canada and the United States can disagree on policy, "we always work everything out."





# How the President sees it

**A**s snow begins to blanket Parliament Hill, slowing movement throughout our nation's fair capital, the offices of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians are as busy as ever.

## Footnotes from this year's AGM

This year's annual general meeting featured representatives from the U.S Association of Former Members of Congress, the European Parliament Former Members Association, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute. Their participation encouraged lively discussions about democracy building overseas. It also demonstrated the strong international bonds this association has built over the years. Members should expect future volunteer opportunities abroad.

## Our Visit to Winnipeg

Our regional meeting in Winnipeg was one shared with the Association of Former Manitoba Members of the Legislative Assembly, along with colleagues who were former members of the National Assembly of Quebec, and former members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. It was a unique shared experience for fellow legislators. I think legislators of all shapes and forms are trying to do a lot of the same things.

Twenty-three of us followed the meeting with a visit to Churchill. We witnessed a vibrant northern community with future opportunities in mining, tourism, and shipping through the Port of Churchill. This issue features photographs of polar bears in the region, taken with the longest of lenses, of course.

## The 9th Annual Douglas C. Frith Fundraising Dinner

This year's dinner was terrific and we continue to receive strong support from the corporate sector for our democracy promotion activities. Our title sponsor Rx&D is specifically satisfied with the focus we place on young Canadians.

The timely address by Mr. Patrick Cox, Former President of European Parliament on "The Economy, the Euro and EU- Canada Free Trade" was enlightening. He brought a perspective of how Europeans view the Canadian arrangement and explained how beneficial the newly minted Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) will be for this country. You will find details surrounding the event within the pages of this issue.

## Peru and Chile Bound

As mentioned previously, the organization will be visiting Peru and Chile in January 2014. We already have over 20 people registered thus far. We are planning to visit our embassies along with government representatives, academics and business people in the region. These journeys provide great opportunities to meet with our counterparts and understand the challenges and opportunities they face.

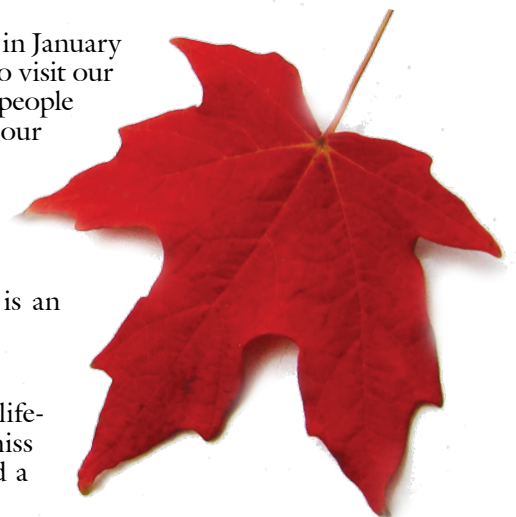
## Future Initiatives

The association has continued its work with Elections Canada and others as part of the annual Democracy Week. Participants in this activity are growing at a rapid pace. The fundamental tenant of a democracy is an educated citizen.

## Awards and Remembrance

In May 2014, the CAFPP board will award The Hon. Michael Wilson a lifetime achievement award in Toronto. Lastly, the association will greatly miss the late Hon. Fred Mifflin, who was a great contributor to the CAFPP and a great Member of Parliament.

**Léo Duguay**  
President







## Executive Director's Report

By Jack Silverstone

Our next event will be the presentation of the Lifetime Achievement Award to the Hon. Michael Wilson in Toronto on May 21, 2014 at Toronto's historic Royal York Hotel.

I am pleased to report that despite staff and financial resource downsizing, we were able to keep all our programs on track. For the first time we took in-house our Parliament to Campus program, sometimes known as P2C, previously very ably run by Prof. Patrice Dutil of Ryerson University in Toronto who this year is on a well-deserved sabbatical. We have received and filled nearly two dozen requests from colleges and universities across the country and we're looking forward to the winter semester.

I was privileged to attend the Parliamentary Librarian's luncheon for educators who were participating in the Ottawa-based Teachers Institute, where elementary and high school teachers from all over Canada are given a one-week primer related to teaching the political process and the value of civic participation to their young students. Our Association provides bursaries of \$500 to enable up to 8 educators to participate. I had the chance to meet some of them at the luncheon and was encouraged by their statements of appreciation indicating that without our

support they would not have been able to attend and not have had the learning opportunity which they will share with their students. Our financial support goes some way toward mitigating increasingly scarce school resources to allow teachers to participate in what we all agree is important preparation for civics education in our schools.

I am also happy to advise that new institutions and organizations are coming forward to discuss opportunities for partnership with ourselves, particularly as it relates to increasing participation in the Canadian political process among our youth. Indeed it is becoming something of a growth industry! We're working hard to evaluate all requests for funding to ensure that our contributions are obtaining maximum benefit.

We barely folded the chairs on the very successful 9th annual Educational Foundation fundraising dinner in Ottawa on October 23, when we started planning for our next event, the presentation of the Lifetime Achievement Award to the Hon. Michael Wilson in Toronto on May 21, 2014. We have

secured a gala venue, Toronto's historic Royal York hotel and are in the process of putting in place a first-rate organizing committee. Following on the outstanding Lifetime Achievement Award presentations to the Hon. Don Mazankowski in Calgary in 2010, to the Hon. Ed Lumley in Toronto in 2011 and then to Alexa McDonough in Halifax in 2012, we look forward to another spectacular event honouring another great parliamentarian and a great Canadian.

As a final note, as I have the opportunity to attend, on behalf of this organization, various events in Ottawa, it is often mentioned that as Parliament and its institutions are in a state of flux, the ethos behind the work of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians is held up as an example of the value of collegiality and non-partisanship. Amid the rough-and-tumble of democratic political life, there is a continuing and valuable role for the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians to play in encouraging and underlining the importance of respect and civility in Canada's vibrant democracy.

*Former MLA, the Hon. Muriel Smith, shares a story with Murray Dorin.*



*Francis LeBlanc right, chats with Gordon Earle.*



*Former Manitoba MLA, Linda Asper and her husband, Aubrey.*





# Meeting in Winnipeg

Photos by Marty Dolin



*CAFP president Léo Duguay in front of Marlene Catterall, Glenn Dobbie, Dorothy Dobbie and former Manitoba Ombudsman Gordon Earle.*



*Former MLA and former Governor General of Canada, the Hon. Edward Schreyer, came to the dinner hosted by the Manitoba Speaker, Daryl Reid and held at the Legislature.*



*Murray Cardiff.*

*CAFP staffer, Céline Fraser.*

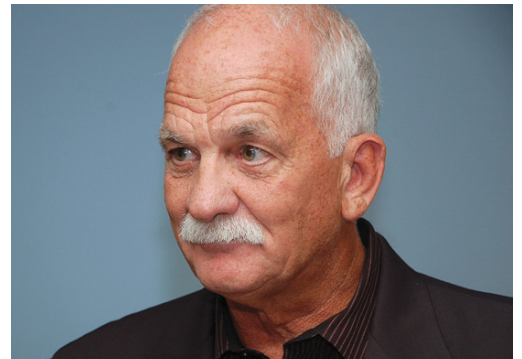


*The Hon. Charlie Mayer, left, speaks with the hon. Jim Downey, former Manitoba MLA.*

*Former Senator Terry Stratton.*



*The Hon. Vic Toews*





# Up close and personal with a ptarmigan

Warm days, the lovely legislature, Justice Murray Sinclair, the Human Rights Museum and a visit to Churchill – all were on the Manitoba regional meeting agenda.

Story by Dorothy Dobbie, photos by Marty Dolin

The weather co-operated for the Winnipeg leg of the CAFP regional meeting in Manitoba; the days were warm and golden, the wonderful elms still holding onto the leaves and the fall grass a sea of emerald.

We met in the lovely Manitoba Legislature in one of the large, sunny meeting rooms on the second floor. A highlight of the meetings was a joint session held with the Manitoba MLAs where The Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair held everyone spellbound as he talked about his experiences as a Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. His words were measured but carried even greater weight because they and the tone he speaks in are so reasonable.

## The toll was heavy

On residential schools, he said that the enforced separation of children from their parents caused “a lot of damage to their identity”. The generations subjected to this regimen, he says, made these people lose their connections to everything they were and are. It’s hard to believe, but this took place over 130 years and its legacy is still affecting Aboriginal people today.

Nevertheless, Justice Murray sees education as the key to the future, and not just education of the “book learning kind”. We need to learn to respect each other and demonstrate that respect, he said.

## Human Rights Museum tour

Another highlight was a tour of the still under construction Canadian Museum for Human Rights. Members had a chance to get the inside view of the magnificent building that now occupies the banks of the historic Red River at The Forks.

A very large vote of thanks goes out to Linda Asper, President of the Manitoba Association of former MLAs, who was such a gracious host and who included our delegates in many of the Manitoba meeting events. A second big thank you must go to Myrna Phil-



*The Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair discusses his experiences as the Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.*



*Ian Waddell makes a point at the meeting.*



*Bill Blaikie, a member of both the Former Manitoba MLAs and CAFP.*

*Below, Anita Neville with former MLA Myrna Phillips who hosted CAFO at her home.*







*Former MLA Linda Asper chaired the Manitoba meeting and was very gracious in helping CAFP.*



*A group photo of both the former MLAs and the former parliamentarians at the base of the grand staircase in the Manitoba Legislature. (Debbie Schon photo.)*



*Former Manitoba MLA, Avis Gray with Manitoba's Premier Greg Selinger.*



*Above, former senator Raymond Setlakwe. Right: President Léo Duguay. Below, Murray Dorin raises an issue.*



*Naomi Abbott and Madame Setlakwe hold a tête-à-tête.*







*Pausing for a group photo beside the tundra bus. Far left is Marty Dolin, who took so many photos and almost got left out himself.*



*Wally, watching for the elusive polar bear.*



*The Arctic Trading Company, just one of the great places to shop.*

*Below: Wally Daudrich, owner of the Lazy Bear Lodge in Churchill. Wally built the hotel by hand from found logs.*



*Above: Inukshuk on the shores of Hudson Bay. Below: The rustic charm of the Lazy Bear Lodge. The fireplace and the furniture were made by Wally Daudrich, owner.*







*Marty Dolin's polar bear. above. Right: Sandy Millen's shot.*



*Left: Just one of the many artifacts at the Eskimo Museum in Churchill.*

*Below: Ptarmigan already donning their white coats for winter.*



*Below: The beds are comfortable and the rooms have everything you need at the Lazy Bear Lodge.*



*Out on the blustery coast (above) to check out the Prince of Wales Fort National Historic Site.*

lips who kindly invited us to join the MLA's in her home for a reception on the Sunday evening. Speaker Daryl Reid was most gracious in allowing us the "freedom of the house" and for hosting a dinner on Monday night.

### **We're going to Churchill!**

On Tuesday, 23 members boarded a Calm Air flight to Churchill. The first delightful surprise was a hot breakfast on board! It was a very comfortable two-hour journey.

The second delightful surprise was the Lazy Bear Lodge. Host Wally Daudrich and his family and staff made us very comfortable in their lovely authentic log hotel. Believe it or not, Wally placed every log by hand. Where do you get logs in Churchill? He got them 35 km south, where a forest fire had left a wasteland of felled trees. Rather than allowing them to decay and affect the ozone layer, he hauled them, half a dozen at a time, out of the bush to where he could pick them up by truck and bring them to town. There are 1,250 logs in the hotel. He also made much of the furniture!

Wally also honoured us by acting as our tour guide and polar bear hunter. We went out onto the tundra to see what we could see and while we got up close and personal with some ptarmigan, the polar bears were a bit more elusive. However, we finally spotted one off the beaten path, so Sandy Millen and former MLA, Marty Dolin, used their telephoto lenses to get a photo.

### **Port of Churchill**

We spent a final morning at the Port of Churchill watching how the grain is handled, while a Russian ship was in port and others were out in the harbour awaiting their turn to take on some of Manitoba's bumper crop this year. OmniTRAX, owner of the Port, hosted a reception which was much appreciated.

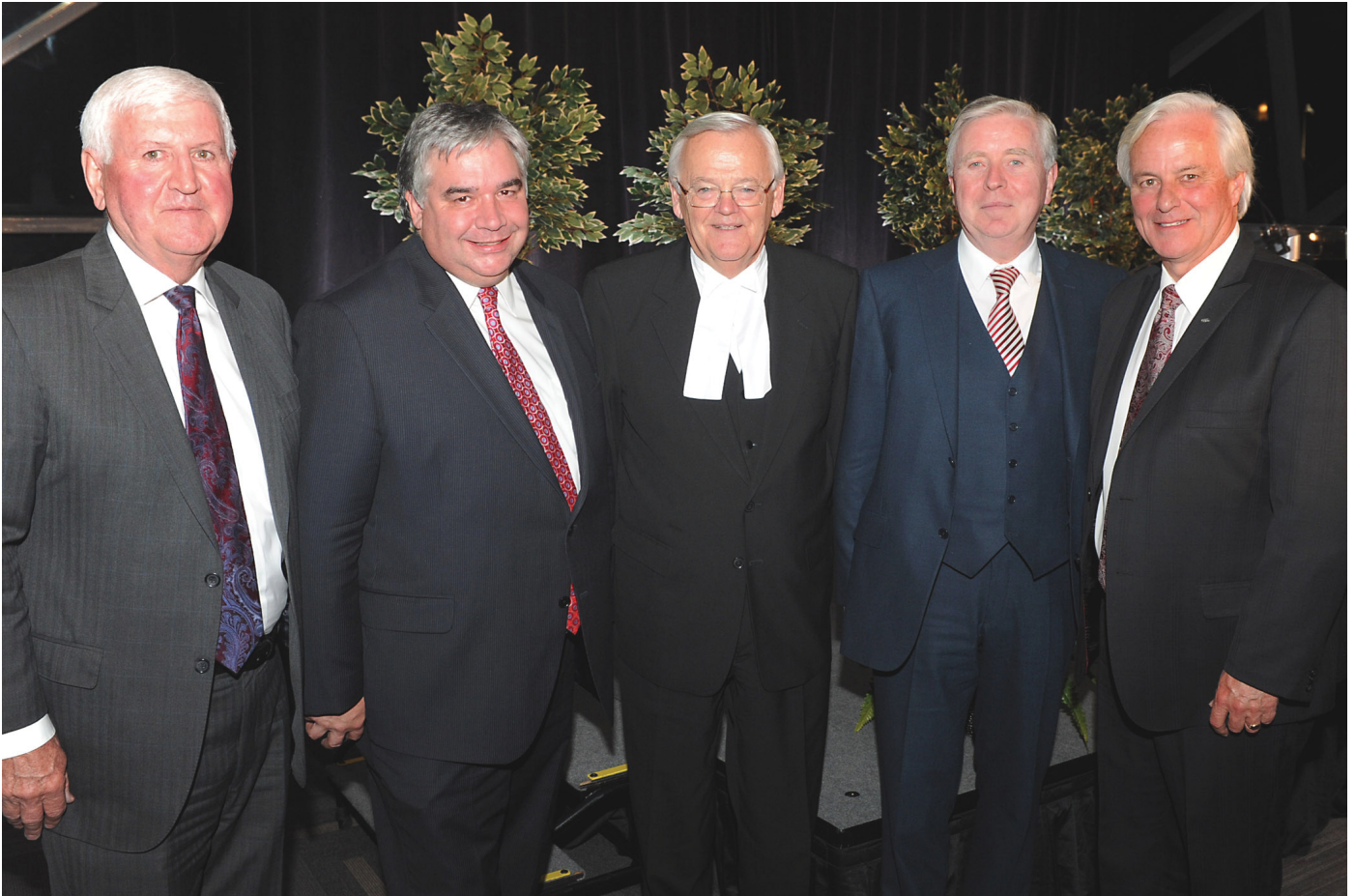
In every respect (except our ability to get really close to a polar bear – we were there a couple of weeks before bear season really sets in), Churchill was a tremendous success. The terrain was otherworldly. The hospitality was outstanding. The food was terrific. The shopping was fun. The final delightful surprise was being able to board the plane on the outgoing trip without the hassle of a security check.

Everyone left with a smile!



# European parliament president speaks on agreement with EU

Story by Catherine Cross, photos by Denis Drever



*Léo Duguay, the Hon. Peter Van Loan, the Hon. Noël Kinsella, Pat Cox and Russell Williams.*

Patrick Cox, president of the European Parliament Former Members Association, spoke about the significance of the recently announced Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) at the ninth annual Douglas C. Frith fundraising dinner.

"It is the single most significant free trade area agreement entered into by the European Union, or its predecessor organizations, since its foundation," he said. "This is a moment of great opportunity. I wish you every success in exploiting these opportunities to the benefit of your firms and the benefit of your society."

However, the agreement will not make everyone happy, he said, bringing up the examples of Irish farmers' anxiety about an influx of Canadian beef and Canadian farmers' anxiety surrounding fine cheese imports.

"The real opportunity is building, not defending," he advised the crowd of some 300 former and current politicians, business representatives, and political interns.

"It's a genuine partnership that can mature and grow together," he said.

The dinner, an annual event, raises money for the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians' Educational Foundation. The Foundation

runs programs that promote democracy and a deep understanding of the political process, with a focus on improving participation among Canadian youth. The Foundation also works to promote democracy and political education in countries around the world. Over a million dollars has been raised over the 9 years since the event began.

The dinner also provides an opportunity for current politicians to interact with former politicians. This opportunity is invaluable, said Liberal MP for St. Paul's, Ont., the Hon. Carolyn Bennett, who attended the dinner.





*Patrick Cox, former President of European Parliament, spoke about the importance of the recently initialled Free Trade agreement between Canada and the European Union.*



*The Honourable Noël Kinsella, Speaker of the Senate.*



*Léo Duguay.*



*The Hon. Don Boudria.*

“It’s really important for new parliamentarians to show up at these things to hear about how it was, especially about cross-party collaboration and how that can actually help all of us move agendas,” she said. “It didn’t always feel like it does in this Parliament, and I hope that the former parliamentarians can have as much influence as they can tonight to remind people of what putting Canada first looks like.”

The Canadian public also needs to know about former parliamentarians, she said, and how “they’re still committed after they leave this town”, to encourage people to be involved and

not partake in the cynicism she feels prevents many people from actively participating in Canadian democracy.

In an interview following his speech, Cox reflected on his role as president of the European equivalent to the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.

“There is good sharing,” he said, “particularly between the European and Canadian associations.”

The European association learned from CAFPF how to hold a memorial service for members who passed away. In addition, the Europeans have taught the CAFPF how to properly conduct study tours, he said.



*The Honourable Andrew Scheer, Speaker of the House of Commons.*



# Canadian Museum of Civilization's "Canada Hall" to get controversial make over

Photos and story by Caresse Ley

When the government announced its plans to re-brand the Canadian Museum of Civilization to the Canadian Museum of History, it met a confusing flurry of both criticism and praise. Canadians reacted with concerns over whose history would be told and why the civilization aspect of the museum was being sacrificed. A year after the re-branding bill was introduced; the museum's fate is still unclear.

Bill C-49, which proposed to change the name of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) to the Canadian Museum of History and re-write its mandate, died on the order paper in June. The bill passed the report stage on June 18, 2013, but never reached royal assent. The bill was re-introduced in spirit on October 25, now known as Bill C-7. In December it received royal assent.

While the CMC waited for Bill C-7 to be signed into law, it moved along with plans to re-design part of the museum, which were in the works before the bills to change its mandate were proposed. The bill clearly re-defines the museum's mandate to focus on Canadian history, but how that will practically affect the museum's collection remains to be seen.

The government has, nonetheless, given the CMC \$25 million to re-design Canada Hall – a project that has received the most criticism. Now, this area of the museum tells Canada's history from the arrival of European settlers until around 1970.

"Right off the bat, that's a problem. You can't tell the history of Canada with the arrival of the Europeans for the cod fishery," said Mark O'Neill, CMC CEO, adding the importance of



*Mark O'Neill, CEO of the Canadian Museum of Civilization*

starting Canada's history with stories of indigenous people.

## **Changes to Canada Hall**

During the renovations, Canada Hall will be combined with the Face to Face Hall, which tells the stories of historical Canadian figures, like Laura Secord and Samuel de Champlain. The museum has yet to determine which elements of Canada Hall will be replaced and which ones will remain.

The new exhibit will double the current size of Canada Hall, totalling 43,000 square ft., which is not much smaller than a football field. The rest of

the museum will remain unchanged, and will continue to host international exhibits. The CMC will also host special exhibits from across Canada to tell stories that don't make it into Canada Hall.

These changes have been a long time coming, said O'Neill. The Hall was in need of updating, whether the CMC was re-branded or not. Currently, visitors walk through Canada Hall, beginning on the east coast and moving simultaneously west and through time to learn about Canada. This design restricts curators from talking about a





*Canada Hall is currently under renovation, with plans for a more comprehensive history of Canada.*

variety of historical moments. For example, by the time the Quiet Revolution occurs in the 1960s, visitors have already passed through Quebec and are exploring the prairies.

"All of those areas end up frozen in time," said O'Neill. "There are no residential schools, no women's history. We think we have to do better than that and we think that the Hall needs to be a chronological, historically-based, artifact-rich experience. The three ideas that I personally think that need to be in this new hall are: Who are the Canadian people? Where did we come from? Where are we going as a people?"

O'Neill said he hopes the new exhibit will be equally interesting to domestic and international visitors, who account for 75 per cent and 25 per cent of the museum's 1.2 million visitors per year, respectively. At the same time, O'Neill said he wants Canada Hall to be a place where history is problematized and where a variety of perspectives are considered to both provide context and

show tension over certain topics in Canadian history.

#### **Unearthing tensions in Canadian History**

O'Neill pointed to the example of Louis Riel. Currently, just two panels of text tell the story of who Riel was and why he was important. O'Neill hopes the new exhibit would provide a variety of historical perspectives on Riel, contextualizing the environment in which he lived, and, most importantly, tell Canadians why they should care about Riel today.

Yet while the CMC aims to tell an inclusive story, it is no doubt a difficult task.

"It's not possible," said Paul Litt, a historian at Carleton University who was invited to a consultation by the museum regarding the new exhibit. "They are trying to do something that will be popular and entertaining, yet comprehensive in its coverage of Canadian history."

"There is a management structure which is, I think, very aware of the political climate in which they're operating and what is and isn't acceptable," he said. "I think you can probably expect to see

a fairly linear, consensus-based narrative with lots of bells and whistles and flashy, interactive doodads for public pleasure."

Litt added, "It's practically impossible to consult everybody. Ultimately they have to tell a national story." He suggests the museum point to off-site locations, like other museums, where visitors can go to learn more and hear different perspectives.

"It's almost an opportunity of a lifetime. Everybody has an opinion. Some people really like Canada Hall the way it is, others are highly critical of it. Our objective will be to provide an even better experience based on what works in Canada Hall and build on that," he said. "We think it's time that a country as mature as Canada and as important as Canada was able to tell its history to its visitors with conviction, in a courageous way, that this is a country with a role to play in the world and has a history and a heritage that's worth the telling."

The museum plans to open the renovated Canada Hall on Canada Day in 2017, during Canada's sesquicentennial birthday.



# #FAQMP

(Frequently asked questions for your member of Parliament)

## Satisfying the constituent appetite in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

by Harrison Lowman



Back in the 60s, then journalist and later Progressive Conservative MP, Geoff Scott, really started something.

In 1968, television journalist Geoff Scott hoped to satisfy a news appetite ignored on Parliament Hill. While schools of parliamentary correspondents swam closely alongside leaders and cabinet ministers, anxious for their reaction to national news, Scott's cameras could care less about prestige and rank.

The independent journalist's newly minted *Your Man on the Hill* television program approached individual MPs of various influence and stripes, posing direct questions about how federal decisions would reverberate in the members' ridings. For Geoff, MPs were elected individuals responsible for answering their constituents' concerns.

"While these guys were getting national exposure from their cabinet portfolios, what I did was go the other way and give them local exposure on very local issues," says Geoff. "You interviewed the MP whether he was a cabinet minister or not."

When the program earned a coveted slot in Prime Minister Trudeau's schedule, the politician was not questioned about Canada's international standing, but rather on issues facing the residents in his Mount Royal riding.

This idea of tightening the lens to frame MPs as individuals with their own unique responsibilities had traction with audiences across the country. Almost immediately, 15 television stations signed up for the program.

Subscriptions were followed by a daily bombardment of phone calls to Scott from news editors across Canada, requesting reactions from MPs on issues affecting their regions. Geoff acted as a middleman between ridings and their elected representatives.

### The new version

Over forty years later, the Press Gallery has witnessed a revival of *Your Man on the Hill*'s middleman role, birthing a television program that approaches MPs as individuals. However, unlike Geoff's program in the 1960s, questions are not translated by news editors via telephone. In the modern day, they are voiced directly from the mouths of constituents online.

Now in its third season, *ichannel's* flagship political affairs series #FAQMP, or Frequently Asked Questions for your Member of Parliament, claims to allow its viewers to "...put their elected member of Parliament in the hot seat." The half hour show en-

gages with its audiences by encouraging them to vote on their website for the MP they would like to see interviewed in a weekly five member poll.

Once a winner is chosen, viewers are encouraged to submit personal questions for the MP through various channels including Twitter and Facebook, or email. The show's developers are interested in hearing from the everyman rather than the professional.

"If you're a single mom who can't get daycare for your child, you're the expert in that area," explains senior producer and host Kevin O'Keefe. "Not the prof at U of T."

Viewers' questions are then posed verbatim to the winning MP. The show's Monday night broadcast is coupled with a web stream and online chat room in which the audience promotes further discussion on a topic or makes suggestions for topics to the program's producers.

### Broadening the scope

According to O'Keefe, the idea behind the show's format came from the company's desire to mend what has otherwise been one-sided communication between television producers and their viewers. While television pro-





Host Kevin O'Keefe (right) interviews Jinny Sims (left), a Vancouver MP who also serves as the NDP Immigration critic, on a recent episode of #FAQMP. Photo courtesy of Stornoway Communications.

“... the audience or our users, as we like to call them, give us information, and then we use that information to give them information.”

grams have been known to momentarily feature comments from their audience, O'Keefe considers much of it to be artificial conversation. He sees additional dialogue as being mutually beneficial.

“Instead of broadcasters just pushing out information 24/7 we want more of a push-pull model, where the audience or our users, as we like to call them, give us information, and then we use that information to give them information,” he says. “So it's a much more democratic idea of production.”

“Real interaction is talking back and forth and getting the real opinions of people,” adds line producer and director Pamela Ward.

For some, promoting this exchange on political affairs programs could help to satisfy a lingering appetite for the local conversation between constituents and MPs. According to

O'Keefe, by making viewers co-producers, the show is able to strengthen deteriorating connections between voters and their elected representatives.

The journalist highlights consolidated news coverage that overlooks the local, the rise of political communication departments that stunt one-on-one discussion, and the silencing of backbenchers, as reasons for the communication breakdown. Nevertheless, he hopes he is part of the counter movement.

“Despite the fact that all those things are in place, what we're trying to do is figure out how we can create new pathways so that constituents can access MPs in ways they never could before,” says O'Keefe, adding, “And I think our answer is social media.”

#### **A new intimacy with your MP**

#FAQMP participant Gail Rhyno puts her faith in social media as well.

The PEI stay-at-home mother wrote to her MP, Sean Casey, in an early 2012 email about his views on access to abortion facilities within her province. The email went unanswered. After surfing the web, she stumbled across an announcement that #FAQMP would be interviewing Casey. Days later, she witnessed her question being posed to him directly. Rhyno became an instant fan.

“FAQMP is probably one of the most accessible examples [of media] I've seen,” she says. “The interview is almost really intimate yet it's public, and it's almost like you're doing the interviewing; that's what it felt like for me.”

Along with its regular programming #FAQMP also launches contests to facilitate interactions between constituents and their elected representatives. Last November, the show held an MP & Me Photo Contest, asking viewers to send in photos of themselves and an





*A diverse range of MPs have appeared on #FAQMP to face viewers' questions over the years, including Justin Trudeau (pictured here with then host Karyn Pugliese), Bob Rae, Elizabeth May, Patrick Brazeau and Jason Kenney. Photo courtesy of Stornoway Communications.*

MP. In April, they organized a Your Riding's Best Thing Photo Contest, where viewers submitted pictures of their riding's greatest asset. The Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan resident that won, snapped a shot of a Snowbird plane alongside local fiberglass moose statue "Mac the Moose".

Nevertheless, the show's subject matter is not always confined to the constituency issues. When the program interviewed Liberal MP Kirsty Duncan, O'Keefe describes how the global multiple sclerosis community flooded the show with questions about the politician's views on clinical trials, in an effort to raise awareness.

Some are hesitant to describe the MP-constituent relationship as suffering. Ward says the bonds simply vary amongst individual MPs; some of which are more engaged than others.

#### **Some MPs really get it**

In particular, producers of the program applaud the accessibility of Conservative MP Patrick Brown. The Barrie MP is known for responding to requests across a variety of social media and traditional channels. He is also the first Canadian politician to launch his own iPad and iPhone app, which provides users with his schedule and

various contact information. Brown believes many Canadian politicians are already making use of new technology, allowing them to maintain healthy relationships with those that put them in office.

#### **Treating the show's contest like a mini election**

"There are so many new windows to communicate, and I think it's important in your role as a parliamentarian to use every avenue possible to reach out to your constituents to make sure they have those avenues to provide feedback and suggestions," he says.

This April, #FAQMP launched their All Star Vote, which pitted the MPs within each federal party that received the most votes and questions during the season against one another. Brown received 10,777 votes, winning the contest along with an #FAQMP segment devoted to himself and his Barrie riding. Brown says he treated the contest like a "mini election", reaching out to people across his constituency.

"We had the firefighters emailing all the firefighters, we had the councillors emailing their constituents," says Brown.

The MP was excited to open his

doors to #FAQMP, a television program he believes has built lines of communication between himself and his Barrie residents. He adds that his colleagues are becoming more open to putting themselves in the interviewee chair.

#### **Feeling the pulse**

"You have the pulse of your city, you have the pulse of your riding, when you put yourself in situations like that, and you get educated and you learn," he explains.

Recently, #FAQMP switched to an hour-long format to accommodate more discussion. The show was also nominated for a Canadian Screen Award in the Best Cross-Platform Project-Non-Fiction category in January.

Geoff Scott describes a changing of the guard. While the focus on the individual and the local of Your Man on the Hill is evident on programs like #FAQMP, the political conversation has moved to the web.

"It's a modern 21st century version of keeping the MP or whoever in touch with their people."

Apparently, if #FAQMP's success is any indication, the people would also like to be in touch with their member of Parliament.



# CAFP rewards Alberta teacher for bringing democracy to the classroom

Getting kids engaged while they are still a grammar school will instill a sense of community responsibility that will pay off in later years, believes Alberta teacher Samantha Livingstone.

By Catherine Cross

In April 2012, grade 6 teacher, Samantha Livingstone, ran a student vote week to help her students understand the importance of their role in Canada's democracy.

She submitted a blog post about her work to Canada's Democracy Week's National Youth Democracy Challenge and won a two-day civic education trip to Ottawa, donated by the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.

Her blog post answered the question "What are you doing for your democracy?" Samantha stumbled across the contest while looking for resources for her class.

"On a whim, I decided to enter," she said.

Livingstone, 30, teaches social studies and language at Dr. K. A. Clark Elementary School in Fort McMurray, Alta.

"As an educator I have the responsibility to ensure students understand the value and importance of their opinion on every level," she wrote in the winning blog post.

Livingstone took advantage of Alberta's provincial election to show students the power of an educated voter participating in Canadian democracy. She did this by bringing candidates from three different parties to her classroom. The candidates spoke about their parties' platforms, why they wanted to be elected, and why it is important that citizens vote.

The students not only took what they learned to heart; they took it home.

"I had the parents of students calling to see what we were talking about in class because their children had been bothering them to make a decision and go and vote," she wrote in her 2012 blog post.

"The voter turnout in Fort McMurray



*Teacher Samantha Livingstone meets with Alberta Senator Claudette Tardif on her visit to Ottawa. Photo courtesy of Samantha Livingstone.*

was up this year, and my students believe they had an impact on that; that their learning in school and communication with their parents about it helped them get out to vote."

Livingstone also brought in city councillors and a school board trustee to discuss how democracy works throughout their tiers of government.

Her students watched the provincial party leaders debate, followed Twitter activity, and researched the candidates. At the end of the week came Student Vote Day, where students from Livingstone's class ran model polling stations in their school.

Livingstone's prize for her dedicated work was a two-day trip to Ottawa for a whirlwind tour of the centre of Cana-

dian democracy. She toured Parliament Hill, visited Rideau Hall, and sat in on Question Period. She met with Alberta Senator Claudette Tardif, who was also a teacher, and Fort McMurray-Athabasca MP Brian Jean.

"I also met with people in the Parliamentary Library who showed me some resources I can use in my class," said Livingstone.

"I am making sure that students, who will be voting in the future, understand the importance of being a part of the process. I am giving representatives the chance to showcase what they do for the public," she wrote. "I am promoting democracy to the students of my community who will be future voters, candidates, and supporters of parties."



# Cleaning up the balloons

## The departure of the delegated convention

Story by Harrison Lowman, photos by Shane Mackenzie



*At the recent Ontario Liberal leadership delegated convention, Kathleen Wynne gives the crowd her pitch.*

At a growing rate, the traditional process is being exchanged for a one-member-one-vote system (OMOV); a system that supporters tout as being more democratic – a transparent evolution.

The shouts and whistles that concluded this year's Ontario Liberal leadership convention may have been the swan song for the delegated voting system in Canada. At a growing rate, the traditional process is being exchanged for a one-member-one-vote system (OMOV); a system that supporters tout as being more democratic – a transparent evolution. Former politicians, pundits, and scholars mark the occasion with both good riddance and tears.

### **The argument for OMOV**

"I guess [it's] just the sense that it's not really open," says Liberal party member and commentator Matt Guerin. "And there's more value in opening it up and being seen by the public to be democratic and hopefully include more people from the public into the process."

Delegated conventions consist of elections within the party's local rid-

ing associations. Rules vary between parties, but generally, delegates are selected to represent their riding, along with party club delegates, ex-officio delegates (current and former politicians, members of the executive council and others) who then attend a central convention.

At the convention, delegates participate in multiple rounds of voting. Following each ballot, the leadership hopeful with the lowest number of votes is eliminated, until one candidate receives more than 50 per cent of the entire vote. During this process, the allegiance of delegates often shifts.

The OMOV system exposes the process to a much larger electorate. Every party member receives a single vote in deciding the next leader.

Quebec's Parti Quebecois held the first OMOV leadership selection in Canada in 1985. More recently,

the federal NDP and Liberals have adopted the process. The Liberal Party of Canada also includes their "supporter" category in the electorate; allowing those who are above 18 and not members of another party to participate.

Commentators opposed to the delegate system describe a process that is far too insulated. According to Guerin, the delegated system is manipulated by a small group of elites completing backroom deals.

Guerin is not alone. Former Progressive Conservative MP Douglas Fee harbours similar sentiments describing a high-cost system that silences the voices of Canada's spectrum of political supporters.

According to Gerard Kennedy, during his run for federal Liberal leader in 2006, the party received a profit of about 50 per cent during the delegated convention.





*The supporters of Wynne proved to be the deciding factor.*

"For a political party to be successful you need to build strong solidarity among the people who want to work hard for that party and believe in that party" Political science professor, Henry Jacek.

"What it really meant is that it overcharged people," says Kennedy during a phone interview. "And so a lot of people couldn't afford to go there because the party erroneously decided to make money off that."

According to the *Toronto Star*, delegates at the most recent Ontario Liberal leadership convention paid between \$299 and \$599 to attend.

"It doesn't force them to reach out to people. It forces them to get hold of the elite of the party in each of the regions," says Doug Fee. "This is a huge country. It's very costly to get from one area to another. And at a national convention you're sort of restricted as to who can come and vote in the leadership review."

Doug says allowing people to vote from home through OMOV opens doors for those who would like to make a positive commitment, but could once not afford to do so. During the NDP's

OMOV convention last March, *The Canadian Press* noted that approximately 10,000 New Democrats voted electronically. Fifty-six thousand voted before the convention. Sixty-five thousand voted in total.

#### **The argument for delegates**

Others are concerned OMOV opens convention doors to flash members, those who have limited commitment to the party, who have merely come to vote for a specific candidate. They describe delegated conventions as a time where those who were knowledgeable and devoted to the party could meet face-to-face and build on commitment, making an informed leadership choice.

"For a political party to be successful I think you need to build strong solidarity among the people who want to work hard for that party and believe in that party," says McMaster University political science professor

Henry Jacek. "And a delegated convention helps to build that solidarity."

"Do you think direct democracy is more important, or do you want a party where personal bonds are created and emotions and loyalties are created, that gives energy to the party organization?" Jacek says.

Freelance blogger and NDP party activist Steven Lee voices similar concern for OMOV's one-stop voters, who he says forces truly entrenched party members to take a back seat during leadership selection.

"It disempowers local riding associations, where party members can have the greatest impact," describes Lee. "As one voter among 50,000 or 100,000 at a leadership race, you have very little sway."

According to Lee, OMOV can be seen as giving the cold shoulder to grassroots activists who have put their time in, forming the bedrock of



“Throwing your support behind your winning colleague once meant the start of a political alliance and or a cabinet post.”

-NDP activist Steven Lee

candidate selection, fundraising, local support, and campaigns.

Instead, he says the direct democracy system lends itself to American-style leader-centric government, one that draws the ability to challenge the leader away from local supporters.

#### OMOV too American

“One member, one vote doesn’t match our system. We don’t directly elect our leaders,” says Lee. “One member one vote does directly elect our leaders. We select representatives to form majority governments or form governments. And delegated conventions do that.”

Within this unfriendly environment, Lee describes the loss of ballot voting that bred coalitions between candidates. Throwing your support behind your winning colleague once meant the start of a political alliance and or a cabinet post.

Following the 2006 federal Liberal leadership convention, winning candidate Stéphane Dion made Gerard Kennedy one of his special advisors and later, Intergovernmental Affairs critic. Kennedy’s endorsement during the convention was instrumental to Dion’s victory.

Under OMOV: “It’s entirely possible in a one member one vote system to ignore the other candidates, to simply work on turning out your vote,” says Lee. In a delegated convention you have to build support.”

Whether the emotions on the floor are sweet or sour, former politicians, academics, and scholars agree the delegated convention model lent itself to exciting and unpredictable showcases featuring numerous ballots and candidates crossing the floor deep into the night.

During January’s Ontario Liberal leadership convention, Kathleen



Wynne hospitality suite invitation.

Wynne’s Ottawa regional organizer Shane Mackenzie attended the event as an ex-officio delegate. He describes a day that started with collegial exchanges between camps, and morphed into passionate outbursts.

“Sousa’s people, they started coming in towards the registration room. And they all had drums and they were banging on these bongo drums as loud as they could, making them sound like war drums,” says Mackenzie. “And they did that, I swear, for 45 minutes straight. Part of them had to lose their voice.”

According to Mackenzie, while OMOV is instating a more democratic process, it will come at the loss of moments such as these.

“It’s not going to bring the same level of sort of historic storytelling; it’s not going to write you a narrative,” he says. “There’s sort of like a lore, a history around it all that’s so exciting for political nerds.”

#### Hybrids not yet successful

What remains is a OMOV process that attempts to cling to tenets of the delegated structure that offered a progression and climax. During this year’s federal Liberal leadership race, participants were invited to attend a National Showcase/mini-convention featuring final speeches by candidates, held a week before final results.

Lee describes the federal NDP’s most recent leadership convention as an event devoid of suspense. He says votes were separated into bal-

“People over time are going to find that direct democracy does not produce as good a quality of leader as a delegated convention.”

-Professor Henry Jacek.

lots, even though much of the result was known in advance and could have been processed by a computer in minutes. Candidate speeches took place after the majority of votes had been cast.

“We’re left with the show from our delegated convention past,” says Lee. “Which is just not as exciting because there is no actual drama.”

However, Doug Fee adds that the media frenzy created by delegated conventions has the ability to cause participants to vote for the wrong reasons. He mentions the PC’s selection of Kim Campbell in 1993, describing a situation where delegates were swayed by the media’s choice, instead of sticking with their decision to vote for Jean Charest.

“And that’s one of the things that’s wrong with the national convention. The hoop-dee-la can be pulled along with that.”

#### The debate rages on

Whether the sun has set completely on delegated conventions is still up for debate. Jacek says he predicts a return of the delegated system, caused by the repeated selection of subpar political leaders.

“People over time are going to find that direct democracy does not produce as good a quality of leader as a delegated convention,” says the professor. “And I think parties will probably start to realize that.”

Lee is more confident the last nail is through the coffin. He says that buzzwords have guaranteed one member one vote’s future.

“My guess is that one member one vote is here to stay because the sound byte is, ‘More people get to vote, it’s more democratic.’”



# Parliament's cat sanctuary loses its ninth life

The worst  
has happened:  
the cherished cats  
of Parliament Hill  
are gone.

By Caresse Ley



*René Chartrand with his feline tenants. Photo by Brian Caines.*

So maybe it's not as bad as, say, nuclear war, but it's up there, right? As former parliamentarians, you have probably seen, visited or fed the cats of Parliament Hill. But on your next visit to Parliament you will no longer find Brian, Jean or Snowball there to greet you.

There are countless rumours about when and how the cats first made the Hill their home. Brian Caines, a volunteer at the cat sanctuary, said he thinks they migrated from a nearby dump that no longer exists. Another theory is they were the offspring of "mousers"—cats used in the early 1900s to catch mice in Parliament prior to the invention of chemical control methods. However the cats ended up on the Hill, there is no doubt they made Canada's Parliament stand out.

"I think it was the novelty of it, really. There's nowhere else in the world that I know of where you can go to the head of government and see cats. And it just seemed so in contrast to the Parliament Buildings," said Jackie Barlow, a volunteer who adopted cats from the sanctuary when it closed.

Barlow started visiting the sanctuary on her lunch hour. She works nearby as a proof reader for McMillan, an Ottawa marketing agency. She got to know both the cats and the other volunteers and said it became a great social outlet.

Over the years, the cat sanctuary gained international fame. It was the subject of several news features and three documentaries, one of which played around the globe, called "Working Animals."

"We used to be able to tell, early on, where the documentary was shown because we'd get a whole pile of people from Australia or a whole pile of people from Sweden [coming to see the cats]," said Caines, who helped care for the cats from the mid-1990s until January 2013, when the sanctuary closed. He took over as the primary caregiver in 2008, when René Chartrand retired from the duties, having looked after the cats for 20 years.

As unique as it was, the cat sanctuary was a lot of work, said Caines. He recalled digging the sanctuary out of snow several times over the years. Public Works cleared the pathways for the volunteers, but they still had to deal with

frozen water and hungry racoons stealing food.

Seven core volunteers ran the sanctuary and decided it was best to let it come to a natural end. Caines started having the cats spayed and neutered in the 1990s, and the population levelled off at about 20 cats in 2004. By 2012, only six cats remained, two of which had to be housed because of their age.

"I'm sad that it ended in a way and I'm sure the group is, because it was a lot of fun. But I don't think the cats were sad that they were adopted indoors," said Caines.

Some people have suggested the group re-introduce cats to the Hill, but Caines said dealing with the animal rights groups would be difficult. Instead, the volunteers nurture other wildlife — they feed Parliament's squirrels and chipmunks. But for the public, the cats were the *pièce de résistance*.

"You can still hear to this day people coming up here who obviously didn't realize it was closed and they're so disappointed," said Barlow.

The furry felines of Parliament Hill will be missed.



# Celebrating the 60th anniversary of The Korean War Armistice

By Caresse Ley



*Harry Marshall in his veterans' uniform. Photo courtesy of Harry Marshall.*

It was 1951, when Harry Marshall traded in his schoolbooks for a military uniform and a gun. He was just 17 years old and lied to join the army because his family needed the money. Work was scarce, and Marshall had trouble getting a job that paid more than a couple of dollars a week. The return of the WWII vets meant more job competition. So, Marshall did what he had to and joined the military.

"When I went to Korea I didn't know what it was," said Marshall, now 80. "I'd

never heard of it before."

After finishing his mandatory 12 months of service, Marshall signed up for more; he would be in active service for a total of 18 months. He didn't know he would end up there, but "it was an adventure." It wasn't all glorious, though.

"There were two or three times when I said to myself, 'what the hell am I doing here?'" said Marshall.

Marshall was a gunner in the 1st Regiment of the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. He spent the majority of his ser-

vice at an observation post. Most of the time he was holed up and on the lookout, getting a two or three-day break every week or so.

The return home had its own challenges.

"I was like a lot of guys. I never said anything for years and years," said Marshall. "When I came back from Korea I never let on I was a veteran. We didn't get recognized, so we just kind of stayed in the background."

Twenty thirteen marked the 60th anniversary of the armistice of the Korean War. Veterans are being acknowledged for their service to Canada and the world. Veterans Affairs Canada has declared 2013 the year of the Korean War Veteran and is offering a new certificate of recognition for those who served. The government has also made July 27th, the day the war ended, Korean War Veterans' Day. But Marshall said that while the veterans appreciate the recognition, it's too late – most of them have already died.

When WWI and WWII frame such a large portion of the narrative of modern Canadian history, it is important to remember those who fought in the lesser-known wars.

"It went so many years being named as a conflict. It really wasn't a conflict. I don't know where they got that in the first place. It lasted three years, a year less than what WWI lasted," said Marshall. "Our guys, some of them, made the ultimate sacrifice. If that isn't war then what is?"

## The Korean War in Context

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. The area had been arbitrarily divided along the 38th parallel to create two separate states. During WWII, Japan occupied Korea, but was forced out at the conclusion of the war. The Japanese were expelled by the Soviets in the north and the Americans in the south.



It lasted three years, a year less than what WWI lasted.  
 Our guys, some of them, made the ultimate sacrifice.  
 If that isn't war then what is?"

– Harry Marshall, Korean War Veteran

Ideological differences led the Soviets and Americans to divide Korea into the two separate nations that exist today. Communism flourished in the north, while Western democracy dominated the south.

The invasion by North Korea led to a United Nations-backed military response. Sixteen member countries sent soldiers to Korea. Canada sent 26,791 soldiers, 516 of whom died in battle, while another 1,200 or so were wounded and 33 were taken prisoner.

#### The Korean War Today

The effects of the Korean War still linger today. While 2013 marks the 60th anniversary of the armistice, it also marks the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations with South Korea. The relationship between Canada and South Korea remains strong.

"The Canada-South Korea two-way merchandise trade is robust, reaching nearly \$11.7 billion in 2011," according to a publication on bilateral relations by Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada.

On a more personal level, Marshall said he felt appreciated and welcomed by South Koreans each of the three times he has returned to the country.

"We go over there to revisit and there's nothing they can't do for you. They salute you. The little kids are on the street waving at you and bowing out because that's what they're taught," said Marshall.

He added that it has been incredible to see the country's infrastructure develop from the time he served in the war.

However, it's a very different story on the other side of the river that divides the Korean Peninsula. The most deleterious effect remains the strained relationship between Canada and North Korea. Threatening nuclear tests and aggressive behaviour on the part of North Korea "has led Canada to impose increasing restrictions on the relationship," de-



*Harry Marshall standing at the infamous 38th parallel. Photo courtesy of Harry Marshall.*

spite having established diplomatic ties in 2001, according to Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada.

The most pressing issue in North Korea remains its human rights situation. North Korea has been accused of not providing the necessities of life, such as food and water. To that end, Canada has contributed \$17.7 million in humanitarian assistance to the country since 2005.

Marshall saw evidence of an attempt to mask the poverty on his return trips to the region.

"Off to the left [of the hill I fought on], there's a dummy village over there. The houses are built up, the lights go on at night, and there's nobody living there. They're spread out along the border. They even have music over there sometimes," said Marshall.

The loss of soldiers aside, the Korean War is an important military event in the Canadian story.

"For the first time in history an international organization had intervened effectively with a multinational force to stem aggression," said media relations officer Simon Forsyth in an emailed statement from Veterans Affairs.

Marshall agreed that the collaboration is a significant point to remember.

"The most important thing was that they stopped Communism. North Korea never signed the peace, but the other 16 countries signed, but that stopped the war and that stopped Communism," he said.

The Korean War ended on July 27, 1953. Soldiers remained in Korea until 1957, helping establish the peace and transition out of war.

"All my guys, they're just proud that they served and that they could help the South Koreans out," said Marshall. "I'm a proud Canadian. I'm proud to have served in the Canadian Forces."





Dorothy Dobbie

# Saving the Senate

By Dorothy Dobbie

Why not gather together a dozen retired former senators who no longer have any vested interests but who understand the issues, the pitfalls of gaping holes in the rules and the realities of being a senator, to make recommendations for reform?

**T**he Senate and its composition has always been a hotly debated topic in Canada, and much of the debate when it was being created centred on whether or not it should be elected. It was not a new debate even then. Until Confederation, many of the existing colonies had upper chambers and some of them were elected. In fact, until 1867, all the upper chambers except in B.C. were elected. Most, it seemed, had not found it a positive experience. The reasons were predictable: elected senators all felt the full weight of their electoral responsibility and were not comfortable playing second fiddle to the legislatures.

One of the Fathers of Confederation, Liberal George Brown, who became a senator himself in 1873, said in speaking of elected upper chambers, "I have lived to see a vast majority of those who did the deed, wish it had not been done," while Sir John A. MacDonald, once a staunch supporter of an elected Senate, admitted that it hadn't worked out in Lower Canada as he had expected.

Given this, though, MacDonald said of the upper chamber, "It must be an independent House, having a free action of its own, for it is only valuable as being a regulating body, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch, but it will never set itself in opposition against the deliberate and understood wishes of the people." (Well, he might have been a bit over optimistic, there.)

Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), the famous British constitutional expert who ultimately became editor-in-chief of the *Economist*, said of the British parliamentary system that "if we had an ideal House of Commons . . . it is certain we should not need a higher Chamber".

It was his view, and that of many other experts, that the bicameral system provides a mechanism whereby the majority will have a needed check to pro-

tect the interests of the minority.

## **The Senate has a definite role to play**

In more modern times, the 1980 Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs identified the role of the Senate as being to revise legislation where required; to act in an investigative role; to represent the regions and to protect linguistic and other minorities.

The senate clearly has a role to play in the governance of Canada. I would add a fifth role, which is to check the absolute powers of the government in power. Even when only delaying certain actions its powers give pause for critical second thought.

## **What about abolition?**

There will be readers who keep track of such things that will remind me that back in the 1990s I wrote a column in the *Winnipeg Free Press* speaking about abolishing the Senate. No doubt, those record keepers will overlook that this was said in the context of abolition being a better course of action than the Triple E proposal (now largely dead, anyway) and only as long as the Senate was replaced it with a true Council of the Federation, where the members would be appointed by provincial premiers from among their MLAs as ministers to the Council.

In 2003, then premier of Quebec, Jean Charest, proposed and helped institute a form of this proposal with his Council of the Federation, but it is made up of premiers and territorial leaders. It has no real legislative or other powers. Instead it is only a consultative body that meets twice a year to provide a united provincial front against the federal government. Its issues are generally parochial and not national in scope. In the United States, there is a similar body, called the National Governors Association.

Since 1950, various prime ministers have also called their provincial and territorial counterparts together for First

Ministers' conferences. Occasionally, the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations has been invited to attend when issues affecting them are under consideration.

All of these opportunities to meet and act collaboratively are enhancements to our democracy but they do not replace the everyday, hard, slogging work done by the majority of senators. We do need their second thought, their investigation of weighty issues of the day, their voice to protect the minority viewpoint – and the check on the powers of the Government.

As I write this, the federal government is making its submission to the Supreme Court of Canada on a number of questions designed to find a way to take unilateral action in reforming the Senate. It is doubtful that they will like the answers they get several months from now when the Court publishes its judgment.

## **A little self reform**

Nevertheless, during the intervening months, it would behoove the Senate to make some efforts at self reform. One way to accomplish this would be to gather together a dozen retired former senators who no longer have any vested interests but who understand the issues, the pitfalls of gaping holes in the rules and the realities of being a senator, to make recommendations for reform. Many of these honourable ladies and gentlemen, members of this Association, still take a vital interest in Parliament and have a deep understanding of how it works and how it could work better.

They would be providing a valuable service for Canada and its venerable but vulnerable upper chamber and the entire institution of Parliament.

Dorothy Dobbie was a Progressive Conservative MP from 1988 to 1993. She co-chaired the Dobbie-Beaudoin Committee on the Renewal of Canada that led to the Charlottetown Accord.



# Hill security ramps up

by Caresse Ley

Andrea Ross remembers being able to walk into Parliament freely with her young children. Now even the babies are wanded.



*Police cars now guard what was once free access to the Hill.*

There was a time, not so long ago, when visitors to Parliament Hill might worry about whether the coins in their pocket would be enough to buy a souvenir from the gift shop on their way out. These days, they're likely more concerned the spare change might set off a metal detector alarm on the way in.

Prior to the September 11 attacks on the United States, Ottawa resident Andrea Ross remembers being able to walk into Parliament freely with her young children. But she says a trip to the Hill after that tragic day revealed much has changed.

"We went up and I was really surprised to see that you couldn't just go in," Ross remembers. "They had installed temporary scanners and barriers and things like that. We had to line up and put all the toys through the scanner and be wanded, and my little babies were wanded," she says, referring to hand-held metal detectors similar to the devices used at airports.

The hastily-arranged security measures set up after the 9/11 attacks haven't gone away. Visitors now walk through scanners, have their bags screened and are only allowed access to certain parts of the Hill. Additional measures are also in the works.

## New Security Measures

In 2010, Parliament established a Master Security Plan to envision the future of security on the Hill. In doing so, organizations responsible for security on the Hill ran simulations and determined how to coordinate their responses to emergencies. The need for increased vehicle screening

was identified from the development of the plan, says RCMP Cpl. Lucy Shorey. Security around vehicle access to the Hill was a major concern because, "they have the potential to create the largest impact on facilities and persons," she said.

A portion of the current construction on Parliament Hill is related to improving the vehicle screening system. This includes replacing cement block walls with more secure barriers and gates to control vehicle access.

Shorey says it's challenging for the RCMP to balance open access with Hill security, but that protocols are continually reviewed and updated to meet this need. Although she could not provide details for security reasons, Shorey explains the RCMP approaches security on the Hill from an intelligence-led position, meaning they aim to assess and manage risk.

There are plans to build a Security and Visitor Services Facility in the near future, emphasizing the growing focus on security on the Hill. Shorey says a more sophisticated video surveillance system is being installed outside the buildings of Parliament.

## Memories of Earlier Security

These changes and upgrades will result in a substantially different security and screening process than some former parliamentarians remember from their time on the Hill.

"There was only one check point in Centre Block and that was on the second floor just before you entered the public gallery to view proceedings," says Dorothy Dobbie, a former Progressive Conservative MP who served

from 1988 to 1993. "If memory serves me correctly, that was installed during my tenure thanks to some enthusiastic protesters who let their feelings be known by crowding into the gallery and showering us with unrolled toilet paper."

Dobbie and other former MPs recall that prior to 2001, access was much less restricted, with cars able to drive right up to the doors of Parliament.

"The Hill was a wide open place with hundreds of people coming and going freely in the springtime especially, when school kids were on the prowl at the nation's capital," Dobbie says. "Often there were protesters on the commons in front of the House, but that seemed normal and natural in a free society."

Former Progressive Conservative MP Paul Dick (1972-1993) notes that prior to concerns about security measures, constituents were able to walk into Parliament and meet with their representatives much more freely.

But anyone who thinks it was only some of the tragic events of the early 21st century that caused the Hill to take security seriously is probably waxing nostalgic.

"I once left my briefcase on the sidewalk outside the private members' door and this caused some consternation among the guards as it could have been a bomb I suppose," Dobbie remembers.

The safety of parliamentarians, staff and visitors has always been a primary concern – it is only the type and scope of security measures which have changed.



# Staying in touch

By Harrison Lowman and Will Stos

**The Hon. Vim Kochhar**  
(Conservative Senator, 2010-2011)

**Q. What was your path into government?**

I was called by the Prime Minister; I had known him for a little while. And they said I did a good job at the Museum of Human Rights so I got a call one day and I was ready to serve. I had no particular interest as such, except when you're asked by the Prime Minister to serve your country you have to say yes.

**Q. As an immigrant to Canada what was it like getting that call?**

I was the first Senator of Indian origins, so for my community of half a million people in Canada, it meant a lot. It was a great thing for my community even more than for me because when one person from a community succeeds, the whole community succeeds. It wasn't just me being recognized, it was my community that was being recognized, I just happened to be a symbol of it.

It is very overwhelming, it is unbelievable that this can happen in Canada or in any country which you adopt as your country. You know, I came from a middle class family, I didn't belong to the elite in India.

**Q. What was your most memorable time as a Senator?**

I would say having dinner with the Queen, meeting the Dali Lama. You get the opportunity to do so many things that you love.

**Q. How do you spend your days now?**

I may be a retired Senator but I'm still working close to 50 hours a week. Everyday I don't get paid for it; I don't even have an expense account. I am the chair and founder of the Canadian Foundation for Physically Disabled Persons. One of our events is here in Ottawa called "Rolling Rampage on the Hill", where we invite close to 2,500 kids from school and see the fastest wheelchair athletes go around the circle 18 times

in less than 20 minutes. They go more than 30 miles an hour.

We have raised over 30 million dollars in the last 30 years helping the community, people with physical disabilities. We also run a home for deaf blind. We have a training centre for deaf and blind people, where they learn how to live independently in a barrier-free environment.

**Q. What are you hoping to accomplish in the future?**

Continue the same thing. Keeping myself mentally busy which gives me good health; I exercise, I eat properly. I don't let too much vacancy in my mind.

**Douglas Fee**

(Progressive Conservative MP,  
1988-1993)

**Q. What inspired you to get into politics?**

Politics for me just started as a form of community service. I was raised in a little town called Killam in Alberta, but after I graduated from university and got married we moved to a place called Innisfail, another small town in Alberta.

First year I was in town I volunteered to serve in the local recreation board; we got upset about the "old boys" in council not doing things right. Got elected to town council and served a couple of terms. The mayor retired and I put my name in and got elected as mayor. I was then encouraged to serve on the provincial urban municipalities board. So I served a couple years on that and then was elected to president of the Alberta municipalities.

And then when the federal member Gordon Towers was thinking of stepping down, he just called me one day and said, "Would you be interested in running for the federal nomination?"

**Q. What issues were you exposed to at the local level that pushed you to get into politics and invoke change?**

There were too many people that would come up and say, "While we need a grant for that." That just irritated me to no end. As if a grant meant someone else is going to pay for it. It's still coming out of your pocket at the end of the day.

**Q. It looks like you were able climb almost every rung on the ladder of governance, how would you describe**

**that ascension?**

At the end of the day politics is still people and just working with them. I didn't train myself to become a politician, I liked people and I think that was probably the strength I brought to it. I did really well locally because of that. And that's the only thing that got me elected here, having a lot of friends.

I think all three levels have to work together. I do think there has to be better coordination and a better working relationship between all three. And I think that's one of our problems right now is that a lot of people don't understand what level of government is responsible for what. And politicians are all trying to get elected by saying whatever they can, and a lot of them aren't taking the time to educate people.

**Q. What did it feel like when you finally reached the federal level?**

When I first got elected it was an absolutely wonderful feeling. Representing a rural area, people always expected to see you at their anniversaries, their weddings and any special events. And having a whole bunch of small communities, I rode in parades every weekend all summer.

**Q. What do you consider to be your greatest accomplishment while sitting in Parliament?**

I had a private member's bill which I had introduced, which called for the reinstatement of the Victoria Cross. And when I started off, the Prime Minister's Office told me it would cause a lot of dissension within the country and suggest that I not do it. They felt that it would cause some ruckus in Quebec perhaps there would be a bit of a backlash.

But I didn't back down, I put it in the House. I ended up getting unanimous approval for it in Second Reading. And then it got referred to committee. I got called by the Prime Minister's Office and they said, "Ok you win. We'll make the request, we don't want to be embar-



*Douglas Fee*



*The Hon. Vim Kochhar*



rassed any further.” And they made the application and then gave me the privilege of going up to the Hall of Honour and unveiling the Canadian Victoria Cross. And I’ve used that as an example that if a private member wants to do something, he does have the opportunity to do it here.

**Q. What came next for you after politics?**

I worked for a bunch of cowboys when I left here; working for the Canadian Angus Association.

**Q. What is it like to come back and see old colleagues?**

While there’s a lot of nostalgia, there’s the “what ifs” and “Gosh, I wish I could have stayed longer.” But it’s just nice seeing these people and knowing there is life after politics and people can continue to do something.

**The Hon. Jean Bazin**  
(Progressive Conservative Senator, 1986-1989)

**Q. What have you been up to since leaving the Senate?**

I’ve been retired from the Senate for 22 or 23 years, so I’ve been up to quite a number of things, but basically I’ve been back to the practise of law. I am presently still a counsel to a law firm. I’m also president of the board of Investments Quebec. I’ve been there for five or six years and that occupies a lot of time. I also sit on a number of other boards.

**Q. What do you consider your most memorable moment from your time in parliament or a legacy you’ve left?**

I was very fortunate to be there during the negotiations for the first free trade agreement between Canada and the U.S. I was vice chair of the Foreign Affairs committee – the committee in government which was in place to interface with the negotiating team and also with the Americans from time to time. That was by far the highlight of my contribution. Being vice chair of the Foreign Affairs committee was full of challenges, but the Free Trade Agreement was the most important one.

**Q. We just passed the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Free Trade Agreement. How does it feel looking back at**

**something that has had such a profound effect on Canada?**

It’s absolutely fascinating to see how the idea of free trade has progressed in the world. Now you see it with the European Union as negotiating bloc. You see negotiations for free trade among the Pacific countries. And there are a number of other bilateral free trade agreements that Canada has signed since then. It is a policy that is progressing through the world because it is a good policy for those countries. So it’s fascinating to see the evolution in different countries.

**Q. You’ve served several terms as a member of the CAFB board and you’re attending the AGM. What would you say to some of your former colleagues who might not yet be involved in the organization but who might be thinking about becoming more active?**

All of our colleagues have been in Ottawa, on one side of the aisle or the other, working for the development of this great country. So from a personal point of view it’s very important. And there are all sorts of programs that are in place now that are beneficial to our members: election monitoring, democracy work, travels, pensions work, policy discussion, the possibility of meeting other parliamentarians. And we are progressing. The participation this year looks to be the highest in our history. I would recommend joining and become involved if they haven’t already.

**John Maloney**

(Liberal MP, 1993-2008)

**Q. What have you been up to since leaving the Hill?**

I’ve taken the retirement route. I’m a member of the local board of commerce and the museum board in my community. I also have five grandkids and I spend a lot of time with them. I have a friend who has a beautiful wood-working shop and we work together on little projects. But generally I’m just having an interesting retirement. I could have gone back to practising law but I’m at an age where a lot of my former colleagues are looking to get out of the business. I certainly miss the Hill. I was here for 15 years and I was nostalgic coming back here. I enjoyed the parliamentary life.

**Q. Is there a particular memory that stands out for you or a piece of**



*John Maloney*

**legislation you worked on that you’re especially proud of?**

Certainly one of my highlights was serving as the parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Justice Anne McLellan. She was a wonderful person to work with. I very

much enjoyed my time on the Justice committee. I was on it for approximately 10 years and our review of the Young Offenders Act was I thought a very worthwhile study which led to the Youth Criminal Justice Act. We did a study on prostitution and I was the chair of the sub-committee. That was a very interesting study but the report was not as strong as it might have been. Perhaps that’s a regret that I have, that we didn’t take a stronger position on that. It’s the little things that you remember too. Getting pardons for your constituents so that they can get a job. And that’s key. Helping folks on a day to day level; it gave you a good feeling when you could get a home run on a file and it made a huge difference in their lives. You’re really two people: there’s your parliamentary self, but I felt the biggest successes were at the constituency level.

**Q. Do you find your former constituents are still coming to you for help even after you’ve left the office, since you were a fixture locally for so long?**

Oh yes. You can’t go down the street without people stopping you. And many still think I’m the sitting Member of Parliament. When they come to you with a problem in one respect you want to say, ‘Maybe you should go see the current Member of Parliament;’ but it’s hard to say no. You know what to do, you know how to do it and you know who to talk to. So often if people come to me with little problems I’ll do what I can to assist them.

**Q. Are you happily retired or do you have any plans to make a comeback?**

I very much enjoyed this place, but yes, I am happily retired. I think my wife is also happy that I’m home and not here, and of course my grandkids. And that’s not a life I’d like to trade back.



*Jean Bazin*





*The Hon. John Reid.*

# The uncalculated cost of security

By John Reid

One of the surprises of the last few months has been the revelations about the activities of governments designed to protect us from ourselves. Edward Snowden, the employee of a U.S. defense contractor, stole a raft of digital documents which outlined the spying on everybody by the U.S. and its allies – including Canada.

We discovered, for example, that the phone messages of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, were routinely intercepted; those of the former Cardinal of Argentina, now the Pope, were intercepted; and the briefing notes of the United Nations Secretary General for a meeting with U.S. President Obama were also intercepted and read. The reach of these spy systems is now so great as to render the usual protection of information useless.

Wikileaks has provided revelations about the diplomatic activities of the U.S. government. While these have not had the impact on the general public that the NSA digital spying has had, nonetheless they have been quite noteworthy. In the case of the Snowden revelations, the UK Guardian newspaper has said that only about 1% of the total documentation has been published so far.

## **Governments push back**

The push-back by governments has been what was expected: “these leaks have destroyed our security, our enemies are happy, and our ability to protect ourselves has been significantly reduced”. On the other hand, governments were never going to tell their constituents that they were spying on them! The information that came out of these two leaks would never come out under Access to or Freedom of Information legislation; the definition of

National Security is such that security agencies do not have to give out the time of day if they do not want to. In effect, using available tools, citizens have little ability to see what governments are up to in these areas.

## **You have nothing to fear**

The other push-back by governments is that if you are not doing anything wrong, then you have nothing to fear. Unfortunately, that is not true. For example, there is guilt-by-association; the meta data collected (what the U.S. government called harmless!) actually provides a way to trace all of your contacts, all the phone numbers incoming and outgoing, all the places where calls come from, and all of the associations within associations. Your internet information is also available. Cell phones are especially easy to listen in on. In addition, governments can and do collect information from private, commercial connections, from all of social media, from the “loyalty” cards we fill, from our Visa and MasterCard files, from the government’s own extensive files, etc. Additionally, there is a very robust -commercial business buying and selling consumer and other information. Your information is not safe out there – about once a month there will be a story that some “hacker” has invaded some innocent company’s data base and downloaded all their information, some of which is yours. Identity theft is even easier in the US. If you try to get credit in a store there, they want all your information, including your social insurance number.

The legislation to deal with this new situation is either old or, worse, was passed in the panic following 9/11. Generally, that type of legislation in all countries followed the same pattern – it shrank human rights; it shrank one’s

control over governments and gave governments great, unspecified powers over what it determined were security issues. It provided some protection, it claimed, to balance the scales in the new “terrorist” environment but, to date, these measures have been woefully lacking. In Canada, we have little to brag about. Our laws basically followed the U.S. pattern, and we joined with the U.S. to create fortress North America. Now, our systems appear to be fully integrated with those of the US, but we no longer have much control over them, once the data has been passed to the U.S. systems.

## **The price tag is huge**

After the conclusion of the cold war, it appeared that we were obtaining more freedom and society appeared to be less controlled. We relaxed and took the “peace dividend”. We have now moved significantly back to government-by-fear, which only strengthens the security forces. The cost in human rights, the cost in terms of our relationship with our governments, is high. There is a significant social cost incurred here.

There is also a very significant economic cost. No one knows the true cost of these surveillance systems; the information is hidden in government records. But we can be assured that the cost is massive. Having spent the money, there is no way of getting it back; having established the system, taking it apart will be very difficult.

To make room for these expenditures, governments cutbacks land on those least able to protect themselves. In the US, the current attack is on food stamps, the subsidy the Federal Government provides to the poor, many of whom work for Walmart, McDonald’s, etc., and who are paid significantly less than the poverty line.

Generally, that type of legislation in all countries followed 9/11, fell into the same pattern – it shrank human rights; it shrank one’s control over governments and it gave governments great, unspecified powers over what it determined were security issues.

### The elephant in the room

No one wants to tackle where great expenditures are located – in the various U.S. security systems, the military, and the Border crossing systems. We hear talk that medicare is crowding out other programs, but the vast expenditures on security are crowding out medicare, as well as other programs. Of all government expenditures anywhere, these security systems receive the least examination by legislators. What is in place to supervise these systems appears to be woefully insufficient.

There is an emerging debate in the U.S. and Canada about these problems. The security establishment has begun to fight back with zeal; witness the harassment of the **Guardian** newspaper and its employees by the U.K. security system and the U.S. campaign against the WikiLeaks founder. In the U.K., newspapers do not have the constitutional protection that they have in the U.S. (although in Canada, our papers have the same protection as those in the U.S.).

Protection or not, there has to be a debate that deals with the reality of the threat (and, remember, there is *always* a threat) and what is reasonable to combat whatever the threat is at a given time. Right now, the cost to taxpayers is very high, the cost in terms of society is very high, we do not know what risks we face and we do not appear to have control over these systems.

This is a discussion that we really need to have, the sooner the better, lest Big Brother takes over before we know.

*John Reid was Liberal MP for Kenora-Rainy River 1965 to 1972 and 1979 to 1984. He is the former Information Commissioner of Canada.*



*We are learning ever more about the loss of our freedom in the name of security.*

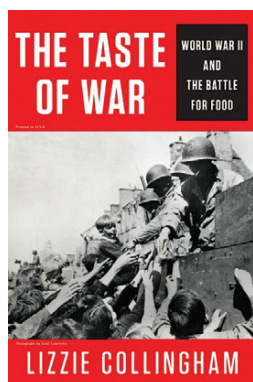


*We have joined with the U.S. to create fortress America. Not only that, but everyone has the right to access our personal information whether we want them to or not.*



*The focus on security erodes personal freedoms, but it is also very expensive, both in terms of money and in the loss of personal autonomy.*





## World War Two and the Canadian Food Guide

By Peter Adams

**The Taste of War: World War Two and the Battle for Food** by Lizzie Collingham. Penguin Press HC, Toronto, Canada, 656 pages. ISBN 1594203296

Food is a foundation of life and health. Every MP has to deal with food-related issues. Nowadays, these include topics such as agricultural policy, food science and quality control, tweaking the Canada Food Guide (government recommendations on healthy eating), malnutrition of children in Canada and overseas, and global trade in food and food aid for countries in crisis. We take it for granted that the Government of Canada should be involved in such things. Yet this was not always so. In fact, governments only began to be concerned about coherent food policy during WWII.

In that global industrialized war the main combatants were forced to focus their minds on feeding their troops, their farmers, industrial workers and the regular citizens who were the base of the war effort. The nations which were successful in feeding all these sectors of society were successful in war. Those who failed to do this, even in one sector, lost the war. *The Taste of War* is a stunning overview of the national food policies of the major nations involved in WWII.

The first section of the book deals with food as a cause of WWII, in Germany, Japan and even Italy. Germany's desire for land in eastern Europe, Japan's early war in China (especially Manchuria) and later expansion around the Pacific, and Italy's incursions into Africa were responses to underlying fears about food security.

The second section is "The Battle for Food"; better known as the Battle of the Atlantic! It begins with the efforts

to feed Britain during dramatic changes in food production in Britain itself, and through aid from the U.S.A. and the British Empire, including Canada. This massive effort produced great and lasting changes in the economies, especially agriculture, of all countries concerned. Some of these changes were positive but many were negative or even disastrous. The second half of this section is devoted to feeding Germany. The author writes of "exporting hunger". This is the removal of food from one region to feed another to the point where the people of the producing region could not feed themselves. In a remarkable number of cases, this produced advertent or inadvertent famine. The famine in Bengal (1943, over 1.5 million dead) was at least in part, the result of the efforts to feed Britain. The famine in the Ukraine and western Russia (millions of dead) was part of a policy for feeding Germany.

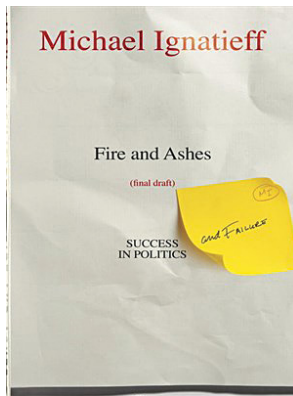
In the third section, we read of "The Politics of War". This is where the author deals with each nation's overall strategy for feeding armies, industrial workers, farmers and regular citizens. For example, she compares the rationing systems of Germany and Britain, both of which managed to keep their citizens and armies fed until the end of the war. After the war though, Germans starved and the British had to implement rationing for years following the conflict (bread was first rationed in Britain in 1946!). In WWII's hunger games, the U.S.A came out well ahead of all others, with Japan last. In the case of Japan, both their soldiers and their citizens starved. The author argues that the civilian and military food policies that lead to this were the underlying cause of Japan's catastrophic defeat. This section also deals with food quality and quantity, and the rise of nutritional science as a tool of government.

The last section of this book, "The Aftermath", deals with the consequences of wartime food policies. After the war, prior to international aid, Germany and Japan continued to go hungry while Britain maintained food rations. At this same time, the United States entered an era of industrial and agricultural prosperity. There is even a suggestion that by the end of the war, U.S. troops were eating too much!

World War II left the agricultural systems of many parts of the world irreversibly changed. In Canada, for example, the wartime mechanization of Prairie farming allowed the large-scale post war export of draft horses to recovering eastern Europe. An era of agriculture based on chemical fertilizers, pesticides and canned and processed food began. Tastes in food had been altered, with some who had depended on rice, eating bread, while others who had eaten bread enjoying rice, noodles and pizza. Food policies began to be driven by the consumer as well as by governments. The food science that developed during the war became institutionalized in most nations. Coca Cola became entrenched as a global symbol of pleasure and plenty. Such things shape our way of life and are echoed in the House of Commons today.

I have not done justice to this absorbing book but I recommend it to anyone who can create a block of time in which to read it. It gave me a new perspective on WWII and on my work as an MP on *The Canada Food Guide* and other aspects of food policy. Although there is debate on particular food-related issues, today no one questions the Government of Canada's direct involvement in feeding the nation.

I am most grateful to George Hamilton for introducing me to this book.



## Confessions from a failed politician

By Harrison Lowman

**Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics** by Michael Ignatieff. Random House Canada, Toronto, Canada. 224 pages. ISBN 978-0345813268

In 183 pages, former Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff made himself more likable to me than in the entirety of his six-year career as a federal MP. In his political memoir *Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics*, the academic turned politician is able to make his case in an expansive medium that accentuates his talents, rather than in a hyperactive medium that constricts them – on the pages of a book rather than on the TV screen. In the process, he bears his political scars and explains how they were inflicted.

The former parliamentarian tracks his ascension through Grit ranks. In 2004, he was whisked away by three mysterious “men in black” who showed up on his Massachusetts’ doorstep, initiating a breeding process intended to make him Canada’s next Liberal Prime Minister.

Much of the ex-politician’s drive to become an MP came from his family ancestry, which had deep roots in the Canadian political scene. Ignatieff notes, “...you want the things you want in life for the people who made you who you are.” His father, a civil servant, took notes during meetings led by Prime Minister Mackenzie King. Upon becoming leader of the Official Opposition, Ignatieff recalls how he felt on the move into the same office where his father had worked decades prior.

Ignatieff was exposed to politics at a young age, interacting Pierre Trudeau on a campaign plane as a Liberal national youth organizer. He then took a thirty-four year hiatus from the political fray,

working as an academic, journalist, and commentator.

In 2005, Ignatieff took an airport limousine to his nomination meeting for the riding of Etobicoke-Lakeshore. No sooner had he won his nomination, than he was ushered into meetings with his election team. Eight weeks after winning his first election as a Canadian MP, he announced his candidacy for the leadership of the Liberal Party.

According to Ignatieff, grumblings about him being a “parachute candidate” were not just spoken among the opposition rank and file, but also amongst his own party. The former parliamentarian does not mince words in describing the disapproval of former Liberal MP and friend Bob Rae, who upon hearing that Ignatieff was entering Canadian politics declared that he “...hadn’t earned the right”. This then escalated into Rae denying him support during the 2006 Liberal leadership race in which he describes how Rae’s brother sheltered his delegates from Ignatieff’s approach, “...with the ferocity of an animal defending a lair.”

Still, he won the leadership and two years later he was thrust into a federal election. Interestingly enough, Ignatieff writes that he felt ready for the fight. He notes that those thirty-five days on the campaign trail were the happiest days of his political life, in which, “...I felt in full command of my message, my troops and my destiny.” He loved the rush of adrenaline he would receive before weaving through his supporters to give speeches at daily rallies.

However, he says he did not account for the fact that these supporters were a stagnant mass simply rousting themselves. Ignatieff describes the Liberal Party as “an echo chamber”. While the

Conservatives had made use of widespread attack ads and attempted to engage with new groups, the Liberals were left running on the spot.

While Ignatieff bemoans the use of sound bytes over content, he does acknowledge that the attack ads used against him were effective because they contained a kernel of truth. If readers look more closely at the “Just Visiting” spots, they soon realize that while they may be theatrical and unfair, many of the Conservatives’ assertions came true. The Tories asserted that Ignatieff would eventually return to Harvard if he was not elected. In January of 2013, Ignatieff returned to the Harvard Kennedy School of Government with a half-time post.

While a known unhappy ending overrides the narrative throughout, it’s hard not to root for Ignatieff as you read *Fire and Ashes*. Using lofty prose and the remarks of ancient political theorists, the former politician casts himself as a righteous candidate attempting to navigate through a churning sea of partisanship, personal critiques, and scare tactics.

While readers must acknowledge they are receiving political advice from a failed politician, they will appreciate the respect and optimism Ignatieff has for the electorate and the MPs that serve them. They will also appreciate the immense thanks he has for those who made his own political journey possible; the book is brimming with praise for politicians, speechwriters, number crunchers, bus drivers, and sign raisers.

Ignatieff concludes with the hope that his words will act to educate younger generations who will pick up the gauntlet later in life, succeeding where he did not.



# Our tribute to those who have passed on

By Will Stos and Harrison Lowman



*John Leroy Skoberg*



*Joseph Gaston Isabelle*



*The Hon. Fred Mifflin*



*Murray Cardiff*



*Paul Mercier*

## John Leroy Skoberg

Known for passionate and persistent work on social issues, former NDP MP John Skoberg passed away at the age of 86 on August 12, 2012.

Born in Loughheed, Alberta, John began working for CP Rail at 18. After a few years as a foreman in Hardisty, Alberta, he became a locomotive engineer in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan in 1950.

An active trade unionist involved in many labour associations, he joined the New Democratic Party and won two terms on the city council beginning in 1965. Winning the federal riding of Moose Jaw in 1968, John served as party critic for Communications, Transport and Labour during his term in office. Defeated in 1972 and 1974, John switched to provincial politics and represented Moose Jaw North for the NDP from 1975 to 1982. He also returned to Moose Jaw city council for three years during this period, serving in both positions simultaneously.

Upon his retirement in 1986, John moved to Peachland, British Columbia before settling in Cranbrook since 2000. In addition to spending time with his family he enjoyed curling, golfing, playing ball and walking his dogs.

Former Premier Lorne Calvert, who described John as, “a great defender of the rights of working people,” also credited him with his decision to enter politics.

Calvert said John was, “always a tenacious fighter for the things in which he believed, and tenacious in his love for Moose Jaw and the community.”

He is survived by his wife of 63 years,

Margaret, his three children Dana, Diane, Vicki, six grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

## Joseph Gaston Isabelle

Gaston Isabelle, a man whose campaign to build federal infrastructure in Hull left a permanent mark on his community, died at the age of 92 on June 3.

Born in the city in 1920, Gaston studied at the University of Ottawa and the Université de Montréal. Beginning in 1948 he practised as a family doctor in the Outaouais region for more than 50 years, making more than 6,000 deliveries and also briefly serving as Pierre Elliot Trudeau’s personal physician.

Entering politics in 1961, he served as mayor of Lucerne for four years before moving to on to Parliament as a Liberal MP for Gatineau in 1965. Switching to the riding of Hull in 1968, Gaston remained in the House of Commons for 23 consecutive years before retiring in 1988.

While in Parliament he served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Minister of National Health and Welfare in the early 1970s, and Official Opposition critic for Veteran Affairs from 1984-1988. He also sat with many committees and had a lengthy tenure as Chair of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs.

Remembered by friends as unpretentious, dedicated, charismatic, jovial and generous, Gaston is also considered to be one of Hull’s great champions in terms of federal infrastructure and a determined promoter of a monorail link with the city and Ottawa.

Marcel D’Amour, former mayor of Hull, commended Gaston as someone who always enthusiastically sought to co-operate.

Predeceased by his first wife, Madeleine Sarra-Bournet who he married in 1946, Gaston is survived by his spouse, Denise Dagenais, his sons Claude, Pierre, and Michel, his grandchildren Patrick, Pascale, Anik, Patrick, Brian, Annie, Alexandra, and Cédric, and also by his great-grandchildren.

## Hon. Fred Mifflin

Described as a man of sound judgment who happily gave most of his life to serving his country in uniform and then Parliament, the Hon. Fred Mifflin passed away on October 5 at the age of 75.

Born in Bonavista, Newfoundland in 1938, Fred had a distinguished 32-year career in the navy, eventually achieving the rank of Rear Admiral. From 1985 to 1987 he acted as the Deputy Commander of the Royal Canadian Navy.

Upon his retirement, he ran for the Liberals in the riding of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception in 1988. He held the riding until his departure in 2000.

While in Opposition, Fred served in several critic and associate critic positions, including Veterans Affairs, National Defence and Energy, Mine and Resources. Once in government, he took on numerous parliamentary secretary positions before being promoted to cabinet in 1996. He then served terms as Regional Minister for Newfoundland, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, Minister of Veterans Affairs and Secretary of State for the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency.

Upon leaving the halls of government, Fred was an active member in CAFP, as a director and as treasurer.

In 2011, Fred was awarded the Robert Hendy Award for his national and international contribution to Maritime Affairs. In 2012 he was presented with the Order of St. George as a Knight Commander.

Current Bonavista—Gander—Grand Falls—Windsor MP Scott Simms remembered Fred as someone who was not overly partisan and served his country with great pride.

Former MP John Efford described Fred as a very serious person who was well-respected by both his colleagues and constituents.

Fred leaves his wife Gwenneth, daughters Cathy (Vaun) and Sarah (Willie), son Mark (Lisa) and grandchildren A.J., Riley, Eryn, Kathleen, Heather and Sam.

#### **Murray Cardiff**

Former Huron-Bruce MP Murray Cardiff, whose friends and political opponents alike praised as serving his community with great integrity, passed away on October 31 at the age of 79 at Listowel Memorial Hospital.

Born on his family's farm in Grey Township on June 10, 1934, Murray came from a long line of farmers. Growing up and working on his family's farm, he sustained a lengthy career in agriculture before moving to the political arena.

First elected in 1980, Murray became assistant finance critic for the Progressive Conservatives from 1983 to 1984. When his party moved to the government benches, he served as the vice-chair of the standing committees on Government Operations and Regional Development for two years before becoming parliamentary secretary to the Solicitor General in 1986.

A member of the Standing Committee on Agriculture since his election, in a 1989 shuffle, Murray was able to draw on this experience and his pre-political farming career after being named parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Agriculture. Keeping this role until 1993, he also spent two years as parliamentary secretary to the President of the Privy Council during this time.

Upon his defeat, Murray stayed active in his community as a charter member

of the Brussels Optimist Club. Shortly before his death he participated in the Huron Arts and Heritage Network project "Honouring the Elders," where he spoke about his family's long history as farmers dating back to the Canada Company days.

"Murray led by example. He was a great ambassador of rural Ontario and he always made sure people got what they needed," said Huron-Bruce MPP Lisa Thompson in an interview with a local newspaper. The MPP claimed Murray inspired her to enter politics.

Married to wife Betty for 55 years, Murray is survived by children Jeff, Cathy, Joan, Scott and Kendra and grandchildren Emily, Matthew, Blake and Tanner.

#### **Paul Mercier**

Former Bloc Québécois MP and Mayor of Blainville, Quebec Paul Mercier passed away at the age of 89 on August 7.

Paul was born in Brussels, Belgium on July 26, 1924. He would later serve as a volunteer in the Belgian Army from 1944 to 1945, where he fought with the Allies in WWII. He eventually immigrated to Quebec.

Before entering the world of politics, Paul was an executive, merchant, and professor by trade. In 1977 Paul was elected mayor of Blainville, Quebec, a position which he held until 1993. It was then that he decided to represent the interests of Quebecers at the national level.

Paul was elected in 1993 as the MP for Blainville—Deux-Montagnes, Quebec. In 1997, he was elected by constituents in the riding of Terrebonne-Blainville. During that election, Paul won with 50.36% of the vote. While in office, he served as critic in the portfolios of Veterans Affairs and Railway transportation. Paul left the federal scene in 2000.

"Ardent defender of sovereignty, Paul Mercier is one of the first Quebec MPs to the House of Commons, whose aim was to promote and defend the interests of Quebec without compromise," said Bloc leader Daniel Paillé upon hearing of Paul's passing.

Paul was husband to the late Mia Henriette Péters. He is survived by his children: Cécile (Michaël) and Pascal (Carole), her grandchildren: Dominique, Alexandra, Ayla, Jean-Luc and Sémi, and his great-grandchildren.

## Educational foundation promotes democracy at home and abroad



*Francis LeBlanc with Student Vote founder Taylor Gunn and Katie Riedel*

In October the CAFP President Francis LeBlanc met with Student Vote, an organization aimed at encouraging youth civic engagement by organizing parallel elections in schools during provincial and national elections.

The Educational Foundation of CAFP supports the group's tireless efforts to educate Canada's future generations about the importance of democracy.

Donations to the Foundation have made it possible for Association members to speak in classrooms and on university campuses across Canada and even in the United States. They have also helped the CAFP promote democracy in countries such as Iraq, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Haiti, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, Cambodia, Indonesia and many others.

The current president of the Educational Foundation, Francis LeBlanc, was a member of parliament for Cape Breton-Highland Canso, elected in 1988.

In 1997, Francis became Chief of Staff for the Hon. Pierre Pettigrew a post in which he continued until 2006.

He was elected President of the Education Foundation of CAFP in 2009. There are 13 members on the board of the Foundation.



# Jacob Deng: Son of South Sudan and Canada

by Catherine Cross



*Jacob Deng with children he's helped in South Sudan.*

Bill Casey ordered two eggs over easy and brown toast for breakfast at a downtown Ottawa hotel. We've met to chat about his friend Jacob Deng.

"I admire Jacob more than anybody," says the former MP for Cumberland — Colchester — Musquodoboit Valley in Nova Scotia. "Everything he does is for other people."

Deng was one of millions displaced by civil war in Sudan. He realized early in life the importance of education, and is working to transform children's futures in South Sudan through education. He has built half a school, and is raising money for the rest "a loonie or a toonie at a time," Casey says.

Deng was born in Duk Padiet, a village in what is now South Sudan. In 1989, when Deng was seven years old, raiders destroyed his village. As far as he knew, they killed everyone in his family, although years later he would be reunited with a sister. With thousands of other boys, Jacob travelled for four months to a refugee camp in Ethiopia. In 1991, turmoil in that country

sent them to another camp in Kenya.

Deng bought and sold goats to help pay for boarding school. Aid from UNICEF and other non-governmental organizations kept him in school. He learned English, and began to work as a translator. He met a Canadian diplomat who helped him come to Canada as a refugee in 2003.

"The value of education to Jacob was to release him from the refugee camp. If he hadn't educated himself, if he didn't learn another language, he'd still be in the refugee camps," says Casey.

Once in Nova Scotia, Acadia University and St. Mary's University, each donated two years of education to Deng. He graduated with a degree in commerce.

"I talked to the president of St. Mary's about (Deng), and he said, 'I just don't know how we got so involved with him. We just got talking to him and pretty soon we were providing him tuition! And books! And everything! I just don't know how it happened!'" says Casey. "But it happens with Jacob. The minute you talk

to him, you recognize that this man is a special person."

After Deng graduated, the government of Nova Scotia arranged to have him work in each of its departments for four months.

"It was a contribution by the government of Nova Scotia to help him understand how the government works so he could take that back to South Sudan eventually," says Casey.

During his time cycling through government departments, Deng met Bill Casey, who was working in the Department of Intergovernmental Affairs.

"Right off the bat, we found some common interests in Africa and in education, and so we kept talking and he told me about his project and pretty soon I was on board."

Deng's project, Wadeng Wings of Hope, began in 2005, only two years after he came to Canada. Deng wants to use his knowledge to provide those living in the village of his birth with education and brighter futures, with "wings of hope" to lift them from a

history of poverty and violence.

The charity's current focus is Duk Padiet, but Deng hopes to expand over time to help those in other parts of South Sudan. Education is the primary drive, but through education Wadeng Wings of Hope seeks to create civic participation and build peace in the region.

Deng is building a school in Duk Padiet. Right now, the building has walls, a roof, and washrooms, but it needs to be finished and equipped. Deng himself has done much of the work, digging the foundation and making concrete blocks. The school will teach children for the first half of the day, and adults for the second.

A lack of education is one of the many challenges facing fledgling South Sudan. On the eve of its birth as an independent state in July 2011, UNESCO released a report that outlined the dismal state of education in the area.

South Sudan has the lowest rate of secondary school enrolment in the world — only four per cent of students. On average, there are 100 students to every teacher. In Jonglei, this ratio is 200-to-one. There is, on average, only one English or math textbook for every four students.

The gender disparities in education in South Sudan are more alarming still. One in 10 students in South Sudan will finish their primary education, but only one in 20 girls will. A young girl in Sudan is three times more likely to die in childbirth than to finish grade 8. Only 12% of teachers are female, further reinforcing the gender disparity. Overall, only 8% of women in South Sudan are literate.

The report also states that humanitarian aid in the area is under-financed, weakly coordinated, and lacking long-term financial commitment. All this drove Deng to return.

"Jacob escaped into a completely dif-



*Jacob's charity helps build schools in South Sudan.*

ferent world because he had education," Casey says. "The rest of us take education for granted. We all just naturally go to school when it's time to school, and if we can we go to university or we go to trade school. Those children don't have any of that."

While the school is an ongoing project, Wadeng Wings of Hope has also provided hundred of goats, sewing machines, and a well to Duk Padiet.

Casey was an instant supporter of Deng's mission, and continues to help him raise money and make connections.

"My contribution is nothing," he says. "I don't know anybody who does as much for other people as Jacob. He never gives up."

Last year, Casey joined Deng in Ottawa to meet with Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau, Bob Rae, Elizabeth May, Julian Fantino, John Baird, and other politicians, as well as some Ottawa-based non-gov-

ernmental organizations.

"We had great response, but no money," says Casey. "But we're still talking to a lot of people and trying to raise money every way we can. We don't leave any stone unturned."

Casey is also funding a raffle to help support the school. He is hoping it can become a yearly event to assist with operating costs, once the institution is up and running.

Deng speaks at universities and high schools across Nova Scotia, and recently spoke at several Toronto-area universities. He shares his story, and students donate what they can.

"I don't know how he's going to do it, but I've seen him overcome things time and time again," says Casey. "I have faith that he is going to finish this, and I'm going to help him all I can."

Wadeng Wings of Hope is a registered Canadian charity. Donations can be made online or by cheque. Visit [wadeng.org](http://wadeng.org) for more information.





Geoff Scott

# To be or not to be . . . a trained seal

By Geoff Scott

I owed my five elections and 16 years in Parliament to the 84,000 souls in an area not normally warm and fuzzy to Conservatives.

**W**hat is more important to a Member of Parliament: being a ‘trained seal’ to party dictates, or getting applause from the folks back home?

Parliamentary democracies are not alone in grappling with this age-old debate about party discipline versus loyalty to one’s voters. Canada’s neighbouring Republic recently saw its Government shut down for a fortnight over basically the same issue.

It was during a recent CAFPP Parliament-to-Campus visit to the University of Windsor that two of us experienced our own instant debate in front of 200 political science students. Toward the end of the session, the Hon. Susan Whelan and I were asked by a quiet-spoken young lady, “Who do you owe your allegiance to as MPs – your voters or your leader?”

The former cabinet minister immediately replied that once you’re elected, and especially when cabinet solidarity kicks in, you are, of course, beholden to the Prime Minister (Jean Chretien, in her case) and the Liberal Party workers and the Party apparatus that got you into Parliament. Obeying Party discipline in legislation is paramount, Susan maintained. Ms. Whelan’s political DNA is impeccable; her late father, Hon. Gene Whelan, was Canada’s beloved Minister of Agriculture for years.

Still, even given her formidable background, I told our audience that

I couldn’t disagree more with my honourable colleague. As a backbencher and parliamentary secretary in the Brian Mulroney Government, I owed my five elections and 16 years in Parliament to the 84,000 souls in an area not normally warm and fuzzy to Conservatives. I would consult endlessly with my constituents. When it came to prickly issues in the House, be it Free Trade, gay rights, abortion – my voters’ views guided my conduct over the party’s almost every time.

## The Kids In The Hall

I believe it was the redoubtable Val Sears, Ottawa Bureau Chief for the Toronto Star, who coined the phrase “trained seals” back in the early ‘60’s. Mr. Sears was lampooning the unwieldy parliamentary majority of Conservative MPs under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker. Flash forward 50 years, and we again hear the “trained seals” reference by Edmonton-St. Albert backbench MP Brent Rathgeber. He quit Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s large majority caucus over the same “PMO-knows-best dictatorial attitude”.

Mr. Rathgeber’s grievance centred on “having to deal with some unelected 25-year-old kid” in the Prime Minister’s Office (“the boys in short pants” as embattled Sen. Mike Duffy dismissed them) telling Members what to do and what to think. Mr. Rathgeber epitomizes many inconspicuous backbenchers who become restive. Frustration

over their lack of power mounts to the point of resigning from caucus or crossing the floor. It can be a desperation move when the PMO’s iron discipline overrides what the Member intuitively knows through on-the-ground experiences at home.

## The Tea Party Debacle

That “home is where the votes are” sentiment – writ large – was what propelled the Tea Party wing of the Republicans into a nagging Congressional headache in Washington.

Enter another Albertan-turned-Texas-senator, Ted Cruz. He and some Tea Party colleagues masterminded the recent administration shutdown over Obamacare.

The crisis epitomized in the extreme the grass-roots-or-bust side of the debate. “I don’t work for the Senate. I don’t work for their establishment. I work for the 26-million Texans who sent me here,” trumpeted Senator Cruz. “Given the choice of being reviled by 99 Senators in Washington and appreciated at home by my fellow Texans or the other way around, I would choose the applause back home.”

My own credo, hopefully, isn’t so black-and-white. When in doubt about how to vote on sensitive, controversial issues, I tended to go with my gut – but tempered with a dose of some good old-fashioned political common sense.

I just wouldn’t shut down the Government over it.

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