



Beyond the Hill

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians • Autumn 2004



Annual General Meeting - Tim Lai reports on the events of the CAPP's Ottawa meeting..... pg 3

From the Chair's Desk - Doug Rowland addresses the Association's business pg 4

The Late Show - Two former parliamentarians debate minority governments pg 6

Interview - Will Stos talks with Information Commissioner John Reid pg 8

Interview - Tim Lai speaks to the CAPP's essay winner, Christine Pickering pg 9

Business - Issues surrounding a direct pay drug card are addressed pg 9

CAPP's Winning Essay - Read Christine Pickering's essay on democratic reform pg 10

Photo Essay - A look back at the AGM pg 12

Book Review - Two members review political books written by former parliamentarians pg 14

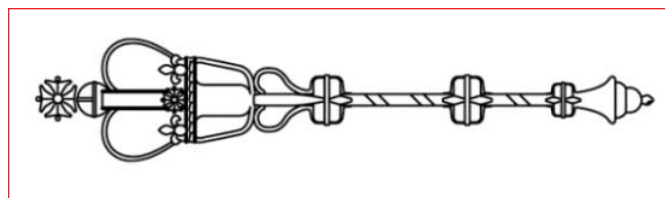
Way Beyond the Hill - David Daubney's justice work around the country and world pg 16

Westminster Exchange - University students visit our British cousins pg 17

History - Looking at minority governments throughout Canadian history pg 18

Political Passages - Remembering our departed colleagues pg 20

In Closing Mr. Speaker - Steve Mahoney argues there is a democratic deficit pg 22



Members' Statements

Thank you for your thoughtful initiatives. As to joining, you can count on my support.

The initiative to examine the nomination practices is most laudable and timely.

The current system is a veritable mess because it can be and is manipulated by those with the means to take over, regardless of other considerations....

Again, thank you for your active and productive role.

With kind regards,

Charles Caccia

P.S. "Beyond the Hill" is a great publication!

We are all extremely grateful for your kind invitation to attend the lovely memorial service in the Senate.

All the planned events were just perfect, beautifully arranged and as efficiently carried out.

Our sister, Margaret Anderson, would have been proud and happy for all of us to be present at these well-planned events.

Shirley (Anderson) Wilson

Just a tiny note to thank you and your staff most warmly for the invitation to attend the Memorial Service.

The event was so moving; I know that others - like me - who remembered a loved one were deeply touched.

Jeanne d'Arc Sharp

I just want to put into writing my thanks to you, the nominating committee and the CAPP executive for the great honour which was bestowed on me on the occasion of the Memorial Service and the presentation of the distinguished service award.

I shall never forget the surprise when you phoned me that night!

It was a great couple of days in Ottawa and Elizabeth and our three children appreciated being able to attend.

It was particularly fortunate that you were able to have the Governor General squeeze us in between her trips to Normandy and Washington!

The dinner in the Hall of Honour was great, as were the whole two days - and even the business meeting and panel of speakers.

Bruce Halliday

The annual gathering

Former parliamentarians meet in Ottawa from June 7-9



Left: Fred Mifflin and Bob Ringma pose for the camera during the AGM. Right: The Governor General took time out of her busy schedule to host former parliamentarians at Rideau Hall.

by **TIM LAI**

Familiar faces returned to their old stomping grounds to see friends and even former political foes as many gathered in Ottawa June 7-9 for the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians 2004 Annual General Meeting.

The festivities began the night of June 7, with a reception in the Commonwealth Room.

The next morning the sounds of horns and bagpipes filled the Senate chamber. Over 100 people gathered to pay their respects to friends, family and colleagues who passed away in the last year. The Hon. **Lucie Pépin**, Speaker Pro-Tempore of the Senate presented a wreath for the service. The solemn event was filled with captivating tributes and moments of silence in honour of those who have left us.

Following that touching ceremony, **Bruce Halliday**, a 19-year member of the Tory caucus, was awarded the sixth Distinguished Service Award.

In the early afternoon, the members got down to the business at hand – approving past minutes, future budgets and the new board

of directors of the association. Although many members acted as if they were back in the House or the Senate during bill readings, the business part of the Ottawa gathering was completed without a hitch.

Following lunch, **Joe Guerts**, Director and CEO of the Canadian War Museum, spoke to the members about the new improvements and construction now underway at the new facility's site. He detailed the changes, from specific architectural designs to how the grass on the roof will not need to be cut, to a fascinated audience.

After Mr. Guerts' presentation, the members sat to listen to an interesting, yet sometimes confusing, panel on mixed member proportional representation. **Bernard Colas**, Commissioner of the Law Commission of Canada, spoke about the benefits of the system, especially how it could work in the Canadian political context. Although many members were unsure about the mathematical specifics of the system, Mr. Colas insisted that such a process wouldn't leave many voters as alienated as they feel with the current first-past-

the-post system. **Graham Kelly**, High Commissioner of New Zealand, addressed the pros and cons of the system in his home country since it was introduced in 1996 after a 1993 referendum approved the process. During the question period, many members questioned the effectiveness of the system and some were quite critical or skeptical of it.

Rideau Hall was the final official destination for the members attending the AGM, and they received a warm welcome to the residence of Canada's Head of State the morning of June 9, from the Governor General herself. The Rt. Hon. **Adrienne Clarkson** had returned from D-Day events in France only the day before and was gracious enough to host the members. She reminded them about the important role they played in our democracy and how they can inspire future generations of Canadians to better the country. In addition, she took the time to speak personally with a number of members. A tour of the residence brought the event to a close and the members said goodbye to one another.

Until next year! □

From the chair's desk

A quarterly update on the activities, initiatives and correspondence of the association and its members

by DOUG ROWLAND



Newsletter - We are now moving into the second year of our Editorial Internship Agreement with Carleton University. Our new interns are **Will Stos** and **Tim Lai**. A third intern will be selected shortly. Biographical notes and photos of all three will be included in our Winter Edition. The new editorial interns are responsible for the photograph and layout of the front cover of this edition, our first in colour. My thanks to **Keith Penner**, Editor Emeritus, for all his work.

Linkages - The Honourable **Doug Frith** and I represented the Association at the Annual General Meeting of the United States Association of Former Members of Congress in Washington in April. The invitation from the Americans, now an event of long standing, provides an opportunity for an exchange of ideas and discussions of areas for cooperation. The President of the American Association, the Honourable **Larry Larocco** and then-Vice-President, now President, the Hon. **Jack Buechner** and their wives were gracious hosts to Doug and me.

In May, in response to an invitation extended by **Nuala Fennell**, President of the Irish association of former parliamentarians, **David Daubney** and I represented your



About 30 members and their spouses attended a regional meeting in Edmonton in May.

association at a colloque for European Associations of Former Parliamentarians held in Dublin in conjunction with the celebrations surrounding the admission of ten new member countries to the European Union. Both of us were highly impressed by the quality of the speakers selected for our formal sessions, with the resulting discussions, and with the warm hospitality that infused the social events.

We were privileged to have in attendance at our Annual General Meeting representatives from three sister Associations. His Excellency, **Graham Kelly**, New Zealand High Commissioner to Canada attended on behalf of his Association and participated on a panel on proportional representation. Mr. **Jean-Paul Champagne** and his wife represented Les Amicales du Québec. Mr. Champagne spoke briefly at the General Meeting outlining the nature of the Québec Association and its activities. Mr. **Art Cowie**, President of the British Columbia Association, was good enough to travel all that distance to lend his

presence and support.

We have recently received an enquiry from the Australian Association, also extended to the New Zealand Association, about our interest in participating in a tripartite meeting on Norfolk Island sometime during 2005. I have responded that in principle we would be eager to cooperate. I'll keep you informed.

Regional Meetings - In May, a regional meeting was held in Alberta. Our Alberta director, **Walter Van de Walle**, did a terrific job of organizing. About 30 members and their spouses were in attendance. Mr. Speaker, **Ken Kowalski**, of the Alberta Legislature, arranged for us to be seated in the gallery of the legislature and to be formally introduced to the House and, that evening, hosted a dinner on the site of the first meetings of the Alberta Legislative Assembly. His after-dinner remarks were a tour de force transforming normally dry statistics on demographics into real wit. Among other highlights was a tour of Edmonton's new City Hall where

we were well received by a number of councillors and were invited to attend a Committee Meeting of the city council where we were introduced by the Mayor, **Bill Smith**.

Under the leadership of **Maurice Harquail** we are working towards an Atlantic Regional Meeting in Fredericton on October 17, 18 and 19, 2004. Please think about reserving some time for this event especially if you reside in the Atlantic Region. The deadline to RSVP is Oct. 8, 2004.

AGM - We are working to have our next AGM in the same time frame (May/June 2005) as the opening of the new War Museum, with some of our events to be held in that facility. We are, further, giving consideration to using the occasion to recognize parliamentarians who have also served their country in its Armed Forces. We'll keep you informed as plans develop.

International Work - In an effort to give effect to the Association's stated mandate to foster and support democracy in Canada and abroad, letters of agreement have now been exchanged, or in the process of being negotiated, between your Association and the Parliamentary Centre, Ottawa; the Canadian Executive Services Organization, Toronto; CANADEM, Ottawa; and the National Democratic Institute, Washington,

DC. In addition, we have been working closely with those charged with giving form to Prime Minister Martin's concept of a Canada Corps. As a result of these efforts, within the last three months, we have received requests for assistance in providing resource people to work in Serbia, Cambodia, Ukraine, Afghanistan and Iraq. The opportunities in Afghanistan and Iraq were for long-term, full-time employment.

Notification of these opportunities was sent to all paid-up members of the association and to all of the MPs of the last Parliament. (If this is news to you and you are interested, please call the office.) As these initiatives are new, I hope you will bear with us as we labour to put in place a smoothly operating and equitable system to support them.

Pairing - I wish to thank the more than 60 of you who responded to our request for members willing to be paired with outgoing or incoming Members of Parliament following the recent federal elections. This is our first attempt at providing this kind of support to people dealing with the enormous changes in their life that entering or leaving Parliament can effect. At the time of writing, the uptake has been light but our office has received a number of expressions of appreciation from both incoming and outgo-

ing members for making this service available. We will continue to monitor the service and work towards additional and/or more effective support for the men and women representing Canadians in Parliament.

A bientôt!

□

Beyond the Hill

Editor Emeritus

Keith Penner

Editorial Interns

*Tim Lai
Will Stos*

Ex-Officio/Publisher

Douglas Rowland

Production Assistants

*Céline Fraser
Susan Simms*

Editorial Board

*Mr. Keith Penner
Mr. Geoff Scott
The. Hon. Betty Kennedy
The. Hon. Jim Fleming
Mr. Douglas Fisher
Mr. Douglas Rowland*

Contributors

*Herb Breau
Tyler Campbell
Jean-Paul Harney
Steven Mahoney
Christine Pickering
Bob Ringma*

Beyond the Hill welcomes letters to the editor, submissions and suggestions.

Houses of Parliament, P.O. Box
768, West Block Ottawa, ON,
Canada K1A 0A6

Phone: 1-888-567-4764

Fax: (613) 947-1764

Email: exparl@parl.gc.ca

Website: www.parl.gc.ca/ex-parl



David Daubney, Douglas Rowland and Nuala Fennel at a meeting of the Irish Association of Former Parliamentarians in May.

MPs get a strong voice

Minority governments prevent a top-down power structure

by JEAN-PAUL HARNEY



Minority governments in Canada are neither unusual nor bad. Within the past 50 years, governments of Canada were based on minorities in Parliament in 1957, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1972, 1979 and now, 2004. Seven times out of 16 is not exactly a rarity. Whether good or bad, such governments are inherent in our parliamentary/electoral system and we should settle down and make an honest companion out of them.

Not only are they not an oddity resulting from a malfunction, they are in the main more good than bad. Minority governments of the Diefenbaker-Pearson era not only produced valuable legislation, but they led to engrossing and valuable debates which were very formative of the nation we now live in.

The notorious flag debate is often held up as an example of the kind of tedious, lengthy, disruptive and divisive confrontation that minority governments seem to encourage. But the debate was necessary, not only because Canada needed a national emblem all of its own, but also because many Canadians and the Members of Parliament who represented them had very good and profound rea-

sons to want to hold on to the flag they held dear.

For them, it stood for the British connection, and let us admit it, Christian values (there are three crosses in the Union Jack, part of the Canadian red ensign). But it was time to move on, and with all the turmoil and travail we gave ourselves a new symbol. It is now an essential part of our national identity largely because everyone had his or her say about it.

In a minority situation the Member of Parliament enters into her or his own. The preponderant power that the present parliamentary/electoral system gives the

*Each Member's
vote is needed, and
therefore each
Member's opinion
counts.*

Prime Minister and all party leaders is reduced. Each Member's vote is needed, and therefore each Member's opinion counts.

John A. Macdonald's great speeches were often not designed to convince the opposition, but to solidify his supporters. Modern political parties are led from the top down, and their management, largely because of the laws governing funding, is highly centralized. Minorities enhance the role of the average Member, and as a result are more democratic.

Moreover, such governments, contrary to the opinion of many who ought to know better, are also

efficient. They gave us the groundbreaking Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Canada Pension Plan, Old Age Pensions, and the Canada Assistance Act, to mention but a few.

Perhaps no government was more effective and efficient than the minority of 1972-74, which brought us the establishment of Petro-Canada and the principles which led to the National Energy Policy, confirmed that capital punishment would no longer be a fact of Canadian life, led to accepting refugees as a major class of immigrants, took Old Age Pensions out of the electoral arena and prevented the folly of another Mirabel on the outskirts of Toronto.

Of course, not all will agree that these were all good things, but it has taken three decades to undo some of the work done by that Parliament.

I have avoided using the term "minority parliament" simply because there is no such thing. Parliament is always all the people. Here I have to concede that a minority government does not speak for all the people, not even for a majority of them. But then, how often does a majority government do so?

We must allow that minorities are unstable. They last about a year and a half, compared to the average four years for majorities. Under a system which allows for coalitions, governments would not necessarily be more stable, but Parliament would be.

And wouldn't that be a great thing? □

Jean-Paul Harney is a professor and former NDP MP. He represented Scarborough West from 1972-1974.

The Late Show: Minority governments

An expensive nuisance

Minority governments put a big strain on taxpayers

by KEITH PENNER



A minority in Parliament means that we have a government that is continually on an election footing. Getting ready to face the voters again usually results in a rash of boondoggle spending. Spending here and spending there on a host of dubious projects becomes the order of the day, all of this in a vain attempt to attract voters to the party in power. Meanwhile, average hard-working taxpayers must stand idly by, watching their dollars fly off in all directions.

Minority parliaments play havoc with the national budget. Generally, all of this pre-election largesse does little good for the country. The minority parliament of 1972-74 under Pierre Trudeau set us on the road to debt accumulation and upward-spiraling deficits. The country paid a high price for this irresponsibility and was soon on the verge of bankruptcy.

Canada, as a nation, stands in desperate need of far-reaching reform in a number of essential areas. Obviously, our health care system requires a thorough remake.

But another large infusion of cash into the system, is far from the solution, in and by itself.

Confusion and uncertainty hang over the role of our military. A revamped defence policy would be the first step towards making the many changes that are demanded.

Our political institutions are, in many respects, archaic and irrelevant. They have long ceased to serve and represent our country as they should.

A fresh and complete spending review ought to be a priority for the government. Tax dollars are finding too many places of comfort where the public good is poorly served.

Minorities are costly, they tend to avoid reform measures, and are reactionary...

Here, you will have your list and I have mine. Meanwhile, new and different initiatives that represent genuine need lie neglected and middle income Canadians cry out for tax relief.

Taking into consideration all of the above, the question is how could a minority parliament even begin to tackle these monumental tasks? To do so would be to court controversy, vigorous and contentious public debate and a maelstrom of media frenzy. This is a far cry from the sort

of atmosphere that would be favoured by a government with a minority in Parliament.

Thus, minority parliaments delay the push toward giving the nation a new and more meaningful direction. A minority government retards progress as it stagnates in a holding pattern, foolishly dispensing trinkets from on high while trying to remain airborne and find a safe place to land.

Of course, the electorate does not consciously choose to have a minority parliament. It happens at random. In the recent election, voters were lacking confidence in the old regime, but remained hesitant and uncertain about the alternatives. So now, the country must suffer for its indecisiveness.

Little can be done but to bear the pain and await a new and better day. The nine minority governments that Canada has seen have never lasted more than two years, limited by their ability to get bills passed.

In sum, minority parliaments are costly, they tend to avoid reform measures, are reactionary rather than progressive and fail to provide direction for the federation. In reality, these parliaments are little more than part of a prolonged pre-election period. All of this is not a healthy situation for the country. □

Keith Penner was a Liberal MP from 1968-88. He represented the constituency of Thunder Bay and later that of Cochrane-Superior in Northern Ontario.

Miss those legendary parliamentary debates? If you would like to debate a particular issue with a former colleague, contact us with your proposal. See the back page for details.

Mr. In The Know

Information Commissioner John Reid talks about the daily challenges his office faces to keep government transparent

by WILL STOS

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Hon. John Reid was a key player in creating legislation that aimed to make the Canadian government more transparent and accountable to the public.

During his tenure as Parliamentary Secretary to the President of the Privy Council, where he was credited with improving the flow of information to MPs, Mr. Reid joined fellow MP Jedd Baldwin in producing a report on information and privacy legislation in Scandinavian countries.

Now, more than 20 years after their report paved the way for the Access to Information Act, Mr. Reid finds himself in a unique position - as an officer of Parliament created by that very Act.

As Information Commissioner, Mr. Reid investigates and attempts to resolve complaints by the public, media and other non-governmental bodies that have been denied, delayed or overcharged access to information.

Nearing the end of what he hopes to be his first seven-year term as Information Commissioner, Mr. Reid says he has found the experience rewarding, but also frustrating.

Despite the Act's success in opening up the often opaque and secretive bureaucracy, Mr. Reid notes the government and bureaucrats "have still managed to find ingenious ways to wiggle and squirm to avoid full operation of the law."

Inflated fees, inadequate searches, delays, excessive censorship, destruction, alteration

and hiding of records, not creating records and bad management of information are just some of the ways the system is failing the public, he adds.

In the 2003-2004 fiscal year, 1,338 complaints were lodged, but the very nature of users of the system make a groundswell of popular opposition to its deficiencies unlikely.

"There's no such thing as user groups when it comes to this," he explains. "What we have is unfocused complaints. But there is no doubt the Act is 21 years old and in need of review."

Mr. Reid says he plans to use the rest of his term, and hopefully an additional one, to continue his efforts to reform the way the Canadian government manages the huge quantity of information it produces.

"What's missing is legislation that deals explicitly with the duty to keep good records," he explains. "Canada does not impose a general legal obligation on ministers of the Crown and their departments to create and maintain records that adequately document key organization activities, decisions, policies and transactions."

Mr. Reid cites a lack of minute-taking at morning meetings with ministers where decisions are often made as an example of poor information management. Civil servants and ministers might not intentionally hide this process from the public; without minutes, people tend to forget what was discussed over time.

Mr. Reid says he plans to meet with senior government officials, including colleagues from the Chief Information Officer Branch,



John Reid is serving his first term as Information Commissioner.

Library and Archives and Public Works, to discuss how they can fix this problem. He says strong leadership by Parliament is also necessary.

Nevertheless, Mr. Reid says he will continue to promote his cause in the coming months in the hopes that Parliament will see strong information management as a key issue in the elimination of the democratic deficit.

"Excessive secrecy is inexcusable in a democratic, information-dependent society that expects high levels of integrity, transparency and accountability from political leaders and public servants," he says. "If citizens cannot access or trust the information to which they have a right, democracy is in serious jeopardy." □

Being Christine Pickering

Third-year Western student enjoys essay writing and it paid off

by TIM LAI

"I was really, really in shock."

The University of Western Ontario's Christine Pickering had entered some essay competitions in her first year at the London school, but never thought she'd actually win one.

But Ms. Pickering was pleasantly surprised to hear that she had submitted the winning composition in the 2004 CAFP Education Foundation Essay Competition.

The Vancouver native and third-year international studies and film student decided to submit an essay after seeing "posters everywhere" around campus. This year's topic, a Canadian perspective on the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and Democratic Reform, sparked her interest.

"I did want to learn more, so I jumped into doing all the research," she says. "I said [to myself], 'Why not, what do I have



Pickering : "It sounds really nerdy, but I enjoy writing essays."

to lose? If I don't win, I just learned a little about something I didn't know much about."

Over a number of weekends, Ms. Pickering compiled research and slowly put the essay together. She says her first draft was

"ripped apart" by a professor, so she completed an extensive re-write before submitting it.

"Normally essays that short don't take that long but I wanted to make it perfect," she adds.

However, notifying Ms. Pickering of her win was less than perfect. Because she moved between semesters, the CAFP couldn't reach her until her old roommate passed on a message weeks after it was originally taken.

Ms. Pickering joined the other finalists, Sébastien Paquet-Poirier and Alison Rehner, in Ottawa during the Annual General Meeting to meet each other and members of the CAFP as part of the their prize.

She heads back to Western this fall, but will spend the winter semester abroad studying in Costa Rica. □

**To read Christine's essay,
turn to pg. 10**



Pay-direct drug card considered

In reponse to requests from other members and beneficiaries, CAFP member, John Campbell took it upon himself to explore the possibility of getting a pay-direct drug card under the Public Service Health Care Plan (PSHCP).

Recently, Adele Bervais, benefits analyst for the PSHCP Trust, responded to his inquiry in a letter to members.

Gervais notes that pay-direct drug cards have been looked at extensively by the trust's predecessor and acknowledged that "the implementation of such an approach warrants serious consideration."

When the trust assumed control

of the plan on April 1, 2000, part of the mandate was to explore this idea. But Gervais says any implementation of such a card cannot be considered lightly because there are significant financial and administrative implications involved.

The PSHCP covers nearly half a million members and more than one million beneficiaries in Canada and abroad, she explains.

Gervais says the trustees are reviewing the issue and will present a report to the parties of the Trust for their consideration leading up to the renewal of the agreement due on the terminate on March 31, 2005. □

Canada's role in the implementation of policy changes

University of Western Ontario's Christine Pickering's winning piece from the Educational Foundation's essay contest

The International Monetary Fund and the five institutions of the World Bank Group were established through the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. Over the last 60 years of their existence, they have sought economic co-operation, stability of the expanding global market and improvement in the living standards of the populations of each member nation. Despite these admirable goals, however, both the IMF and the World Bank have been under serious attack over the past few decades due to their inability to effectively accomplish their stated mandate and due to their contribution in the creation of problems that further weaken vulnerable nations. Although it is evident that reforms need to be implemented, these organizations, in general, have been slow to respond. The inefficiencies identified by politicians and protestors alike have not been thoroughly addressed. Canada is one of the most outspoken proponents of reform and is actively involved in the international effort to produce changes in the structure of the organizations in order that they better accomplish their goals. By examining

three of the problems associated with the IMF and the World Bank - ecological destruction, debt relief, and transparency - and Canada's impact on these institutions, perhaps, there can be a resolution to these problems.

One particularly relevant concern has been the poor environmental record of the two organizations. Development projects under the structural-adjustment program, including the building of infrastructures, the logging of increasingly scarce forested land, and the introduction of harmful chemical agents to be used for agriculture, are all financed and supported by the IMF and the World Bank. The funding of these ecologically detrimental ventures has led poorer countries to become increasingly reliant on aid from richer nations and destroyed the natural environment. It has also eradicated any means by which developing nations can effectively support themselves and become more economically autonomous. In this way, a culture of dependency is allowed to breed, and the dichotomy of the "First World" versus the "Third World" perpetuates. Canada, as one of the top con-

tributors to both the IMF and the World Bank fund, has "long been a vocal advocate of the need for the Bank to better integrate environmental considerations into its operations."¹ Suggestions made by Canada, as well as by other member nations, include the utilization of funding for renewable energy resources, such as solar and wind power, and the further inclusion of non-governmental organizations into meetings in order to receive input from experts concerned solely with current environmental issues. The Canadian government has recently begun to invite NGOs to departmental meetings in order to receive further consultation on specific issues affecting Canada. In providing a model for others to follow, Canada has aided the international community in applying pressure for environmental reform upon the two financial institutions. It will take this continuing pressure to effect much-needed changes in policies.

With ecological destruction comes the need for additional foreign investment. The IMF and World Bank together distribute billions of dollars in aid, but these



loans are not allotted without strings attached. There is often high interest on the loan or conditions stating exactly how the loan is to be spent. While it is clearly necessary for certain conditions to be attached in order that the money is evenly and appropriately distributed, the interest charged on the loans ensures that the aforementioned culture of dependency is continued. Canada was the first to speak in favour of a moratorium on debt repayments at the very least, if not the outright cancellation of all debt owed to the two organizations. This was due to the fact that debtor nations were removing capital from valuable services including health and education in order to make their payments. Although this proposal was at first rejected as unrealistic and unobtainable, the actions on the part of political activists and NGOs, such as the Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative with their Jubilee 2000 debt forgiveness campaign, have caused these institutions to launch programs that will help to accelerate debt relief. Yet again, Canada took a leadership role in demanding that this issue be addressed. Canadian individuals and groups with little political or economic clout were able to co-operate with others around the world in order to prompt a billion-dollar organization to introduce necessary policy changes.

Although the majority of the inadequacies are felt externally, there is one that threatens to crum-

ble the structure of the two financial institutions from the inside: the lack of transparency and accountability. For the most part, documents on decisions made by the IMF and the World Bank are difficult to unearth, and when found, are difficult for many to understand and read, due to their length and number. As well, several documents are kept confidential, even though the policies and assessments contained within affect many who are barred from reading them. This secrecy has led critics to believe that perhaps the lack of transparency is due to corruption within the bureaucracy of the organizations. Regardless of whether or not this is factual, a lack of transparency and therefore accountability will lead to continued criticism of the policies of international organizations until the problem is redressed. Among those calling for increased awareness of IMF and World Bank activities is Canada, who has long supported the development of what the World Bank Institute refers to as a "knowledge revolution."² Civic participation in knowledge distribution should be encouraged, information should be frequently and regularly published, and funding should be utilized for education and awareness campaigns. Total reform has not taken place yet, but if the demands for such continue from nations like Canada, there is no doubt that a restructuring and reorganization of the system will soon be realized. Canada is recognized for its

sympathy towards poorer nations and its adamant and unyielding desire for global peace, stability, and security. Although this has not been easy to obtain, Canada has continued to press international organizations for democratic reform, for increased contributions in aid to Third World nations, and for international cooperation in order to maintain stability. Initiatives and ideas adopted by different organizations have often been put forward by Canadians working toward peace and security. Two examples are the introduction of peacekeeping troops in the United Nations, and the implementation of the Africa Action plan, which calls for a new "partnership between Africa and the International Community... to overcome the development gap that has increasingly widened over the years."³ Canada must continue to apply the same gentle yet persistent pressure on the IMF, the World Bank, and other international institutions in order to achieve the necessary reforms it desires for itself and for its fellow nations. □

¹ Canada. International Trade & Finance Branch, Report on operations under the Bretton Woods and Related Agreements Act, 1997 (Ottawa: The Branch, 1998) 14.

² Ibid., p. 28.

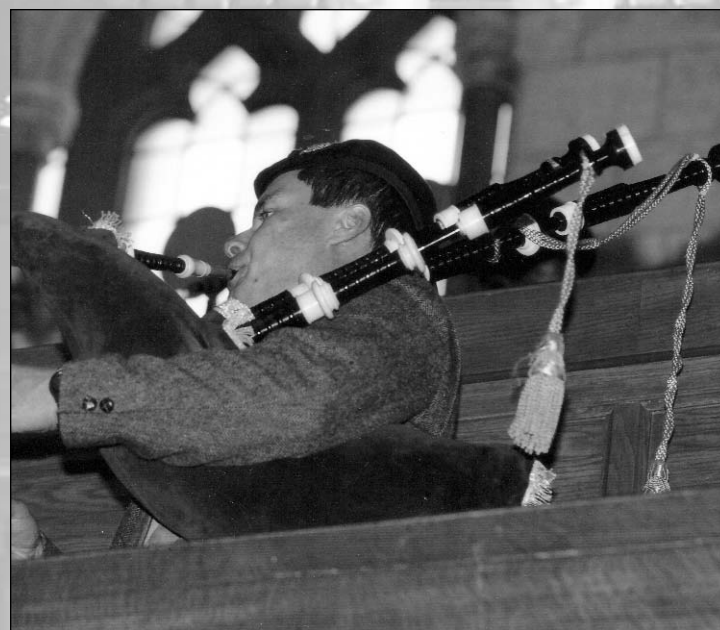
³ Nnanna, Okere. "NEPAD - The Canadian Example," Daily Champion 31 July, 2003.



Ottawa: June 7-9



The festivities kicked off with the Speakers' reception in the Reading Room.

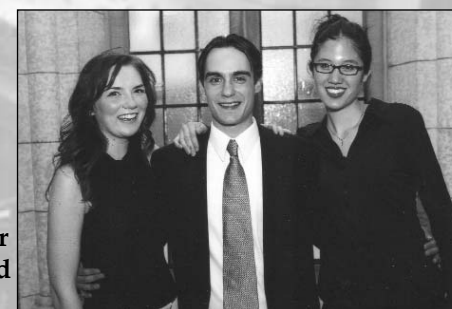


A bagpiper played during the memorial service in the Senate chamber.



Many felt the memorial service in the Senate chamber was very touching.

For those who couldn't attend, here are some highlights of the 2004 CAFP Annual General Meeting in Ottawa. For those who reunited, dined and laughed about good ol' days, here are some reminders of a wonderful time.



(L-R) Essay finalists Alison Rehner, Sébastien Paquet-Poirier and Christine Pickering travelled to the AGM as part of the prize.



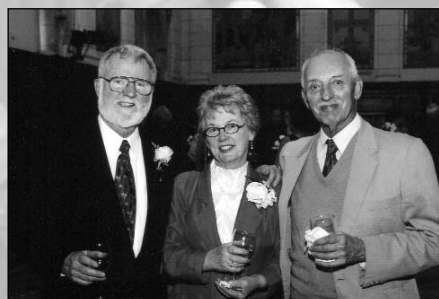
The Governor General personally spoke to many former parliamentarians when she hosted the group at Rideau Hall.



Constance Friesen, Wally Ellis and Susan Simms get together for the camera.



Douglas Rowland shares a laugh with Lenor Dinsdale.



The Darling family and Georges Lachance (right) share a drink and a conversation.



Bruce Halliday speaks after receiving the sixth Distinguished Service Award.

An Eye on the Annual General Meeting

Page turners: book reviews

*Un Acadien raconte...
Du banc d'école au banc fédéral*
By Jean-Eudes Dubé
Reviewed by Herb Breau

In reading *Du banc d'école au banc fédéral* a second time, a book written by my friend and former colleague Jean-Eudes Dubé, I got an even greater sense of the love and attachment he has for his birthplace.

For an Acadian such as myself, born not far from the majestic and picturesque region of Matapédia (south, a little east and about 150 km as the crow flies), it is easy to understand the feelings Mr. Dubé writes about in his retelling of life in the 1950s and 1960s. His description of the natural environment surrounding his village and the Matapédia region carry us away.

This section of his book conjures up nostalgia for anyone familiar with the East, its rivers, valleys and deep forests filled with wildlife. They exude a peace, tranquility and fragrance that cannot be found elsewhere. Reading Mr. Dubé, one can almost hear the trickle of the water flowing over the rocks in the rivers.

The author takes us from the Séminaire de Gaspé to the Université Saint-Joseph in Memramcook in New Brunswick, to the campus of the University of New Brunswick in Saint John, to the University of Ottawa and to the Georgetown School of Foreign Service in Washington.

The beginning of his career as a lawyer and his introduction to the world of business in Campbellton give the reader an overview of what, to modern eyes, is the simplicity of community organization at the time. He paints a vivid portrait of the social context found in each town and village.

His analysis of the economic situation of northeastern New Brunswick during this era is very perceptive. It is

important to be reminded of the economic disparities experienced by eastern Quebec and the Atlantic region.

Mr. Dubé makes a valuable contribution to political history by recalling this, at a time when the current political culture would have us believe that any attention accorded by the Government of Canada to these regions stems from patronage or vote-grubbing, which is not the



case. Canada cannot claim to be a strong and modern country if only its large cities flourish while it ignores its vast hinterland.

Mr. Dubé's active participation in foreign policy, as well as his academic background in the field, made him an exceptional and key player in politics. There is an inevitable tension between an MP's responsibility to a region such as his and the broader responsibility of all MPs to international issues.

Canada can only be truly represented and reflected through the active participation of parliamentarians from all regions of the country, representing varied cultures.

At the time, politics in New Brunswick, particularly amongst Acadians, was very turbulent. Participation was intense. Politics was and still is more important to the

lives of people in this region than elsewhere in the country. The author illustrates this by recounting a town hall meeting in Lorne. I am sure there are many more stories he could tell about in what was Charlie Van Horne's stamping ground.

I hope that Mr. Dubé is preparing another book on both New Brunswick and Acadian politics because he leaves the reader wanting to know more. He is one of the few contemporaries remaining from that era who witnessed firsthand, from a unique political standpoint, the fundamental changes that transformed the provincial political scene.

Many questions spring to mind while reading this book; for example, why did Charlie Van Horne resign as an MP in 1961? And what more is there to know about his association with K.C. Irving, and his ascent to the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party of New Brunswick?

Mr. Van Horne, who died last year, was an exceptional, charismatic and eloquent speaker. Perhaps it was still too soon in 1993 to say more on the matter, but there should be a follow-up.

Our curiosity is also piqued by the discussion of Mr. Van Horne and Louis Robichaud. The author is very familiar with the evolution of the Quiet Revolution brought on by this Acadian from Kent County.

Mr. Van Horne led the Progressive Conservative Party into a provincial election in 1967, a kind of referendum on Mr. Robichaud's "Equal Opportunity" program, which Mr. Robichaud won.

The Robichaud era shook New Brunswick and awoke all Acadians politically, well before Antonine Maillet did the same in the cultural arena 20 years later.

Mr. Robichaud had just come to power at the very beginning of the author's political career. As an active

young lawyer within the Liberal Party, Mr. Dubé undoubtedly witnessed and understood the complexities of the various alliances required from a whole spectrum of people to elect an Acadian as head of the party. There must be a sequel brewing in the back of his mind.

He could also write about the eventful and turbulent era of the rise of social and community groups - part of the same rush to change that saw student demonstrations bring about the closing of the Université de Moncton for months, and the founding of the Parti Acadien.

It is perhaps significant that all this happened at about the same time as the huge student protests in France, which led to the resignation of President Charles de Gaulle; the protests against the war in Vietnam; the civil rights demonstrations in the southern United States; and the start of the great marches in Ireland.

Du banc d'école au banc fédéral captures the essential without getting bogged down in details. The reader gets the feeling that two or three more books could be written about each political event, whether it be a nomination meeting or an election. The author does not tell us everything. The book is easy to read because it gives us just enough information for the protagonist's life to be understood.

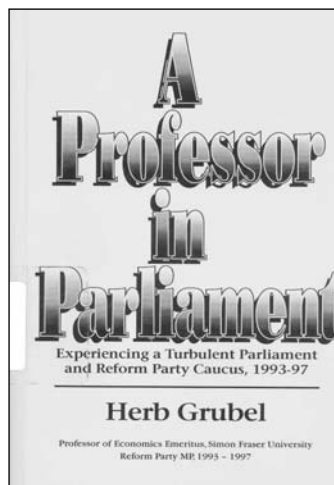
Mr. Dubé's book tells the story of a remarkable couple's full and rich life, as well as their involvement in the affairs of the state. The author's spouse, Noëlla, comes across as a strong woman of rare charm, with a cultural background deeply rooted in the Gaspé. This man owes it to us to write more.

Du banc d'école au banc fédéral is available from fine book stores and online merchants.

***Looking Forward and Back
A Professor in Parliament*
By Herb Grubel
Reviewed by Bob Ringma**

Glancing over one's shoulder can often help us to see ahead. This is true for everyone, but Herb Grubel's book makes it particularly valid for parliamentarians, and in particular for Members entering the House for the first time.

Along with more than 50 others, Mr. Grubel was a novice MP for the Reform Party in 1993. He made mis-



takes and he enjoyed some success. But like many of his fellow MPs, including this reviewer, he was sometimes frustrated by the "system" and the media for the way his words and intentions were twisted.

Mr. Grubel's book gives the necessary background to his education and experience to tell the reader why he was eminently qualified to be the Reform Party finance critic.

His grasp of economics makes one understand why Paul Martin, then Minister of Finance, listened privately to Mr. Grubel on occasion. But neither the media, nor even the Reform caucus, completely understood him.

If you want to know what makes someone like him tick, this book certainly helps. But more than that, it can help others achieve their goals.

His chapters on getting nominated, on campaigning and on life in caucus are revealing, particularly for the political neophyte. However his writing on difficult issues such as racism and homosexuality is where his book can be of real benefit. The minefields, deliberately set by political parties and the media, need to be crossed with extreme care. Mr. Grubel shows how naive MPs and an inexperienced political party can be easily wounded when crossing those dangerous grounds.

To those unfamiliar with parliament's inner workings, Mr. Grubel's description of caucus, question period and the workings of committees is a useful primer. To experienced MPs, the same writing affords the chance to compare notes. His descriptions also allow observers to understand why changes are needed in the parliamentary system and should be of interest to those on the government benches, the opposition and members of the public as well. Some reasons for the "democratic deficit" will be found here.

A postmortem on the June 2004 election by the Conservative Party would be helped by a reading of this book. The objective of forming a government by the morphing Reform/Alliance/Conservative Party gets a bit closer with each election.

Nevertheless some of the same old obstacles stood in their way in the recent election and will likely be there for the next one. Mr. Grubel's book provides a reminder of what those barriers are.

For Canadians of all political stripes *A Professor in Parliament* is a valuable read.

To order copies of the book send \$19.95 and \$5.00 postage and handling for each book plus your name and address to Herbert Grubel, Apt. 1202, 125 West Second St., North Vancouver B.C., V7M 1C5, or email your order to herbert.grubel@shaw.ca

If you wish to purchase **M*L*B*U - Full Monty in Korea** by **Bob Ringma**, which was reviewed in the previous edition of *Beyond the Hill*, please contact:

General Store Publishing, House of Renfrew Ontario
Tel: 1-800-465-6072 or www.gsph.com for \$19.95

Way Beyond the Hill

A passion for justice

David Daubney has travelled across the country and around the world helping others establish forms of justice

by TIM LAI

As the head of the Department of Justice's Sentencing Reform Team, David Daubney oversees federal involvement in restorative justice initiatives across the country. Over the last decade, the former Progressive Conservative MP from Ottawa has been involved in many projects around the globe as well.

His work has brought him to developing - and often troubled - areas of the world. In the first half of the 1990s, he visited former Soviet countries to discuss alternatives to imprisonment. The country's overcrowded prison system was in desperate need of reform. In African countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe, his primary focus was on alternative and restorative justice initiatives. He also worked on similar projects in southeastern Asian countries like Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Mr. Daubney says his profes-

sional passion is restorative justice, a method common in Canadian Aboriginal communities.

"It's an approach that tries to bring the victim and the offender together with members of the community and a trained facilitator to try to get at the underlying causes of the criminal act or alleged criminal act because it often happens before the matter goes to trial," he says. "The idea is to give the victim a greater say in the outcome, give the offender an awareness of the impact on an individual and give the community an opportunity to hold the offender accountable."

Mr. Daubney says this approach has garnered much interest in Southeast Asia, as it often resonates with traditional culture or tribal communities.

"It's really quite exciting that they're really rolling this out in a comprehensive way," he says.

This fall, Mr. Daubney returns to

Vietnam and Cambodia to meet with justice officials and discuss how the government can ensure effective implementation of legislation. During his term in the Commons, he chaired the justice committee for two years and he says he plans to draw from that experience when explaining how parliamentary committees can oversee the implementation of legislation.

Throughout his travels, Mr. Daubney says he realized his foreign counterparts are often quite receptive to listening to Canadian ideas.

"Most countries in the world like Canadians or at least don't feel threatened by us, so they're quite happy to take what they can learn from us and adapt it to their environment," he says. "I find that work satisfying because you can see the results. You can make a difference more quickly than you can with law reform efforts here, particularly with the minority government."

By going way beyond the hill, Mr. Daubney says he has met many peers who share his passion for justice and correctional services.

"There are real, genuine reformers out there who want to better the laws of their people and to make the system work better and are willing to see what we have to offer. Not to say that we have the answer here, but there may be elements of what we do that would make sense in their country," he says. "That seems to be the case with the restorative justice and alternatives to imprisonment work that I'm doing." □



Daubney, fourth from the left, met with Thai officials at a conference in Vancouver earlier this year.

A Day at Westminster

Canadian exchange students visit our British counterparts

by TYLER CAMPBELL

On February 26, 2004, 17 students from Atlantic Baptist University in Moncton, N.B. and Redeemer University College, Ancaster, Ont., were given a special behind-the-scenes tour of Westminster. The students were participating in the unique Oxford University partnership experience.

Upon passing the hefty number of Tony Blair protesters who sat adjacent to the entrance of the House, armed guards, and a firm security check, the students were ready to meet their distinguished hosts.

After staring in awe at their surroundings, the students made their way through the back halls of one of the world's oldest still-operating governments – where they were about to learn of the Westminster Process firsthand.

Three MPs emerged from a back room and warmly greeted the students, taking away any bit of anxiety or nervousness which may derive from meeting such prestigious gentlemen.

Each MP was from a different political party and different country in the union, and each member had distinct opinions on issues of the day.

Starting as a backbencher in Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, the Right Honourable

Eric Forth was the first gentleman to speak.

Mr. Forth, with over 20 years of political experience, has become a familiar face in Westminster.

The second MP to speak, with a hoarse Scottish accent, was the Right Honourable Andrew Tuggey, a Member of the Labour government.

The last gentleman was an Irish reverend name Martin Smyth, who represented the Ulster Unionist party.

After the formal introductions were over, each MP was given an equal opportunity to speak and tell us their party's policies, as well as their own.

After much anticipation, students were finally given their own opportunity to shine and show the Brits what they knew. A question-and-answer period was welcomed with arms wide open. Topics ranged from Britain's involvement in the Iraq War to the controversial education top-up fees to lighter questions such as the MPs' favourite colour. There was never a dull moment.

After the informative session with the MPs, the students moved on to watch a debate in the House, in which only a few MPs were participating.

After spending nearly an hour in the House of Commons, students headed to the House of Lords where they witnessed a Bill going through

its second reading. The Bill was proposed by Charlbury MP David Cameron, a rising star in the Conservative party. While on the Oxford trip, the students lived in his constituency.

All in all, it was a truly fascinating experience for the Canadian students and British parliamentarians alike. The MPs seemed thoroughly impressed by the participants' informed questions, up-to-date knowledge of current world issues and especially their burning desire to understand similarities and differences between British and Canadian politics. □

Elected members of the 2004-2005 Board of Directors

CAFP

The Hon. Richard Cashin
The Hon. Robert Howie
Roland Comtois
Barry Moore
The Hon. Sheila Finestone
The Hon. Doug Frith
Barry Turner
Douglas Rowland
Léo Duguay
Derrek Konrad
Walter Van de Walle
Partick Crofton
Dawn Black

CAFP's Education Foundation

The. Hon Herb Breau
Dr. John English
Jim Hawkes
The Hon. Doug Frith
Rev. Laverne Lewycky
The Hon. David MacDonald
Keith Penner
Douglas Rowland
The Hon. Gerry Weiner
William Tupper (ex-officio)

REMINDER

Atlantic Regional Meeting in Fredericton, New-Brunswick

Evening October 17th to noon October 19th, 2004

In addition to the always inspiring business meeting, other attractions will include a luncheon hosted by His Honour Lt. Governor General Herménégilde Chiasson and a reception hosted by the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Honourable Bev Harrison.

Please let us know if you can come by sending your reply to the CAFP office by October 8, 2004.

If you need more information, please call us.

Toll free 1-888-567-4764

Minority report

A historical look at minority governments in Canada

by WILL STOS



On June 28, 2004 Canadians elected their first minority government in 25 years. Prime Minister Paul Martin and the Liberals were re-elected to office, but they must now rely on one or more opposition parties to pass legislation and maintain the confidence of the House of Commons. In this issue of *Beyond the Hill*, we take a look back at some past minority governments and notable events and legislation they spawned.

Dec. 6, 1921

The Liberals under William Lyon Mackenzie King won 116 seats in the House, defeating Arthur Meighan's Conservatives who won 50. But the Liberals fell a few seats short of an outright majority as the surging Progressives, a farmer-based movement, won 69 and independents took five. This was the first time in the history of the British-style parliaments that no single party or coalition controlled a plurality of seats. It was also the first time a woman was elected as an MP - Agnes MacPhail, a Progressive from Ontario. In his book, *Fights of Our Lives*, John Duffy notes in the following four years, "King had managed to avoid defeat in

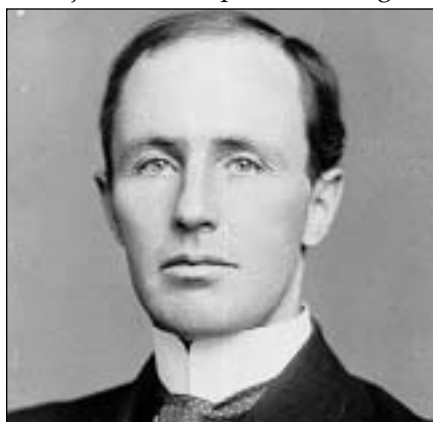
Parliament, but at the cost of failing to give the country any clear path out of its postwar political confusion. The government gave off a stale odour, unmoved by principle or purpose."

Oct. 29, 1925

After four years of somewhat uninspiring government, the Liberals and Progressives each dropped in the seat-count and a resurgent Conservatives won the most seats in the contest. But once again, no party held an outright plurality of the seats in the House of Commons. King remained Prime Minister, though he hadn't won his own seat, and decided to test the confidence of the House. In early January the Liberals, supported by 23 Progressives, survived the vote. But King's victory was short-lived. The Conservatives brought forward damaging allegations about the federal customs office in Montreal. Although the Liberals continued to survive motions of non-confidence, a spectacular committee report into the allegations released in June led to a wild session filled with debates about corruption and the government's duty as guardian of the hon-



our of the state. Facing the prospect of a humiliating defeat, King decided to ask the Governor General to dissolve the House for a new election. But Lord Byng refused and instead invited the Opposition to form a minority government. What followed, celebrated by historians as the King-Byng Affair, was one of the most electrifying times in Canadian politics. At the time, MPs who were appointed to cabinet were forced to run in by-elections so their constituents could approve the change in job description. Meighan



attempted to get around this bit of procedure by naming six ministers without portfolio temporarily. The by-elections could take place once the House recessed for the summer and there was no potential for the government to fall on a confidence motion. But the wily King argued this situation was not ethical because the cabinet ministers were governing without taking an oath of office. Although technically this wasn't necessary, the Liberal leader worked up a frenzy over the next few days. Sitting through Dominion Day, the MPs argued the finer points of the law. Finally, in a controversial vote, the government fell. T.W. Bird, a Liberal paired with a Conservative MP who was unavailable, cast the deciding vote despite

promising to abstain. There was much debate over whether his actions were deliberate or the result of being confused after waking from a nap. Whatever the truth, his actions, in part, lead to the first time a Canadian government had fallen on a motion of non-confidence. In the subsequent election, the Conservatives attacked the Liberals over their part in the customs scandal while the Grits curried Canadian nationalist sentiment by questioning the constitutional power of the Governor General, a non-citizen, to decide important issues without accepting the Prime Minister's advice. On Sept. 14, 1926, the Liberals were returned with a majority, despite finishing just one per cent apart from the Tories.



June 10, 1957

Having held power for 22 years, the Liberals were beginning to look unbeatable. But John Diefenbaker, the prairie populist from Saskatchewan exploited perceived arrogance over the TransCanada pipeline and staged a surprise upset. Diefenbaker's passionate call to open up the North also captured the imagination of many Canadians. The campaign was also the first to receive substantial television coverage, and the Tory leader's fiery oratorical skills were striking compared to the older, slower style of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. In the end, the Conservatives won 112 seats to the Liberals 105, setting the stage for a crushing win the following year.

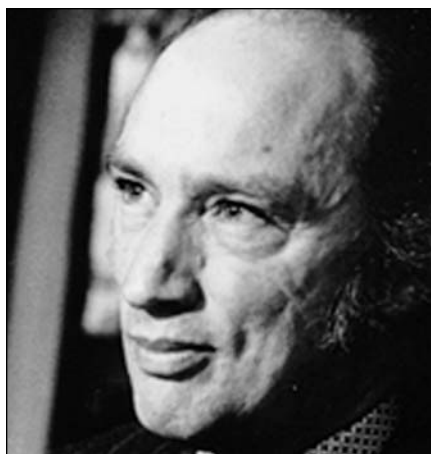


June 18, 1962

Although Diefenbaker's government brought Canada a Bill of Rights, John Duffy writes that the Prime Minister's transformation between his initial victory and his re-election in 1962 was remarkable. He went "from a national bolt of modernity to an English-only anachronism." The Conservatives lost close to 100 seats in the contest, and were swept out of power the following year.

April 8, 1963 & Nov. 8, 1965

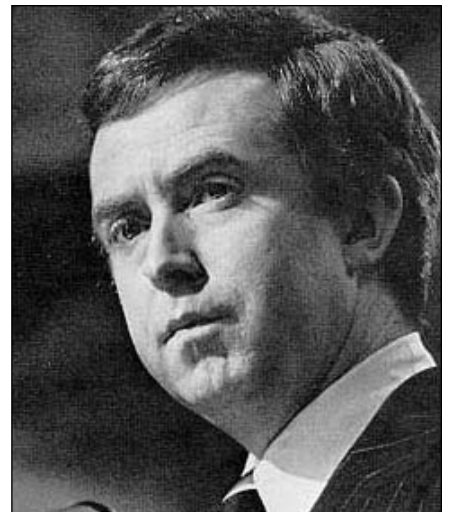
On his third attempt, Liberal Lester B. Pearson led his party to victory. But both of the party's mid-60s wins resulted in minorities. During these sessions, the House debated the creation of a new Canadian flag to replace the Red Ensign, and passed legislation



strengthening social security and other elements of welfare. A royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism also studied Canada's two solitudes.

October 30, 1972

After a four-year term heading a majority government, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau needed to arrange the explicit support of the New Democratic Party to stay in office. In exchange, the government embraced public health care, and created Petro-Canada, a crown corporation, among other policy initiatives. Trudeau regained a majority in 1974 after the government's budget was defeated in the House.



May 22, 1979

The Conservatives, under Joe Clark, were elected in this contest, following an impressive set of by-election victories the previous year. With the support of the Creditistes, Clark governed as though he had a majority. This proved to be a problem when his government presented a tough budget with some unpopular measures, including raising the gasoline tax and increasing deficit spending. The six Creditistes abstained when it came time for the vote, and a defeated Clark sought to dissolve the House. The Liberals were returned to power in 1980. □

Political passages

Beyond the Hill *pays tribute to recently departed members*

The Hon. Eric Kierans

May 10, 2004



Former Liberal cabinet minister Eric Kierans, died May 10 at the age of 90 in a Montreal hospital after a lengthy illness.

Mr. Kierans first entered politics in 1963 when he was elected to the Quebec legislature. He served as revenue minister and health minister during his five years in provincial politics. The

Montreal native made his jump into federal politics in 1968. He lost the Liberal leadership to Pierre Trudeau, but served in Prime Minister Trudeau's cabinet as postmaster general and later communications minister until 1972.

Before plunging into politics, he was the president of the Montreal Stock Exchange and a faculty member at McGill University.

Mr. Kieran's wife passed away last year. He is survived by son, Thomas, and daughter, Catherine.

James Richardson

May 17, 2004



Although James Richardson was a Trudeau-era cabinet minister, his work and involvement outside the political world may be his legacy. He passed away at the age of 82 in Winnipeg.

In 1968, Mr. Richardson was elected to the House of Commons and was immediately installed as a minister without portfolio. Over the next decade, he served as minister of supply and then as the minister of national defence.

Before entering politics, the Winnipeg native headed the powerful family business of James Richardson & Sons Ltd. and fought heroically in the Second World War. He was awarded a number of medals for his anti-submarine missions over the Atlantic while a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Following his political career, Mr. Richardson became involved with several projects close to his heart, including the Canada West Foundation, the Commonwealth Games Association and sailing.

Rt. Hon. Alvin Hamilton

June 29, 2004



Considered by many to be Canada's finest agriculture minister, the Rt. Hon. Alvin Hamilton passed away peacefully at the age of 92 in Manotick, Ont.

During his 28 years of service in the House of Commons, the



A memorial wreath stooft in teh Senate chamber during the 2004 CAFPP memorial service.

Conservative MP was known as an idea man.

He acted as a cabinet minister for six years under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.

Mr. Hamilton's colleagues described him as a man who possessed an intellect far beyond his years and the backbone of the Diefenbaker's government.

He discovered future Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and made him his private secretary.

Mr. Mulroney later returned the favour when he awarded the title of Right Honourable to Mr. Hamilton, a designation usually reserved for prime ministers, governors general or chief justices of the Supreme Court of Canada.

He is only one of six Canadians to be granted the title without serving in those positions.

M. Fernand Girard
July 2, 2004



Celebrated Saguenay journalist and politician Fernand Girard passed away on July 2 at the age of 80. He is remembered by his friends and family as a man of great courage, an outstanding citi-

zen and public servant, and someone who had a lively sense of humour.

Born in Jonquiere in 1924, as a young journalist Mr. Girard took an interest in politics and business. First elected at age 29, he served as an independent MP from 1953 to 1957. Later, he held a cabinet position in Daniel Johnson's Union Nationale government and was named vice-president of la Societe québécoise d'initiative pétrolière (SOQUIP) and president of le Salon international du livre du Québec. He also served as editor-in-chief at Le Réveil de Jonquière.

In 1954, he published *Artisans d'un beau Royaume* which recounted the history of the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region and its founders. Throughout his career Mr. Girard was known for his strong desire to foster economic development in the area.

Mr. Girard is survived by wife Annette Labelle, six children and a number of grandchildren.

Senator Jack Marshall
August 17, 2004

A veteran of the Normandy invasions, Sen. Jack Marshall went on to a lengthy political career,



first as a Newfoundland MP and later as a Senator. The former New Brunswick North Shore Regiment officer died at the age of 84 following months of illness at his Morrisburg, Ont. home.

Mr. Marshall was first elected to the House of Commons in 1968. The Conservative MP served for 10 years. In 1984, Prime Minister Trudeau appointed him to the Senate. He served in the Upper Chamber until 1994.

The war hero always looked out for veterans, as evident in his past positions as president of both the Royal Canadian Legion and the Canadian Infantry Association.

Mr. Marshall was awarded the Order of Canada in 1995 and was also given a special humanitarian award by Pope John Paul II. □



SPECIAL OFFER FOR OUR PAID MEMBERS

Still wondering about what's happening on the Hill? We have a deal for you. If we are able to get 100 former parliamentarians to sign up, *the Hill Times* can be had by you - online - for the low cost of \$22 per year. Let us know if you're interested.

Telephone: 1 888 567 4764
E-mail: exparl@parl.gc.ca



THE HILLTIMES



In Closing Mr. Speaker...

Deficit smeficit!!!

Steven Mahoney *thinks there is a democratic deficit*

Having recently joined the ranks of former parliamentarians I feel qualified to express some views that may or may not influence Canadians, without putting their votes in play.

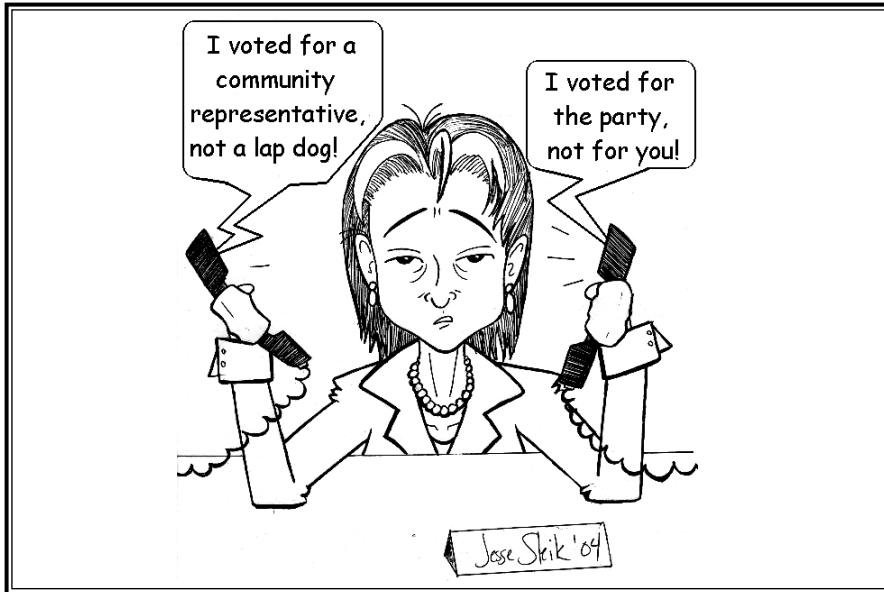
Much has been made of the democratic deficit. The popular view is that this refers to backbench MPs under the oppressive thumb of the PMO, the Whip or the Party. Any backbencher who quivers under this burden shouldn't be in Parliament.

I submit there are few who vote out of fear of reprisal or even due to direct orders. The men and women who serve in office are by nature type "A" personalities and not likely to behave as sheep. They generally support their "team" since that is how they got to the dance. Deficit smeficit!!!

The real deficit is in the community. The real deficit is at the polls.

People in Canada tend to base their vote according to this pattern: the leader first, the party second, special interests third, and finally - representing about five to eight per cent - the local candidate. But after the election, they call the local MP, not the leader, not the party and not the special interest group.

The media denigrate the role and the importance of the MP or the candidate. In a sweep or a wave, a three-legged dog can win. We have even seen in the U.S. where a deceased candidate can win. With very few exceptions, MPs are elected, or defeated, by the central campaign. Then they mostly believe it was their personal popularity or appeal that won the election. If that were so, how do we elect so-called "parachute" candidates all over the country? If that were so, how do we elect, in some cases, very unpopular people?



Imagine the true freedom of a MP who was chosen first, over the leader, the party or other interests. It is my view that if there was a requirement to build support at the grassroots, we would have a much more democratic society. People vote Liberal and then get mad at a Liberal MP who supports his or her government. People vote Tory and then expect their MP to ignore party policy and vote as they are told by them.

Consistently people phone or e-mail their MP and threaten to withdraw their vote, assuming it was there in the first place. They accuse an MP of not thinking and voting based on their own views and principles, and then expect them to do as they are told by the constituent on the phone. Is this democracy? Flawed at best.

Finally, if people chose their representatives more on their personal record and less on the national polls or the party spin, we just might see MPs who understood the needs of their communities better, but who would still vote based on their per-

sonal integrity and standards. We would also, along with a few other changes, improve the nomination process.

Finally, all polling should be banned for public consumption during a writ period. This is a topic perhaps for a future article, but it is one of the changes we need to make to eradicate the democratic deficit in Canada.

I was enormously proud to serve in the backbenches and the Cabinet. That pride, however, fails in comparison to the honour that goes with representing the people in my community.

To build a better country, we need to engage our communities more in the democratic process and stop trying to tear down the MP or the Parliament. □

Recently retired from politics, the Hon. Steven W. Mahoney is a new member of the CAFP. He was elected in 1997 and 2000 and represented Mississauga West, Ontario.

THE EDUCATION FOUNDATION OF THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF FORMER PARLIAMENTARIANS, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE INNOVATION, INVITES UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS FROM CANADIAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TO ENTER A NATIONAL ESSAY COMPETITION.

Title of Essay:

“Has Canadian international development assistance been effective?”

Length:

Up to 1000 words

Submission date:

**Received by
January 14, 2005**

FIRST PRIZE
\$1000

SECOND PRIZE
\$750

THIRD PRIZE
\$500

Essays will be judged on originality, creativity and good substance. Winners will be invited to Ottawa to receive their prizes and be familiarized with how the Government of Canada functions.

Submit essays to:

The Education Foundation (CAFP), P.O. Box 768, West Block,
House of Commons Ottawa (ON) K1A 0A6
1-888-567-4764 • www.parl.gc.ca/ex-parl



Our Mission Statement

Beyond the Hill, a newsletter 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.

If you have any comments or suggestions regarding this Mission Statement, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Call for Submissions

We truly appreciate the time that many members took to provide interviews and to write articles and reviews for this newsletter.

We encourage all members with ideas for an interesting interview, story, subject, debate, issue or book recommendations to contact us.

We're looking for former parliamentarians to contribute to the next issue.

Political Forum

Should the federal election date be fixed?

We need a pair of essays arguing for and against this topic.

Book Review

If you've read a book of political or historical interest to former parliamentarians, we invite you to send us a review.

From the History Books

Our history book pages focus on events of interest in Canadian history.

If there is an event you feel deserves highlighting, or if you have diary entries or memories from a time in Parliament, we invite you to submit them for publication.

Photo Essay

We wish to begin featuring a photo essay in the newsletter. If

you have a series of photos that you feel would be of interest to our members, we invite you to send them to us by mail or e-mail.

General Articles and Story Ideas

If you have any ideas for stories or if you've written an article you feel would be of interest to our membership, please send them in.

Letters to the Editor

Have your say. We need your suggestions and your opinions.

This newsletter is produced for you, so submit anything you think your peers would find of interest.

Beyond the Hill is the official publication of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

Honorary Co-Chairpersons: Speaker of the Senate/Speaker of the House of Commons

Founded 1987; Act of Parliament May 29, 1996

Mailing Address: CAFP, Houses of Parliament, P.O. Box 768, West Block Ottawa, ON Canada K1A 0A6

Phone: (613) 947-1690 or Toll Free 1-888-567-4764 Fax: (613) 947-1764 Email: exparl@parl.gc.ca

website: www.parl.gc.ca/ex-parl

*This publication is available in both official languages.
If you would like a French edition, please contact our office.*