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Let's begin with something very particular to the situation of Block 2. The old map of Parliament Hill was limited by Wellington Street. Wellington was seen as a dividing line between Parliament Hill and the city. That is no longer the case. Sparks Street is now the dividing line. Which means Parliament Hill includes the South side of Wellington and therefore Block 2. That is a fundamental change.

It means that Block 2 will indeed complete Parliament Hill. It will constitute the fourth side of Parliament Square.

No other competition, no other group of architects, will be able to complete Parliament Square. This is it. The architecture, the imagination, the creativity, the magic of this project will become central to how Canadians see themselves, imagine themselves in the future.

Remember Parliament Hill has been the mythological centre of Ottawa since 1866. It is the primary reason citizens come to Ottawa - to see Parliament, to visit Parliament, to state something in front of Parliament. This is not true in most national capitals. If they have something to say about the public good, citizens will go to Trafalgar Square, Place de la Bastille or Place de la République, the Mall facing the Lincoln Memorial with their backs turned on the Capitol. There are exceptions, of course. But citizens with public business in mind don't assemble outside parliaments in Madrid or Rome or Mexico City. They might in Berlin if they could. But the space is blocked off.

There is one other factor which is not true in most other capitals. In front of the Centre Block, bordered by the East and West Blocks, there is what we call the Great

Lawn; an enormous flat lawn with a slight incline. Wellington Street and Block 2 lie at the bottom of that incline. This Lawn is the most important gathering place for Canadians when it comes to national politics. It is the place where mass celebrations are held. Mass mournings. Gigantic protests or tiny protests. The marches across the country to demand big changes in policies always end on that Lawn. Politicians are called upon to come out and speak to the people who have marched to Ottawa. This goes right back to the creation of these buildings in the early 1860's. I often think of the intended 1911 Indigenous March on Ottawa. Or The Worker's Marches in the 1930s. But it isn't all serious. When people want to have fun, they go to the Parliamentary Lawn! Important military parades are held there.

The Great Lawn is not simply in front of the Centre Block. It is in the middle, with the East and West Blocks on either side. What is happening now with this competition, is that you're going to close the three sided Parliament Square. In fact, this project's importance, which everyone is referring to, lies in the fact that the outcome will constitute the fourth side of Parliament Square. The fourth side of the Great Lawn. Of the great national gathering place of Canadians.

The central question for you is this. The 1859 competition and then the new Centre Block and Peace Tower of 1921 advanced ideas about Canada through architecture. What did they leave out? What is missing? For a start, we know the enormous Indigenous contribution to the Northern Half of North America is not there. Nor is Canada's remarkable project of diversity, immigration, inclusion. The architectural expression of these two central factors now lie in your hands.

Imagine, you are in the Centre Block visiting an MP or a Senator. You're looking out a window. What do you see? You see Block 2. You see the results of this competition. It faces you. You go outside and walk down the lawn towards this newly reimagined space. You will be walking towards the fourth side of Parliament Square.

In some ways this fourth side can't help but be a mirror of Centre Block. But this is not a limiting comment. It is just one factor. What we are talking about is completing Parliament Hill. No one else will get a chance to do that, unless another building burns down. This is the final opportunity to finish Parliament Square. So, it is an enormous privilege, an unrepeatable opportunity, for the architects who will finally do it.

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I insist on all of this - I repeat the words - because it tells you how ambitious the project has to be. It has to be not only ambitious, but it has to be filled with imagination, with magic.

Go back to 1859. The first competition was filled with imagination, ambition and risks. Architectural historians, particularly those fixed on technical definitions, now tend to talk about the outcome as examples of Gothic Revival. Or Beaux Arts. Sure. On the surface. Or in the layout of corridors, rooms, and light sources. But in reality the outcome was something else. These three buildings are not about the specific technical nature of a state; or adherence to a style or a fashion.

There are thousands of types of Gothic Revival out there in the world. Myriad elements of Beaux Arts. Most of them mediocre or failures. What causes this is an obsession with representing a style - great buildings escape such limitations. They are themselves. Technically oriented architectural historians may be fixed upon the self imposed limitations of style. But this has little to do with why Canadians immediately fell in love with these buildings. Why they want to see them in the flesh, to be in them, to weep or shout in anger or sing joyously in front of them. People understood that it was not the technical nature of the architecture or the theoretical style which captured the meaning of the place. And that is part of the magic, part of why people feel that that Great Lawn is so important. We could call it the People's Lawn. The simple fact is that this Square plays a central role in the image people have of democracy in Canada.

I realize that there is the whole utilitarian aspect to what the building on Block 2 will have to be and do. And of course, that will be done.

And we know that the Sparks Street side of the building will be some kind of architectural palimpsest, given the number of protected buildings.

But the Wellington side, the Fourth Side of Parliament Square, cannot help but call for drama, inspiration, and frankly magic.

Let me say something which Bruce Haden said I ought to say. Something about democracy in Canada. First, those of you who are European have to put aside what you assume the discourse here to be; what you assume that discourse means. Even more confusing, this discourse is also very different from what happened in the United States. This is not a place where Indigenous people were conquered, and then whatever happened - happens today - was a result of that conquering. I did not say better or worse. I said there was no conquest. There were centuries worth of Indigenous leadership during which the newcomers followed the Indigenous lead. There was a long period of partnerships between Indigenous Nations and the newcomers. These two phases added up to as much as three centuries, depending on where you were on this vast territory. Those partnerships were later betrayed in a terrible way by the newcomers. But there was no conquest. There were partnerships and treaties.

At the core of what we're talking about here is this: Indigenous peoples are now taking back their role. And Canadians are now trying to rebuild or build a new version of that original partnership which goes back to the 16th century. And that is very different from the other countries in the Americas. And it relates in almost no way to the European idea of how development happens in Europe or in the Americas

The other element is that Canadians are just coming back to talking about Indigenous Nations and Civilizations and languages, and what they represented over so many centuries. They are coming back to talking about the fact that Indigenous nations operated in various forms of democracy of their own. Very interesting complex forms of democracy. And for about three centuries, from the 16th century to somewhere in the middle of the 19th century, the newcomers (mainly from Europe) were either dependent on Indigenous cultures, Indigenous democracies and Indigenous methods, or they were partners with them. So it would be a great mistake to confuse this Indigenous role with European or U.S. concepts of romanticism. This is not romanticism. Yes, this is about recognizing the reality of the past. But today it is equally about reconciliation and restitution. There can be no Reconciliation in Canada without Restitution. And it is about a future, where Indigenous ideas will play a bigger and bigger role, including in their ideas of democracy.

Second, the 1859 competition was central to the shaping of Canadian democracy. It came eleven years after Nova Scotia, under the leadership of the great freedom of expression warrior Joseph Howe, became a largely independent democracy. This was followed six weeks later by Canada (now Ontario and Quebec). In January to March 1848, Nova Scotia and Canada became what Western societies of the time would recognize as democracies, with close to one man one vote. Remember, this was not at all the case in Britain, the U.S.A. or anywhere in Europe. In Canada, democracy was accomplished happened under two, shall we say, bizarre leaders. A francophone and an anglophone. Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin. Their policy was simple. They equated democracy with Responsible Government, with egalitarianism, inclusion, public education, public services, the legal and emotional removal of the British and French class systems.

During the Spring of 1848, during what's usually called the Democratic Spring of Europe, our democracy came up against the will of the Empire. LaFontaine, Baldwin and the Great Reform Movement had an unusual strategy. They would talk our way out of Imperial control. It's very unusual that you actually just keep talking and find a way out of the British grip. No one else had tried and succeeded.

How? Well they used every intellectual trick, from hypocrisy, to a focus on details to plain stubbornness. They just kept talking and dodging and manipulating and talking. In the end they took all of the consequential powers away from the British imperial system. I think it was the first time that a colony had simply talked its way out of an empire, any empire. Canadians still like a lot of long speeches. Foreigners often

think, when they listen, that we are on the edge of civil war. But no. It is the old use of language in order to avoid catastrophes in order to hang onto freedom and democracy.

And the 1859 competition for the Parliament Buildings was in and of itself a statement about that freedom and democracy. To set up such a competition was enormous for colonies, free but not entirely. It was a big dramatic risk. The original Parliament Buildings, still there in the East and West Blocks, are the first political statement through architecture of Canadian democracy.

And it matters that the Prime Minister of the day - responsible for this initiative - was George-Etienne Cartier, the leading disciple of LaFontaine and Baldwin and of their theory of egalitarianism and inclusion.

One detail worth remembering. The buildings opened in 1866. In 1867 we became what's now known as Canada. That new constitutional state was already as large and as populous as the United States had been when it had become a constitutional state 80 years before.

Then came the second architectural statement. The original Centre Block burnt down in 1916. It was immediately replaced, starting during the First World War. The new Centre Block was even bigger than the old. Even more dramatic. It was a second architectural statement - this time about international engagement, about the sacrifice of the soldiers, the enormous number of Canadian soldiers sent to Europe. The largest group measured per capita was Indigenous.

Overall, the Centre Block is an assertion of Canada's new national and international power. But - and this is not to be brushed aside - the Centre Block is also a determined statement of a desire for peace. The central tower is the Peace Tower. Everyone spoke about that in 1919-1920 as a national theme. In a sense, the creation in the 1950's of UN peacekeeping by a Canadian was a natural outcome of this mindset.

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Look at those three buildings. They seem to spring out of the rock, at the tops of the trees and the cliffs, coming up from the river as if they were a continuation of the river and the cliffs. A forest of towers coming out of the forest on the cliffs.

And below this cliff there was - there is - this wild river. You see it in most of the photographs taken over the last century and a half. People instinctively identify with that image of the river, the cliffs and the building as an unbroken oneness. The Ottawa is a massive river leading in every direction. All through Canada, to the Atlantic and the Rockies. Thousands of kilometres.

Remember, for thousands of years, right up to the railways, this northern half of North America was all about rivers and lakes. All transportation was by water, most of it by Indigenous means of transport. And the Ottawa River is one of the great liquid highways of Canada. This had always been the case for Indigenous peoples. They introduced the newcomers to this way of thinking about the land - land joined together by water. Not rivers as divisions between nations and armies. As for roads, these came later, after the railways, almost an afterthought.

So Parliament Hill is not sitting on a cliff on the Ottawa River for romantic or sentimental or picaresque reasons. This is Parliament face to face with our geographic reality. And the buildings express that link to place and to water.

Just below the Centre Block, perhaps 500 metres upstream, there was a sacred Indigenous spot. One of the most important sacred places in Canada. It is still there and still sacred - Asticou. Chaudiere Falls. One of the most sacred places in Canada. A place of passage to the heart of the country.

These Parliament Buildings are not built on a border. They are built on one of the biggest liquid highways of Canada. It's hard to think of a more dramatic setting or intentional concept for legislative buildings. So, this new Block 2 construction which you are in competition to build is part of that wild drama, that link to the reality of three quarters of Canada's territory. The three quarters which are neither urban nor rural. And yet it will also be on the edge of the urban grid of Ottawa.

This will be the third architectural opportunity coming after the 1859 competition and the 1920 Centre Block. The third opportunity to say something about this country. A few minutes ago I asked - well, what is that statement to be? That's the question we have to be asking ourselves. What did we get wrong the first two times around? What did we leave out? What has changed?

Well, for one thing the country has come closer and closer to the original LaFontaine-Baldwin idea that democracy must be linked to structures of egalitarianism, of complexity and inclusion.

Second, we have always been a country of intentional immigration and we are now going back to the 1911 levels of 400,000 people immigrating to Canada every year. Astonishing waves of immigration. Remember this: immigration - not migration - immigration is one of the most noble words in the Canadian vocabulary. And since 86% of those immigrants become citizens within five years, the very concept of the citizen is in constant renewal. At our best, Indigenous peoples have welcomed and today are central to welcoming immigrants, who quickly become citizens.

Third, and most important - the most important challenge in the country - we are rebuilding a 500-year old relationship with Indigenous peoples. Today that includes Indigenous elders, architects, engineers, and thinkers. And we are learning to fully recognize that after centuries of Indigenous welcome, their sharing, the partnerships for almost three hundred years, great evil was then done by our society, the society of the newcomers. Betrayals. Enormous suffering. Now we are in the midst of Truth and Reconciliation. Of Restitution! Remember, I said this is not about romanticism or feeling bad. This is about undoing wrongs. Restitution is a central factor. So is rebuilding treaties. It's very complicated, it is advancing, but too slowly. So it is deeply disturbing. But this slow rebuilding is under way. I repeat, it is the single most important task in Canada today.

Part of the space in Block 2 is officially Indigenous, under Indigenous control. Which is wonderful. But that is not a reason for any of us to think that Indigenous issues and Indigenous ideas of built form on Block 2 have been handled.

I know you don't think that. But we must all be perfectly clear. The central point is that all of us, we need to be engaging in the whole concept of Indigenous ideas. We need to be listening and learning about Indigenous concepts of built form, the relationship of people and their buildings to the land. This is the exact opposite of, say, European styles such as Bauhaus, classical or neoclassical architecture; the exact opposite of French or Washington styles of neoclassicism. This is not the idea of architecture sitting on the land, boasting about empire or exceptionalism, looking down at the land, giving orders to it.

Here are two examples. Think about the Ahousaht people living on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, on the West Coast of Canada. They have a concept called *Hishuk-Ish Tsalwalk*, which means "everything is connected, everything is one." Everything is coming out of the land, is one with the land. Including us. Or think about the Cree concept - perhaps the biggest language group of Indigenous peoples in Canada: *Witaskewin*. "How do we live together, in the land, on the land, as part of the land." Not giving orders to the land.

If we truly include Indigenous ideas and their experts in the whole process that you are competing for, to be the builders of, the imaginers of, then the relationship between this project and the Indigenous section will become natural and positive.

Miigwech. Merci. Thank you.