

THE  
SECRET  
MULRONEY  
TAPES

UNGUARDED CONFESSIONS  
OF A PRIME MINISTER

PETER C. NEWMAN

THE SECRET MULRONEY TAPES is an outrageous and intimate portrait of a Canadian prime minister, as told in his own words. There has never been a political book like this, and there will almost certainly never be another.

Peter C. Newman, the author of books about John Diefenbaker, Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, as well as 2004's number-one bestselling memoir, *Here Be Dragons: Telling Tales of People, Passion and Power*, has done it again. He has written twenty-two books that have sold two million copies, and earned him the title of Canada's "most cussed and discussed" political commentator. Here, his no-holds-barred profile of Canada's most controversial—and most reviled—prime minister breaks new ground.

Compiled from years of candid, taped conversations with Mulroney and the people closest to him while he was in power, the sometimes uproarious and often disturbing interviews—7,400 pages of transcripts totalling 1.8 million words—have been sealed until now. Stunningly indiscreet and savagely frank, Mulroney is the first prime minister to be so nakedly outspoken. Yet he is also revealed as a witty Irish charmer, ready with a quick line to raise a laugh, no matter how impudent or profane, a man as warm in private as he was defensive in the public eye.

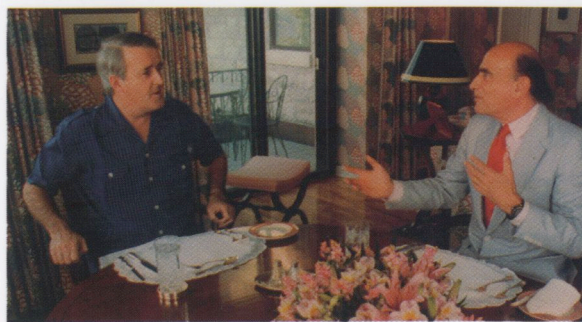
Mulroney names the names and spills the beans about what really goes on in Ottawa, which he describes as a "sick" city that runs on "goddamned incest": "They're all married to one another. They're shackled up with one another. Their wives are on the payroll of the CBC. It's just awful." Lucien Bouchard, his one-time soulmate, he calls "bitter and profane" and "extraordinarily vain." He writes off his constitutional foe, former Newfoundland premier Clyde Wells, as an "unprincipled son of a bitch." His

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disgust for the press is as monumental as his sense of being misunderstood, and in his eyes the Ottawa press corps are "a phony bunch of bastards" who don't give him credit even when the world applauds him for being "one of the three men who played the most important role in the collapse of the Berlin Wall."

Out of *The Secret Mulroney Tapes* emerges a startling picture of the politician whose reign shocked and appalled and yet also revolutionized this country. No other prime minister in Canadian history aroused a stronger emotional response than Brian Mulroney. This book provides Canadians with a unique insight into the bold politician who changed their country like no other.



*Mulroney and the author breakfasting in Baie-Comeau, the morning after the prime minister's 1988 election victory.*

JACKET PHOTOGRAPHS

(spine/back) David Chan/AFP/Getty Images  
(Mulroney and Newman) Courtesy of Peter C. Newman



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## MULRONEY UNPLUGGED

Every few weeks between 1983, when Brian Mulroney won the Progressive Conservative leadership, and 1993, when voters exacted their revenge on his regime, Canada's most controversial prime minister would bare his soul to Peter C. Newman, the country's most influential political chronicler. Never before has a Canadian prime minister so candidly exposed his unguarded thoughts and innermost feelings . . .

### MULRONEY ON HIS HARD-FOUGHT CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPT OF QUEBEC AS A DISTINCT SOCIETY:

"Doesn't mean a goddamned thing. The 'distinct society' clause, as I said to Clyde Wells, all it means is dick to me. Means dick."

### ON ENCOURAGING HIS SUCCESSOR:

"Keep your pecker up, Kim..."

### LAMENTING HIS TREATMENT BY THE MEDIA:

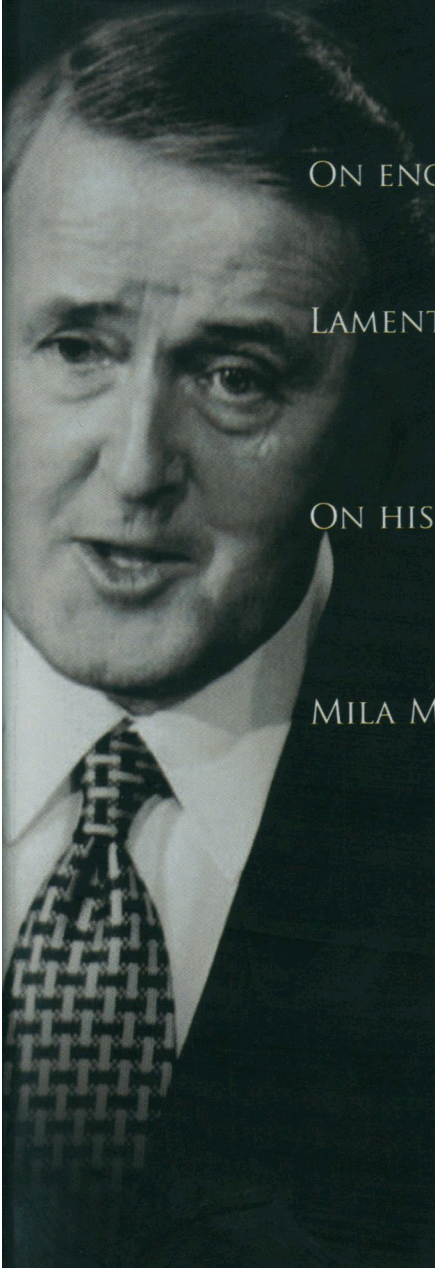
"You will not find one favourable adjective in ten years. Even f\*\*\*\*\* Hitler had someone writing one good adjective."

### ON HIS PRIME MINISTERSHIP:

"Given the nature and the enormity of the problems, you cannot be an effective leader and be a popular one."

### MILA MULRONEY ON HER MAN:

"Pierre Trudeau, this short little ugly man, all of a sudden became a sex symbol. And here's Brian with this wonderful, deep voice, these beautiful blue eyes, this generous nature, this wonderful sense of humour. He's so warm and here's Trudeau, cold as a cucumber."



CURRENT AFFAIRS

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APPENDIX A

## The Interviews

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**ANDERSON, Ian.** *Senior policy advisor, director of communications and deputy chief of staff*

March 2, 1984; November 30, 1984; December 1984; August 29, 1985; October 10, 1985; November 15, 1985; July 10, 1986; October 15, 1986; January 16, 1987; April 28, 1987; June 23, 1988; July 25, 1988; August 5, 1988; August 26, 1988; September 8, 1988

**ANGUS, Senator David.** *Chief Tory fundraiser and Mulroney advisor*  
October 31, 1994

**ARMSTRONG, Sally.** *Mila Mulroney's biographer*  
April 19, 1993

**ATKINS, Senator Norman.** *Head of Ontario's electoral "Blue Machine" and Mulroney advisor*  
January 16, 1989; October 24, 1990

**AUSTIN, Senator Jack.** *Liberal critic*  
October 12, 1984; February 25, 1987; December 16, 1988

**BEATTY, Hon. Perrin.** *Minister of national defence*  
October 30, 1986; June 13, 1990

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**BROWNLEE, Bonnie.** *Executive assistant to Mila Mulroney*  
November 30, 1984

**CAMPEAU, Arthur.** *Former Mulroney law partner and environmental advisor*  
October 1994; October 31, 1994; April 25, 1995

**CLARK, Edmund.** *Architect of the National Energy Program (NEP)*  
January 10, 1985

**CLARK, Rt. Hon. Joseph.** *Former prime minister and secretary of state for external affairs*  
June 15, 1990

**COHEN, Mickey.** *Deputy minister of finance*  
May 6, 1993

**CORN, Shirley.** *Mila Mulroney's friend*  
February 26, 1985

**COURCHENE, Tom.** *Constitutional advisor*  
February 25, 1992

**CROSBIE, Hon. John.** *Minister of justice and attorney general of Canada*  
January 24, 1991

**CURLEY, Paul.** *Ontario Tory operative*  
December 13, 1984

**DEITCHER, Jonathan.** *Mulroney's personal financial advisor*  
October 21, 1994

**DEVERELL, Dr. Rita Shelton.** *Mulroney multicultural critic*  
July 29, 1994

**DOUCET, Gerry.** *Former Nova Scotia cabinet minister and Ottawa lobbyist*  
November 13, 1986; January 16, 1987

**DOUCET, J.A. (Fred).** *Chief of staff, chairman of Organizing Committee for International Summits*

August 1984; September 28, 1984; November 29, 1984; January 10, 1985; May 6, 1985; June 5, 1985; July 18, 1985; August 6, 1985; October 10, 1985; May 1, 1986; July 10, 1986; September 3, 1986; April 28, 1987; May 5, 1987; June 17, 1987; November 19, 1987; January 29, 1988; August 16, 1988; November 21, 1988; December 7, 1988; January 26, 1989

**EDMONDS, Duncan.** *Senior advisor to the PMO under Lester B. Pearson and senior advisor to defence minister Bob Coates*

March 19, 1985

**EPP, Jake.** *Minister of energy, mines and resources*

January 24, 1991

**FORTIER, L. Yves.** *Senior partner, Ogilvy Renault, and Mulroney confidant*

October 6, 1994

**FOX, Bill.** *Chief press secretary*

September 28, 1984; November 30, 1984; January 30, 1986; July 11, 1986; January 16, 1987

**GOLDBLOOM, Michael.** *Publisher, Montreal Gazette*

September 29, 1980

**GOODMAN, Eddie.** *Former PC Party national director*

October 10, 1989

**GREGG, Allan.** *Mulroney pollster, Decima Research*

December 5, 1984; September 1991

**GUY, Gerrard.** *Mulroney's friend from Baie-Comeau*

November 21, 1988

**HAMILTON, Keith.** *Policy advisor to Mulroney*

October 10, 1985; July 11, 1986

THE INTERVIEWS

**HARTT, Stanley H.** *Principal secretary and chief of staff to Mulroney*  
June 13, 1990; October 25, 1990; May 26, 1994

**HEES, George.** *Minister of veterans affairs*  
January 26, 1989

**HOLDEN, Richard.** *Quebec MLA, personal friend of Mulroney*  
July 18, 1985

**JOHNSON, Al.** *Secretary of the Treasury Board and CBC chairman*  
July 10, 1986

**JOHNSON, Senator Janis.** *National director of the PC Party*  
March 15, 1995

**JOHNSON, Jon. B.** *Policy advisor to the PM*  
Personal correspondence with the author

**KENNETT, Bill.** *Federal regulator of banks*  
January 10, 1993

**KINSELLA, Pat.** *Senior Tory advisor*  
January 14, 1993

**LAYTON, Irving.** *Poet*  
October 25, 1990

**LeBRETON, Senator Marjory.** *Mulroney confidante; deputy chief of staff, PMO; patronage advisor*  
June 15, 1990; October 24, 1990; April 19, 1991; December 9, 1992;  
March 13, 1993

**LeCHANCE, Gilles.** *Mulroney's friend from Baie-Comeau*  
November 21, 1988

**LEOPOLD, Stephen S.** *Mulroney's executive assistant during 1976 leadership run*

October 10, 1976

**LONG, Tom.** *Mulroney policy advisor*

January 31, 1986

**LOUGHEED, Peter.** *Former premier of Alberta*

April 20, 1985

**MacADAM, Patrick.** *Caucus liaison and chief Mulroney confidant*

September 16, 1984; September 28, 1984; November 29, 1984; January 11, 1985; May 6, 1985; July 18, 1985; August 6, 1985; November 15, 1985; January 30, 1986; July 10, 1986; September 3, 1986; October 15, 1986; January 16, 1987; April 28, 1987; July 15, 1987; April 15, 1991; January 30, 1993; June 10, 1993

**MacDONALD, Flora.** *Minister of employment and immigration, foreign affairs minister*

July 19, 1991

**MAZANKOWSKI, Don.** *Deputy prime minister*

June 13, 1990

**McDOUGALL, Barbara.** *Minister of employment and immigration, minister of foreign affairs*

June 13, 1990

**McMILLAN, Charley.** *Chief policy advisor*

March 9, 1984; April 10, 1984; September 28, 1984; November 29, 1984; January 10, 1985; June 1, 1985; October 10, 1985; November 29, 1985; January 30, 1986; May 2, 1986; July 10, 1986; October 15, 1986; February 25, 1987; May 5, 1987; October 1, 1989; June 11, 1990; October 25, 1990; May 5, 1992; May 6, 1992

**McSWEENEY, Michael.** *Ottawa alderman and Mulroney babysitter*

January 29, 1988; August 11, 1994



THE INTERVIEWS

**MOORES, Frank.** *Former Newfoundland premier, Ottawa lobbyist*  
October 1984; January 10, 1985; May 6, 1985; November 29, 1985;  
September 3, 1986; February 1991

**MORGAN, Gizelle.** *Head of Mulroney's riding office*  
July 11, 1986

**MORGAN, Keith.** *Mulroney advisor*  
January 31, 1986

**MULRONEY, Mila.** *Wife of Brian Mulroney*  
April 19, 1991; June 25, 1991; August 7, 1993

**MULRONEY, Rt. Hon. Brian.** *Leader of the Progressive  
Conservative Party and prime minister of Canada from 1983 to 1993*  
October 13, 1972; February 15, 1976; October 29, 1983; January 10,  
1984; June 14, 1984; September 16, 1984; September 28, 1984;  
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1985; August 7, 1985; February 13, 1987; July 23, 1987; July 20,  
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1992; January 25, 1992; June 17, 1992; June 27, 1992; July 19, 1992;  
August 8, 1992; August 23, 1992; August 25, 1992; September 18,  
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1994; September 16, 1994; September 17, 1994; November 12, 1994;  
December 10, 1994; January 19, 1995; March 15, 1995

**MURRAY, Senator Lowell.** *Chief Mulroney strategist*  
 March 13, 1984; August 24, 1984; January 10, 1985; May 6, 1985;  
 January 30, 1986; July 10, 1986; January 16, 1987; June 4, 1987;  
 October 7, 1987; April 20, 1988; October 24, 1990

**NEAR, Harry.** *Ottawa lobbyist*  
 June 14, 1990

**NEVILLE, Bill.** *Campaign consultant and Ottawa lobbyist*  
 August 10, 1988

**NORQUAY, Geoff.** *Policy co-ordinator*  
 January 30, 1986; July 9, 1986; July 10, 1986; October 15, 1986;  
 May 5, 1987; June 17, 1987

**OSTRY, Sylvia.** *Economic advisor to the prime minister*  
 January 16, 1985

**PEERS, Archbishop Michael.** *Head of the Anglican Church in Canada*  
 March 13, 1994

**PETERSON, David.** *Premier of Ontario*  
 November 29, 1990; May 11, 1992

**PHILLIPS, Bruce.** *Chief press secretary*  
 October 7, 1987

**PICHET, Hubert.** *Quebec personal assistant to Mulroney*  
 August 6, 1985

**PITFIELD, Senator Michael.** *Clerk of the Privy Council and advisor  
 to Pierre Trudeau*  
 January 24, 1991; November 15, 1991; March 4, 1994

**PIVNICKI, Bogdanka; PIVNICKI, Dr. Dimitrije.** *Mila Mulroney's  
 parents*  
 February 26, 1985

THE INTERVIEWS

**PRISTANSKI, Bill.** *Mulroney executive assistant*

May 6, 1985; November 29, 1984; July 18, 1985; October 10, 1985;  
January 30, 1986; May 2, 1986; August 6, 1985; September 3, 1986;  
November 20, 1986; January 16, 1987; April 28, 1987; May 5, 1987;  
April 20, 1988

**ROBINSON, Paul H.** *U.S. ambassador to Canada*

May 3, 1985

**ROBLIN, Senator Duff.** *Premier of Manitoba*

November 29, 1984

**ROCQUE, Pierre.** *Mulroney's friend from Baie-Comeau*

November 21, 1988

**ROY, Senator Bernard.** *Principal ssecretary and strategy advisor*

January 10, 1985; January 16, 1987

**SEGAL, Hugh.** *Chief of staff*

November 15, 1984; February 7, 1986

**SHARP, Mitchell.** *Liberal critic*

October 17, 1989

**SPECTOR, Norman.** *Senior advisor and chief of staff*

October 24, 1990

**TELLIER, Paul.** *Clerk of the Privy Council*

June 14, 1990; July 26, 1993

**VARI, George.** *Mulroney benefactor*

October 9, 1989

**WADSWORTH, Page.** *Chairman, CIBC*

May 21, 1992

**WAKIM, Sam.** *Closest personal friend of Mulroney*

February 3, 1986; October 29, 1984

**WALMSLEY, Christopher.** *Journalism professor and CBC TV reporter*

May 6, 1993

**WELLS, Clyde.** *Premier of Newfoundland*

March 15, 1992

**WHITE, Peter.** *1984 campaign strategist and chief patronage advisor*

September 28, 1984; January 10, 1985; May 6, 1985; June 14, 1985;  
July 11, 1985; July 30, 1985; August 6, 1985; August 29, 1985;  
October 10, 1985; November 15, 1985; November 29, 1985; October  
29, 1986; June 23, 1992; December 8, 1992

**WILSON, Michael.** *Minister of finance*

June 13, 1990