

## A province in turmoil, and a nation divided

By Brian Kieran  
Editor, OOTD

The Coastal Gaslink/ Wet'suwet'en pipeline crisis landed at the doorstep of the BC Legislature in February reminding all the politicians and staff trapped inside – and all their colleagues on the outside who were denied access to work – that conducting the peoples' business can never be taken for granted.

On days like this, the partisan lines that usually define our Members of the Legislative Assembly become irrelevant and the sanctity of the democratic institutions embodied in the Legislature becomes the primary focus.

Under the heading "Timing is Everything," the December and Winter issues of OOTD reminded readers that not since 1993 has the Legislature been paralysed in such a confrontational manner. The only good news is that this year's blockade was far less violent than it was in '93. According to Victoria police, three of the people alleging assault at the Legislature received minor injuries, while the fourth said his equipment was damaged, but he was not injured.

It was in March of '93 that rogue Clayoquot protesters stormed the buildings, seriously injuring a guard in the process. Former MLA Cliff Serwa collected pieces of shattered stained glass that day and – 27 years later – in the December issue of OOTD he reminded us of the fragility of our democratic institutions even here in peaceful BC.

At the time of this event, NDP MLA Joan Sawicki (Burnaby-Willingdon, 1991-2001) was the Legislature's newly minted 30th Speaker. Coping with the consequences of the rampage would have been a challenge for a veteran Speaker. In the Winter issue, she followed Cliff's lead writing that: "Despite the degree of meaningless partisan rhetoric the public often associates with the Legislature, it is where our democratic rights reside. And, when threatened, assemblies are capable of rising to their responsibilities to defend them."



The company that owns the pipeline has an agreement in place with the Wet'suwet'en council. Regardless, disruptions, blockades and protests in support of eight Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs have been organized across the country and have amplified the message of the chiefs who are opposed to a \$6.6 billion natural gas pipeline being built in their traditional territory by Coastal Gaslink. From coast to coast railway access has been blocked and streets shut down affecting thousands of travellers and disrupting shipments of goods.

In the wake of the Legislature blockade, BC's Indigenous Relations Minister Scott Fraser agreed to meet with Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs to resolve the impasse. A letter from Premier John Horgan to a Wet'suwet'en chief confirmed acceptance of a meeting to include a federal representative and a member of the neighbouring Gitksan community. And, Speaker Darryl Plecas secured a BC Supreme Court injunction Feb. 13th prohibiting demonstrators from blocking, physically obstructing or intimidating anyone entering the legislature building.

*Continued on Page 6*

**Her Honour**

**The Honourable Janet Austin, OBC**

Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

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# From the Editor's Desk

On Feb. 1st, the Venerable Alistair McCollum and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Logan McMenamie presided over the memorial service for Ted Hughes. The Church of St. John the Divine in Quadra Street was packed to the rafters as friends and colleagues gathered to say goodbye. In the Winter issue of OOTD we managed a rushed deadline farewell. And, in this issue I wanted to make sure we completed the send-off.

On Pages 4 and 5 you will find tributes delivered that day in church by Ted's son Brian, who is a San Diego-based hotelier; Saanich councillor and former MLA Susan Brice who was a lay member of Ted's Access to Justice Commission more than 30 years ago; and Ken Fyke, the first CEO of the Greater Victoria Hospital Society and a friend and colleague of Ted's going back to their days in Saskatchewan. Because of space limitations, I had to distill these heart-felt tributes to their essential cores. My apologies for having to edit the eloquent tributes of Brian, Susan and Ken.

I want to extend special thanks to Mike Harcourt for contributing an upbeat message to our ongoing "Art of Good Governance" series (Page 12). As the years roll on, Mike continues to teach us about the value of public service through his own efforts to improve the health of democracy at a time when the institution is under assault in so many jurisdictions.

I urge other readers of OOTD to follow Mike's lead and contribute ideas to the "Art of Good Governance" series. Talking with former MLAs I find a recurring theme ... in retirement friendships form that easily bridge what was once a partisan divide of two sword lengths. Former MLAs of all stripes discover that in retirement they have much in common and one of those commonalities is a desire to improve the way the public's business is conducted.

*The Association of Former MLAs of British Columbia is strictly non-partisan, regardless of members' past or present political affiliation. Founded in 1987, the Association was formally established by an Act of the British Columbia Legislature on February 10, 1998.*

*Orders of the Day was conceived, named and produced in its early stages by Bob McClelland, former MLA and cabinet minister, following his retirement from office. Hugh Curtis ably helmed this publication up through May 2014.*

# President's Report

Well, spring is in the air, at least in some parts of the province. However, at the time of writing this, there are other issues heating up in the world of politics. Governments of all political stripes are dealing with almost unprecedented blockades of railways, ports, ferry terminals, roadways and pipeline construction zones.

Issues of climate change, indigenous rights, employment, the economy and governance are all part of the mix. These issues do serve to showcase the complexity of the challenges governments must manage. As former MLAs, we often dealt with issues that were more complex and multi-faceted than perhaps what constituted the public dialogue. Yet in the world of 20 second soundbites it was hard to convey all the perspectives one had to consider when deciding on legislation, regulation or policy. Managing often competing interests, all with strong and valid intentions, is part of what governing is all about. No doubt this is causing MLAs and MPs across Canada some difficult days and sleepless nights; no one will thank them when their work is done.

With respect to the business of this association, we have a bit of a decision to make. Government House in Victoria is going through major renovations this year. As such we will not be able to host our annual dinner there this fall. The Executive is discussing holding the dinner in Vancouver. We are excited about the prospect of having our most popular event in the Lower Mainland this year; we anticipate a very robust turnout as a result.

More details to follow in Orders of the Day as well as on our website [www.formerbcmla.com](http://www.formerbcmla.com). As always, we welcome your feedback and suggestions as it is your voice that truly makes Order of the Day shine!



Jeff Bray,  
President AFMLABC



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## Brian Hughes: Ted's “character and integrity live within us”



For ever more, sadness takes a back seat to gratitude ... gratitude for Ted and how he influenced our lives in such a profound, positive and everlasting way. Much has been written about his professional endeavors, community work, awards and even honorary

degrees. I'm pretty proud of him for all of that stuff, but it was his artfulness as a parent that I will mostly remember.

So much of how I have parented came from Ted and my mom. I learned almost everything that I know about being a good person from Ted and Helen. It is cemented into the core of my being to: Always tell the truth; always do the right thing; live beneath my means; have consideration for those less fortunate; and (know) there are no shortcuts to success.

I learned these things more through his actions than through his words. In fact, I was rarely told what to do when I was a teenager and young adult. I was rarely, if ever, lectured. I was never told how to raise our kids. When I made a decision about leaving Victoria 35 years ago to pursue my career, then going back to school, changing jobs through the years, and so on ... all I got was support and encouragement. The support was subtle but powerful. No second guessing or attempts to re-engineer my decisions. Just encouragement. And while it was never said, I knew that I had a 100 per cent safety net if I ever faltered. It's that last one that gave me the courage to chase the world head on. You see, it was his actions that made the lasting impressions.

We know that Ted passed away at age 92 ... that isn't just a number or even an achievement per se. To me, it meant that he was here with us, long enough to impact all of his grandchildren. I am so utterly and completely grateful that our two children were able to know both Ted and my mom into their early adults years. I remember a moment in 1997. Vividly. My wife, Liz, our weeks old son Jake and I had just moved to Oakland, California from Toronto and Helen and Ted paid us a visit. We took a picture in our backyard of Helen and Ted holding Jake under an orange tree. Ted was 70 and Helen was 65. And, I recall thinking at that moment ... Please. Let them grow old so that Jake too will benefit from their immense hearts and life lessons.



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Well, that prayer was answered because Jake, who is 22, and his sister Eva, who is 19, got to know him and learn as I did from him about the way to live a life of goodness and decency. A successful life. Last week, they each had an opportunity to tell him what his life and example meant to them. They used words like compassion, kindness, hardworking, supportive and always do the right thing. It was a golden moment frozen in time to know with clarity and certainty that his core values are forever cemented into the fibre of their core values. And undoubtedly, those very special and important virtues will be passed on to their children and their cousin's children for generations to come.

That is why Ted will live forever. His character and integrity live within us. Within them. And for this, I will be eternally grateful. Not sad.

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# Susan Brice: Ted's residential school probe was life-changing



Ted, Kathleen Keating and I go back more than 30 years to when he was Deputy Attorney General and asked each of us to work with him on the Access to Justice Commission he was undertaking. I was to be the lay voice on a panel of lawyers and Kathleen was the writer.

Beyond all his government positions, Ted said more than once that the most meaningful chapter of his career was his five years as Chief Adjudicator of the Indian Residential Schools Alternative Dispute Resolution Process. This was ground-breaking work. Initiated by the Government of Canada, it gave former students a quicker, out-of-court avenue for seeking compensation for abuses they had suffered in residential schools.

This was before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and before we all came to know something

of the history of those schools. It was an undertaking unique in the world, and it was Ted's leadership and commitment to justice for aboriginal people that set the tenor that endures today in the process that succeeded the one Ted established and has resolved more than 38,000 claims.

Ted set that standard from the beginning by listening to what aboriginal people had to say. He consulted with a respected elder and asked her to help design a training program for his first team of adjudicators. Kathleen was on that team, along with others who are here today. Ted made sure that they heard not only from people who would be kind and encouraging, but also from angry men and women who had suffered as children in residential schools and who would challenge Ted's team at the most basic level of their humanity. This was life-changing work, and Ted led the way with his unswerving sense of fairness and commitment to the integrity of that process.

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# Ken Fyke: Ted was a modern-day renaissance man



Ted was a modern-day renaissance man: educated, knowledgeable and talented. He operationalized the term, "Speak Truth to Power." Fearless in his pursuit of the truth and a giant in the field of accountability; his contributions to health, the Indigenous community, academia, public administration,

his church and the community where he lived, strengthened the fabric of our Canadian society.

Ted believed politics is an honorable calling and was universally respected by governments of all political persuasions. In the late '70s controversies in the Saskatchewan Cancer Program almost defeated the government. As the Deputy Minister of Health, I advised that the best way out of this mess was to set up a totally new organization and to appoint Ted as the Board Chair. Having such a respectable leader was immediately approved by Premier Allan Blakeney. Soon, even

opposition parties agreed that the new cancer program met international standards.

Ted's contributions were recognized with numerous awards and three Honorary Doctor of Laws conferred by the University of Victoria, University of Saskatchewan, and Royal Roads University.

As we say goodbye, Ted Hughes will be remembered as a true Canadian patriot. However, as with many of you, I considered him to be 'my friend, Ted.' We will miss our friend. We will miss talking politics and discussing our views of "what is the right thing to do?"

I summarize Ted's greatness with the words of Craig McInnes in "The Mighty Hughes." Craig states, "He swims in a sea of superlatives, all earned. With his enormous capacity, and appetite for work, his unshakable and unfashionable belief that politics should be an honourable profession, his addiction to public service, and his insistence that equality means little if it doesn't include women and Indigenous Canadians, he has fairly been called Canada's moral authority and the most credible man in British Columbia."

# The pipeline divides us; 40 per cent support Wet'suwet'en

It is important to appreciate how these protests are being viewed by the Canadian public. A study from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute finds a country divided along political, regional and economic lines as citizens choose sides over the protests, the project itself, and how the company might proceed from here.

Two-in-five Canadians say they support the Wet'suwet'en solidarity protesters. These tend to be younger women, as well as those on the lower side of the income scale and those on the left of the political spectrum. Supporters of the protesters are also most likely to come from British Columbia and Quebec.

Meanwhile, a slight majority, 51 per cent, say that they support the Coastal Gaslink project itself. This includes majority support in every region of the country outside of Quebec. In each case, whether it's the protesters or the pipeline, Canadians are divided into two sizeable groups on each side of the issue.

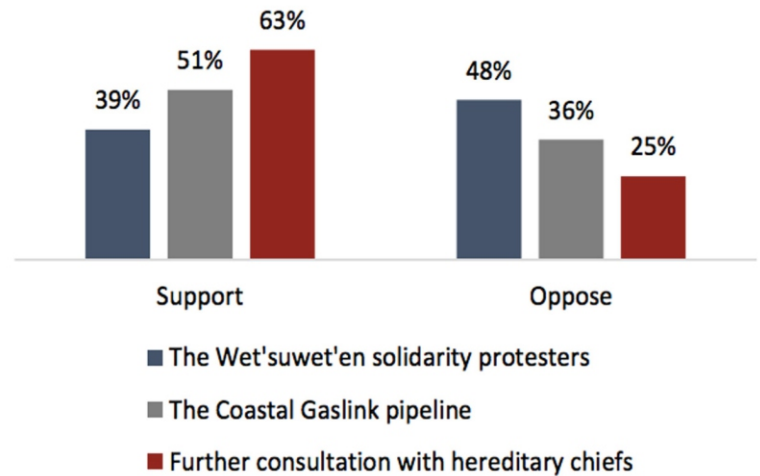
Awareness of these events appears regionally concentrated, with 73 per cent of BC residents "closely watching" this troubling issue escalate compared to Quebec where 69 per cent are disinterested. That said, close to half in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario have also been following closely.

TC Energy, the company that owns the pipeline, has agreements in place with all of the elected First Nation band councils, including Wet'suwet'en councils, along the pipeline route. Eight Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, however, have not consented to use of their territory. Canadians are largely supportive of more discussions between the company and the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs.

## Key Findings:

- Canadians are relatively confident that the Coastal Gaslink pipeline will be completed. Just over half (57 per cent) say that it will take longer because of the protests, but will probably still be completed, while 34 per cent have full confidence that it will go ahead regardless.
- Six-in-10 (63 per cent) support more discussions on a path to resolution, while just one-quarter say they oppose this (25 per cent). Support outpaces opposition in every region, but is particularly strong in Ontario.

**Support vs Oppose in Coastal Gaslink dispute**



The Coastal Gaslink pipeline was announced in October 2018 and, if completed, is anticipated to carry natural gas from an area around Dawson Creek to Kitimat on British Columbia's coast. While the project was subject to consultations with Indigenous groups and was approved by all 20 of the elected band councils along the pipeline route, it has given rise to tensions between legislated and traditional governance in Indigenous communities.

Several Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, those whose titles are passed down through family across generations, are in disagreement with the band councils, in part because the councils are governance structures that were created by the Indian Act.

Wet'suwet'en members have built blockades and camps obstructing work crews from accessing parts of the pipeline route. Last December, the Supreme Court of British Columbia ruled that "while Wet'suwet'en customary laws clearly exist on their own independent footing, they are not recognized as being an effectual part of Canadian law."

Subsequent talks between the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs and the BC government, to de-escalate the dispute, ended Feb. 5th, and the RCMP moved forward with a court injunction to remove the blockade in days that followed. At press time, Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs and senior federal and provincial government ministers had reached a proposed settlement of the dispute.



# UNDRIP and the facts of life in the Leg Precincts

By Jim Hume  
The Old Islander

A short time ago, the United Nations published its long-awaited Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). It confirms some established beliefs and sharpens the focus on problems demanding resolution before a true armistice can be reached between Indigenous natives and the descendants of white immigrants who simply, by force of numbers, took over most of their land.

The new charter confirms Indigenous claims to land title. UNDRIP Article 26 states:

- Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.
- Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those they have otherwise acquired.
- States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands and territories. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the Indigenous people concerned.

Premier John Horgan signed the agreement. It was, he felt, a progressive blueprint for ongoing and continuing negotiations; one he was confident held great co-operative promise.

Yet, within weeks of that welcome news, he was in the buzz-saw of a boisterous, raucous protest on the steps of the Legislature where protesters jammed doorways and denied access to MLAs, government employees and the public.

Later in the day, there would be claims of bullying by local police as they tried to clear paths for MLAs seeking entrance in time for the Lieutenant Governor's traditional Throne Speech address. TV cameras sweeping the crowd failed to pick up anything more fierce than angry faces and shouts of people being moved with a lift and shove from doorway blocking positions.

I wonder how many of the protesters were aware of how close they were to being arrested on serious charges of being in contempt of the Legislature. Section 5 (a) of the Legislative Assembly Privilege Act states the Assembly has the rights and privileges of a court of record "to summarily inquire into and punish ... assaults, insults to or libels on members ... during a session of the Legislature and 20 days before or after it."



Further, 5 (b) says we can protest all we want, but never by "obstructing, threatening or attempting to force or intimidate members of the Assembly." And, 5 (d) adds to that "assaults or interference with officers of the Assembly in the execution of their duty."

Punishment for violations? Ah, yes. Section 6 states: "For the purpose of this act the Assembly has all the powers and jurisdictions necessary or expedient to enquire into, judge or pronounce on ... and carry into execution the punishment provided in this act."

Detailed punishment is at first vague, then, on reflection, frightening:

Section 7 says a person found guilty under a Section 5 offence is liable to imprisonment for a period during the session being held at that time.

Section 8 tidies up the loose ends. If the Assembly "declares a person guilty of contempt for an act, matter or thing mentioned in Section 5 and directs the person to be taken into custody or imprisoned, the Speaker shall issue his warrant to the Sergeant at Arms ... or to the warden or keeper of the common jail for the county of Victoria, to take the person into custody and to keep and detain him in accordance with the order of the Assembly."

For how long? Maybe we'll find out in the next few weeks if calmer voices fail to at least cool the Indigenous rights problem, and we continue to flirt with anarchy as we did in Victoria. It's certainly looking like a threatening political wildfire with two powerful Indigenous forces – hereditary chiefs versus elected chiefs – poles apart on pipelines and no sign of compromise.

# Australia's devastating fires ... a Canadian's perspective

By Ian Waddell

Seeing images of Canadian polar bears on icebergs, Pacific islands sinking, and ice flows melting is one thing; seeing your mate's house burn down is another.

Having spent the first two weeks of 2020 in New South Wales, Australia, I got a firsthand look at the devastating fires in Australia. Well, not exactly up close. I was actually 1,000 kilometres from southern New South Wales, where the fires were raging. Judging by the email I was getting from my friends in Canada, they thought all of Australia was burning.



As a former tourism minister for BC, I feel sorry for my counterparts in Australia who have the job of telling foreign visitors, "It's OK to come here. The whole place is not burning." But the fires – albeit concentrated south of Sydney, Australia's largest city, and even surrounding the federal capital Canberra – are horrific.

When there are images of a mountain of flames pushing an entire township onto a beach, orange skies over capitals, the military being called to help evacuate people, and charred remains of koalas and kangaroos, people take notice. Canadians see the general news. Australians see the news, underscoring scenes of families huddling on beaches, cars driving through infernos, burning animals limping out of the bush in national parks, and people returning to the scorched pieces of corrugated iron that is all that is left of the family home.

New South Wales' Minister of Transport Andrew Constance, whose home was devastated by the bushfires, said: "I've seen bushfires before, but this was like an atomic bomb. The front was so loud, and so scary."

It's estimated that one billion animals have died in the bushfires. The tally also includes 240 million insects, 100,000 livestock, and, most importantly, 28 people. Some 2,000 homes and counting have been destroyed.

Last April, emergency fire chiefs wrote to Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison pleading for an end to the cycle of funding cuts for fire services. They said: "In the last year, we've seen unseasonal fires in Tasmania, Victoria, NSW, Queensland and Western Australia and longer bushfire danger periods and fires burning in rainforests. Rising greenhouse gas pollution from the burning of coal, oil and gas is worsening extreme weather and putting people in danger."

They were writing to a politician who once addressed the House of Representatives while holding a lump of coal, stating: "This is coal. Don't be afraid. Don't be scared. It won't hurt you." He accused those concerned about the environmental impact of the coal industry of having "an ideological, pathological fear of coal." In May, Morrison called an election, and, in an upset, went from minority status to a narrow majority government. Commentators here said he won the election by turning it into a referendum on his opponent, Labour Leader Bill Shorten.

Now Prime Minister Morrison is in big political trouble, much of it of his own making. He took a standoff position to the early fire season starts, saying the responsibility for firefighting belongs to the states (provinces). "I don't hold a hose, mate." Then, he took a Christmas trip to Hawaii, which he cut short after facing a public backlash over his absence. He seemed perplexed that people wanted the federal government to act. When he visited fire centres, he received a chilly reception, with people booing and refusing to shake his hand.

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For Australians, climate change has gone from the theoretical to the tangible. At the recent climate summit in Madrid, Australia was singled out as one of the countries, along with the U.S. and China, working to lesson greenhouse reduction targets. As Emma Hurd, CEO of the Investor Group on Climate Change put it: "It's simply not good enough for Australia to say we are only 1.8 per cent of global emissions and there is nothing (more) we need to do. Because we feel the effects if nothing happens. We really need to be increasing our international engagement to ensure the world is acting, because we are on the front line of the worst effects." (Hello, Canada!)

Morrison is in trouble over his handling of bushfires, but also for his attitude to climate change. More than 20,000 people turned out recently in Sydney, chanting "He hey, ho ho, SloMo has got to go." And: "The liar from the shire, the country is on fire." In other words, urging Morrison to "wake up." And, to an extent, he did. The army was sent in. A \$34-million disaster recovery fund was set up. Already, there have been 28,000 claims and more to come. He just put in another \$2 billion and said a balanced budget was not a priority.

There has also been an outpouring of charity around the world. Musicians, film stars, business, labour pitched in. Australian comedian Celeste Barber raised more than \$50 million. Foundations like Leonardo DiCaprio's have donated to help animals.

There is much here for Canada to learn, whether it comes to telecommunications breakdowns, the role of the armed forces in disasters, or the efficient payment of recovery funds. Aspiring political leaders around the world might want to watch what is now happening to Prime Minister Morrison. The biggest lesson may be to remember that in a federation like Australia or Canada, working closely with the states, or in our case, provinces and territories, is probably the biggest role and challenge of the national government.

After the fire season in Australia, Canada should send a federal-provincial delegation that hopefully involves ministers, which would give them a chance to see and talk to Australians firsthand. Amidst all this, Australians, generally, are among the most positive of people. A water tanker truck driver, Damian Campbell-Davys, came across a burned young koala bear he initially dubbed "Tinny Arse." He gave it water and put it in his truck with him, and later got it to an animal shelter. Mr. Campbell-Davys described finding the koala as "a little ray of sunshine in this nightmare." He has renamed the marsupial "Sunshine."

**(Ian Waddell is a former NDP MP and a BC cabinet minister. He is the secretary of the board of directors of the AFMLABC and president of the Former Parliamentarians Education Foundation. This article appeared in The Hill Times.)**

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# Canada's first PM and the residential schools issue

By Maya Gwilliam

(Contributing writer for *Beyond the Hill*)

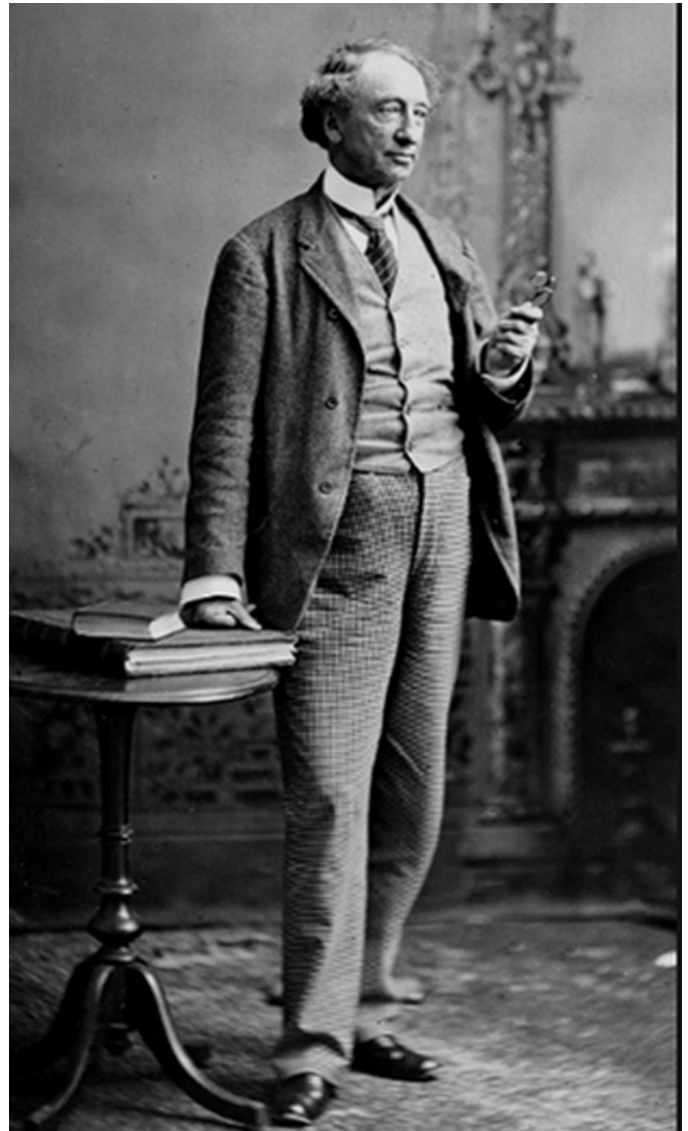
When it comes to Sir John A. Macdonald, the country is divided on whether he should be honoured or expunged from Canadian history.

Canada's first Prime Minister has slowly become an antagonist for many people due to what they see as his intolerance towards the Indigenous community. But should his actions be considered in the context of the attitudes of the time? Although it should be acknowledged that the majority of 19th Century Canadians held a different perspective regarding ethnic diversity, some members of today's society are adamant that, despite his contribution to our country, Sir John A. should be held accountable for the actions taken during his time as prime minister.

As a consequence, in August 2017, the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario instructed all school boards in the province to retitle the schools named after Macdonald. Macdonald was credited with playing a significant role in the creation of the Indian Act, but the residential school system was actually started in New France. The program grew, and from 1880 to the late 1960s, these institutions saw about 150,000 Indigenous children removed from their families, sometimes, but not always, without parental consent, and placed in church-run educational facilities in order to educate and thereby assimilate them into Canadian culture.

In some of these institutions, severe physical, sexual, and emotional abuse was meted to many children. An estimated 6,000 died without ever returning home, according to the Canadian Encyclopaedia. In spite of this, society must also reflect on the motives behind Macdonald's actions. Macdonald and the rest of the Canadian government, which included Liberal members who did not close the schools when they took power, staunchly believed residential schools would benefit Indigenous children by teaching them the practical skills and lead them to be as successful as Euro-Canadians.

Despite the current controversy over residential schools and the role of the first prime minister, it is a fact that Macdonald was the critical force behind Confederation in 1867, from which emerged the modern country we live in today. This leads to the question of how Canadians should reflect on his character as a whole.



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Former NDP Member of Parliament Jack Harris states that while John A. Macdonald did have his faults, he was both a key player in the formation of Canada and a significant influence on the kind of country we live in – both good and bad. “Our historical people have played a role in the creation of the nation of Canada and in John A.'s case, both have their good points and their flaws,” he said. “You have to talk about the history along with the good points and the bad points about what was happening and who was doing it. You have to have perspective on these things, and we do need to learn from them.”

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Jack made it clear that Indigenous people have the right to be upset about residential schools and colonization. It's imperative we work with them when it comes to moving forward as a nation. "There's no quick fix, as they say. You can't wave a wand and fix the history of colonialism. You have to engage, respect and listen to people who had different experiences and have to try to work towards the future," Jack continued. "The issue is how to build a country that is inclusive, that recognizes the inherent rights of the Indigenous people and works with them to find solutions that are fair and just, that make them participants in Canadian society. But it's going to be a different society."

Christopher Dummitt, a history professor at Trent University, believes that when judging past historical figures, the beliefs of their time should be taken into consideration. "I think it's easy to judge anyone by one thing they do. But good citizenship should be judged by looking at the whole person," Christopher said. He added that today's society should try to understand our Canadian ancestors, as opposed to judging them. "We ought to acknowledge and pay attention to the things he got wrong, but it's also important to look at everything he did," the history professor said.

"I think you need to understand why he did what he did. The controversy is around Indigenous people. If you understand him in the context of his time, you'd see him as quite a typical figure who believed in assimilation and the superiority of his culture. We don't approve of it now, but back in his time, there were exceptionally few people who didn't believe that," he added. So, it makes sense that Christopher believes removing Macdonald's name from elementary schools is a step too far.

"People who say we should get rid of his name entirely or only keep it as a teachable moment are promoting a false dichotomy. Yes, any historical figure is someone that could represent a teachable moment, but there are things you would be proud to have his name attached to," he said. "I think people ought to be a little less offended about the names of things, monuments to people you may not like. Canada is an extraordinarily big country. People have never agreed on who the heroes and villains are. There's nothing new in that, and to assume we do agree is to want a uniform view of the past," Christopher concluded.

The Honourable Eleni Bakopanos shared similar sentiments when it comes to maintaining John A. Macdonald's name on public landmarks and having him be taught at schools. "How do you undo a wrong that was made centuries ago – that's the question. Would it be by removing historical figures from everything and obliterating them from history? He can't make amends for what he did, he doesn't exist anymore, he's dead, and he can't apologize," she explained. "We have to find the middle ground somewhere between totally obliterating him as if he didn't exist, because he did exist, with his faults, with the injustices and everything else. But I think we can find fault in any political leader," the former Liberal parliamentarian continued.

Although Eleni said she doesn't have the answer about how to rectify the strife caused by the decisions taken back then, she said educating the public is a step in the right direction. "The government did apologize for what was done to aboriginal people in the past. We can only move forward and have reconciliation if we move on," she added. "We need to make another generation aware, so those errors and injustices are not repeated. That's the whole point, to not repeat past injustices and we should do better than the generation before us and the ones way before us."

*Beyond the Hill* Editor-in-Chief, Dorothy Dobbie added, "To single out a historical figure for any decision made in the context of the times that is seen as wrong in hindsight and according to quite different standards today, would expose every former prime minister and political leader to condemnation. Tommy Douglas thought homosexuals suffered from mental illness. McKenzie King refused haven to a shipload of Jews escaping the holocaust. Today, we view those attitudes and decisions as shameful, but these men also did much good for the country in other ways. "We cannot rewrite history, nor should we. That's like blaming our parents for living in the context of their times. This is not only pointless but damaging to progress. If we expunge the past, we have no road map to the future."

**(*Beyond the Hill* is the official publication of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.)**



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## The Art of Good Governance

# We have the people power to strengthen democracy

By Mike Harcourt

I had a strange mix of feelings after reading the latest terrific Winter 2020 edition of Orders of the Day, produced by Brian Kieran and Rob Lee.

First I felt tremendous respect for Ted Hughes and his wonderful qualities. Plus, enjoyed the thoughtful words of a fine former Socred Minister of Post Secondary Education, Bruce Strachan. Followed by former Speaker Joan Sawicki's description of her cool-headed response to the last storming of the Legislature.

These were followed by Jim Hume's usual elegant prose about the risks of climate change.

Then I had foreboding thoughts about the perilous state of democracy and the growth of strongman regimes and autocrats in Russia, the US, Brazil, the Philippines, Hungary and Poland.

However, I realized that the solutions to strengthening democracy could be provided by those of us former elected and appointed public officials and members of the media.

AFMLABC already sponsors and nurtures the annual BC Youth Parliament with grants from the Hugh Curtis Memorial Fund.

Many of us are mentoring young community leaders.

For example, I'm involved with UBC's Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Future Legislators Summer Institute. Also active on this initiative across party lines are George Abbott, Dawn Black, Larry Campbell, Ujjal Dosanjh, Joy MacPhail, Preston Manning, Anne McLellan, Chuck Strahl, Carole Taylor and many others.

As well, I'm Lead Faculty for the United Way's Public Policy Institute. Also involved are Elizabeth Cull, Brenda Eaton, and Dr. Liz Whynot.

These initiatives boil down to helping upcoming generations of democratic leaders (elected and appointed in a civil society) be successful, thus strengthening our democracies against the turbulence from authoritarian and anti-democratic forces.

Then I thought of all the former MLAs, MPs, councillors, and public officials who are also engaged in mentoring and training the next generation of democratic leaders.

My spirits were restored. Thank you, colleagues and democrats all.



### **Editor's footnote:**

UBC's Institute for Future Legislators (IFL): Legislators play a critical role in addressing the most pressing issues we face today. But too often they arrive unprepared for the demands of public office. The IFL prepares participants to not only know what to expect, but to serve with integrity.

Every year, the UBC Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions invites applications from a diverse and cross-partisan group of people, including all ages and backgrounds. The only prerequisite is legislative aspirations and a readiness to learn from highly experienced practitioners. You do not need to be a UBC student to participate.

Topics include: legislatures and legislative life, parliamentary relationships, political ethics and judgement, working in the house, gender in politics, communications, representation and constituency service.

Program dates for 2020 (to be confirmed): July 11 and 12, July 25 and 26 at UBC Vancouver. August 7 to 10, parliamentary simulation held in Victoria.

Call for applications to be issued in early spring 2020. Join the mailing list by emailing: [rebecca.monnerat@ubc.ca](mailto:rebecca.monnerat@ubc.ca).

United Way's Public Policy Institute: Between now and June 2020, the United Way's Public Policy Institute will bring together a group of 25 leaders from the BC non-profit sector whose organizations want to better understand and influence the public policy process. Enrollment is open to organizations involved in social or health related services from all regions of the province.

Selected organizations will delegate their representative to attend monthly two-day sessions. Sessions will explore such topics as evidence, policy options, engagement as well as implementation and evaluation.

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# A primer for politicians who seek to be effective

(Editor's note: Kendall's advice for MPs applies, without exception, to MLAs.)

by Kendall Anderson  
Executive Director, Samara Centre for Democracy

Recently, we asked MPs to reflect on their last four years in the House. Alarming, almost half felt that the House of Commons was not a good forum for debate and democratic decision-making.

According to MPs, the top obstacle to their work as legislators was inadequate time to consider and deliberate on policy and legislation. Additionally, they regretted how they ran out of time to enact the change they wanted, or to engage with constituents or fellow MPs.

We humbly offer these recommendations to the current generation of MPs:

First, befriend the clerks of the House, librarians, and library researchers, and the officers of Parliament. Many MPs wish they had been more familiar with parliamentary procedure. Clerks will be able to help you learn the language of Parliament and make you more effective legislators. The librarians and officers of Parliament are indispensable in helping you discern intricate budgets and policy issues.

Second, make friends and allies in Parliament through good communication. While you will lean on your fellow party members, don't forget that MPs from across the floor can also provide support. Look for opportunities to connect in committees, all-party caucuses, or in the halls. They can also provide a sounding board and a support. Start off on the right foot by avoiding destructive heckling during debates, keeping in mind that 45 per cent of MPs said that cross-party collaboration got worse, and 55 per cent said incivility got worse, over the course of this last Parliament.

Third, develop honest and clear relationships with media. The media was the second biggest obstacle for MPs in the last Parliament. Get media training, speak with journalists, and, most importantly, don't be afraid to say "I'm not ready to answer that question. I'll get back to you."



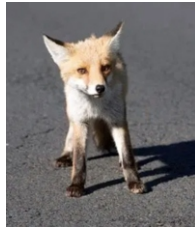
Fourth, avoid spouting canned speeches given to you by the party and work on developing your own voice. Specialize on one or a small set of policy issues. Whether it's through committee work, private members' business, or caucus meetings, becoming an expert in something and getting support from other caucus members and the public can put you in a position to effect real change.

Fifth, work smart in the constituency. You'll spend two thirds of the year in (or travelling to) your riding, and it's easy to get caught up in a cycle of endless events and piles of constituency casework. These aren't always the most effective channels to consult with a broad range of constituents. Instead, consider using innovative public engagement techniques, such as polling constituents regularly or creating local, issue-based councils.

Finally, Parliament needs to evolve to respond to a worldwide increase in democratic anxiety. Canadians have tremendous faith in democracy, but they are concerned it's getting weaker. Parliament may seem unchanging and unchangeable, but you need to make it change so it can adjust to the cultural needs of each new generation. One MP's regret was that they didn't get started earlier in their work to fundamentally rehabilitate the institution. The work of an MP isn't easy and it has only gotten harder with time. But by drawing on the experience of past MPs, and heeding their practical wisdom and warnings, you can do the job better and make your life easier. In doing so, you will be helping to cultivate a healthier Parliament and a stronger democracy for all Canadians.

## Fox loose amongst parliament hounds

LONDON (Sky News) – A cunning fox managed to break into the British Parliament and evade capture from authorities.



The mammal was spotted climbing an escalator into the main building where MPs' offices are. It was spotted by staff wandering round Portcullis House, having out-foxed police and security guards and made it as far as the cafe and then up to the fourth floor.

A message on Conservative MP Julia Lopez's Twitter account read: "We have seen some strange things in Parliament since 2017, but this tops it!" Labour MP Karl Turner managed to get a snap of the wily creature sneaking past a police officer. "This little fella must know that Boris Johnson is planning to let rip with filthy fox hunting," he posted.

The fox was removed in a blue box and released onto the pavement next to the River Thames.

## No free lunch in Wakanda

WASHINGTON DC (Reuters) – The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) has removed the fictional country of Wakanda from an online list of nations that have free trade agreements with the United States.

The Kingdom of Wakanda is the home of Black Panther, the Marvel superhero, and is portrayed in comic books and the 2018 blockbuster movie as an isolated African nation with the most powerful technology on the planet.



"While we removed the Kingdom of Wakanda from our list of US free trade partners, our relationship will always be strong," the USDA tweeted from its official account.

## Le mot "f" en français est correct

The French f-word is so commonplace that the Canadian Broadcasting Standards Council (CBSC) has ruled it's OK for the radio.



It was previously banned on radio and TV to beyond evening hours and then only with a warning. But complaints from listeners to a Montreal French-language radio station prompted a ruling that said the f-word is so common it does not have "the same vulgar connotations when used in French" as it does in English.

"If the word is used infrequently and not as an insult towards a particular person, it will be deemed acceptable in the context of French-language programming," ruled the CRTC.

## Boris is a weighty cheese head

LONDON (Reuters) – British Prime Minister Boris Johnson says he wants to lose weight this year but would not do "Veganuary" – the popular practice of becoming vegan in January – as it would take too much concentration and mean giving up cheese.

"I had thought of it but it requires so much concentration. I do take my hat off to vegans who can handle it," he said during an interview with BBC TV having confessed he wanted to lose some pounds. "You can't eat cheese if you're a vegan. It's just a crime against ... cheese lovers," he added.





# Len Norris



March 17, 1955

*"This 'Luck o'the Irish' you're dispensing ... would it happen to be the illegal kind ...?"*

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60 years ago

## First Nations peoples given voting rights

By Daniel N. Paul

In March 1960, thanks to Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's enlightened thinking, the government made a decision that would prove to be most beneficial in promoting the eventual recognition of the civil and human rights of First Nations citizens. It decided to permit all "Registered Indians" to vote in federal elections.

Registered Indians living on reserve had previously been prevented from doing so by this section of the Canada Elections Act:

14. (2) The following persons are disqualified from voting in an election and incapable of being registered as electors and shall not vote nor be so registered, that is to say ... (e) every Indian, as defined in the Indian Act, ordinarily resident on a reserve, unless (i) he was a member of His Majesty's Forces during World War I or World War II, or was a member of the Canadian Forces who served on active service subsequent to the 9th day of September, 1950, or (ii) he executed a waiver, in a form prescribed by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, of exemptions under the Indian Act from taxation on and in respect of personal property, and subsequent to the execution of such waiver a writ has issued ordering an election in any electoral district.

An "Act to Amend the Canada Elections Act," repealing the discriminatory parts of Section 14, was given Royal Assent on March 31, 1960.

By acquiring the right to vote ninety-three unjustifiable years after Confederation, the First Nations peoples of Canada had acquired a useful tool in their future struggles for freedom and justice. Politicians now had to address their problems or suffer at the polls. After this, things began to slowly change for the better for First Nations peoples.

Why the change wasn't more rapid is explained by the following example of the racist attitudes that still prevailed among the bureaucrats: When I returned from the States in 1960 with the intention of going back to school, I went to see the Indian agent with a request for financial assistance



to do so. His response was: "Why don't you go get a pick and shovel and go do what you're best qualified for?" With the angry intervention of my Member of Parliament Cyril Kennedy, who was a war veteran and a fine gentleman, the agent changed his attitude and I started business college in September of that year.

Another thing that changed after the vote was granted was that departmental bureaucrats became more adept at concealing their misdeeds and failings from Members of Parliament, who were now answerable to the people making complaints about bureaucratic job performance.

The bureaucrats came up with the ideal solution, amazingly never challenged by any politician. They assigned themselves to investigate their own misdeeds and failings and, of course, almost always exonerate themselves. The worst result is that First Nations citizens were left with no effective legal recourse for their complaints about the actions of Indian Affairs bureaucrats and band councils. As this situation demonstrates, full protection of our people's civil rights was hard to come by.

**(Daniel N. Paul is a Mi'kmaq Elder, author, columnist, and human rights activist. Paul is perhaps best known as the author of the book *We Were Not the Savages*.)**