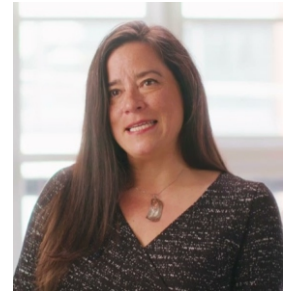


Finally, after three years of long distance

Jody Wilson-Raybould to address AFMLABC at the Government House dinner Sept. 15th



by Brian Kieran, OOTD Editor

SEPT. 15th, 2023 ... set it aside in your social calendars.

It's the day when members of the Association of Former MLAs of BC get to rub shoulders again after three long years of pandemic-mandated isolation and distancing. And, it will be the evening when we will welcome Jody Wilson-Raybould as our very special dinner companion and featured speaker.

Wilson-Raybould – Indigenous beacon, lawyer, advocate, author and survivor of federal politics – brings a wealth of world experience to the table (See Page 14). Tickets for the Sept. 15th dinner at Government House will be going fast.

As editor of OOTD (and the association's default majordomo), I have organized more remote Zoom executive meetings over the past three years than I care to remember. An old-fashioned AGM tête-à-tête and an elegant up close and personal bun toss are just what the doctor ordered.

Kate Ryan-Lloyd, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, has notified us that she has reserved the Hemlock Committee Room for the AGM. It will start at 1:30 p.m.

Jerymy Brownridge, Executive Director in the Office of the Lieutenant Governor, has set the evening of Sept. 15th aside for the banquet. He says Government House will be doing a buffet this year, as they tend not to do “plated” dinners much anymore. We are told the buffet looks quite grand and is more economical than the traditional plated dinner.

Turn to Pages 15 and 16 for all the information you need to participate in the evolution of the association at the AGM Friday afternoon and to join the party at Government House that evening.



A new King in a changing Commonwealth

The Coronation of King Charles III this month would be a first for many Canadians, and they approached the occasion with a full measure of Royal ambivalence.

The last such pageant starred Queen Elizabeth II 70 years ago. It was the first Coronation to be televised across the Commonwealth. In most households, it was a golden age of black-and-white TV innocence ... rabbit ears ruled.

Our coverage on Pages 4, 5 and 6 starts with the AFMLABC's good friend, monarchist Bruce Hallsor, who reminds us that King Charles paid many visits to BC stretching back 50 years when he was associated with the United World Colleges.

Bruce comments that BC and the world have changed much since the last Coronation. He says we can expect King Charles to use his influence to nudge the monarchy to more closely reflect the changing face of the modern Commonwealth.

Our coverage includes a sobering Angus Reid Institute reality check indicating that Royal engagement is being overtaken by significant Royal indifference and negativity.



Her Honour

The Honourable Janet Austin, OBC
Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

Orders of the Day is published regularly throughout the year, and is circulated to Association members, all MLAs now serving in Legislature, other interested individuals and organizations.

Material for the newsletter is always welcome and should be sent in written form to:

**P.O. Box 30024
Reynolds P.O.
Victoria, B.C. V8X 1J0**

Or emailed to ootd.afmlabc@gmail.com
or ootd@shaw.ca

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Payment can be sent to the above address.

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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.

Thank You and Miscellany

Thank you to Telus for renewing its advertising in Orders of the Day. We appreciate all the organizations that continue to support our Association.

Thank you to those of you who, when sending in your Member dues or subscription renewals, added a donation to help cover production costs.

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From the Editor's Desk

Orders of the Day and the AFMLABC have a talented extended family that supports us around the edges of the inner family circle of retired MLAs. This month I want to thank those extended family members who have taken the time to contribute to this issue. They include Victoria's most prominent monarchist Bruce Hallsor, public affairs strategist and blogger Mike McDonald, former public servant and ALR historian Barry Smith and regular contributor and civic politician Simon Gibson.

The May issue goes out of its way to mark the Coronation of King Charles III. For this, I make no apologies ... even in the face of national polling (Page 6) that makes it painfully clear many Canadians are ambivalent about – or indifferent to – the Commonwealth's Royal family, its privilege and traditions.

My fascination with – and tolerance for – things Royal dates back to 1981 when the Vancouver Sun sent me to London for three weeks to cover the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana ... that would be me lost in a crowd of about 6,000 journalists from around the globe all desperate for a unique angle. The scale of the pageantry was mind-boggling.

In 1986, I enjoyed what passes for a brief off-the-record, up-close-and-personal moment with the Royal couple at BC's Government House. Prince Charles, wandering from one clutch of reporters to another, was complaining that the media in Australia had savaged him for musing that his infant son, William, might one day chow down on kangaroo meat. I'm not making this up. I found the prince's phenomenal real-world naivety oddly endearing. Lady Di just needed a hug.

Right on deadline in late April, we got the good news that Jody Wilson-Raybould confirmed her availability to be the AFMLABC's guest speaker at our Sept. 15th dinner at Government House. I know it will be a very special evening and I have already ordered my tickets. See you there!

The President's Report

Our 43rd Annual Gala Dinner organized by the Association of the Former MLAs of BC, is at the Government House in Victoria on Friday, Sept. 15th, 2023. Everyone is invited to attend. Let's make this a very special dinner. Please bring your family and friends. Purchase your tickets now, as tickets are limited. Mark your calendar and make your travel plans.

The Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Janet Austin, is our host at Government House, a spectacular setting with 36 acres of manicured gardens, native woodlands and heritage buildings.

Our special guest speaker will be Jody Wilson-Raybould. She has spoken on many topics, including reconciliation, good governance, treaties, aboriginal law, environment, financial transparency, human rights, Aboriginal peoples and Indigenous rights.

Our Annual General Meeting of the AFMLABC will be held at the Parliament Buildings in the Hemlock Room on Sept. 15th at 1:30 p.m. If you have not renewed your membership (or subscription), please do so at www.formerbcmla.com or send your cheque to: The Association of Former MLAs of BC, PO Box 30024, Reynolds P.O., Victoria, BC, V8X 1J0.

We must acknowledge and thank all the former association directors and executives for all their work in past decades and also recognize the extraordinary prescience of the first five association directors who, in 1987, signed the original Societies Act papers registering us as an organization. They are Garde Gardom, Donald Marshall, Jim Nielsen, Dennis Cocke and Gordon Gibson.

I want to thank Brian Kieran, Editor of Orders of the Day, Rob Lee, Layout/Production/Research, Editorial Board members and all the contributors for helping us produce an excellent publication. It is primarily funded by your membership dues and subscriptions.

Please buy your dinner ticket now! I hope to see all of you at Government House on Sept. 15th.

If you have any suggestions, advice or just want to talk, please feel free to contact me at daveshayer@gmail.com.

Dave Hayer,
President



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King Charles III will reflect changing times in the realm

By Bruce Hallsor

As we have been celebrating the Coronation of our new King, many British Columbians will have reflected on his long service as Prince of Wales and personal memories of his many visits to British Columbia.

King Charles first came to know British Columbia 50 years ago when he was associated with the United World Colleges. This association brought him twice to meetings at Pearson College near Victoria, as well as to parts of Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland in 1979, 1980, and 1982.

British Columbians will have many more memories of his more extended visits to British Columbia to open Expo 86, staying for more than a week visiting Victoria, Nanaimo, Kamloops, and Prince George. His vacation in Whistler with his teenage boys in 1998 also involved a number of public appearances in the Lower Mainland.

The King's last visit here as Prince of Wales was in November 2009, when he and his consort filled the front lawn of the Legislature with well-wishers and were hosted at a memorable dinner at Government House.

British Columbians have every reason to expect that our new King knows British Columbia as well as any of his many realms throughout the Commonwealth. We can also expect him to grace us with his presence when he makes his much-anticipated tour of Canada as our new King.

British Columbia, and the world, have changed much since the last Coronation. We were promised that this Coronation ceremony would be more inclusive, more ecumenical, less formal, and more reflective of modern times. Beyond the ceremony, we can expect that King Charles will use his influence to nudge the monarchy to more closely reflect the changing face of the modern Commonwealth. British Columbians can also expect to hear more from their King, politically neutral, on topics that matter to them, such as the environment, the preservation of heritage, and human rights.

Last fall, it was difficult for many of us to say goodbye to Her Majesty. While we all knew the day would come when her reign would end, the affection and respect so many felt for her allowed us to keep hoping and even believing that the day was always years away. However, when her time did come, the succession to King Charles III went off without a hitch.

Months later, it still feels odd to toast the King and to sing "God Save the King" after 70 years of "the Queen." One purpose of the Coronation ceremony was to help us adjust to this transition and move forward together, confirming our



King Charles III, (then Prince of Wales), takes part in a ceremony at the Marco Polo cruise terminal with Camilla, on May 21, 2012, in Saint John.

collective loyalty to the new King, which re-affirms our loyalty to Canada, to British Columbia, and our membership in the Commonwealth.

This loyalty, common among Commonwealth realms, means that we can express our loyalty to a figurehead who represents the state without having to express it to a partisan political figure or even an abstract political concept. In this country, we recognize that opposition politicians can be loyal and patriotic and play a constructive role in our democratic process by conferring on them the title of "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition."

By the same token, we recognize that government politicians are not all-powerful but only temporary custodians of their offices. Jaques Monet once said: "When the Prime Minister bows to the Queen, he bows to all Canadians." The act of deference to Royal authority may be largely symbolic, but it is an important reminder that the power we hand over to governments is restrained and temporary.

The words read at the Coronation ceremony in London and the Canadian confirmation ceremony at Rideau Hall were meant to amplify this vital principle and ensure the continuation of our constitutional monarchy.

I expect the King's Coronation oaths will have caused him to reflect on his many realms, and I expect British Columbia to be foremost among them.

(Bruce Hallsor, K.C., is a managing partner of Crease Harman LLP, British Columbia's oldest law firm. Bruce is a spokesman for the Monarchist League of Canada and past chair of the Victoria branch.)



King Charles III ... to the manner born, plus some

By Carolyn Harris

Prince Charles Philip Arthur George was born Nov. 14th, 1948, at Buckingham Palace in London, the eldest son of Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh (Prince Philip). Charles became King on Sept. 8th, 2022, after the death of his mother. He is the oldest heir to the throne in British and Commonwealth history.

Charles was the first direct heir to the throne to attend school instead of being educated by tutors. He began his formal education at Hill House School in London in 1957. Later that year, eight-year-old Charles began his first term at Cheam, a boarding school in Headley, Hampshire, where Philip had been a pupil in the early 1930s.

For his secondary education, Charles attended Gordonstoun on the Moray Firth in Scotland and completed two university qualifying examinations in history and French in 1967. During his secondary education, Charles also spent two exchange terms at Timbertop near Melbourne, Australia.

Charles is the first heir to the throne to complete a post-secondary degree. In 1970, he received a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, Archaeology and History from Cambridge University. While studying at Cambridge, he spent periods away from campus performing naval service, royal engagements and overseas tours.

From 1971 to 1976, Charles served in the Royal Navy, assuming command of the HMS Bronington in his final year of active service.

In Canada, Charles is honorary Colonel-in-Chief of The Air Reserve of Canada, Lord Strathcona's Horse (The Royal Canadians), The Royal Winnipeg Rifles, The Royal Regiment of Canada, The Royal Canadian Dragoons, The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada and The Toronto Scottish Regiment (Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother's Own). In the United Kingdom, Charles holds the rank of Admiral in the Royal Navy, Air Chief Marshal in the Royal Air Force, and General in the Army.

Charles has been interested in conservation and sustainable development for decades, pioneering innovative solutions. He introduced a "bottle bank" at Buckingham Palace before the United Kingdom had a national recycling program. His organic garden at Highgrove has served as a model for other organic agriculture endeavours.



Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Charles looking through binoculars at the 200th Epsom Derby, 1979.



Queen Elizabeth II with baby Charles, 1949.

In a speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 26th UN Climate Change Conference of the Parties (COP26) in Glasgow on Nov. 1st, 2021, Charles said: "The COVID-19 pandemic has shown us just how devastating a global, cross-border threat can be. Climate change and biodiversity loss are no different. In fact, they pose an even greater existential threat, to the extent that we have to put ourselves on what might be called a war-like footing."

Charles's forthright opinions on the environment have prompted speculation regarding his future role as a constitutional monarch.

Charles has been a philanthropist since the age of 21 when he took personal charge of the Duchy of Cornwall. He founded his most famous charity, The Prince's Trust, in 1976, which seeks to find ways to help young people in need.

In 2011, Charles founded Prince's Charities Canada, which joined Prince's Trust Group as Prince's Trust Canada in 2018. Through Prince's Trust Canada, Charles encourages partnerships between Canadian organizations and the United Kingdom.

Recent initiatives include an annual "buy veteran" campaign to encourage Canadians to support veteran-owned businesses and the introduction of new youth employment programs across Canada.

(Carolyn Harris is a historian, author and royal commentator based in Toronto.)

Canadians pose a royal headache for the monarchy

For most Canadians, the May 6th Coronation would be the only Royal crowning they have witnessed in their lifetime. The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was 70 years ago, in 1953, the first Coronation that was fully televised.

However, new data from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute finds that slightly more than half of Canadians do not want their country to continue as a constitutional monarchy for generations to come. Nearly all believe it's worth opening the constitutional can of worms to sever the country's royal roots.

Most Canadians (59 per cent) said they would be paying some attention to King Charles' Coronation; however, only nine per cent were looking forward to it. Twenty per cent would tune in to some of it, while 30 per cent say they'd catch up after the proceedings.

Ontario was home to the most enthusiasm for the Coronation – 39 per cent were interested in or looking forward to the event. In BC, that number was 28 per cent. Meanwhile, a majority in Quebec (55 per cent) could not care less.

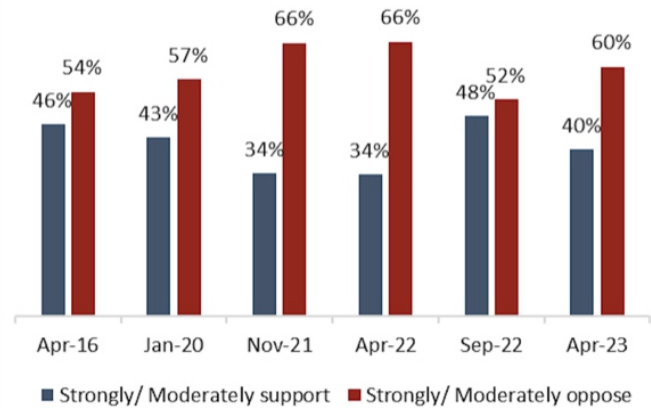
Women over 34 were more interested in the coming Coronation than other demographics. Men and women under 35 were about equally enthusiastic for the Crown to be placed on Charles' head, while men aged 35 to 54 were the most likely to say they don't care.

Charles' mother, Queen Elizabeth II, would have turned 97 in April. Canada's affection for the longest-serving British monarch in history is well documented. While her role as Canada's head of state passed down to King Charles, Canadians' warmth for Elizabeth did not.

Twenty-eight per cent of Canadians say they have a favourable view of their new King; half do not. In fact, 60 per cent oppose recognizing Charles as King and all that entails. Approaching two-thirds say they oppose swearing an oath to the King and singing "God Save the King" at official ceremonies. More than 62 per cent do not want to see Charles on their \$20 bills or toonies.

Charles has some big brooches to fill as the monarch following in Elizabeth's footsteps. More than half of Canadians believe he'll fall short and be a worse monarch than Queen Elizabeth. Fewer than three per cent expect him to surpass his mother.

Support for recognizing Charles as King by swearing oaths to him, putting him on currency and recognizing him as head of state



There has been debate in England about what to call Charles' wife, Camilla. Last year, Queen Elizabeth said it was her "sincere wish" for Camilla to be known as Queen Consort. However, the palace wanted to drop the "Consort," referring to her only as Queen Camilla on invitations to the Coronation. In Canada, both the titles of Queen (21 per cent) and Queen Consort (19 per cent) lose out to "she should not be referred to as 'Queen'" (60 per cent). This comes as 66 per cent say they oppose Canada recognizing Camilla as Queen of their country.

Older Canadians, perhaps with the scandalous headlines of the Camilla-Charles affair in memory, are more likely to believe Camilla should not be called Queen or Queen Consort. More than half of Canadians under the age of 35 agree.

While many Canadians believe the Royals reflect outdated values more than modern ones, one-quarter believe they are representative of both. Compared to data taken last year, a growing group of Canadians believe the Royals reflect neither of those values at all.

The couple next-in-line to the throne, William and Kate, are viewed more favourably by Canadians, but the positivity flows from those who believe Canada should continue as a constitutional monarchy. Four in five in that group have positive impressions of Prince William and Princess Kate. Those who want to see an end to the Royals' rule over Canada are more negative (William, 36 per cent favourable; Kate, 41 per cent).

Elections BC offers youth and voters “*Democracy in a Box*”

In 2020, Elections BC created the *Democracy in a Box Activity Kit* to help British Columbians explore democracy and voting – past and present. The kit is free and available in English and French. Each kit includes supplies for up to 30 people.

The kit’s purpose is to teach people about voting, provincial elections, and democracy so that they are comfortable with and interested in the voting process. We hope this encourages them to vote and participate in provincial elections when and if they are eligible.

The kit includes fun activities and resources, including:

- A ballot box, voting screen and other supplies for a mock election;
- election trivia cards;
- a map to explore BC’s electoral districts; and
- a timeline to learn about the history of voting rights in BC.

The timeline piece is fascinating: The first provincial election was held in 1871, conducted by a show of hands on nomination day and, if required, an open poll book on polling day. Fewer than 3,000 people were qualified to vote by being male British subjects 21 years of age who met specific property and residence requirements. Judges, magistrates and police were prohibited from voting.

Over the next six decades, additional voting prohibitions were imposed based on ethnicity, association or physical or mental disability: 1872 – Chinese Canadians and Indigenous people; 1878 – Federal government employees (except Post Office employees) and school teachers employed by the provincial government; 1893 – People living in a provincial home for the aged or infirm; 1895 – Japanese Canadians; 1899 – Provincial employees; 1907 – South Asian Canadians; 1931 – Doukhobors; 1947 – knowledge of English or French language mandatory.



The last of these was reversed in 1985 when “British subject” was dropped as a qualification to vote.

The kit has two versions: one is designed for primary and intermediate-level learners (kindergarten to grade 7), and the other is for secondary and continuing education-level learners (grade 8 to adult). The activity booklets for teachers using the kit identify curricular connections for each activity, including ideas and curricular competencies. The kit is designed for students in a classroom setting, but community groups, families, and any others are invited and encouraged to use it.

Since creating the kit three years ago, Elections BC has distributed hundreds to teachers, homeschooling families, and community groups across the province. Elections BC has received positive feedback that the kit is a fun, interactive way to engage with the topics of voting, provincial elections and democracy.

Elections BC can mail a *Democracy in a Box Activity Kit* to anyone in the province. To request a kit, please email outreach@elections.bc.ca.



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HELPING WHEN LIFE CHANGES



Farmland would no longer be urban land in waiting

(Editor's Note: Former MLA, cabinet minister and Speaker Joan Sawicki's comprehensive look back at 50 years of the ALR in the April issue did not go unnoticed. She sends this piece from Barry Smith. In 1973, he was doing his Master's thesis on the topic. He went on to work at the Land Commission for many years and, after retirement, single-handedly compiled much of the ALC archival history for posterity. Here is his take on the historic passage of the Land Commission Act.)

By Barry Smith

On April 18th, 1973, the Land Commission Act, forerunner of today's Agricultural Land Commission Act, was given Royal Assent and was passed into law.

During the later part of 1972 and until the act's passage, the government received support from several quarters but also came under heavy, at times extreme, criticism in the pursuit of the policy to preserve British Columbia's farmland. Through this tumultuous period, the government of the day persevered.

Fifty years ago, on April 17th, 1973, Hansard records that 34 Members of the Legislature in the 30th Parliament (2nd Session) rose to approve the third reading and passage of the Land Commission Act.

This was a landmark piece of legislation; there was nothing like it in any other jurisdiction in North America at the time. It provided the legal foundation to advance the government's farmland preservation policy.

Over the last half-century, there have been ups and downs in the delivery of the program, but the primary objective initially assigned to the Land Commission, to "preserve agricultural land for farm use," remains basically unaltered.

In recognition and humble thanks, I have attached a list of the 34 members responsible for passing this visionary legislation that still benefits British Columbians today. Hansard lists the 34 members of the legislative assembly that voted in favour of the third reading and passage of the Land Commission Act on April 17th, 1973.

David Stupich, the Minister of Agriculture, is recorded in Hansard as being prominent in leading the section-by-section review of Bill 42 on April 14 and 16, 1973.

At its conclusion, Premier David Barrett stated in part: "I want to personally express my public appreciation to our Minister of Agriculture (Hon. David Stupich), who has taken this pioneering bill through a very emotional and unnecessarily unwarranted personal attack against him ... but I want to publicly thank him for taking this bill through."

In the 1972 Department of Agriculture Annual Report, Minister Stupich made the government's intentions concerning farmland preservation quite clear when he said: "There are those among us who tend to assume that British Columbia is a land of boundless resources to be freely exploited under the guise of progress. We can forgive those early settlers who subscribed to this view, but today we know that is patently untrue.

"Nowhere is this more evident than in our agriculture. It has become firmly established that there are very definite limits to the extent of land area in this province that can be profitably devoted to agricultural pursuits.

"Because of this, it is essential that every effort be made to ensure that such land be preserved, not only in the interests of our agricultural industry itself but for the common good as well."

If anything, Stupich's comments are even more relevant today. In mountainous BC, the physical context within which the farmland resource rests has not changed. But, the number of British Columbians has more than doubled – from 2.2 million in 1971 to 5.4 million today.

By any measure, the Land Commission Act was a visionary piece of legislation representing a paradigm shift. The post-Second World War tendency to view farmland as urban land in waiting was fundamentally altered by the designation of a provincially inspired agricultural reserve within which farming and ranching were prioritized.

The designating of the Agricultural Land Reserve was strongly based on the nationwide Canada land inventory and designated only after a process involving public hearings held by the various regional districts, a review by the Land Commission, and finally, a reconsideration and ultimate approval by Cabinet.

continued next page

With hindsight, it has been noted: “It is impossible not to be impressed by the qualities of the political act which grasped the farmland nettle in British Columbia. It is skilful, logical, bold and strong.” Further: “The creation of the BC Land Commission is considered a major event in the evolution of regional planning in Canada as well as in planning for conservation, resource development, and the environment.” (Sources: *The Agricultural Land Commission of British Columbia, Environments, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1982* and *Planning Canadian Regions, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2001.*)

It is worth reflecting that this far-reaching, progressive legislation enhanced sustainability 14 years before the term came into vogue in the Brundtland Report “*Our Common Future*” completed by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987.

Carl Liden	Delta	Robert Strachan	Cowichan-Malahat
Douglas Kelly	Omineca	Alexander Macdonald	Vancouver East
Gerald Anderson	Kamloops	Phyllis Young	Vancouver- Little Mountain
Roy Cummings	Vancouver- Little Mountain	Colin Gabelmann	North Vancouver-Seymour
Jack A. Radford	Vancouver South	Frank Calder	Atlin
Alfred Nunweiler	Fort George	Robert Williams	Vancouver East
David Barrett	Coquitlam	Daisy Webster	Vancouver South
James Gorst	Esquimalt	Emery Barnes	Vancouver Centre
Gary Lauk	Vancouver Centre	Hartley Dent	Skeena
William Hartley	Yale-Lillooet	Karen Sanford	Comox
Dennis Cocke	New Westminster	Lorne Nicolson	Nelson-Creston
Norman Levi	Vancouver-Burrard	Eileen Daily	Burnaby North
Donald Lewis	Shuswap	Ernie Hall	Surrey
Harold Steves	Richmond	Graham Lea	Prince Rupert
Peter Rolston	Dewdney	Robert Skelly	Alberni
Christopher D’Arcy	Rossland-Trail	William King	Revelstoke-Slocan
Rosemary Brown	Vancouver-Burrard	James Lorimer	Burnaby-Willingdon

Today, only five of the 34 Members of the Legislature that approved the Land Commission Act are still with us. But their leadership 50 years ago has contributed to a more resilient British Columbia as we collectively face the challenges of climate change.

For this, they deserve our recognition, our thanks and our remembrance.

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Canadian political clout? BC defines far-flung

By Mike McDonald
Writing for *Air Quotes Media*

Has any province got it worse than British Columbia when it comes to representation in Ottawa? And is there anything to be done about it?

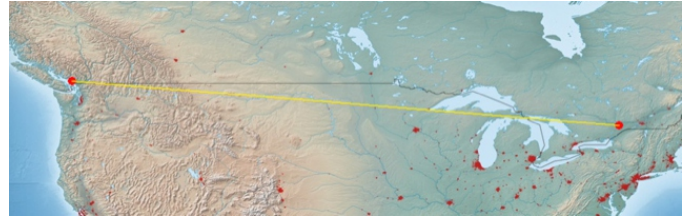
First, travel-wise, it's a tough gig for a BC Member of Parliament. Three time zones away. The far-out Eastern Fringe, Newfoundland and Labrador, is a mere one-and-a-half time zones away.

It's not like an MP can pack up the car and head home for the weekend. It's 4,442 km to Vancouver or 4,900 km to Prince Rupert. Or, practically speaking, a six-hour flight to Vancouver, and longer for those BC MPs requiring a connection to Vancouver Island or BC's Interior.

Given the distance, one would think BC might get a break on the size of its constituencies. Nope. Unlike most provinces, BC doesn't have a senatorial or grandfather clause guaranteeing representation. Thus, this furthest-flung province also has the distinction of representing the highest number of constituents, on average, than any other province, except Ontario, with which it is virtually tied.

Our mothers and fathers of Confederation have deemed it fit for far-flung BC to be under-represented compared to seven other provinces: the average Quebec riding has 91 per cent of the population of the BC average, followed in descending order by Manitoba (82 per cent), Nova Scotia (74 per cent), Saskatchewan (69 per cent), New Brunswick (65 per cent), Newfoundland & Labrador (61 per cent), and, of course, PEI (34 per cent). You would think the CBC would care when *Anne of Green Gables* has three-times the voting strength than *Relic* from *The Beachcombers*.

Compounding this disorder of asymmetrical federalism, take a look at the Senate when it comes to BC. The Constitution Act of 1915 expanded the Senate by giving Western Canadian provinces 24 Senators, to put it on par with Ontario (24), Quebec (24), and the Maritimes, then just New Brunswick (10), Nova Scotia (10), and PEI (4). For BC, deemed one-quarter of the "West," it means its share is six out of a total of 105 Senators (5.7 per cent). The idea of the Senate bringing regional balance certainly does not apply to BC, especially when it is already under-represented on a rep-by-pop basis and is located the furthest distance from the capital. (Mind you, most British Columbians couldn't name a BC senator, and the latest vacancy went unfilled for almost three years without much notice).



Continuing with this extended grievance, let's look at BC's contributions to national leadership. We can at least fall back on the glorious reign of BC's one true born-and-bred prime minister, who served ably as the 19th in office. For 132 days, Port Alberni-born Kim Campbell ruled from coast to coast to coast, only to have her government exterminated, and her political party ultimately extinguished. And there it ends for true-BC prime ministers; about one-third of one year out of 155+ years of Confederation.

Sure, BC can lay partial claim to John A. MacDonald, who represented Victoria despite never visiting; John Turner, who had a strong association with the province though principally from Eastern Canada; and Justin Trudeau, who has lived here though, like Turner, is not really from here. We simply don't churn out those national leaders.

Distance is part of it, but more importantly, it's language. French is not a day-to-day reality in BC. It takes a motivated and ambitious politician to choose national office. Next door in Alberta, Joe Clark and Stephen Harper had the foresight to be bilingual. In BC, among Liberals and Conservatives, only E. Davie Fulton comes to mind as a BC-raised national leadership contender who spoke French, and no other for the contending parties in the past half-century.

As the third largest province, what's BC's place at the federal cabinet table? BC has not been especially influential at the federal cabinet table. Sure, we've had some strong ministers over the years, but we have never produced a finance minister. Huh.

BC usually has the middle-weights, and they are not especially high-profile in BC either. We aren't sitting back home watching what our federal ministers are up to on the 6 p.m. news. They are seldom on it. Our sport in BC over the years has been provincial politics. Federal politics is that faraway place in Ottawa dealing with issues that aren't the bread and butter of BC daily life. The idea of the mythical "BC Minister" or "BC Lieutenant" calling the shots for BC at the federal cabinet table isn't reality, or if it is, it isn't the perception.

continued next page

Now, having laid out the case for why BC has a shabby deal and how BC returns the favour with ambivalence toward its federal institutions, I turn my attention to the recent proposal to continue with a hybrid parliament.

If there's any group that should benefit from more flexibility, it's BC MPs. I get it that there is no replacement for the real thing. Even BC MPs benefit from spending lots of time in Ottawa, building relationships, spending time in the House of Commons, and mastering how these arcane institutions work. But it doesn't have to be all or nothing. The travel for BC MPs is gruelling, and, as mentioned, they get no breaks on the size of their ridings.

Women are under-represented in the major BC parties: Three of 15 Liberals and two of 13 Conservatives. In both cases, this works against cabinet representation from BC. The NDP are much better represented by gender, but they aren't looking to form a cabinet anytime soon. All parties combined, BC lags behind the national average in terms of representation of women from BC (27 per cent). Are the challenges of representing BC constituencies a factor in this gender imbalance? My decades of observing candidate recruitment suggests, strongly, yes.

Not only is representing BC in Ottawa tough on any MP, it is especially hard for those with kids at home – mothers or fathers. You either move the family to Ottawa, or you accept there will be prolonged absences. It's a terrible trade-off that a hybrid parliament can ameliorate. There are countless stories of BC MPs who hit the bottle or worse. We expect a lot from MPs; however, the workplace conditions of a BC MP are borderline ridiculous. Fly home on a Friday (10 hours transit time), work Saturday in the constituency, and fly to Ottawa on Sunday (10 hours). You have to really love it to do it.

The hybrid parliament offers a release valve, providing the option to take meetings or House duty virtually from the constituency office on a Friday or even spend a week in the constituency instead of the capital when warranted. A forced march to Ottawa benefits those with the most geographical advantage and puts the most strain on those with the most travel.

Virtual help notwithstanding, BC gets short shrift when it comes to representation. If we were sticklers for rep-by-pop in Canada, BC would have four more seats based on a 343-seat House.

But, we ought to think a little harder about how we can get more people from BC into federal office and help them be more effective once they get there. Regional alienation characterizes the federal-provincial debate between Ottawa and Alberta-Saskatchewan. Regional ambivalence in BC could be a greater concern. If we fail to recruit and elect those who aspire to fully represent BC in parliament, the idea of Canada out here in British Columbia may someday be greeted with a collective shrug.

(Mike McDonald is the Chief Strategy Officer with Kirk & Co. and a Senior Research Associate with Pollara Strategic Insights, a market and public opinion research firm. *Air Quotes Media* is a hub for political commentary at <https://www.airquotesmedia.com/quotes>.)



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The losers are winners, too, in our democracy

By Simon Gibson

Winning and losing are imbedded in the culture of our society. We tend to categorize those who succeed and those who don't. For example, our affection for a particular sports team can swiftly be moderated should they collapse – at least temporarily – and find themselves outdone by spirited competitors.

Entertainers may attract a large following and have a base which is almost obsessive at times. Actors, for instance, can be recognized at various televised awards ceremonies, but the tide can quickly turn, and suddenly they are no longer honoured or even acknowledged.

The political arena is well known for the treatment of its members; the victorious and the vanquished are easily identified once the votes are recorded. There is no middle ground, and like the signs posted at the White Star Line head office, families of Titanic passengers were provided with two lists: “Those known to be saved; those known to be lost.”

Politicians can often feel a sense of affirmation if they are elected or re-elected (which can be reminiscent of a popularity contest). “People like me, and I'm the winner” may be the subliminal mood of some successful candidates.

However, I believe the language of “winner and loser” necessitates some reflection when it is viewed through the lens of politics. What does it really mean to be successful when seeking elected office?

In all elections – federal, provincial or local – there are only a handful of “winners,” with most candidates missing out.

A few months ago, I was re-elected to Abbotsford Council after a nine-year hiatus. I was among eight to be selected, but there were 13 who would have to wait for another day to achieve success. Those 13, for the most part, worked hard and had competent campaigns. Some of them made a significant investment and had a strong base of supporters. Their speeches at all-candidate meetings were generally engaging and knowledgeable.

When it came to furthering the ideals of democracy, they were all “winners.” Without their engagement, many issues would not have entered the discourse, and other candidates might have avoided addressing them.

Some unsuccessful candidates are extremely popular yet fail to be elected – by the narrowest of margins. My re-election bid came down to just 80 votes. An incumbent candidate was just behind me. My nomination to be a candidate in the 2013 provincial election was even tighter, just 13 votes ahead of a competent opponent who himself went on to seek elected office in a BC municipality.

I'm reminded of my advice for business and communications students I taught at two local universities. I tell them: “It's okay to fail. It's not okay not to try.” I explain that I've been defeated three times but elected 12 times.

A robust political culture requires the active participation of a variety of candidates with differing views and platforms. Some will succeed – some won't.

There is always the “surprise factor,” of course. Over the years, I have occasionally been astonished when a candidate is successful, even though they are not predominant in the local newspaper or social media. The appeal may be subtle but sufficient to achieve success.

We need “losers” in all elections. Although there is a measure of pain involved with defeat, those unsuccessful candidates should be comforted knowing they are essential to the vibrancy of our system and that there will be other opportunities, should they decide, to seek office, perhaps at another level.

(A frequent contributor to OOTD, Simon Gibson was elected in 2013 to represent Abbotsford-Mission for the BC Liberals. He served two terms. Before his election, Gibson was a member of Abbotsford City Council for more than 30 years. He has returned to his role as a councillor.)



What goes around comes around

Hell's Gate blasting 110 years ago proved disastrous

For thousands of years, an annual pilgrimage took place on the Fraser River. Tens of millions of salmon of various species would swim to their spawning grounds. In the summer, the Fraser would fill with wriggling bodies and flashes of colourful scales.

For the Nlaka'pamux and Stó:lō First Nations who historically lived upstream, the salmon were – and remain – a life-sustaining source, a staple of their economy and cultural beliefs. As Europeans arrived in the area, they, too, would rely on the bountiful supply of fish for food and as goods to sell.

In close to 1,400 kilometres of river, the most perilous point in a salmon's journey was crossing Hell's Gate. It was the Fraser's narrowest point, where the steep walls of the gorge funnelled water into swift, choppy rapids.

In the early 20th Century, work crews arrived at Hell's Gate to build the Canadian Northern Railway. The terrain was precarious for the workers, who were pressured into hasty and reckless construction by the cash-strapped railway company.

To lay track, workers had to blast heavy rock with explosives, sending debris tumbling into the waters below. At first, the blasts were unremarkable, and the falling rock easily dismissed. A small landslide in the summer of 1913 was cause for some concern, but on Feb. 23rd, 1914 — months after the railway crew had left — 100,000 cubic yards of loosened granite would plunge into the Fraser.

The force of the water now gushed through what had become of the river: a 23-metre channel. The rockfall had “practically formed a dam,” wrote the federal chief inspector of fisheries. “One might say that the whole character of the river at this point is changed.”

While work began to remove the rubble the following month, it was unfinished when salmon arrived at the beginning of July. Local Indigenous men were hired to transfer the fish to the other side with nets — but it wasn't enough. The salmon numbers were dismal. This was devastating for the Indigenous communities dependent on salmon to survive. Within a year, an estimated 20 per cent of the nearby First Nations population would starve or die from malnutrition.

Tight restrictions imposed by a panicked government would only make matters worse. Almost immediately, the government banned net-fishing in inland waters, targeting Indigenous fisheries. Later, it would outright ban First Nations from fishing between Hope and Lytton, even as non-Indigenous commercial fisheries remained open downriver.



Hell's Gate in 1907, six years before the Canadian Northern Railway was built along the riverbank.

In the years after the slide, workers continued to remove rock and debris. But the damage had been done. Salmon numbers were a fraction of what they once were — and would stay that way for decades.

In 1937, Canada and the United States formed the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission (IPSFC) to address the declining salmon returns. By 1945, the IPSFC had constructed giant concrete “fishways,” transporting the salmon around the obstruction at Hell's Gate. Recovery was further assisted in 1985 with the addition of artificial spawning channels. By 1990, the sockeye and pink salmon numbers had largely recovered, reaching more than 80 per cent of their numbers before the 1914 rockslide.

This success remains tenuous, though. While their numbers are up, the salmon population has yet to rebound fully, and natural landslides remain a threat. In 2018, a massive slide occurred north of Lillooet, significantly reducing the following year's salmon run. Nevertheless, the salmon still come. Over half of all salmon harvested in the province now takes place in the Fraser River watershed.

The fish remain economically and culturally vital for the Indigenous people along the Fraser River Basin — including the Nlaka'pamux, Okanagan, Stl'atl'imx, Secwepemc, Wet'suwet'en, Sekani, Dakelh, and Ts'ilhqot'in — who have fought relentlessly for conservation.

Source: Knowledge Network: An untold story

AFMLABC guest speaker Sept. 15th

Jody Wilson-Raybould – “one who corrects the chief's path”

Jody Wilson-Raybould is a lawyer, an advocate for social and political justice, a leader among Indigenous peoples, a bridge builder and a champion of good governance and accountability.

The AFMLABC is honoured to welcome her as our special guest and featured speaker at this year's annual Government House banquet on Sept. 15th.

Jody's mission is about balance. She has written: “In my peoples' worldview, which animates our laws and legal order, all things are in the greatest state of well-being when there is balance. This includes balance between humans and the natural world, between genders, between groups of peoples, within a family or community, or in how we live and organize our own lives.”

In an interview with the CBC's Shelagh Rogers about her latest book, *True Reconciliation*, she said: “I believe that reconciliation can be a lens we look through as Canadians to develop a shared story for Canada. We face so many issues, whether it is climate change or social justice issues, that we actually need to look at each other more and more as human beings and do what we can to assist and build relationships that are more loving and harmonious.”

Wilson-Raybould served as the Independent Member of Parliament for Vancouver Granville, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Minister of Veterans Affairs and Associate Minister of National Defence until her resignation in 2019.

She has been a provincial crown prosecutor, a councillor for the We Wai Kai Nation, and a chair of the First Nations Finance Authority and has served as the BC Regional Chief of the Assembly of First Nations. As well as *True Reconciliation*, she has written two other bestsellers, *“Indian” in the Cabinet: Speaking Truth to Power (2021)* and *From Where I Stand: Rebuilding Indigenous Nations for a Stronger Canada (2019)*.

Wilson-Raybould is a descendant of the Musgamagw Tsawataineuk and Laich-Kwil-Tach peoples, which are part of the Kwakwaka'wakw, also known as the Kwak'wala-speaking peoples. She is a member of the We Wai Kai Nation. Her traditional name, Puglaas, means “woman born to noble people.”



In an article in UBC's *Alumni Magazine*, Wilson-Raybould said: “In our system, I am Hiligaxste. One of my jobs is to lead the Hamat'sa, or the chiefs, into the Big House. The Hiligaxste' can be defined as one who corrects the chief's path. We show them the way. Symbolically the power of the Hamat'sa is tamed, tempered, then propelled.”

Wilson-Raybould has advocacy embedded in her DNA. Her father, Chief Bill Wilson, was a UBC law school graduate in 1973 who achieved national fame when he and former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau locked horns during a discussion of proposed amendments to the Constitution supporting Aboriginal rights at a First Ministers' Conference in Ottawa. Wilson and other native leaders eventually succeeded; a constitutional amendment was passed and approved, guaranteeing Aboriginal and treaty rights.

The First Ministers' Conference debate was the first time Wilson introduced his daughters, Jody and elder sister, Kory, to the public. “I have two children [on] Vancouver Island, both of whom, for some misguided reason, say they want to be a lawyer,” Wilson told Trudeau. “Both of whom want to be the prime minister. Both of whom, Prime Minister, are women.”

At the time, Wilson-Raybould was watching the exchange live on TV with her Grade 6 classmates. “I was really embarrassed to sit in my class and watch this, and everybody was looking at me,” she recalled. The comments also communicated love and support. She felt her father was affirming that he had fantastic kids who knew the value of sticking to decisions and working hard to achieve their goals.

(The next two OOTD issues will dig deeper into Jody's advocacy and writing.)



The Association of Former MLAs of British Columbia

*With thanks to Her Honour, Lieutenant-Governor Janet Austin,
you and your guests are invited to our 2023 Dinner.*

Association Annual Dinner

**Friday, September 15, 2023
Government House, Victoria**

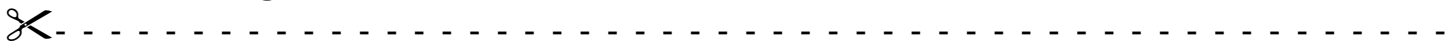
Time: 6 p.m. for 7 p.m.
Dress: Business attire please
Cost: \$135 per person, taxes included
Special Guest: **Jody Wilson-Raybould**
Former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

This event is open to all. You and your guests need not be former MLAs. Join us for dinner and enjoy! Please advise soonest.

Please make your cheque payable to the **Association of Former MLAs of BC** and mail it to the address below. (If you wish, you may post-date your cheque, but **no later** than August 25, 2023). Sorry, no refunds after that date. If you have already reserved, thank you!

**Association of Former MLAs of BC
P.O. Box 30024, Reynolds P.O.
Victoria, B.C. V8X 1J0**

Dinner guests can also purchase tickets electronically by going to our website www.formerbcmla.com. Go to the Payments page in the navigation bar and follow the prompts. Be sure to let us know the names of all the persons attending by including them in the Comments section on the payments page and/or by email to ootd@shaw.ca.



Response Coupon - please detach and return with your payment

I/we plan on attending Dinner at Government House on Friday, September 15, 2023.

My cheque for _____ persons @ \$135 is enclosed. Total \$ _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

(please list additional guest names on the reverse side of this coupon)

Deadline for payment by mail or online is August 25, 2023
(no refunds after that date)



The Association of Former MLAs of British Columbia

This is to notify all Members of our A.G.M.

Official Notice of 2023 Annual General Meeting **Friday, September 15, 2023**

Hemlock Committee Room
Parliament Buildings, Victoria
Commencing 1:30 p.m. sharp



Additional dinner guest names

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____