

Two political icons, Campagnolo and Fraser, die in 90s

British Columbia lost two honourable political figures in April: Iona Campagnolo, BC's first woman Lieutenant Governor, and former MP and Speaker John Fraser. Campagnolo died April 4th at 91, and Fraser died April 7th at 92.

Born on Galiano Island, Iona Campagnolo became the first woman L-G of BC in 2001. Her introduction to politics began in 1966 when she served on the school board in Prince Rupert and as chair for five years. She also worked at Skeena Broadcasting Limited as the manager of sales and host of her own daily radio show.

In 1974, Campagnolo ran for and was elected to the House of Commons in the riding of Skeena. She was appointed parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and then served as a minister in the government of then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau as Canada's first Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport.

In 1982, after re-entering the world of broadcasting, lecturing for a time and appearing on television and radio discussing politics and current issues, Campagnolo became the first female president of the Liberal Party of Canada. In another first, she took on the role of Chancellor of the University of Northern British Columbia when it opened in 1994.

Ms. Campagnolo served on many boards throughout her career, including the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, CUSO, and Project Angola. She also participated in election monitoring and human rights events in Africa. **(Tributes and Campagnolo in her own words, Pages 4 and 6.)**

John Fraser was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1986 to 1994. He also served as Canada's Minister of the Environment, Minister of Fisheries and Oceans and Ambassador to the United Nations for the Environment.

Fraser was born on December 15, 1931, in Yokohama, Japan, where his father worked as a lumber salesman. His parents returned to British Columbia when Fraser was four years old. He grew up and was educated there and graduated from the University of British Columbia Faculty of Law in Spring 1954.

Fraser first won a seat in Parliament in the 1972 general election as a Progressive Conservative from Vancouver. He stood, unsuccessfully, as a candidate at the 1976 Progressive Conservative leadership convention to replace Robert Stanfield. He was re-elected consistently from 1974 through to 1988. **(Tributes to Fraser, Page 7.)**



Iona Campagnolo chats with Queen Elizabeth at the opening of the UNBC in 1994. Vancouver Sun photo.



Speaker John Fraser painted by Gregory Furmanczyk in 1994.

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:

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Association Membership (former MLAs) dues are \$60.00 per year. Annual subscription rate is \$40.00 for those who are not Association Members.
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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.

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From the Editor's Desk

Reflecting on the public service of Iona Campagnolo and John Fraser I am struck by the abundance of civility they enjoyed ... in equal measure. Civility is a quality of political maturity that is in short measure these days.

A while back, AFMLABC director Ken Jones was digging around in his archives and found a compelling message from Campagnolo when, as the Lieutenant Governor, she addressed members of the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians.

She said: "Although the historic two sword lengths of the parliamentary aisle once separated some of us, as members of governing and opposition parties, we remain very much like former team members in any other institution, be it sport, the military or the church. We know all the rewards and all the costs of public life, and we generally share more than might be supposed, regardless of differing philosophies.

"We remain forever old war buddies, happily able to trade battle stories and relive the highest highs and lowest lows that humans can experience. Like no others in our society, we have been disciplined by the iron law of what is attainable when reasonable people collaborate across differences to find the elusive threads of common ground on which to build an ever-more civil society.

"We have served in the trench warfare of partisan politics, and we know as few others do that to achieve anything of value, we must practice the art of collaboration across differences, eliciting each other's understanding and perhaps even their support."

Campagnolo articulated eloquently what many former MLAs observe ... that there is more that unites them than divides. It is good to be reminded of this when vitriol on the political stage diminishes the pursuit of good governance.

I'll close with my constant refrain: I need more contributions from AFMLABC members and readers. Letters, articles, news – OOTD needs more of it from you. It's not that hard; you can email me at ootd.afmlabc@gmail.com. Our copy deadline for the June issue is May 20th. Let me know ahead of time if the wordsmithing spirit has moved you.

The President's Report

Sadly, we lost two of our former BC political leaders in April. My deepest condolences to the family and friends of Honourable Iona Victoria Campagnolo, our first female Lieutenant Governor of BC. She died on April 4th at the age of 91.

Iona was well-respected and known for her dedication to service. I had the privilege of speaking with her many times during my duties as an MLA from 2001 to 2013 at the Legislature, Government House, and several community events.

She served as Lieutenant Governor of BC during difficult days in the Legislature. I recall September 11th, 2001, when terrorist attacks in the USA resulted in the killing of thousands of innocent people. The world changed that day.

Iona lived through many challenges, from protests on the Legislature lawns to lockdowns and anti-terrorist protocols. She always conducted herself with honour and dignity, fostering stability and respect. She understood the job and conducted herself with understanding and compassion.

Iona understood people from the lens of having worked as a radio broadcaster, former Prince Rupert city councillor in 1966, federal cabinet minister and MP for Skeena from 1974 to 1979. She was the first woman president elected to the Liberal Party of Canada in 1982 and was the founding chancellor of the University of Northern British Columbia from 1992 to 1998. She was always open to discussions with an open mind. She will be deeply missed.

I also extend our sincere condolences to the family and friends of Honourable John Allen Fraser, who was the MP for Vancouver for the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada from 1972 to 1993. He died on April 7th at the age of 92.

John worked very closely with Vancouver's multicultural community, including Indo-Canadians living in the Greater Vancouver area. I met him many times with my father, Tara Singh Hayer, who was the publisher and editor of the *Indo-Canadian Times*.

John served as the Speaker of the House of Commons from 1986 to 1993, and before that, as Minister of Environment and Minister of Fisheries and Oceans. From 1994 to 1997, he was Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations for the Environment. John was well respected and known as a person who was available to meet and help constituents.

I want to thank all the family members and friends of the Honourable Lieutenant Governor Iona Campagnolo and the Honourable Speaker of the House, John Fraser, for allowing them to dedicate so much of their lives to our community, our province, and our country.

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

Dave Hayer,
President

TIME TO RENEW



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Campagnola “radiant and tireless”

High praise for the patron saint of women in Canadian politics

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau: “I join Canadians in mourning the passing of Iona Campagnolo, a respected politician, former cabinet minister, and former lieutenant governor of British Columbia.

“Mrs. Campagnolo started her career in broadcasting in Prince Rupert. A believer in the importance of public service, she later became a member of her local school board and city council and was elected as a Member of Parliament in 1974. She served under my father, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, as Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport and was a strong voice for women's rights both in Canada and around the world. She was also the first woman to serve as President of the Liberal Party of Canada.

“Mrs. Campagnolo's contributions to Canada extended well beyond her political life. She returned to broadcasting, where she covered human rights stories and served in leadership roles in non-governmental organizations, including the North-South Institute, the Southern Africa Education Trust, and the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

“Mrs. Campagnolo never stopped serving British Columbians. She was elected Chancellor of the University of Northern British Columbia in 1992 and appointed as the 27th Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia in 2001. As the first woman to hold this title, she championed many causes, from climate action to gender equality to reconciliation.

“For her decades of tireless service, Mrs. Campagnolo received numerous awards and accolades, including honorary degrees, Indigenous honours, and the Order of British Columbia. She was also named a Member and then an Officer of the Order of Canada, a testament to her extraordinary career.

“Mrs. Campagnolo was a proud British Columbian and a role model for women in politics. Her relentless dedication, optimism, and commitment to equality will leave a lasting mark on Canada.

“On behalf of Canadians, I offer my deepest condolences to Mrs. Campagnolo's loved ones and all British Columbians. Canada has lost a trailblazer. Her passion to create a better Canada – and world – will continue to inspire us for generations.”

A Message from the Hon. Janet Austin, the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia: “It is with deep sadness



Iona was BC's first female Lieutenant Governor.



Iona Campagnolo with the Dalai Lama in Vancouver in 2004. Vancouver Sun photo.

that I learned of the passing of the Honourable Iona Campagnolo. In 2001, Iona became the first woman Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. Radiant and tireless, she spent years advocating for British Columbians even before she was appointed Lieutenant Governor.

“At a time when reconciliation was not at the forefront of people's minds, Iona Campagnolo was an early supporter, recognizing the importance of building relationships with Indigenous peoples and Northern communities. She was honoured with two Indigenous names, Notz-whe-Neah or “Mother of the Big Fin” given by Chief Haq be quot'o, Kenneth Harris of the T'Simpsean Nation and symbolized by an Orca, and Saan-naag-Kaawaass or “Person who Sits High” symbolized by a Haida Eagle and given by Chief Skidegate, Clarence Collinson, of the Haida Nation. Both the Orca and the Haida Eagle were incorporated into her Vice-Regal uniform.

“During her time as Lieutenant Governor, she committed whole-heartedly to celebrating the accomplishments of British Columbians. She founded the BC Lieutenant Governor's Wine Awards to support the province's burgeoning industry and to recognize excellence in winemaking for all licensed British Columbia wineries.

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“She also founded the Lieutenant Governor's Award for Literary Excellence to recognize British Columbia writers who have contributed to the development of literary excellence in the province. An avid gardener and supporter of the preservation of the province's history, Iona Campagnolo's efforts resulted in Government House and its grounds being designated as a National Historic Site in 2003.

“Being the first woman Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia was merely one of Iona Campagnolo's many “firsts.” She was also the first woman president of the Liberal Party of Canada and the first chancellor of the University of Northern British Columbia.

“I extend my sincerest condolences to Iona Campagnolo's family and loved ones. Let us remember Iona Campagnolo's great contributions to British Columbia and Canada, and may we continue to build on her legacy.

Former Premier Mike Harcourt: “She was a consistent, passionate, intelligent advocate all her life. She had charisma and charm; she was articulate ... and tough-minded, all the things you want in a politician. She always was consistent in advocating for First Nations and Northern and rural communities, and she was very strong on conservation and climate change.”

Former MLA Bruce Strachan: “It was sad to hear about the passing of Iona Campagnolo. She was the first Chancellor (1992 – 1998) of the University of Northern British Columbia and led the university to its rating as one of the best small universities in Canada. Her strong influence will be long remembered.”

Former Press Gallery scribe Don Hauka: “It was with great sadness the New Pathways to Gold Society (NPGTS) heard the news of the death of Iona Campagnolo. She was the first woman to be appointed BC's lieutenant governor, the first chancellor of the University of Northern BC, and a compassionate and caring Member of Parliament and minister.

“She was a champion for Indigenous Reconciliation long before so many of her elected colleagues. Campagnolo was also a great friend to and supporter of the NPTGS, playing a central role in the society's first event, Canada Day, in the Canyon in 2007 at the Yale Historic Site. After arriving by train, she donned Governor James Douglas' uniform (made of heavy wool and with

Iona joins Siska dancers at Canada Day in the Canyon in 2007.



about 20 pounds of bold braid and lace) and despite the 30C temperature, coolly re-enacted the 1858 “Stump Speech” on a stump especially prepared by the late Chris O'Connor. She then changed and watched performances by artists like the Siska Dancers. We will miss her.”

Honorary AFMLABC Board Member Joan Barton: “I remember Iona as such a classy and intelligent woman and a true pioneer for women's larger roles in society. There were so many firsts in her career. To me, she always made every activity in her various roles look so effortless. It was unfortunate that her later life was so difficult. She loved to garden, and today, as I turn my attention to my garden, I will be thinking of her and how much she influenced my life. She was a fine role model for all of us in British Columbia and Canada.”

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Campagnola speaks ... “a burden of decades as my guide”

My sincere thanks go to the board of governors and to the university community for the cherished privilege of receiving an honorary degree and a high honour too, to be recognized in association with this year's other honorary degree recipient, the distinguished artist and ardent environmentalist Robert Bateman. I am also most grateful to be part of this signal time of celebration in your lives.

We gather on these historic grounds to salute you as the class of 2010 of proud graduates of the Faculty of Management and the Centre for Applied Leadership and Management. Convocation addresses often paint a glowing picture of the world awaiting your newly acquired skills and certifications. However, I am here with an admitted burden of decades as my guide to applaud you while at the same time to remind you that the world you occupy is far from easy. To make a positive difference in such a world, it takes more than academic achievement. As generations before you have done, you must also apply all that you possess in mind, heart and character to the opportunities and problems of your own time.

You have been carefully nurtured here at Royal Roads within these once-opulent surroundings where echoes of the history of post-contact British Columbia and 19th-century business and leadership practices are easily brought to mind. With a fortune founded on the legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company (once the only business in what is now BC), the Dunsmuir Empire began with the discovery of coal at Fort Rupert (near today's Port Hardy). Later, with holdings across the Island all founded on resource extraction, in addition to becoming premier of the emerging province for two and a half years and lieutenant governor for three, James Dunsmuir became a quintessential leader and businessman of his time.

Son of Robert Dunsmuir, another former BC premier who built Craigdarroch Castle, James was proud of having reached the pinnacle of authority in politics and business. He was an unapologetic autocrat who knew what he wanted and got it, often using business ethics that might have made Jay Gatsby blush (although not, I suspect, Goldman Sachs, Lehman Brothers or certain contemporary bank executives!) Once assured of his wealth, Dunsmuir cashed in his assets in 1910 to begin a life as a country gentleman and tycoon, sailing, travelling and entertaining with his wife Laura as part of the stratified delights of the then-faithful bastion of the British Empire that was Victoria.



By 1940, the Dunsmuirs were gone, and Canada was emerging as an independent nation. Our government purchased Hatley Castle as a possible residence for the British Royal Family should the threatened Nazi invasion of England have been successful. When that unthinkable eventuality did not occur, Canada's armed forces assumed the site, designating it as one of three national military colleges to train generations of officers in “truth, duty and valour.” Through it all, Canada continued to change, as did the perception and practice of what constituted true leadership. I believe that Royal Roads University, established 15 years ago, has become the dynamic and admired engine for change that epitomizes our time.

Charged with educating a new cohort of leaders and managers, Royal Roads encourages all of you to grasp the essence of your own time by bringing your personal skills of thoughtful, practical, ethical leadership to bear on a world that is beset by massive debt, professional irresponsibility and political instability. With the great recession not yet fully overcome, our prime minister (Stephen Harper) recently said: “Nothing else matters but the economy.” If he is right, then you are perfectly poised to make a historic difference in Canada's immediate future by stabilizing and strengthening the institutions that sustain our society.

In such a world, stripped down to its basic economic value, you remain the inheritors of James Dunsmuir's shining vistas, some of his elegant rooms and the delights of his restored gardens. But you are challenged, as Dunsmuir never was, to use your enhanced leadership skills not just for personal profit but also to honour, enhance and enrich the society you share.

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John Fraser praised for his unimpeachable integrity

BC's John Fraser wore several hats during his years in Ottawa. He became Minister of the Environment in the short-lived government of Joe Clark in 1979, returning to the Opposition benches in 1980. He returned to cabinet in the wake of Brian Mulroney's landslide victory in the 1984 federal election and was appointed Minister of Fisheries and Oceans. He was forced to resign in 1985 as a result of the "Tainted Tuna" affair.

In 1986, he became Speaker of the House of Commons, the first to be elected by secret ballot by fellow Members of Parliament, and he served in that capacity until his retirement from politics in 1993.

In January 1994, Fraser was appointed Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations for the Environment, a post he served until December 1997. In 1995, he was made an Officer of the Order of Canada. In 2002, he was the recipient of the Vimy Award, which recognizes a Canadian who has made a significant and outstanding contribution to the defence and security of our nation and the preservation of our democratic values.

His legacy is best described by his colleagues.

AFMLABC President Dave Hayer says: "In his younger days, John worked in the lumber industry along with many Sikh pioneers. There, he developed a very close relationship with the Sikh community and the Khalsa Diwan Society of Vancouver Temple. After being elected Speaker of the House of Commons, John Fraser played a significant role in organizing and hosting the first Vaisakhi Celebration on Parliament Hill in Ottawa."

Former BC MLA and Prime Minister Kim Campbell: "I got to know John when I was elected MP for Vancouver Centre in 1988. As Speaker, he was very kind to me, asking his staff to help me learn the ropes in Ottawa. He was an excellent Speaker – very effective in managing the House of Commons – and he and Cate made Kingsmere a welcome oasis in the turbulent political life of Ottawa. Although his role required him to be above the political fray, John was always deeply engaged in government issues and cared deeply about them."

Former Newfoundland Premier and MP Brian Tobin: "John was truly one of Canada's finest public servants. He cared deeply for the country and had that unique capacity to see Canada whole. Arguably, he was one of Parliament's greatest Speakers and was truly respected on both sides of the aisle. I had the pleasure of



introducing John and Sergio Marchi to battling black flies and fly fishing in Labrador. John embraced the experience with his usual celebration of nature's gifts. And, of course, he schooled Sergio and me on the appropriate way to enjoy fine scotch after a day on the water."

Former political colleague and friend Herb Dhaliwal: "With the passing of John Allen Fraser, Canada has lost one of the very best politicians ever to be elected to our Parliament. A man of unimpeachable integrity as well as progressive ideals and ideas, far and away John was also one of the best people one could ever know. I feel very privileged to have known John and admired him greatly. I respected him for decades as a family friend and a good friend to many in my heritage/faith community long before I was elected to succeed him as MP for Vancouver-South. He and I supported opposing political traditions in this country, yet, as party adversaries, more importantly, we shared many values and joined in common cause advocating for many things that matter in and for our beloved British Columbia. In a sense, my dear friend John was responsible for my first election in 1993 since I would never have sought his seat in Parliament if he had not retired. I held him in too much regard to have competed against him, and – frankly – I would never have risked the prospect of his leaving me in the political dust."

Source: OOTD media files

The Clerk's Office: Reconciliation underway at the Legislature

By Kate Ryan-Lloyd,
Clerk of the Legislative Assembly

Over the past year, the Speaker, Hon. Raj Chouhan, and I have been engaged in several activities to build relationships with Indigenous leaders, organizations, and nations on behalf of the Legislative Assembly.

This work has been assisted by an Indigenous consultant, Tanya Corbet, of Bella Concepts. It has included initiating a Speaker's Indigenous Reconciliation Advisory Committee and participation in a "listening tour" to several First Nations communities. The work of the advisory committee and the feedback provided through the listening tour will inform the development of the Legislative Assembly's first long-term reconciliation action plan, which is expected to be completed later this spring.

In addition to building relationships with First Nations around the province, the Speaker and the Clerk are also focused on strengthening relationships with the local Lekwungen-speaking peoples. The Legislative Precinct is situated on the traditional lands of the Lekwungen peoples, known today as the Songhees Nation and the Esquimalt Nation.

Recognizing the ongoing connection of the Lekwungen peoples with the lands that house BC's parliamentary democracy, the Legislative Assembly is committed to respectful relationships with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, as well as all Indigenous Peoples throughout the province.

In reflection of the Legislative Assembly's commitment to promote reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, some ceremonial changes were recently incorporated into the official Opening Day program for the 5th Session of the 42nd Parliament on Feb. 22nd.

The formal opening of the 5th Session began at 2 p.m. in the Legislative Chamber. Speaker Chouhan called upon Elder Butch Dick of the Songhees Nation to open the proceeding with a territorial welcome and Elder Mary Ann Thomas of the Esquimalt Nation to offer a blessing. Following these opening components, the Vice-Regal Procession entered the Legislative Chamber, accompanied by the Lekwungen Traditional Dancers and Singers, who performed a traditional dance on the floor of the Chamber. The Speech from the Throne was then delivered by Her Honour, Lieutenant Governor Janet Austin.



Elder Butch Dick of the Songhees Nation.



Elder Mary Ann Thomas of the Esquimalt Nation.

The formal Opening Day Ceremony was an opportunity to weave together Indigenous and non-Indigenous customs and symbolism into existing parliamentary traditions. Indigenous Peoples have an important and continuing relationship with the Crown, represented in BC by the Lieutenant Governor.

The Legislative Assembly, like other parliamentary institutions, adapts its traditions from time to time to incorporate unique cultural components. The inclusion of representatives of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations in the Opening Day Ceremony reflects the evolving, modern-day relationship between the Crown, the Legislative Assembly, and Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia.

In cynical times, optimism can still prevail

By Simon Gibson

My bank contacted me recently by phone and asked if I had just made a \$8000 cash advance on my credit card. I replied, “No,” and was told: “We didn't think so because you've never taken a cash advance.”

The smart security people at the bank had spotted the larceny immediately. The following month the statement showed \$8000 out and \$8000 in. My bank, thankfully, had compensated me.

I had been disturbed by this theft and found myself adopting an uncharacteristic sense of general cynicism. Hackers everywhere, suspicious online retailers, dubious news stories, even acquaintances who can disappoint us.

On reflection though – and with the passing of time – I have had to strategically reject such negativity and realize that while we need to have a healthy sense of caution – even cynicism – being optimistic is a better modality.

Are you a cynic? Are you increasingly suspicious of much of what you read and hear? Do you often assume that any message – perhaps a commercial or sales appeal – is automatically to be considered largely suspect?

Cynicism, I have noticed, is increasingly becoming a significant factor in modern life.

For those who have served in political office, it is to be expected that there are essentially “two teams” and that we will be exclusively loyal to our side. Virtually every policy, every speech, and every initiative is to be regarded with suspicion if it does not originate with our team.

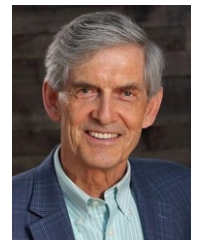
Unfortunately, however, such a traditionally partisan attitude can lapse into something approaching cynicism which questions everything – even the character and motivation of our opponents. It is as if there is the programmed assumption that nothing worthwhile – or credible – originates from the party across the legislative floor.

We can embrace scepticism to the fullest and create boundaries which should not be negotiated. Any sign of empathetic understanding can perhaps be an indicator of weakness or submission.

Speaking from experience, resisting an enhanced level of cynicism is not always easy, but doing so can improve your general attitude and relationships with friends, family, clients, and even constituents (if you are serving in an elected office).

Politicians who acknowledge they don't have all the answers and can learn from those with disparate views will likely be more moderate in articulating their opinions. In today's political climate, overt cynicism should be resisted, notwithstanding the traditional divergence between the various parties vying for leadership.

(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.)



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HELPING WHEN LIFE CHANGES



Age of Conflict: What's democracy got to do with it?

(Editor's note: According to the 2023 Democracy Index, 74 of the 167 countries and territories covered by the model are democracies of some type. The number of "full democracies" (those scoring more than 8 out of 10) remained at 24 in 2023, the same as the previous year. The number of "flawed democracies" increased from 48 in 2022 to 50 in 2023. Of the remaining 95 countries in the index, 34 are classified as "hybrid regimes," combining elements of formal democracy and authoritarianism, and 59 are classified as "authoritarian regimes." Continuing from April's issue of OOTD featuring the Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index report Age of Conflict, here is Part 2: What's democracy got to do with it?)

The latest edition of the U.S. National Security Strategy says that the most pressing challenge to the U.S. comes from the behaviour of powers that "combine authoritarian governance with a revisionist foreign policy" and pose "a challenge to international peace and stability."

In line with this logic, the administration of Joe Biden, the U.S. president, has put democracy promotion at the forefront of U.S. foreign policy. Launching his Summit of Democracies initiative in December 2021, Biden described a world divided between democracies defending peace and security and autocracies instigating war and conflict. Biden's pro-democracy agenda is in keeping with the dominant tradition in modern U.S. foreign policy of Wilsonian internationalism – expounded after the First World War by the then-president, Woodrow Wilson (1913-21), who proposed a values-based U.S. foreign policy that should aim to promote democracy and peace.

This tradition has appeared to prevail for more than a century over the realist approach that advocates an interest-based, pragmatic foreign policy. In reality, the two traditions are not necessarily antithetical. U.S. foreign policy is usually interest-driven, even when it appears idealistic.

An interpretation of the source of global conflict that links autocracy with war and democracy with peace finds academic endorsement in what is known as "democratic peace theory." This theory holds that democracies are less likely than non-democracies to go to war with each other, start wars or engage in protracted military conflicts.



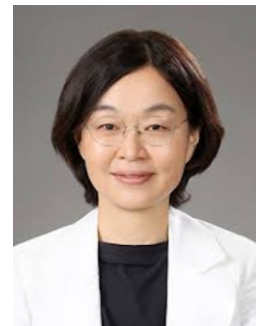
There is extensive literature on democratic peace theory, but in summary, there are two main arguments supporting the thesis.

First, proponents of the theory argue that having representative political institutions makes it more difficult for governments to go to war without the consent of the electorate. Given that citizens will mostly bear the costs and risks associated with war, a system based on democratic political accountability favours peace rather than war.

Second, the thesis maintains that countries that share a democratic political culture are likely to seek peaceful means of resolving conflict at home and are predisposed to pursue the same approach in their dealings with other democratic countries. By implication, the democratic peace theory suggests that democracies are superior to other political systems, including all authoritarian models, because they favour reconciliation and peace over confrontation and war.

The empirical evidence appears to support the theory of democratic peace. There have been no wars between democracies since 1946. As Ajin Choi, a scholar of democracy and international conflict, has argued, the absence of war between democratic states "comes as close as anything we have to an empirical law in international relations."

When we correlate the incidence of conflict in countries according to their regime classification in the Democracy Index, the results appear to vindicate the democratic peace theory.



Ajin Choi, a scholar of democracy and international conflict.

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Countries experiencing conflict in 2022-23 were concentrated among those classified by the Democracy Index as “authoritarian regimes” (scores less than or equal to 4 on a 0-10 scale) and “hybrid regimes” (scores greater than 4 or equal to 6). To assess whether a country was in a conflict of a greater or lesser magnitude, we applied the following metrics: major war (10,000 or more deaths per year); war (1,000-10,000 deaths per year); limited conflict (up to 1,000 deaths per year); and violent clashes (up to 100 deaths per year).

None of the 24 countries ranked as a “full democracy” in 2023 were embroiled in a conflict of the above types. In 2023, there were no deaths of security forces in Northern Ireland for the first time since the start of the “Troubles” in 1969. Greece’s sovereignty over islands in the eastern Mediterranean is disputed by Turkey, which has engaged in bellicose rhetoric and provocations against its old foe, but the two sides began a rapprochement in 2023 and have not engaged in serious conflict for 50 years. Although South Korea and North Korea never signed a final peace treaty when the war ended with an armistice more than 70 years ago, the two countries are involved in a “frozen conflict” rather than a hot one, despite occasional incidents in border areas. Taiwan’s peace and security are threatened by China, but the two are not in a state of open or violent conflict.

Among the “flawed democracies,” there is a greater incidence of both domestic and external conflict compared with the “full democracies.” Israel is engaged in war against Hamas, an Islamist terror group, in Gaza that threatens to ignite conflicts across the broader Middle East region. The world’s biggest democracy, India, has clashed with China along a contested and increasingly militarized border stretching for 2,100 km. There were violent clashes in 2020 and December 2022. India is also suffering from internal conflicts involving secessionist regions and religious minorities, often with communal roots, which have resulted in hundreds of deaths annually in recent years.

No other “flawed democracy” was engaged in an inter-state conflict in 2022-23, although several suffer from frozen conflict (Cyprus/Turkey, Moldova/Russia, Serbia/Kosovo). Half a dozen other countries classified as “flawed democracies” are facing internal conflicts, including gang warfare, of greater or lesser severity, including Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, Jamaica, the

Philippines and Thailand, with the number of deaths annually exceeding 100 – by a wide margin in some places.

The incidence and scale of war and conflict are much greater among the “hybrid regimes” and “authoritarian regimes” and are contributing to a decline in their index scores. According to our calculations, 24 of the 34 “hybrid regimes” and at least 40 of the 59 “authoritarian regimes” were involved in a war, conflict or insurgency in 2022-23.

A few were major inter-state wars, including those between Ukraine and Russia and Armenia and Azerbaijan. Some were inter-state conflicts of a lesser order, such as the border clashes between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and between Afghanistan and Iran. Others were major civil wars that have inflicted a huge toll of death and misery on civilians, including in Ethiopia, Libya, Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. Many “hybrid” and “authoritarian” states are facing Islamist insurgencies that have killed hundreds of thousands in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East and North Africa. Meanwhile, in Latin America, drug trafficking is exacting a heavy death toll among security forces, civilians and drug cartels alike. The Mexican drug war between the Mexican state and drug cartels has killed an estimated 200,000-400,000 people since 2006. In Ecuador, the number of homicides has risen rapidly in 2022-23.

On the above evidence, the case for democracies being more peaceful than non-democracies seems compelling. However, the empirical evidence does not tell the whole story; it needs to be interpreted after considering other factors such as history, geography and socio-economic development.

The historical timeframe to make a firm judgement on this matter is short. There was a slow “first wave” of partial democratization in the 19th and early 20th Centuries, but there were only about a dozen democracies on the eve of the Second World War; a second wave of democratization occurred in the decades after the war, and a third wave began in the mid-1970s and spread across Asia, southern Europe and Latin America, gaining momentum again in the 1990s after the collapse of communism globally.

The point is that democracy in its modern incarnation (based on universal suffrage) does not have a long pedigree. It is not long enough to say conclusively that democracies do not go to war against each other.

How does federal vote intention impact BC's fall vote?

As British Columbians look ahead to marking their ballot in a provincial election this fall, the changing federal vote landscape plays out in the background.

The federal Conservatives have climbed to the front of a three-way race in the province. Meanwhile, the Conservative Party of BC is clawing votes away from the formerly entrenched BC United Party. How do these dynamics intertwine, and what does it mean for BC's forthcoming election?

New data from the non-profit Angus Reid Institute finds those in BC who support the federal Conservatives are more likely to support the provincial Conservatives than BC United in the pending BC election. More than half (56 per cent) of likely federal Conservative voters currently place their vote with the provincial Conservatives. This comes as BC Conservative leader John Rustad has promised to "axe" BC's carbon tax if his party were to win the coming election, aligning himself with federal Conservative leader Pierre Poilievre, who has not officially endorsed either United or the provincial Conservatives.

The electoral map will be unfamiliar to BC – and, indeed, national – politicos. For many years, the province had lacked an obvious right-wing, small "c" conservative party contender. The Social Credit Party started as a right-wing populist party before moving more to the centre during its lengthy run as governing party, first under W.A.C. Bennett and then under his son Bill. This means most in the province remember only elections fought between the centre-right and parties on the left. Although the Conservative Party of BC was founded in 1903, it has not fielded a full slate of candidates in an election since 1960, something Rustad has promised to change this year.

As the federal Conservatives rise in popularity in the province, Rustad and BC United leader Kevin Falcon are jockeying for right-of-centre support. Both have taken aim at the province's carbon tax, though Falcon has only said the party will remove the tax if the CPCs form government federally and axe it nationwide.

The issue is perhaps more difficult to navigate for Falcon, as United's support straddles both federal Liberals and federal Conservatives. On the one hand, it is perhaps beneficial for the party formerly known as the BC Liberals to have a foot in both camps, giving Falcon a larger centre-right pool of voters to pull from. On the other, it also means BC United is fighting a two-front war to keep voters from defecting to the Conservatives on its right and bolstering the NDP on its left.



The BC NDP finds itself the dominant choice for left-of-centre voters, attracting both federal Liberal and NDP supporters. Vote splitting is still an issue for the party in ridings where it competes with the BC Greens, who have traditionally been strong on Vancouver Island and along the Sunshine Coast. The Greens have attracted one-in-six voters in the past two elections.

Premier David Eby and the NDP government released a pre-election budget in March, projecting a near \$8-billion deficit. Despite this, government spending is not typically seen as a major issue for the NDP's base. Instead, for federal NDP and Liberal supporters, health care and affordability are higher priorities. In both cases, while majorities among those groups feel the government is performing poorly on the issues, they are more likely to praise Eby and the NDP's handling of the files than others.

Despite that criticism, 49 per cent of federal Liberal supporters and a majority (58 per cent) of federal NDP supporters believe now is not the time for a change in government in BC. This bodes well for Eby and the provincial NDP, who currently enjoy the support of a coalition including 82 per cent of federal NDP supporters and 57 per cent of federal Liberal supporters.

Falcon and United appear to have more appeal among federal Liberals than Rustad and the BC Conservatives. The BC Conservatives are currently the preferred choice of federal Conservative supporters.

While the Conservatives have grown in popularity, the party's coffers aren't nearly as full as its rivals' as the election nears. The party finished fourth in fundraising behind the NDP (\$4.55 million), United (\$2.98 million) and Greens (\$1.20 million) in 2023, although the \$443,000 it raised quintupled the amount it generated the previous year. Further, nearly \$300,000 of that came in the final quarter of 2023.

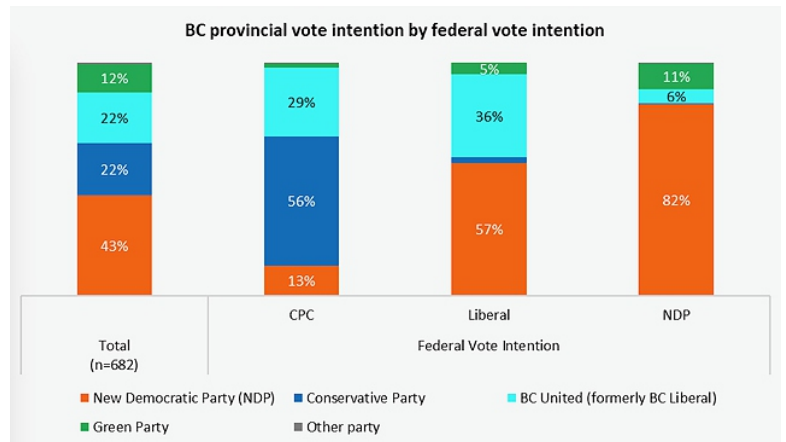
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Rustad has been adamant that the Conservatives' rise in polls is not simply "brand confusion" with the federal Conservatives. Perhaps to his point, United and Conservative supporters are equally likely to say they don't have an opinion of their party leader.

"Brand confusion" or not, Rustad and the BC Conservatives hold the lead among federal Conservatives despite Rustad himself being less of a known commodity among right-leaning voters. Two-in-five federal Conservative supporters say they don't know Rustad, but those who do are more positive than not.

Comparatively, Falcon is better known among federal Conservative supporters but is more negatively appraised. He is also more known to federal Liberal and NDP supporters and generates more positive impressions among those groups than Rustad.

Rustad and Falcon profile similarly among age and gender demographics, but Falcon's negatives are much higher than Rustad's. However, Rustad is much less known; at least two-in-five of all ages say they don't have an opinion of the BC Conservative leader.



(The Angus Reid Institute conducted an online survey from Feb. 28 to March 6, 2024, among a representative randomized sample of 809 British Columbian adults who are members of the Angus Reid Forum. For comparison purposes only, a probability sample of this size would carry a margin of error of +/- 3 percentage points 19 times out of 20. Discrepancies in or between totals are due to rounding. The survey was self-commissioned and paid for by ARI.)

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Campagnola addresses 2010 Royal Roads Convocation

Global or local, true leadership demands an understanding that unaccountable hierarchies can no longer be allowed to lead. People everywhere are demanding that those affected by any given decision have a right to honest input in making that decision. In Thailand, for example, we have recently seen people willing to die for their perception of democratic decision-making. Yet here at home, only slightly more than half of us chose to vote while at the same time demanding ever-greater inclusion and consultation on decisions that affect us. In such circumstances, responsible, accountable, inclusive leadership is essential.

I suggest that collaborative decision-making processes, based on mutual trust and respect, can work to resolve even the most divisive, partisan, polarized or controversial issues. Examples of collaborative leadership are all around us, from the new government in Great Britain to the recent and hard-won Canadian parliamentary accord on how elected representatives will view Afghan detainee information. Britain's Prime Minister, David Cameron, speaking of his coalition, said: "Get used to it, this is what the new politics looks like." That is leadership, which is respectful and trusting of the other while at the same time being informed, critical and intelligently able to contribute positively to the implementation of any resulting decisions.

We have recently observed a nearly unprecedented agreement forged between Canadian forest industries and non-governmental environmental agencies in support of harvest and protection of the boreal forest. Every aspect of leadership can be found in that accord, including scientific, social, economic, and environmental elements, leading to the potential for long-term sustainability of precious and diminishing forest resources.

In my experience, such an agreement is a profound contribution to the common good since it is a classic "win-win" for all concerned. Such a historic accord would have been impossible given Dunsmuir's 'my way or the highway' management style.

Today, where pockets of past hierarchical decision-making processes continue to exist, they are clearly "on notice." In their place, coalitions, partnerships and combined decision-making structures are emerging across the world. Canada has long been considered a country managed by enlightened compromise. Our

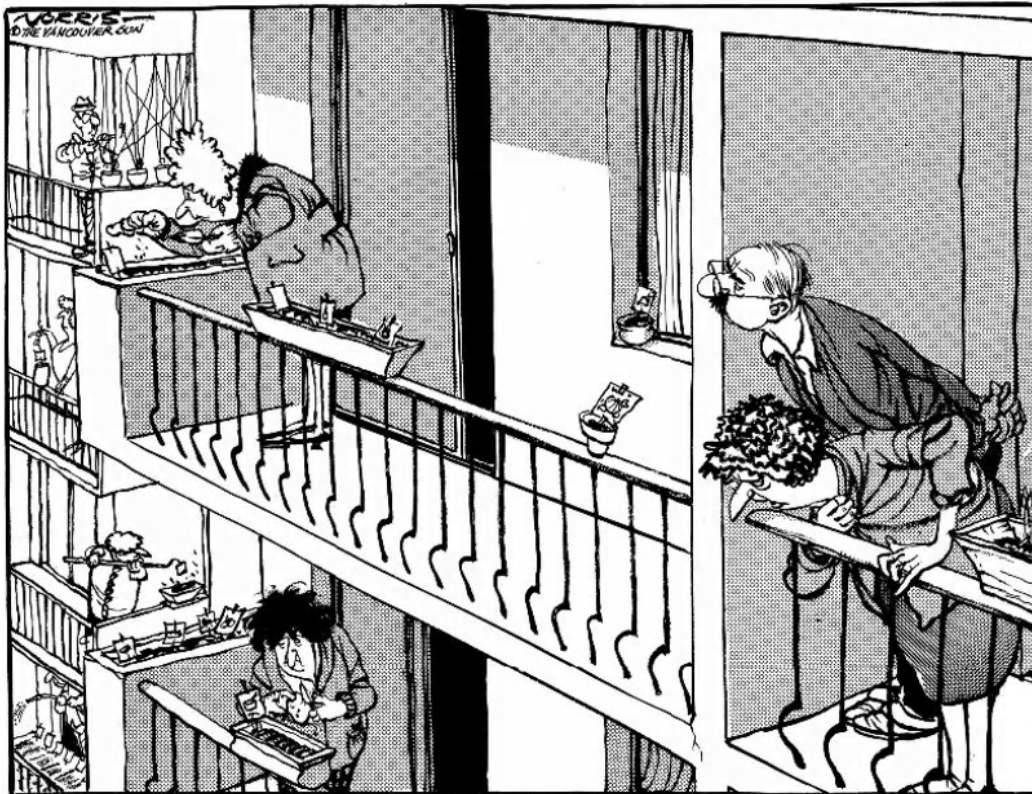
concept of shared management, although often portrayed in a pejorative context, has historically been our strength and has buttressed our security for the 143 years of our existence. As a federation initially based on the organization of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Canada's historical practice of compromise and accommodation of its great diversity of land, people and cultures has put this country far ahead in a world that is suddenly discovering the utility of such collaboration.

The costs of lack of cooperation can be incalculable. Consider the current crisis in the European Union, created 60 years ago to prevent another world war on European soil. The EU, with a massive trillion Euro sovereign debt, demonstrates a singular failure of leadership in its quest to become a world power on a planet already burdened with too many failed or failing states. Other global examples of failure of leadership are not hard to find. Consider the catastrophic failures of business leadership and self-serving buck-passing, as illustrated by the Gulf of Mexico oil disaster. (The same consortium, by the way, is currently engaged in preliminary actions surrounding fossil fuel extraction in Canada's Arctic.)

I believe that each of us chooses our own pathway in life and that our ultimate choice flows from a single life decision. That is: Are you a person who values inaction and the status quo? Or are you one who can't wait to see what lies over the next horizon? If the latter, you believe that only in positive change can true progress be gained. I urge you to action, knowing that in our whole Western pantheon there has never been an inaction hero. Society needs your capacity to be inclusive, adaptive, and courageous leaders. Such leaders should embody a broad and compassionate view of the human condition, an awareness of new paradigms, an ability to examine them critically and the capacity to make informed decisions to advance our civilization and improve our daily lives.

Whatever your life choice, you leave Royal Roads equipped with the tools of success and a proud motto in your kitbag: "Living our learning," as expressed in the Salish language, speaks clearly to goals of sustainability, learning and leadership that are all designed to allow you to contribute to a waiting world and, perhaps, incidentally to allow you to become the hero of your own life and times! Our hopes and good wishes go with you.

Len Norris



March 25, 1975

"Never mind what the economists say ... the neighbors are switching from flowers to vegetables."

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110 years ago this month

Immigration officials thwart Komagata Maru gambit

Punjabi businessman Gurdit Singh chartered the ship *Komagata Maru* in an action designed to challenge Canada's exclusionary immigration policy. From 1903 to 1908, 5,000 men from the Punjabi region of India had arrived in BC, some continuing to the United States while others remained in Canada to work as labourers in the forestry, fishing and railway industries.

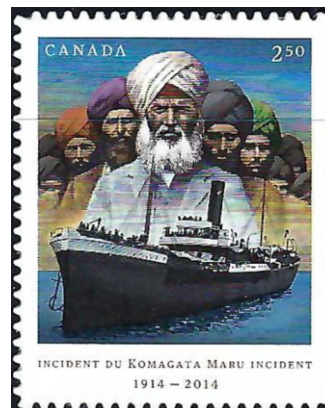
On May 23rd, 1914, the *Komagata Maru* reached Vancouver's harbour via Hong Kong and Japan carrying 376 prospective South Asian immigrants who hoped to settle in Canada. The passengers, however, did not receive a friendly welcome.

Their arrival provoked massive opposition from the public, and prevalent ideas of race and exclusion held by the majority of the local population led to an outpouring of racial rhetoric and considerable effort to force the ship's return to India. In response to this backlash, the local South Asian community came together to fight the deportation of the passengers. While a legal challenge mounted, the community was unsuccessful, and most passengers were forced to leave.

This collective action was a pivotal event in the community's early struggle for equal treatment in Canada. Today, the *Komagata Maru* incident resonates with Canadian history and public discourse and has significant iconic value within the South Asian-Canadian community.

In the years prior to the *Komagata Maru's* arrival, the Canadian government placed limitations on South Asian immigration through racially restrictive policies. A 1908 order-in-council required "Asiatic" immigrants to possess at least \$200 to enter the country. A second order-in-council required all immigrants to come to Canada via "continuous journey" directly from their country of origin. This policy was aimed at South Asians, as nonstop travel from India to Canada was largely unavailable. Gurdit Singh chartered the *Komagata Maru* from Hong Kong to confront these restrictions and hoped that he and his passengers, all British citizens, would be able to enter Canada.

This would not be the case. Immigration officials did not allow the ship to dock, and the passengers were isolated on board, unable to communicate with the South



Asian community on shore. In the weeks that followed, conditions on the ship, including access to food and water, grew desperate.

The local South Asian community rose to the defence of the passengers, formed a committee, raised large amounts of money, and hired a lawyer to challenge the restrictive immigration laws. A test case was put before the courts but lost in its final appeal, and the passengers were issued deportation orders.

When they refused to leave until provisions for the return trip were supplied and fought attempts by officials to board their ship, the government sent in the heavily armed warship HMCS *Rainbow*.

The *Komagata Maru* passengers stood their ground, singing patriotic songs and reading from Sikh scripture. Finally, thanks in part to efforts by the local South Asian community to negotiate an agreement, the government provided food and water for the ship.

On July 23rd, 1914, the *Komagata Maru* left Vancouver Harbour with the majority of its passengers aboard and returned to India.

On the 100th anniversary of the incident, Harbhajan Gill, President of the Komagata Maru Heritage Foundation, was proud to see the release of a stamp to raise awareness of what happened. "The Foundation has done a good job educating people in the South Asian community, but there are still many Canadians who don't know about the incident," Gill said. "We'd love this stamp to prompt questions. This is part of Canadian history."

Source – Parks Canada