

COVID-19, Vote 2021: A time of intolerance, indifference

Two issues are examined in depth in this edition of *Orders of the Day*: The erosion of good will and gratitude in the battle against COVID-19, and the political ramifications of a Groundhog Day federal election that left many voters in *déjà-vu*-all-over-again puzzlement.

Current research tells a tale of rising COVID-19 intolerance: Recent polling finds that half of vaccinated Canadians do not believe unvaccinated individuals should receive the same treatment priority if they are sick in a pandemic of the unvaccinated.

Here in BC, data suggests that unvaccinated individuals are 34 times more likely to be hospitalized than vaccinated folks and approximately 90 per cent of new cases are now among the unvaccinated. Regardless, significant numbers of anti-vaxxers continue to gather at placard-waving protests – an almost daily occurrence at the Legislature.

Meanwhile, Alberta faces a hard circuit-breaker lockdown to rein in the province's surging, out-of-control infection rate.

On Pages 4 and 5, UVic's Dr. Kim Speers explains that during the first few months of COVID-19, a wave of "political fandom" swept Canada. The focus of that adulation was more on civil servants than politicians and primarily glorified chief medical officers and health workers.

Political trust was at an all-time high for some premiers in Canada with Premier John Horgan achieving the highest trust ratings in polls conducted during this time.

However, this wave of kindness, trust, gratitude, and compassion has been replaced by polarization as pandemic restrictions have continued. Distrust and anger have taken hold of many Canadians. We now hear of death threats against chief medical officers, like Dr. Bonnie Henry. Political trust, whether it be toward the politicians or civil servants, is increasingly being questioned by some hostile pockets of dissent in our society.

On the political front, Royal Roads Associate Professor Dr. David Black examines the lessons to be taken from the Sept. 20th vote (Pages 8 and 9). "It's an unenthusiastic affirmation of the status quo, one underlined by the low turnout of 61.8 per cent. The message from Canadian voters for the re-elected Liberal minority under Justin Trudeau, as well as for the opposition parties, is arguably to get on with the cross-party work of restoring the country to health, in the medical, economic and social sense of the word, by defeating the real opponent ... the virus," he tells us.

The professor says we should put aside the largely unchanged federal election numbers and think about more illuminating developments. "Parliament may have remained the same from 2019 to 2021, but the country and its political culture have certainly not."



UVic's Dr. Kim Speers



Royal Roads' Dr. David Black

Her Honour

The Honourable Janet Austin, OBC

Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

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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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From the Editor's Desk

Like many BCers, I bristle every time I see a banner-waving anti-vaxxer camped on the front lawn of the Legislature berating and intimidating conscientious, social-distancing, mask-wearing citizens who have the temerity to walk within shouting range. Clearly, I'm not alone ... half of Canadians do not believe the unvaccinated should have the same claim to priority ICU health care as those who have had their doses.

And, during the federal election campaign, I was not surprised that a majority of voters were miffed that they were being asked to go to the polls in an election they deemed unnecessary. The widely-predicted result punctuated a nation-wide lack of enthusiasm.

Today, we seem mired in a pandemic in which intolerance has trumped trust. And, our unchanged political landscape seems flat and somewhat foggy.

In this issue of OOTD, to better understand our dual predicament, I enlisted the help of two respected Greater Victoria academics. My thanks to Dr. Kim Speers, Assistant Teaching Professor in the School of Public Administration at UVic, for probing the social complexities of the pandemic. Kim has appeared on these pages in the past and I hope she does again in the future. As well, my thanks to Dr. David Black, Associate Professor in the School of Communication and Culture at Royal Roads University, for unpacking the nuances of Vote 2021 and extracting lessons learned.

I also want to thank Victoria-based financial planner Robin Muir, president of Hatch & Muir, for sharing some post-election fiscal analysis from two of BMO's most senior economists. I don't know about you, but I tend to be a tad preoccupied these days about how big brother influences the health of my modest retirement nest egg.

Please take note: If you would like to send a letter or an article to OOTD, the copy deadline for the November issue is **Oct. 22nd**. You can reach me at ootd.afmlabc@gmail.com.

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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.

The President's Report

Hello AFMLABC members!

By way of the now-routine medium of Zoom, our association held its Annual General Meeting on the afternoon of Oct. 2nd. In addition to association members, we had the pleasure of the attendance of our OOTD staff Brian Kieran and Rob Lee and former legislative clerk Ian Izard and former legislative librarian Joan Barton. It was a lively and interesting meeting with lots of good deliberation and input.

With great regret, we reflected on the fact that 11 former MLAs passed away during the past year. This may well have been an unprecedented number to pass away in one year. It reminds us all of our mortality. A moment of silence was observed in honour of these former friends and colleagues.

Our treasurer Patrick Wong presented the past year's financial statements and the budget for the upcoming year. We thank Patrick for his work and professional contribution.

Membership chair Ken Jones reported that membership numbers are relatively stable, although the loss of members who've passed away was noticeable. We continue to encourage former MLAs, who are not yet members, to join us.

All board members were elected by acclamation. You will see them listed on Page 2 of this edition of OOTD. I'm happy to say it is a wonderful group that is very committed to a thriving association.

A nominating committee for the upcoming year was appointed, chaired by our Vice-President Diane Thorne.

Brian Kieran and Rob Lee were recognized for their excellent work producing the OOTD. Each edition is always informative and interesting. We remind all former MLAs to consider submitting a column once in a while. We know from feedback received, that readers very much enjoy reading about what former members are up to. Please coordinate with Brian at ootd.afmlabc@gmail.com.

There was discussion about the possibility of holding an association dinner during the upcoming year, but it was decided to defer any decision to the executive for its consideration once the COVID-19 pandemic recedes into history.

In summary, I can report the affairs of the association are in good shape. We look forward to another year of service to our members!



John Les
President, AFMLABC

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An analysis of COVID-19 political fandom ... and a lament

By Dr. Kim Speers
University of Victoria

Like many political concepts, trust is a contested term, but there are some consistencies and similarities among the various definitions.

At a broad level, it means holding a positive perception about the actions of an individual or an organization. Beyond this broad interpretation, an understanding of trust is subjective since it depends on how an individual defines trust; indeed, there are different criteria people use to evaluate their trust in government.

Understanding the trust relationship between the state and citizen is also conditional in that a citizen may grant trust toward the government during a crisis, but not as much as in peacetime or a normal time – or in a time we call the new normal.

Another way to analyze the trust relationship between the state and citizen is to do so in a manner that breaks down the state. Is it the entire state apparatus? The political component? The civil service? Other arms-length government bodies? Specific leaders? Specific policies or actions?

Related is the need to break down the trust factor in a graded manner. It may be that individuals trust government or the state to a certain extent at specific times. There also appears to be consensus in the political science field that there needs to be a healthy skepticism about political institutions and actors because there are too many historical examples of corruption, unethical behaviour, lack of effective decision-making, and tyrannical government actors gone amok.

Finally, another way to unpack trust is to distinguish between social and political trust. In this sense, trust in government builds on two main components:

- Social trust – this tends to refer to citizens' confidence in their social community at large and in each other;
- Political trust – this tends to refer to citizens' confidence in their political institutions – i.e., structures, politicians, political parties, civil service, policies, and processes.

When writing this article, I thought it was important to raise points about both social and political trust. As seen in Canada, there have been issues raised about trusting our governments and trusting each other during this pandemic – and the conversation about trust seems to be getting louder.



Political fandom is a recent area of study. I am going to talk about political fandom as it relates to COVID-19 and political trust. I was mesmerized by the outpouring of support for various civil servants across Canada since the pandemic arrived in Canada, and I explored this concept in a public presentation shortly after the pandemic arrived in British Columbia. I wanted to revisit this idea because of the changes in levels of social and political trust we have seen in the last several months.

When you think of fandom in general, you may think of Harry Potter, Game of Thrones, Justin Bieber, The Crown, Star Trek. In defining fandom, Becky Herr-Stephenson (a clinical associate professor at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles) notes that it is an ongoing, intense interest and emotional investment in a person/event/activity.

Political fandom is a new area of study, and very little is written on the topic. The term is still being conceptualized, but building on the definition of fandom above and what has been seen during the pandemic, political fandom can be generally conceptualized as the following:

- It is rooted in emotion and entertainment that supports or glorifies a specific interest or person;
- Individuals participate in online or in-person communities related to shared interests;
- It is often fueled by social media to communicate shared interest, demonstrate support, and highlight achievements;
- Other forms of support may exist that demonstrate support and glorification – e.g., t-shirts, songs, dances, and poems;
- It is the method of an individual interacting with a political environment and demonstrating trust in a body or actor (e.g., parties, politicians, civil servants, event).

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There has been very little research or focus on civil servant fandom. The few cases that are highlighted include publicly supporting and lauding police officers, firefighters, and emergency medical technicians, especially in relation to 9/11 and other emergency and crisis events.

During the first few months of the COVID-19 pandemic, a wave of political fandom swept Canada, and the focus of the political fandom was more on civil servants than politicians and primarily glorified chief medical officers and health workers.

A wide range of fandom activities expressing gratitude took place that included t-shirts with pictures of a chief medical officer, murals in cityscapes, songs on social media, clothing sold out after a chief medical officer wore something at a press conference, and fan clubs on Facebook and other social media sites with hundreds of members.

Political leaders and their health ministers also received a bump in popularity during these early days of addressing and managing the COVID-19 pandemic response. Measures of political trust were at an all-time high for some premiers in Canada, and our own Premier John Horgan achieved the highest trust ratings in one of the seminal polls conducted during this time.

During this first year of the pandemic, positive attention and kudos were also increasingly being given to postal workers, garbage collectors, and frontline public sector staff who interacted with the public because they were putting their lives on the line. Shortly afterwards, those who were working the frontlines of the pandemic in the private and non-profit sectors were also given their well-deserved laurels.

Yet this tsunami of kindness, trust, gratitude, and compassion being shown was short-lived; distrust and anger took hold of many Canadians as the pandemic wore on. We started to hear of death threats towards chief medical officers and the need to have security for them and their families. Murals depicting gratitude were defaced.

No longer were the pots and pans being banged each night. Hearts were slowly being removed from windows. Political trust, whether it be toward the politicians or civil servants, was increasingly being questioned by some pockets of society.

Social trust was diminishing as well. Harsh and divisive words were spoken about the need for vaccinations and masks, and such conversations often divided friends, families, and neighbours. There has been a lack of compliance in some people following provincial orders.



Some have displayed aggression towards health workers, civil servants, political candidates, and those on the frontline, which at the very least, have left others scratching their heads at their actions and the rationale driving their perspectives. We are a divided society right now, and the social trust we have with each other is tenuous.

We have come to realize that others do not necessarily embrace the social code and expectations that we have. We are all likely experiencing various levels of stress, frustration and exhaustion because we have lost something – whether it be a loss of life, loss of health, loss of livelihood, or loss of our pre-COVID-19 routine. We are all experiencing social fatigue, and there are times when the way we communicate is aggressively misinterpreted and disrespected. We need to reinvigorate social trust as it is a building block of a healthy community.

I miss the days of political fandom. We should offer ongoing kudos to those who continue to lead, manage, and serve even though the levels of political and social trust are wavering. My kudos to those who take care of us, whether we like it or not.

(Dr. Kim Speers is an Assistant Teaching Professor and Academic Coordinator in the School of Public Administration at the University of Victoria.)

Women's History Month

“Valiant women of the vote ... refusing to be silenced”

In 1992, the Government of Canada designated October as Women's History Month, marking the beginning of an annual month-long celebration of the outstanding achievements of women throughout Canada's history.

Women's History Month includes International Day of the Girl on Oct. 11th and Persons Day on Oct. 18th.

The theme for 2021 National Women's History Month captures the spirit of these challenging times: Valiant Women of the Vote: Refusing to Be Silenced.

Since most 2020 women's suffrage centennial celebrations were curtailed, the National Women's History Alliance extended the celebration into 2021 and expanded on the 2020 theme.

The National Women's History Alliance is determined that the important roles of multicultural suffragists and voting rights activists continue to be recognized and honoured. This determination deepens understanding and shines a brilliant light on local women's political involvement, development and leadership. Despite tremendous opposition, women refuse to be silenced ... even by a pandemic.

International Day of the Girl is a United Nations observance dedicated to championing girls' rights around the world, including freedom from violence and abuse. As well, it highlights equal opportunities in areas such as law, education, nutrition and health care.

This year, the UN is drawing attention to the role economic empowerment plays in promoting equality for girls, specifically through improved access to education, increased political participation and leadership, and better support and training for girls in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics).

Persons Day marks a pivotal moment in Canadian history: The day in 1929 when the legal definition of “persons” was changed to include women. The decision in the *Persons Case* signalled a turning point in the quest for equal rights in Canada, giving women the right to be appointed to the Senate and paving the way for their increased participation in public and political life.

As part of this year's Women's History Month celebrations, the Status of Women Canada is launching the *Women of Impact in Canada* gallery, an online gallery that recognizes the extraordinary lives and achievements of women and girls in Canada.



Women of Impact in Canada is an online gallery that celebrates the achievements of more than 100 women and girls across Canada throughout our country's history. It recognizes women's achievement in STEM, the arts, politics, human rights, as well as the trailblazers who have made their mark in various domains, many of them as the first women in their fields.

The gallery features photos, biographies, and quotations, as well as an interactive map of Canada and photographic timelines that capture historical milestones. The gallery's nomination process allows Canadians to nominate deserving women and girls in Canada who have made a lasting impact through their achievements and contributions.

Women of Impact in Canada was created as an educational resource for people of all ages to learn more about these remarkable women and share their stories. It contains a comprehensive learning toolkit with ideas and activities for incorporating the gallery in a community or educational setting.

To be included in the gallery, candidates must meet at least one of the criteria outlined below. To nominate someone, go the Canada.ca's “Women of Impact in Canada” page where you will find the criteria and an e-nomination form.

Each woman of impact must have:

- Attained a high level of achievement, as determined by national or international standards;
- Advanced a social or humanitarian cause with a national impact in a leadership role;
- Achieved recognition as an expert or leader in a specific domain;
- Emerged as a pioneer in a new or non-traditional sector (including as the first in a specific field); or
- Contributed in a significant manner to events in Canada's history.

There are many AFMLABC members who meet at least one of these criteria.

Women's History Month cont.

Former Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson celebrated women



In October 1999, Adrienne Clarkson became the second woman to be appointed Governor General of Canada. Queen Elizabeth appointed her on the recommendation of then-Prime Minister Jean Chrétien.

At Rideau Hall in 2003, on the occasion of the presentation of the Governor General's awards in commemoration of the *Persons Case*, Clarkson celebrated "The Famous Five."

She said: "One of the earliest and most read feminists, Mary Woolstonecraft, said that she did not wish women 'to have power over men, but over themselves.' I think she got to the essence of the matter, because she realized that you can't overcome societal attitudes – whether in the form of men or the structures that men have made – without first developing a very strong sense of worth, self-esteem, and ability to feel strong.

"It is this manifestation of strength to which Susan B. Anthony alluded when she said: 'The only question left to be settled now is, are women persons?' In 1928, some years after she made that statement, they were declared persons in Canada. That was what the Famous Five settled for us, and that is what we are celebrating today – that women are, in the eyes of society and all its institutions, indeed persons. They are indeed truly human.

"To have taken well into the previous century for this recognition of women's humanity is appalling for a society like ours. Not only for the egregious and outrageous

discrimination it represented and perpetuated, but also because of what it denied to our own society. It denied the full contribution and full participation of half of the population from being truly human. For to be truly human is to be someone who helps to create the things that could be, not accept the way things are. Denying it robbed our society of that element, that potential, of creating progress and public good.

"To work for the things that could be is to work with hope, with optimism, with joy. Yet hoping and working for social change ... is extremely demanding and often misunderstood and misinterpreted. It is an uphill struggle, because people are simply afraid of change. Thank goodness, however, we have women who can put their minds to it. They know in their hearts that change is incremental, that progress means making sudden leaps ahead, only to be pushed back by the inevitable riptide of reaction and vested interest.

"This is particularly important. For it seems to me that the next step in the struggle for progress and equality for women is to bind the two together wherever possible. So that all Canadians increasingly grasp that the interests of their own country are served and advanced to the extent that equality of gender is achieved at home," Clarkson said.

Clarkson was the first Canadian of Chinese origin to become the Crown's representative. She had been an outstanding television host, journalist and writer. Her appointment marked several firsts, including the absence of a military or political background.

Born in Hong Kong in 1939, Clarkson came to Canada as a refugee with her family during the war in 1942. She received her early education in the Ottawa public school system and later obtained an Honours B.A. and an M.A. in English Literature from the University of Toronto. She also did post-graduate work at the Sorbonne in France, and became fluently bilingual.

A leading figure in Canada's cultural life, Clarkson received numerous prestigious awards both in Canada and abroad, in recognition of her outstanding contributions in professional and charitable endeavours. She served as governor general until September 2005.

(Library & Archives Canada, Office of the Governor General)

The less things change ... the more they may surprise

By Dr. David Black
Royal Roads University, Victoria

Our conventional "Mr. or Ms. Smith Goes to Ottawa" picture of democracy represents elections as events where the public, after hearing from the parties and their leaders, expresses itself through the ballot box and makes its wishes known as to who should form the next government.

But, when the popular vote and seat counts are nearly a carbon copy of the previous election, in 2019, the task of reading Canadians' will is much harder. It's less like the public has spoken, more like it has shrugged its shoulders and, after an exhausting year and a half of COVID-19 and pandemic politics, has sighed audibly.

Perhaps, the most we might make of such an outcome is this: It's an unenthusiastic affirmation of the status quo, one underlined by the low turnout of 61.8 per cent. The message from Canadian voters for the re-elected Liberal minority under Justin Trudeau, as well as for the opposition parties, is arguably to get on with the cross-party work of restoring the country to health, in the medical, economic and social sense of the word, by defeating the real opponent ... the virus.

A potential change in government was less significant than the kind of governing continuity that comes with keeping the Liberals, chastened in their failure to achieve a majority, in charge until the pandemic is history.

That is not to say that the election, despite being something of a non-event in terms of raw numbers, was unrevealing. As is every election, Sept. 20th was a national Rorschach test, a messy political inkblot through which we hope to see ourselves freshly.

There are at least three patterns worth learning from:

The political map may be similar, but the policy framework has changed

While, as measured against 2019 results, the Greens suffered a self-inflicted decline and the People's Party tripled its popular vote, the political map was otherwise not meaningfully altered in this election for the major parties. Taken collectively, the four main parties registered less than a two per cent change, up or down, in popular vote or seat counts.

It is a different story where policy is concerned. There has probably never been a federal election in which all the major parties' platforms – with the exception of a few proposals like the Tories' promise to review the Liberals' ban on assault weapons – were so directed toward the centre-left.



One of the many features of pandemic-era politics is that, with governments extending themselves into the economy and society in ways not seen since wartime, the boundaries of what is thinkable in policy terms and public spending have shifted.

In the near term, it makes it more difficult for the parties to distinguish themselves. There is less room for disagreement, less appetite for fiscal restraint. That means that the parties' ability to draw contrasts depends more on leadership style and political marketing than policy substance. For example, despite proposing their own methods for achieving policy goals in the 2021 election, the parties shared an uncanny array of high-profile policy priorities. Chief among them were childcare, climate change and assistance for lower income workers.

The reinvention of the Conservative Party

Parties are not just power-seeking vehicles hoping to form government. They represent contrasting ideas arising from their respective philosophical traditions about their version of a good society within Western democracy. Conservatism, liberalism, social democracy, and, more recently, green politics, are living things. They change relative to each other due to both long-term developments in the history of political thought and more immediate and local strategic and cultural concerns.

In 2021, most of the parties ran campaigns similar to those in 2019, though the People's Party did serve as a new refuge for those opposing public health pandemic measures. The major exception was the Conservative Party, which attempted a rather remarkable makeover in full view of the Canadian

continued on next page

public, tacking to the centre while trying to triangulate between its conservative base in Alberta and the Prairie provinces and moderate suburban voters in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver that were part of its coalition during the Harper years.

The fate of this bold move – one that takes inspiration from UK Conservative Party Prime Minister Boris Johnson's electoral success as a more socially liberal and working class-conscious leader – largely depends on whether Erin O'Toole survives a leadership review.

Should O'Toole and this Red Tory shift endure, the differences between the major parties – sharply defined in the Harper era – will become more a matter of degree than of substance until at least the end of the pandemic when the debate will then likely shift to how we pay the costs incurred by the public treasury.

There, the Conservatives, who reliably campaign on their credentials as fiscal stewards, may return to form. Alternatively, they may find a way to reconcile their divergent Reform and Progressive Conservative elements to fashion themselves as a party willing to spend, and maintain a more centrist posture on social and environmental issues for the sake of electability, if not entirely out of conviction.

You campaign as you are and vote where you live

The 2021 election will be remembered for featuring candidate slates across the major parties with record numbers of women and gender-diverse candidates (43 per cent) and Indigenous candidates (almost four per cent). Despite all 10 provincial premiers currently being white men and the new Conservative Party caucus being 95 per cent white, there is some hope that future Canadian parliaments will better reflect the multicultural mosaic they represent.

Diversity with regard to candidate slates is not merely a matter of 21st Century scruple. It's arguable that parties unable to assemble slates that mirror the electorate are going to find that relative homogeneity becomes an obstacle to electability, especially in metropolitan and suburban ridings.

By 2036, the visible minority share of Canada's population is projected to be 35 per cent, and the Indigenous share will comprise another five per cent. Taken together, these population groups will represent 40 per cent of the total population, a demographic fact no party can ignore when it comes to their candidates' diversity, their platforms and communications.



Apart from ethnicity and race, a variable that is often overlooked when thinking about voting behaviour is social geography. People in rural and small-town communities lean center-right, suburban voters tend to be swing voters, and urban residents are inclined to vote centre-left. That said, work-from-home trends and record housing prices may change the parties' calculus regarding this "vote where you live" model, as young families move from cities into smaller communities and bring an urban outlook with them.

What we saw in the 2020 BC election where former perennial BC Liberal seats in Fraser Valley communities like Langley, Abbotsford and Chilliwack went to the NDP is a trend that may become national. This will require the major parties to find it in themselves to speak to categories of people and on issues that might not have come naturally before, a flexibility that will do them all some good. The relatively small number of federal ridings – 23 of 338 – that switched parties in 2021 does not indicate such a national trend yet, but it's reasonable to believe it's coming.

The implication of a largely unchanged popular vote and seat count is that we can put aside the numbers, since they hold little interest in themselves, and think about these more illuminating developments. Parliament may have remained the same from 2019 to 2021, but the country and its political culture have certainly not.

(Dr. David Black is an Associate Professor in the School of Communication and Culture at Royal Roads University in Victoria. He teaches political communication. His Ph.D. is in Social and Political Thought.)

Banking economists sense a Liberal/NDP fiscal comfort zone

By Robin Muir,
President, Hatch & Muir

The people have voted, and the election is now over, with the Liberals pretty much where they started. The \$600 million spent to fund this result was not a prudent application of capital resources, in my opinion, but nevertheless, here we are.

Of course, we will be watching to see if the Liberals remain committed to implementing the mandate they articulated during the campaign. The following post-election analysis by BMO's Chief Economist Douglas Porter and Senior Economist Robert Havcic zeroes in on some major economic variables:

"As usual in a minority situation, there will be plenty of horse-trading ahead of next year's budget, although the Liberals' 2021 document largely set the course for the coming years. The first real sense we will get on that front will be the government's Throne Speech, when it sets out its priorities," say BMO's senior economists.

"With another minority mandate in store, we can glean some insights from the campaign proposals of two of the major parties. While any party can theoretically support the Liberals, the NDP is the likely first choice to step up and deal ... because many issues in the two parties' platforms overlap.

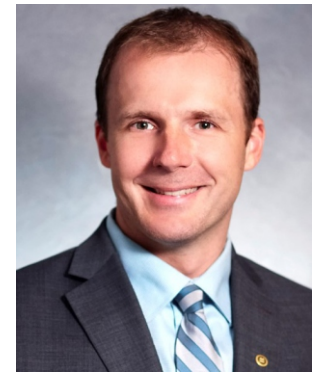
"Both parties will look to extend some pandemic-era programs (wage and rent subsidies); both have clearly prioritized taxing the upper end of the income spectrum and corporations; both are in favour of subsidized child care; and, neither has any inclination to balance the budget.

"Fiscal policy will likely remain loose under a minority Liberal government. In fact, the new deficit path will likely look decidedly similar to that laid out in Budget 2021 but, because of better underlying economic and revenue performance, it will also come with increased spending.

"The Liberal platform included roughly \$4 billion of net tax increases/revenue collection measures by 2022/23, rising to \$8 billion by 2025/26. Smaller-ticket items in the Liberal plan, such as a minimum tax on higher-income earners and a flipping tax (on homes) carry lower dollar amounts, but are important to signal the party's priorities.



Douglas Porter



Robert Havcic

In that light, the NDP are openly pushing for taxes on higher-income earners, corporations and an increase in the capital gains inclusion rate. It appears that these are areas that the Liberals potentially may be willing to go in order to garner support. In fact, it's notable that tax changes are an area where the Liberals and NDP see plenty of overlap.

"A Liberal/NDP mandate could see continued involvement in the housing market, with an eye on affordability. Non-resident buyers are the first likely target, with the Budget 2021 vacancy tax taking effect in 2022. That could be supplemented by an outright ban (Liberal platform) and/or transactions tax (NDP platform).

"Various other measures to 'improve affordability' are also likely in play. We tend to be skeptical on this front given that such measures usually just increase demand and get capitalized into prices. For example, the Liberals have promised tax-free savings accounts for first-time home buyers, while the NDP seeks to bring back 30-year amortizations for insured mortgages. Additionally, the Liberals have pledged to open the market to more price transparency, as well as implementing a short-term flipping tax.

"This election result will not prompt any changes to our growth outlook for Canada. While the backfilling of fiscal upside with more spending, as per the Liberal platform, means marginally more stimulus for longer, it won't prompt a forecast change given much larger issues at play for the economy, like the Delta variant and supply-side constraints. Interestingly, all major parties ran with promises to boost employment, but most of them push on the demand curve. With more than 700,000 job vacancies, it's the supply side that needs the push."

This is war; we need a war cabinet to fight COVID, global warming

By Jim Hume
The Old Islander

There is a lot of speculation in these nervous post-election days as to how Prime Minister Justin Trudeau will handle his continued life as a minority PM.

I wonder if he's given any thought to the time Winston Churchill came close to being turfed from high office within days of being given the keys to No. 10 Downing Street.

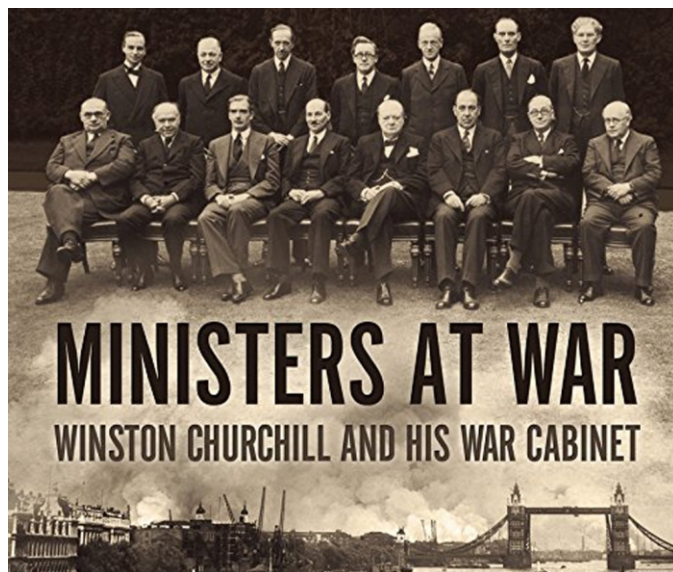
You will need to be getting along in years to personally recall the days in May 1940, when the world was falling apart. The German army and Luftwaffe were sweeping across Europe, and influential politicians, with powerful Lord Halifax as peacemaker, were urging the war cabinet to seek peace with Hitler. Halifax, convinced of support, was reputedly already seeking contact with Mussolini, the Italian dictator and ally of Hitler.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain faced a critical motion by the Labor opposition in the House of Commons. His Conservatives had a big majority. But a respected Conservative backbencher, Leopold Amery, rose and addressed Chamberlain in the spirit of Oliver Cromwell, who in 1653 addressed the "Long Parliament": "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. In the name of God, go!"

Forty Conservatives voted against Chamberlain, and another 60 abstained. Three days later, he resigned. Winston Churchill became prime minister. And many would say that the response of the Commons to crisis, its ability to rise above party, saved Britain.

That moment must have dominated the mood of the May meeting when Churchill set the battle tone to fight "on the beaches, in the streets and in the air" and set about organizing a full-strength war cabinet with Labour leader Clement Atlee as deputy leader and deputy PM. As leader of the Labour Party, Atlee had often been the target of Churchillian wit ("He's a sheep in sheep's clothing"). Regardless, Atlee was held in high regard.

More than that, the appointment of Ernest Bevin, a tough working-class trade unionist and Churchill's chief opponent in the general strike of 1926, was a real eyebrow-raiser. He was appointed Minister of Labour in 1940. He knew the trade union leaders; he had been a leader among them for longer than a generation. He knew the employers, too. It was said of him that he respected many big business owners – and feared none.



That historical scene-setter brings me back to PM Trudeau and the immediate road ahead for himself and a new cabinet. He knows he will need support from losing parties – but how to get it without an eventual separation like BC's NDP and Greens endured after their brief fling as dance partners?

He can try for a similar deal with the NDP or, though less likely, the Bloc Quebecois, or the distressed Conservative Party preoccupied with its own failures and the breakaway of a renegade People's Party that couldn't win a seat, but established base foundations in almost every riding.

But, he might do better to try a Churchill and offer a cabinet post to a couple of New Democrats including one for Jagmeet Singh.

That was war time, you say, and we all had to pull together. Precisely. We are at war now – on two fronts against COVID-19 and global warming. Surely, it's time to blur the party lines a little if we want to win.

(Jim Hume – a legendary political columnist at the Times-Colonist for decades and an AFMLABC Honourary Life Member – is still going strong at 97. You can read more of his "Old Islander" blogs at jimhume.ca.)

The ranks of the AFMLABC are sorely diminished this past year

A moment of silence during the virtual AFMLABC AGM on October 2nd was very weighty this year.

Not since I have had the honour of editing OOTD have we lost so many good souls in the space of 12 months. They include: Tom Berger, Jim Gorst, Dan Jarvis, Bill King, Reni Masi, Dave Mercier, Lorne Nicolson, Gerry Strongman, Ian Waddell, Allan Warnke and Helmut Giesbrecht.

Helmut Giesbrecht passed away peacefully at 77 on Oct. 9th, 2020, with his two children by his side. It was just days after our 2020 AFMLABC AGM and somehow his passing went undocumented in *Orders of the Day*. I truly regret that it has taken us this long to catch up. We're usually on top of these sad events; however, when a former MLA is from a distant corner of the Hinterland, the sad news does not always get to us in a timely fashion.

I hope we can make amends in this issue. His obituary in the Terrace Standard included these lines from Robert Frost:

*"I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I –
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference."*



The newspaper's tribute follows: "Helmut was born in the Ukraine in 1943 and came to Canada as a young child. He earned his teaching degree at the University of British Columbia before moving to Terrace in the late 60s. He taught at Skeena Junior Secondary for 24 years.

"He was a member of the Terrace municipal council, serving as mayor from 1981 to 1985. He was also a member of the executive of the Terrace District's Teachers Union, served as president of the Terrace District Teachers' Association and was a director for the Terrace and District Credit Union.

"He was elected the NDP MLA for Skeena in 1991 and served until 2001 when he was defeated by Roger Harris. During his two terms, he served in the provincial cabinet as Minister Responsible for the Public Service and Minister of Transportation and Highways. Following the 1996 election, he righteously overcame a recall campaign launched against him.

"Helmut will be remembered for his strong and caring heart, his work ethic, and his passionate advocacy for what he believed was right. He loved exploring the northwest with friends and family, and in later years, reminiscing about these adventures over the 'occasional' rum and coke.

"He could build or fix or upgrade absolutely anything. Above all, he will be remembered for the love he had for his family and his devotion to his wife.

"He is sadly missed by his wife Wendy; his children Shelley (Andrew) and Shawn (Tanya); and his granddaughters Madison (Jon), Skila and Johanna. He also leaves behind his three siblings, Henry (Marty), Joy (Larry), Mary, and many nieces and nephews."

~ Brian Kieran, Editor, OOTD



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HELPING WHEN LIFE CHANGES



Letters

Dear Readers:

On Friday, Sept. 3rd, the Legislative Assembly Management Committee adopted a motion: "That a proof of COVID-19 vaccination program be established for Members of the Legislative Assembly, caucus staff and Legislative Assembly administration staff working in the Legislative Precinct effective Sept. 13th, and concluding on Jan. 31st, 2022, subject to a re-evaluation by the Committee; and that, recognizing the fluid nature of the matter, appropriate program arrangements will be finalized by the Legislative Assembly administration under the oversight of the Speaker."

The purpose of the proof of COVID-19 vaccination program is to ensure the safety of all Members and staff working within the Legislative Precinct, and members of the general public visiting the precinct.

We look forward to welcoming Members (including former Members) back to the precinct in the weeks ahead. While most Members will be expected to attend in person, the hybrid connectivity to the session will continue to be available.

The Legislative Assembly resumed sitting on Monday, Oct. 4th, and more details on the fall sitting will follow in the upcoming issues of the Orders of the Day.

Cai Dong,
Executive Assistant,
Office of the Clerk

Dear Editor:

It is with great sadness that I have learned from Linda Reid that my dear friend Alan Warnke passed away on June 27th.

We had many wonderful memories of our time spent together as BC Liberal MLAs, the class of 1991. Alan added a touch of class to the Legislature.

Each year, when I went back for a visit to Vancouver, we would get together over coffee and talk politics. He and Geraldine visited us at our cottage in New Brunswick in 2001.

Alan was brilliant, and a wonderful, true friend. A person who was always there for you. We often spoke on the phone, the most recent call being in May. At that time, he was in good spirits but missed his wife.

He will be greatly missed.

Bob Chisholm
(Liberal, Chilliwack, 1991– 1996)

Dear Editor:

A great article by Tony Brummet. In caucus, in cabinet and in the House, Tony was always considered the toughest guy in the room. He also knew how to make things work. The recent letter from Tony only goes to show he still knows how to manage a difficult situation. Truly an inspiration for us all.

Best wishes Tony.

Cheers,
Bruce Strachan
(Social Credit, Prince George South, 1979 – 1991)

Dear AFMLABC members:

Hope you have come through the summer well, and safe from COVID-19.

After much research and documentation, going through multiple editions of "Orders of the Day," talking to former presidents, and with the very able assistance of the Legislative Library research staff and the very supportive Speaker's Office staff, attached is my attempt to create a list of the Association of Former MLAs of BC presidents, with their terms of office and party affiliation when they were an MLA.

<u>Term</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>
2021 July -	John Les	Liberal
2021 Mar - July	Dave Hayer	Liberal
2020 - 2021 Mar	Ian Waddell	New Democratic
2018 - 2020	Jeff Bray	Liberal
2016 - 2018	Penny Priddy	New Democratic
2013 May - 2016	Gillian Trumper	Liberal
2008 - 2013 May	Bill Reid	Social Credit
2007 - 2008	Ken Jones	Liberal
2005 - 2007	Bill Hartley	New Democratic
2001 - 2005	Art Cowie	Liberal
1999 - 2001	Bruce Strachan	Social Credit
1997 - 1999 (AFMLABC)	Mark Rose	New Democratic
1996 - 1997 (Ex-MLAs)	Bob McClelland	Social Credit
1994 - 1996	Jim Rhodes	New Democratic
1993 - 1994	Bob McClelland	Social Credit
1991 - 1993	Dennis Cocke	New Democratic
1987 - 1991	Jim Nielsen	Social Credit

I hope that this will give recognition to the outstanding volunteer leadership they have given to our Association and members over the past 35 years.

Yours sincerely,
Ken Jones, Director, AFMLABC

Question Period

offbeat news, humour, and things that make you go "hmm..."

Canada's reigning cats and dogs

LONDON, ONT. (Daily Mail) – Lollipop, a three-year-old deaf Boston Terrier and Sashimi, a five-year-old Bengal Leopard cat, have made it into the *2022 Guinness Book of World Records*

The unlikely duo set a new world record for “the fastest five metres on a scooter by a dog and cat” after gliding along together for a speedy 4.37 seconds.

Both animals are rescues trained by Melissa Millet, a film and stunt trainer who owns In Dogs We Trust, a London dog training school. Millet said the animals scootered on their own initially, and then one day Lollipop spontaneously jumped on with Sashimi.



Quit bugging the president's press corps

WASHINGTON, BC (UPI) – A plane carrying dozens of journalists preparing to take off from Washington to Europe to cover President Biden's trip abroad was delayed for several hours by a swarm of cicadas evidently looking to hitch a ride.

A horde of Brood X cicadas had filled the plane's engines, causing mechanical issues that delayed takeoff. Eventually, White House aides had to find another plane for reporters to make it overseas, according to The Associated Press.

The creepy critters, that arise from the ground every 17 years, were at their peak of mating season from the East Coast to the Midwest. In their few weeks above ground, they caused quite the nuisance for journalists ... and regular humans.



Cereal deflation comes at a devious cost

SOMERVILLE, MASS. (NPR) – A couple of weeks ago, Edgar Dworsky walked into a Stop & Shop grocery store like a detective entering a murder scene.

He stepped into the cereal aisle, where he hoped to find the smoking gun. He scanned the shelves. Oh no, he thought. He was too late. The store had already replaced old General Mills cereal boxes – such as Cheerios and Cocoa Puffs – with newer ones. It was as though the suspect's fingerprints had been wiped clean.

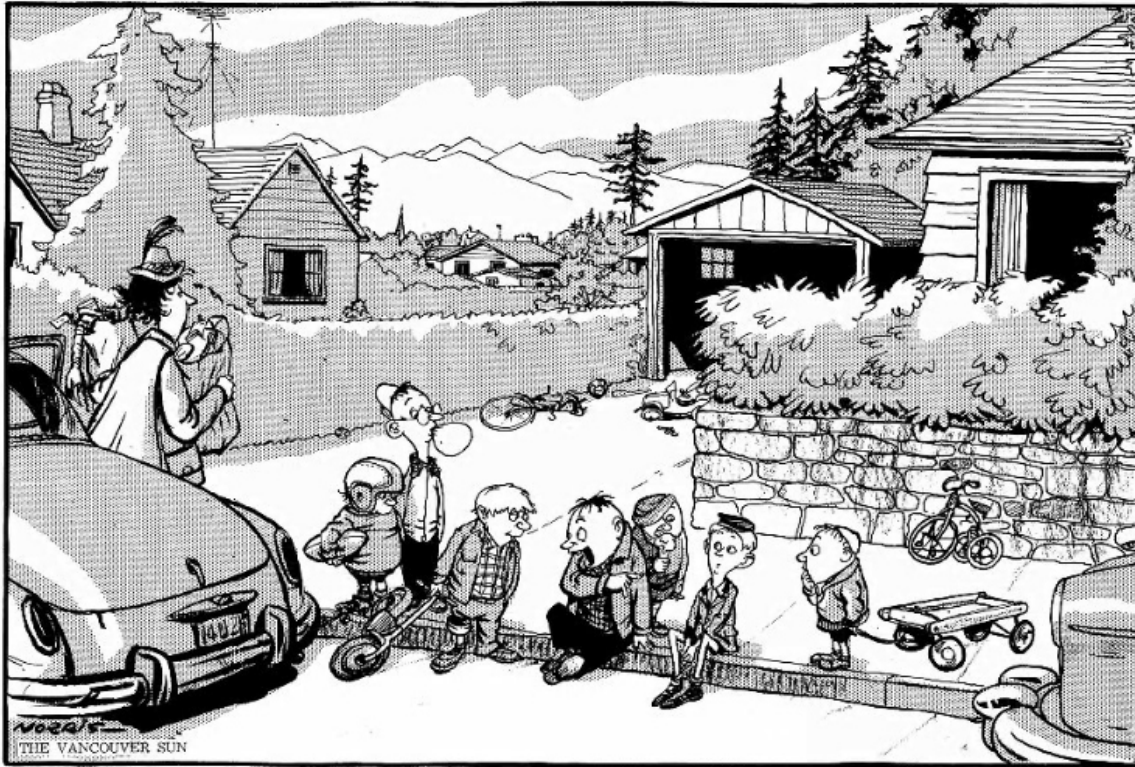
Then Dworsky headed toward the back of the store. Sure enough, old boxes of Cocoa Puffs and Apple Cinnamon Cheerios were stacked at the end of one of the aisles. He grabbed an old box of Cocoa Puffs and put it side by side with the new one. Aha! The tip he had



received was right on the money. General Mills had downsized the contents of its "family size" boxes from 19.3 ounces to 18.1 ounces.

Dworsky went to the checkout aisle, and both boxes – gasp! – were the same price. It was an open-and-shut case: General Mills was a perpetrator of "cereal deflation."

Len Norris



October 10, 1953

"...and my friend's a smart guy for a New Canadian ... he knows all about why we have Thanksgiving ..."

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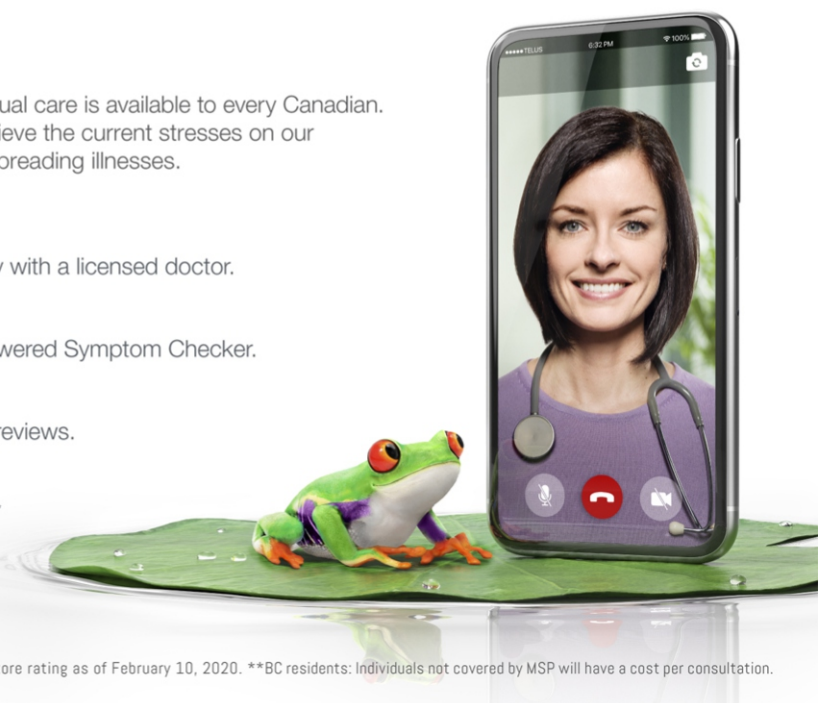
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*App Store rating as of February 10, 2020. **BC residents: Individuals not covered by MSP will have a cost per consultation.

35 years ago this month

Sam Bawlf's Expo dream takes a final bow

The 1986 Exposition on Transportation and Communication, Expo 86, came to a close in Vancouver 35 years ago on Oct. 12th, 1986.

More than 22 million people visited the pavilions at Expo 86, which had as its theme "World in Motion – World in Touch." The fair put Vancouver on the world stage and is remembered for the warm, friendly spirit that existed among the exhibitors, staff, 8,000 volunteers and visitors.

It left a legacy of infrastructure in Vancouver. The Canada Pavilion was converted to house the Vancouver Convention Centre. Expo Centre, the famed dome-shaped building, reopened as Science World in 1990. As for public transit, SkyTrain, whose Expo Line opened for Expo 86, has 80 km of track today, making it the world's longest automatic light-rail system.

It all started in 1978, when the Socreds' Recreation and Conservation Minister Sam Bawlf proposed an international exposition to celebrate Vancouver's centenary based on a concept study by architect Randle Iredale. A formal application for a fair called Transpo 86 was submitted in June 1979 to the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) in Paris. Various sites and plans were proposed.

The BIE approved the fair in November 1980. Patrick Reid, Ambassador and Commissioner General, changed the name to Expo 86 in October 1981, eliminating any connotations of a trade fair. Unlike Expo 67, this was a special category exposition, the largest ever held, with a single theme of transportation and communications. The theme statement of "World in Motion – World in Touch" was symbolized by a logo of three concentric circles using the figures eight and six intersecting to represent transportation by land, sea and air.

After difficulties with funding through 1980-81, plans were finalized. The project was sponsored by the federal and provincial governments. Expo 86 Corp was established as a non-profit agency to plan and operate the fair and was headed by Jim Pattison, chairman of the board and later president. Creative director was Ron Woodall, chief architect was Bruno Freschi and Bob Smith was in charge of production and design.

Construction of the first pavilion began in October 1983. Labour disputes for five months in 1984 disrupted work, but the pavilions were completed on schedule and \$8 million under budget. There were 65 pavilions: 41 were international; seven provinces, two territories, three states and nine corporations had pavilions; two were theme pavilions and one was unique (Ramses II contained treasures from the life of the pharaoh).



There were nine plazas on the site. Six theatres provided free entertainment daily. The Royal Bank/Expo 86 World Festival was held at venues throughout Vancouver including Expo Theatre. Among performers were world-renowned ballet and opera companies, dancers, singers, comedians, musicians and rock groups.

All on-site transportation was free. A 5.4 km monorail gave a 20-minute ride through the site to 10.5 million passengers. Two gondola skyrides carried 9.75 million people. Free, direct transportation to the Canada Pavilion was by Skytrain.

The Canada Pavilion, with 10 800 m² of exhibit and performance space, extended more than three city blocks into Burrard Inlet and cost \$145 million. This dramatic white building with mountains, water and city as backdrop was constructed to resemble a ship with five large "sails" of suspended fabric. Afterwards, the pavilion would serve as a convention centre and cruise ship terminal.

Expenditures for the fair were \$802 million and revenues were \$491 million. The federal government contributed \$75 million to build Canada Pavilion, \$60 million to build Skytrain and \$25 million toward the deficit. More than 36 corporate sponsors committed \$173 million. Participants spent \$698 million for total expenditures at Expo of \$1.5 billion. The final deficit was \$311 million. However, the Canadian economy received an extra \$3.7 billion as a result of Expo 86.

The Canadian Encyclopedia