CHURCHILL SOCIETY for the ADVANCEMENT of PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY



39th Annual Award Dinner

30 November 2022, Arcadian Court Toronto, Canada



GREETINGS FROM THE CHAIR



Welcome.

Never before have gatherings like the one you are attending tonight—that both honour special Canadians for their service to parliamentary democracy and that honour the life and work of Sir Winston Churchill—been more important.

Earlier this month, research was released pointing out that Winston Churchill is becoming less popular over time, with only 36 percent of the British population thinking of him positively. This sits in sharp contrast to a 2018 poll that found that 47 percent of Brits said they admired the former Prime Minister or a 2002 BBC poll that voted Sir Winston as the "greatest Briton of all time".

Parliament in the United Kingdom and elsewhere is also failing to perform many of its oversight duties as power is increasingly centralized by governments. Today the media has more influence over the political agenda and over the tone of national conversation than elected office holders.

But your generous support tonight allows the Churchill Society to continue its efforts to counter these trends in Canada as it pursues its mission of facilitating education, discussion and debate about Canada's parliamentary democracy.

Tonight we congratulate the Honourable Irwin Cotler for his outstanding contribution to our country both as a parliamentarian and as a force for human rights around the world.

Cameron MacKay, Chair

Land Acknowledgement

In the sincere hope of true reconciliation and healing, we acknowledge that the land we are meeting on has been the site of human activity for thousands of years. This land is the traditional territory of many nations including the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishnabeg, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee and the Wendat peoples and is now home to many diverse First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples.

We are grateful to live, work and play on this land.



November 30, 2022

My warm greetings to all taking part in the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy's 39th annual Award Dinner.

As I mourned the loss of our beloved Queen Elizabeth II this year, I was continually reminded of how she embraced and illuminated the real meaning of democracy. How important it is to find a way in which we can learn to live together harmoniously. As members of the Churchill Society, your efforts to strengthen the democratic institutions that have sustained generations of Canadians are more important now than ever.

I add my voice to all paying tribute to tonight's honouree, the Honourable Irwin Cotler. As a steadfast champion and defender of human rights and multilateralism here in Canada, as well as abroad, he has worked tirelessly to preserve the precious democracy of which Ontarians and Canadians are so proud. For this, we are all indebted. I applaud this esteemed organization for recognizing and sharing his story.

This comes with my best wishes for an enjoyable evening.

6 Drudeswell

Elizabeth Dowdeswell

EVENT PROGRAM

RECEPTION (6:00 PM)

Guests take their seats (6:50 PM)

Entrance of Vice-Regal Party and Head Table

Welcome and Announcements (7:00 PM) by Allan Williams

Singing of O Canada

Invocation and Blessing by Rabbi Yael Splansky of Holy Blossom Temple

FIRST COURSE

Roasted Butternut Squash & Hazelnut Salad

Chair's Remarks by Cameron MacKay

Keynote Address by John Fraser "Long did she reign over us" (video)

Toast to Sir Winston Churchill by Robert O'Brien

MAIN COURSE

Mustard Braised Beef Short Rib or Vegetarian Option

Loyal Toast by the Hon. Elizabeth Dowdeswell **Lieutenant Governor of Ontario**

DESSERT & COFFEE

Platter of Mini Desserts

Introduction of Award Recipient by the Hon. John Baird

Presentation of the Award to The Hon. Irwin Cotler by Cameron MacKay

Remarks of the Award Recipient by the Hon. Irwin Cotler

Appreciation to the Award Recipient By Malliha Wilson

Closing Announcements by Allan Williams

Singing of the Royal Anthem

Music provided by the Governor-General's Horse Guard Band, sponsored by the Hon. Hal Jackman

WELCOME

TO THE

39th Annual **Award Dinner**

The Churchill Society for the Advancement of **Parliamentary Democracy**



CHURCHILL SOCIETY

The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy was founded in 1982 as a non-partisan, charitable organization that honours the life of Sir Winston Churchill by facilitating education, discussion and debate about Canada's parliamentary democracy.

ChurchillSociety.org

Thank you for your attendance at tonight's dinner in support of the Churchill Society.

2022—23 Board of Directors

Jim Burnett, Gordon Kaiser, Peter Large, Cameron MacKay, (Chair)* Susan Mackle,* Corinne Murray, Robert O'Brien, Glenn O'Farrell, John Parker, David Pyper,* Dan Revington, Bob Richardson,* Gillian Smith, Harlan Tufford, Paul Tye-Ko, Malliha Wilson,* and Allan Williams (ex. off.)*

* indicates a member of the dinner committee

Cover photo: Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip leave 10 Downing Street after the farewell dinner on Winston Churchill's last full day as Prime Minister. April 4th 1955: Clementine Churchill at back.



Congratulations to

The Honourable Irwin Cotler, P.C., O.C., O.Q., Ad. E.

The 2022 recipient of the
Churchill Society's

Award for Excellence
in the cause of
parliamentary democracy

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN

November 30, 2022

Allow me to begin by congratulating the Churchill Society for honouring Irwin Cotler with the Award of Excellence for Parliamentary Democracy.

I served many years with Irwin in parliament and no one is more deserving of such an honour and recognition.

His hard work and dedication in helping to improve the lives of Canadians, indeed of people around the world, is a constant inspiration to us all. His life's work of engagement and achievement as well as his outstanding contribution to the advancement of human rights and his pursuit of justice is undeniable.

When as prime minister, I asked that we "prioritize Indigenous affairs", Irwin stepped up to the task by setting up a justice-wide strategy known as the seven R's: recognition, respect, redress, representation, responsiveness, reconciliation and relationships. He demonstrated without equivocation that the rights of Indigenous people had not been fully recognized, and that this was a gap that had to be dealt with. In this context as Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, he appointed the first ever Indigenous and visible-minority justices to the Ontario Court of Appeal.

Clearly the legacy of Irwin Cotler to Canada's justice system can be seen everywhere, home and far abroad. For instance, in the political prisoners he defended - Anatoly Sharansky in the former Soviet Union and Nelson Mandela in South Africa to cite two examples. It can also be seen in the Raoul Wallenberg Center of Human Rights which he founded.

As had been said of him before, "Irwin you are not just a man of your times — you are a man who changed the times!" $\frac{1}{2} \int_{\mathbb{R}^n} \frac{1}{2} \int_{\mathbb{R}^n} \frac{1}{2}$

Irwin, watching you and working with you has been an honour

With every step of your life you have made Canada proud.

Mad

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ROSALIE SILBERMAN ABELLA Samuel LLM '55, SJD '59 and Judith Pisar Visiting Professor of Law

Lovember 19/22

To the Churchell Society -Congratulations on your wisdown in choosing to honour Irwin Cotter, a person my husband and I have been in carve of for decades. Invin is not an iconic figure, he's bionic. He Apresents an incomparable Kaleidoscope of heroic leaderships in 80 many universes -The human rights reniverse, The acadeaic universe, he Jewish universe, the legal universe in Canada and globally, among many others. And in lack of those universes he has been an unwavering symbol of intellectual humanism, a human rights samurai leading sas into bothe against injustice. He does all of this with selfless generosty and persionete commitment, and a wonderful sence of humour. He is offered to his family above all, his friends and to hope. Neve is noone like him. How blucker we all are to be part of his universe. Stincoly, Griswold 505. 1525 Massachusetts Ave. Chubridge, Mg 02138. rabella@law.harvard.edu.

The Honourable Irwin Cotler, P.C., O.C., O.Q., Ad. E.

Irwin Cotler is the International Chair of the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights, an Emeritus Professor of Law at McGill University, former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada and longtime Member of Parliament, constitutional and international human rights lawyer and counsel to prisoners of conscience.

He is a member of the Organization of American States (OAS); Independent Panel of Legal Experts on Venezuela; member of the High Level Panel of Legal Experts on Media Freedom; Canada's first Special Envoy on Preserving Holocaust Remembrance and Combatting Antisemitism; and Special Envoy of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Community of Democracies on the case and cause of imprisoned Russian democratic leader, Vladimir Kara-Murza.

As parliamentarian from 1999 to 2015, Professor Cotler was at the forefront of the struggle for justice and human rights, both domestically and internationally. He served as chair of the first-ever Parliamentary Assembly for the International Criminal Court; chair of the Parliamentarians for Global Action (Canada); chair of the Inter-Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in Iran; chair of the Inter-Parliamentary Group of Justice for Sergei Magnitsky; chair of the All-Party Save Darfur Parliamentary Coalition; co-chair from Canada of the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance for China; and co-chair of the International Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Antisemitism.

As Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada from 2003 to 2006, Irwin Cotler launched Canada's first National Justice Initiative Against Racism and Hate; initiated the first-ever prosecution for the genocide of the Tutsis in Rwanda under Canada's *Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act*; initiated the first-ever law on human trafficking; crafted the *Civil Marriage Act*, the first-ever legislation to grant marriage equality to gays and lesbians; quashed more wrongful convictions in a single year than any prior Minister; initiated the first-ever comprehensive reform of the Supreme Court appointment process and helped make it the most gender-representative Supreme Court in the world; appointed the first-ever Indigenous and visible minority justices the Ontario Court of Appeal; and made the pursuit of international justice a government priority.

An international human rights lawyer, Professor Cotler has served as counsel to high profile prisoners of conscience including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and leading human rights dissident, Nathan Sharansky (former Soviet Union); Nelson Mandela (South Africa); Jacobo Timmerman (Argentina); Professor Saad Eddin Ibrahim (Egypt); and was a Member of the International Legal Team of Chinese Nobel Peace Laureate Liu Xiaobo. More recently he has served as international legal counsel to imprisoned Saudi blogger Raif Badawi, Venezuelan political prisoner Leopoldo López, imprisoned Iranian human rights lawyer Nasrin Sotoudeh, and Swedish-Eritrean journalist Dawit Isaak. Feature articles refer to him as "Counsel for the Oppressed", while the Oslo Freedom Forum characterized him as "Freedom's Counsel."

A constitutional and comparative law scholar, Professor Cotler is the author of numerous publications and seminal legal articles and has written upon and intervened in landmark Charter of Rights cases in the areas of free speech, freedom of religion, minority rights, peace law and war crimes justice.

He is the recipient of sixteen honourary doctorates, where he has been recognized as "a scholar and advocate of international stature" (as cited in his various honourary doctorates). He is a Privy Councillor, an Officer of the Order of Canada, an Officer of the National Order of Quebec, and is the recipient also of the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal. He has been awarded the Canadian Bar Association's President's Award; was the first Canadian recipient of the International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation's Centennial Medal; the first recipient of the Romeo Dallaire Award for Human Rights Leadership; the recipient of the Sir Zafrullah Khan Award for Distinguished Public Service; the recipient of the Dalhousie University 2015 Ethical Leadership Award; and was the first recipient of the 2015 Sergei Magnitsky Global Human Rights Award.

He was elected 2014 Canadian Parliamentarian of the Year by his colleagues, and in 2015 received the Law Society of Upper Canada's Inaugural Human Rights Award. In its citation, the Law Society recognized "The Honourable Irwin Cotler's tireless efforts to ensure peace and justice for all. In his varied roles as law professor, constitutional and comparative law scholar, international human rights lawyer, counsel to prisoners of conscience, public intellectual, peace activist, Member of Parliament, and Minster of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Mr. Cotler has been a leader and role model. Through his advocacy work both in Canada and internationally, he has transformed the lives of many."

Past Churchill Award honourees, dinner speakers, and society chairs

YEAR	AWARD HONOUREE	KEYNOTE SPEAKER	SOCIETY CHAIR
1984	The Hon. Stanley Knowles	Martin Gilbert	F. Bartlett Watt
1985	The Rt. Hon. Roland Michener	Dr. J. Austin Ranney	D. McCormack Smythe
1986	The Hon. Eugene A. Forsey	Sir John Colville	Frederick C. Stinson
1987	The Hon. James A. McGrath	The Lady Soames	Norman Macleod Rogers
1988	The Hon. Paul J. Martin	Prof. M. R. D. Foot	Ernest Little
1989	The Hon. Allan E. Blakeney	Casper Weinberger	P. Michael Wilson
1990	The Rt. Hon. Brian Dickson	Sir David Hunt	Nancy Kee
1991	The Hon. Donald S. Macdonald	Prof. Reginald V. Jones	Nancy Kee
1992	The Hon. John A. Fraser	Lord Weatherill	Robert Fleming
1993	The Rt. Hon. Ellen Fairclough	The Lady Soames	P. Michael Wilson
1994	The Hon. John Crosbie	Anthony M. Browne	Peter K. Large
1995	The Hon. Barnett J. Danson	Celia Sandys	Peter K. Large
1996	The Rt. Hon. John N. W. Turner	Sir Edwin Leather	William MacKenzie
1997	The Hon. Lincoln Alexander	Prof. Christopher Andrew	William MacKenzie
1998	The Hon. Peter Lougheed	Nicholas Soames	George Kee
1999	The Hon. Frank McKenna	Prof. David Dilks	Stephen Gooderham
2000	The Hon. William G. Davis	Prof. John Lukacs	George Kee
2001	The Hon. Roy Romanow	Andrew Roberts	Peter Russell
2002	The Hon. Flora MacDonald	John Plumpton	Peter Russell
2003	The Hon. Lloyd Axworthy	Sir Martin Gilbert	Peter Russell
2004	The Rt. Hon. Joe Clark	Prof. Warren Kimball	Daniel Tisch
2005	The Hon. Allan Lawrence	Christopher Matthews	Daniel Tisch
2006	The Hon. Ed Broadbent	Prof. David Bercuson	Daniel Tisch
2007	Sean G. Conway	The Hon. Hugh Segal	Robert O'Brien
2008	The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell	Celia Sandys	Robert O'Brien
2009	The Rt. Hon. Herb Gray	Lynne Olson	Robert O'Brien
2010	The Hon. Michael Wilson	Ambassador David Wilkins	Dr. Alex Barron
2011	The Rt. Hon. Paul Martin Jr.	Allen Packwood	Dr. Alex Barron
2012	Preston Manning	Paul Reid	Dr. Alex Barron
2013	The Hon. Jean Charest	Prof. David O'Keefe	Joel Watson
2014	The Hon. Hugh Segal	Prof. Terry Copp	Joel Watson
2015	The Hon. Bob Rae	Louise Frechette	Susan Kushneryk
2016	The Hon. Roy McMurtry	Peter Mansbridge	John Parker
2017	The Hon. John Baird	Dr. Tim Cook	John Parker
2018	The Hon. Sheila Copps	Churchill Presentation	John Parker
2019	The Hon. David Crombie	Anthony Wilson-Smith	John Parker
2020	The Hon. Ralph Goodale	David Herle	Cameron MacKay
2021	The Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney	Video Tributes	Cameron MacKay
2022	The Hon. Irwin Cotler	John Fraser	Cameron MacKay

Winston Churchill on the Development of Parliamentary Democracy

Winston Churchill was elected to the British House of Commons in 1900 where he remained until 1964, just a few months before his death, with only a brief interruption in 1922-23, having served as a Member of Parliament for more than 62 years. He was at the centre of events for much of that time. He has also been described as "probably the finest English language historian of the twentieth century." As such, he is uniquely qualified to comment on the origins and development of parliamentary democracy. The following quotes are from his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, published in four volumes between 1956 and 1958, shortly after he resigned as Prime Minister.

Churchill on the Magna Carta

"If we set aside the rhetorical praise which has been so freely lavished upon the Charter, and study the document itself, we may find it rather surprising reading. [...] The thirteenth century was to be a great age of Parliamentary development and experiment, yet there is no mention in Magna Carta of Parliament or representation of any but the baronial class. The great watchwords of the future here find no place. [But ...] Throughout the document it is implied that here is a law which is above the King and which even he must not break. This affirmation of a supreme law and its expression in a general charter is the great work of Magna Carta; and this alone justifies the respect in which men have held it." (Volume One, pages 255—256)

Churchill on Oliver Cromwell

"We must not be led by Victorian writers into regarding this triumph of the Ironsides and of Cromwell as a kind of victory for democracy and the Parliamentary system over Divine Right and Old World dreams. It was the triumph of some twenty thousand resolute, ruthless, disciplined, military fanatics over all that England has ever willed or ever wished." (Volume Two, page 275)

Churchill on King Charles the First

"A strange destiny has engulfed this King of England. None had resisted with more untimely stubbornness the movement of his age. He had been in his heyday the convinced opponent of all we now call our Parliamentary liberties. Yet as misfortunes crowded upon him he increasingly became the physical embodiment of the liberties and traditions of England. [...] By his constancy, which underlay all the shifts and turns of his tumultuous and swiftly changing years, he preserved the causes by which his life was guided. [...] He cannot be claimed as the defender of English liberties, nor wholly of the English Church, but none the less he died for them and by his death preserved them not only to his son and heir, but to our own day." (Volume Two, pages 280—281)

Churchill on the American Revolution

"The revolt of the American colonies had shattered the complacency of eighteenth-century England. Men began to study the root causes of the disaster and the word "reform" was in the air. The defects of the political system had plainly contributed to the secession, and the arguments used by the American colonists against the Mother Country lingered in the minds of all Englishmen who questioned the perfection of the Constitution. [...] The main aim of the reformers was to increase the number of boroughs which elected Members of Parliament, and thus reduce the possibilities of Government corruption." (Volume Three, pages 242—243)

Churchill on the Great Reform Bill of 1832

"It is given to few men to carry out late in life a great measure of reform which they have advocated without success for forty years. Such was to be Grey's achievement. He and his colleagues perceived that the agitation which had shaken England since Waterloo issued from two quite separate sources—the middle classes, unrepresented, prosperous, respectable, influenced by the democratic ideas of the French Revolution, but deeply law-abiding in their hunger for political power; and on the other side, a bitter and more revolutionary section of working men, smitten by the economic dislocation of war and its aftermath, prepared to talk of violence and perhaps even to use it. An alliance with the middle classes and a moderate extension of the franchise would suffice, at any rate for a time, and for this Grey prepared his plans. [...] A wider franchise would mean the beginning of the end of the old system of administration by influence and patronage. Could the King's Government be carried on in the absence of these twin pillars of authority? It was not altogether a vain question. After 1832 Britain was to see many unstable Ministries before the pattern was changed by the rise of disciplined parties with central organisations and busy whips." (Volume Four, pages 44—47)

Churchill on Queen Victoria and the Monarchy

"In 1837 King William IV died. Humorous, tactless, pleasant, and unrespected, he had played his part in lowering esteem for the monarchy, and indeed the vices and eccentricities of the sons of George III had by this time almost destroyed its hold on the hearts of the people. An assault on the institution which had played so great a part in the history of England appeared imminent, and there seemed few to defend it. The new sovereign was a maiden of eighteen. [...] Under Albert's influence [Queen Victoria] came to perceive that in public at least she must be impartial and place her trust in whichever Minister could command a majority in the House of Commons. This did not prevent her from entertaining vivid likes and dislikes for her chief servants, to which she gave vigorous expression in private letters. Together the Queen and the Prince set a new standard for the conduct of monarchy which has ever since been honourably observed." (Volume Four, pages 55 and 58)

Churchill on Disraeli, Gladstone and Reform

"Disraeli introduced a fresh Reform Bill in 1867, which he skillfully adapted to meet the wishes of the House, of which he was Leader. There was a redistribution of seats in favour of the large industrial towns, and nearly a million new voters were added to an existing electorate of about the same number. [...] The new voters gave their overwhelming support to his opponents, and Gladstone, who had become leader of the Liberal Party, formed the strongest administration that England had seen since the days of Peel. [...] This was the Golden Age when Liberalism was still an aggressive, unshackling force, and the doctrine of individualism, and the philosophy of *laissez-faire* were seeking out and destroying the last relics of eighteenth-century government. The Civil Service, the Army, the universities, and the law were all attacked and the grip of the old landed interest began to crumble. [...] The middle class at last acquired a share in the political sphere equal to their economic power. Gladstone came in on the flood; a decisive electoral victory and a country ready for reform gave him his opportunity." (Volume Four, pages 97, and 286—287)

Keynote Speaker John Fraser, C.M.



JOHN FRASER C.M. is the founding executive chair of the National NewsMedia Council of Canada, the successor to five regional press councils. Prior to that post, he was elected Master of Massey College where he presided for nearly two decades (1995-2014) after a distinguished career in journalism (editor of Saturday Night magazine, bureau chief in Globe and Mail postings held in London and Beijing, and that was following a career at the Globe as an arts writer specializing in theatre and dance). He twice became the subject of news stories during this journalism career: first in 1974 when he helped the Soviet dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov defect during a visit to Toronto's O'Keefe Centre, and secondly when he addressed a crowd of Chinese political activists in Beijing during the short-lived Xidan Democracy Movement (1978). He is the author of twelve books (including *The* Chinese: Portrait of a People, a Book-of-the-Month Club main choice and finalist in the Governor General's Non-fiction Award; and The Secret of the Crown, where he championed the role of the Crown in Canadian constitutional and social history). For his work in journalism and in human rights, Mr. Fraser has been honoured many times, notably by the Queen with three Jubilee medals and the Order of Canada. In 2021. the Michener Foundation awarded him its Michener-Baxter Award for Lifetime Achievement. John Fraser is married to Elizabeth MacCallum, a science documentary maker (CBC's The Nature of Things) and former children's literature columnist for the Globe and Mail and later the National Post. They have three daughters and one grandson and live in Toronto when they can't hide out on the MacCallum island in Georgian Bay.

DAY 1, Thursday, SEPTEMBER 8

This is an account of the death of a queen and the accession of a king. A straightforward story in some ways; complicated in others. It has been said of writers, perhaps cynically, that provided they begin and end their books well, it hardly matters what goes on in between. Is it the same for jobs? For marriages? For lives? For reigns?

What reign began better than Queen Elizabeth II's? In 1952, her principal realm, the United Kingdom, was still recovering from a devastating war in which it had shown itself undaunted, and after which it was economically crippled. At the time of her Coronation on June 2, 1953, eight years after the war's end, bomb damage was still widely evident throughout London and other large cities. The wartime hero and prime minister, Sir Winston Churchill, having been humiliated by electoral defeat in 1945 in what should have been his own finest hour, had scraped together enough votes to return to office, but he was a very old man and a spent force. Churchill's most useful purpose for the Coronation would be as physical contrast to a beautiful, vibrant woman who had only to wear the Crown jewels and ride sidesaddle for the annual Trooping of the Colour to leave most of her subjects star-struck and agog with admiration. She had the real man of her dreams, her prince, almost constantly nearby (albeit dutifully a few steps behind); her direct heir (Charles); and a spare (albeit a girl, Anne) in tow back at Buckingham Palace. A stupendous act of medieval pageantry loomed amid all the hopes and fears of a people and a world bone-weary of the previous half century of war and depression. Hope was the key word here. She was such a harbinger of hope and aspiration in those long-ago days, hope allied to a sense of duty, publicly pledged to last for as long as she might live. Oh yes, it began very well.

The Coronation itself, a year later on June 2, 1953, was a wonder to behold, even today when you can watch the whole three-hour marathon on egalitarian YouTube. It was the first to be fully televised and filmed. Having arrived in a golden coach, her mere procession into Westminster Abbey, preceded by some 250 church leaders, Commonwealth prime ministers, members of the Royal Household, civil and military poohbahs of all hues and descriptions, not to forget a sturdy flank of Yeomen of the Guard, dovetailed nearly three hours later by the procession *out* of the Abbey, remains one of the marvels of romantic ceremonial fantasy. How what was, in effect, just a fancy stroll down an aisle came to symbolize nearly a millennium of history and the power of illusion is something still to be wondered at.

Opening paragraphs of FUNERAL FOR A QUEEN, by John Fraser to be published by Sutherland House on December 6th, 2022

The Churchill Society is grateful to the following Sponsors for their support of tonight's dinner and for their ongoing support of the programs and activities of the society.



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And we are grateful for the ongoing relationship with the Ontario Legislative Internship Program (OLIP) and welcome our guests from the Duke of Edinburgh Awards

Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy

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