

PARLIAMENT OF VICTORIA

**PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(HANSARD)**

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

FIFTY-NINTH PARLIAMENT

FIRST SESSION

TUESDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 2020

hansard.parliament.vic.gov.au

By authority of the Victorian Government Printer

The Governor

The Honourable LINDA DESSAU, AC

The Lieutenant-Governor

The Honourable KEN LAY, AO, APM

The ministry

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Deputy Premier, Minister for Education and Minister for Mental Health..	The Hon. JA Merlino, MP
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Minister for Training and Skills and Minister for Higher Education	The Hon. GA Tierney, MLC
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Minister for Public Transport and Minister for Roads and Road Safety .	The Hon. BA Carroll, MP
Minister for Energy, Environment and Climate Change and Minister for Solar Homes	The Hon. L D'Ambrosio, MP
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Minister for Industry Support and Recovery, Minister for Trade, Minister for Business Precincts, Minister for Tourism, Sport and Major Events and Minister for Racing	The Hon. MP Pakula, MP
Assistant Treasurer, Minister for Regulatory Reform, Minister for Government Services and Minister for Creative Industries	The Hon. DJ Pearson, MP
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Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Minister for Community Sport and Minister for Youth	The Hon. RL Spence, MP
Minister for Workplace Safety and Minister for Early Childhood	The Hon. I Stitt, MLC
Minister for Agriculture and Minister for Regional Development	The Hon. M Thomas, MP
Minister for Prevention of Family Violence, Minister for Women and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs.....	The Hon. G Williams, MP
Minister for Planning and Minister for Housing	The Hon. RW Wynne, MP
Cabinet Secretary	Ms S Kilkenny, MP

Legislative Council committees

Economy and Infrastructure Standing Committee

Mr Barton, Mr Erdogan, Mr Finn, Mr Gepp, Mrs McArthur, Mr Quilty and Mr Tarlamis.

Participating members: Dr Bach, Ms Bath, Dr Cumming, Mr Davis, Mr Limbrick, Ms Lovell, Mr Meddick, Mr Ondarchie, Mr Rich-Phillips and Ms Watt.

Environment and Planning Standing Committee

Dr Bach, Ms Bath, Dr Cumming, Mr Grimley, Mr Hayes, Mr Meddick, Mr Melhem, Dr Ratnam, Ms Taylor and Ms Terpstra.

Participating members: Ms Crozier, Mr Davis, Dr Kieu, Mrs McArthur and Mr Quilty.

Legal and Social Issues Standing Committee

Ms Garrett, Dr Kieu, Ms Lovell, Ms Maxwell, Mr Ondarchie, Ms Patten, Dr Ratnam and Ms Vaghela.

Participating members: Dr Bach, Mr Barton, Ms Bath, Ms Crozier, Dr Cumming, Mr Erdogan, Mr Grimley, Mr Limbrick, Mr O'Donohue, Mr Quilty, Ms Shing, Mr Tarlamis and Ms Watt.

Privileges Committee

Mr Atkinson, Mr Bourman, Ms Crozier, Mr Grimley, Mr Leane, Mr Rich-Phillips, Ms Shing, Ms Symes and Ms Tierney.

Procedure Committee

The President, the Deputy President, Ms Crozier, Mr Davis, Mr Grimley, Dr Kieu, Ms Patten, Ms Pulford and Ms Symes.

Joint committees

Dispute Resolution Committee

Council: Mr Bourman, Ms Crozier, Mr Davis, Ms Symes and Ms Tierney.

Assembly: Ms Allan, Ms Hennessy, Mr Merlino, Mr Pakula, Mr R Smith, Mr Walsh and Mr Wells.

Electoral Matters Committee

Council: Mr Erdogan, Mrs McArthur, Mr Meddick, Mr Melhem, Ms Lovell, Mr Quilty and Mr Tarlamis.

Assembly: Mr Guy, Ms Hall and Dr Read.

House Committee

Council: The President (*ex officio*), Mr Bourman, Mr Davis, Mr Leane, Ms Lovell and Ms Stitt.

Assembly: The Speaker (*ex officio*), Mr T Bull, Ms Crugnale, Ms Edwards, Mr Fregon, Ms Sandell and Ms Staley.

Integrity and Oversight Committee

Council: Mr Grimley and Ms Shing.

Assembly: Mr Halse, Mr McGhie, Mr Rowswell, Mr Taylor and Mr Wells.

Public Accounts and Estimates Committee

Council: Mr Limbrick and Ms Taylor.

Assembly: Ms Blandthorn, Mr Hibbins, Mr Maas, Mr D O'Brien, Ms Richards, Mr Richardson, Mr Riordan and Ms Vallence.

Scrutiny of Acts and Regulations Committee

Council: Mr Gepp, Mrs McArthur, Ms Patten, Ms Terpstra and Ms Watt.

Assembly: Mr Burgess and Ms Connolly.

Heads of parliamentary departments

Assembly: Clerk of the Legislative Assembly: Ms B Noonan

Council: Clerk of the Parliaments and Clerk of the Legislative Council: Mr A Young

Parliamentary Services: Secretary: Mr P Lochert

MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
FIFTY-NINTH PARLIAMENT—FIRST SESSION

President

The Hon. N ELASMAR (from 18 June 2020)

The Hon. SL LEANE (to 18 June 2020)

Deputy President

The Hon. WA LOVELL

Acting Presidents

Mr Bourman, Mr Gepp, Mr Melhem and Ms Patten

Leader of the Government

The Hon. J SYMES

Deputy Leader of the Government

The Hon. GA TIERNEY

Leader of the Opposition

The Hon. DM DAVIS

Deputy Leader of the Opposition

Ms G CROZIER

Member	Region	Party	Member	Region	Party
Atkinson, Mr Bruce Norman	Eastern Metropolitan	LP	Maxwell, Ms Tania Maree	Northern Victoria	DHJP
Bach, Dr Matthew ¹	Eastern Metropolitan	LP	Meddick, Mr Andy	Western Victoria	AJP
Barton, Mr Rodney Brian	Eastern Metropolitan	TMP	Melhem, Mr Cesar	Western Metropolitan	ALP
Bath, Ms Melina Gaye	Eastern Victoria	Nats	Mikakos, Ms Jenny ⁵	Northern Metropolitan	ALP
Bourman, Mr Jeffrey	Eastern Victoria	SFFP	O'Donohue, Mr Edward John	Eastern Victoria	LP
Crozier, Ms Georgina Mary	Southern Metropolitan	LP	Ondarchie, Mr Craig Philip	Northern Metropolitan	LP
Cumming, Dr Catherine Rebecca	Western Metropolitan	Ind	Patten, Ms Fiona Heather	Northern Metropolitan	FPRP
Dalidakis, Mr Philip ²	Southern Metropolitan	ALP	Pulford, Ms Jaala Lee	Western Victoria	ALP
Davis, Mr David McLean	Southern Metropolitan	LP	Quilty, Mr Timothy	Northern Victoria	LDP
Elasmar, Mr Nazih	Northern Metropolitan	ALP	Ratnam, Dr Samantha Shantini	Northern Metropolitan	Greens
Erdogan, Mr Enver ³	Southern Metropolitan	ALP	Rich-Phillips, Mr Gordon Kenneth	South Eastern Metropolitan	LP
Finn, Mr Bernard Thomas Christopher	Western Metropolitan	LP	Shing, Ms Harriet	Eastern Victoria	ALP
Garrett, Ms Jane Furneaux	Eastern Victoria	ALP	Somyurek, Mr Adem ⁶	South Eastern Metropolitan	Ind
Gepp, Mr Mark	Northern Victoria	ALP	Stitt, Ms Ingrid	Western Metropolitan	ALP
Grimley, Mr Stuart James	Western Victoria	DHJP	Symes, Ms Jaclyn	Northern Victoria	ALP
Hayes, Mr Clifford	Southern Metropolitan	SAP	Tarlamis, Mr Lee ⁷	South Eastern Metropolitan	ALP
Jennings, Mr Gavin Wayne ⁴	South Eastern Metropolitan	ALP	Taylor, Ms Nina	Southern Metropolitan	ALP
Kieu, Dr Tien Dung	South Eastern Metropolitan	ALP	Terpstra, Ms Sonja	Eastern Metropolitan	ALP
Leane, Mr Shaun Leo	Eastern Metropolitan	ALP	Tierney, Ms Gayle Anne	Western Victoria	ALP
Limbrick, Mr David	South Eastern Metropolitan	LDP	Vaghela, Ms Kaushaliya Virjibhai	Western Metropolitan	ALP
Lovell, Ms Wendy Ann	Northern Victoria	LP	Watt, Ms Sheena ⁸	Northern Metropolitan	ALP
McArthur, Mrs Beverley	Western Victoria	LP	Wooldridge, Ms Mary Louise Newling ⁹	Eastern Metropolitan	LP

¹ Appointed 5 March 2020

² Resigned 17 June 2019

³ Appointed 15 August 2019

⁴ Resigned 23 March 2020

⁵ Resigned 26 September 2020

⁶ ALP until 15 June 2020

⁷ Appointed 23 April 2020

⁸ Appointed 13 October 2020

⁹ Resigned 28 February 2020

Party abbreviations

AJP—Animal Justice Party; ALP—Labor Party; DHJP—Derryn Hinch's Justice Party;

FPRP—Fiona Patten's Reason Party; Greens—Australian Greens; Ind—Independent;

LDP—Liberal Democratic Party; LP—Liberal Party; Nats—The Nationals;

SAP—Sustainable Australia Party; SFFP—Shooters, Fishers and Farmers Party; TMP—Transport Matters Party

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Tuesday, 4 February 2020

The PRESIDENT (Hon. SL Leane) took the chair at 12.05 pm and read the prayer.

Announcements**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY**

The PRESIDENT (12:06): On behalf of the Victorian state Parliament I acknowledge the Aboriginal peoples, the traditional custodians of this land which has served as a significant meeting place of the First People of Victoria. I acknowledge and pay respect to the elders of the Aboriginal nations in Victoria past, present and emerging and welcome any elders and members of the Aboriginal communities who may visit or participate in events or proceedings of the Parliament.

Business of the house**STANDING AND SESSIONAL ORDERS**

Mr JENNINGS (South Eastern Metropolitan—Leader of the Government, Special Minister of State, Minister for Priority Precincts, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs) (12:06): I move, by leave:

That so much of standing and sessional orders be suspended to the extent necessary to enable the sitting of the Council on:

- (1) Wednesday, 5 February 2020, to commence at 9.30 am and precedence to be given to the consideration of a motion moved, without leave or notice, by the Leader of the Government relating to the 2019–2020 bushfires, followed by a 1-hour suspension and:
 - (a) upon the resumption of the sitting the following order of business on that day will be:
 - (i) a statement by the President relating to the late Honourable Kenneth Wright, followed by a minute's silence;
 - (ii) a statement by the President relating to the White Island, New Zealand, volcano eruption, followed by a minute's silence;
 - (iii) messages;
 - (iv) formal business;
 - (v) members statements (up to 15 members);
 - (vi) questions;
 - (vii) answers to questions on notice;
 - (viii) constituency questions;
 - (ix) general business (maximum 2 hours)
 - (x) statements on reports, papers and petitions (30 minutes);
 - (xi) adjournment (up to 20 members);
 - (b) notices of motion for general business on Wednesday, 5 February 2020, be permitted to be moved, debated and put on the same day, without leave, provided any such notice is given to the Clerk by 4.00 pm on Tuesday, 4 February 2020, and the Clerk shall advise all members of any notice submitted;
 - (c) in relation to any private members bill introduced and read a first time on Wednesday, 5 February 2020, the second-reading debate may be made an order of the day for later that day, without leave or notice; and
 - (d) on Wednesday, 5 February 2020, a motion by leave may be moved by a non-government member in relation to the precedence of general business for the sitting week;
- (2) Thursday, 6 February 2020, to commence at 9.30 am and that the order of business on that day will be:
 - (a) messages;
 - (b) formal business;
 - (c) members statements (up to 15 members);

- (d) general business (maximum 3 hours);
- (e) at 12.00 noon questions;
- (f) answers to questions on notice;
- (g) constituency questions;
- (h) general business (continues);
- (i) government business;
- (j) at 6.30 pm meal break (unless otherwise ordered by the house);
- (k) government business (continues); and
- (l) at 10.00 pm adjournment (up to 20 members).

Motion agreed to.

Condolences

HON. JOHN CAIN

Mr JENNINGS (South Eastern Metropolitan—Leader of the Government, Special Minister of State, Minister for Priority Precincts, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs) (12:09): I move:

That this house expresses its sincere sorrow at the death, on 23 December 2019, of the Honourable John Cain and places on record its acknowledgement of the valuable services rendered by him to the Parliament and the people of Victoria as a member of the Legislative Assembly for the electoral district of Bundoora from 1976 to 1992, minister responsible for women’s affairs from 1982 to 1990, Minister for Federal Affairs in 1982, Attorney-General from 1982 to 1983, Minister for Ethnic Affairs in 1990 and Premier of Victoria from 1982 to 1990.

When I left the state memorial service at St Paul’s Cathedral yesterday I spoke briefly with Nancye Cain—John Cain’s partner, wife, confidante, collaborator, constant in all public and private things. In that brief interaction Nancye told me that she was so proud of her husband, she was so proud of her family, she was so proud of that public demonstration of the respect that the community shows John Cain now and the appreciation of his extraordinary contribution to the life of the people of Victoria, to the Parliament, to matters of government, of public policy, and indeed his commitment to the Labor movement.

I am pleased that Nancye Cain felt that way. I am pleased that she was surrounded by her family at that time, who provided her with that support and comfort, because the closeness of the relationship between Nancye Cain and John Cain cannot be underestimated. It cannot be underestimated 1 millimetre in terms of the closeness and the continual nature of that relationship, which was both powerful and palpable.

And so the first contribution that I want to reflect on from all of the magnificent contributions at the memorial service yesterday was by Joanne, their daughter, who read a quote from Henry Scott Holland, and I will paraphrase that quote to indicate the telling connection that the family feel at this time:

Death is nothing at all ... Everything remains exactly as it was. I am I, and you are you, and the old life that we lived so fondly together is untouched, unchanged. Whatever we were to each other, that we are still.

I think certainly the family were doing their best to feel that. I hope they feel that. I hope they continue to feel that, and I hope that all of those who know and love and appreciate John Cain feel exactly the same, because he touched many, many lives in the state of Victoria, and many of those individuals were at St Paul’s Cathedral yesterday.

We were given a snapshot to indicate what was the significance of St Paul’s Cathedral, because in fact it was a glorious event; it was a glorious occasion. It was very formal in its structure in terms of its ceremony. In fact there are some elements of John Cain’s life that seem a little bit at odds with this, because John Cain in parts of his contribution was quite puritanical, without affectation, without

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ornamentation. How do we reconcile this? We reconcile this on the basis that John himself had been out rattling tins to raise money for the restoration of St Paul's Cathedral—a very tangible demonstration of his recognition of the importance of the institution. But ultimately it is the values that reconcile his approach to his church, to his life.

We heard time and time again about the way in which that puritanical edge was demonstrated. There was a very strict regimen in how life was organised—in the seasons how life was organised, how holidays were organised, how the daily ritual of breakfast was organised. We heard stories about hard work and a commitment to work and a commitment to being steady, reliable, consistent, predictable.

We heard how sometimes the realisation of those daily values in everyday life was a very difficult thing in terms of John living up to those expectations that he set for himself and others, and other people felt that. Other people always felt, regardless of how close, that all of us were on notice to live up to the highest standards of honesty, integrity and reliability, to live up to them in our daily lives and to demonstrate that we were not complacent in any shape or form.

In some ways I tap into that puritanical edge a little bit myself temperamentally, but John went one stage further because when I am confronted by people pouring more than half a glass of wine I do not usually say to them, 'So, you've taken to the grog'. I do not usually say that. Certainly in relation to his view on social media John was very clear to us. John really was not only very, very, very dim on social media—very, very dim—but in fact he was quite dim on technology or information sharing in anything other than the written form or on a landline in any other form of communication. But in a somewhat mischievous way I am going to come back in my contribution to do something about that.

One of the things we heard—and his lifelong friend Michael Duffy made it very clear—was that, apart from the philosophy and ethical values and Labor values that Michael Duffy and John Cain shared, they were absolutely determined to ensure that Labor was electable, because without being electable there is no ability to deliver on a progressive agenda. And this is a very significant issue in terms of electability and viability and openness and the inclusion of a broad range of community aspirations and the ability for the Labor Party to tap into this.

When John Cain was elected it had been 27 years since the last Labor administration in the state of Victoria. People may think when they see John Cain was Premier in 1955 and his son succeeded him as Premier in Labor ranks that there was some nepotism involved here. Let me be very clear about it: there was no nepotism associated with this. It was a very different world order from 1955 in 1972 when one John Cain followed the other as a Labor Premier. It was a completely different world order both in terms of the challenges that were confronted by our community—some of them stayed the same, some of them were very different—and in terms of the standing of the Labor Party. Labor had gone through decades of not being viable in Victoria. They had gone through decades of actually not being elected in the federal jurisdiction. In fact the only state where there was continuity of Labor government was New South Wales—the New South Wales machine.

We heard stories about the way in which Labor in Victoria undid its shoelaces, did them up again and became electorally viable. From the time the Cain government was elected in 1982—already Labor had been elected federally in 1972 under Gough Whitlam, and Neville Wran was elected in 1976—if you have a look at the legacy of the viability of the Victorian Labor Party from then until now, by the end of this term Labor will have been elected to government in Victoria for nearly three-quarters of the time since John Cain was elected in 1982. That far outstrips what has occurred in New South Wales or the federal jurisdiction. So Victoria came last, but in this endeavour, thanks to John Cain's legacy intervention—his and others—we have been an electorally successful party in Victoria and continue to be so.

The Premier, Daniel Andrews, reflected on why this was the case in his contribution. Daniel Andrews acknowledged John Cain's unswerving commitment to purpose and the purpose of being in

government, that you do not allow hubris to come into it, you never become complacent and you need to continue to work on an agenda and to deliver to the people of Victoria. That was his residual message.

As recently as the election in 2018, John Cain reminded the Premier of that important imperative: stay true to your values, stay true to your commitment and deliver to the people of Victoria. Daniel Andrews also reflected on how this can actually be realised. He reflected on the important structures that John Cain implemented and the reforms that he introduced, and those structures involved rebuilding or creating institutions, whether that be WorkCover, the Transport Accident Commission, freedom-of-information laws, the Victorian Electoral Commission, or making important anti-discrimination and equal opportunity reforms. It is also reflected in deep-seated thinking in terms of the structure of what those institutions or those laws may mean. John Cain was very, very grounded in the day-to-day reality and the living circumstances of Victorians, and this was reflected by liquor reforms. So the wowsler who was a bit worried that half a glass of wine might actually make you vulnerable on the basis of your alcohol consumption was head of the government that liberalised liquor availability in the state of Victoria. There was Sunday trading; the opportunity for our citizens to have a 24/7 lifestyle, which is now taken for granted, was not taken for granted before John Cain's arrival.

In relation to the importance of structure, Mary Crooks discussed in her contribution structure in a slightly different way. The structure of the method of engagement—the style of the Cain government—was developing partnerships through an ethos of egalitarianism, through an ethos of equal opportunity and through an ethos of affirmative action for women to create laws and spaces by which women were more evident, more powerful and more enabled to exercise their freedom of choice and opportunity in this state. So it was the method. Mary talked about some of the outstanding women who were part of that administration. Pauline Toner, Joan Kirner, Caroline Hogg, Kay Setches and Maureen Lyster were named, but there were many, many, many significant women through the auspices of the Labor Party and the community that were driving that momentum.

Dorothy Reading, who died last year, was a key activist within the labour movement in relation to the role of women and the respect that was shown to women, and we should pay respect to Dorothy as being part of that significant contribution that was made by women at the time. Many of the actions of that cabinet in terms of recognising that fundamental truth that women hold up half the sky was demonstrated in their action.

John Cain was an extremely disciplined person in the way in which laws were formed and made, and very disciplined in relation to understanding the importance of the public service in delivering that and the enduring nature of the quality of the public service. I had the good fortune to work for John Cain in most unfortunate circumstances. By the time I moved into John Cain's office, it was only months before he painfully resigned from that office. But one thing that was evident to me was that discipline that I just outlined. Most people would think that the layout of the Premier's office was Premier, chief of staff and advising staff, which is the current contemporary form. In John Cain's office there was his office, next door immediately was the head of the public service and immediately beyond that was the solicitor-general. It was a very, very structured engagement, and the way in which John saw the administration of his mission was through the law and through the public service delivering on those laws.

Why did John Cain develop such an impressive regime in relation to the types of scope of the laws that were implemented by his government and its responsibility to its citizens? His son John Cain yesterday indicated—from this extraordinary man who had been the son of a Premier—why he was so well grounded in the day-to-day circumstances of ordinary people's lives in the suburbs.

John told us that he became a practising solicitor dealing with the stresses and strains of daily life—appearances before the Magistrates Court, matters that bring working-class people, people but working-class people, into coincidence with the law. They are quite often disempowering experiences: people on the back foot in relation to establishing a continuity of their lives to be able to pay bills, to be able to get jobs, to be able to provide certainty for their families—a whole series of downsides, the

stresses and strains of daily life that bring people in coincidence with the law. And one by one, John Cain the son shared those stories with us yesterday.

There are two aspects that I want to call out on it. One was the extraordinary work ethic. Even though there was a very elaborate ceremony yesterday, it was a demonstration that obviously the family has a very different view about the significance of funerals to marriages, because when John Cain was married to Nancye he did not even take the day off. He did two pleas in the Magistrates Court before he went off to his wedding, and in fact he told his son off for being soft because he actually took the whole day off to get married. In fact today we are going to be pretty soft in the Parliament of Victoria because we are going to take the day off after we have finished this condolence motion. This is part of this puritanical edge, but it also makes obvious the work ethic and commitment of John Cain the Premier.

It also showed that John Cain the Premier was reflective of that experience. John Cain the son yesterday talked about the fact that John, his father, had worked so hard to assist families to adopt children. He thought this was part of establishing a stable, loving environment, a safe environment, for children to be adopted into a family. Years later when he came to government John Cain, by then the Premier, reflected on the policy settings in relation to forced adoptions and stolen generations and had some degree of concern about where the appropriate balance was to be struck between the relinquishing family and the receiving family and the question of the appropriateness of adoption through that prism. I thought it was very telling that that story was shared with us as a community yesterday because I still think, particularly in relation to the stolen generations, that this is an issue that we as a community have not really gotten our heads around yet, about the disruption of forced adoptions that have occurred in our state. But it was indicative of the compassion that John Cain brought to government. He was surrounded by talented people representative of the nature and of the make-up of our community. Women and people from culturally diverse backgrounds were part of his government, which had a commitment to egalitarianism, as were a great talent of people who not only appreciated those values but were very savvy about getting re-elected.

John Cain was elected three times in the state of Victoria, yet by the end there were very difficult years. There were very difficult circumstances—the national economy, the international economy. There were issues about governance and control of some public institutions in Victoria. There were challenges about balancing the books. It was a very painful resignation from John Cain when he left office.

When he died—I was aware very early in the morning of the fact that John had died—I resisted for a very long time during the course of the day. Almost 24 hours later did I finally tweet something to indicate my personal sense of loss and a contribution to John in a form that John would not have been too impressed by. But I attached to it an article by Tim Colebatch, which was an article that I was made aware of very late in the day. I would encourage anybody in the Victorian community who wants to understand the strengths and the vulnerabilities of the Cain administration and the Cain premiership to read this article by Tim Colebatch in *Inside Story*: ‘John Cain was a leader of integrity, courage and vision ... and still he lost Victoria’s top job’—2690 words that I am not going to read one word of, but I encourage people in the community to read it.

In my inaugural speech I recognised some of the dynamics that Tim Colebatch pointed out. I am not going to repeat those. It is about learning from that experience, it is about learning each and every day, and our governments—the Bracks government, the Brumby government and this government—have understood the importance of this. In every year of those three administrations the financial position of the state of Victoria has been in surplus on our watch. That is a lesson that we learned. That is a lesson that for 15 budgets in a row we have delivered on and we intend to deliver on into the future.

We have given a couple of examples of where John Cain continued to learn. He was vitally interested in the royal commission in relation to police informants. In fact the last conversation I had with John was when he was leaving a commission hearing, and he gave me well and truly a debrief about what

he had witnessed that day and what his original concerns were and what his ongoing concerns were. He was sharp, he was strident, he was committed.

In the contributions we heard about his loves. We heard about his family. We heard about his commitment to his immediate family and his love that was reflected in the compassionate way in which he administered his state responsibilities. We also heard of his love for the MCG and the tennis centre, and I am very pleased that the state of Victoria has recognised the significance of that by naming an important facility in the tennis precinct after John Cain as a fitting memorial.

I want to conclude, and I know that you are grateful that I am going to conclude. Already John would have thought I have spoken far too much, but he is worthy—he is worthy—of our understanding and our appreciation. He is worthy of us understanding not only what he did for the Labor Party but what he did as a person, what he did as a Premier, and his commitment to those values each and every day as an inspiration to all of us.

I am going to conclude with one reference from me and one from a very important contribution that was made by his son James yesterday. James talked about the life lessons of his father. Some of them were big and some of them were small, but they are all worthy of taking note of. I am not going to do them in the same order. The life lesson of caring for your partner and your partner supporting you in all your endeavours was in fact a testament to John's relationship with Nancye and an inspiration to others and how we factor that into our lives. We can all consider that. But certainly—have no doubt about it—that was a life lesson from John Cain and his symbiotic relationship with his wife.

Beyond that—simple: home truths. Study hard, because if you study hard they can never take your education away from you. If you run in Dunlop Volleys for 40 years, you are going to end up needing a hip replacement. Do not sunbake on a continual basis in summer, because you will end up spending a lot of time in a dermatologist's office, if not worse. Do not rely on banks. The internet is full of crap. Be honest. If there is a tug of war between doing a hard thing or doing an easy thing, do the right thing. It was a great testament from his son to his father for what life lessons are very worthwhile carrying around not only in daily life but certainly in political life. And as a twist, Michael Duffy called out that John Cain had a slightly cynical sense of humour. I might have laughed at that.

I am going to make a reference to my Twitter introduction of the Tim Colebatch article published on that day. Tim Colebatch wrote 2690 words. I introduced them in the following way:

It's been difficult to reduce my thoughts and feelings about John Cain to the shorthand form of social media—he was an arrow for progressive reform—he was not self serving or expedient—he never lost his principles and won 3 elections in a row—a straight and true Labor champion.

Mr DAVIS (Southern Metropolitan—Leader of the Opposition) (12:35): I am pleased to join this motion to acknowledge John Cain, a former Premier, and I think it is very appropriate that we do acknowledge him. He did make a very significant contribution to Victoria.

I want in the first instance to acknowledge his wife, Nancye, his two sons, John and James, and his daughter, Joanne. I indicate that he was someone I knew quite well. I often talked to him—he would be around this precinct regularly—and I will make some reflections on those comments and conversations that I had with him in a moment. But I think it is important to note the closeness, as Mr Jennings has pointed out, of the relationship to Nancye and that she was steadfast in his life—a very significant part of his life.

It is worth putting on record John's state primary school education, Northcote High School, Scotch College and Melbourne University, where he graduated from law in 1953. I should also acknowledge his contribution to the Law Institute of Victoria. Many lawyers point this out quite strongly, and I think it is important to put that on record. He was a barrister and solicitor in Preston from 1957 to 1976. Mr Jennings has also pointed out that that did provide part of his significant grounding, and I think that is right. John was a member of the Law Institute of Victoria from 1967 to 1976 and took on very

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senior roles, including as president of that body. He was a part-time member of the Australian Law Reform Commission and he had many other important roles of that type, including as a board member of Deakin University and his ongoing commitment to both the Melbourne Cricket Ground and the National Tennis Centre, of which he was a trust member, and I will say more about that in a moment.

It is important to put on record John's time in this Parliament, and his contribution here in particular, in a formal sense. He was Premier from 1982 through to 1990, minister responsible for women's affairs from 1982 to 1990, Minister for Federal Affairs in 1982, Attorney-General from 1982 to 1983, Minister for Ethnic Affairs from April to August 1990 and, as was laid out, a parliamentary representative on the La Trobe University council, Shadow Minister for Public Works in the period in opposition—Mr Jennings has pointed out that long period of Labor opposition in which Mr Cain was instrumental in the Labor Party in ensuring their return to government—Shadow Minister for Planning from 1977 to 1981, Shadow Attorney-General from 1979 to 1982 and a member of the Privileges Committee.

As Mr Jennings has said, John Cain won three elections for the Labor Party and certainly made significant changes in the period in government—two I think he won very clearly; the 1988 election was a win for Labor but the majority vote was actually with the Liberal and Nationals parties at the time, although we were not, I might add, in coalition at that point.

But I think it is, in any balanced assessment, important to put on record many of John Cain's very significant achievements. I want to do that in a very clear way. I point to a number of articles which list these, and I think these in one sense are the high-level things that he did, and there is much more below them. He forced the Melbourne Cricket Club and the Victoria Racing Club and other private clubs on public lands to admit women members, and there can be no doubt about his commitment to advancing the cause of women. He passed the first freedom-of-information laws, building on the administrative regime put in place by the previous Liberal government, I might add. He liberalised the drinking laws to allow small bars. He built Flinders Park, securing the Australian Open Tennis Championships for Melbourne.

I want to particularly note that reform because it was not an easy reform—and I know people who were associated with this at the time—to make the decision to move from Kooyong across. I think that that is the kind of difficult decision that sometimes governments have to make, and I am actually prepared to pay tribute for the contribution he made in making that decision and the historic decision to build that set of infrastructure that has advanced the state progressively, with additions by other governments over a longer period.

The extension of Saturday trading hours: that was a further reform that the later Liberal government and the national government actually made significant changes to in 1996, when we liberalised all of those trading hours. He allowed VFL football games on Sundays. It is interesting to think back to what a state we were. There were not football games on a Sunday, we all understand—the AFL football games, or the VFL, as it was then.

These are significant changes: the decision to legalise brothels; the deregistration of the militant Builders Labourers Federation; the introduction of four-year terms to Victoria's Parliament—people have different views about that; replacing the HSC with the VCE; and the decisions to ban semiautomatic weapons. I think that that is an important list to put on the record. There is much more that you could add, and Mr Jennings has done some of that.

I think the point I would make is the balance of an assessment of John Cain should look strongly at those positives, but there are also, as the minister has outlined, some significant negatives too. We remember—I remember and many in this chamber remember—the period 1989, 90, 91 and 92 when the state did face really significant issues. You cannot in any way gloss over those changes, and John Cain himself pointed to many of these. He pointed to the difficulties he had with trade unions. We all remember the trams in the streets and the fact that our transport system did grind to a significant halt.

The issues, as I said, around the economy became very significant, and the growth in unemployment. I think much of that was behind his decision to resign. Of course the VEDC, the Victorian Economic Development Corporation, and the Pyramid fiasco and the difficulty that followed with the State Bank, that is the ledger on that side, but I in no way diminish the other positive side to the ledger and want to make sure that that is equally pointed to. But we cannot gloss over that negative side.

I should say that on a personal level he was deeply affable. I amongst many others would talk to him regularly, often out the front of this place or in the building or elsewhere, and he would generously give of his time. He gave me a lot of advice about planning matters when I was shadow planning minister. He would say, 'Have you thought about this?', 'Have you thought about that?', 'You need to preserve this', 'You need to look at that'. I listened to these ideas and took these on board because I think many of them were very sound points that he made to me. I think that his generosity with people across the Parliament should be noted in that regard.

There were, as I said, those negative things that occurred in the third term, and the third term I think became a very difficult period for Victoria, for our economy, and it is I think important to put on record the challenge that the economy faced through that period: investment falling, the bankruptcies, the net jobs loss, the unemployment rate. If I can just perhaps put on record one of those issues—Pyramid. I was a candidate in 1991–92 for Niddrie. I remember sitting with 40 families across one day, a series of appointments, where I met with them one by one because these were people who in many cases had lost everything in that Pyramid Building Society.

The difficulty in the balance of the positive and the negative here is that there was real damage to real families and real economic impact that we cannot in any way underestimate. But I also do want to emphasise that generosity of John Cain, his commitment to thoughtful reform in so many areas and—particularly in the early days of the administration—that sort of forward-looking approach that I think did deliver very much for Victoria.

Ms SYMES (Northern Victoria—Minister for Regional Development, Minister for Agriculture, Minister for Resources) (12:45): It is with equal parts sadness and pride that I rise today to remember the Honourable John Cain—sadness, for we have lost a giant of a man and a man of intense integrity, and deep sadness for his family. Indeed it is gut-wrenching when you listen to people speak of their loved ones in memorial services, particularly the children. I think James's reflection on the fact that this was a surprising death, not something they had expected, and that they deserved more time was something that made my heart break for that family. But I also rise with pride for the legacy that John Cain has left behind, and of course that is immense.

I would like to use this opportunity to pass on my sincere condolences to his wife, Nancye, Joanne, John, James and their extended family. John was the embodiment of integrity, both personally and professionally, and his legacy as a man of integrity in public office was only matched by the integrity he showed to his family and the values that he lived by.

Unlike the previous speakers, I did not know John Cain particularly well, apart from exchanging pleasantries in the car park—he rocked a good hat. He had particular style for an older gentleman, and I did like running into him on the odd occasion. What I do have the pleasure of is having a very good relationship with his son: John Cain III; John Cain, Jr; John Cain the son. John has been a bit of a mentor to me, particularly in my roles in the justice system. John Jr spoke of John Cain, Sr's years working in a suburban law firm, working with working-class clients and getting that insight into how laws can impact people, and also how it placed him in his role as Premier to be understanding and compassionate of the challenges that people face. Of course John Cain is now the State Coroner, and he is emulating many of the values that I am sure were passed down to him in making his own contribution to the justice system and the state of Victoria.

It is very hard to overstate the revolutionary impact that John had on the modern Victorian Labor Party, modernised in large part thanks to him, back when one contemplated if the Victorian Labor Party had

been eternally cursed and was destined to spend the rest of eternity on the backbenches. Before 1982 no Labor government had run its full term and been re-elected in Victoria's history, which is something quite unimaginable for many of us today. After the split in 1955 Labor lost eight elections in a row, and while the state Liberal government was getting long in the tooth, I guess, the fact of a Labor victory nonetheless still looked as unimaginable as ever.

John truly did modernise the Victorian Labor Party, and he led the party to victory for the first time in 27 years. In the 27 years after he resigned from Parliament the Victorian Labor Party has held office for 16 of those years and is still going strong. In fact my presence in this chamber is owed in part to the reforming work that John did when he was in power, holding not only the title of Premier but also the portfolio of women's affairs. He had an unwavering commitment to gender equality and rejected discrimination of any kind. It was the Cain government that in fact included Pauline Toner, the first ever female cabinet minister in the Victorian Parliament, in 1982, a landmark move that at the time would have been considered so novel as to be unimaginable beforehand, now seen as an absolute minimum in our march towards equality. It shows just how far we have come thanks to John's unshakeable determination to fight discrimination and make Victoria a more equitable state.

He served a long and honourable stint as Premier and remained a lifelong devotee to public service and the continued fight for justice and opportunity. Mr Jennings just pointed out to me that Victoria had the lowest unemployment rate for 87 months in a row during his stint, and that is a pretty good achievement and testament to his commitment to opportunity for Victorians.

He truly was a decent, decent man. I think that was the strong sense that came out of the wonderful tributes that I had the honour of sitting through yesterday at St Paul's. There were thousands of people there, all there to pay their respects to his family and to actually acknowledge and thank him for his contribution to the state. We are better for his contribution.

Dr RATNAM (Northern Metropolitan) (12:50): I rise to speak on behalf of the Victorian Greens in remembering John Cain and his contribution to Victoria. Yesterday I was honoured to gather with former Premier Cain's family, friends, colleagues and many Victorians to remember his extraordinary life of public service—and a full life it was, with family and community at the heart of all he did.

While I did not have the privilege of meeting John Cain, I share the experience of many others who both knew of his legacy but also felt his presence after his formal political career ended, as he was always a regular figure seen walking with purpose to and from places that he invested his next chapter of life in. I used to see him on his many trips around the Centre for Public Policy at the University of Melbourne and remember that feeling of being in awe as a student of politics that a former Premier was walking the same corridors that we students did.

It is hard not to be aware of his many accomplishments. I would like to focus my remarks today on a few that I find particularly striking and that I feel best demonstrate why he is loved and respected by so many across the political spectrum. It is almost impossible to hear a Victorian describe John Cain without praising his deep integrity and honesty. As Premier and as a citizen, he put integrity at the heart of all of his actions. 'There's no replacement for hard work and good policy', he is quoted as saying, a belief reflected in the many achievements of his government and his refusal to give into greed or special interests. He refused to engage with lobbyists and ensured his cabinet followed suit, requiring ministers to deal with their stakeholders directly.

He held fast against the advance of pokies in Victoria, describing the gambling industry as 'a greedy industry exploitative of the low-income earners, the vulnerable and the addicted'. He refused to give the green light to a casino in Victoria, instead commissioning an inquiry which strongly recommended against a casino. He similarly stood up to the tobacco industry, severely restricting tobacco advertising and banning the industry from sponsoring sports teams and major cultural events. He established VicHealth, the world's first health promotion body to be funded by a tax on tobacco, prioritising health and wellbeing over profit. And he went against the vocal pro-gun lobby to tighten Victoria's gun laws.

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These are all big industry lobbies that continue to wield significant influence in Victoria and Australia today. John's steadfast resolve in the face of the pressure they no doubt exerted over him is particularly admirable to me and a clear reflection of the strength of his integrity and ethics.

His deep personal integrity translated through to the shape of his government. Transparency and accountability were at the heart of his public service, especially after the establishment of Victoria's freedom-of-information system in 1982—Australia's first FOI system.

He was passionate about gender equality, refusing to attend events at men-only clubs unless his wife, Nancye, was able to attend as well. He fought for female membership of the Melbourne Cricket Club and the Victoria Racing Club, saying:

You have a private club with privileges on public land, you have no business excluding half the population.

He appointed the first woman to cabinet and extended our equal opportunity laws to outlaw sexual harassment. His legacy in this regard is profound.

The 1980s saw significant social reform, such as extended shop trading hours and pub opening hours, and reform of our liquor laws, which paved the way for Melbourne's modern bar and cafe culture. Under his leadership Victoria was the first state in Australia and the first government in the world to regulate IVF.

The Cain government also reformed workers compensation and occupational health and safety, creating WorkCare, the predecessor to WorkSafe Victoria, and the TAC. And, in moves close to my own values, he was also an advocate for conservation of our precious flora and fauna. His government saw the introduction of the Flora and Fauna Guarantee Act 1988, our main piece of conservation legislation, and it established the Alpine National Park in our Central Highlands and alpine regions, which remains a beloved national park today. All of the aforementioned reforms and initiatives have helped create our modern Victoria and given it its reputation as one of our country's most progressive states.

John Cain truly was an extraordinary Premier, his many achievements acting as a testament to what visionary, ambitious and principled leadership can achieve, of what a government can do when it holds firm against big lobby groups and powerful interest groups and moves forward with integrity and with accountability. His legacy continues to be one his party and his state should be proud of today.

On behalf of the Greens, I offer our condolences to his wife, Nancye, his children, his grandchildren, his great-grandchildren, his friends and former colleagues and the many Victorians who were impacted by his reforms and his achievements and feel his loss.

Ms GARRETT (Eastern Victoria) (12:56): It is with a heavy heart that I join so many in this chamber in the condolence motion for the great John Cain, and it is also with a great sense of pride that I speak of him and his many, many achievements. It is also with a great sense of honour that I have the opportunity to speak of his character, for John Cain had a series of very clear and very public leadership qualities that stamped his mark and his time, and many of those qualities are the very reasons that people like us joined the Labor Party.

John treated each and every person that he came across with the same level of dignity and respect. He was at home talking with anyone, be it a captain of industry, a sporting identity, an international VIP or someone just waiting for the train. He was comfortable connecting with people from all walks of life and indeed he believed it was a privilege that he was able to do so.

He was very genuine in his concern for others and their problems, big or small. He understood that his job, at its core, was about public service. He was determined to make the state better for everyone. It was a place that he wanted to grow and share. As a woman, a discrimination lawyer and a mother of girls, the legacy that he has in equality is absolutely unparalleled around the country. Many of the steps he took at the time were unthinkable, but as has been said, he was so committed to that vision for

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equality for women that he rolled up his sleeves and he changed the world. The building blocks that he put in place around equality—equality of opportunity, our laws, our institutions—mean that my girls have a much better shot at a meaningful career and a better balanced life than I had and certainly my mother had before me. I believe that those steps that he took have provided the building blocks for us to be the most progressive state in the nation.

John Cain understood detail and accountability. I was talking to a former journalist from the day who attended regular press conferences with Mr Cain, and he recounted how Mr Cain would just sit at a desk and field questions—any question—and they were so impressed that he could deliver the answers so honestly and openly about so many issues that were ranging across his government. He was at pains to answer thoroughly and accurately what was being asked. He was also a straight shooter, as many people have observed today and yesterday. You did not need an interpreter to know what he meant; he told you exactly what he was thinking and took all of that wealth of experience, compassion and knowledge to those conversations.

As we know, the burden of politics can take a heavy toll, especially when you are Premier, but whatever hardships were imposed by decisions, he did not carry those in public. He carried that burden with a quiet dignity. Integrity was not a cliché or a catchphrase for this man. It was at the core of his public life. It was everything. His career in many ways was defined by determination that anyone in elected or appointed office has a responsibility to act at all times in the public interest and not in theirs. His personal standard became a public one that others followed, and the state was all the better for it. He had the courage of his convictions. He listened and he led, and that commitment to improve the lives of all Victorians was strong from his first day in office until his last.

As we reflect on John Cain's contribution to Victoria, we should acknowledge that many of the things we take for granted today exist because his vision made them happen. When I was a newly appointed minister for liquor regulation and I was meeting with all the stakeholders, regardless of where they came from—and I take Mr Jennings point, it was not that Mr Cain was partaking of the amber liquid himself, or the red liquid himself, and that is certainly not my problem—I remember when talking to them all of their faces lit up and they said, 'He opened our liquor licensing laws, he opened our laneways, he opened our city, he opened our state', and that is why Melbourne is the cutting-edge international city that it is today. You can go to a great feminist meeting and have a glass of red down a bluestone laneway thanks to John Cain, and I am very appreciative of it.

I finish with the fact, as Mr Jennings said, that Mr Cain knew he would be bagged for building that infrastructure on the piece of Crown land near the city, but he said he was not worried that some would call it 'Cain's cathedral'. He knew his choice would be vindicated in time, and he was proven right. And how lucky are we, as we have just had two weeks of the most sensational international event on our doorstep, that we do have that cathedral today, better known as the people's cathedral of Melbourne Park. And it is absolutely right and fitting that Melbourne Arena has been renamed—not that he would ever want it—for him.

So thank you, John Cain. Thank you to your family, who sacrificed time with you so the people of Victoria could reap the benefit of what is now an enduring legacy.

Mr ATKINSON (Eastern Metropolitan) (13:02): I had the privilege of attending the funeral yesterday, and I have got to say I came away both exhausted and inspired. The exhaustion was not because it was a very long funeral that canvassed a very rich life, but indeed I was exhausted by the achievements, the accomplishments, of this man. There are certain people that you sometimes meet in life who make you consider your own career and your résumé and how modest it is compared to their achievements, compared to the contribution that they make in various fields, and of course we are particularly focused on the contributions that people make in public life.

Exhausted, yes, in terms of: how did he manage to balance so many aspects of what was a very rich, varied and energetic life? I guess part of the key to that is, as Mr Jennings referred to, absolute routines

and discipline—something that I just cannot abide, but I am impressed that the formula worked very well for the late John Cain.

Interestingly enough—and I will come to the inspiration as well shortly, but this is interesting to me—John Cain grew up in a political household, and obviously his father was Premier and endured a very tumultuous period in both the Labor Party’s history and Victoria’s history. John Cain was also exposed to many luminaries of the day, particularly in Labor and the industrial relations sector policy and politics, and he drew much of his experience from them. Clearly, in his usual way of observing quietly and considering carefully, he was able to draw some great lessons and experience from those people that he met, even in those very early formative days.

Whilst it has been referred to that he went to Scotch College, I thought what was perhaps more interesting in his education was the fact that he also went to Geelong Grammar School briefly. His parents sent him there, apparently as a boarder. One of the other students at the time was Rupert Murdoch; they seemed to part ways. But interestingly enough John Cain did not like being down in Geelong, so he called up his parents and said, ‘If you don’t bring me back, I’ll get on my bicycle and ride back to Melbourne myself’. Clearly he was not impressed with the Geelong experience.

But he went on, as Ms Garrett has reflected, to actually have the ability to meet with people, to work with people, to communicate, to empathise with people from all different strata of life. Perhaps even that brief time at Geelong—meeting people from particularly the land and the Western District and so forth, people who attended Geelong who were quite different to those people who clearly went to his state school and later on even to Scotch College—was all part of the tapestry of his learning experience that was then able to underpin the work that he did later on in Victoria.

He was not of the union movement, which is in some ways unusual for the Labor Party. John Cain came from the legal fraternity, the first person of his family, like so many people in that generation, who went to university. He valued that experience and valued his education and became a lawyer. He worked initially with the Galbally firm and then went out on his own and established a small suburban practice in Preston. It was one of those suburban practices that basically did anything. It was the serendipity of a law firm where whoever came through the door and whatever their need was he was able to address it, and that has been reflected on in part by Mr Jennings today. Having come through the law, he valued the law, he valued the importance of the justice system, and he recognised the power of the law to protect people’s rights, to advance people’s rights.

He was clearly, as has been referred to, one of the significant players in the reform of the Labor Party, much to the chagrin of my party. But nonetheless his contribution took the Labor Party forward and made it more progressive and electable and ensured that some of its good values were taken from those people who had been in the Labor Party in the formative years and in the period until the great split. He took the best of those values but also brought in other values that came from that experience that he had as a suburban lawyer, as somebody who had attended Scotch College, as somebody who had met with so many people in the Labor Party and recognised that their talents needed to be unleashed by changing some of the paradigms of that party.

John Cain, as I said, was not of the union movement. Sadly in some ways from his perspective and the perspective of so many people who were admirers of John Cain, it was arguably the union movement that brought his premiership to an end, as Mr Davis referred to, particularly the trams in Bourke Street that were such a telling symbol and such a problem for the then Labor government that in fact they played a key part, I think, in his decision to step down. And yet whilst he was not of the union movement and whilst the union movement actually in my view played a part in his demise, the fact is he even learned from that. The experience that he has tried to pass on to people since is that there should be three things that you do in government. The first one is telling because it speaks to the experience of his father and his own experience in government. The first one is stability—the importance of delivering stability in government. The other two, which are also obviously very important and were the mark of the man, are decency and integrity. We all need to learn from those things.

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John Cain provided many of us with advice in the respective positions we have held in and about this place. He chastised me for deciding that we did not need the tennis court anymore and we should instead build new members' offices on those lawns. I took the bruising, but I think even he at this point would have conceded that the decision was necessary and was an important one.

He was a man who respected traditions and valued tradition but at the same time did recognise the need for and indeed was one of the dynamic generators of change and progress and meeting people's needs in differing and changing circumstances and environments and making sure that their needs were met, particularly by government—the government that they had entrusted to make this state a better state and to provide for them, their children and their grandchildren.

Not only was it a matter of the advice that he provided to people, but he was a great supporter of the mentoring programs that we have had in the Parliament. He was a fierce advocate for the library—and I also got calls about what we were doing in the library and what we were not doing in the library. Some of those were my decisions, so I was really put on the spot as having to own up to and concede that this was my doing rather than necessarily anybody else's; the buck stops here. But indeed he was a fierce advocate of the library because, again, it recognised in part the value that he placed on education and the value that he placed on the resources that a library contains in terms of the official record, the perspectives that people have brought and the reasons for some of the decisions that have been made over the years which are perhaps not always recognised in a contemporary setting but become more important when you look back at them and when you can context them properly.

I for one very much value his advancement of women in this state. I have said on a number of occasions and written in a couple of articles that I have two daughters and one son, and woe betide anybody who tells either of my daughters that they cannot do what my son can do. John Cain had that philosophy, but he actually did not just talk the talk, he walked the walk and he made it happen. As a male I value that contribution almost above anything else that John Cain achieved. It was critical, and remains critical, to the future of Victoria.

He was a decent man, a man whose company I enjoyed on a number of occasions, a man in some ways of simple pleasures but who was convivial. I saw glimpses of a sense of humour, but we heard yesterday that he had a very wicked and extensive sense of humour that perhaps most Victorians did not get the opportunity to see. But there is no doubt that he was a formidable, effective, progressive, successful Premier in Victoria, and we do owe him a great debt of gratitude. As we extend our condolences now, we also should acknowledge that debt of gratitude to Nancye Cain, to John, to James and to Joanne, his children, who shared him with Victoria and allowed him to make the contributions that he made in this state, contributions that have no doubt made Victoria a better place for us all.

Ms PATTEN (Northern Metropolitan) (13:16): I am very pleased to join in this condolence motion today. John Cain—member for Bundoora; Labor leader; three-term Premier; husband to Nancye; father to John, James and Joanne; grandfather and great-grandfather—was a true son of Northern Metropolitan. His father, the 34th Premier, was a long-serving member for Jika Jika, later named Northcote, and his mother a successful businesswoman with a string of millinery stores throughout the north. As a child he ran through the schoolyards of Bell Primary, he spent many years at the historic Northcote High School and of course the University of Melbourne.

I think today it has been a great privilege to hear the many contributions from you all. While I was not at the memorial service, I listened to it on the radio, and it was just such a delight. As Mr Atkinson said, to hear of those achievements and to hear what one man was able to do is daunting but obviously incredibly inspirational. There is no doubt that he stood for integrity, compassion and fairness, and from everything I have heard today and from everything I have read, he lived that way and he led this state that way.

Many of the achievements have been mentioned before, but I too must take note of his changes to equal opportunity. Many of us would not be here today had it not been for such changes. I note his

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passion for social justice reform in the prison system, in creating a solicitor-general and in freedom-of-information legislation. As we have heard, the list goes on. Greater government transparency is one of those other achievements.

In a piece penned not long after his death, Don Woolford wrote that many saw Mr Cain as:

... a ... wowsler whose idea of a good Saturday night was to stay home and sort his sock drawer.

And I have heard that repeated here today in various different ways, but I think we would all note that his record in government tells a very different story: Sunday footy, the National Tennis Centre, Sunday trading. And also he ushered in the first nude beaches in Victoria, despite his position on sunbaking, as it may be. Sadly, we have seen those beaches rezoned and disappear since 2014, so I would hope that one day we may see a John Cain memorial clothing-optional beach in this great state.

He revolutionised the sex industry in Victoria by legalising brothels, which was a world first, and I am very pleased to see that the work that he did back then is continuing with the current review into the decriminalisation of sex work. In 1983, when many state governments were in a moral panic about the advent of home videos and the advent of adult videos, John Cain took a very different view. He actually felt that they were fairly dull, probably—they were his words—but that there was nothing really that surprising about what you saw in those films. Even though legislation was introduced to prohibit the sale of adult films in Victoria, Mr Cain ensured that there was a sunset clause in that legislation so that if non-violent erotica was to become a classification, they would be made available again in Victoria. Sadly that clause was never implemented.

In recent times I have had the opportunity and the great pleasure to share a lunch table with him as well as be on numerous polling booths in Northcote standing beside him, and as many others have said he certainly was never backwards in telling me what he thought. Initially I would have to say he was almost cross that I had been elected and forecast that the minor parties and the crossbench would be the ruin of the democracy that he felt this state deserved. He also thought that the name of my party was absolutely terrible—and he told me that, actually, many times. But over the years he did provide me with very good advice and his thoughts on many things, and like all of us no doubt who had the opportunity to have those pearls of wisdom dropped upon us, I listened. But over the years I have to say his opinion of me did soften and his opinion of the crossbench did soften, and he felt that maybe the corroding influence of the crossbench was not as bad as he had first anticipated. In fact there were a number of times when he even conceded that it was not that bad—especially when we changed the name of the party.

I think what I have seen over this last few weeks since his death is the respect and the generosity of comments that has come from everyone, regardless of their political stripes. I have to say that that shows the true man that I believe he was. We have heard from so many people across that political spectrum that they absolutely respected the man and that they stood in awe of what he was able to achieve. I think that today we do recognise that our state is a much, much, much better place for having John Cain here. I extend my condolences to his family.

Mr ERDOGAN (Southern Metropolitan) (13:23): I am honoured to be able to rise in tribute to the Honourable John Cain. At the outset I offer my condolences to his family; it was heartening to hear their stories of John at yesterday's state memorial service. While so many people will miss John Cain, as many of us here will, I am sure it is his family that will miss him most. As it has already been remarked upon, John Cain led the Victorian Labor Party into the modern era, achieving victory after 27 years in the wilderness and becoming the 41st Premier of this great state. John's leadership transformed Labor into a party that not only represented the interests of working people, but could also deliver for them. He went on to be re-elected twice.

No list can properly convey his immense contribution to our state, but chief amongst his many reforms are his reforms to the workers and road accident compensation schemes as well as the occupational health and safety laws. In my career as a lawyer I was able to see firsthand the effects and benefits that

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working Victorians had as a result of his reforms some 30 years later. He led many other great reforms, and it is fitting that Melbourne Arena will now be named after the man who secured the future of the Australian Open, the grand slam of the Asia-Pacific, for Melbourne.

We have already heard about his significant contribution in promoting gender equality. Just as significant as his work in promoting gender equality was his work in promoting multiculturalism. The Cain government led the passage of the Ethnic Affairs Commission Act 1982, which established the Ethnic Affairs Commission to work in tandem with the department of ethnic affairs to promote and support a multicultural Victoria. The commission established under the Cain government still exists today as the Victorian Multicultural Commission, which acts as an independent advisory body to the minister and department responsible for multicultural affairs. Since its establishment by the Cain government, it has served as a vital link between multicultural communities and the government of the day.

For over 30 years the cause of cultural diversity, participation, community understanding and acceptance has been guided and advanced with the help of the reforms by Mr John Cain. The Cain government also passed the Equal Opportunity Act 1984, which extended the grounds of unlawful discrimination within Victoria to include race, colour, nationality and ethnic or national origin, and extended the areas to which the act applies to clubs which receive government funding or which use Crown land. This reform set the stage for a Victoria that fully embraces cultural diversity, that believes in equality of opportunity and is welcome and supportive of diversity—a place that embraces those who come across the sea. Today we see the fruits of the Cain government: a Victoria that is proud to call itself the most successful multicultural state in Australia and in the world.

Even after retiring from politics John Cain remained a supporter of multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Most recently I was able to have a chat on this topic with him at the Broadmeadows town hall in September last year, where he was still talking about my background and where my parents came from. I reminded him that I was born in Australia, but we did have a good chat about the diversity of the northern suburbs.

From May 2010 until his passing John Cain was a patron of Multicultural Arts Victoria. The CEO, Veronica Pardo, recently said of John Cain:

His legacy in helping shape a fair and egalitarian society in which everyone has a valued role to play lives on in our work and that of countless others.

The contribution that John Cain made in so many areas throughout his life is immense. He left this city, this state, our party and indeed our nation a better place than when he started. For that I say thank you. Vale, John Cain.

Dr CUMMING (Western Metropolitan) (13:28): I rise today to send my sincere condolences to Nancye, daughter Joanne, John and James on behalf of the Western Metropolitan Region. I rise today to give my own personal reflection on John Cain and my experience.

There is a little bit of a story from when I was about 14 or 15. Obviously I grew up on the Maribyrnong River and we had a family home there. We noticed some large palm trees being planted. We inquired about these palm trees and were told that there was a project going ahead called the Quay West project. Then my mother heard that there was going to be an announcement in front of the Footscray Community Arts Centre and that the Premier, Mr John Cain, was going to be there. I was 14 or 15, and Mum dragged me along. There was an announcement. The announcement was virtually that there was this wonderful project. There were a lot of old industrial sites along the Maribyrnong River, and there was going to be this project called the Quay West project. Then and there we realised that my family home was going to be taken away.

My mother, who was only two years younger than John Cain, grabbed the microphone in front of a bunch of media. I ran home and told my father that my mother had completely embarrassed me in

front of the Premier. My father, who was still alive at the time, said I should get used to that—that my mother is great at embarrassing us. I was only 14 or 15 at the time and really did not understand what was going on. My father, when I was aged 16, died through the process of my family home being compulsorily acquired. A few years after that I was elected onto the City of Maribyrnong.

My mother in those years kind of blamed John Cain, Fordham and the council obviously—City of Footscray at that time. But when I was elected—and the council officers were very apprehensive—I looked through all those records. I was able to read the letter that I wrote to the council and even see pictures of my family home to see exactly what a mess that project was. Then a few years after that I, as an avid op shopper, found a book in the West Footscray op shop, which was John Cain's self-written book. It is a bit of a diary about what he did here in this Parliament. At that time reading through that book I actually found a great understanding of what the John Cain years were—his great hate of pokie machines and how Kirner a couple of years after that introduced them. The media only ever tells a small story of what really goes on. Reading through his own written book, I might just read something that always sat with me around it. This is from page 67. John Cain actually writes about his beliefs about looking after the disadvantaged. On page 67 he writes:

But it was about more than allocating money to projects. I set up a group in my department to try and find an approach and a set of words that spelt out what social justice meant to us. It had to be more than an addendum to a string of policies and initiatives. What emerged was a statement of principles thrashed out around the policy-making table. We applied these to six priority areas:

- children in poverty
- long-term unemployed
- dignity and security for older people
- protecting people's rights
- Aboriginal people
- people with disabilities

This policy work led the way in Australia. The drive to enunciate a strategy and get on with applying it came from a genuine policy commitment from key areas of government as well as the ALP.

When I read through this book it gave me a great understanding of the Cain years. The book also gave me a great understanding of what he thought of Keating, the recession that we had to have and his feelings towards Keating at that time. It also gave me a deep understanding of the economic environment that he was under and how the state government virtually disappeared not because of any wrongdoing but because of international markets. It was the same with Pyramid—that they in good faith underpinned it, and then it fell apart. I guess after being a leader in my community for over 20 years I understand how hard leadership can be and that the media, like I said earlier, only tells a small part of an actual story.

The first time I became mayor I was in here in Queen's Hall and I bumped into John Cain, our former Premier. I introduced myself and I explained that I had met him when I was 14 because of the Quay West project, just in case he did not recognise me—of course he did not—and he just said it as it was. He said, 'What a mess', and we spoke at small length about it, but it made me feel that his intentions, or even the council's intentions at that time, were around very poor industrial land and a visionary aspect but that the mess was due to council mismanagement of projects and the like in the City of Footscray. Let me put that on the record. He understood the mess that that was.

Here I am now elected to Parliament. The day that I was sworn in we were out in the garden and there was my mother sitting in close proximity to Mr John Cain. I was waiting to see how that was all going to transpire. But it was pleasant and there were nice pleasantries passed to each other. That actually made me feel that was great, that my mum had somehow after all these years let this go in some way, shape or form, because I knew that I had after reading to a great extent what occurred in those years as well as understanding what John tried to achieve through those years when he was actually the Premier.

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I still am going to find that Footscray land act and get it ripped into a million pieces, the one that took my home away, eventually. But I wish sincerely to send my deepest condolences to his family—to Joanne, John and James, as well as Nancye and their grandchildren and others—on behalf of my community, on behalf of my family.

Ms PULFORD (Western Victoria—Minister for Roads, Minister for Road Safety and the TAC, Minister for Fishing and Boating) (13:37): John Cain was a reforming and visionary leader who changed our state and indeed our party forever. His achievements include many of the greatest enduring Labor reforms of all time.

What an extraordinary idea is a no-fault insurance compensation scheme—social insurance that allows every single member of the community peace of mind that, if they are injured at work or if they are injured on the road, help will be there, assistance with the bills. For many years before entering this place I worked very closely with people who were injured at work. To see the anguish and torment on the face of a breadwinner who can no longer provide for their family is something that cannot and should not ever be forgotten. Despite some of the darker times in Victoria's history when it comes to the rights of injured workers to seek some justice as well as practical support—income support and for medical bills and compensation for permanent loss—there is now this extraordinary safety net that I think younger generations take for granted. When we think that this is something that has only existed since 1985, what an extraordinarily big idea that was, what a remarkable reform.

In the last year in particular—though of course this happens to all of us all the time—I have spoken to people whose lives have been turned upside down by road trauma. Similarly, the extraordinary, the great Transport Accident Commission is something that provides all of us in Victoria a measure of peace and comfort and knowledge somewhere in the back of everyone's subconscious that if the worst happens and there is a terrible accident that completely transforms your mobility and your independence, there will be this quite remarkable safety net—more than a safety net really—something that will provide for people who are injured on the roads to live as full lives as they can, with rehabilitation support, with lifetime medical support, with income replacement support. These are but two of the extraordinary reforms of the government that John Cain led.

Like so many in Labor's family, I met John Cain on a number of occasions. There is one little anecdote I will share with you in a moment. Yesterday, like many members in this place, I joined with so many Victorians all gathered in the one extraordinary expression of thanks and respect but also many others who listened perhaps from further away. It was a terrific and befitting celebration of John's life and his many achievements.

It was a time to reflect on a purposeful life, a career defined by inquiry, decency and integrity, and of course some fine storytelling from family and friends. We heard about John the lawyer, the party man, the feminist, the politician, the husband, father, grandfather, great-grandfather, colleague and friend. That John Cain continued to dedicate so much of his time, his passion and his considerable skill to the law, to public policy and administration and to so many organisations is well known. Many organisations benefited from his counsel and his leadership, and, as we have heard today, so many politicians benefited from his counsel.

One such important patronage for John Cain was libraries. John served on the Library Board of Victoria for seven years and was its president for much of this time. This is how I happened to experience some of that magnificent directness that so many people have been able to reflect on in the last few weeks. This occurred really early in 2007. I had been a member of this place for but a flash of time. Wyndham council had invited its dozens of upper house and lower house local members to their new library opening. The very special guest of honour was no less than former Premier John Cain. I thought this all sounded rather fabulous, and off I went. I had met John on a number of previous occasions, but this was the first time since being an elected member of Parliament. I was as proud as punch and more than a bit excited to be in the company of one of my party's greatest sons. The library event went well, and then over a cup of tea and a scone I introduced myself. I said, 'Hi, John. I'm one

of the new upper house MPs'. He stopped and he said, 'Hello. It's very lovely to meet you', and then gave something of a small sigh followed by, 'Oh, yes—the upper house. We tried to abolish that, but unfortunately we did not succeed'. It is fair to say that this new MP's bubble was well and truly burst at that moment.

But John has always provided and will continue to provide inspiration to me about how people in public life ought to conduct themselves. His is a shining example that is in no way diminished by his death. My deepest condolences go to his great love, Nancye, their children, John, James and Joanne, and their families. To his family I say: thank you so much for sharing him with all of us. Victoria is so much better for John Cain, his work and his leadership.

Mr GRIMLEY (Western Victoria) (13:44): I rise to speak briefly on the condolence motion for John Cain. I would like to start by stating that Derryn Hinch's Justice Party extends the greatest sympathy to Mr Cain's family, friends and former colleagues.

Unlike many in this chamber I do not have a long or shared history with former ministers and premiers, but in the short time that I have been here I have come to recognise the huge pressures and time demands that are placed on all lawmakers. Although I have not met with Mr Cain personally, I can relay a story that Derryn Hinch shared with me just this morning, a story that attests to Ms Garrett's and others' comments on him being a straight shooter and very direct. This was around the time when Derryn, I believe, was facing some charges for contempt of court. Derryn recalled the time when he was visiting Parliament in his capacity, as he put it, as 'Mr Jacki Weaver'. As Derryn was walking around the hallowed halls of this place, he bumped into Mr Cain, who proceeded to poke his finger into Derryn's chest and bellowed, 'You're going to jail. You're going to jail, with your priors'. Yes, Mr Cain was right: he did go to jail.

It is no small achievement becoming Premier, let alone being a Premier that gets things done. Reforms made under John Cain's leadership include greater protections for our environment, reforms to essential services such as health and education and improvements in the way Victoria's justice system operates. John Cain's dedication to the public and his achievements will continue to be demonstrated through numerous legislative reforms and significant infrastructure that includes WorkSafe, the Transport Accident Commission and of course the establishment of the National Tennis Centre. On this I note and congratulate Premier Andrews on his announcement to rename Melbourne Arena as John Cain Arena as a tribute to the former leader, which is something I strongly agree with. I wonder if Nick Kyrgios is aware of it, though; we had better check!

While public sentiment continues to shift away from confidence in lawmakers, I believe one way we can rebuild faith in our political class is by embarking on a reform agenda which makes not only popular decisions but also necessary decisions. I commend John Cain on a great number of his achievements both inside and outside of the Parliament and hope that we can all attempt to follow his lead in delivering these necessary changes for the benefit of all Victorians.

Ms TAYLOR (Southern Metropolitan) (13:46): I also attended the commemoration for John Cain yesterday, and I found it to be beautiful and moving. I feel really lucky that I was able to be there.

I only had the great fortune of speaking to John Cain on three occasions, the last being at the football last year, watching the mighty Demons play at the MCG—they did not win that particular match, sadly. He was sitting outside in the cold with his wife, Nancye, customarily unassuming and demonstrating precisely the humility for which he has become so well known—he was not short of an opinion, though. I do speak today more from the perspective of gratitude and as a direct beneficiary of his legacy rather than someone who knew him well. He has a formidable legacy in rejuvenating the Labor Party. He was a great reformer in driving the actualisation of a meaningful policy agenda alongside Labor contemporaries Barry Jones and John Button, just to name a few, which led to electoral success and furnished longstanding benefits across our great state. I say thank you today.

His vast policy reform agenda has been spoken about so eloquently across the chamber today. I know that I will not do it justice in this moment, but I particularly admire his ability to strengthen democracy and fairness, which has benefits for the greater good. I feel I should—and I do want to—draw attention to the manner in which he advanced the progression of women's rights. I should note—and this is what is particularly meaningful to me—that it was not token but brave and constructive policy implementation, such as, as has been spoken about, tackling outmoded practices which inhibited women from participating in sporting clubs across Victoria. I further note that taking on such ambitious reforms inevitably elevates the risk of resistance and strident conjecture but has the ultimate benefit of advancing the quality of the community in which we live. I am truly grateful.

For me his greatest legacy is his integrity. No doubt our society would be exponentially enhanced if the prevalence of such integrity was higher. The reason I personally revere such integrity is that it requires a deep understanding of the ramifications of one's behaviour and the moral fortitude to do what is right in any given situation. Such qualities do not come easily, do they? Our community is the better for the calibre of his principled leadership.

Ms MIKAKOS (Northern Metropolitan—Minister for Health, Minister for Ambulance Services) (13:50): It is with enormous pride but great sadness that I rise to join in the tributes to Victoria's 41st Premier and its longest serving Labor Premier, the late John Cain. John Cain led Labor to victory three times, and I am grateful to him for the enormous legacy he has left to our state but also to the Labor Party.

I was very privileged to join with many others here and attend the state memorial service at St Paul's Cathedral yesterday. It was a service that was packed to the rafters. There was standing room only, and it was really fantastic to see such a huge attendance to pay tribute to this remarkable man. I want to acknowledge the really outstanding tributes that were made by all the speakers yesterday, from Premier Dan Andrews to Michael Duffy to Mary Crooks and to his sons, His Honour Judge John Cain and James Cain. They all spoke so warmly and so fondly of John Cain's legacy to this state, and I think we all left—I certainly left—so impressed by his remarkable achievements. He was such a warm person. We learned so much about him as a family man. It was wonderful to have all those stories shared with us—funny stories—by his sons about his love for his family and his love in particular for Nancye, his lifelong partner, but also to hear about his remarkable contribution to our state.

I have to start by making, I guess, the local connection. As a member for Northern Metropolitan Region, I am very proud that John Cain was educated locally at one of our amazing high schools, Northcote High School, that he set up his legal practice—and worked as a lawyer for 24 years in fact—in High Street, Preston, and really served our working-class community, from conveyancing to family law and so many other legal issues that he would have been supporting his local community on during those years. Then he went on to represent the northern suburbs as the member for Bundoora.

I want to acknowledge his important work also as president of the Law Institute of Victoria and also as a member of the Victorian Law Reform Commission. I have no doubt that the analytical skills that he gained as a lawyer, his advocacy skills, held him in good stead as he went on with John Button and many others to go about reforming the Labor Party, which was so significant that it led to two great reforming governments being elected, both in Canberra in the Whitlam government and also the Cain government here in Victoria.

As we heard yesterday at the memorial service, John Cain devoted his life to social justice. This was his lifelong cause. We heard about his decency, his work ethic, his humility, his compassion, his dry humour. I have to say, as a self-confessed nerd, I was amazed by his organisational skills. We heard from family members about the fastidious way that he organised his breakfast, his meals and in fact the family travel plans. As someone who thinks a good Saturday night is getting through a big pile of briefs, I have to say that I feel very inadequate now, having heard about how John Cain took his life to just a whole other level in terms of organisational skills. I think many of us probably left really quite inspired and awed by how he conducted himself as an individual as well as how he lived his life.

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I want to just briefly remark on some of his contributions to public life, because so many other members have already remarked upon the breadth of his contribution. I want to remark firstly on his commitment to equality for women. Mr Atkinson has already acknowledged, as have other speakers, that he was absolutely committed to gender equality, and for that as a woman in the Labor Party I am very grateful. I was so impressed to hear Mary Crooks pay tribute to John Cain's legacy as a champion for gender equality. He worked to ensure more women served in his cabinet, but also he was prepared to take on some absolutely longstanding bastions of male privilege, and that was to tackle the MCC—the Melbourne Cricket Club—and also the Victoria Racing Club (VRC) and change those men-only rules. We had John Cain stare down these bastions of Melbourne's establishment to open their doors to women. I was so pleased to hear Mary Crooks refer yesterday at the memorial service to how John Cain had said, 'If Nancye can't come with me, I'm not going'. So he stared down essentially 100 years of privilege, entitlement and segregation in enabling women to enter those organisations.

The other areas that I wanted to remark upon are two areas that are very dear to my heart. As we have heard already, John Cain was an absolute pioneer in so many areas and he has left enduring reforms for our state. There were two world firsts during John Cain's time. There were many, many world firsts, I have no doubt, but the first of two that I want to briefly remark upon is that the Cain government introduced the first legislation in the world to regulate IVF and associated human embryo research. Members might be aware of course that in the early 1980s we had the first IVF birth in Australia. That was Candice Reed, born at the Melbourne Royal Women's Hospital in fact. Then the Cain government established a review, firstly, of IVF research and practice that led to the Infertility (Medical Procedures) Act 1984 being passed. This enabled counselling, a central register, artificial insemination, donor expenses—all of these areas of IVF—to be regulated for the very first time as well as human embryo research. We know of course that Victoria has gone on to really be a pioneer in terms of IVF in this country and has been a world leader in terms of IVF and assisted reproductive technology. I am very grateful for the important work, the groundwork, that John Cain and his government led at that time.

The other area that I want to remark upon relates to his important work in introducing legislation relating to smoking, to tobacco regulation. It was the legislation back in 1987, the Tobacco Bill, that saw the establishment of what we now call VicHealth, the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, which was another world first. It was in fact the first health promotion agency in the world to be funded by a tobacco levy.

I want to make the point—because VicHealth is so well regarded by the community and enjoys I believe support across the political divide—that this was a hard-fought battle. While we take these things for granted now, we should not forget that at the time it did face enormous resistance from the tobacco industry. In going through and looking at some of the media clips of the time around the introduction of the legislation and around the establishment of VicHealth, but also the fact that it removed tobacco sponsorship from sport, it was something that the tobacco industry tried to portray as akin to communism. In fact I found an article from 18 October 1987 published in the *Australian* that described the television ads that the tobacco industry ran at the time. They were very, very hard hitting ads with scenes of a barely lit courtroom, with uniform judges sitting at a table and fining people for smoking. It was also about people putting up a cigarette poster and a judge referring to that as subversive literature and declaring a person guilty. So it was pretty full on at the time from the tobacco industry, and I think everyone here knows my thoughts about the tobacco industry. This is an industry that has never had the health of Australians or humanity in fact anywhere as a consideration in how they have conducted themselves over the decades, but John Cain was very passionate about this issue. In fact in an *Age* article published on 8 October 1987, at the time this legislation was in the Parliament, John Cain described why he had introduced this world-first legislation to the Parliament. He said:

There is a social obligation, a moral obligation on a government ... to do something about it.

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He went on to refer to 80 per cent of adult smokers taking up the habit before they were 16 and to say that on present trends—that is, at that time—64 000 Victorian children would die prematurely of smoking-related diseases.

This is why John Cain believed it was important to undo the damage of smoking to counter what was described as the seductive effect on the young of cigarette advertising. He was prepared—again, like he did to the Melbourne Cricket Club, the VRC and so many other vested interests—to stare down the power of the tobacco industry, the advertising, the campaign that they had against these important reforms, to see them through. Of course we know now that this has had a profound effect, and I do want to quote from some of the acknowledgements that were given by VicHealth at the time that John Cain passed away and put these on the record. VicHealth CEO Dr Sandro Demaio in a media release issued by VicHealth on 23 December 2019 described John Cain as a visionary leader dedicated to improving the health of all Victorians. He said, quote:

John Cain's leadership contributed to the transformation of health promotion in Victoria and around the world. Thanks to his vision, millions of Victorians live healthier and happier lives.

Victoria was a very different place when John Cain became Premier—smoking was commonplace and tobacco advertising was rampant.

John Cain put politics aside to enact groundbreaking tobacco control reforms and established VicHealth—the world's first health promotion foundation.

In the face of backlash and opposition he was resolute, putting the health and wellbeing of Victorians above the profits of the tobacco industry who lobbied hard against his reforms.

John Cain's actions over thirty years ago are a key reason why Victoria has one of the lowest smoking rates in the world.

I think that is an important reform that it is important for us to acknowledge, because John Cain and his government were trailblazers when it came to taking on the tobacco industry and taking on so many vested interests.

I want to conclude my contribution by restating the advice that the late John Cain shared with Premier Daniel Andrews. Our Premier recounted that advice yesterday in his tribute to John Cain, where he said that John Cain's advice to him before he became Premier was 'Work hard because people rely on you, and don't waste your opportunity'. I think that is very good advice that John Cain gave to Daniel Andrews and very good advice for all of us in public office to live by.

In his sermon Anglican Archbishop Dr Freier referred to 'agape', and I have to say I was not thrilled with the pronunciation during that service: agape is how you say it. Essentially it refers, in Greek, to selfless love. I think that is important in terms of reflecting on public service and how that also is a form of selfless love. It was, I guess, demonstrated by John Cain how you can live a life well lived and make an enduring contribution to your state.

I want to thank the Cain family, particularly Nancye, for sharing John with our party, with our community, for the entirety of his life. I am grateful for John Cain's legacy. He has left a kinder, fairer state, and I express my deepest condolences to Nancye and to the Cain family.

Ms SHING (Eastern Victoria) (14:06): I rise to add my voice to the contributions that have been made around this chamber today. I too would like to pass on my profound condolences to Nancye, to James, to John and to Joanne, along with their children, along with the friends of the family, who after such a public and a private life based in contribution have now farewelled a Premier who has left an indelible mark on this state in so many ways.

One of the things that I would like to focus on today, which has been picked up by a couple of others who have spoken, relates to the rule of law and it relates to the work that is undertaken by legal practitioners in applying and interpreting the administration of justice through laws, rules and regulations in a way which hopefully enables equity before the law, substantive and procedural fairness and access to outcomes which are just and are fair.

This ideal of the rule of law is something which drives so many people to legal practice. It sustains them through often frustrating processes which often lead to frustrating or in some cases perverse outcomes. And yet what legal practitioners continue to do is to strive within the framework of the rule of law and the way in which it operates through the separation of powers for outcomes which enable people to gain justice, to gain fairness to the best extent possible and to gain a sense of power and control to the best extent possible.

What we saw with the way in which John Cain approached his legal dealings was a sense of discipline, a sense of assiduous attention to detail, of thoroughness, of decency and of an ongoing compliance with the framework within which he operated. This was borne out yesterday at the service where it was remarked that when choosing between the hard way and the easy way one should always choose the right way whether that is easy or hard.

In this regard I think there is a confluence of approaches that John Cain brought to his work as a legal practitioner on the one hand, and a very good one at that, and as a lawmaker and leader within the Parliament and the Labor Party on the other hand. He presided over a disciplined, strategic, inclusive and collegiate environment which related to large-scale reforms, reforms based across a number of subject areas and sectors and which never wavered from their original intent—that is, to improve the lives of Victorians wherever possible, to always do the right thing even if it is the hard thing and to undertake work which may in fact be unpopular and difficult but which in effect is worth doing for the end product that it leads to.

We see now that we are left with a ripple effect that constitutes John Cain's final word in a way that will echo throughout future generations. We see this in the way in which the equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation aspires to operate in Victoria even where it does not always achieve those objectives. We see that access to IVF, that tobacco levies, that changes to environmental regulation and that the way in which the Transport Accident Commission and workers compensation have been enacted and continue to operate have set in train a series of events which are all intended to create that equity, to create a better sense of fairness in the law and in the every day.

Through his work and his actions Premier John Cain, and indeed John Cain the individual, made a contribution that was not about receiving recognition or reward but which was about making a difference to as many people as possible in the most beneficial ways possible in often unpopular circumstances.

No-one can doubt that the benefit of hindsight often encourages one to conclude that a different path might have been taken in certain circumstances. But no-one can argue that it was not the objective or indeed the achievement of John Cain that in every context possible he did the right thing. In every context possible he undertook the hard work, and in so many ways we are a better state for it. In so many ways we have continued to provide a momentum that will build upon these social reforms, on these regulatory reforms and indeed on the beauty of that rule of law which John Cain loved as he did—a better legal and justice system within the administration framework that we operate and within the separation of powers that he so well understood and strived throughout his working life to improve and in fact to refine wherever possible.

Thanks to everyone who worked alongside him and who were in effect able to amplify the reforms and achievements that were delivered throughout his time as Victorian Premier. Thanks to those who offered up often robust conversation, ideas and challenges to make for a better government, to make for bolder reforms, to make for changes which would manifestly improve the lives of Victorians across the board. We are better for internal robust conversation as parliaments, as governments, as parties. John Cain set that in motion in all that he did, and we are better for it.

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Mr MEDDICK (Western Victoria) (14:12): I firstly want to extend my sympathy to the entire Cain family, also to his professional colleagues outside of politics and in particular to his colleagues within the Labor Party.

John Cain, former Premier, will be remembered in many ways. As a far younger man interested in politics, there are two aspects of John Cain that I will remember—I remembered them then and they stay with me now—and they are that he was a true progressive and he was a reformist of enormous courage and conviction. Those on one side of politics will probably remember him more fondly than the other. Not everyone will agree with every decision he made or action he took, but we all remember his enormous service to Victoria and his genuine care for our beautiful part of the world.

I and my team, my party, are on the animals' side in politics, and we remember fondly his actions to help them. In the 1980s the little penguins who live on Phillip Island were being decimated by dogs and foxes or being run over by cars on the Summerland estate, a housing estate that then existed on the beach known for the nightly penguin parade. The number of penguins was low and declining and without action projections were that they would be extinct by 1997. Of course that did not happen, not because the projections were wrong but because Premier John Cain, ably assisted, led even, by his environment minister Joan Kirner, took decisive action. Against the lobbying of the landholders and other business interests they undertook to buy back that entire town to protect the penguins in perpetuity. John Cain explained:

You have an obligation as the custodians of the land or people responsible for the time being to see the long term and not just the immediate past and the immediate future.

John Cain knew that our unique and endangered wildlife was of vital importance. He made this decision that was unprecedented in its focus on environmental conservation, and it shocked many. Where others saw just a problem, John Cain saw an opportunity. He turned a problem of wildlife destruction into an ecotourism opportunity—what vision.

Today the penguin parade on Phillip Island brings in over \$500 million of revenue each year and employs thousands of Victorians. Ecotourism has boomed in the decades since this decision and represents one of the biggest industries we have, and it is still growing. Thank you, John Cain, for this decision to support wildlife, which we applaud and remain grateful for even today.

The PRESIDENT (14:16): I would just like to make a very brief contribution on Mr Jennings's condolence motion for John Cain. I am not going to pretend that I knew John Cain personally very well, but something that has really impressed me from the time that I became a member of Parliament is that some Labor people can hold high office and there is a good chance you will not see them much at branch dinners and those sorts of Labor Party events after they retire. I think John Cain was the complete opposite.

I remember very early on when I became an MP I went to an ALP branch dinner in the current Speaker's seat. There were a lot of people there. I determined to keep a pretty low profile and sat in the corner with a number of people. John Cain was a guest speaker, and John Cain in his address to the faithful made a pretty harsh but fair critique about how he thought Labor upper house MPs should go about their business. I shrunk down lower and lower. I was at the back, and I was thinking, 'He's not even going to know who I am'. He went on a bit longer on this topic and then said, 'And I know—I know—there is a Labor upper house MP in this room'. I peered around the corner a little bit, and then he said, 'But Shaun, I'll give you one thing: you've actually turned up tonight'. When I got home and my partner asked, 'How was the dinner?', I said, 'It was actually pretty cool; John Cain knows who I am, and he praised me'. In saying that, John Cain was a great Premier, and he made a huge difference to our great state.

I ask members to signify their assent to the motion by rising in their places for 1 minute.

Motion agreed to in silence, members showing unanimous agreement by standing in their places.

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Mr JENNINGS (South Eastern Metropolitan—Leader of the Government, Special Minister of State, Minister for Priority Precincts, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs) (14:19): I move, by leave:

That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Honourable John Cain, the house adjourn until tomorrow.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned 2.20 pm.