

# Legislative Assembly of Manitoba DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS

Speaker

The Honourable Peter Fox



Vol. XXI No. 122 10:00 a.m., Friday, May 10th, 1974. First Session, 30th Legislature.

Electoral Division	Name	Political Affiliation	Address	Postal Code
ARTHUR	J. Douglas Watt	P.C.	Reston, Man.	ROM 1X0
ASSINIBOIA	Steve Patrick	Lib.	10 Red Robin PL, Winnipeg	R3J 3L8
BIRTLE-RUSSELL	Harry E. Graham	P.C.	Binscarth, Man.	ROJ OGO
BRANDON EAST	Hon, Leonard S, Evans	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
BRANDON WEST	Edward McGill	P.C.	2228 Princess Ave., Brandon	R7B 0H9
BURROWS	Hon, Ben Hanuschak	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
CHARLESWOOD	Arthur Moug	P.C.	29 Willow Ridge Rd., Winnipeg	R3R 1L5
CHURCHILL	Les Osland	NDP	66 Radisson Blvd., Churchill	ROB OEO
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CRESCENTWOOD	Harvey Patterson	NDP	978 Garwood Ave., Winnipeg	R3M 1N7
DAUPHIN	Hon. Peter Burtniak	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
ELMWOOD	Hon, Russell J. Doern	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
EMERSON	Steve Derewianchuk	NDP	Vita, Manitoba	R0A 2K0
FLIN FLON	Thomas Barrow	NDP	Cranberry Portage, Man.	ROB OHO
FORT GARRY	L.R. (Bud) Sherman	P.C.	86 Niagara St., Winnipeg	R3N 0T9
FORT ROUGE	Lloyd Axworthy	Lib.	132 Osborne St. S., Winnipeg	R3L 1Y5
GIMLi	John C. Gottfried	NDP	44 – 3rd Ave., Gimli, Man.	R0C 1B0
GLADSTONE	James R. Ferguson	P.C.	Gladstone, Man.	ROJ OTO
INKSTER	Hon. Sidney Green, Q.C.	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
KILDONAN	Hon. Peter Fox	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
LAC DU BONNET	Hon, Sam Uskiw	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
LAKESIDE	Harry J. Enns	P.C.	Woodlands, Man.	ROC 3HO
	Bob Banman	P.C.	Steinbach, Man.	ROA 2A0
		1	1294 Erin St., Winnipeg	R3E 2S6
	William Jenkins	NDP		R0J 1E0
MINNEDOSA	David Blake	P.C.	Minnedosa, Man.	
MORRIS	Warner H. Jorgenson	P.C.	Morris, Man.	ROG 1KO
OSBORNE	Hon. Ian Turnbull	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
PEMBINA	George Henderson	P.C.	Manitou, Man.	ROG 1G0
POINT DOUGLAS	Donald Malinowski	NDP	23 Coralberry Ave., Winnipeg	R2V 2P2
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE	Gordon E. Johnston	Lib.	135 16th St. S.W., Portage la Prairie, Man.	R1N 2W5
RADISSON	Harry Shafransky	NDP	4 Maplehurst Rd., Winnipeg	R2J 1W8
RHINELAND	Arnold Brown	P.C.	Winkler, Man.	R0G 2X0
RIEL	Donald W, Craik	P.C.	3 River Lane, Winnipeg	R2M 3Y8
RIVER HEIGHTS	Sidney Spivak, Q.C.	P.C.	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
		P.C.	Inglis, Man.	ROJ OXO
	J. Wally McKenzie	P.C.	Glenboro, Man.	ROK 0X0
	Henry J. Einarson	1		R3C 0V8
ROSSMERE	Hon, Ed. Schreyer	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	
RUPERTSLAND	Harvey Bostrom	NDP	Manigotagan, Manitoba	ROE 1EO
ST. BONIFACE	J. Paul Marion	Lib.	394 Gaboury Place, Winnipeg	R2H 0L4
ST. GEORGE	Hon. Bill Uruski	NDP	10th flr., 330 Portage Ave., Wpg.	R3C 0C4
ST. JAMES	George Minaker	P.C.	318 Ronald St., Winnipeg	R3J 3J8
ST. JOHNS	Hon. Saul Cherniack, Q.C.	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
ST. MATTHEWS	Wally Johannson	NDP	418 Horne St., Winnipeg	R3G 1X4
ST. VITAL	D.J. Walding	NDP	26 Hemlock Place, Winnipeg	R2H 1L7
STE. ROSE	A.R. (Pete) Adam	NDP	Ste. Rose du Lac, Man.	ROL 1SO
SELKIRK	Hon. Howard Pawley	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
SEVEN OAKS	Hon, Saul A, Miller	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
SOURIS KILLARNEY	Earl McKellar	P.C.	Nesbitt, Man.	ROK 1PO
	Hon, Rene E, Toupin	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
	J. Frank Johnston	P.C.	310 Overdale St., Winnipeg	R3J 2G3
STURGEON CREEK	J. Frank Jonnston James H. Bilton	P.C.	Swan River, Man.	ROL 1ZO
SWAN RIVER			Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
THE PAS	Hon, Ron Mc8ryde	NDP		R8N 0G8
THOMPSON	Ken Dillen	NDP	1171 Westwood Dr., Thompson	
TRANSCONA	Hon, Russell Paulley	NDP	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8
VIRDEN	Morris McGregor	P.C.	Kenton, Man.	ROM 0Z0
WELLINGTON	Philip M. Petursson	NDP	681 Banning St., Winnipeg	R3G 2G3
WINNIPEG CENTRE	J.R. (Bud) Boyce	NDP	777 Winnipeg Ave., Winnipeg	R3E OR5
· · · · · · · · · · · ·	I.H. Asper	Lib.	Legislative Bldg., Winnipeg	R3C 0V8

# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF MANITOBA 10:00 o'clock, Friday, May 10, 1974.

Opening Prayer by Mr. Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER: Presenting Petitions; Reading and Receiving Petitions; Presenting Reports by Standing and Special Committees; Ministerial Statements and Tabling of Reports: Notices of Motion; Introduction of Bills. The Honourable Minister of Labour.

HON. RUSSELL PAULLEY (Minister of Labour)(Transcona), on behalf of the Honourable the Attorney-General, introduced Bill No. 65, An Act to amend the Law of Property Act; and Bill No. 66, An Act to amend The Limitation of Actions Act.

### ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

MR. SPEAKER: Questions. The Honourable Member for Riel.

MR. DONALD W. CRAIK (Riel): Mr. Speaker, I direct a question to the Minister, the House Leader. Can be give the House the undertaking that the Moose Lake loggers will appear before committee at this session of the Legislature?

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Minister of Mines.

HON. SIDNEY GREEN, Q.C. (Minister of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management)(Inkster): Mr. Speaker, I believe I gave that undertaking, and I repeat it for the honourable member.

MR. CRAIK: Mr. Speaker, I think that the Minister stated prior was that the annual report . . .

MR. SPEAKER: Question please.

MR. CRAIK: Well, Mr. Speaker, I would ask the Minister whether or not their appearance at that committee is in some way contingent upon the production of the annual report.

MR. GREEN: Mr. Speaker, I did produce the last annual report that I have. What I had said was that I was hoping to have the more current annual report, which shows a marked change, and that I thought it would be better to discuss it in light of the two reports, but I haven't received the second one. I tabled the first one in the House approximately a week ago and the chairman will appear before Committee.

MR. CRAIK: Mr. Speaker, I wonder if I might ask the Minister whether it appears that the report, the more recent report for 1973-74, would be ready for that time.

MR. GREEN: Well now we're back, Mr. Speaker, to my problem. I don't know. If it is, it'll be here. Certainly there will be information available up to the present time if the report isn't.

# ORDERS OF THE DAY - ORDERS FOR RETURN

MR. SPEAKER: Orders of the Day. Orders for Return. The Honourable Member for Brandon West.

MR. EDWARD McGILL (Brandon West): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by the Honourable Member for Roblin,

THAT an Order of the House do issue for a Return showing the following information:

(1) the total federal grants to the Province of Manitoba for primary and secondary education in the fiscal years 1969 to date;

(2) the formulae under which such grants were received;

(3) the formulae under which the moneys received were allocated.

MOTION presented and carried.

MR. McGILL: I beg to move, seconded by the Honourable Member for Roblin,

THAT an Order of the House do issue for a Return showing the following information: (1) the total federal grants to the Province of Manitoba for post-secondary education

in the fiscal years 1969 to date;

(2) the formulae under which such grants were received;

(3) the formulae under which the moneys received were allocated.

MOTION presented and carried.

# GOVERNMENT BILLS

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable House Leader.

MR. GREEN: Well, Mr. Speaker, we would like to proceed with first of all the debates

#### GOVERNMENT BILLS

(MR. GREEN cont'd) . . . . on second reading, and then the introduction of the new bills on the Order Paper, then the Supply motion.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Bill No. 43. The Honourable Member for Portage la Prairie.

MR. GORDON E. JOHNSTON (Portage la Prairie): Stand? MR. SPEAKER: Very well.

MR. SPEAKER: Very well.

Bill No. 46. The Honourable Leader of the Liberal Party.

A MEMBER: . . . Stand?

# BILL NO.49

MR. SPEAKER: Bill No. 49. The Honourable Minister of Health.

HON. SAUL A. MILLER (Minister of Health and Social Development): Mr. Speaker, in moving second reading on this bill, The Child Welfare Act, Bill No. 49, inadvertently this was not indicated at the time of first reading, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor having been informed of the subject matter of this bill recommends it to the House.

Now, Mr. Speaker, with regard to this bill, the revisions to the Child Welfare Act . . . MR. SPEAKER: Order please. Would the honourable member first move the bill so then we can debate it.

MR. MILLER: All right. Okay. Yes. You're right. I move, Mr. Speaker, seconded by the Minister of Agriculture, that the bill be now read a second time.

MOTION presented.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Minister.

MR. MILLER: Mr. Speaker, the revisions to the Child Welfare Act are essential I believe because we continue to recognize in our society that social needs are constantly changing and important acts have to reflect these changes.

Child Welfare Acts go back in history in Manitoba back to 1902 as a matter of fact, where when we first had the Children's Act, the Child Protection Act, the Child Immigration Act, and some others. Now these separate Acts I think consolidated as what is now known as The Child Welfare Act in 1924, that's 50 years. In that 50 years since that first Act was passed there have been many amendments to the legislation. The Act however has never received a major overhaul, and despite the updating amendments that have been included or deletions over time, it continues to this day as a piecemeal document in which laborious provisions against putative fathers keep company with outdated concepts of neglected children found panhandling, terms that are no longer current.

The present Child Welfare Act however does sanction a system which works to the benefit of children and families, and it is not my intent nor the government's intent to minimize its useful provisions. That it has existed these many years, Mr. Speaker, is a tribute to the effectiveness of the Act to date, and to the care and the concern of their earliest proponents. But the time has come we feel for the introduction of a more up-to-date and integrated piece of legislation. The new Act, Mr. Speaker, may be characterized in three ways:

First, the procedures are simplified and streamlined. The whole document developed over approximately five years, I believe, with considerable effort and input from both public and private agencies. It's permeated by concepts of normalization, the family environment, preventative services, community responsibility. Those who have drafted this Act have been very concerned that it embody an emphasis upon the rights of children as individuals, entitled to an opportunity to achieve their optimum potential. It provides for the apprehension of children without physical removal from home. It allows for informality in court hearings. It shortens and simplifies the adoption process, allowing for a greater decentralization of services.

MR. SPEAKER: I wonder if I could have the co-operation of all the members. There's a lot of talk going around and its very difficult to hear the Honourable Minister of Health. The Honourable Minister of Health.

MR. MILLER: Mr. Speaker, secondly this Act includes a preventive emphasis. Now if we are to achieve a lasting result from Child Welfare it is essential to move more positively to stem the flow of children coming into care in the first place. This means supportive services to families in the beginning is provided for in this legislation. And as examples: authority for the subsidizing of day-care expenditures; expanded provision for home-care; child caring and contract services; counselling of unmarried mothers; counselling to families;

(MR. MILLER cont'd) . . . . assisting parents and children in the family setting. All these provisions have long-term benefits to offer. They are long-term but they are benefits nonetheless.

A third significant feature of the legislation is seen in the thrust it provides towards the involvement of local communities in child and family matters. Healthy children and families are the product of healthy communities. A measure of community health is its willingness to respond to its problems and to its needs. An example of community emphasis embodied in the new Act let me mention the expanded role of the Child Welfare Committees. Provided in the old legislation these were expressions of the Children's Aid movement but now given wider scope to respond to community concern for the well-being of children. Similarly the new role of the Review Board will involve community members in advisory and appeal roles with the Minister in regard to any and all child welfare matters.

A New Treatment Panel which is a new concept introduced into this bill. The new Treatment Panel extends the benefit of a multi-disciplinary consultation to the director, to the courts, to the institutions and to the agencies in various parts of the province.

Mr. Speaker, I've talked about the general approach underlining our new Child Welfare Act. I perhaps might draw attention of the members to some of the more specific and major innovations that the Act contains.

A very difficult problem has been that of reconciling our juvenile correction system with the philosophy and intent of the Child Welfare policies. In this area not everything is black nor white. Many young people who enter into this system is because they have transgressed against some rules in our society, and that is so. However, they are not much different very often from young people who come into the child welfare system because they require the protection and the support, which often comes as a result due to the deficiencies of the social environment which molds their attitudes and molds their behaviour. So the new Child Welfare Act attempts to accommodate this relationship while at the same time preserving the legal rights and status and the protection of the law to these young people.

Equally important Mr. Speaker, is the right of young people to be recognized under the present justice system as individuals competent to distinguish between right and wrong, and competent also to accept the censure of the community for having transgressed against the community's rules and their conduct.

The new Legislation, Mr. Speaker, therefore contains an important modification of provision designed to achieve compatability between the Child Welfare and the Juvenile Correction system. Let me first speak of the Treatment Panel, the proposed Treatment Panel. This is a board or a committee of people who would be qualified in various professional disciplines which have a bearing on the rehabilitative process for juveniles. The panel is to advise on the placement and the program for those juveniles who are judged to be delinquent and are considered to require placement in a closed institution. The Treatment Panel will similarly advise on the program for juveniles who have been made wards of the Director of Child Welfare or the Children's Aid Society, and whose behaviour creates problems which may require special attention.

The Act contemplates also, and it is certainly my fervent hope that it will succeed in this, that the Treatment Panel will become a primary source for Family Court Judges in reaching their decision on the disposition of a juvenile convicted of an offence. And I would hope that the Treatment Panel will become functionally integrated with forensic services which now provide pre-sentence advice to the Judge.

In addition to the Treatment Panel the new Act retains the concept of the Review Board although in a somewhat altered form. Under the existent system it is the function of the Review Board to step in and review the disposition of a case immediately after the court order affecting a juvenile delinquent has been issued. The Review Board could then decide to countermand the court's order in whatever way the board thought fit. Under the new Act the Review Board no longer has the function of establishing specific treatment programs, instead the new Review Board is empowered to intervene on behalf of any child to act as its advocate, to report to the Minister on what the Board conceives to be irregularities or injustices. The Board may on its own initiative, or at the request of the Minister, or even on the request of any citizen, investigate and report on any program service or institution affecting children coming under this legislation. The Review Board will also act in a general advisory capacity to the Minister on child welfare matters.

# (MR. MILLER cont'd)

Mr. Speaker, I would not deny, and some of you are aware I'm sure, that under the existing legislation the relationship between the existing Review Board and the Family Courts has led in many cases to considerable difficulty. The relationship has not always been best. Now in these difficulties unfortunately the young person in conflict with the law was the one that was caught in the middle.

Now whether the new system will work out totally, we believe however that it is an improvement. However, it will depend to a large extent on the co-operation between the criminal justice system and our child welfare system. I am informed, Mr. Speaker, that the months, years as a matter of fact, that have gone into developing this bill, but in recent months certainly, a very good collaborative effort was contributed by officials of the Attorney-General's Department, by the Department of Health and Social Development, and particularly by the Chief Judge of the Provincial Judge's Court and the Senior Family Court Judge, who are all involved in developing this legislation. And so we will be watching with interest the successful implementation of the process provided in this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps one further point: I might be unduly optimistic, but it seems to me that in this province and across Canada there's a revival of community interest in contributing volunteer service to the people. In no area of social need is this kind of effort more vital than in the service for the welfare and the **p**rotection of children. The new legislation provides greater flexibility for the establishment of child welfare committees, which are designed as a vehicle for local community participation in child welfare services. We expect that these committees can be particularly effective in the remote areas of the province. The provision of adequate child welfare services in these remote communities is in my view one of the most pressing social problems existing in Manitoba today and one to which we must address ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, when this Session opened a number of members opposite, and in my own caucus, discussed with me the problems with regard to adoption that have been brought to their attention. It was too late to deal with the matter and therefore the bill in its present form does not meet some of the questions they raised. However, I want to indicate to members opposite that it is my intention to bring into Law Amendments modifications and adjustments in the sections dealing with adoption to meet the needs expressed by members opposite and members within my own back bench, in order to correct what may be today an imbalance in the opportunities for adoptive parents.

So Mr. Speaker, with those few words I would urge that this House adopt this bill so it can go into second reading and eventually be accepted as legislation.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Rhineland.

MR. ARNOLD BROWN (Rhineland): Mr. Speaker I would like to move, seconded by the member from Gladstone, that we adjourn debate.

MOTION presented and carried.

#### BILL NO. 60

MR. SPEAKER: Bill No. 60 The Honourable Minister of Health.

MR. MILLER Presented Bill No. 60, The Social Service Administration Act, for second reading MOTION presented

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Minister of Health.

MR. MILLER: Mr. Speaker, the intention of presenting this bill to the House is first of all to update the Department of Welfare Act, which at the moment contains many incorrect and obsolete references because of amendments which have taken place in other legislation. Besides the general updating there are some more specific purposes which I'd like to explain in the House.

Members are aware that Manitoba has embarked on an experimental program to test the efficacy and the problems connected with the provision of the universal basic income. Some members may recall that arrangements were made during the lunch hour, when the technicalities of this project were explained to them; some members attended. It is a very technical, scientific experiment, and it was felt that members should be given an opportunity to hear what the program was about.

The program seeks to determine the work, disincentive effect, if any, of an income tested, income maintenance system. The proposed bill includes enabling legislation covering

(MR. MILLER cont'd) . . . . the financial management and other administrative requirements for this experiment. Members are aware that this is a joint venture in which the Federal Government covers 75 percent of a cost estimated at \$17 million over a period of, I believe it's three years.

I can report to the House that the design for this project has been completed. It has been approved by the Federal Government and is ready to go. Once the enabling legislation has been passed, we will be in a position to go forward with the program as planned. It may be of interest to the House that this experiment is particularly pertinent at this point because the Federal Government and all ten provinces are presently involved in a joint review of the Canadian income security system. Probably no government program has been the object, Mr. Speaker, of criticism, of welfare programs – this applies not only here but in every other jurisdiction. So it's really highly appropriate that the development of alternatives be pursued. This experiment is the largest social experiment ever undertaken in Canada and I anticipate that this legislation will receive full and unqualified support from all sides of this House because what we learn from this experiment will be of value, not only in itself but in anything that's done in the future both in Manitoba and in Canada.

A further provision of the bill, Mr. Speaker, deals with the government's supplement to the elderly. Under this program the province will augment the incomes of Old Age Assistance and Guaranteed Income Supplement recipients so as to provide a total income of \$200.00 per month for single pensioners and \$383.00 per couple, effective in July. It is anticipated that the first payment to pensioners will be made in July in an amount that covers the three months of July, August and September. In other words they'll be prepayments on a quarterly basis. Again I would hope that all members will co-operate to insure the speedy passage of the bill so that the preparations can go forward.

The Federal Government has agreed to undertake to co-operate with us in the issuing and the mailing of these payments on behalf of the province. If administrative plans succeed, and when the necessary Federal legislation permits, and I gather there's an amendment to be required, the provincial payments would then be simply added to the federal pension cheque. In this way we hope to save a considerable amount of administration and money if the provincial amount is simply shown as an add-on on the Federal OAS GIS cheque.

The other provisions of the proposed legislation are, as I mentioned earlier, housekeeping and cleaning up of various items. An example is the repeal of the Old Age Assistance Act, which is really a redundant Act and has been in disuse for some time, generally it is updating of terminology.

So, Mr. Speaker, with this explanation I trust the bill will gain favour with the House and will proceed to second reading and subsequently be adopted by the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Rhineland.

MR. BROWN: Mr. Speaker, I would like to move, seconded by the Member from Gladstone, that we adjourn debate.

MOTION presented and carried.

MR. SPEAKER: Bill No. 62.

MR. PAULLEY: Mr. Speaker, Bill No. 62 we'll stand. I understand that the Honourable the Leader of the Liberal Party is prepared to speak on Bill 46 if we have the agreement that he be allowed that privilege.

#### BILL NO. 46

MR. SPEAKER: Agreed (Agreed) The Honourable Leader of the Liberal Party, Bill No. 46.

MR. I. H. ASPER (Leader of the Liberal Party)(Wolseley): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. The best experience one can have in considering Bill 46 is to do something I did last evening, that is to take his files on Urban Affairs for the past four years and read them all, starting back in around 1970. It's the most salutary experience one can have. Then one comes to Bill 46.

Now as a bill, Mr. Speaker, we've heard a fair amount of debate, **n**one of which centres on what's really in the bill but rather centres on what the bill does not contain and what it ought to contain; and that's fair gain. Because if you read those files, read the reports, read the briefs, read the transcripts, and read the Hansards, on this subject for the past four years, one has to weep; one has to feel a sense of sadness that in four years the great experiment has

(MR. ASPER cont'd) . . . . brought us to this point where we have Bill 46, a rather cleanup bill, kind of a housekeeping bill, but still not meeting the criticisms and the problems that were warned, that the government was advised of, that the government was urged to take into account from 1970, 71, and 72 and 73. Mr. Speaker insofar as the bill creates the elected mayor, universally elected, it has our support.

We are disappointed to see that the government has reserved unto itself the power of the Cabinet to vary by Order-in-Council, or by Regulation, the size of City Council. Mr. Speaker, we would appeal to the Minister to pull that out. The people of Winnipeg are grown ups; they can set their own by-laws; they can set their own numbers of councillors, just as the people of Manitoba do. Mr. Speaker, I ask the Government of Manitoba why it says that it will interfere with and set the number of seats, and the wards, and so on, for the City of Winnipeg, yet it would not for one second tolerate if the next level of government, the Federal Government said, we will set the number of MLAs for Manitoba, We do that. That's our job. We expect, Mr. Speaker, that the same kind of freedom of choice should apply at the junior level, the municipal and civic levels.

Now I know we've always had a distinction between the municipal governments and the city governments, and that's because of the experience, that's because of the sophistication of the two kinds of government, but surely, Mr. Speaker, we can ask the government to reconsider that aspect and give city council or give the City of Winnipeg the simple right to decide how many members it will have on its own council. The City of Winnipeg is not the political ward, the political pawn of this Legislature. It ought to be free in the modern face of urbanization that's sweeping the world that this government should come to grips with the reality that the people of Winnipeg are quite capable of, and entitled, to set their form of government.

Mr. Speaker, we're disappointed, too, because in all those four years of debate, and really I commend honourable members opposite to spend a little time this summer browsing through their files on the four years we've discussed this, because in all those four years of debate we said, all of us, don't give us a ceremonial mayor, don't give us somebody who'll wear a Little Lord Fauntleroy cap and have a sword and a chain around his neck, and open bridges. Give us a head of civic government; give us a man who under the Emergency Measures Act can lead his people when there are problems, a man who can declare the emergencies that the Mayor's Chair might have to do under disaster, floods, blackouts, and so on, and let's define his position. I'm sure honourable members would have no difficulty in agreeing on what those powers should be, and those powers should have been contained in Bill 46. But if there's a final gap, and if there's one area in which – because we can forgive an awful lot; we even can forgive the failure to make meaningful the community councils, the resident advisory groups. We don't forgive that easily, Mr. Chairman, because, and that's where you come back to 1970-71 when we began this debate.

Mr. Speaker, we pleaded; the Liberal Party believed that, and if honourable members recall we published a plan as a compromise between the Progressive Conservative position, which was to maintain the two tier level basically, the Metro system, and the NDP which had, which we feared we said at the time looked to us as total amalgamation. We struck middle ground saying that there would be a merged council, there would be economic union. That was one of the most equitable things the government did to bring the low income parts of our city, our metropolitan area, into some kind of a sharing with the higher income, because we are one economic unit, and we said, we are prepared to be one political unit but we are not altogether of the same social and cultural unit, and we asked for that power to the community committees because we opposed the concept of the total centralization in most legislation. We said give us a mayor, popularly elect him, define his position, make him meaningful, and then you can perfect your whole plan by doing two things. Give the community committees legislative power, limited albeit, but give them power, give them the power to govern their own districts. If they want asphalt rather than 6 inches of concrete, if they want no sidewalk but they'd rather have a boulevard, that's for them to decide. So, Mr. Speaker, we couldn't get that. We failed to convince the government to give power, legislative power in 1971 to the community committees.

We asked also for limited budgeting authority. We couldn't get that, and it's not in this bill. It's clear, as some speakers have indicated - then of course there seems to be a pretty profound disagreement amongst even members of government, that's not unusual in any government, but even on this point we would like to have seen the bill give meaning, give

(MR. ASPER cont'd) . . . . . substance to those community committees by giving them legislative power and slight or modest budgeting authority; well that's not there. But as I said, the fundamental flaw with Bill 46, which makes everything else pale by comparison is that for the fourth consecutive year, the third of Unicity, we do not have a viable economic, fiscal taxing capacity for the City of Winnipeg. That's our sense of sadness when we greet Bill 46.

We have the incredible vision of a government that, and it's really something, Mr. Speaker, to go through those files, to read the brave new world speeches of the Honourable Minister of Finance, Mr. Cherniack, as he spoke in 1971, as he introduced Bill 36 the City Bill. It really should be mandatory reading for all of us because, Mr. Speaker, I honestly was inspired when I heard that speech. It wasn't my pleasure to sit in the Chamber, I was in my 1971 position in the gallery. --(Interjection)-- I hear the Honourable Public Works Minister suggesting I may return to that posture, and we all face that prospect I suppose at some time or another. But, Mr. Speaker, if you had read or listened to his speech in 1971, March I believe, we believed that we were coming to the millennium; we believed that the City of Winnipeg was finally going to get serious attention.

What have we had since then? We have had at least four or five Ministers of Urban Affairs in three years. We have never had a Minister of Urban Affairs hold the portfolio long enough to get serious about it. What have we had? The Honourable Mr. Cherniack, the Honourable Mr. Green, the Honourable Mr. Miller, I believe, and the Honourable First Minister. That's four, I think there was one more. Mr. Speaker, that's not fair; that's not adequate, the people of Winnipeg deserve better. We're entitled to have a minister who will seriously, without the responsibility of other departments, take this very pressing problem of urbanization and devote his career, his time in public life for a number of years to solving that. Now the way he's going to solve it is, he's going to say that the world has changed, urbanization is upon us, and what is this city's potential? Because go back to Mr. Cherniack, the Honourable Minister's speech of 1971; we dreamed, we dared to believe that this city would clean up its riverbanks, that this would be the Paris of North America, because we have the physical capacity to be that. We dreamed that there would be parks, there would be trees, there would be malls; there would be music in those parks, there would be recreation facilities, there would be leisure and there would be planned facilities for the whole city to enjoy the pleasures of what urban living can give. We thought it would be a fun place, that there would be participation by the people through the community committee system in this law making process, blocks - very much as the City of Paris operates, through block and district government, rural government,

We dreamed that there would be a provincial capital commission. We believed that this was the obvious succession, just as Ottawa did. Mr. Speaker, one need only go, as honourable members know, through Ottawa today and see what a jewel of a city it's becoming because of the National Capital Commission having that commitment to beautify, to make it a wonderful place to live or visit. This city is worthy of that kind of treatment because it is our capital city and it is our biggest city.

Mr. Speaker, these things haven't happened, not because the government has bad taste, and not because the City of Winnipeg is incompetent in its government, but for one reason – money. So instead of the river banks being cleaned, and the parks, and the driveways, and the malls, and the music, and the leisure, that even the City of Canton has, the City of Shanghai has, in those terribly, we allege retarded areas of the world, we have not responded to the challenge of urbanization. Instead we still have the same, if not greater, congestion than we had four years ago. We have still the same remoteness where we can only a few weeks ago, and frequently as I travel through this city, we can discover whole enclaves of people who have been lost for years. I'm talking about the people on Talbot Avenue, but I've had it in my own riding. I've gone into places where people have not been discovered except by social workers for years; they don't have radios, and they don't have television, and they don't get newspapers, and they are the remote, they are the alienated. And we haven't gone into that; we haven't solved that. The congestion is still there; the sense of remoteness from government is still there; soaring land costs.

In 1970 when we began this debate the price of land for a lot was, I would think around \$3,500 fully improved, maybe 4,000, today it is 8,000. And there's something very wrong, Mr. Speaker. We have undeveloped land in the core of Winnipeg and we have no way, we have

(MR. ASPER cont'd) . . . . no machinery for creating development, and we have gaps in our development plan.

We have the transportation problem. We hear day after day, no we will not do the McGregor-Sherbrook overpass because we can't deal with that until we deal with the multiyear problem of rail relocation. The Federal Government has said, here, here's money, go to your railroad relocation; but we can't come to grips with that. The City can't or the province can't or we can't reach agreement. So we can't do that; we can't put a bridge across Osborne to join St. Vital to Fort Garry, because somebody else has got a transportation concept. Mr. Speaker, I make no charge of the government; this is not the Provincial Government's problem. But what is its responsibility, and ought to have been contained in Bill 46, is the machinery, the fiscal machinery whereby these things could be dealt with. I said, we have cheap land, Mr. Speaker, there are 200 acres of land within the perimeter that have been offered for sale for a modest \$400.00 per acre just recently. --(Interjection)-- I'd be happy to tell the Minister of the Housing where to go and buy the land. --(Interjection)-- Mr. Speaker. . .

MR. SPEAKER: Order please.

MR. ASPER: Yes. Yes. Four hundred dollars an acre. Mr. Speaker, the reason it doesn't sell is that there's no sewer and water, and they don't have the fiscal capacity to go and bring the sewer and water to where we could then deliver to the people of Manitoba, the people of Winnipeg, \$2,000 lots. I know, Mr. Speaker, because I have several years as a counsel to development to municipal government; for five years I was counsel to the City of Assiniboia, and I know what we did there - \$2,000 fully improved, 3,000 cost; that was 60-foot lots. We cry, we weep because we can't do it, and not because the Provincial Government is niggardly, that isn't the problem. The City doesn't have the legislative capacity, it is of a fiscal capacity, and that's what I appeal to the government to do with Bill 46, bring in fiscal capacity.

Mr. Speaker, in two and a half years since this Bill 36 came in which we are now amending, the Federal Government has moved to home owner grants, to neighborhood improvement programs, land banking, and a whole series of fiscal thrusts to make urganization palatable, not only palatable, pleasurable. The problem for the City of Winnipeg is we are dealing with a 1870 tax base. We set this tax base in 1870. You taxed property, you taxed mills, and Mr. Speaker, that was fine when we believed that taxation by municipal governments was a few for service, and I still believe that there's room in taxation for that concept - a fee for service. You put 50 feet of concrete street in front of my house, and you put 50 feet of concrete street in front of somebody else's house --(Interjection)-- yes I think we should probably pay the same tax on a mill basis, fee for service, But, Mr. Speaker, for police, for fire, for parks, then we resort to the philosophy, the current philosophy of ability to pay.

Now there is no real sharing of revenue by the province with the City of Winnipeg. There have been token gestures, a little bit of income tax thrown in, but no deal. It's always, please, Sir, can I have some more? Mr. Speaker, the Government of Manitoba has abandoned the Amusement Tax, and said to the City if you want it, you can have it. Do you know what that amounts to? What? 300,000, \$400,000 . . .

A MEMBER: 600 . . .

MR. ASPER: 600,000 from the City of Winnipeg, 600,000. Well, Mr. Speaker, that is something like .6 percent of the City's budget, but the City's costs are going up just like the Government of Manitoba's costs by 15 percent per year.

So then, Mr. Speaker, after that tokenism, three or four or five or six hundred thousand dollars of the Amusement Tax, the government says, if you want we'll give you the power to tax speculative gains in land. Well, Mr. Speaker, that is an experimental kind of tax. It's going to be years before we see what Ontario's been able to do with that kind of tax, what kind of revenue it produces, and whether it impairs development or produces development. So why ask the City of Winnipeg to speculate, to experiment for the kind of tax that can have adverse consequences, when at least it is being experiment within Ontario now, and we'll get the free look on how it works before we implement it. And so we're left with zero.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the Government of Manitoba to set up a structure that combines what we did in 1971, what they did. They created political union, economic union, and then constitutional responsibility, but not the fiscal capacity, the wherewithal to carry out those responsibilities. And we have made no progress. The City of Winnipeg has been able with its

(MR. ASPER cont'd) . . . . tax base only to keep even. That means, keep the schools open, put out fires, have enough police, but we have made no progress in three years of urbanization, no progress whatever. And the reason, the fiscal base. Where is the reform? Where are the reformers who were swept into office in 1969 and given a mandate in '73 as big as **a**ny government in this province has ever had in popular support, in popular support. Where is the reform? You have a ticket. You have a ticket to ride. Why? Well, Mr. Speaker, the city costs are going up far more rapidly than it's capacity to raise revenue, and we are heading into a crisis. That's why I say, go back and read your files from 1970 to 1974. It's everything we said, in chapter and verse is coming true. We weren't being nitpicky politicians during the debate of 1971, we said this is what our study indicates you've got to do. And now, Mr. Speaker, that we were looked on with scorn, we were ridiculed and everything we predicted has come to pass, because the government failed as we said, as the Liberal Party said when it went to Municipal Affairs in 1971, that this calamity would occur because of the failure to give the City a tax base.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the way we've been able to survive is that each year the City of Winnipeg comes to this Government of Manitoba and pleads. They can't budget, they can't forecast, they can't do long-term commitments because they don't know what "Daddy" will give them next year. So handouts, wards, and, Mr. Speaker, the discretion on how the City will progress has reverted from City Council to the government Cabinet Chamber, and that's wrong, because the City can't plan if they don't know what they're going to get from "Big Daddy."

Mr. Speaker, let me say that further real property tax rises are categorically indefensible and yet inevitable, and that's what we're here to talk about, Bill 46. The opportunity to move, to stop it. Because, Mr. Speaker, I repeat, any further property tax rise for the average Winnipegger, or Manitoban, is thoroughly indefensible on social, philosophical and political grounds, as well as the ability-to-pay it economic period.

Mr. Speaker, the inequity that's come to our city and our province, and all honourable members know it, is so patent and so absurd, and the government sits and doesn't do anything. You have two houses, both houses identical, both \$25,000 market value. Mr. Speaker, House 1 has a \$24,000 mortgage on it, a young couple's just bought it, \$1,000 down, and that's their position. House 2 is owned by - right beside it, identical, same house, no mortgage, clear title, owned by two retired people. Same tax, Mr. Speaker, same property tax. Now, Mr. Speaker, when did we tax debt? When did we get the concept that when we tax value we don't tax net value? That's a reform and that's where we have to go. If we believe in the ability to pay principal, then the person who owns the \$25,000 house but owes \$24,000, has far less ability to pay and has far less net worth wealth tax than the person beside him with the \$25,000 clear title house.

Mr. Speaker, if you don't buy that argument, then let's take, let's take – and I admit that the argument is debatable, but put it in another way, the same two houses, forget their debt positions, Mr. Speaker, in House 1 you have four income earners, a mother, a father and two children, and the gross income for that house is \$40,000 a year; and in the house beside it, identical, you have two retired people, gross income 6,000 a year. Mr. Speaker, explain to me why they should both pay the same tax for police protection, for schools, why? And that's how obsolete our property tax system has become. Where is the ability to pay in that equation? Where are the reformers from the government side who we expected would rid us of these inaccurate taxing systems? Mr. Speaker, they set up a new mechanism, they set up a new structure. I ask them now to lead the rest of the country in giving it a tax structure that is as modern and shiny as the concept of its government. It'll work.

Mr. Speaker, I propose to the government the following. No. 1 . . .

MR. SPEAKER: Order please.

MR. ASPER: Let us begin, because Bill 46 has got to be passed quickly, because there are elections for the mayor in a matter of five or six months. So, Mr. Speaker, let us pass Bill 46, let us now set up a joint committee of the City and the province to negotiate and report to this House next year on a proposal for a new tax structure for the City of Winnipeg. Let it be negotiated. Mr. Speaker, let it be based on the – and I would recommend and urge the government to adopt one of three positions.

First, that income tax, corporation tax, sales tax, liquor tax, these growth taxes should be shared between the City – not only the City but all municipal government and the province –

(MR. ASPER CONT'D)... just as we insist on **s**haring with Ottawa on a formula basis and a non handout basis, so that everyone can forecast their budget and have the same growth rate in revenue. That's Position A.

Mr. Speaker, I can hear the government saying, and I don't disagree with what they might say; well, he who spends should levy the tax. And I agree; I think there's merit in that argument. So therefore adopt Position 2, which is, give the City the constitutional authority to levy those taxes, then we'll enter into cost-sharing agreement perhaps between the City and the province. --(Interjection)-- Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, the Honourable Member from St. Vital says the City doesn't want to levy those taxes. I'd talk to the City of Winnipeg then, into saying - because that's the only way the Government of Manitoba is going to be clean on the issue - and say, look, just as Canada has said to Manitoba, you want money, here we'll give you access to indirect taxes, direct taxes, income taxes, sales taxes, you levy the tax, you account to your people for whether you're over-taxing or not. Of course we're creating the nightmare.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the province can discharge its responsibility by doing as a minimum, likewise with the City of Winnipeg. Now some cities in the United States and England are now doing that; they're being given their power to levy. As a matter of fact in Canada, in Quebec, in the City of Sorell, Quebec, levies its own sales tax, and so on. It has the capacity. And there are in New York, of course levies. The City of New York levies income tax, sales tax, payroll tax, you know, they've got full constitutional authority. Now I wouldn't recommend that, Mr. Speaker, because what you would have is, you'd have the provincial income tax, the federal income tax and the city income tax; you'd have bureaucracy run amuck. But what you could do is enter into tri-level sharing, or at least bi-level sharing, the city and the province. And that must be solved. And I'll give you the numbers.

Mr. Speaker, there is a third alternative. I said I would suggest three. First, tax sharing; second, giving the city this constitutional authority to levy its tax, whatever taxes it wants which are growth taxes; and third, cost sharing on projects between the city and the province. Mr. Speaker, I reject that out of hand. That's what we're doing now, and it is now working. Mr. Speaker, each year because of the constitutional division of taxing authority now, the City of Winnipeg has expense rise, just to keep even, of \$10 million a year; and revenue rise, without raising its taxes, of \$1.5 million. That is a revenue increase – rather an expense increase, seven times larger than its revenue increase. Now, Mr. Speaker, that means every year there has got to be a tax rise in the City of Winnipeg under the present system.

Now at the same time that that's happening, because the Province of Manitoba has seconded unto itself almost the sole benefit of the growth tax areas, income tax, sales tax, that are inflationary taxes, you have the cost of government service rising by \$70 million provincially, but revenue rising by \$140 million provincially. And so each year the Province of Manitoba has the fiscal capacity, as we've been debating for two or three years now, to at least inaugurate new programs to the value of 60, 70, 80 million dollars a year. And that's what's been happening every year for the last three years. But the City of Winnipeg cannot launch a single new stop sign program unless they can find a borrowing, or unless they can get a handout from the government, or unless they're prepared to raise their mill rate. And that is as I said intolerable.

Mr. Speaker, I say we're heading for a financial crisis.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Minister of Public Works.

HON. RUSSELL J. DOERN (Minister of Public Works)(Elmwood): Mr. Speaker, it is not uncommon for senior governments to introduce new taxes almost every year, and I ask the honourable member whether he thinks that the city should be looking for new forms of taxes to enact in order to keep apace with the demands that they have?

MR. ASPER: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I would agree, I think the Minister said that even the province is introducing new taxes every year, and if he did or didn't, it is true we have modest tax changes each year. But --(Interjection)-- yes, but there are also tax cuts every year too. You may have one year in which you want to influence fiscal policy or monetary policy or inflation so you may cut taxes. There's no chance for the city to cut taxes. But I would agree with him in the second part of his statement and that is, shouldn't the city be looking for new tax sources. Answer: Yes.

I don't care how you solve it --(Interjection)-- I do frankly, but I want it solved so badly

(MR. ASPER cont'd) . . . . . that either of the two first options: give the city taxing capacity that can get the city to real revenue, or go into tax-sharing agreements, but one or the other. Obviously since I don't want a proliferation of taxing authorities I must say I lean toward tax-sharing between all levels of government, just as Manitoba shares with Ottawa. But if I can't get that, I will settle right here on the spot for an amendment to Bill 46 that says the City of Winnipeg shall have the authority to levy any tax that the Province of Manitoba levies. And the Province of Manitoba will enter into tax collecting agreements to prevent poliferation of bureaucrats. Do something but you can't go on this way because . . . I want to read you something, Mr. Speaker, from the Economic Council of Canada.

A MEMBER: That's my speech.

MR. ASPER: I don't know if it's been quoted in the House. The Honourable Member for Radisson suggests he may have quoted this before but it bears repeating. The Economic Council in its Sixth Annual Report said this: "Our work suggests very strongly that pressures for increased urban area expenditures are likely to mount rapidly in the future," End of quote for a minute. That's the understatement of the year. Carrying on with the quote. "However the real property tax, which is still by far the largest source of locally raised revenue from municipal governments, is considerably less responsive to economic growth than the revenue sources of the Federal and Provincial Governments. Consequently ---" And this is the tragedy of Winnipeg -- "Consequently" -- I return to the quote -- "the gap between municipal expenditure requirements and the revenue derived by municipalities from their own sources is likely to increase." I depart from the text, Mr. Speaker. The gap between revenue to the City of Winnipeg and its expenses of just doing what it's doing today and not progressing, will increase. And that means we will make no progress to the great urban society - unless. And then it goes on, the Council says: "Without a continuing increase in transfers of revenue from senior government, or further shifts in responsibility to those governments." And I interject, Mr. Speaker. In other words if the City of Winnipeg is prepared to say to the Government of Manitoba: "Here we're finished with welfare, we're finished with health, we're finished with police. You look after it, thereby decreasing our expenses and let us look after parks and recreation". That may be a part solution too. But, Mr. Speaker, we still aren't making progress and I return to the quote. "It will become increasingly difficult to maintain, let alone improve the quality of the urban invironment in which the vast majority of Canadians will be living." That's the warning, Mr. Speaker, End of quote.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in 1977 we will go to the polls likely as a provincial election. And between now and 1977 the cost of governing the City of Winnipeg, just to maintain present level of service - that means no parks, no riverbanks, none of the things we look forward to - there will be a \$30 million rise in the cost of governing Winnipeg, minimum, in the next two and a half to three years when we go to the polls. Mr. Speaker, that is purely wages and supply of goods to the city and nothing new. Now that means that in the next two and a half years there will be a 20 mill increase, ignoring schools, ignoring the cost of education, but for the general government of Winnipeg there will be a minimum 20 mills increase in the next two and a half years. Mr. Speaker, that is to the average home in Winnipeg, a tax increase of 120 to 150 dollars. That means that we have made no progress; that just means we're going to carry on as we are today. That means we are not clearing slums, that means we are not re-building the interior core . . . Mr. Speaker, next year by contrast the Province of Manitoba will have a 15 percent increase in its revenue, and an 11 percent increase in its expense, and we'll have a four percent play fund. Without a tax rise the Province of Manitoba will be able to render greater service next year. I mean increasing tax rates. But the City of Winnipeg will have a 15 percent increase in its expenses, and will require a tax rise just to meet those expenses.

Mr. Speaker, in 1971, and I urge as a concluding comment all honourable members to go back and read the material that we've all assembled on urban affairs from 1970-71 on. Read the submissions that came to the Municipal Affairs Committee, when we first debated Bill 36, and everything we warned, everything we feared, the city of West Kildonan's brief, the fears expressed by Elswood Bole, and when the Boundary Commission reported and warned that this would happen, the Premier, the First Minister, described their comment, their work as "a farce". That is what he said, Mr. Speaker, it was a farce. Well, Mr. Speaker, there is a farce, there is a farce. The farce is that we have a Minister of Urban Affairs that's a farce.

MR. SPEAKER: Order please.

MR. ASPER: It's a farce when we say that we said . . .

MR. SPEAKER: Order please.

MR. ASPER: It is a farce when we say that we united Winnipeg, that we created the brand new brave world of the City of Winnipeg. That's a farce, because we stripped it of the tools with which to do the job. Mr. Speaker, surely the people of Winnipeg, in which 60 percent of our population are comprised, surely they're entitled to something more. Surely after three years the people of Winnipeg are entitled to a viable city government. And that's what we appeal to the government to reflect on and to amend Bill 46 to give, to produce, and then they will be able to measure their success with city unification. But as it stands today they are no better than the Progressive Conservative administration who in 1961 created Metro, and then abandoned it. And we have no difference.

Mr. Speaker, I commend those thoughts to the Minister, who's not in the House but who may read them in Hansard, and perhaps we will have amendment before we take the bill to the - before we take it to the committee.

Mr. Speaker, I have received a bulletin from the back and in concluding I have to say that my comments about the Conservative Government having created Metro and abandoned the baby once it was born were not original. I'm paraphrasing everything the NDP said for the past ten years. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Riel.

MR. CRAIK: Mr. Speaker, the items contained in the bill and the major issues contained in the bill have been pretty extensively covered, and it's not my intention to deal with the matters specifically brought up in the bill because I had an opportunity to deal with the major issue contained in the partner bill to this, which we dealt with at second reading earlier in the Session.

But, Mr. Speaker, at a certain point in debate and at a certain point in examination of a bill, it becomes necessary to decide when the vote comes whether you're for or against the bill. And the criteria for making that decision has to be based on whether you think there is more acceptable in the bill than unacceptable. In this particular case this bill falls into that category; it's a matter of weighing the good against the bad in the bill, and then deciding whether at second reading you can support it.

Now first of all I want to say that as a group the Conservative party does support, and as has been indicated supports the concept of electing the Mayor at large, and so there is no question about our support of that principle.

However we think that under normal circumstances that whether the Mayor is elected at large or not elected at large, but elected by the council, is secondary to the general direction and tone of the bill, which puts the more arbitrary powers into the hands of the provincial Cabinet and fails to create that independent identity and power structure that's necessary for the city to develop its own integrity, and for it to operate in the knowledge that it is to a greater extent than indicated in this bill, than this bill gives it, a master of many of the decisions that should be left more extensively in the hands of the city.

So what we're saying, Mr. Speaker, is that we're opposed in principle to the increased powers taken into the hands of the Cabinet, Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and we think that the principle involved is serious enough, particularly in this bill, that we cannot go along with the bill at second reading. So on that basis we consider that the bad in the bill exceeds the good in the bill, and we want to point out that as a result of that since you must come to a decision whether you're for or against the total contents, on base we're opposed to it.

Well, Mr. Speaker, we haven't been afraid in the past to stand up and say when we are for or against a bill that this government has brought in. We opposed to a man the original bill creating the City of Winnipeg. We had reservations about the concept at that time. We felt that the anomalies and difficulties that existed in the prior structure could be overcome with a more indirect approach without destroying the structures that had been built up in the greater Winnipeg area, and for many other reasons, Mr. Speaker, which won't be related here again. We opposed the bill at that time and we still feel vindicated in our opposition to it at that time.

There are some things in the bills that have been brought before us of course that tend to rectify some of the difficulties, minor difficulties, in the operation of the city. But as I say again the major thing here is that we created a large urban area that represents over half the

(MR. CRAIK cont'd) . . . . . population of this province, and the important matter contained in this bill that we can't agree with is that the powers delegated to that group that govern that, over 50 percent of our population, are going to be put more at the whim and fancy of Cabinet decisions, and we oppose it as a matter of principle and we will support, as will be seen at the committee stage, we support the idea of the Mayor being elected at large. We consider though that matter to be minor and the other matter of principle here which is the delegation of powers. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, we will be voting against Bill 46.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable Member for Radisson.

MR. HARRY SHAFRANSKY (Radisson): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by the Honourable Member for Wellington, that debate be adjourned.

MOTION presented and carried.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable House Leader.

MR. GREEN: Mr. Speaker, I move, seconded by the Honourable the Minister of Public Works, that the House now resolve into a Committee of Supply to consider of the Ways and Means - that Mr. Speaker, do now leave the Chair and the House resolve itself into Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

MOTION presented and carried, and the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply with the Honourable Member for Radisson in the Chair.

#### COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY - EDUCATION

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Honourable Minister of Education.

HON. BEN HANUSCHAK (Minister of Education)(Burrows): Mr. Chairman, as we approached the Hour of adjournment I had an opportunity to make a very brief response to attempt to clarify one point, and namely the department's reaction to the CORE Committee Report. I intend to deal with that at somewhat greater length, either in my comments at this time or later in the debate.

Finally toward the latter part of the evening yesterday you will recall, Mr. Chairman, that we did get around to talking about school finance, and this of course is a topic that is very very dear to the heart of the Honourable Member for Riel, and this of course I well understand because there was a great period of time that in a former government that he occupied the same post in Cabinet that I do now, Although I must indicate that I expected this type of response from him on the day that I presented my Estimates and not a couple of days later. However, I suspect that perhaps at that point in time the rules of the House limiting debate to a half hour probably also militated against him and he wasn't able to do so.

I can appreciate his sensitivity for a number of reasons: (1) this being a post that he at one time occupied; and (2) when he sees evidence of a greater measure of participation by school divisions in the decision – making process that this may tend to irritate him somewhat, particularly when he recalls the days when some of the decisions that he made, that his government made, the proposal that his government made, and it was purely a unilateral one, proposing collective bargaining on a regional basis, which you will recall, Mr. Chairman, from your days as teacher, that met with the disapproval of everyone. So rather than the dictatorial methods that may have been in existence at that time – although I'm not sure who the dictator was, whether it was the Minister or perhaps someone else in the Cabinet. I would suspect that it was not the Minister, but probably someone else, and seeing the change come about in the method of government would certainly irritate him.

He spoke of the percentage increase in the mill rate. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest to you that when we're talking about the impact of education costs on the taxpayer, we have to consider it in its total context, and we have to consider particularly the net effect that it has upon the pocketbook of the taxpayer. The Honourable Member for Riel said that they tried rebate, and it didn't work, they gave it up. Well there's an attempt to compare apples with oranges. You will recall Mr. Chairman, that the type of program that the former government had instituted was not at all like the one which we have. It was a flat \$50.00 rebate, but what makes ours different from, and I'm happy to say superior to, and I will explain why, to the tax rebate program that the former government had, was that ours does take into account the ability-to-pay factor, and that in our program all reap the benefits from its owners and tenants as well. And it is not a program – you know the honourable member tends to refer to our tax rebate program as one of giving money back to the same people, which is wrong,

(MR. HANUSCHAK cont'd) . . . . . which is absolutely wrong. It is a form of income redistribution. It's a form of income redistribution which was one of the main planks of the New Democratic Party platform during the last election, during the previous election when we were elected government for the first time, and it is one that we have endorsed since the day that we came into existence.

Now the honourable member also spoke about some of the problems that some of his constituents are being faced with in the completion of income tax forms, that the people who have never completed an income tax form in their life, and now they have to complete an income tax form to receive the benefit of this additional measure of equity that we are extending the people of Manitoba via this form of income redistribution, and that that is some sort of a great burden upon them. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would like you to know that during the last election campaign I did knock on many doors in my constituency, and I'd be most happy to take the Honourable Member for Riel - there will be an excellent opportunity for it because there is an election. Now of course, I don't know whether the Conservative Party of the Province of Manitoba is on the same wave length in their platform with the federal party, and to what extent they will participate in assisting their federal candidates to get re-elected, but I can assure the honourable member that I'm most anxious to see my candidate re-elected to the House of Commons, and I will certainly do all I can to assist him, and I'd be most happy to take the Honourable Member for Riel into Burrows Constituency, into the homes of the 72 percent of the voters who voted for my party's government during the last election, which 72 percent by the way, Mr. Chairman, represented 72 percent of those who voted, which represents over 50 percent of all the voters on the voter's list. They were well aware, and they were well aware of the program that we proposed to the people, and they voted for it. I want to hear the honourable member's reaction of the people in Burrows to our tax rebate program, and see if you could find anyone in there who would consider it to be some form of a hardship upon him having to complete, to sit down for a few minutes, for a few minutes - and the honourable member knows that it takes no more than a few minutes cause he's talking about that person living on a fixed income who has no more than a few figures to fill in on the Income Tax return form. Now he may not know that because I don't know what his source of income is. He may have to resort to a more sophisticated process of completing his income tax return. But I know that mine is quite simple because my source of income is one that it took me a matter of 10 or 15 minutes to complete my tax return form and --(Interjection)-- yes, very simple. And the Honourable Member for Charleswood wouldn't understand either. --(Interjection) -- I know, and he wouldn't understand. So it takes that minimum - the person living on a fixed income no more than a matter of minutes to receive the benefits of a form of equitable income redistribution that we've provided.

Then of course the Honourable Member for Riel went on to talk about the burden on the taxpayer, not taking into account - just let me refresh your memory, and for the benefit of the Honourable Member for Swan River, take a home of - let's say that the assessed value is \$5,000, at 10 mills, what does 10 mills represent? \$50.00 the minimum of \$150.00 is 30 mills. The Honourable Member for Swan River can go through his constituency and he will find out many many people who by reason of the institution of our program aren't paying any taxes at all, and he will find them. --(Interjection)-- Yes, of course, they're all good people. You know when the Honourable Member for Riel talks about the burden imposed upon the property owner by education costs, you know, he seems to forget that in the year that he was Minister of Education, either in that year or the year before, because he was minister only for a brief time before his boss pulled the plug and called the election in 1969, just for a matter of months, But, Mr. Chairman, I note that in 1968 the taxpayer's share, the burden of the education costs resting upon the property owners was to the extent of 44 percent of a total education cost, forty-four percent in 1968 and which is now, which commencing in 1969 it commenced to decrease to now for the last three years. Mr. Chairman, for the last three years the property owners' share of education costs has raised between 21 and 25 percent. Think what you want at 25 from the 44 when the Honourable Member, when the party of the Member for Riel was in government.

Now the Honourable Member for Riel says that the Foundation program has fallen into disrepair. You know, Mr. Chairman, it has fallen into desrepair; yes I will admit that. It's fallen into disrepair, and you may want to ask me whether it is our intention to repair it, and (MR. HANUSCHAK cont'd) . . . . my answer to you is, no it is not our intention to repair it. It's not our intention to repair a program that was poorly built to begin with, and the answer to that, Mr. Chairman, the answer to that --(Interjection)-- Yes. All right, buying votes by giving the people a type of program that they want, a type of program that they deserve, not in a year before an election. There is no election being called now, and in this year we've managed to keep the tax burden down within the range that your friends the school trustees say that it ought to be at, between 20 and 30 percent to enable the trustees to retain their measure of local control. You ask any trustee and find one who will disagree with that, and the Honourable Member from Swan River can talk to Swan Valley trustees also, and ask them and ask them what level of local support they would deem desirable to enable a school board to maintain the measure of local control that they feel they ought to exercise.

Now it is not our intention to repair a machine that was a wreck from day one. A machine that was built not to adapt itself to times of rapidly escalating inflation, such as we have now. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, that machine has to be replaced with another one, with one that would be more flexible; with one that would function in a way and would give effect to the type of program that may be indicated by the general direction in which we are moving now; and the general trend in which we are moving has been indicated by the grants that the honourable member is critical of, which he refers to as a patchwork job, our student equalization grants. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that any honourable member go into any of the less affluent school divisions in the province and get their reaction to the unassigned student grants that we pay, and see what they would have to tell you about them. And secondly, Mr. Chairman, to replace that wreck with a formula, with a program that would be able to respond readily, effectively, and equitably, to education needs to provide the type of program that the people of the province deserve.

Now a number of honourable members wanted my response to - well in fact the Honourable Member for Riel made mention of the fact there are no new programs. Well I hope to deal with that, either later during this interval of time or if not then, later in the debate. I'm sure, Mr. Chairman, that there will be ample opportunity, in fact, the opportunity may be more appropriate to get into more detailed discussion of the new programs after, if and when, we complete the debate on my salary. At that time we will give each and every one - and I'm quite prepared to give each and every one of our programs a very detailed and a thorough airing and discussion. We're proud of our new programs and they deserve that type of consideration, and we still have what about 14, 13 - 1/2 hours remaining, so we have plenty of time, and I hope that I'll be able to deal adequately with all the programs, within that short space of time.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday I did make a couple of brief comments to clarify in the minds of honourable members our response to the CORE Report. There was a tendency on the part of many to think in terms of our implementation of some portions of the CORE Report, and I did want to make this point very clear that what is happening now and the changes in the high school program is our response to it. The response provides, and again I wish to reassure honourable members for the more traditional schools to continue with their number of compulsory subjects, and also allow for student-initiated and school-based credits to allow the reformed schools to, or those that could be labelled as such, to widen their programs further but again retaining the compulsory credits. I wish to remind you, Mr. Chairman, that at all times whatever change is introduced must be done so with local approval and not by departmental dictate, as had been the practice-and I will come to that in a couple of minutes. The department recognizes that a simple statement of change is not enough and therefore there is need for assistance from the department of a variety of types: consultative services, workshops, packaged materials, guidelines, and school and student initiated credits, special attention to schools of special needs, and research on the impact of the revised program on school practice. You will remember, Mr. Chairman, that the CORE Report was recommended for establishment. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. I would remind visitors in the gallery that photographs within the Chambers are not allowed. The Minister of Education.

MR. HANUSCHAK: . . . and this was a committee recommended by the previous government in 1969. We did proceed on a basis of that recommendation to establish the committee and it has reported, and the department while recognizing that many of the CORE Report's good ideas, and recognizing the profitable discussion that it generated throughout

(MR. HANUSCHAK cont'd) . . . . Manitoba, it has <u>responded</u> to the CORE Report, and I underline the word "responded" not approved, but responded to the CORE Report, and I underline the word "responded" not approved, but responded to the CORE Report through, as I have mentioned, the revised high school program. If honourable members will read the revised high school program they will find that it does not enforce a single type of some radical program but rather it recognizes that differences in institutions occur, and it permits flexibility through allowing school divisions to look at their own resources, their own goals, and therebydevelop a program accordingly.

The Honourable Member for St. Matthews advocated – I think what he referred to as a tough academic system. On this point I would tend to agree with the comment made by the Honourable Member for Riel when he said, that in comparing education programs we tend to look at our own experience and compare that with what we see about us today.

Now the Honourable Member for Riel will recall -- (Interjection) -- yes, because the Honourable Member for St. Matthews' teaching experience goes back to the days of the previous government he will recall and -- (Interjection) -- yes and I want to talk for a moment or two about those days -- (Interjection) -- about those days of the existence of an education program designed for the promotion of an elistist society. I want to talk about those days of dictatorship in the education system. -- (Interjections) -- and I want to talk about, and I want to talk about those days about those days of dictatorship not as a politician but also as a teacher, about those days of dictatorship of that government and of that government. You know my days of teaching go back to when the Honourable Member for Lakeside was still, as the saying goes, "wet behind the ears" yeah. You know, my teaching days go back over a quarter century. The honourable member may not know that. Who was the government in 1947 . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please.

MR. ENNS: On a point of order. I don't take particular issue with whatever the Honourable Minister wishes to say, but the record should be clear that in the year of 1949 I was engaged in the noble profession of teaching myself. Now, for a fellow that's been wet behind the ears in those days, but I wonder what particular year the Honourable Minister entered the teaching profession.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. The Minister of Education.

MR. HANUSCHAK: You know, looking at the high schools in those days, you know, whom did we find enrolled in them? We found enrolled in them those who, in the opinion of someone, were capable of continuing, completing their high school course and going on to university, and that's the way the system operated then. So of course if you're going to run that type of high school, you know, if you're going to select the best - and I'm using the word "best" with some measure of caution because that's "best" only taking, you know, one or two factors into account in measuring the ability of the individual, but best on the basis of being able to handle a postsecondary education academic program - best in that sense.

So they were weeded out and only those were left - and honourable members know exactly how that occurred - on the departmental examination system, those who in the opinion of the teachers and the principal appeared not to have the makings to make the grade, and they didn't write the final examination set by the Department of Education. They didn't write them. --(Interjection) -- And I'll come to the honourable member's woodpile before we're through with my estimates. During the 14 hours remaining we'll talk about his woodpile. I have a thing or two to say about his -- (Interjection) -- Yeah: I have a thing or two to say about his woodpile. Those didn't write, so naturally, you know, one would then take a look at the examination results and find, you know, 60, 70, 80 percent passing rate, whatever, and it was on that basis that schools were in a sense merit rated. The teachers rated themselves. -- (Interjection) --Yes, next door to the wood shed. Yes. Yes.

But what about the student who wasn't able to make the grade? Who didn't qualify for admission to the high school in those days? What happened to him? We don't hear any mention about him. We don't hear any mention about him, whether he was trained or equipped for work. Yes, he worked in the Thirties, when the honourable member – well, some time after, I guess after he retired from the Northwest Mounted Police that he served with. Because, you know, I believe -- no, I really believe that he served with the Northwest Mounted Police, because -- (Interjection) -- Yes, because I would suspect that he and the Honourable Member for Brandon West are of about the same generation. The Honourable Member for Brandon West said that he

(MR. HANUSCHAK cont'd) . . . . . went to school shortly after Confederation, so that puts them in the same period in history in the days of the Northwest Mounted Police. They've talked about the good old days and about the standards, and about the high standards in those days, and standards being diluted and so forth, and eroded. I don't know what standards there were in the Northwest Mounted Police when he served in there; perhaps, I don't know, perhaps all he had to succeed in doing was avoid putting spurs on backwards and once he succeeded in doing that he was promoted to Staff Sergeant, I don't know. This I don't know.

But the honourable member knows full well -- (Interjection) -- the honourable member knows full -- The honourable member has a question? But the honourable member knows full well that it is absolutely impossible for the school system to tamper with standards for the practice of any occupation or profession. It is not the school system that dictates the standards. The honourable member knows that. The honourable member knows that whatever the advancement in science and technology requires and demands of the practice of medicine today, that is what determines the standards. And that whatever scientific and psychological research and advance of 25 years ago demanded of it, those were the standards that were practiced in medicine at that time. It wasn't the school system that determined the standards, but it was the sum total of the general process of a development of society that determined the standards and the school had to gear itself to train and prepare our students to take their place in society to meet those standards. Therefore, if the standards in any occupation, any profession in the field of science or mathematics would increase, then the school system had to get in step and do likewise. And I would challenge the honourable member to go into our schools and find me and produce me the slightest shred of concrete evidence of any erosion or dilution of standards of education. And I would also want, in the process of doing that, I would also want the honourable members to define to me what they mean by standards of education so that we know what we're measuring, to make sure that we're applying the same measuring stick to the same thing, and I would suggest to the honourable members that when we talk about receiving value for our dollar, for our education dollar, that the value for the dollar spent in education today, the value received is far greater than the value received for the education dollar of 25 or 30 years ago; and taking into account whatever general changes society may have undergone, discounting that the value is still greater today than it had been previously.

Now of course the honourable member wouldn't know, the honourable member wouldn't know, because, you know, as capable as the honourable member may be in many respects, but I would doubt whether he has any children enrolled in school and therefore I would suggest that he talk to his grandchildren, that he talk to his grandchildren who may be enrolled in school. Talk to his grandchildren -- (Interjection) -- bright as dollars, I'm sure they are, and I'm sure that they're much brighter than the Honourable Member for Swan River. I'm sure of that, and thanks to our education system of today. Of course, of course they're bright. Of course they're bright. And let his grandchildren tell the honourable member what they're going in our schools today. I want the honourable member to go and visit the homes, the homes of our children in the schools today, see what they're doing, and if the honourable member doesn't know -- (Interjection) -- By gum, yeah, and I can speak to the honourable member, Mr. Chairman, as a Minister and as a parent, and I happen to have a child enrolled in this school system and so do many other honourable members in this House, and you will find kids staying up to one, two o'clock in the morning working on assignments in school, and that's a hell of a lot longer than the honourable member or I stayed up in high school to do our assignments, or particularly those of us who learned how to beat the examination system of that day, because that was the only criterion used for being promoted from one grade to another. And the honourable member knows that, or if he doesn't he may have been told by those who attended school several decades after Confederation upon his retirement from the Northwest Mounted Police.

Now, talk about, you know, talk about options, about oh, what a terrible thing we're doing. You know, we're putting these poor Grade 9 students in a position where at the end of Grade 9 they have to choose between this option, that option, and how are they going to make that terrible decision. Well, you know, there was a time . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. Speaking of time, the Minister's time has expired. MR. HANUSCHAK: Okay, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Member for Brandon West.

MR. McGILL: Mr. Chairman, I just have a few thoughts that occur to me as I have listened to the responses of the Minister and, before getting into that area, I'd like to mention that the Honourable Member for St. Boniface really explained to the Assembly why we are all so concerned about the educational estimates and the programs that are now being proposed by the department. It's because we have such a great deal of respect for the educational system in Manitoba, because we have so much faith in the importance and what that educational system can do and what it means to future generations, that we are standing here today, many of us, expressing some serious reservations about the directions in which this Minister is attempting to take the system.

I think we've had some most thought provoking contributions to this debate. We talked about the CORE report and the part of that report which the Minister now is proposing to introduce into the high schools in the credit system. Well, I don't know whether the Minister said that; he said so many things and in such a variety of ways, but he did indicate that out of the CORE report came certain recommendations that are now being proposed in the credit system of the high schools. Well, wherever they came from, they seem to relate to the CORE report. If the Minister wishes to deny the CORE report completely then I think he should stand up and say so and then we could get on with the debate.

We've been into the financial problems. They're the over-riding problems perhaps, and they're the ones that hit most directly home and most immediately to the taxpayers in Manitoba. I'm not familiar with the problems, the specific problems in every division, but I know that in the School Division of Brandon their total budget for education is up 15 percent. But that part of the budget which is now required to be produced by special levy locally is up 50 percent, and that is a very important increase to the local taxpayers in the cost of education. So that indicates, Mr. Chairman, that the assistance in relation to the total cost of education that is coming from the province directly, is not keeping pace, and that point has been made. The commercial taxpayer is being particularly hard hit across the length and breadth of this province. Commercial taxpayers are reaching a point when they are finding it extremely difficult to continue to pay the rising cost that is being assessed to them.

The Minister assures us that next year some relief is on the way, that there'll be new plans; that the old system of foundation grants will be thrown out as never being a good system in the first place. He disdains to offer any repairs to that system and he has a better system, but it'll be next year.

Let me talk about the Minister's explanations in relation to the credit system and how it represents his program of decentralizing authority in the Department of Education. He's told us that for the student-initiated reports the school divisions will be responsible and this, he says, is an indication of how this government is decentralizing authority. Mr. Chairman, think about that just a little bit. Is that really decentralizing authority? Or is that decentralizing responsibility? Is that what he's doing? Is he now saying, "Well, we've got a new system and we're going to have student-initiated credit courses but the local school divisions will be responsible." And that means that we can no longer look directly to the Minister of Education; if we have troubles with this new system, he can simply say, "Well, we gave that responsibility to the school divisions."

Mr. Chairman, a decentralization of authority of the decision-making process would, in my view, have been a complete consultation with those school divisions about the credit system which he is now telling them they will put into effect by not later than the fall of 1975. Why wasn't that done? That would be in my view a decentralization of the decision-making authority, but to take that decision away from the school divisions and then say, "Now you're going to be responsible for the program," well, Mr. Chairman, this is a real shift, isn't it? This is a way of playing the blame game, eh, and saying, "Well, if things go wrong it won't be us that'll be in trouble; if the children in your division find that when they want to enter post-secondary education they haven't the proper qualifications, we didn't do it. We told you you were responsible for those courses."

Now, we've all agreed that quality in education is the important thing. I hope the Minister agrees with that. We're looking for quality in the educational process. Quality is the byword. But where will the quality control be if all of the responsibilities for approving or otherwise of student-initiated courses now rest with the divisions of the school system in

(MR. McGILL Cont'd) . . . . Manitoba? Where will they be? The Minister holds up three fingers and says we have only three student-initiated courses, three of the 20. That is -- well, I'm having difficulty in reading the sign language that's coming from the other side.

A MEMBER: What did he say?

MR. HANUSCHAK: Mr. Chairman, I said that . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please.

MR. HANUSCHAK: On a point of explanation.

MR.CHAIRMAN: Order please. The Minister will have ample opportunity to clarify his remarks. The Member for Brandon West.

MR. McGILL: Mr. Chairman, I feel this is a fundamental flaw in this whole proposal, that the Minister and his administration have decided that they are going to have a credit system in which there will be student-initiated courses, approved by the school divisions and the responsibility for which I suppose will be shared by the school division and the student.

Now, we're getting such a watering down of responsibility here that it's going to be very difficult for us to place our finger on who really is responsible for what will happen in the next few years in our school system, and I would hope, Mr. Chairman, that the Minister will have some suitable explanation of this problem as I see it, that he has indicated to us is just one manifestation of his intention to decentralize the decision-making process in the Department of Education. I see it as no decentralization of decision-making. I see it certainly as a watering of the responsibility of a decision that's been made within the department and, as far as I know, not fully consulted with the school divisions, nor their school trustees, nor with the school superintendents, but simply they have been told this is going to be it.

Now, what will happen to the variety of backgrounds which the students will then possess under the new system when they attempt to enter post-secondary education, if indeed they do? This problem may not occur to all of the students, but certainly a large proportion will enter some form of post-secondary education. It's in that area, I think, that the school divisions are facing their greatest responsibility. Surely they have to be aware now, that for all of the students in their high school system, they have to somehow sort out and make sure that when the student finishes he'll be able to enter into that course which he hopefully, and at some time in the three final years of his high school training, he will have decided upon.

So, Mr. Chairman, we're still in a position of having many many reservations about the credit system which the Minister proposes. I think it's such a major change in the whole high school system in Manitoba that we need to have more assurances. We need to know that this system is going to work. There have been members on this side of the House, many of them, I've heard no one speak in favour of it over here. There are many on the other side of the House undoubtedly that are in favour of it, but not all of even the government side favour this sytem which the Minister is now proposing. This is vital. This is important to the future of the educational system. We want to know where the responsibility lies. Quite clearly, if the Minister is going to initiate it, he's got to be responsible. Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister of Education.

MR. HANUSCHAK: I got the impression from the Honourable Member for Brandon West that the main thrust of his comments at this time deals with the question of decentralization of authority, which in his opinion he interprets to indicate an abdication of responsibility. Well, Mr. Chairman, may I suggest to you that surely surely the honourable member must have some confidence in the ability, in the judgment of his local school trustees, because we're not talking about the entire high school program, we're talking about a maximum of three courses per student that may be student-initiated. Three out of 20 credits. Three out of 20.

Now, the answer tohis question is very simple. There is no abdication of responsibility. There is a move toward a sharing of responsibility, a move toward each level, the province and the school division, accepting that measure of responsibility that ought properly be theirs, insofar as the province is concerned, the responsibility to see to it that what is recognized as the general universal needs and content of an education program that will always remain there. But there's also recognition of the fact, Mr. Chairman, that students have varied interests, are of varying abilities, that the needs of no two communities are alike, that the resources of no two communities are alike, and hence this is an opportunity to cater to the varied needs of the students to capitalize on the resources that are available within the local community, and to maximize the existence and the presence of them, and therefore the opportunity for students

(MR. HANUSCHAK Cont<sup>d</sup>) . . . . to initiate their own courses, or for school divisions, for school divisions to initiate courses that they feel they could offer effectively and which would be of interest and of value to the students enrolled in their schools.

Now the Honourable Member for Brandon West says, "What's going to happen to that student when he reaches the post-secondary level?" I would like to assure the honourable member that the student completing Grade 12 is going to be in a far better position than he ever could have hoped to have been under the system under the former government, which I will come to in a moment or two. Because at the present time we do have the structure to offer students a proper guidance and counselling service, to see to it that the student . . . In our schools. If you and the Honourable Member for Roblin get your nose out of the lockers of students, sniffing around amongst gym socks and boots looking for six-packs of beer, and walk into the Guidance Counselling office, you will find that that service is being offered in our schools. And the honourable members will find that that service is being offered which perhaps -- and I'll admit that neither the honourable member nor I, nor most others of us in this House received it: that we had to make the choice when we were locked into that rigid system of education that was delivered back in those days -- but that the assistance is there to enable the student to make a proper choice bearing in mind whatever his post-secondary ambitions and aspirations may be, to see to it that if his interests lie in the engineering or the science field, that he takes the proper background in mathematics, the sciences: chemistry, physics, whatever. If it's in some other field, that he takes the proper pre-requisites to enable himself to continue with whatever course of studies he wishes to pursue; that that service is available, even available to a much greater extent than ever before.

I also wish to remind honourable members, or just comment on a statement made by, and perhaps -- you're in the Chair, Mr. Chairman, and I know that you can't participate in the debate at this time, but when you were not in the Chair you did refer to the fact that, after all is said and done, let the parents not forget that there's a certain measure of responsibility resting on their shoulders. And I find, to a much greater extent now than ever before, that when it comes to selection of courses, that the school, the pupil and the parent is involved in making the decision. And if any parent hasn't been involved, I would suggest that it's probably that parent's fault and not the school system's fault. I know many, many, many parents who have been involved where students brought home, not only the application form in which they can indicate the subjects of their choice, but coupled with that, some supporting information to assist the parents in assisting their children in making a proper selection of courses.

Now I said a moment ago that the student graduating from high school today is in a far better position than he ever was before. Going back to my early days in teaching, when I did mention earlier it was a case of survival of the fittest, those who showed some promise of ability to pass a final examination were given the opportunity of writing the departmental examination; those not, there was a high school leaving certificate that was provided then. A high school leaving certificate which really wasn't worth the paper that it was written on. And then that former government - and that was before the days of the previous government it realized that there was something wrong with the system; that it didn't really meet the needs of all the students. So what did it do? It came to the conclusion that the answer to the problem is to revise the English program. Somebody said it's all because the English program is extremely heavy, particularly in Grades 11 and 12. We're going to split the Grade 11 English program in half and some students who, in the opinion of the teachers, the principals, are more competent, more capable, they'll be allowed to take the complete Grade 11 English program and others will take half one year and half the next year. And those taking half will take one or two subjects less because they were given four years to complete Grades 10, 11 and 12 as opposed to three years. Because you must remember, Mr. Chairman, that going back to those days and continuing for many days thereafter, a regulation remained in effect which the previous government inherited and enforced. And talk about the lock step, rigid, dictatorial system, when there was a rule that if you failed two subjects - it didn't matter which two subjects it was - if you failed by more than two subjects, rather, you had to repeat the whole year. You had to repeat the whole year. You could have failed two subjects in which it could have been demonstrated by a battery of professionals that you just do not have the ability to handle that subject, and despite the fact you may have got 80s and 90s in the remaining subjects, (MR. HANUSCHAK Cont'd) . . . . . it didn't matter, if you failed more than two you repeated the whole year.

So in the days of the Liberal government we're going to split the English, we're going to fragment the English program, and that's going to solve the problem. And we lived with that for five or six years and it created absolute chaos, and the previous government will remember having to rectify that problem. And those of us in this Chamber who are teachers may also recall their involvement in the rectification of that problem, where students came along with half a Grade 11 English course, and half a Grade 12 English course, and then they applied for admission to University and by that time the half course, the offering of the half courses was discontinued and they found themselves in a predicament where they had to repeat the complete course.

So then, Mr. Chairman, the Tories came into office, and they took a slightly different approach. They came to the conclusion that not all students are of university calibre, therefore not all students should be compelled to take a University Entrance program, and that therefore we should offer an alternative - and this was about the time that the plans for the expansion, well in fact for the development of what we know as Red River Community College today, was under way - and that we should offer two programs. We should continue the University Entrance program, which had been offered for many decades, as well as the vocational program which had taken root in some schools and primarily in Tec Voc High School in Winnipeg, and commercial offered in many schools, and in addition to that we should offer what was called a General Course program. And the General Course was designed for those who -- and I want to be very careful about this. I want you to take note of this, Mr. Chairman. At the end of Grade 9, at the end of Grade 9, you know, these students have to make this decision, that three years hence they're going to commit themselves to either going to University or not going to University, and on that basis they're going to decide the route that they're going to follow through their high school career. If they decide to tackle the University Entrance route and at some point they find that that is not their cup of tea, then for them it was somewhat easier to transfer into what was known as the General Course route for those -- the General Course was that leading to admission to post-secondary institutions other than University --there was some provision for transfer for them.

And you talk about choosing options at an early age, but for the students who chose the General Course route at age 14, at the end of Grade 9, just consider this, Mr. Chairman, the type of decision that he has to make. He chooses a General Course route and he proceeds and he finds perhaps in mid-Grade 10, Grade 11, that perhaps he performs better than, he finds that he has underestimated his own abilities, or perhaps had not assessed properly his own interests, or a combination of both, and he finds that he ought to be in the University Entrance program. What did the system of the day under the Tory government say to him? "Tough luck, Buddy. You go right back to square one and start off on the University Entrance route again. Right from square one." Those were the options, Mr. Chairman, those were the options that you offered the students when you were the government.

SOME MEMBERS: Shame. Shame.

MR. HANUSCHAK: And talk about flexibility of options, when you tied them down to that rigid route at 14 years of age. "Ah", you will say, "Ah yes. With the assistance of counsellors." With the assistance of what counsellors in 1964, 1963? With the assistance of what counsellors? A number of counsellors you can count on the fingers of your two hands. Because you know what else was occurring at that time? You got the program in and then you realized, "Oh, by 3um, we've got to get a counselling service going. We have a counselling program in effect but it isn't really geared to meet the needs of our system. We have to upgrade our counselling program." So the Department of Education looked around and this - I'm speaking from my own experience - looked around and found that there was a committee established within the Winnipeg School Division, revising the counselling program, updating it for the Winnipeg students, because there was none on a province-wide basis at that time.

So the government of the day contacted the Winnipeg School Division and said, "Now look. While you fellows are devising a counselling program for your students in Winnipeg, would you mind sending us a copy, because, you know, we'd like to apply it on a province-wide basis. And, Mr. Chairman, it was from those beginnings that a counselling program for the province

(MR. HANUSCHAK Cont'd) . . . . began to take shape. And today our opposition has the gall to criticize us; that we're putting these 14-year-olds in a very difficult position having to make these choices that's going to affect their entire lifespan, and so forth. But they've forgotten, they've forgotten or maybe they don't know, and they probably don't, because they 're too busy sniffing around in students' lockers. They probably don't know how many lives they may have ruined by the rigid system in which they had locked in the students of their day.

I made a brief comment about this a moment ago and I find that any time anybody mentions, you know, the word "work" there's applause. You know, "hear hear." That's what the opposition stands for, you know. Hard work, slugging it out, you know; and we've heard mention on many occasions during the past four years, oh, such honourable members as the Member for Souris-Killarney, the Honourable Member for Swan River, the Honourable Member for Pembina, who often say that, well, what does the government know about work? All these former school teachers over here, you know, school teachers, they don't know anything about work.

Well, all right, let's talk about work. Let's talk about work in terms of the Honourable Member for Swan River. You know, the way he would define work; working by the sweat of one's brow. The Honourable Member for Pembina. Whether he has or not I don't know, but that's the way he attempts to create an impression that he defines work in those terms. I would take the Honourable Member for Swan River -- no I wouldn't. He's a few years older than I am -- but anyone on that side, and I'll take him up and we'll work side by side, and any other member on this side of the House, and we can demonstrate. --(Interjection)-- Yes, yes. And I've milked cows and I've cut cordwood and I've dug Seneca roots which the honourable member over there probably doesn't even know what they are. His constituents do. Ask his constituents from Barrows and Pelican Rapids; they'll tell him, but I'm sure he doesn't know since he hung up his spurs. Well prior to that he had no opportunity to learn. --(Interjection)--I'm not sure. No, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would have got after him. No I don't think he did that. I don't think he did that,

But again, I repeat to the honourable member when he talks about work, go into the schools, go into the homes of our students, and see what they're doing. See what they're doing and speak to them, speak to their parents, and then express an opinion on whether or not the students of today are working or not.

Now I was very pleased, Mr. Chairman, that the Honourable Member for Riel wanted -he did make an attempt to get the debate on this item, namely my salary, to direct itself to the question of philosophy of education. He said that we're in a state of drift. Well again I say, perhaps the honourable members of the Opposition aren't aware of what is going on in the school system, aren't aware of what is going on in the schools within their own constituencies for the reason that I've mentioned twice earlier, and I don't want to repeat again the exercise that the Honourable Member for Roblin seems to enjoy engaging in from time to time.

But may I suggest to you, Mr. Chairman, that the general nature and the type, the manner in which the approach that we've taken toward the funding of education, the steps that we've taken over the past few years, the nature of the activity of various branches of my department, are indicating and are demonstrating to the people of Manitoba that the move is toward restoring to the school divisions some of that which over the years they have lost, and also that which perhaps legislation they have paid lip service to, that's claiming the school divisions had, but in actual fact never really had it, and that is local autonomy, local control, the opportunity for school divisions to plan and arrange their own order of priorities which the Honourable Member for -- in the last row -- Sturgeon Creek -- I'm sorry, I was going to say Assiniboia, but it's Sturgeon Creek; which the Honourable Member for Assiniboia, he finds amusing, but may I suggest to the honourable member, which he probably wouldn't know because he was not in this House when his party was the government and he may not have had an opportunity to take a close look at the grant structure that we had; he may not have had an opportunity to familiarize himself with how the grant structures were moving away from, via the introduction of funds that are not earmarked for one purpose or another, but funds which enable the school division to assign their own priorities to how their grant structure, which they pride themselves in, how it locked, how it tied the school division's hands, how it locked them into certain programs, how it put them in a straightjacket, how it minimized their opportunity to undertake any type of experimentation, any type of innovation, any type of variation of the school program

(MR. HANUSCHAK Cont'd) . . . . to meet the needs of their community. There just wasn't that possibility at all, Mr. Chairman. I believe the Honourable Member for St. James wishes to ask a question.

MR. GEORGE MINAKER (St. James): Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I could ask a question of the Minister at this point and maybe make a comment.

MR. HANUSCHAK: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman. If the honourable member wishes to make a comment I'm sure it will be regarded as a speech. I have no objection to his making a brief comment, which of course will be regarded as a speech.

MR. MINAKER: I'll wait until the Minister's finished.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Minister of Education.

MR. HANUSCHAK: Mr. Chairman, now that is one, that is probably the main, the most significant thrust of our program, of our education program, to (1) Recognizing that there are certain basic universal needs that must be met, but in addition to that, to allow a school division the freedom, the autonomy to manage their own affairs.

One of the other concerns of ours, Mr. Chairman, is the Francais Program, Bill 113. At the present time, honourable members know this is of concern to us. This is a bill brought in by this government. We are committed to assist with its implementation, recognizing of course the autonomy of school boards, but it certainly is our responsibility to do what must be done, what can be done, at the provincial level, and to see to it that this bill is implemented for the benefit and advantage of those, for the benefit of those who wish to take advantage of it.

Honourable members may know that at the present time there are a variety of programs being offered, or rather I should say that the manner in which French is used as a language of instruction is handled in a number of ways. There are those schools wherein instruction is probably about 90-10, 90 percent French, 10 percent English. And then there are other schools where instruction is about 50-50, 50 percent French, 50 percent English, and this is all very well. And then there are others, and others are of the opinion that perhaps it would be better if we would have a combination of those two in one; you know, where you would have the 50-50 program and the 90-10 program. And Mr. Chairman, as honourable members would know, this is a new program. This program will require some careful study and research over the next while to determine which of the methods is the most effective. Perhaps all are equally effective depending upon the make-up of a community or whatever other relevant factors there may be, I don't know. But I would like to say at this point in time that we have committed ourselves over the past number of years toward offering assistance in the funding of demonstration projects to enable school divisions to experiment with new programs, programs that may be very closely related to their own needs, as to the socio-economic conditions of their school division or whatever. Then it would seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that consideration could also be given to offering similar assistance toward the experimentation with different forms of instruction in the use of French as a language of instruction.

Now I know there's concern about this, Mr. Chairman, and as I have said before, and I wish to repeat again, it is not my intention to encroach upon the autonomy of any school board, but it certainly is my intention to point out to the school board our responsibility for the delivery of an education program in the province of Manitoba, and in any school divisions where there may be a desire to experiment with varied forms of instruction, using French as a language of instruction, I'd be quite happy to consider their proposals within the parameters on the basis of which the guidelines and the basis of which demonstration projects are being made available in general, that to other programs that similar consideration be also extended toward this area of instruction. After all, it's as much a part of education program as anything else and hence deserves the same consideration. Surely something could be worked out in consultation with the school boards.

Now, the Honourable Member for Fort Rouge, who is not in his seat at the present time, he did ask whether we in Manitoba make use, utilize the findings of various research teams, the research work that has been conducted in the United States. Oh, and he mentioned a number of areas of concern, the use of para-professionals, open area, continuous progress, semestering, etc. and well, I must say that certainly the educators in the province of Manitoba take note of research work that's being conducted elsewhere, but many of them – and I think very properly so – on occasion they do question the meaning of the implications of these results as they may relate to the Manitoba scene. In some areas the research findings may be relevant and

(MR. HANUSCHAK Cont<sup>d</sup>) . . . . and applicable, but in many they may not be, even dealing with the same area of concern. And this, by the way, Mr. Chairman, this question as to, you know, the transferability of the relevance of research findings in education from one country to another, --(Interjection)-- Yeah, a study of this has been undertaken not only between two states, two communities, but on an international level, and this study involved over about a quarter of a million students in about 20 countries, and I think that there was sufficient evidence that in some areas we do have to undertake our own research.

Now, because there are strong differences in cultural groups and differences which influence learning, and this government, Mr. Chairman, has been prepared to recognize this, this educational fact, by promoting special programs such as establishment within the Department of Education of a native education section, and I certainly do hope that later in the consideration of my estimates that I will have the opportunity to deal at length with the native education section within the Department. Another example is the encouragement to several projects dealing with education of Hutterite children.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. The Member for Flin Flon.

MR. THOMAS BARROW (Flin Flon): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I have chosen this opportunity to register my concern over a number of issues of deep concern to the people of my constituency and other constituencies in Northern Manitoba. The issues which I put before you and the reason for choosing this opportunity to do so will be obvious in a few moments.

By most standards, the people in southern Manitoba view the North as the most prosperous area of the province, as a place to go for good jobs and good wages. In 1970, for example, the average income of those filing income tax returns at Thompson was \$7,101; Flin Flon and The Pas were comparable. In places like Gillam it was higher. For the whole North, the average income of those filing returns was \$6,135, and it is of course now considerably higher. For instance now, the average miner can make \$12,000 a year, and that's good so far but that's only one side of the story. That is the side of the story we like to talk about, the story of the north which is prosperous. We talk about the modern new townsites with the most up-to-date conveniences, the new hospitals, the schools and the paved streets. But the other side of the North, Mr. Chairman, is the one we don't talk about and neither has the opposition talked about it.

The opposition has very good reason not to talk about it, since both the Liberal and Conservative Parties, during their long years in power, created the other North. Our fault as a government lies in not pursuing a more direct, deliberate course of action in correcting their mistakes. The other North I'm talking about is the remote North, the communities, where the people, primarily Indian and Metis, are kept away from our sparkling new growth centers, places where the average income on Indian Reserves, Mr. Chairman, in 1969 was \$1,735, where the people in places like Cross Lake had an average income in 1970 of \$2,600, where it's a well-established fact that the life expectancy is far lower than the provincial average and the infant mortality rate is far, far higher, where substandard housing is considered normal. No one thinks anything about it. And where it's taken for granted that the mainstay of the community is the monthly welfare cheque.

As I indicated earlier, Mr. Speaker, this is a problem that has existed for many years in remote northern communities. My concern at this time is mainly arising from the fact that while the problem continues to get worse year by year, in part due to a fertility rate of three to four times the provincial average, I see no realistic attempt being made to get to the root of the problem. I see all kinds of money being spent in the North but, upon analysis, the money being spent in the same areas and on the same programs has appeared to have created the problems in the past or failed to solve them. I see all kinds of programs aimed at attacking the symptoms and none aimed at attacking the cause. The cause, Mr. Speaker, is in the way the education system has been operated in remote northern communities, and it's for this reason that I've chosen this occasion to raise these issues.

Unless we are racists we must believe, as I firmly do, that people in all walks of life, in any community, can solve their problems through learning or education. If you accept this position, then it follows that you must also accept the idea that if people continue to live in poverty and oppressed conditions year after year, and generation after generation, it is not only because the education system has failed to liberate them, it's also because the

(MR. BARROW cont'd) . . . education system has succeeded in dominating them. The education system is an integral and extremely important part of the larger social economic and cultural system. The largest system has in effect colonized the remote northern communities and imposed on the people a way of life, replete with all the worst features of any colonial system, a way of life where inequality, discrimination and injustice is the rule rather than the exception; where paternalism is the guiding light in decision-making; where it's been decided that people will be treated like helpless children and that at some unknown time in the distant future, they will somehow become identical to their rulers and can then be trusted to make all decisions on exactly the same basis as the colonizer.

For instance, Mr. Chairman, the Frontier School Division is almost ruled by the official trustee who sits in Winnipeg. He makes decisions and he makes policy on things that he knows the very least about. The education system is only one of the systems operating in this fashion in remote northern communities. In any well-ordered colonial regime all systems must be supportive of one another. However, since the education system is charged with the responsibilities of education, it can and must initiate and lead the process toward decolonization, if in fact decolonization is going to take place.

What I am saying, Mr. Speaker, is that the education system in Manitoba must consider and constantly choose whether the efforts of the system will be directed toward continuing and strengthening the bands of colonization or lead the process to decolonization. This is a decision we in this government can't escape making in the way the Liberal and Conservative governments in the past have operated it. To refrain, as they did, from making a deliberate choice and acting on it immediately is to alter the status quo. To consent to continuing expanded the problem. For nine years now, Mr. Chairman, ever since 1965, Frontier School Division has operated the public school system in remote northern communities, which covers two thirds of Manitoba's land mass. During this period of time they have built many fine buildings, but what has this part of our education system contributed toward developing the knowledge, skills and attitudes of our people? To what extent have they contributed towards enabling people to govern their own schools? In my opinion, during this period of time the operations of Frontier school division has resulted in increasing the dependency of our people on the central administration, deterred people from assuming control of their own schools, and increased the alienation felt toward the outside world.

In terms of practical results in the school, Frontier's record is deplorable. Last September, out of a total school enrolment of 5,245, only 58, or 1.1 percent, were enrolled in Grade 12.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hour being 12:30, I am leaving the Chair to return at 1:30.