

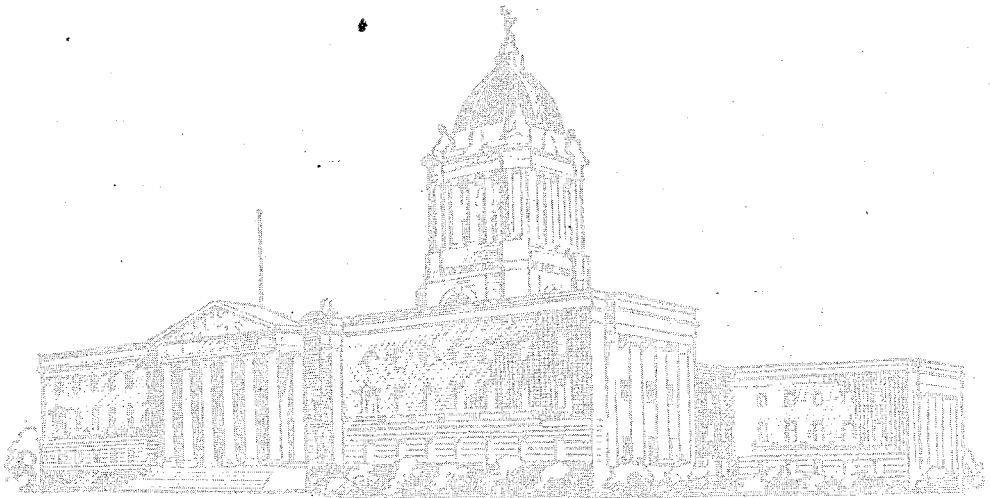


Legislative Assembly Of Manitoba

DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS

Speaker

The Honourable A. W. Harrison



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THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF MANITOBA  
8:00 o'clock, Monday, February 26th, 1962.

MR. SPEAKER: The Honourable the Minister of Agriculture.

MR. HUTTON: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. At the risk of being accused of carrying on with a flood of words and a trickle of ideas, I have some thoughts here that I would like to present to the Assembly on what I consider is the most important matter, in Western Canada in particular, and it's true also of Canada, and that is the problem of satisfactory returns to the farmer. It's a real problem; he's caught in a cost-price squeeze. There are those who would suggest that there is an easy solution. All you do is raise the price of farm products to keep up with the crazy spiral that is taking place in other segments of the economy. It has been in the past, and I know the members will forgive me if I repeat some of what I had to say this afternoon, but it has been in the past a very popular pastime for the former CCF Party -- and I expect it will be as popular with the New Democratic Party -- to accuse both the Conservatives and the Liberals with being the great advocate of the philosophy of the "survival of the fittest". They've done it for a long time; I don't think there's any indication that they will change their attack. And yet they contribute with their philosophy in a greater measure to a practical circumstance which indeed results in a survival of the fittest, I believe inadvertently, but nevertheless their contribution is substantial. As I said earlier, in a society and an economic system where there is continual pressure for higher and higher wages, management automatically, and I suppose even logically, expects more and more of a turnout for the labour for which they're paying a higher price. In fact it's an established principle that increased wages, or increased returns to a business, can only come as a result of greater productivity. And so it follows, as the night the day, that by one means or another management is forced to take steps to increase the productivity of the men and the labour for which they have to pay a higher price. If a company or a business is fortunate enough that they can realize an increased productivity with the labour force at hand, then they can afford to pay more. But if these same people cannot turn out more; if there's no opportunity to increase the income to management or a business, then management turns for relief to other means. Well, if it's a strong union there's no danger of men being laid off, that's true; but it can mean that machines will replace the men. I put that rather wrongly. It is true that management may not be able to substitute one man for another; but certainly they do substitute machines for men. And so men find themselves discarded by a system which is advocated by our honourable friend. Again, as the demand upon the individual in society becomes greater, his opportunity, the opportunity of the individual that we have expressed so much concern for the last two or three days, his opportunities become less and less -- his chances to qualify for a place in this society become less and less. Isn't it unfortunate, Mr. Speaker, that a very party that claims that they are the friend of the friendless; a friend of the common man, a friend of the less fortunate, advocate a system which eliminates it? -- (Interjection) -- No, no! This is what the New Democratic Party does. Because, Mr. Speaker, when management is looking for help at high prices, only the best can qualify, and here is the law of the survival of the fittest. It's happening today in Canada, and it's happening today in the U. S. A. And more and more of our people are being eliminated from a chance to run in the race. They can't even compete, let alone have any chance to win. Unfortunately many of our people are not organized. They are only bargaining on their own. They're not in a very good position to bargain against the type of power that others have and as a result in this race of life they come out on a short end. I can't see how at this -- and I say it's an insane spiral that we're faced with -- if it keeps up, how those who are unable to make their voice heard in the same way, have any chance in this survival of the fittest. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the farmer to a great extent falls amongst those who have an awful tough time to get into the race at all; and the indications are that his chances of qualifying for this competition are becoming less and less all the time. -- (Interjection) -- The Stabilization Board hadn't that much to do with this; not that much to do with this problem. They talk about parity prices. I can remember a time when the farmer got the prices that he's getting today when he could make money. He can't make money today because he's been left behind. His costs of production have continued to rise and rise but he doesn't share in this. He isn't organized. He can't force his will on the people. I have the gravest doubts -- and that's putting it mildly --

(Mr. Hutton, cont'd.) . . . . if by throwing in his lot with powerful organized labour that he'll ever do it that way either. Mr. Speaker . . . . .

A MEMBER: That's what Argue said.

MR. HUTTON: Yes, and I agree with Argue; I agree with Argue. --(Interjection) -- Yes, Siree. --(Interjection) -- He hasn't a chance of the proverbially snowball. The farmer, not Mr. Argue. He may not have any better chances than a snowball either, but the farmer hasn't a chance in this show. I'll tell you why, very simply. If you're going to try and solve the farmers' problem by raising the prices that he receives for his goods, do you think that organized labour is going to be willing to pay the bills? Do you think they'll be willing to pay the bill? The first time that mamma goes to the store and she has to either pay it that way or increased taxes, the first time mamma goes to the store and the price of beef is up and the price of bread is up, and the price of milk is up, she's going to come home and she's going to complain to dad and he's going to go and he's going to say the cost of living is up and we can't live on this salary any longer -- another strike -- and we're back in the same old spiral. -- (Interjection) -- Never mind, I'll come to that, I'll come to that. You're back in the same old spiral, because you'll never keep up to it; you'll never keep up to it. This is not the way to solve this problem. Another thing that'll happen. Just let the price of products go up 20%. Suppose the government announces it tomorrow. Land would immediately go up in price. -- (Interjection) -- Never mind, this is another problem of trying to solve this problem by increasing prices. Land goes up in price. It becomes more difficult for the less fortunate to get into farming. It becomes more difficult for the young farmer to start farming. Those increased costs of land are incorporated into his cost of production, in interest and carrying charges and so forth on his land. You don't solve the problem that way.

Suppose it is introduced -- and I'm just trying to draw a picture for you tonight as to what happens when you try to solve this problem the way the New Democratic Party of Canada is going to solve it. Supposing that we bring in, as I suggested this afternoon we should, when we talked about parity prices -- and there's a difference between parity for agriculture and parity prices. If you try to do it by this concept of raising prices you're going to have to embrace production controls, and if you don't do that do you think that the New Democratic Party, representing powerful organizations -- just about the strongest in Canada -- do you think that they're going to stand for the costs of carrying all this production that will take place, because it will. There will be such an explosion of production. Alright. Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has forgotten about all the pork we got when we raised the price a little too high and there was no limit. Why, it was running out of our ears. --(Interjection) -- Oh, but they changed the support program. They changed the support program and they limited it to the first hundred animals that you sold, and they gave all that surplus away. If you don't have production controls you're going to have this sort of thing happen if you raise the prices. Now, so you put on production controls -- and they've got them on some things -- we've got them on milk, and they've got them on tobacco, and they've got them on other products. It's a fine thing -- (Interjection) -- It's a fine thing. Now they're complaining about the fact that they're there. And, Mr. Speaker, what happens? These quotas soon achieve a value in the market place and they are bought and sold, and as they are bought and sold, and as the competition increases, the value of these quotas increases, because people are looking for a little more production in order that they can keep their chin above water. The cost of these quotas is incorporated into the cost structure of production on the farm, and what was a fine thing for the first generation in getting a quota, isn't such a fine thing to the second generation who has to buy it and pay for it. It's just a valid and legitimate cost of production as the oil and gas are for the tractor. And do you know what happens? Only the rich can bid for these; only the more fortunate in the community can bid for these, and so the rich get richer and the poor get poorer; the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and the NDP go marching on -- (Interjection) -- promoting this philosophy and proclaiming themselves to the salvation of mankind -- materially at least. This is the fallacy of the whole argument; it's spurious, it just doesn't hold water when you examine it closely, because where it has been tried it failed, and instead of making all men equal as they would like to, they end up more unequal than they have ever been. The pitiful part of it is that the less fortunate in our community are those that suffer, and those whom the NDP today and the CCF in the past say they were always fair game for Robin Hood, they go marching

(Mr. Hutton, cont'd.) . . . . along hand in hand with the New Democratic Party. So, --(Inter-jection) -- Well, this is a hypothetical case that I am presenting to you tonight. It could never happen; it could never happen. I think the New Democratic Party are like the -- was it the red queen in Alice in Wonderland who the faster they ran they just stayed in one place.

Now you might be interested, Mr. Speaker, and I hope the members are interested in some figures relating to the cost of production on the farm which applies to machinery manufactured today and in the past ten years by the John Deere Company. I happened to hear this lecture given, this address given, and I asked for a copy. This is what makes it rough down on the farm. We could make lots of money if the things that we had to buy weren't continually going up in price. Here are the cost changes since 1950 in respect of farm machinery. From 1950 to 1960 wages paid per hour plus fringe benefits rose 81%. Prices for materials and supplies during the same period, for the John Deere Plow Company, rose 39%. The price of tractors and farm equipment during this period rose 39%. Employment costs, which are wages, salaries and fringe benefits, have increased from 30¢ of each sales dollar in 1950 to 39¢ in 1960. Material costs have actually decreased from 34¢ of each sales dollar in 1950 to 33¢ in 1960, a reduction of one cent. In 1950 John Deere's total costs were 86¢ of each sales dollar. By 1959 they had risen to 91¢ out of each sales dollar, and last year they were 96¢, leaving only four cents for re-investment in the business and for dividends. This is what the farmer is up against, because it is evident from this that the machine companies have made an effort to keep those costs down; but in spite of their efforts to keep those costs down, those costs had to go up; they had to go up because somebody had to pay labour's bill. And do you know, Mr. Speaker, who it was that paid their bill? It was the farmer who paid their bill. It was the farmer who paid labour's bill. He got some help from the company because the company took decreased dividends during that period. But nevertheless . . . . .

MR. D. ORLIKOW (St. John's): That's not right at all.

MR. HUTTON: Oh yes, it is.

MR. ORLIKOW: Have you got the net profits of John Deere?

MR. HUTTON: Nevertheless it's true.

MR. ORLIKOW: Have you got the net profits?

MR. HUTTON: I've got some figures here. I don't think I need them, I don't think I need them, because I have a very interesting one here. If the cost of farm machinery had remained at the 1950 level the actual net loss to the John Deere Plow Company would have been \$97.2 million if they hadn't raised the price of their farm equipment. Now they had to raise it. They didn't show very much of a profit, but who paid the difference between a deficit of \$97.2 million? The farmer paid it, and he didn't pay it to the company, he paid it to labour, and when the New Democratic Party says that they're going to represent labour and the farmer . . . . .

MR. SCHREYER: I challenge your figures completely.

MR. HUTTON: When they say that they're going to represent labour and the farmer, they are whistling in the dark. . . . .

MR. SCHREYER: Your figures are nonsense.

MR. HUTTON: . . . . . because you can't represent two people whose interests are diametrically opposed.

MR. SCHREYER: That's nonsense, too.

MR. HUTTON: The labour man wants cheap food. I don't blame him for that. But the farmer wants a fair price for that product that he's producing, and I don't blame him for that.

MR. SCHREYER: But he's not getting it.

MR. HUTTON: The wage earner wants a good wage, and I can't blame him for that. But the farmer wants to get his machinery and his equipment and his costs of production at a reasonable figure where he can carry on in business -- and you sure can't blame him for that and instead. Instead of going about the country as the great leader of these two great groups in Canadian society, labour and the farmer, wouldn't it be a better contribution to make, to suggest to labour that there has to be an end to this; to suggest to management, who are equally guilty, and give the poor farmer a break, because he's caught between both of them. That's my philosophy on the agricultural situation. I don't think that . . . . . Governments can help, yes; I agree that governments can help. I believe that the present government in Ottawa has

(Mr. Hutton, cont'd.) . . . . helped a great deal. But I don't care what government goes down there, whether it's Liberal or New Democratic Party or whether it's Progressive Conservative -- this is a tough problem, and you can work for parity of agriculture -- but I hope whoever it is, that they don't get on to the treadmill of trying to solve agriculture's problem simply by arbitrarily raising the prices. We had the Honourable Member for Rhineland stand up here and suggest that one of the solutions was a two-price system. Well, the western farmer wouldn't get a penny more than he's getting now, because he gets his \$1.00 a bushel for domestically consumed wheat in Canada in the acreage payment. Now if you switched over to a payment on the basis of production, again the rich would get richer and the poorer would get poorer.

Another thing that bothers me is this. When you look around Manitoba you will find that the greatest consolidation of farm capital, that is, land, buildings and equipment, has taken place in the most productive areas in the province. I think that you will find that this, generally speaking, is true, and where the least adjustment has taken place are in those areas which are least productive. So I say again that to merely raise prices as a solution to our social and economic problems of the farmer today, is superfluous and I think would have tragic, actually tragic repercussions for many of our less fortunate farm people. If you're against the exodus of farm people from rural Manitoba, I suggest to you that you're not going to stop it merely by raising farm prices arbitrarily. You've got to stop the spiral, because the farmer is on the bottom end of it; he's the last guy to get any good out of it and he's the first man that's hurt by it. So I think that programs that will help the farmers to adjust to the environment that we're in today, programs that will help the farmer make the most of what he's got, anything that can be done to stop this crazy spiral will do him a lot more good. We have great hopes that through ARDA in the next few years, that we can develop programs that will help. We know that, in spite of what the Member for Fisher had to say about our credit program, that it's still a pretty good program and it's helping a lot of people out. I think the very fact that so many people have been able to repay, or make their payment this year on a bad year indicates that it has been useful to them, and that with this money they have improved their position, because if they hadn't it's not likely so many of them would have been able to make their payment. --(Interjection) -- I expect now it would be very close to 90% of the farmers are up to date in their payments. -- (Interjection) -- Oh well we can . . --(Interjection) -- Oh yes -- (Interjection) -- We can argue about that when we come to estimates. But these programs, these programs, we have to rely on these programs and we have got to rely on the sanity of the Canadian people to come back down to earth so the rest of us can live with them. That's just about the size of the case. If it doesn't happen this country can't afford, and I am sure that the people that you say you represent in organized labour, will not even consider the kind of measures that would be required on the part of the working Canadian to keep the farmer in step with the rest of the economy. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

MR. L. DESJARDINS (St. Boniface): Would the extra half hour allowed the last speaker be deducted from his time on estimates.

MR. G. MOLGAT (Leader of the Opposition) (Ste. Rose): Mr. Speaker, I had asked the Minister, while he was speaking, whether he would answer a question. Would he answer now? I was very interested in his definitions -- oh pardon me, blanket definitions -- this afternoon of parity. Could he explain to the House what exactly parity is in the light of the statements made by the Prime Minister of Canada prior to the last election?

MR. HUTTON: Mr. Speaker, my interpretation of what the Prime Minister said was that anything that the government could do was coming to the farmer and it wasn't a matter of charity. But I never gathered from anything that the Prime Minister said that he felt that he could solve the Canadian farmers' problem merely by arbitrarily setting prices that were in line with the prices of the things that he had to buy in the production of his goods.

MR. MOLGAT: Mr. Speaker, I must say I'm still confused. It seems to me the Prime Minister, prior to election, said quite clearly, "Parity not charity". Now what does it mean in the light of my honourable friend's statement?

MR. HUTTON: He was talking about a goal. The goal for farmers is parity. But there are a number of ways of trying to achieve it, aren't there? You might just go out, and the most obvious thing to do, and the easiest thing to do in a sense, would be -- if you had enough

(Mr. Hutton, cont'd.) . . . . money, and if the taxpayers would stand for it and if the consumers would stand for it -- would be to set the price of all these products at a level where they would return the farmer -- and I don't know how you figure this one out because the fellow who produces 10,000 bushels a week would find his parity at maybe 90¢ and the fellow who produces 2,000 bushels of wheat may need \$1.90 -- but somehow or other you establish theoretically a price that will return to the farmer enough money so that he can pay for his costs of production and make a living over and above that. There may be other ways. I've mentioned some of them tonight. I think that the long-term solution is that we've got to get some balance back in our economy and not merely by jacking prices up. Maybe we'll need to bring some down, or at least get them to level off to the point where you can catch up with them. I'm making another speech.

MR. SCHREYER: . . . . . question, Mr. Speaker. I think the Minister should reveal the source of the figures which he cited as regards the farm implement dollar.

MR. HUTTON: I'd be very happy to do so. This was a talk given by Mr. C. R. Carlson, Junior, Senior Vice-President of Deere and Company at the Fargo Farm Forum. I suppose because he's a representative of the Company all his figures are spurious.

MR. ORLIKOW: Mr. Speaker, it's not my intention to make a long speech tonight, nevertheless -- I don't think I make very long speeches -- but I couldn't let, Mr. Speaker, I couldn't let the nonsensical talk, the so-called speech on basic economics which we heard from the Minister just finished go by without saying a few words.

I want to say, Mr. Speaker, first of all that the Canadian Labour of Congress which represents 95% of the organized workers of this country, has on numerous occasions -- and I'll be glad to supply the Minister with copies of the resolutions tomorrow if he wants them -- has on numerous occasions discussed the problems of farmers and has on every occasion passed resolutions urging the Canadian Government to bring in crop insurance legislation; urging the Canadian Government to bring in parity price legislation; urged the Canadian Government to pass any measures which will improve the lot of the farmers. And for a very simple reason, Mr. Speaker, because there is no better customer for the products which are produced by the Canadian worker than the Canadian farmer. The Canadian farmer, when he's getting a good price for his products, and when he's able to sell his products, is an excellent customer for the tractors which are produced by Canadian workers, for the cars and trucks that are produced by Canadian workers; and because they're good customers, it is in the interests of the Canadian worker, Canadian city person, that the farmer be prosperous. And so labour asked us to assist and we supported the legitimate requests of the farmers for legislation which will help them. I want to say also, Mr. Speaker, that it is in the interests of the farmer that Canadian workers get a good price. The Canadian worker who gets 66¢ an hour, the miserable minimum wage which is set by this province for the workers of this province, is not in a position to buy very much of these products which are produced by the farmers who are supposedly represented by the Minister of Agriculture. They don't have much money to buy milk or butter or eggs which are produced by the Manitoba farmer. They don't have much money to buy anything. So it would be in the interest of the Canadian farmers to see that the workers are getting a legitimate wage -- and that's all that the Canadian workers have asked for.

Now the Minister gave us some figures, Mr. Speaker, about the increased wages which Canadian workers, working for John Deere, have made. And I would be the last one to deny that this isn't true. Of course they're making higher wages. They're making higher wages partly because they're organized -- and there's a lesson to be learned by workers who aren't organized and there's a lesson to be learned by Canadian farmers -- that if they want to get what they are entitled to that they ought to have a strong organization, and one organization. But the Minister didn't tell us, Mr. Speaker, that Canadian tractors are being produced every year by less and less workers. The Minister didn't tell us, and I'm sorry I haven't got the figures with me today, but the productivity of every worker in the farm implement industry has more than doubled since World War II so that simply to give the increase in wages only gives you a part of the picture, and not the important part of the picture, because what is important is how much is the total value of the product turned out by the number of workers in the industry. And if you look at that figure, Mr. Speaker, you would see that while the wages for the workers have gone up, that there are less, many less workers working and they're turning

(Mr. Orlikow, cont'd.) . . . . out a very much greater production of goods.

And now I want to close with one figure, Mr. Speaker. The Minister says that because the figures he gave us came from the President of John Deere therefore we wouldn't want to accept them as being true. Well, I couldn't find the figures for John Deere -- maybe I'm not an expert, we have some people on the other side who are much more expert at reading the survey of industrial put out by the Financial Post than I am -- but I did find the figures for Massey-Harris-Ferguson which I think the Minister will recognize as a pretty important company. And the figures as given by them, I presume, to the Financial Post and published in the survey of industrials. I think they are interesting, and when the Minister tries to blame the high cost of farm implements on increased wages and on the workers, I think he should give the whole picture. Now one of the members brought me two copies of the Survey of Industrials -- one for 1955 and one for 1961, and the net profit for Massey-Harris-Ferguson in the 1955 Survey of Industrials, which is for the year 1954, was \$7,194,000.00. And if you turn to the 1961 survey which gives you the net profits for 1960, what's happened to this poor company which can't make a living, which only raised its prices enough so that it wouldn't lose the money which the Minister talked about. Well you see a very interesting thing. The net profits of Massey-Harris-Ferguson has gone from \$7,194,000 to \$13,154,000 -- an increase of \$6,000,000 or an increase of almost, of about 90%. So, Mr. Speaker, I think that when -- I said this the other day when I spoke and I repeat it -- that figures don't lie, but liars can figure, and you can take anything you want out of figures depending on the figures you choose. And when the Minister wants to talk about wages and about the cost to farmers, I think he would be much more realistic if he took a look at the total picture and that includes the increase in productivity and it certainly includes the increase in profits.

MR. HUTTON: Mr. Speaker, I'd like to ask the Honourable Member for St. John's a question. Would he answer a question?

MR. ORLIKOW: I'll try.

MR. HUTTON: Well, he gave the figures for the total earnings -- the gross earnings.

MR. ORLIKOW: That's the net profit.

MR. HUTTON: Alright the net profit for 1955 and 1961, and he didn't relate it in any way to the total assets of the company, nor did he express it in any way as a yield on investment at all to the company. I'd be interested in hearing that speech because the information I have is that it amounted to 3% in 1960 as compared to 6.1% in 1957.

MR. ORLIKOW: Well, Mr. Speaker, I think, first of all the Minister is talking about John Deere and unfortunately I have only been in a short period of time since the Minister spoke, I have only been able to find Massey-Ferguson. Secondly, I think when he's talking about 3 -- I think he said 3%, I think you're labouring under a basic misconception. I'd have to see the figures you're working from, but I think what you're talking about is 3¢ on every sales dollar, and I want to tell the -- (Interjection) -- Well, I'm sorry I can't analyse figures which I haven't seen . . . .

MR. HUTTON: . . . . the net profits per dollar of total assets -- (Interjection) -- the yield on the investment.

MR. ORLIKOW: I've read you the net profits for Massey-Ferguson. Do you want to know what the -- (Interjection) -- I can read it all if the Minister wants it. It doesn't change the picture at all. The net profits are up. I can tell the Minister without studying this in detail that the total investment is up, the total investment went up very sharply for all companies because they don't pay out all the profit in dividends each year, they hold it back and the net value of the company increases. This doesn't make the picture any better from your point of view; it makes it worse because the net value of the company is going up as a result of the earnings which they make and which they hold back.

MR. HUTTON: Mr. Speaker, may I ask him another question?

MR. ORLIKOW: Go ahead.

MR. HUTTON: In qualifying this question I'd just say this, that I have the figures, the comparable figures for Massey-Ferguson and they are 3.2% for the period '57 to '60 and 2.9% on the investment for the year 1960. My question relates to his saying that you can only go by the total amount that they earned and if it's up this indicates they have made some gross profits in the past which they have reinvested. But does the Honourable Member for St. John's realize



(Mr. Hutton, cont'd.) . . . . that there is a very heavy movement of consolidation within the farm machinery manufacturing business? -- (Interjection) -- Do you realize that there is a very heavy movement of consolidation that -- (Interjection) -- a great deal . . . .

MR. ORLIKOW: If you want to make another speech, make it.

MR. SPEAKER: Are you ready for the question?

HON. J. A. CHRISTIANSON (Minister of Welfare) (Portage la Prairie): Mr. Speaker, it had not been my intention to join in this battle. However, I feel that seeing that there have been a great many statements left laying on the table in what I would consider to be an uncompleted state, I think it's only my duty to help to supply some of the further answers that these questions raise. The Honourable Member for St. John's said that the tractors that were being produced today by the major manufacturers were being produced by less and less workers. He is quite correct. The same is true in any major industry in North America. The productivity of the worker has gone up -- it's gone up remarkably, and particularly in the last ten years. But, Mr. Speaker, I think that if we examine all the facts we must also ask why has this gone up, and what are the factors that has increased this productivity? There are two or three of them. One of them I should mention is research and development and there have been many billions of dollars spent in the United States and in Canada in this very important field. This has brought about new methods of producing these various items; the design and manufacture of entirely new types of production equipment, a lot of which was not even known just a few short years ago. Now this has necessitated -- I'm sorry to see that the honourable member has left his seat -- this has necessitated a tremendous increase in investment. Now anybody who can say that if a company has increased its investment it has done so out of total profits shows a complete lack of the basic facts of our modern industrial society. Almost all of these companies, without exception, have increased their total investment, not only through profits which they have been able to retain in small measure, but also by terrific borrowing on the capital market. He mentioned Massey-Ferguson and he quoted 1954 against 1961. The thing that he forgot to tell us was that prior to 1954, Massey-Ferguson wasn't Massey-Ferguson, it was Massey-Harris, and somewhere along in there -- I think about 1956 or '57 -- it became Massey-Ferguson, and that's practically doubled the size of the Massey organization. Somewhere along in there, too, a fellow by the name of E. P. Taylor got into the picture and he didn't stop with just taking over a large -- another Tory perhaps -- and he didn't stop by taking over just a few plants in the United States, he went into all the markets of the world. He took over large plants in England, in France and in other countries of the world. I think if you examine the total assets of Massey-Ferguson of 1954 as against their assets of 1961, I think that you will find that they have more than doubled but probably quadrupled in that period. So total earnings of an increase of the nature of 90% are really begging the question. The figures that the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture has shown that even in the period '57 - '60 as against 1960, their percentage of profits as against total assets fell from 3.2% to 2.9% in that short period. Now I think that if we had the figures at hand, which I haven't I'm sorry, to protect this figure backwards to some degree, we would find that their percentage had fallen from something on the order of 5 or 6% in '54 -- (Interjection) -- but the farmer was paying more than ever, but, my friend, the significant fact that seems to escape the attention of the members of the NDP, Mr. Speaker, is that the manufacturer was getting an ever decreasing share of that dollar -- an ever decreasing share -- (Interjection) -- On paper and in fact, because the government has a pretty fair enforcement agency known as the Department of Internal Revenue that makes sure that most people tell the truth most of the time.

To go back, I would only reiterate the fact that it's quite true that the machinery has been produced by fewer and fewer workers, but again -- (Interjection) -- and he knows it, Mr. Speaker, he knows it far better in fact than the Leader of the NDP Party. But it only reiterates the statement made by the Minister of Agriculture when he was drawing some basic economic facts to the attention of the members opposite, and that is that the rich get richer and the poorer get poorer by this very process because as industry is forced to invest more and more per man employed, the productive level and the ability of the workers must continually rise. And what is the net result? Well, some figures that were made available to me the other day indicated that here in our City of Winnipeg the number of employable unemployed -- that is people who have skills, who are unemployed and actually on relief this year, has risen by some 76% over

(Mr. Christianson, cont'd.) . . . . last year. Now I don't know what that says to the members of the NDP, but to me it says that the competitive level of our economy is getting higher and higher every year. Were we an isolated community living by ourselves and able to trade with communities such as Mars and Venus -- which I hope we will be able to do soon -- we could probably go along in this way and not suffer any undue damage; but because we have to deal with other nations in the world, because our very livelihood is dependent upon the productive level and the efficiency of our relative level with these people we are forced . . . .

MR. SCHREYER: Would the Honourable Minister permit a question?

MR. CHRISTIANSON: If you wouldn't mind, I'd just like to finish the statement I'm making. Oh, after I'm done, by all means. I'd be most pleased.

The competitive level is rising and our position is steadily deteriorating with respect to theirs. Now it's all well and good to say that the wage level in Japan or Germany has increased 10% in the past year and ours has only increased by 3%. But 10% of what? And 3% of what? I don't have to draw your attention to the fact that 10% of 60¢ is only 6¢; but 3% of \$2.00 is also 6¢. The spread was too large to start with, and this, I think, is one of the things we have to face. The attempts by pressure groups of one side or another to influence the forces of the economy which has been the situation in Canada and in the United States over these past several years can only result in hardship on the people who are unable to protect themselves. The largest group who are unable to protect themselves are the old aged, the pensioners and others who are on fixed income, the ones who are not organized, and I include in that group the farmers. So, Mr. Speaker, we must be very careful, as the Honourable Member for St. John's pointed out, that when we tell a story, and when we use figures to tell a story, we should use all the figures, and not only part of them.

MR. SCHREYER: Mr. Speaker, I'd like to ask the Honourable Minister if he considers that to expedite international trade, it is more important to have lower wages or to have a lower exchange rate when you're running a deficit on current account. International trade.

MR. CHRISTIANSON: Well, Mr. Speaker, they both contribute to our competitive position -- (Interjection) -- I beg your pardon? Why didn't I mention which other?

MR. SCHREYER: The exchange rate. You didn't mention that at all.

MR. CHRISTIANSON: I didn't bring the subject up, Mr. Speaker. You did.

..... Continued on next page

MR. SPEAKER: Are you ready for the question? The question before the House is the amendment to the . . .

MR. ROBLIN: Mr. Speaker, I take it that you're about to put the question as to whether the government should continue in office, or not. If that is the case, I know that members opposite would be very disappointed and probably think me somewhat remiss if I didn't say a few words as to why I would hope that the government will be allowed to carry on. Now, I say that Sir, not in any spirit of complacency. We have been charged with complacency by honourable members opposite, and I would very much regret the situation if that was, indeed, the fact. And although, I suppose it is natural when defending what you have done, what you've been doing, and what you propose to do, to put the best possible face on your activities and to give the positive side of the argument from one point of view, I think we must remember that that is a custom of debate and is part of the tradition of the House, and that we should not look upon that kind of a defense of the activities of the government as being fundamentally one of self-satisfaction or complacency or approval of things as they are, because I want to start off what I have to say in defending the record of the government by saying that I really don't think that members opposite are more fully seized of the necessity of continuing progressive work than we are. I don't think there's anyone in this House who believes more firmly than we do that there is much to be done. I am certain, Sir, that there are few here who see the imperfections of what we have done more clearly than we do, because we are sitting on top of the problems that are at hand, and I certainly feel that I need apologize in no respect if I say that we are quite willing to accept legitimate and constructive criticism of what we have done, and of what we propose to do, and to take that kind of criticism in the spirit in which it is intended. That, of course, is one of the great advantages of this kind of a debate -- the general character and nature of a debate on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne -- because it is, in a sense, a free-for-all, and members from all sides of the House are able to express their views on any subject they like and to criticize the activities of the government in any way they like. There are one or two, perhaps, who might even say -- and perhaps not all on this side of the House let it be said -- that some of the things we're doing are worthy of commendation. But it does open up many prospects and I think should be used by the government in the most constructive way, and that we should not be averse to acknowledging good criticism when we hear it, or averse to being responsive to constructive suggestions that might be put forward. I think that one such suggestion that I might make a brief reference to is the proposal of the Honourable Member for Brokenhead that we should have an "Amsbudman". He didn't call it that -- and I'm quite sure that I don't know how to pronounce it -- but this is a Scandinavian word for what might be called the conscience of the state. In some of the Scandinavian countries, as members know, this official -- this Amsbudman or whatever he's called -- has the duty of being available to listen to the complaints of the citizens. Here we've got a beef session on some of the radio stations, which perhaps serves a somewhat similar purpose -- and I must confess that members of the government, particularly those on the Treasury benches, are a sort of a deputy-amsbudman all the time, because we expect to receive and expect to make ourselves available, to a great many of the citizens of this province who come to us with difficulties that they think we can help them with; and we also have to make ourselves available to members of the legislature who come representing their constituencies in a similar way.

I must confess that when we brought in our legislation respecting regulations, which I think is generally agreed to be a forward step in trying to deal with the problems of administrative law that have been referred to this afternoon, I must admit that when that piece of legislation was brought down, that at the same time we had given pretty careful consideration to this question of Amsbudman, and in thinking it over, it seemed to us that there was, under some circumstances, perhaps something to be said for the idea. In this province, however, with something less than a million people, where a great many of our citizens find it quite possible to communicate with me, or to communicate with other members of the front bench, or to communicate with members of the House generally, in a small province like this I think there is, perhaps, a feeling of accessibility -- I hope there is -- between the general public and those who are temporarily entrusted with the responsibilities for carrying on the government of the province; and I would like to think that perhaps the necessity for this kind of an official is not so marked or obvious here as it might be in a larger organization -- a government that might be responsible

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . for the affairs of many millions of peoples, or who are scattered in a way that ours is not here -- where communications are not good, and where we do not have the kind of democratic responsibility that we have in this House, in those circumstances perhaps the idea would have more force. However, it's well worth taking a second look, and, as far as I'm concerned, I think we would be glad to take that second look to see whether we don't need some kind of a complaint department -- that's what it really amounts to -- where the people can have recourse to somebody who they know will get to the bottom of the situation that they complain about. It might be a great thing for the government, for example. It might take a lot of the stress and strain of daily contact with discontented people among the electorate that we have today in asking them to visit this official instead. However, on the other hand, I think it does the government a lot of good to hear in that direct and personal way from members of the electorate who object to what is going on, or have problems, or don't agree with our policy, on whom the administration might bear unduly heavily, and I feel that it is a good thing for us -- and I sincerely hope, not entirely futile on the part of the general public -- that they have this rather intimate possibility open to them of bringing their complaints right to the men who are responsible for them. I mention this because I was interested in what the honourable gentleman had to say on that subject, and I wouldn't like him to feel that his remarks have gone unappreciated or unnoticed.

I also must admit that I had intended to say a word or two about the rather deep and philosophical discussion that was being conducted by the Minister of Agriculture and Conservation and the Member for St. John's, because I wanted to get into this business of figures -- I rather like figures now and then. However, I think my colleague, the Minister of Welfare, has said all that may be necessary to say at this time. Suffice it to say this, that in these matters of major economic policy which we discuss perhaps rather light-heartedly in this Chamber, that the solutions are never as easy as they seem, and that one of the great difficulties is that a solution which may appear good in itself and on the face of it, will lead you into consequences which perhaps were not anticipated and which perhaps will thwart the good purpose that one might have in mind in introducing the policy in the first place. This is one of the things that happens when we are dealing with matters of deep economic importance such as the kind that have been discussed here tonight, and I think it is on that note that my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture and Conservation, would wish to place his emphasis tonight.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I know that in this debate I have what sometimes is a perhaps more of a custom than sincerely meant -- and I make no reflection on what anyone else has said when I say that -- but sometimes it may become a bit formal that we should congratulate you on your position as Speaker of the House. I sometimes wish that we'd develop another way of referring to Mr. Speaker than these rather formal tributes that are paid to him as a matter of routine. But I can pay a tribute to you, Sir, that is not a matter of formality at all because I can say quite sincerely -- and perhaps I am merely putting into other words what others have tried to say -- that you have demonstrated by your moderation and your sound judgment in your rulings that you deliver to us from time to time, the wisdom of this Chamber in having asked you to assume the office which you hold today, and I would like to say that I have sat under a number of Speakers, all of whom I think were commendable indeed, that I feel, Sir, that you are fully equal to your task, and deserve to rank with the very best of those who have occupied your seat before you.

I would also like to join with those who have expressed their satisfaction with the speeches of the honourable the mover of the motion on the address in reply and the honourable gentleman who seconded it. I think that they both made very pleasant and commendable contributions to the debate, and got it off on what I thought was a good tone, and I would express my thanks to them.

I wonder if I should say this publicly, because it's a rather personal thing, but I can't tell you, Sir, how pleased I am that one of my colleagues here has occupied his seat in this session of the Legislature after a very serious illness. I think that we must recognize that he has a severe trial in front of him, but I am so happy that the medical advice that he has been receiving is so optimistic about his splendid progress to date that we may look forward with confidence to his return to good health. I think perhaps my Honourable Friend, the Leader of the Opposition, would not think me out of place if I were to say that the surgeon that has been so capably

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . . in charge of my honourable friend is the brother of the Honourable Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Speaker, I am expected, of course, to make some extended comment on the speech that was delivered here in support of this motion of non-confidence by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, and I think it was entirely fitting that at the commencement of his remarks he spoke in French to this Chamber and I would like to respond in suitable terms.

J'apprecie hautement l'allusion faite par mon honorable ami le chef de l'opposition au sujet de l'usage de la langue francaise en cette Chambre. Je puis l'assurer que nous sommes tout-a-fait d'accord, en visant au maintien de l'unite de notre pays, base sur les deux grandes cultures de ses fondateurs auxquelles se sont ajoutees celles d'autres peuples venus de toutes les parties du monde.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF ABOVE:

I should like to acknowledge with appreciate the reference made by my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition to the status of the French language in this Chamber. There is no disagreement among us, I am sure, in maintaining the unity of our country based upon the two great cultures of the founding races and incorporating the contributions which other peoples have brought to us from all parts of the globe.

I must say, though, that it is -- I am glad that at least one thing that I have done has received the approbation of the Honourable Member for St. Boniface. If I were the sort of man who kept a diary I'd make a note in it tonight. I know that the Honourable Leader of the Opposition will not expect me to be so receptive to some of the criticisms that followed his very gracious opening remarks in that debate, and indeed I feel it would be wrong if I were not to select a few of the major points which I think he made in this House, to explain to him and to the people of the province why I think his criticism is overdrawn and why I think that some of the negative conclusions to which he came really don't gibe with the actual facts as they exist. For example, my honourable friend had a good deal to say about the situation facing municipal and local governments in the province, and the niggardliness of the financial support, monetary contributions that this administration had made to those municipal and local governments. He had a lot more to say on the same subject but I think that was the main point that he was trying to make -- certainly one of the main points. Perhaps, therefore, it would not be out of place for me to place on the record, for the information of all members, how much additional assistance, indirectly and directly, the local and municipal governments of this province have received since the present administration came into office. And I am able to say that, including the sums that you will be asked to provide in a few days from now, that the provincial assistance in this way to local and municipal governments in Manitoba since we came in has increased by the sum of \$23 million. Well, Mr. Speaker, I don't know what members on the opposite side of the House think about it. I'm sure they are going to say that it isn't enough, but I'm going to say this, as far as we're concerned, that \$23 million is a very large increase indeed in the assistance that we give to local and municipal governments. Grants to schools alone, we know, have doubled since the present administration came in. And I give you these other figures to give you some idea of the magnitude of the additional assistance that has been made available to the school boards of municipalities of the Province of Manitoba -- \$23 million. I must confess, frankly, that we have to rely on the financial responsibility and the financial good sense of these school boards and municipal governments of this province to manage on the money that they get from us and the money that they get directly from their own local taxpayers, because everybody knows that in a very large measure they are economists in this respect. When one considers today that we have this very large increase of \$23 million made available to local governments since we came into office, I think we are talking of huge amounts, and let me say this, huge sums of money that were never dreamed of by those who came before us in the management of the affairs of this province. So I don't really think that a charge of niggardly conduct toward the municipal and local governments of Manitoba really rests at our doorstep.

But I want to go further than that. I want to say to you, Mr. Speaker, that that doesn't mean that the situation is perfectly all right. I wouldn't like any member of this House to conclude from the fact that twenty-three million more dollars of provincial money has been poured into the local governments of this province indicates that we on this side or the citizens generally should sit back in their chairs and say, well it's a very great sum of money, these fellows

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . have certainly been increasing their grants and everything is satisfactory and we needn't worry about the financial and fiscal condition in which our municipalities find themselves. I don't think it would be right, I don't think it would be helpful to take that complacent view with respect to local governments in this province, because I am coming to the conclusion, Sir, that the day may not be far off when we will require a very thorough review of these local government arrangements. I'm well aware that this is not a novel idea. I know and other members of the House know, though none of them have seen fit to mention it so far, that the municipalities themselves, the union of Manitoba municipalities and the union of urban municipalities jointly, let it be said to their credit -- a very great deal of credit is due to them on this point -- jointly are conducting their own studies of this state of affairs with respect to the organization and structure of our municipal governments and our school districts in Manitoba insofar as they affect municipalities, and they affect them very much indeed. This study is under the chairmanship of the very distinguished Manitoban, Dr. Murray Fisher, who was for many years a widely respected, indeed admired Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs in this province, whose experience and broad view, I think on this matter and on many others, is second to none in the Province of Manitoba. These bodies of municipal men have voluntarily and on their own initiative and with their own money, let it be said, they have initiated this study into municipal government in the Province of Manitoba. I think they have done a wise and statesmanlike thing. I expect that their report will be before us before very long. Sometime during the coming year I expect the report of this investigation into the structure of municipal government to be before us, and I am as certain as I am standing here that it is going to call for the most serious consideration.

Now it may be that when you get a report of that nature which necessarily is, as the lawyers say, "exparte", which I believe means from one point of view -- if that's right the lawyers can remain silent; if it's wrong they can correct me -- but it may be that recommendations of that sort need to be filtered again when we receive them because one can expect that perhaps not all their recommendations will be without complications, which perhaps even they do not recognize when they make them. But however that may be, do not rule out the possibility of change in the financial and organizational structure of the municipalities of Manitoba. We have got to the stage now where perhaps most of the money, in some municipalities by far the greatest part of the money that they spend, comes from this government; and what does that do to the initiative and to the constitutional position, if you want to look at it that way, of those municipal officials. Perhaps it would be better if responsibilities were redefined; perhaps it would be better if financial resources in the field of taxation were redefined and reorganized and changed and brought up-to-date; because in spite of the committee that sat under the leadership of my honourable friend the Member for Lakeside many years ago -- not many years ago but about six or seven years ago -- no really fundamental changes outside the Metro area had taken place in connection with this matter of municipal government. So I say to the House that by no means take the present situation for granted, and by no means impute to us -- if I can use a word commonly employed by the honourable member of the New Democratic Party -- by no means impute to us satisfactoral complacency with the situation as we find it. Twenty-three million dollars more -- yes, but I think that we may very well and before long be called upon to take a new look at this whole problem and the government itself awaits with the greatest of interest and, I may say, expectation, the recommendations that will be presented to us by this joint study of the two municipal bodies under the presidency of Dr. Murray Fisher. So I say to my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition and the Leader of the New Democratic Party, and all who have spoken on this question of municipal finances, that they need not think that their complaints fall on deaf ears. They need not think that there is any sense of self-satisfaction on this side in connection with the problems and they need not think that it is not a matter which will receive our attention.

Part of the address of my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition was taken up in dealing with the question of the school division plan. Not a very great part, I'll have to admit, but he did include, among his catalogue of hasty actions on our part, he did include haste in setting up the school division plan. Well I must say that it is a matter of opinion as to whether it was hasty or whether it was not. But I want to say this, that if this government has to be judged by the people over the House, if there is any one thing upon which we would like to stand

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . or to fall, I want to tell you that it's on the question of what we did in reorganizing education in the Province of Manitoba. If anyone opposite me today, now or on the hustings, wants to take a ballot on the question of whether we did right or wrong, whether we were hasty or slow on the question of the school division plan, we're willing to face up to that charge and we're willing to accept our full measure of responsibility, because we think we did the right thing. We think we did a good thing. We more than think it. We have a little bit of evidence to indicate that perhaps it was the right thing to do. Since that plan came in, some 2,688 new schools have been built -- 2,688 -- to say nothing of renovations, improvements, teacherages and things of that sort. I want to say that the new high schools are now the landmarks of the towns of Manitoba, replacing the grain elevators that used to be the main distinguishing feature of many of our towns. It's the high school today. But it isn't really a question of bricks and mortar; it isn't really a question of the number of rooms or how much money you put into it. Those perhaps are some degree of measurement, but the fruit of the policy rests entirely in the boys and girls who are going to school that weren't going to high school before. I say that the people of this province are proud of what they have done for their children in the high schools of this province. The people where schools have been built, and the school division people, are proud of their new schools and they know they have done the right thing. They recognize what they owe to the pioneers in the little red schoolhouse that my honourable friend the Member for Lakeside has such affectionate memories of, and I can quite understand why, because it was the genesis. But on top of that structure, on top of those pioneer efforts for education, we have been able to complete it by erecting this structure of secondary schools over the whole of the Province of Manitoba, where people can see that their children get education.

I must say that taxes have gone up in some places. I must admit that, but I want to share something with this House. I've been one of these men who's been flitting around wasting our time, according to the Honourable Member for Gladstone or is it the Honourable Member for Emerson -- I'm not sure which, they're both so negative I've trouble distinguishing between them -- wasting our time opening these new schools. I've not been reproached yet by any taxpayer because he's paying more taxes for that new school. I'm sure they don't like paying more taxes. I'm sure that they look at that tax bill and understand clearly what it means, but I think that when they understand the contribution the government has made and what we have done in good faith to pay our share of the school bill, that they are willing to make that sacrifice. I won't sell the people of this province short by saying in any audience in this province that they are not proud of their educational system and not willing to make the sacrifices that they are called upon to make.

I went to a school in Turtle River. Turtle River school division happens to be pretty well co-terminus with the Constituency of Ste. Rose so I was rather interested in going there, I'll admit it frankly. They have four or five new high schools. My honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition knows more than I do about this -- (Interjection) -- seven? Well, there you are. I attended one of the openings with him. He was wasting his time on that same occasion along with me, and we went to Amaranth where we opened a very handsome new high school facility. I must say that my honourable friend was more than kind and more than generous to the government on the platform that afternoon. He didn't accuse us of haste. He didn't talk about increased taxes. He didn't say any of those rather negative things that some members of this House say when you talk about schools. He got up, to his everlasting credit, and he said: "This is a good school. The people here need it and it's something we should have". Whatever quarrels we may have in the time to come or whatever differences of view that may develop between us, I can always remember that. And I know why he said that. He said that because he knew, as I know, that in the last two years in Turtle River there has been a 60% increase in the number of boys and girls going to high school -- 60% more -- 60% more in two years. -- (Interjection) -- Well, my honourable friend has been looking for votes a lot longer than I have, so I bow to his superior wisdom. But, Sir, there was 60% increase in the high school students in the constituency of Ste. Rose, Turtle River division, and in addition to that, in that particular division, the province happens to pay 68% of the total school bill. I think that gives you, in a more intimate fashion than the larger figures and the millions of dollars and the thousands of schoolrooms do, some idea of the impact of the high school division system of the

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . Province of Manitoba. We're going to see it in our university. University enrolment is going to rise. There's a big increase in university grants this year. They're about three times what they were when we came in and they're going to go higher. And I want to tell all members of the House to brace themselves because we need more money for loans and more money for scholarships and more money for our university as time goes by, because we're going to generate the future of our country through the high school system into the university and at the technical schools, by reason of these improvements in our high school system and what they mean to the rural sections of the Province of Manitoba.

I know that many people in Winnipeg around here don't know about these things. They've always had good high school systems, but I suggest to you that the people of the country know what it means and even though they're not going to agree with everything we have done, that even though they're going to be able to criticize us quite legitimately for some of the miscalculations which inevitably arise from any new policy that's started, I think they are going to give us the credit for having the courage and the conviction to do what we thought was right and which now we know was right for the people of this province. I don't think you can make a case for haste on the basis of the high school system. I could talk about the fact that this subject has been debated in this Chamber as long as I've been here and we had a Royal Commission on it and then we did something about ten years before anything happened. I could say that's not very hasty, but I can say that whatever else it may be it was the right thing to do and it is done good, and on that basis we stand or fall.

Well, Sir, I want to change to some of the other points my honourable friend made, and I'm afraid that at the risk of being repetitious, I must talk about this charge about hospital taxation and hospital rates and misleading the House and mismanagement and all that kind of thing which cluttered my honourable friend's speech. I think it rather marred what was in some respects a rather good criticism of what we're doing. What shall we say about it? Mismanagement we're called upon. We're mismanagers. We're deliberately misleading the House which I -- this doesn't apply to the whole of the government, this is just me -- I am slipshod; I am without all the facts and figures; and then on that rather questionable basis, my honourable friend says, comes into the House and deceives us or else he doesn't know what he's doing. What are we to say to those charges after the exhaustive explanations made by the Honourable Minister of Health with respect to this matter just a few days ago when he exploded the charge completely and underlined what can only be described as a crass statement on the part of the Leader of the Opposition. I wouldn't mind so much if the debate was confined to the Chamber here. We're used to this kind of thing and I must tell him that I've made mistakes myself along things in this respect. I don't claim any perfectability on it and I really am not too angry that he has made this unusual error, but what does upset me is that the television people got a hold of it and I think some of the newspaper folk too, and they magnified this accusation which amounts to cheating; which amounts to deception of the public in connection with this matter, and I don't know what; when all the time the whole crisis arose out of a mistake in simple arithmetic on the part of my honourable friend. When the Minister of Health was able to get to the little yellow book, which was the basis of my honourable friend's charge, I think it became quite apparent that the 3% which he was trying to marry off with the 12 1/2% should really have been married off with the 5.2%, and the subsequent statement of my honourable friend the Minister of Health that the 5.2% which we were allegedly trying to cut to 3, in what we had asked the hospitals to do, would in practice and when the year is over, turn out to be pretty well right on the button.

Now if you want any more proof, all you have to do is wait until the estimates come down tomorrow or the next day and you'll see what we've done with the money. There's no deception there and you will see where we're asking you to vote it. If you want any evidence that we're trying to play this thing as my honourable friend usually says, "try to play it straight", I ask you to look at the estimates when they come in. Now I will excuse my honourable friend for his failure to understand correctly the information given in the yellow book and applying the wrong set of percentages, because it's a thing that's quite easy to do. I've done it myself. But I must say that while I don't think any apology or correction is due to us here, we're not looking for that kind of thing, I think the record ought to be put straight insofar as the general public is concerned, because as my honourable friend says, he appeals really, when he speaks over



(Mr. Roblin, cont'd.) . . . . the heads of the Chamber to the public, in Opposition, and that's true. I agree with that, but it is important that the public get the facts correctly, and I think that if an incorrect information has been given and wrong inferences drawn, and, as I say, cheating and deception imputed to us and that's not so, then I think we are entitled to expect some kind of a statement on this matter from those who made it. Well, so much for rushing into the hospital plan and so much for rushing into the question of premiums and the question of taxes to raise this money.

Now I want to say something about Metro. We are accused of rushing too fast into Metro. Well of all the places where we rushed, I think that's the place where the charges are more easy to deny than almost any other, because if one traces the history of the demand for metropolitan government in this province, one can't start at the date in which the Metro Bill was introduced into this House by me. One has to start with the requests of the Mayors in the Metro area, I think it was 1952, that something should be done, and that was eight years before anything was done at all. You have to go back to the Municipal-Provincial Commission that was established by the Honourable the Member for Lakeside when he was First Minister, in which they made some comments and recommendations on the same point. You have to go back to the Royal Commission that was set up and which for a number of years exhaustively analyzed the question, and although we did not accept the precise recommendations of the Royal Commission, I want to tell the House now, as I said quite frankly two years ago when the bill came in, that the principles on which we were working were indeed those that had been developed as basic by that Royal Commission.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am frank to admit that there will be another opportunity to talk about Metro, and on that other opportunity I expect to have a good deal to say about the Blake-Goldenberg report, because I think members will be interested in knowing -- and I'm sure the general public have the right to know -- why the government decided that the Blake-Goldenberg report would not be a suitable thing to implement at this time. We will be prepared at the appropriate moment to make a full statement as to why we think that, in fairness to all the municipal governments in the area, Blake-Goldenberg was not indicated at the present moment. There is another aspect of Metro which I expect to have some discussions on with members of the House before we're through, and that is the whole question of Metro finance; whether the provincial support is adequate or whether it's not; and the principles which we think should govern the relationship on a financial basis between Metro and the province, because I think that the public and the House are entitled to know what our views are on that subject. We anticipate a full debate on those points at a later time, as we have already made it clear in the speech that we intend to deal with those matters in this session. But I think there is one aspect of Metro finance that I am bound to mention now because it was raised by one of the members in this debate in such a way as to make it impossible or inadvisable to delay in replying to it. The Honourable the Leader of the New Democratic Party and the Honourable the Member for Seven Oaks mentioned Metro and its problems, and I want to repeat the feelings of appreciation that I expressed previously to the constructive and, I think, correct way in which they made their references. I don't agree with the impression left with some by the Honourable Member for Seven Oaks that amalgamation is the cause. I have different views on that, but I do appreciate what they said because I think it was meant to be helpful.

Now I'm going to make some further remark on what was said by the Honourable Member for St. John's because, and I'm not critical of what he said because I feel it was probably good that he brought out the point that he did, but he made some comparisons between the support given by the Government of Ontario to Metropolitan Toronto with the support given by this government to Metropolitan Winnipeg, and believe me, he wasn't very pleased with what he saw. Figures, as he said, "figures can't lie, but liars can figure", was his remark earlier on tonight. I don't like to put it that way because I think that there are several legitimate ways, no doubt, of looking at the same set of figures, but I don't criticize him for using his. He said that Metropolitan Toronto got millions of dollars more than Metropolitan Winnipeg, not only in actual amount but also in relationship or in comparison with the help that is given in one province as with that in the other. His point was that Metropolitan Winnipeg deserves much better treatment than it was getting today if we were to be able to place ourselves in any situation of comparison with the people in Metropolitan Toronto. Now I think that he left a very loose and

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd.) . . . . inaccurate impression, which I'm afraid has gained some currency, that his view of the situation was correct. It's not the only view and I maintain it is not even the correct view, and I would like to give some different analysis to the problem that he placed before us in this respect.

The first thing that you have to understand, Sir, is that there is a vast difference indeed between the responsibilities of Metropolitan Winnipeg and the responsibilities of Metropolitan Toronto. They are much more centralized. How amalgamation has proceeded to a much greater extent in Toronto than it has here, and let me give you some illustration of the extent to which that has taken place. In Metropolitan Toronto the health and welfare services are largely the responsibility of Metro -- the hospitalization of indigent patients; the post-sanatorium care of consumption; homes for the aged; the maintenance of wards of the Childrens' Aid Society; and different social services of that nature are part of the responsibility of Metropolitan Toronto. Metropolitan Toronto also includes in its annual budget the current estimates of the Metropolitan School Board, which are enormous. The Metropolitan Corporation, on the advice of the Metropolitan School Board, determines the amounts of funds to be approved for the purchase of new school sites and the erection of new buildings, and the capital funds required for these purposes are raised by Metropolitan Toronto on the credit of the Corporation and handed over to the school boards as they are required. The provincial education grants, as I tried to point out to my honourable friend the Member for St. John's when he was speaking, accrue to the Metropolitan School Board, and are included in the grants that the Province of Ontario pays to Metropolitan Toronto. Now you can see that on that one item alone, if we included in the grants to our Metro the grants to all the area school boards, what a nice picture it would make of provincial support to Metro, but we do it another way and that is why the difference between the two is so marked, because they have so many services centralized which are not centralized here. Take the police force. The police force of the 13 municipalities which comprise Metropolitan Toronto were joined in 1957, so naturally that inflates the Metropolitan situation there. The administration of justice is centralized in that the Corporation is required to provide and maintain a courthouse and a gaol for the County of York and a Juvenile and Family Court for the Metropolitan area. That, of course, is not the case here. And in housing -- in Metropolitan Toronto the Corporation there has all the powers of a municipality in respect to housing, and the grants that we are going to give to the City of Winnipeg, which incidentally were not mentioned in my comparison of provincial aid to municipalities, you can add several millions more to that figure of 23 when you see the full impact of this coming estimated budget on municipal government. In Toronto, Metro has an interest in housing, where it certainly doesn't have that interest and financial concern here. They exercise jurisdiction over practically all the aspects of licensing, and they also have air pollution control, so you can see that there are many, many aspect of municipal government indeed which here are handled by area municipalities -- are not transferred to Metro; are not part of their responsibility -- which are part of the responsibility of Metropolitan government in Toronto. The main one, of course, is education, because there the education grants filter through the Metropolitan system and inflate the size of the provincial grants to Metro in Toronto.

All right, my honourable friend the Member for St. John's said, "so what!" He said to us: "I don't care how you slice it, it's still you know what." He said to us, and I quote: "but I want to say to the First Minister that he can total all the costs, and he can total all the contributions of the Province of Manitoba to Metro, to the individual municipalities, to the school districts of Greater Winnipeg, and if he can come within half" -- he was rather generous -- "if he can come within half of the percentage that the Province of Ontario comes to with regard to Metropolitan Toronto, I would be very glad to congratulate him." Well, I took note of that because he doesn't very often congratulate me, and I thought that if there was any chance of getting that little bouquet from my honourable friend I should be zealous enough to see what it was, so the necessary calculations were made. In the Province of Ontario, and I'll deal with direct aid -- direct aid from the Province of Ontario to the total area budget, including Metropolitan Toronto, including the area municipalities, including the school districts in that area, comes to 23% of the total cost. And what is the same figure in the Province of Manitoba? In the Province of Manitoba the provincial direct aid to all the area municipalities, all the area school boards and to Metro itself, comprises 21% of their budget, so I'm due for some congratulations.

MR. PAULLEY: I wonder if the Honourable First Minister has the figures on a per capita basis.

MR. ROBLIN: No, I haven't it on a per capita basis but I can tell my honourable friend something about that. I think I can tell him that the per capita basis will be quite different. I think I can tell him, and I have no objection to his raising this point, that there is a marked difference, I would expect, although I have not calculated the figures myself, between what is done there and what is done here, for the reason that there is a difference in every municipal structure -- between Metropolitan Winnipeg, between Brandon and the provincial grants, and any place you like to go you get those variations, but you get it particularly when you're dealing with what is a very rich and well-developed part of the country, which I claim Metropolitan Toronto is, compared to an area which is still doing not too badly, but really isn't in the same league with the people in Toronto. In any case, my honourable friend's question was a question of percentages, and on a percentage basis, 23% in Ontario; 21% in Manitoba; so we're really not too far off. But there's something else you should consider, and that is that in dealing with Metropolitan Toronto you're dealing with 42% of the total assessed value of the Province of Ontario, but in dealing with Metropolitan Winnipeg you're dealing with 65% of the total assessed value of real estate in the Province of Manitoba. That's something to think about -- 65% -- the richest tax base in the entire province as far as real estate goes concentrated in one area here, as opposed to 42% in the Metropolitan area of Toronto. So, with those facts, I do not think that we need be too downcast at the criticisms made of us by the Honourable Member for St. John's in this respect. I should add, perhaps, that .....

MR. ELMAN GUTTORMSON (St. George): On a Point of Order, if the First Minister continues his remarks he is breaking the rules of the House. I have no objection to him continuing his speech, but I hope that we will be allowed the same courtesy.

MR. ROBLIN: Mr. Speaker, I should point out that when I am defending the government, as I am on this occasion, there is no limitation on time.

MR. GUTTORMSON: Mr. Speaker, the rules stipulate if another member of the Cabinet speaks for more than 40 minutes during the same debate, then the First Minister is limited to 40 minutes.

MR. ROBLIN: Well, Sir, if anyone has spoken over 40 minutes he was not called to time by the Speaker, and I'm making my speech in defence of the administration.

MR. GUTTORMSON: The Minister of Agriculture spoke for over an hour.

MR. ROBLIN: Very well, many other members spoke more than 40 minutes on this occasion who were not on this side of the House, but I'll abide by whatever decision Mr. Speaker makes on this matter.

MR. SPEAKER: I might point out that when the Honourable Minister of Agriculture was speaking many of the members were running interference for him and they used up most of his time. In actual speaking time, in my opinion, he did not speak more than his allotted time.

MR. ROBLIN: Mr. Speaker, I have another interesting comparison here and I want to make one point clear, that I would not ask members to believe that the argument that I am making is conclusively proved by any set of figures that are produced because, as I say, there are many ways of looking at them, but I think that if you take these figures they do give some indication of the fact that the provincial support to the Metropolitan area is reasonable. Perhaps it's not enough, we may have to make changes, who knows, but it is not as bad as some are making out -- 23% in Toronto and 21% here. Another interesting figure is this, that in Ontario direct municipal aid to the Metropolitan area of Toronto takes up 9% of the provincial budget and here it takes up 13%. I don't claim to prove anything by that figure, I just offer it as an interesting statistic for the members of the House. But I do think I have proved this. I have proved that I'm entitled to the congratulations of the Honourable Member for St. John's with respect to the challenge that he put before us the other day when he was debating this question of support for Metro, and I would hope that some members of the House might tell him where my office is and I'd be happy to have him come in any time, or perhaps he would like to do it across the floor of the House -- it would be even more acceptable under those circumstances, and let him tell me that, although he may not think we're all that we're cracked up to be, that we're not quite as bad as some of the criticisms that he has been seeking to bring against us.

Now we get another one of these "haste" charges. I'm not entirely sure whether the

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd.) . . . . Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, who thinks that we're running hot and cold, too fast in some directions and too slow in others, I'm not sure whether he really included the, by now, well-worn theme of tax rentals under the hasty connection or under the slow connection, but whatever particular category he wants to put it under, he makes it perfectly clear that he doesn't think much of it, so I suppose that we'll have to re-open this old can of worms again and have a go at some of the points that he's made there. I think the main point that he made, and I notice he got a great deal of pleasure out of making it -- it really gave him a lift when he talked about how the Premier and the government had knuckled under. That was the phrase -- "knuckled under" -- and really it was most reprehensive that we had been sent, at the public expense mind you, all the way down to Ottawa on the taxpayers money just to "knuckle under" and to say "howdy" to "Uncle John" or whatever it was that my honourable friend thought we were doing down there. I really think that I have to tell him that I don't think we knuckled under. If so, we were in pretty good company because it's only fair to point out that the Premier of Quebec, Jean Lesage, had to knuckle under. Perhaps he wouldn't call it that way. He didn't like the agreement altogether; he made some vigorous protests; but he had to take it or leave it. He had to knuckle under. The Premier of Newfoundland, who now finds the Federal Government rather better neighbors than he had thought -- judging from recent press reports he seems to like what they're doing for him -- he had to knuckle under and take the proposition that was offered to him. Little Mr. -- I won't, that's unparliamentary -- Mr. Louis Robichaud, the new Premier of New Brunswick, who came in with all that fire and enthusiasm which my honourable friends accuse relatively new Premiers of having, and thank goodness it's true, he came in with all that zeal to improve the position of the Province of New Brunswick, and I've got to report to the House, Sir, that he knuckled under. I have to say the same thing of Mr. Manning, so that my honourable friend from Rhineland would get in on this somewhere. Mr. Manning didn't really have much protest about the whole arrangement. I thought of him as being perhaps the most acquiescent of us all in this particular matter, but he had to knuckle under.

So it seems that regardless of what your political complexion is or what your political view may be, or your relationship with the Government at Ottawa, you all come to the final decision -- every one of us, every last ten of the Premiers of Canada -- Are you going to take it or are you going to leave it? We came to this House and we said, "take it!". We didn't say that we liked everything about it. We were rather clear on that subject, I thought. As a matter of fact as things go in politics, we were rather frank with what we said about that agreement at that time, but we said to the House that in our judgment it is something that we had better accept for the Province of Manitoba rather than leave. So if that's knuckling under, when everybody else is in the same boat with us, my honourable friend may describe it that way if he likes. I don't think it was knuckling under. I think anyone who followed the negotiations as closely as I trust some members of this House did, would have to conclude that we did put up some pretty stout protests from time to time on what we thought was wrong, and that we did try to get the best deal that we could for the province, just as every one of the nine other Premiers did, fighting for his province. I wouldn't say they knuckled under. I wouldn't say they all agreed. We didn't agree completely with what we got. They did the best they could in those negotiations and I make no apology for saying that we did the same. But my honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition goes around the country and he says: "This is costing you money. You're not getting your rightful dues. The province is going to be worse off. The taxpayers of this province are subsidizing somebody else. It's not a good deal."

MR. CAMPBELL: It's true.

MR. ROBLIN: Well, we'll come to that. Well what was it worse or better than? -- (Interjection) -- All right. Let's look at the deal that my honourable friends brought in in 1957. When they came to this House in '57 with the agreement which expires on the 31st day of March this year, they didn't say that it wasn't any good -- (Interjection) -- Well, I didn't. Now I'll be frank about this. I did not. My honourable friend the Member for Lakeside will probably remember, and to do him justice, he didn't say it was perfect either. He said that there were some defects in it; that he would have liked more. And who wouldn't like more? Let me frankly say that if anyone offers me more, I'm going to take it -- that's for sure. But in 1957 the Honourable Member for Lakeside, who was then Premier, supported by the Honourable Member

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd.) . . . . for Ste. Rose, came before this House and recommended that agreement to it; and we who were in Opposition then agreed that the government was presenting a deal that we could accept and we did accept it. Now I mention it for a purpose and that is this, that if the 1957 plan with all its virtues, and there were many, had been in force in this coming year 1962-63, we would have got \$39,540,000 all in and that is not including, and I want to make this clear, that is not including the special hospitalization tax, so the comparison can be on all fours -- leaving that out. The '57 agreement gave us \$39 1/2 million. The plan that is so terrible, the plan that is selling the province down the river and all the rest of it, will provide for us in this coming year \$43,974,000, or an increase over the '57 plan of some \$4,433,000.00. Well I say, Mr. Speaker, that if the deal was worth taking in '57 that would give us 39 1/2, the deal that we've got now which gives us 43, pretty nearly \$44 million, is worth taking today. I say that when people are discussing the merits of the two schemes, and I'm not adverse to any discussion of those measures, let it be clearly stated what the net financial advantage to this province is by having accepted, or as my friend says, having knuckled under and taken the arrangement that is proposed for the next five years. In this year of grace it is worth \$4 1/2 million more or less, more to the Province of Manitoba in cash than the deal that we got before. -- (Interjection) -- Well, I'll tell you what the proposal of Mr. Pearson is. You might be interested in that. I didn't intend to do this, but I just brought this on the off-chance you might ask me.

MR. MOLGAT: Are you going to answer the question?

MR. ROBLIN: I'm going to answer the question? I know you would want me to do so. Well, let's read what Mr. Pearson had to say, and this is a report of his speech in the Free Press on Tuesday, November 7th, 1961, when he was speaking down in the Province of Quebec. I think that the Honourable the Leader of the New Democratic Party must have read this speech because when he was speaking in the debate the other day he really landed a haymaker on the chin of my honourable friend the Leader of the Liberal Party in asking just how this statement was to be interpreted. Well, it puzzles me as to how it should be interpreted as well, because this is what Mr. Pearson said, and these are the quotations of his exact words according to the press report: "As a matter of fact we believe that the Federal Government should withdraw from the field of joint programs which are of a permanent character once these programs are well established across the country. This proposal applies more particularly in the field of social security, Mr. Pearson says." Now if I may just add a word of my own here, the House should remember that these joint shared programs today are worth to the Province of Manitoba 24 or \$26 million. It's not small fry we're talking about. It's 24 or \$26 million. It's over half the value of the tax rental agreement, which are quite separate from this altogether. And then Mr. Pearson, of course, doesn't leave the matter there. Let's be fair to him. He goes on and says how he's going to handle it, and this is what he says: "In putting an end to its financial contributions to such programs, the Federal Government should compensate the provinces by giving them more leeway in the field of direct taxation, so that with equalization added their costs will not increase." Now those are the two significant phrases there -- "with equalization added their costs will not increase." Well, I'm not looking for a plan that doesn't increase my costs. I'm looking for a plan that gives me more money, if I'm to reject the one that we've got now. I say to my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition, who has so blithely promised to abolish the hospital premiums by increased federal shared costs, when the Federal Government have announced they're going out of the shared cost business -- (Interjection) -- All right, you can explain it when you get to the budget or any time you like. I'd like to find out just how you reconciled it. I want to find out what this phrase "with equalization added" means. We know it means equalized to the top province -- that's fine. We'd like to see that, but I want to know what's being equalized. I want to know the basis on which this equalization is to be calculated. It's all very well to talk of equalization, but if you don't define your terms closely, you don't know whether you're ahead or behind. -- (Interjection) -- Well, I'd like to say that in the course of this general election which we can anticipate fairly soon, there's nothing I'm going to listen to more closely than Mr. Pearson's views on equalization and what this plan of his really means, because after he said all those nice things, which we can look at in an optimistic way unless it means something we don't think it means, and then he says: "their costs will not increase". Well, doesn't that seem to indicate that our question of getting a great deal much more,

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd.) . . . . by way of bigger revenues from Mr. Pearson's scheme, is certainly open for question? I frankly admit I don't know what Mr. Pearson means. If the Leader of the Opposition knows what Mr. Pearson means and they can prove it from Mr. Pearson's own lips, then I'll listen to him, and if there's a better scheme than the one that we have here and Mr. Pearson's elected, I'm going to take it.

MR. MOLGAT: Would you like . . . . . now?

MR. ROBLIN: You had your chance. Until I do, I don't think that I'm going to be very satisfied with the proposals that are put before us at the present time. Well, Sir -- (Interjection) -- Yes, he's passed up one chance to tell us about him but I'm going to wait to hear it from Mr. Pearson's own mouth, because when my honourable friend walks off in one direction promising to abolish hospital premiums by getting more money from Ottawa without any indication from Mr. Pearson that he's going to get it, then I wonder whether his promise is worth very much. When I find out that Mr. Pearson is proposing to abolish these shared programs and substitute for it some formula which is rather inexact . . . . .

MR. GUTTORMSON: All Mr. Pearson said here is he would go along with the Leader here in Manitoba.

MR. ROBLIN: Well, what's he going to do with the Leader in other places? He better get together with the lot of them. I tell you one thing, that if Mr. Pearson should happen to be in a position to implement this promise -- and I'm not one of these rather noisy people who take the verdict of the electorate for granted, I prefer to wait and see how they vote before I make any rash statements of that sort -- but if he should be in a position to implement this promise, I sincerely hope for the good name of the Leader of the Opposition that it means more money for Manitoba. And if it does and I'm still in my position, I'm going to accept it. Now, Mr. Speaker, enough of this . . . . .

. . . . . Continued on next page

MR. MOLGAT: Mr. Speaker, before my honourable friend leaves this subject, would he also tell us about the deal that Ontario is getting under the new plan? It is very much part of the whole affair.

MR. ROBLIN: Well you know there's a little phrase in the Litany that keeps running through my mind: "From envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness, Good Lord deliver us." My honourable friend may be right in some of his views on this, but I urge him not to go around stirring up trouble between provinces. If you want to raise Cain with Mr. Diefenbaker or with me that's fair game, but this stimulation of envy between provinces on the part of my honourable friend is something which I really can't say that I approve of.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are a great many other things that I desire to say so I mustn't allow myself to dwell on this interesting question, no matter how attractive it might be, except I want to reiterate that we're going to get 4.4 or \$5 million more under this much maligned scheme that we've asked the House to accept than the arrangements that were presented here five years ago.

Now what about the Floodway? I do not think that it would be fair of me to make any critical comments on what the Leader of the Opposition had to say about the Floodway on this occasion. He raised two points, I think. I'm not sure of one. He certainly raised the point that if Saskatchewan got 75% and we didn't, then he's going to be mighty unhappy. In fact, I think he said that if we didn't get the 75%, regardless of what happened in Saskatchewan, he's going to be mighty unhappy. I don't know whether he said it, but certainly some of his supporters said: "we don't care how much you get, the thing's no good and we won't go along with it". I don't think it would be fair for me at this moment to object to those criticisms because I'm hopeful that as this session progresses we will have a chance to try and convince honourable gentlemen on all sides of the House, and we trust the public, that the policy that we have been following in connection with the Floodway is not an irresponsible one; that perhaps even these charges which they like so much about my having been indiscreet when asked what the Province of Manitoba should do, in having given away our bargaining position. I think the quotation is: "In a fit of temper". I'm not even going to rebuke them on that because I think we're going to have plenty of time before we're through to examine the records and see exactly what happened and who said what to whom and why. When that is all refreshed in the minds of honourable gentlemen, I don't think they'll be quite so stern in their admonitions as far as I am concerned and certainly not as far as the government is concerned.

I think the Leader of the Opposition is entitled to a little more information before we ask him to make up his mind on the question of the Floodway. I think he is entitled to a little more information on the financial characteristics of the plan; its comparison with Saskatchewan which, I think, was a point raised by him. -- (Interjection) -- Yes, we'll give you that. If you didn't ask for the Saskatchewan, you asked for our figures which we'll give you. I think my honourable friend and some honourable gentlemen opposite are not entirely convinced about the technical acceptability of the entire program that we've embarked upon, and I want to ask for the opportunity to try and convince them that our view is sound. I'm not going to labour that point now because that's a debate in a speech all in itself, but I do tell them, and I tell the House, that we will be placing before them a motion on which we can have a full and complete discussion on this particular matter of public importance to which I think that he has referred and which I think is worthy of that kind of treatment. After all, this is one of the biggest issues that many of us will be called upon to vote upon. It's true that it's not as big as the hydro issue was, but then it's not as clear-cut and as obvious as the hydro issue was, of some \$130 million dollars more or less on the South Saskatchewan River. But whatever the difference may be, it's certainly a very large sum of money and I think that we want the opportunity to try and convince this House that the policies that we are adopting in respect of it are policies which are sound on all counts and will bear a reasonable comparison -- will bear a reasonable comparison to similar arrangements that have been made in the Province of Saskatchewan to which a diversion has already been made.

Now I don't know whether I've much more to say about my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition, except to say that he's in a fortunate position these days in having it both ways. He's arraigned us on a long series of charges of haste and he has arraigned us on a long series of charges of delay. One of them is teachers' pensions. In respect of teachers' pensions, I

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . might just refresh his memory and remind him that he was a member of the government which in 1957, which isn't very long ago, in 1957 brought in this atrocious Teachers' Pension Plan. There, that's something that should be remembered, that it was the previous government in 1957 which my honourable friend supported that brought in that pension plan. I remember with some interest his rebuke to the Member for Birtle-Russell saying that he should be zealous as a backbencher to imprint his views on the policy of the government. Well I couldn't think of that advice coming from a better source because the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition was a member of the government backbench for some six or seven years, or was it longer, and he had, I'm sure, a great deal of influence on the policy and the decisions that that government pursued, so I think that we can associate him with what that government did with no difficulty whatsoever and that he wouldn't be preaching to the Member for Birtle-Russell on something which he, himself, failed to do. So I think that we should remember that the Teachers' Pension Plan of 1957 was one that was introduced by the past administration. It's not very ancient yet. It was accepted then as being quite a satisfactory scheme, I believe. I know that it was represented to us by the government at the time as being a good scheme for teachers' pensions, but I want to give my opinion that it isn't a very good scheme for teachers' pensions. I want to give my opinion, Sir, that it does need a very considerable reform and overhaul, but I don't think that all those complaints of undue delay were quite as justified coming from the mouths of the honourable gentlemen who made them. I will say this, that in this session we do hope to make some improvements in the Teachers' Pension Plan and we acknowledge the responsibility to see that a thorough reform and overhaul of that plan takes place just as soon as is reasonable under the circumstances. And that is exactly what we are going to do. I can't really recall all the other complaints of undue delay that were levied at us, but I know this, that if we had done all the things that he complains were delayed and left all of the things that he said were hasty, he'd be in a position to make entirely the same speech that he made the other day and all he'd have to do is reverse a few paragraphs, so it's a question of "when did you stop beating your wife?". It's that kind of a question that he was able to pose to us the other day and, frankly, I didn't find it too convincing.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I feel that I must say a word on the subject which I frankly confess I would prefer not to speak on at this time and under these circumstances if left to my own devices. I regret that the gentleman who is responsible for my feeling the necessity to talk on these points tonight is not here. At least he isn't in his seat, and I'm referring to the Honourable Member for St. Boniface. The other night he made a pretty direct, not very subtle reference to the problems of private and parochial schools, and I must say, Sir, that I am distressed by what I think to be his rather uncharitable criticisms of the Progressive Conservative Party and of myself. I really don't mind him having a little fun at my expense about the cult of the leader and all that kind of thing, because we know that that kind of language is just ridiculous when applied to any leader of a democratic party of this country. Many people I know, not very many really but a few, sometimes think that if you're Premier you can do anything you like. All you have to do is decide to do it and go ahead. Wait until you have been in the job a little while and you'll find out that that isn't the case. If you're ever so silly as to have such an idea, my honourable friend the member for Lakeside and I can agree on this one, because on the policies that any government pursue the First Minister, regardless of what his views may be, is under the absolutely justifiable necessity of being able to carry substantial groups of the people with him.

Now on this question, I would like to ask the Member for St. Boniface if he were here to ask, what the policy of his party is on this matter, and what his leader would do if he were Premier of Manitoba. I don't really need him to answer that question because we know what the answer is. The Liberal Party of Manitoba had a convention in April of last year, some eight or nine months ago, and to do them credit, they not only elected what I think is a very personable person as their leader, but they dealt with this problem as well, and I would like to read to the House what they decided about it. This comes from the Winnipeg Free Press of April 20, 1961. It says: "Liberal policy takes no stand, non-partisan on school aid. The Manitoba Liberal Party, Wednesday night, decided with little debate that it would not take a stand on the question of provincial aid to private schools. The party at its leadership convention adopted the report of a special committee set up to examine the matter under the chairmanship of Winnipeg lawyer,



(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . Alan Sweatman. The Committee's report says, and I quote, "The unanimous recommendations of the committee are as follows: (a) That the Liberal Party be non-partisan in its approach to the question, being neither for nor against public support for private and parochial schools. (b) That in accordance with the best traditions of the Liberal Party, every encouragement may be given to the development of objective and dispassionate attitudes among the people of Manitoba in the expectation that greater understanding of the factual aspects of the question will lead to its proper solution".

Now that is a sound statement and I congratulate those who drafted it and those who approved of it, because it is exactly the position that we took when we were dealing with this matter in the Legislature. Former Industry and Commerce Minister, F. L. Jobin, said: "It is impossible for this or any other party to form a majority opinion". He personally favoured aid to the private schools but, nevertheless, favoured the resolution and he said "this is not a case of shirking responsibility". I agree with him. It's a case of responsibility. To be perfectly fair about it, one of the prominent members of the Liberal Party there, a former President of the Liberal Party had this to say: "Hide delegates -- Joe O'Sullivan, past president of the Liberal Association chided delegates for criticizing the Conservative Government. There has been some suggestion that we would do well not to make this a partisan question, but the Conservative Government does wrong to take the same stand". And he goes on: "In fairness to the people of Manitoba, we should not seek to gain political advantage from this question, he insisted. This attitude is a sound basis for the government as well as the Liberal Party". That is the end of Mr. O'Sullivan's quotation. Now I want to pay my respects to Mr. O'Sullivan. I think that he, I'm sure after much inner conflict because I know his private views, and after much weighing of this most difficult of our traditional political problem in this province, I pay my respects to him that he delivered himself of so generous and, if I may say so, statesmanlike sentiment in dealing with this problem. I would like to hope that we can keep it on the same basis, because for all the pain that it may cause the Honourable Member for St. Boniface, and I do not for one second challenge his sincerity or the sincerity of the Leader of the Opposition or any other gentleman in this House, I respect it, but I say that if we are to do the right thing in Manitoba, we have to keep this on that high plane that the Liberal convention raised it to with almost unanimous consent. I pay my respects to Mr. O'Sullivan. I pay my respects to that convention because they did the right thing in the Province of Manitoba. I only hope that the members of this House will not fall short of the standards they have set for themselves and for us.

Well, Sir, I suppose that there are many other subjects about which I might comment. The debate has been very wide and free; so many aspects of it have been discussed. I really am just dying to get into this discussion between members of the House about the image of the New Democratic Party that is now gradually emerging. I must say that I think that they are vulnerable on one point. I don't suppose they'll listen to me on it but I'll give my opinion anyway, and that is this, that where a Party makes it possible for a group that, without using a word in an unpleasant sense, can only be described as a special interest group or pressure group, where they make it possible for such a special interest or pressure group to have special representation in the conventions of the Party that is concerned.

MR. PAULLEY: That's not true . . .

MR. ROBLIN: I think they are certainly raising questions in the minds of many people. Well, maybe it's not true, but my impression is that the constituency delegates find as their partners down there delegates who were elected in some other way. Now that's not customary in the Canadian political scene. I know it's customary in the United Kingdom. They get some pretty peculiar results over there as a result of it. But I really think that in order to dispel all substance to the charge that Mr. Hazen Argue has raised, they would do well to look to this reform in the constitution. I must say that in a sense I rather envy, in a way in which the path has been smoothed for the Honourable the Leader of the New Democratic Party in this matter of where the money comes from. I wish that -- this is rather a wish than a serious intent -- that I rather envy the fact that he can look to such substantial financial contributions raised on such a broad basis -- so many people as he gets from the trade union movement -- and I'm sure that's going to increase the party war chest.

MR. PAULLEY: . . . that's what your party has to use.

MR. ROBLIN: Well if I get as much as you do, I'm not going to complain.

MR. PAULLEY: Oh brother! I'll show you the statements.

MR. ROBLIN: But I'm going to tell you one thing, and I think that in fairness to the New Democratic Party this should be borne in mind. My experience is that money counts for very little in things like this. It's true you can put out a few pamphlets or you may be able to put a little ginger into certain aspects of your organization, but when you get down to it, if you haven't got the kind of policies and programs that the people are after, you're really not going to make the grade. So I don't really mind whether my honourable friends have a lot of money from the Trade Union or not. It perhaps will ease things a little if they do. They are still going to be under the same necessity as the other politicians of indicating that their policies and their programs are sound and are well based in respect to the needs of the people of the province. My honourable friend and his associates have never succeeded in doing that -- never will, my friend says -- well, I don't know -- (Interjection) -- That's right, I'm remembering that. Never is a long, long time. I remember so well -- well, of course, he didn't have the inestimable advantage of being in the opposition . . . . . me. But I remember very well when I sat where the Honourable Member for Lakeside sat, and I used to listen to the taunts and the barbs that were hurled at me and my little band of men over there. The Member for Carillon was pretty good at it. I think even the then First Minister occasionally took a swipe at us -- used to tell us that we'd never get into power. Where were the men? We'd never find the men. How could we run the government and all that kind of thing? No, I don't say "shame". I say that that's part of the normal give and take around here. I never replied to it but, on the other hand, I never very seriously objected to it because I always took the view that time will answer that question, and the electorate will answer that question. So I won't throw any barbs at my honourable friend the Leader of the New Democratic Party -- at least on this occasion. I won't promise to be like this all the time, but I won't throw any barbs at him nor at his erstwhile associate on the front bench a little further along, because I don't know when they'll be back in power. I can't tell -- (Interjection) -- I thought the word "erstwhile" took care of it, but if it doesn't I'll withdraw the imputation. I don't know whether they'll ever be on this side of the House again -- either one of them. I can't tell that, but I can tell you one thing, that we are going to do our best to continue to justify the confidence of the people of Manitoba, not on a basis of name-calling; not on a basis of raising spurious issues; not on any misrepresentation or misunderstanding with respect to what may be going on; but as far as we can, within our limits as mortal men, on what we believe to be a true and accurate presentation of the situation.

I don't think that there is anything that has been said against the government in this debate that is going to really justify a vote of no confidence, that we should go out of office. I know that in a sense it may be a formality, but even considering that, I don't think a charge has been made that sticks or that justifies itself. I admit that our work is not completed. I admit that there are problems we haven't solved. I admit that there are new difficulties that arise every day that require the best that we can give them but I say this, that we have made a sincere and honest effort and, on the whole, a successful effort to carry out those pledges and promises we made to our people when we came into office. We have tried as best we can to do those things.

We have reformed the face of the Agricultural Department in this government. The amount of money that goes into agriculture, although that's not the only measure, is double or triple what it was when we came into office. Research -- great developments out at the University. We have the leading animal livestock research institute in Canada at the present time, and our field crop work is not inferior in the slightest. We have established crop insurance as we said we would do, and we're looking forward to extending it over the whole of the province. We have assisted in the economic problems of agriculture which have concerned members opposite in agricultural credit. We think that by our policy in southeastern Manitoba, of setting up an area there that we're trying to improve and develop and reform and to make the most of the assets down there, that we're doing a good thing for the people of that part of the province. Mind you, as the Honourable Member for Emerson can tell you, they don't vote for us. That's right, they don't vote for us. That isn't very important, because we feel that that forest down there, which is only 35% efficient because of poor management and a lot of bad fires in days gone by, can be brought up to snuff. Mr. Chairman, the value of that forest is \$2 million per annum. Now with the advent of the plant at Sprague, one simple little plant, we've increased that value by half a million dollars, or 25%. That's the kind of thing we like to do. We didn't do it ourselves --

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . . of course not. There was industry in there; there was science in there; there were the local people in there. Perhaps our share wasn't a major share, but it was a contribution worth making, a contribution that hadn't been made before. I'll go so far as to say this, that without that contribution that particular enterprise would not have developed. So we are interested in trying to develop the Province of Manitoba. Water conservation -- we have more than doubled the expenditures in that important branch of government.

Education -- you know of the tremendous school building program. You know that the school grants have been doubled since we came into office, in round terms -- (Interjection) -- All right, I'm going to make it with a little assistance from you. If you'll ask me a few more questions I'll do better. -- (Interjection) -- But there are so many things that I would like to tell the members of this House which obviously they don't know. Do they know that since we came into office the capital investment in the University of Manitoba has been more than \$16 million? Now "put that in your pipe and smoke it", when you're talking about developing the university in this province. And we have pledged in addition to that, \$8 million more on a two for one matching grant formula to develop that university. Does this House know that we have increased the amount of capital grants we make to the affiliated colleges since we came into office by a very substantial amount? Does this House know that we are investing \$2 million at Brandon, being matched on a 2 for 1 basis by the people of Brandon to provide a liberal arts college in that part of the Province of Manitoba? Is this House aware that we have greatly increased the vocational educational facilities in the Province of Manitoba? The Leader of the Opposition finds something very amusing, but I suggest to him that these are practical examples of the results of the policies we've been following which he thinks are wrong. We are building a \$3 million vocational institute in the Brooklands suburb but, better than that, we have doubled the technical training facilities at Brandon, particularly for unemployed and for people coming into that part of the province. We've done the same thing -- (Interjection) -- . . . . that these technical training facilities are available on a scale that was never the case before in this province. If there is anything we've needed, it is an increase in these facilities that I refer to.

And what about the activities in the Department of Highways? Does anyone want me to reverse the investments that have been made in that particular field of activity? -- (Interjection) -- Well, I don't think any of them have been by Order-in-Council, but all with the consent and approval of this Legislature. Perhaps not by all the members of this House, but certainly by a majority here, and if anyone wants to see -- (Interjection) -- That's not a question of building roads, that's a question of wait. That's been regulated by Order-in-Council since Adam was a pup. We're not doing anything different there than was ever done before. -- (Interjection) -- You can help the Minister of Public Works out on that one when he gets on his feet, but I think you'll find that there's nothing of any great concern there.

And what about the roads in the north? Well, we had a lot of fun about skiing to Flin Flon, and I'll have to admit that if the former Honourable F. L. Jobin was around here he'd be able to really talk to the former Minister of Public Works about skiing to Flin Flon, because on gravel or on hard top he never would have made it on skis that year, and I'm the first man to say so. But I want to say this, that we have now practically completed a splendid road from the Peace Gardens on the boundary up to Flin Flon, hard-surfaced all the way, and where it is not up to standard, it is being rebuilt as quickly as possible. What that means in terms of increased tourist trade in that part of the country is evidenced by your visiting there yourself. I went up this summer. It was far from being in ideal condition but the people along the highway who were running tourist facilities told me that the Americans by some osmotic pressure, if I can steal a phrase, had discovered that we've got roads in northern Manitoba now and are coming up there to enjoy them. So are a lot of our citizens. You can go to Snow Lake. It won't be long before you can go to Thompson and we'll have that wonderful centre linked up to the rest of the road system. I'm not making any prophecies, but if the Honourable Member for Churchill keeps on making the good speeches in public that he's been making in the last few days, and adds to the private counsel that he gives me from time to time on the problems of northern Manitoba, we might even be finding ourselves constructing a road to Churchill. Now I want it to be clear that that undertaking is not one that I propose to implement in the near future, but it is certainly one that we'll always have to keep in mind because one of these days it will come.

(Mr. Roblin, cont'd) . . . .

Now what about welfare? Now we get criticized on welfare. People over there talk of the means test. Well, we deal on a basis of need, and when you consider that we're now giving \$20 per case on a needs basis to the people who are eligible, you can see that we're not fooling; we're not talking about peanuts; but we're talking about really substantial assistance to these people. Perhaps we should give more. We'd like to give more, but this is something well worth doing -- \$20 per case. Why? Because we're able to select the needy instead of these broadside, buckshot, across-the-board propositions which some gentlemen over there would like us to adopt. We haven't the money for that kind of thing -- let's face it. We have some money and it's our job to see that it goes as far as possible and that it meets the need, and that's what we're doing our best to do. When you see, as you will in a few hours from now, the increases in the requirements of the Department of Welfare for that kind of thing, you will know that we're not trying to fool anybody or we're not trying to pull the wool over anybody's eyes when we talk about what we've done for the old age pensioner and for the others in the field of welfare.

Now there's another policy of the government which no one has congratulated us about but about which I am rather proud, and that is our parks and recreation areas, particularly along the highways. I say to the Leaders on the opposite side of the House - You drive along the highways of Manitoba, particularly the main ones and particularly those near any sort of decent recreational area, and I think you'll be pleased with what you see, if you can look at it through the glasses of an ordinary citizen rather than those that perhaps might be slightly distorted by political points of view. I am very proud of the work that my colleague the Minister of Mines and Natural Resources is doing in developing the park system of this province, in bringing in game management areas, in providing more land for game preserves as we have done. All these things, I think, are good.

I should like to also say that I apologize to no one for the fact that the budget of the Department of Industry and Commerce has just about doubled since we came into office. Yes, it has. If you're looking for places as to where we spent the money you'll find it there, because I think that my colleague is producing results. He is creating jobs. He's helping to build the province.

Now I want to make it clear that you just can't sit back and say, "that's it", or be satisfied with it. You can't try to take all the credit for it. We don't want to do that. We're not entitled to all the credit. -- (Interjection) -- Alright -- my honourable friend is easily fooled by fellows other than me.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I see that I'm going to have to come to the end of my discourse here. I'm just going to conclude with these few words. There's no cause for complacency. You can't charge us with complacency but I think that the people of the province can take reasonable pride in the progress that has been made and I think they can have reasonable confidence that we will continue to go ahead. On that basis, and on the basis of the record, I say the government deserves to receive the confidence of the House so that it may carry on what are essentially good and progressive policies.

MR. SPEAKER: The question before the House is the amendment to the Throne Speech proposed by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, which reads as follows: "That the Motion be amended by adding the following words: But the House regrets that Your Honour's Government, by taking action in numerous fields without adequate preparation and by failing to accept in other fields its clear responsibilities has lost the confidence of the people of Manitoba".

Mr. Speaker presented the motion and after a voice vote declared the motion lost.

MR. MOLGAT: Yeas and Nays please, Mr. Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER: Call in the members.

A standing vote was taken, the result being as follows:

YAES: Messrs. Campbell, Desjardins, Dow, Froese, Gray, Guttormson, Harris, Hawryluk, Hillhouse, Hryhorczuk, Molgat, Paulley, Peters, Reid, Roberts, Schreyer, Shoemaker, Tanchak, Wagner and Wright.

NAYS: Messrs. Alexander, Bjornson, Carroll, Christianson, Cowan, Evans, Groves, Hamilton, Hutton, Ingebrigtsen, Jeannotte, Johnson (Assiniboia), Johnson (Gimli), Klym, Lissaman, Lyon, McKellar, McLean, Roblin, Scarth, Shewman, Stanes, Strickland,

(Nays, cont'd) . . . Thompson, Watt, Weir, Witney, Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Morrison.

MR. CLERK: Yeas: 20; Nays: 29.

MR. SPEAKER: I declare the motion lost. The question before the House is the motion by the Honourable Member for Osborne.

MR. MORRIS GRAY (INKSTER): Mr. Speaker, I beg leave to move that the debate on the main motion be adjourned, seconded by the Honourable Member for Seven Oaks.

Mr. Speaker presented the motion and after a voice vote declared the motion carried.

MR. ROBLIN: Mr. Speaker, I rise on this occasion to suggest that in view of the lateness of the hour members might not really wish to embark upon a new subject at this time. I'm particularly constrained to do so because of the fact that I trespassed on your good nature for so long a few minutes ago. If there's no objection to that course I would be quite prepared to move the adjournment. In that case, Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by the Honourable Minister for Industry and Commerce, that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. Speaker presented the motion and after a voice vote declared the motion carried, and the House adjourned until 2:30 Tuesday afternoon.