

Commission established a study board, which held public hearings in November in North Dakota and Manitoba. Because of the amount of technical information to be analysed, the board's report was not released until January 1977. The board concluded that, though Garrison would provide "potential benefits" to Canada, it would also have "adverse impacts" on water-use in Manitoba.

Public hearings

After receiving the board's report, the IJC itself held public hearings in both Canada and the United States. In August 1977, the Commission unanimously came to the same conclusion as the board. Garrison, the IJC's final report stated flatly, "unquestionably would have caused pollution to Canada". However, by the time the IJC report appeared, it had been overtaken to some extent by events in Washington.

In 1976, while the study board was completing its investigations, and after Congress had appropriated further funds for Garrison for the fiscal year 1977, the Department of External Affairs had despatched a diplomatic note to the State Department in October, requesting that the U.S. impose a moratorium on construction of Lonetree Dam.

It was not until after the inauguration of Jimmy Carter in January 1977 and the installation of an environmentally-minded Secretary of the Interior, Cecil Andrus, that the Canadian Government received a reply to its October 1976 note. On February 18, Carter called a halt to construction of Lonetree Reservoir, deftly removing a thorny irritant from Canadian-American relations days before Prime Minister Trudeau arrived in Washington for talks with the President and a historic address to Congress.

Two months later, the White House announced that, as a cost-cutting measure, a large number of water projects throughout the United States were to be cancelled or substantially modified. The Garrison Diversion Unit was one project that was to be modified. Mr Carter's April 1977 "hit list" (as it quickly came to be called in Washington) angered a large number of Congressmen whose constituencies or states were affected by the cuts, and the President's announcement encountered stiff opposition on Capitol Hill.

The public-works subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, which is responsible for federal spending on water projects, responded by reporting an appropriation bill for fiscal 1978 (H.R. 7553) that restored all but one of the

projects. On the floor of the House of Representatives, backers of the Administration proposal tried to amend H.R. 7553 when it was debated. The amendment to eliminate the restored projects failed by only 24 votes, strengthening the Administration's hand considerably, for it showed that it would be difficult to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to overturn a potential Presidential veto of the bill.

As a result, the Senate Appropriations Committee trod more warily. The chairman of the public works subcommittee, Senator John Stennis (D, Mississippi), steered a compromise that dropped only nine projects through his subcommittee, the full Appropriations Committee, and the Senate floor.

Although, when it was reported, H.R. 7553 did not eliminate funding for the Garrison project, it did restrict the funds for the parts of the GDU that would affect Canada. The deliberations of the IJC proved to be of some importance in the decision of the House of Representatives; its Appropriations Committee report stated that it did "not want to prejudice the recommendations of the Commission" by appropriating funds for parts of the Garrison project on which the IJC would comment in its final report.

On the other hand, the Senate Appropriations Committee refused to endorse this position. The Senate Committee argued that, because the matter had been referred to the IJC for recommendations, it would expect to see "the full considered report, views, judgments and recommendations of the IJC" before restricting funding for the GDU. The Committee rejected President Carter's suggestions that Garrison be modified in advance of the IJC report as "not warranted".

The differing positions of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees can be explained by the fact that Canada appears to have few "friends at court" on the Senate Committee. Both Milton Young (R, North Dakota) and Quentin Burdick (D, North Dakota) are members of the Committee's public-works subcommittee, and have long been vigorous supporters of Garrison. In addition, Young is the ranking minority member of the full Appropriations Committee, a post of not inconsiderable influence.

Equally important, two border-state senators, Warren Magnuson (D, Washington) and Richard Schweiker (R, Pennsylvania) were members of the Committee, the latter also a member of the public-works subcommittee. Both had strongly opposed an amendment to the U.S. Tax Reform Act that would have granted tax

*Construction
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halted*