

volve only the seats in the House of Commons. Party leaders run for the House from their own ridings and in a literal (but not realistic) sense, the voters in all the other ridings simply elect their own members. In fact, of course, the voters are very much involved in deciding which party gains a majority in the House, since that party's leader becomes the Prime Minister and forms the Government. By its nature, the new law is aimed at both national and individual campaigns.

A salient feature of the new law is a precise limitation on the amount of money to be spent, calculated in terms of the number of voters. (Voters are enumerated anew each time an election is called.) A party may spend no more than thirty cents for each voter listed in ridings in which it has a candidate running. This money is spent nationally, and it must not be used to favour a particular candidate in a particular riding. The individual candidate may spend one dollar for each of the first 15,000 voters registered in his riding, fifty cents for each of the next 10,000 and twenty-five cents for each of those over the 25,000 mark.

The limitations mean that national parties will spend less in the future than in the past — in terms of present registration a party may spend no more than \$3.8 million. In the 1972 election the Liberals spent \$5.3 million and the Conservatives \$3.95 million.

In terms of particular campaigns, the curtailment will be even more notable in some heavily populated ridings. In 1972 the most expensive single campaign was in North York, a Toronto constituency, where the victor, a Liberal, spent some \$60,000, and his opponent, a Conservative, spent some \$90,000. In 1972 North York had some 48,000 voters; had the Election Expenses Act been in effect, candidates there would have been limited to expenditures of about \$28,500 each.

The least expensive campaigns in 1972 were in Québec, where some successful Social Credit candidates spent only a few thousand dollars.

The candidates and the parties will not have to raise all the money spent — serious candidates (those drawing at least 15 per cent of the vote) will be reimbursed for certain mail costs, travel and the cost of having their financial statements audited. They will be given the cost of sending one first class mailing to each registered voter, plus eight cents for each of the first 5,000 and six cents for all voters beyond that number; they will be able to claim up to \$3,000 for travel, de-

pending on the size of their riding, and up to \$250 for having their figures certified.

Since only donors giving more than \$100 to a particular candidate will be identified by name, a donor determined to remain anonymous could contribute \$99 to a candidate in each of the 264 ridings, thus spending \$26,136 without being identified. The framers of the Act would be pleased if a large donor spread contributions around in this fashion. The biggest contributions in the past have come from corporations — in Canada such contributions are legal — and the names of the contributors were often unknown to both the public and the corporations' own rank-and-file stockholders. The new requirement for disclosure as well as the \$500 top tax deduction limit may affect the size and frequency of such contributions, but no one yet seems certain to what degree. Sen. John Godfrey, who has been the Liberal Party's leading fund raiser, said during the debate on the Act that he always approached corporations with the suggestion that they should contribute equally and substantially to both parties to help maintain a strong party system.

He said that while corporations have been the main source of contributions for both the Liberal and Conservative Parties (organized labour has been the principal backer of the New Democrats), they have not gotten — and have not expected — favours in return. He said the party leaders do not know the size or source of contributions and that party fund raisers such as himself have no part in setting party policies.

"Contributions" and "expenses" depend to a great degree on how those words are defined, and the writers of the bill have made great efforts to be precise. Expenses include: ". . . amounts paid . . . liabilities incurred . . . the commercial value of goods and services donated or provided other than volunteer labour and . . . amounts that represent the differences between amounts paid and liabilities incurred . . . and the commercial value thereof where they are provided at less than their commercial value. . . ." To discourage informal contributions from being made by suppliers who do not press for payment, the bill requires that "all bills, charges or claims incurred by or on behalf of a registered party shall be paid within six months. . . ." Before the new law, which requires publication of donors of over \$100, donations from many sources could be reported collectively through campaign committees.

The most significant expenditures in most campaigns are those for television time, and the

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