



HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION — THIRTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT

37 Elizabeth II

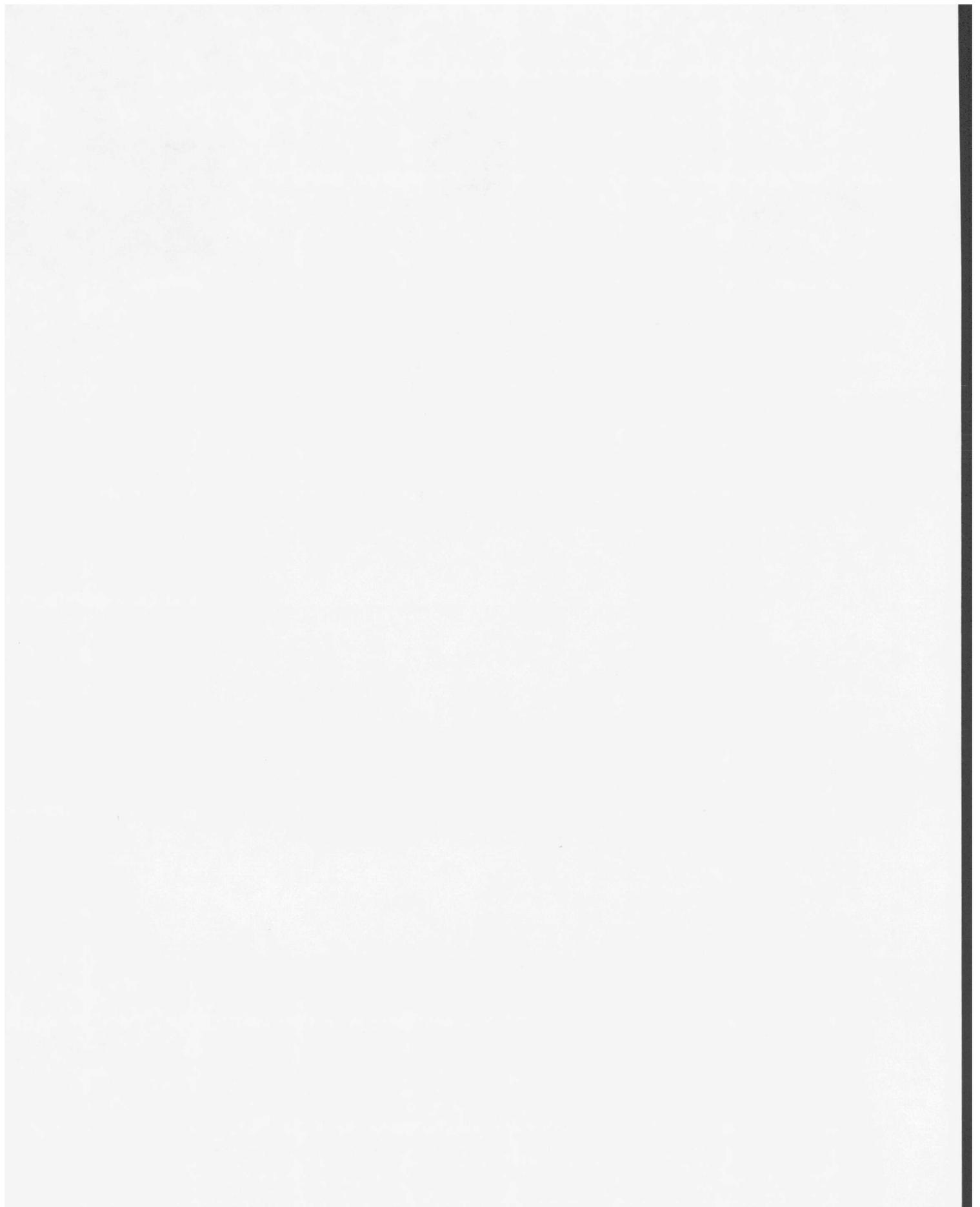
VOLUME I, 1988

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWELFTH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1988
TO THE THIRTIETH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1988

WITH INDEX

Published under authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons by the Queen's Printer for Canada

Available from Canada Communication Group — Publishing, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9.



HOUSE OF COMMONS

Monday, December 12, 1988

FIRST SESSION—THIRTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT

[English]

The Thirty-third Parliament having been dissolved by proclamation on Saturday, October 1, 1988, and writs having been issued and returned, a new Parliament was summoned to meet for the dispatch of business on Monday, December 12, 1988, and did accordingly meet on that day.

Monday, December 12, 1988

This being the day on which Parliament was convoked by proclamation of Her Excellency the Governor General of Canada for the dispatch of business, and the Members of the House being assembled:

Robert Marleau, Esquire, Clerk of the House of Commons, read to the House a letter from the Administrative Secretary to the Governor General informing him that the Right Honourable Brian Dickson, in his capacity as Deputy Governor General, would proceed to the Senate Chamber to open the first session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament of Canada on Monday, the twelfth day of December, at Ottawa.

A message was delivered by The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod as follows:

Members of the House of Commons:

It is the desire of the Honourable the Deputy to Her Excellency the Governor General of Canada that this honourable House attend him immediately in the Chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly, the House went up to the Senate Chamber, where the Speaker of the Senate said:

Honourable Members of the Senate, Members of the House of Commons:

I have it in command to let you know that Her Excellency the Governor General of Canada does not see fit to declare the causes of her summoning the present Parliament of Canada until a Speaker of the House of Commons shall have been chosen, according to law; but this afternoon at the hour of four o'clock, Her Excellency will declare the causes of her calling Parliament.

And the House being returned to the Commons Chamber:

[Translation]

The Clerk of the House: Pursuant to Standing Order 3, I would ask Mr. Prud'homme, Member for the electoral constituency of Saint-Denis, to take the chair and preside over the election of a Speaker.

* * *

HUMAN SOLIDARITY

VICTIMS OF EARTHQUAKE IN ARMENIA

The President of the Election (Mr. Prud'homme): Dear colleagues, I happen to know that before proceeding with any strictly political activity I would meet your wish by asking you to make a humanitarian gesture concerning the unfortunate Armenian people.

In acknowledgement of the fact that human solidarity transcends Parties, countries, and even régimes, giving all men and women on earth every reason to hope, let us observe one minute of silence.

[English]

Would you now kindly rise for a minute of silence.

[Editor's Note: Whereupon the House stood in silence.]

* * *

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

HON. JOHN A. FRASER, MEMBER FOR THE ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF VANCOUVER SOUTH

[Translation]

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Pursuant to the provisions of the Standing Orders the House will now proceed with the election of a Speaker.

[English]

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity—Spadina): Although I had signed and sent in my withdrawal form, I did not have

Election of Speaker

the opportunity to be sworn in until five to nine today because the writ was not available. I did not pursue the issue since I was not eligible. Now that I am eligible to stand, I would ask the permission of the House to allow me to withdraw.

[*Translation*]

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): I thank the Hon. Member but, according to the Standing Orders, the list cannot be changed before the first ballot. However the House has heard the request of the Hon. Member and will certainly respect his wish.

The Hon. Member for Burnaby—Kingsway (Mr. Robinson).

[*English*]

Mr. Svend J. Robinson (Burnaby—Kingsway): I did submit pursuant to the Standing Order a request that my name not be considered for Speaker, despite the vigorous encouragement of my Leader that I do stand.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): I repeat, the Clerk has accepted only replies signed by Members and received by six o'clock last night. Although the list cannot be amended before the first ballot, I am sure the House has heard the Member's remarks and will no doubt respect the Member's wishes.

Mr. George Baker (Gander—Grand Falls): I too wrote to the Clerk asking that my name be removed, but apparently it got lost in the mail.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): I need not repeat what I just said. I am sure that the House will respect the Member's wishes, but his name will still appear.

Mr. Lyle D. MacWilliam (Okanagan—Shuswap): Due to the fact of my late swearing in I was also unavailable to have my name stricken from the ballot. I wish to have that done at this time.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): The same will apply. Members will realize that we cannot withdraw any names before the first ballot. I am sure the House will respect the Member's wishes.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gilles Loiselle (Langelier): Eventually, Sir, I should like to withdraw my candidacy.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Well, eventually means after the first ballot, but for the time

being the name of the Hon. Member will remain on the ballot paper.

Order, please. The Hon. Members eligible to be Speaker in accordance with the Standing Orders at six o'clock Sunday in alphabetical order, were: George S. Baker, John Bosley, John A. Fraser, Dan Heap, Jean-Pierre Hogue, Alex Kindy, Gilles Loiselle, Lyle Dean MacWilliam, Arnold Malone, Svend J. Robinson, Raymond Skelly, Maurice Tremblay.

In accordance with the Standing Orders, an alphabetical list of names of all Members who notified the Clerk of the House in writing that they did not wish to have their names stand for candidacy, together with a list of names of those Members who are not eligible, has been placed on each Member's desk.

[*English*]

For the benefit of Hon. Members, a list of names of those Members who are eligible to be considered for election to the office of Speaker has also been placed on each Member's desk. These lists are also available at the Table.

[*Translation*]

I also point out that an alphabetical list of the Members eligible to be considered for election to the office of Speaker has been posted in each voting station. After the Clerk has unsealed the ballots, I will suggest to the House a procedure that will make voting easier.

[*English*]

After the Clerk has unsealed the ballots I will suggest a method of proceeding which will help accelerate the voting process.

[*Translation*]

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Order, please. As we are about to begin voting, I take this opportunity to remind Hon. Members to print the first and last names of their candidate on the ballot.

I would now ask Hon. Members who wish to cast ballots to leave their desks through the curtains and to come to the Table using the entrances on either side of the Chair appropriate to the side of the House on which they sit. The clerk will issue them a ballot.

[*English*]

Upon casting their ballot, will all Hon. Members please leave the voting area in order to avoid congestion. Will all Members please proceed behind the curtains.

[*Editor's Note: The list of eligible Members referred to above is as follows:*]

Baker, George S.	MacWilliam, Lyle Dean
Bosley, John	(North Island—Powell River)
Fraser, John A.	Malone, Arnold
Heap, Dan	Robinson, Svend J.
Hogue, Jean-Pierre	Skelly, Raymond
Kindy, Alex	Tremblay, Maurice
Loiselle, Giles	(Lotbinière)

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Order. Will you kindly take your seats.

[*Translation*]

I would now ask the Hon. Members who have not voted and wish to do so to come forward immediately.

Order, please. All Members having voted, I do now instruct the Clerk to proceed with the counting of the ballots, once I have voted myself.

SITTING SUSPENDED

The Returning Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Before I suspend the sitting, I wish to remind Hon. Members that, when the counting has been completed, the bells to call the Members to the House will be sounded for not more than five minutes.

The sitting is suspended to the ringing of the bell.

At 10.17 a.m. the sitting of the House was suspended.

● (1050)

[*English*]

SITTING RESUMED

The House resumed at 10.47 a.m.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): Order. It is my duty to inform the House that John A. Fraser, Member for the Electoral District of Vancouver South, has been duly elected Speaker of this House.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Prud'homme): It is with great pleasure that I do now invite the Hon. Member to take the chair.

[*Editor's Note: And Mr. Prud'homme conducted Mr. Fraser from his seat in the House to the chair.*]

Election of Speaker

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members, I beg to return my humble acknowledgements to the House for the honour which it has been pleased to confer upon me by choosing me to be your Speaker.

[*Translation*]

Hon. Members, I beg to return my humble acknowledgements to the House for the honour which you have been pleased to confer upon me by choosing me to be your Speaker.

[*English*]

It was just over two years ago that I had the honour of uttering those traditional first words as Speaker of the House of Commons in the Thirty-third Parliament. It is with great pride, honour and humility that I graciously accept your trust to be your Speaker for the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: First of all, I want to thank the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) for presiding this morning over our election.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: Having served his riding and country as an elected representative for twenty-four years, he certainly deserves the title of Dean of the House of Commons.

Some Hon. Member: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: Over these many years, the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis has been the friend and loyal adviser of a great many Members on both sides of the House and especially the friend and support of the succeeding occupants of the Chair, from Mr. Speaker Mcnaughton to your humble servant. I want to thank him for his friendship and support.

[*English*]

I want also to thank all of the Members of the House for their vote of trust and confidence. I say this because without the support of all Hon. Members, in good times and bad, a Speaker cannot adequately and properly serve the Members who elected him.

I know you would want me also to take a moment to express our appreciation to the Clerk, Deputy Clerk and other Table Officers who under great pressure and time

Election of Speaker

constraints ensured that this sitting and election were conducted with sophistication and professionalism.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I want to say to all Members, but especially to new Members, that the Table Officers, as has your Speaker, have adopted an open-door policy for all Members, particularly newly elected Members, and are available for consultation and advice at all times.

The history of the speakership goes back many centuries. Some of you are aware of it and some have only heard dimly of those distant days when the Speaker was chosen by the Commons to take messages to the King. You all know that sometimes those messages were not well received. Undoubtedly the expression "Don't shoot the messenger" stems from those days. Sometimes Speakers did not return. Today, the great test is not when the Speaker goes to see the King but when the Speaker comes to see you.

As I have said in the past, this is not a Chamber for the timid. We have developed an adversarial form of government based on concepts of parliamentary democracy. This is a Chamber where the great decisions of the country are made; and it is a place where history is formulated every day.

Our great friend, the late Tommy Douglas, once said that politics is the "noblest of professions but the vilest of trades". Mr. Douglas knew all too well that men and women from across Canada fight hard to earn a seat in this magnificent Chamber, and that they arrive with great opinions and convictions on the issues facing our nation.

[*Translation*]

Parliament, which is derived from the French "parler", is a forum of free expression and vigorous exchanges. But freedom of expression could not prevail without a reasonable degree of order, for without it, it would be impossible for one to express oneself freely.

[*English*]

Many years ago a former Prime Minister and parliamentarian, the Right Hon. John Diefenbaker, said this about this place:

One moment it's a cathedral, at another time there are no words to describe when it ceases, for short periods, to have any regards of the proprieties that constitute not only Parliament but its tradition. I've seen it in all its greatness. I have inwardly wept when it's degraded.

As your Speaker, it will be my goal to work with all Hon. Members to ensure the greatness of this institution that we so deeply love and respect and that it be able to function no matter how sincere differences may be, and no matter how passionately views are expressed.

Although the Speaker is, above all, the servant of the House, the Speaker is invested by all of you with considerable authority. Some Speakers I know have had the reputation of being authoritarian.

The 19th Century British Speaker, Arthur Wellesley Peel, was said to be able to quell disorder by rising in his majesty and fixing the offenders with a steely glare. I have tried it, and it does not work.

Thomas B. Reed, who was the President of the House of Representatives some years ago, was also known as being authoritarian. One of his constituents wrote to him asking for a copy of the rules of the House. In his response Speaker Reed sent back an autographed photo of himself.

[*Translation*]

I do not believe any Speaker of the House ever went that far either in Canada or Great Britain.

[*English*]

The speakership throughout the Commonwealth is moulded in the British tradition. The Speaker's responsibilities are exclusively to the House and to its Members.

[*Translation*]

As long as they sit in this illustrious chair, the Speakers must strive to give proof of justice, equity and neutrality, among other qualities.

[*English*]

It is appropriate to be reminded again of those historic words of Speaker Lenthall when, in 1642, the King entered the House of Commons with an armed force and demanded that the Speaker reveal the whereabouts of some Members. The Speaker said:

May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am.

On a personal note, may I take a moment to thank my constituents in Vancouver South for their continued trust, and the members of my family who, through a political career that now goes back over 20 years, have always been at my side.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I wish also to thank this House's friend and adviser, our honorary Officer at the Table, the Hon. Stanley Knowles, for being with us today.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: Finally, let us remember some appropriate words from one of our country's greatest parliamentarians, Edward Blake, who said in 1873:

The privileges of Parliament are the privileges of the people, and the rights of Parliament are the rights of the people.

One hundred and fifteen years later, those words are still true—we should remember them.

[*Translation*]

Finally, I wish to thank again all Hon. Members of the House for their support.

[*English*]

I am your servant, and I will need your continued support to carry out my duties to you in this Chamber.

Let us all in the interests of the country, our love, do our duty. Thank you.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*And the Mace having been laid upon the Table:*]

Mr. Speaker: The Right Hon. Prime Minister.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I wish to offer you my heartfelt congratulations on your election. I am very impressed, of course, with your back-to-back majorities.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: Above all, I want to salute in you, Sir, a faithful and dedicated servant of Parliament who has guided us well through a momentous period of our recent history. Your service to the House of Commons and to all of us has been sterling and noble.

On behalf of all Members, irrespective of political backgrounds, I salute you today, Sir, as a genuine leader of Parliament and a servant of us all.

[*Translation*]

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, since you were first elected to this office, you have heard pressing arguments and passionate debates from both sides of the House on crucial questions for the future of Canada. Thanks to your personal qualities and your great sense of responsibility, these discussions could be held within the bounds

Election of Speaker

of dignity and, at all times, of relevancy. We are all grateful to you.

[*English*]

We have not achieved unanimity very often here, before or since your election as Speaker, nor did we expect that we would. However, I think I can speak for all who have sat in this House during the two years that you, Sir, have occupied the presidency, when I say that you, Mr. Speaker, were a most important participant in the thorough and careful study of the important and delicate questions that have been raised by Members in this House of Commons.

The confidence just reiterated in you by your colleagues from all sides of the House is a tribute to the objective, the dignified and serene way in which you have presided over our often difficult deliberations.

I wish, Mr. Speaker, to assure you today of my respectful co-operation and that of my colleagues during the session that we are about to inaugurate. On behalf of not only Members from all sides of the House but, I suppose, in a special way, if I may say so, with the concurrence of the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) and the Leader of the NDP, on behalf of all Canadians who have come to see in you a symbol of parliamentary democracy, I thank you for your contribution and I wish you and your family well.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, that is just a prelude of things to come.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to have the privilege of congratulating my constituency neighbour, the Hon. Member for Vancouver South, on his re-election as Speaker of this House of Commons. I do that not only in my capacity as Leader of the Opposition but also as a personal friend of over a quarter century's standing. I echo in personal terms the good wishes of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) not only to you, Sir, as a gentleman of first rank, but to your family who have given you unquestionable support over the years.

Election of Speaker

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): This is only the second time that we have elected a Speaker through the use of secret ballot in this House. You have every right to be very proud that in the last two years you have sufficiently impressed all of those of us in the last Parliament, and through what we have said to the newer Members who were just elected, with your skill, your calm and your judicious approach so as to warrant your re-election.

It is an enormous tribute to anyone to be recognized by his peers, certainly peers who have been elected by the citizens of Canada, to have been elected not once but twice. Anyone who has faced that ordeal a number of times knows that the second election is better than the first.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, you have earned the respect and admiration of all your colleagues in the House. Like all Members of the House, I am sure, I too am deeply more grateful that you were re-elected quickly than you were elected for the first time in September 1986. I remember getting home just in time for breakfast. But I can say that the long hours spent electing you were worth it!

I must also thank the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) for conducting this election with distinction and poise.

For a while, he seemed to be in no hurry to give up the Chair—but anyway, he did a very good job for us all.

[*English*]

Mr. Speaker, you recited some of the precedents of the House and the words of distinguished Speakers of the British House of Commons and the House of Representatives. You know and we know that it is not just the mastery of the rules of this place that counts—and you, Sir, certainly have that—but it is having a sense of the House, a sense of what is needed. It is because you have that sense of the House, that sense of what is the right thing to do and when to do it, that you have merited our confidence. It is also because of your fairness, your patience, your common sense and, above all, your good humour. Your Honour will not consider this a threat in any way if I were to suggest to you that you are going to need those same qualities, and perhaps in even greater measure in this current Parliament than you exercised them in the past.

You are, Sir, above the cut and thrust of partisan politics. You are the guardian of the privileges of every single Member of this House. You are essential to the freedom of expression of the Members of this place who, after all, have been elected by Canadians.

You reflect a tradition of parliamentary democracy carried down through the centuries. As early as 1376 at Westminster the Speaker has been known as an independent representative of the commoners against the King and the nobles. As you have recalled, in early days the Speaker sometimes had a very difficult job in being the people's spokesman to the King.

The scope of your position has evolved tremendously since that day. Your role, one which you have carried out with care and skill, is not to be the servant of the King, but to be the servant of the people, and to act as an impartial referee in our proceedings.

We have the most free Parliament in the world. We have the most open democracy in the world. We have a style of debate and an openness in our Question Period that forces a daily accountability of our Government. You were conscious of that. In spite of the fact that it tests your patience and endurance from time to time, it is worth it—and you know it is worth it. We have confidence that you will persist in that even-handedness which you have demonstrated throughout.

[*Translation*]

There will be difficult moments. I think that you had some in the last few years. Democracy can sometimes be difficult, especially when ideas and ideals conflict. But I think that with the absolutely impartial and even-handed way you guide the debates and Question Period, we have made progress. And I am sure that we will make much more progress under your leadership.

• (1120)

[*English*]

We may from time to time disagree with your decisions. We may from time to time put you to the test. We may from time to time be tempted to remind you that you are reverting to the original role of the Speaker and representing the King rather than the people.

As you know, we are very jealous in this place of our rights and privileges. But you have the support and co-operation of every member of my Party on this side of the House. We are very satisfied with your election and I want to wish you continued good fortune in the very important, unique role that you hold in our parliamentary democracy.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I join with the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and the Right Hon. Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) in congratulating you on your re-election as Speaker of the House of Commons.

The reality, as you well know, being the astute man that you are, is that in this vote in which you received a substantial majority of support, indeed the overwhelming majority of support from members of the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party, a higher compliment could hardly be paid to any Canadian in public life.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: It has already been said, Sir, that you are a servant of the House and not of the King, not certainly of the Government of the day. All Parties participated in the decision that was reached in 1984 to have, for the first time, an elected Speaker. It was a significant and positive step in reform that is another illustration of why, in our hardly unbiased judgment, the Parliament of Canada on balance is the most democratic of all the parliamentary systems that exist on the planet today.

You will recall what was not exactly a sweeping election victory in 1986. We went through 11 ballots in 11 hours. It was a prolonged process, a hotly contested ballot from which you emerged the clear victor. What is so significant this time around is that having had the judgment of your peers, having had the experience of your making decisions, very often tough, difficult decisions, but invariably fair decisions, the men and women who were re-elected in this Parliament plus the new Members of the House who have reflected upon your performance as they witnessed it during your period in office have given you the highest form of compliment, having voted perhaps for the first time on faith, this time voted on the basis of well deserved reputation.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I would just like to say that in our experience, you are a capable, generous, warm, prudent and fair man, and I have great confidence that in the future you will make decisions as

Speech from the Throne

you have in the past, that is, always fairly, sometimes for the Government, when the Government is right, but also quite often for the opposition Parties!

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, as the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and also the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) suggested, all New Democrats have a lot of confidence. You will continue in the future, as in the past, to be an outstanding Speaker in the history of Canada.

[*English*]

I conclude by joining with others in not only wishing you well in the years ahead that you will be serving your peers in this House, but also the members of your family.

Mr. Speaker: I wish to thank the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), and the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent), Leader of the New Democratic Party, for their very kind remarks. I shall keep them all in mind in the coming weeks and months.

SITTING SUSPENDED

Mr. Speaker: This sitting is suspended until four o'clock p.m., later this day, at which time the House will proceed to the Senate where Her Excellency will open the First Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

At 11.16 a.m. the sitting of the House was suspended.

SITTING RESUMED

The House resumed at 4 p.m.

* * *

[*Translation*]

OPENING OF THE SESSION

Mr. Speaker read a communication from the Secretary to the Governor General announcing that Her Excellency the Governor General would arrive at the Main Entrance of the Parliament Buildings at 3.50 p.m. on this day the 12th of December, 1988, and that when it had been signified that all was in readiness, Her Excellency the Governor General would proceed to the Senate Chamber to open formally the First Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament of Canada.

*Speech from the Throne***SPEECH FROM THE THRONE**

A message was delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod as follows:

Mr. Speaker, Her Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the Chamber of the Senate.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker with the House went up to the Senate Chamber.

• (1630)

[*English*]

And the House being returned to the Commons Chamber:

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to report that, the House having attended on Her Excellency the Governor General in the Senate Chamber, I informed Her Excellency that the choice of Speaker had fallen upon me.

[*Translation*]

On your behalf, I made the usual claim for your privileges which Her Excellency was pleased to confirm to you.

* * *

[*English*]

OATHS OF OFFICE

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-1, respecting the administration of oaths of office.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time.

* * *

• (1640)

[*Translation*]

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to inform the House that when this House did attend Her Excellency the Governor General in the Senate Chamber, Her Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament. To prevent mistakes I have obtained a copy which is as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, Honourable Members of the Senate,

Ladies and gentlemen, Members of the House of Commons:

It is my great pleasure to greet you on this, the first day of the Thirty-fourth Parliament since Confederation. This ceremony is rich in history, custom, tradition and symbolism. It is also a renewal of the vital relationship among Crown, people, parliament and government that, today as in the past, is the essence of Canadian democracy.

The people have spoken in a general election three weeks ago. Their members in the House of Commons have today claimed from the Crown the ancient rights and privileges that enable them to carry out their responsibilities.

In the election, my government sought and received a mandate for its policies, including the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States that is to take effect on January 1, 1989. The purpose of this early session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament is to seek your approval for legislation to implement this Agreement as scheduled. Similar legislation was passed by the House of Commons in August. It had also received approval in principle in the Senate and had reached the stage of Senate committee study, prior to dissolution of the Thirty-third Parliament.

My government is determined to secure the benefits of economic opportunity for this and future generations of Canadians. This Agreement reflects my ministers' confidence in Canada's ability to compete with the best in the world.

In due course, we will hold a second session of the Parliament, at which time my ministers will place before you a statement of policy for this, their second mandate in office. Meanwhile, you may be asked at the present session to consider other matters as deemed advisable by my government.

Ladies and gentlemen, Honourable Members of the Senate,

Ladies and gentlemen, Members of the House of Commons:

As you carry out the will of the people and serve the national interest, may Divine Providence be your guide and inspiration.

[*English*]

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister) moved:

That the speech of Her Excellency the Governor General, delivered this day from the Throne to the two Houses of Parliament, be taken into consideration later this day.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt this motion?

[*English*]

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, there has been a long-standing practice of this House that the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne in fact is given on the day following the Throne Speech by Her Excellency the Governor General. It would seem with this initiative by the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) today that the Government is obviously making an effort to depart from this practice and is considering the fast tracking of the trade legislation.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that the Conservative Government is more interested in a Christmas vacation than in getting on and dealing properly with the legislation that will soon be before us.

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Ms. Copps: It is a legitimate debating point.

Mr. Riis: I want to say that four days after the general election the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) sent a letter to the Prime Minister indicating that the New Democrats had a number of concerns regarding the decision of the Government to proceed so quickly. At that time—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: I would bring it to the attention of all Hon. Members that the Hon. Member for Kamloops has been recognized and has the floor. The Hon. Member.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, just four days after the general election the Hon. Member for Oshawa, the Leader of the New Democratic Party, sent a letter to the Prime Minister outlining some serious concerns that New Democrats had regarding the intentions of the Government to proceed so quickly.

Speech from the Throne

At the top of the list was the call for tandem legislation that would go along with this initiative to implement the trade treaty to protect those workers now numbering in the thousands who have lost their jobs as a result of this initiative.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Riis: There was also a request made to the Prime Minister that a committee of the House of Commons, or perhaps even a joint committee, be struck to monitor the implementing legislation as it reacts to the restructuring of the economy of Canada to identify those workers who are adversely affected as a result of the trade deal and to recommend appropriate initiatives by the Government as the case may be.

Second is the whole matter of the shakes and shingles initiative. We were told during the campaign—

Some Hon. Members: Order.

An Hon. Member: That is not relevant.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Kamloops has risen in debate and has been recognized but I must ask him to put some containment on his remarks, and I will watch for relevance.

Mr. Riis: I appreciate that the motion is debatable, Mr. Speaker, and that you will be watching to ensure my comments refer to the motion before us which is to fast track this whole process.

This is only my third term of office, but in 1980 the response to the Throne Speech occurred the day after the Throne Speech debate. In 1984, under a new Prime Minister, again that same practice was followed. We assumed that it would also be followed today to allow Members of Parliament to digest thoroughly—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: —the comments made by the Governor General.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: In closing, Mr. Speaker—

An Hon. Member: You must have missed the election.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the Hon. Member for Kamloops is just about ready to conclude his remarks.

Speech from the Throne

Mr. Riis: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am nearly at the end of my remarks.

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier is rising on a point of order.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gauthier: I would ask the Chair to read the motion now under consideration.

[*English*]

Mr. Speaker: Perhaps I can assist the Hon. Member. The motion—and I think the Hon. Member will know why I made some reference to relevance—is that the speech of Her Excellency, delivered this day from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament, be taken into consideration later this day.

Mr. Gauthier: Later this day. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I want to conclude my remarks by indicating clearly that a number of concerns were registered.

The initiative now that the Government has failed to take in terms of protecting the Wheat Board, the whole matter of the shakes and shingles issue, the fact that the Americans have taken this initiative and that there has been virtually no response from the Government in reacting to that very punitive tariff have encouraged my Leader to proceed and ask for a response from the Right Hon. Prime Minister on what else the Government plans to do regarding the trade initiative.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Where is Bob White?

Mr. Riis: In closing, Mr. Speaker, we were hoping for some more detailed response from the Prime Minister before we began the debate in reply to the Throne Speech, but in light of the traditions of the House we will wrap up the debate at this time and proceed to the vote.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed to the motion will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Mulroney), which was agreed to on the following division:

● (1650)

(Division No. 1)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Ferland	Moore
Andre	Fontaine	Mulroney
Atkinson	Fretz	Nicholson
Attewell	Friesen	Nowlan
Beatty	Gérin	Oberle
Belsher	Gibeau	O'Brien
Bernier	Gray	O'Kurlay
Bertrand	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Paproski
Bird	la-Madeleine)	Plamondon
Bjornson	Greene	Plourde
Blackburn	Guilbault	Porter
(Jonquière)	Gustafson	Pronovost
Blais	Halliday	Redway
Blenkarn	Harvey	Reid
Bosley	(Chicoutimi)	Reimer
Bouchard	Hawkes	Ricard
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Hicks	Richardson
Bourgault	Hockin	Robitaille
Boyer	Hogue	Roy-Arcelin
Brightwell	Holtmann	Schneider
Browes	Horner	Scott
Cadieux	Horning	(Victoria—Haliburton)
Campbell	Hughes	Scott
(Vancouver Centre)	Jacques	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Cardiff	James	Shields
Casey	Jelinek	Siddon
Chadwick	Johnson	Sobeski
Champagne	Joncas	Soetens
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Jourdenais	Sparrow
Bagot)	Kemping	St-Julien
Charest	Kilgour	Stevenson
Clark	(Edmonton Southeast)	Tardif
(Yellowhead)	Kindy	Tétreault
Clark	Koury	Thompson
(Brandon—Souris)	Landry	Thorkelson
Clifford	Langlois	Tremblay
Cole	Larrivée	(Rosemont)
Collins	Layton	Tremblay
Cook	Leblanc	(Québec-Est)
Cooper	(Longueuil)	Tremblay
Corbeil	Lewis	(Lotbinière)
Corbett	Littlechild	Turner
Côté	Loiselle	(Halton—Peel)
Couture	Lopez	Valcourt
Crosbie	MacDonald	Van de Walle
(St. John's West)	(Rosedale)	Vankoughnet
Crosby	MacDougall	Venne
(Halifax West)	(Timiskaming)	Vien
Danis	MacKay	Vincent
Darling	Malone	Weiner
DeBlois	Marin	Wenman
de Cotret	Martin	White
Della Noce	(Lincoln)	White
Desjardins	Masse	Wilson
Dick	Mayer	(Swift Current—Maple
Dobbie	Mazankowski	Creek)
Domme	McCreath	Winegard
Dorin	McDermid	Worthy—158
Duplessis	McDougall	
Edwards	(St. Paul's)	
Epp	McKnight	
Fee	Merrithew	
Feltham	Monteith	

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gauthier	Nunziata
Althouse	Gray	Nystrom
Angus	(Windsor West)	Pagtakhan
Arseneault	Guarnieri	Parent
Assad	Harb	Parker
Axworthy	Harvard	Peterson
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Harvey	Phinney
Crossing)	(Edmonton East)	Pickard
Axworthy	Heap	Proud
(Winnipeg South	Hopkins	Prud'homme
Centre)	Hovdebo	Rideout
Baker	Hunter	Riis
Barrett	Jordan	Robichaud
Bélair	Kaplan	Robinson
Bellemare	Karpoff	Rocheleau
Benjamin	Karygiannis	Rodriguez
Black	Keyes	Rompkey
Blackburn	Kilger	Samson
(Brant)	(Stormont—Dundas)	Simmons
Blaikie	Kristiansen	Skelly
Blondin	Langdon	(North Island—Powell
Boudria	Langdon	River)
Brewin	Laporte	Skelly
Broadbent	LeBlanc	(Comox—Alberni)
Butland	(Cape Breton High-	Speller
Caccia	lands—	Stewart
Callbeck	Canso)	Stupich
Campbell	Lee	Taylor
(South West Nova)	MacAulay	Tobin
Catterall	MacDonald	Turner
Clancy	(Dartmouth)	(Vancouver Quadra)
Comuzzi	MacLellan	Vanclief
Copps	MacWilliam	Volpe
Crawford	Maheu	Waddell
Dingwall	Manley	Walker
Dionne	Marchi	Wappel
Duhamel	Marleau	Whittaker
Ferguson	Martin	Wood
Finestone	(Lasalle—Émard)	Young
Fisher	McCurdy	(Gloucester)
Flis	McGuire	Young
Fontana	McLaughlin	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Foster	Mifflin	118
Fulton	Milliken	
Funk	Mills	
Gaffney	Mitchell	
Gagliano	Murphy	
Gardiner	Nault	

● (1730)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

* * *

WAYS AND MEANS

TABLING OF NOTICE OF MOTION

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 83(1), I have the honour to lay upon the table copies of a Ways and Means Motion to implement the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

The Late John Dahmer

Pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 83(2), I ask that an Order of the Day be designated for the consideration of the said motion.

Mr. Speaker: In view of the matter I must now raise, I might ask Hon. Members to honour what is not the happiest event of today.

* * *

VACANCY

BEAVER RIVER—JOHN DAHMER, BY DECEASE

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to inform the House that I have received communications notifying me that a vacancy has occurred in the representation, namely, John Dahmer, Esquire, Member for the electoral district of Beaver River, by decease. Accordingly, I have addressed my warrant to the Chief Electoral Officer for the issue of a new Writ of Election for the said electoral district.

* * *

THE LATE JOHN DAHMER

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great personal sadness to ask the House to pay tribute to a man whose untimely passing has prevented him from taking his rightful place here in this House as a Member of Parliament.

John Dahmer was the Member elect from Beaver River. He had a life-long record of public service. His ultimate dream was to serve his country as a Member of Parliament. On November 21, the electors of Beaver River gave him that honour.

Unfortunately, bone marrow cancer has taken John Dahmer from us before he was able to make his own special contribution to this very distinguished place. On behalf of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his family, my colleagues, and I am sure all Members of the House, I wish to extend heartfelt sympathies and deepest condolences to John's wife Donna, his children, family, and friends. They will all miss him more than words can say.

House of Commons

I knew John Dahmer as a fellow politician, as a concerned citizen, and as a friend. For many years he was active in all levels of politics, always learning, sharing, and contributing. He was committed, dedicated, and energetic. I know that he would have been a distinguished and respected parliamentarian.

Today, Mr. Speaker, the opening of a new session of Parliament, is a day filled with excitement, anticipation, and commitment for all Members, new and returning. This is my seventh such occasion and I share the dedication and resolution that fill all of us in this Chamber. I sense as well the keenness and energy of those who are here for the first time. Knowing John Dahmer, I can attest that his enthusiasm and energy today would have been boundless. He would have taken his place with pride and with an unrelenting dedication.

We will miss him bodily, Mr. Speaker, but his spirit, his sense of service and responsibility will live on in all of us throughout this Thirty-fourth Parliament. To his family and his friends, I offer again on behalf of the House our heartfelt sympathies and our deepest regrets that he is not with us here today.

Mr. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, as the Deputy Prime Minister has said, this is a very special day. All Members of this House, especially new Members, have walked into this Chamber with a sense of the pride and accomplishment of the election and a sense of the deep honour given to them by their electorate to serve this country in a public way. We share the sentiments of the Deputy Prime Minister that the untimely death of one of those who was duly elected by a constituency of Alberta has prevented him from sharing in the sense of honour and privilege that we all enjoy.

I had the occasion during the last election campaign to spend some time in the constituency of Beaver River. I know Mr. Dahmer was highly regarded by his constituents and can certainly testify to the record of accomplishment brought forward as part of his election campaign.

I also associate myself with the remarks of the Deputy Prime Minister in saying that we will not have the opportunity to enjoy the special contribution Mr. Dahmer might have brought, both in terms of his experience and in terms of representing that very important riding in western Canada.

On behalf of our group, especially the Members who come from the West and from the North, we want to express our sentiments as well to Mr. Dahmer's family and to say that we deeply regret his passing, that he cannot be here with us to share this very important day for which we know he fought and longed. We know he would have provided a great service to this country.

• (1740)

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, those of us who knew of the reputation of John Dahmer were saddened when we received the news that he had passed away. We recognized, from comments that his son made, that he was an extremely compassionate man throughout his entire life and that his lifetime goal was to enter the Parliament of Canada. We are pleased that he at least achieved that goal, but I must say that we regretted hearing the news.

On behalf of my colleagues in the New Democratic Party, we extend our deepest regrets to his wife, his family, and his friends.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask Hon. Members to stand for an appropriate period of silence.

[Editor's Note: Whereupon the House stood in silence for one minute.]

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS

APPOINTMENT OF INTERNAL ECONOMY COMMISSIONERS

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to inform the House that the Hon. Donald Frank Mazankowski, the Hon. Douglas Grinslade Lewis, the Hon. Herb Gray, John-Robert Gauthier and Nelson Riis have been appointed as members of the Board of Internal Economy for the purposes and under the provisions of Chapter 42, First Supplement, of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1985, entitled an Act to Amend the Parliament of Canada Act.

[Translation]

APPOINTMENT OF CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That Mr. Marcel Danis, Member for the electoral district of Verchères, be appointed as Chairman of the Committees of the Whole House.

Motion agreed to.

[English]

APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That Hon. Steven Paproski, Member for the Electoral District of Edmonton North, be appointed Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House.

Motion agreed to.

[Translation]

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES OF THE WHOLE.

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That Hon. Andrée Champagne, Member for the electoral district of Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot, be appointed Assistant Deputy Chairperson of Committees of the Whole House.

Motion agreed to.

* * *

[English]

SUPPLY

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I move in accordance with Standing Order 81:

That this House at its next sitting consider the business of supply.

Motion agreed to.

* * *

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

ADDRESS IN REPLY, MOVED BY MS. KIM CAMPBELL AND SECONDED BY MR. GILLES LOISELLE

The House proceeded to the consideration of the Speech delivered by Her Excellency the Governor General at the opening of the session.

Ms. Kim Campbell (Vancouver Centre): Mr. Speaker, I am honoured to have been given the opportunity to rise in this House today to move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Langelier (Mr. Loiselle), the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne. On behalf of the constituents of Vancouver Centre, I would like to thank the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and the

The Address—Ms. Kim Campbell

Government for honouring Vancouver Centre in this way.

Before I begin, however, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, on your re-election as Speaker of this House. I know the Members of this House will not think me parochial when I say on behalf of all Vancouverites and all British Columbians how proud we are of you, Mr. Speaker, and your contribution to this House over many years.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (Vancouver Centre): In all the areas in which you have excelled, none has been a better showcase for the full range of your qualities as a person than has your tenure as Speaker of the House of Commons. Your warmth and caring have been reflected in your approach to the administrative as well as the ceremonial aspects of your position. A keen intellect has enabled you to master an enormous volume of law and precedent and apply it with fairness and insight. You are forward-looking in managing the business of Parliament but you have a deep reverence and respect for the history and custom without which this instrument of democracy cannot survive.

For all these reasons, Mr. Speaker, you have been freely chosen by your colleagues in this House to assume the vital role of Speaker. Your accomplishments are your own, but all British Columbians take pride in the recognition of such excellence in one of their own.

My constituency of Vancouver Centre is aptly named, including as it does the downtown core of the City of Vancouver. Much of what symbolizes Vancouver for visitors can be found in Vancouver Centre: miles of sandy beaches, Stanley Park, the Granville Island Market, and much of the site of Expo '86.

The west end, one of the most densely populated areas in North America, is an example of urban downtown living at its best, combining the privacy of big city life with the intimacy of small communities. Across the water by any of three bridges are the varied neighbourhoods of West Point Grey, Kitsilano, South Granville, False Creek, Fairview, and Mount Pleasant.

[Translation]

Because of changes to its electoral boundaries, the Vancouver Centre riding has lost its picturesque Chinese quarter, while preserving major parts of its Greek and French communities. As a whole, Vancouver Centre reflects rather closely the diversity of all the Metropolitan Vancouver regions, a rich diversity which expresses itself in many ways.

The Address—Ms. Kim Campbell

[English]

Vancouver Centre is the major business area of the city. Thousands of small businesses as well as many professional and corporate offices make Vancouver Centre an important area of employment. In addition, two great hospitals, St. Paul's and Vancouver General, are focal points for a large health care sector. Many arts and cultural organizations are headquartered in Vancouver Centre where theatres and galleries abound.

Vancouver prides itself on being Canada's gateway to the Pacific. In 1979, the Progressive Conservative Government established the Asia-Pacific initiative which has continued to play a leading role in fostering Vancouver's and Canada's Pacific role. My predecessor as Member for Vancouver Centre, the Hon. Pat Carney, made dramatic advances in Canada's trade with Asia during her tenure as Minister for International Trade. Our Government has continued this thrust and has supported Vancouver's efforts to play a key role here through many initiatives including the establishment of Vancouver as an international banking centre.

Vancouver Centre is the commercial heart not only of the city but of the province. In no other area is the economic interdependence of all areas of British Columbia so clearly illustrated. Much of the wealth that builds the skyscrapers of downtown Vancouver and employs an enormous service sector there is earned in the hinterlands and small communities of our province. The people who live and work in Vancouver Centre know full well the precarious position of all in an undiversified, resource based economy. Vancouver Centre is the economic pulse of the Province of British Columbia.

From October, 1986, to October 1988, I served as a Member of the British Columbia Legislature, during which time I travelled to all parts of the province.

● (1750)

I have come to have a deep appreciation of the energy and creativity in my province. I have come to see how often the economic aspirations of British Columbians have been thwarted by the lack of access to a large regional market. Like other British Columbians I have watched with dismay as many of our most creative and productive people have moved to Toronto or to the United States in order to find a market large enough to sustain their enterprise.

I have seen how a policy of tariff escalation in the United States has prevented the growth of value added

industries in our resource based economies. As a former chairman of the Vancouver School Board I have seen how directly a recession that reduces public revenues affects the ability of a society to support its commitment to our young people without mortgaging their future.

The decision to run in this past election was enormously difficult for me requiring as it did that I resign my legislative seat. But I could not in the end stand by and watch the destruction of an agreement which would do so much to address the economic and social concerns that are so important to me.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (Vancouver Centre): How can Vancouver retain its creativity and vitality without secure access to a large market? How can Canadian industries compete internationally from a protectionist base which discourages the qualities of efficiency so necessary to international competitiveness? Mr. Speaker, how can Canada continue to be a caring society and invest in its future human capital without a vibrant and diversified economy capable of paying the bill?

In the course of the recent debate about the free trade agreement, reference was made to the history of Canada and the supposed threat posed by the free trade agreement to the sanctity of that history. The vision of Canadian history reflected in this argument is a rather partial and myopic one. There is much in the 120-year history of our country which has engendered a deep-seated sense of grievance in the regions of Canada. No one who has studied the political history of Canada can be unaware of the profound impact that western resentment of the tariff policy has had on that history. The word "progressive" in Progressive Conservative was added when John Bracken—leader of the Progressive Party, an advocate of low tariffs—became the Conservative Leader.

British Columbia's grievances with respect to tariff policy result from two factors. First, the high tariffs on American imports to protect Canadian industries impose serious costs on British Columbia. That cost is estimated at \$5.7 billion over the past 20 years alone.

Second, negotiations by Canadian Governments with the United States to reduce American tariffs have focused upon raw resources but left the tariff escalation on value added production in place. In British Columbia with a tiny domestic market, these barriers seriously limit the opportunity for diversification of the resource economy through value added production.

For example, our unprocessed zinc can pass into the United States with a 1 per cent tariff, but a zinc alloy incurs a tariff of 19 per cent. This phenomenon is not confined to British Columbia. On both coasts tariffs have made the development of a processed fish industry uneconomic.

It has been said in the free trade debate that since 1935 tariffs between Canada and the United States have been reduced by such an amount that 80 per cent of our trade is tariff free. Why then, it is asked, such a fuss over the remaining 20 per cent? Why indeed? Because the statistic itself is meaningless. The actual tariff free figure is 72 per cent and it refers to the existing volume of trade. It cannot reflect trade that might have occurred but for tariff barriers. Furthermore, if trade in automobiles and auto parts is removed from the equation, the figures for the remaining trade are very different. Of the remaining trade, only 58 per cent is tariff free. Forty-two per cent, almost half, incurs tariffs. Thus the auto pact area of southern Ontario enjoys the benefits of what the Leader of the New Democratic Party has referred to as the "continental market force" but the regions of Canada struggle with tariff barriers which distort their economic development.

The free trade agreement addresses the single most significant historical grievance of British Columbia in Confederation. The free trade agreement democratizes the Canadian economy by giving to the regions what central Canadian industries have long enjoyed, access to a significant regional market.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (Vancouver Centre): Not only has the free trade agreement addressed the regional grievance but it has been sought by the business community in all parts of the country. Canadian businesses, large and small, have recognized that the American market can be their springboard to competitiveness on an international standard. Both the manufacturing and the service sectors have realized that the path to greater prosperity lies in removing the training wheels of protectionism.

Make no mistake, protectionism has distorted our economy to the detriment of all Canadians. In protected industries the incentives to modernize plants and engage in research and development are greatly reduced. Grantsmanship and lobbying replace entrepreneurship and good management as industries come to rely on subsidies and tariffs to compensate for an inadequate domestic market. Protectionism exaggerates the comparative advantage of the highly populated core and discriminates against the less populated regions.

The Address—Ms. Kim Campbell

Over the past five years there has been an alarming flow of corporate headquarters from Vancouver, Winnipeg, Halifax and from other regional centres to Toronto. With a population of three million—less than the population of greater Toronto—how can British Columbia hope to reverse this trend toward the centralization of the Canadian economy unless it can offer businesses a market equivalent to that of central Canada?

But it is not just our economy which is harmed by protectionism. Protectionism poses serious risks to the health of the Canadian body politic. Not only is it a major contributor to regional economic disparity, but in the ensuing competition for government spending to alleviate the effects, the sparsely populated regions cannot carry the clout of the highly populated core. From this comes the perception in the regions that they are not getting their fair share. Resentment of economic disparities feeds a sense of political impotence which spills over into other areas. Issues such as language and Senate reform come to bear an emotional colouring unrelated to their merit, a colouring derived from the deeper more fundamental problem.

[*Translation*]

Our trade with the United States has increased by 80 per cent over the past twenty years, and we have been exposed over the same period to an ever increasing volume of feature films, televised programs, music and books from that country. In spite of that, our feeling of Canadian identity has not been reduced. Quite the contrary. It is even stronger today.

As a matter of fact, over the past ten years, the production of books by Canadian authors has increased by 500 per cent. A great many of our most appreciated social programs have been implemented during the last twenty years.

Our self-knowledge and self-confidence increase as our foreign trade grows.

[*English*]

No one can define himself in a vacuum, Mr. Speaker.

In Canada we have learned to balance the onslaught of American culture with our own reality. It is that ability to balance which is one of the chief characteristics of Canadians, which is why, perhaps, a Canadian has been defined as someone who can make love in a canoe.

Address—Mr. Loiselle

The greatest threat to the survival of Canada as a nation is not trade with the United States. The greatest threat to our national survival is the perception in the regions of Canada that the cost of Confederation is too high. The free trade agreement does more for regional development in Canada than any policy in our history. The time has come to tear down the tariff walls which have kept our regional economies in tutelage. It is time for the forest products of British Columbia and Québec, the minerals of northern Ontario, Alberta's gas and petroleum, and maritime fish to enter the United States in value added form.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (Vancouver Centre): It is time for Newfoundlanders and Nova Scotians to have the dignity of secure year-round employment. The distinctive cultures of the Maritimes are not at risk, and there is nothing quaint about poverty.

I came to Parliament to speak strongly for Vancouver Centre and British Columbia. But I do not advocate the prosperity of British Columbia at the expense of Ontario or Québec or any other part of Canada. As the Prime Minister has so often said, Governments do not create wealth, people do. And if Governments provide the climate, there will be new prosperity in British Columbia and Canada. I want a Canada where all regions have a chance to grow and blossom, where no regional grievances threaten to unravel the national fabric.

● (1800)

Since 1984 the Progressive Conservative Government has been a Government of national reconciliation, but national reconciliation must include economic justice for all regions. We cannot be a caring society if our purse is empty. We cannot be magnanimous to the aspirations of all Canadians if we feel aggrieved. We cannot embark upon the federal-provincial co-operation which is essential to deal with issues of the environment, education, and the economy if we are divided by a simmering sense of injustice.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support the free trade agreement, and I am proud to move the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (Vancouver Centre): I move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Langelier, that the following

Address be presented to Her Excellency the Governor General of Canada:

To Her Excellency the Right Hon. Jeanne Sauv , a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, Chancellor and Principal Companion of the Order of Canada, Chancellor and Commander of the Order of Military Merit, upon whom has been conferred the Canadian Forces' Decoration, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada.

May it please Your Excellency:

We, Her Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the House of Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Excellency for the gracious speech which Your Excellency has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gilles Loiselle (Langelier): Mr. Speaker, I would first like to congratulate you on your election. You have earned the confidence and the respect of all those who have sat under your chairmanship and I know all the new Members join me in assuring you of our complete co-operation.

Mr. Speaker, I am well aware that, by asking me to support the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) wanted to honour the population of the riding of Langelier.

It is also symbolic that the Member from Langelier should be asked to support the Address in reply to a speech which invites all Canadians to give their country a new impetus on the road to social and economic progress.

Indeed, under various names, the riding I represent has witnessed all the great events which have marked the building of this country and has often been associated with them. It is therefore perhaps natural that Langelier should be called upon to intervene when we are about to turn a page in our history.

It is worth noting, Mr. Speaker, that Langelier is in the historic city of Québec and therefore the cradle of Canada and of much of America. It has witnessed 450 years of our history. Not only was the country founded there, but the great discoverers who opened up a whole continent used it as their base.

As a privileged keeper of our collective memory, the population of Quebec city and of Langelier, where the first Parliament of the province of Canada was established, is profoundly conscious of the place it occupies in this country, which has, with the passing decades, emancipated itself and become a modern, independent and forward-looking country.

We saw quite clearly, in the way the people of Québec participated in the national debate on the major economic issue of the recent campaign, to what extent the whole of Québec shares in the confidence we have in our capacity to meet the new challenges involved in the globalization of trade. Massively, Quebecers joined millions of Canadians who felt free trade is the assertion of the national will to open out rather than shutting ourselves in, of self-confidence rather than fear of new horizons.

Many fellow citizens, subjected for months to the whole gamut of arguments and counter arguments dealing with free trade had an opportunity to ask themselves whether that deal should go through. But in the final analysis, at the conclusion of a campaign centered on free trade, Canadians trusted a party that embodied and still embodies free trade. Under our system of parliamentary democracy, the mandate received by this Government on that matter could not be more decisive.

The question was debated in the widest possible forum, that of a general election, and the issue was settled by the electorate. It is now incumbent upon us to ratify an agreement that we invite all Canadians to support in order that, from the day it comes into force, it may be as productive as possible, to the benefit of all groups in our society, in every area of the country.

On the eve of the 21st century, with the advent of the large trading blocks which are being formed today, this country, largely dependent on external trade for its growth and welfare, is in vital need of economic space. Such space is available with the free trade agreement, providing us as it does with the widest possible access to the American market, the most sought-after market in the world.

In that respect, free trade is the only solution within immediate reach that meets our aspirations for sustained growth. In a sense, it is also the key to doing business with the rest of the world, to the extent that safe access to the various American markets will provide our businesses with economies of scale that often cannot be derived from Canadian sales, thereby putting them in a better position to successfully meet international competition on all other markets.

Those who over these last 20 years have been closely watching the extraordinary bloom of entrepreneurship, innovation and leadership among Canadian businesses both in the industrial and manufacturing sector and in

the area of services know full well we can now contemplate without any fears, doubts or reservations a free trade agreement with the United States.

What is in store is not only increased exports but also increased investments and, more generally, increased economic activity. This Agreement will benefit workers and consumers as a whole by creating jobs and increasing purchasing power.

The Agreement we are about to sign does not threaten in any way, directly or indirectly, our sovereignty. On the contrary, it specifically preserves political institutions as well as constitutional rules and regulations of each country in addition to guaranteeing full respect of the Canadian cultural identity, our way of life and our long-standing tradition of social justice.

Mr. Speaker, I will go so far as saying that the lack of an agreement would be more threatening to our sovereignty than a contract between two partners seeking together the best way to co-operate while respecting each other.

[*English*]

I would not want to conclude my remarks without a word on a most important issue for Québec as well as for Canada. I am referring, of course, to the necessary reinsertion of Québec within the Canadian constitutional family.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Loiselle: Under the leadership of our Prime Minister the agreement that has been reached at Meech Lake represents a unique achievement in the process of national reconciliation, and probably the opportunity of this century for our country to put to rest decades of confrontation and quarrels that have mobilized the country's time and energy.

The Meech Lake Accord sets the foundation for a new and stimulating era in which Canadians, freed from counter-productive and divisive constitutional dead ends, can start building the future. The opportunity is here now. It cannot, it must not be missed.

My very deep conviction is that the conditions and circumstances which resulted in the Meech Lake consensus and the following multipartite support of Parliament and of eight Legislative Assemblies are of a rare nature. That is why I remain confident that when all is said and done the superior interests of the country and its people will carry the day.

Privilege—Mr. Thacker

[*Translation*]

The Meech Lake Accord, Mr. Speaker, is a precious token of Canadians' and Quebecers' will to work together to build a common future with dignity and honor while respecting Quebec's distinctiveness. We cannot and must not miss this historical opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support the proposal of the Hon. Member for Vancouver Centre (Ms. Campbell) relating to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1810)

[*English*]

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I would be prepared to continue now but in order to make it easier for yourself and the Speaker of the Senate, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. Gauthier: I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Maybe the Minister is going to say what I anticipated, but I just want to ask the Government House Leader if he could tell us what we will be dealing with tomorrow. Is he going to designate tomorrow as continuing debate on the Throne Speech?

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, we will be calling the vote on the Ways and Means Motion tomorrow as the first order of business. I have suggested in a letter to the Chair, with copies to my colleagues in the opposition benches, that the House may wish to take up the procedural debate on a Notice of Motion which has been filed with the Table.

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, I must tell the Government House Leader that we have no notice of any letter from him today. I shall reserve on that point.

Mr. Speaker: I should advise the House that I have received notice of a question of privilege from the Hon. Member for Lethbridge (Mr. Thacker). I am prepared to hear at least some opening remarks. If it is going to be very lengthy it might be more appropriate for the Hon. Member to adjourn it until tomorrow.

I want, however, to be very clear to all Hon. Members that a question of privilege is just that and it receives precedence here.

PRIVILEGE

TRAFFIC JAM ON PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCTS

Mr. Blaine A. Thacker (Lethbridge): Mr. Speaker, a question of privilege has to be raised at the earliest moment, and in this case it relates to the actions of the green buses. I can assure Hon. Members that for urgent family reasons it was impossible for me to be here until five o'clock. I then caught a taxi in. Immediately upon reaching the Confederation Building the bells were ringing. I went to the green buses, but due to the traffic jam the bus was unable to get through.

I believe that establishes a prima facie case. I would suggest a reference to the standing committee because I am sure there are ways that security guards at this time of the day could be directing traffic. In view of the fact there is a more balanced number of Members in the House, I believe this may well be a problem and it should be looked at and solved instantly.

Mr. Speaker: I thank the Hon. Member for raising the matter. Clearly the Hon. Member has some support. I will consider the matter with care and report back to the House at the earliest convenience.

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, maybe we can put this off until tomorrow and you can hear us on this point. I think there is a question of privilege here that could be of some importance to Members of the House.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker: I will certainly accept the Hon. Member's suggestion.

[*English*]

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister and President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

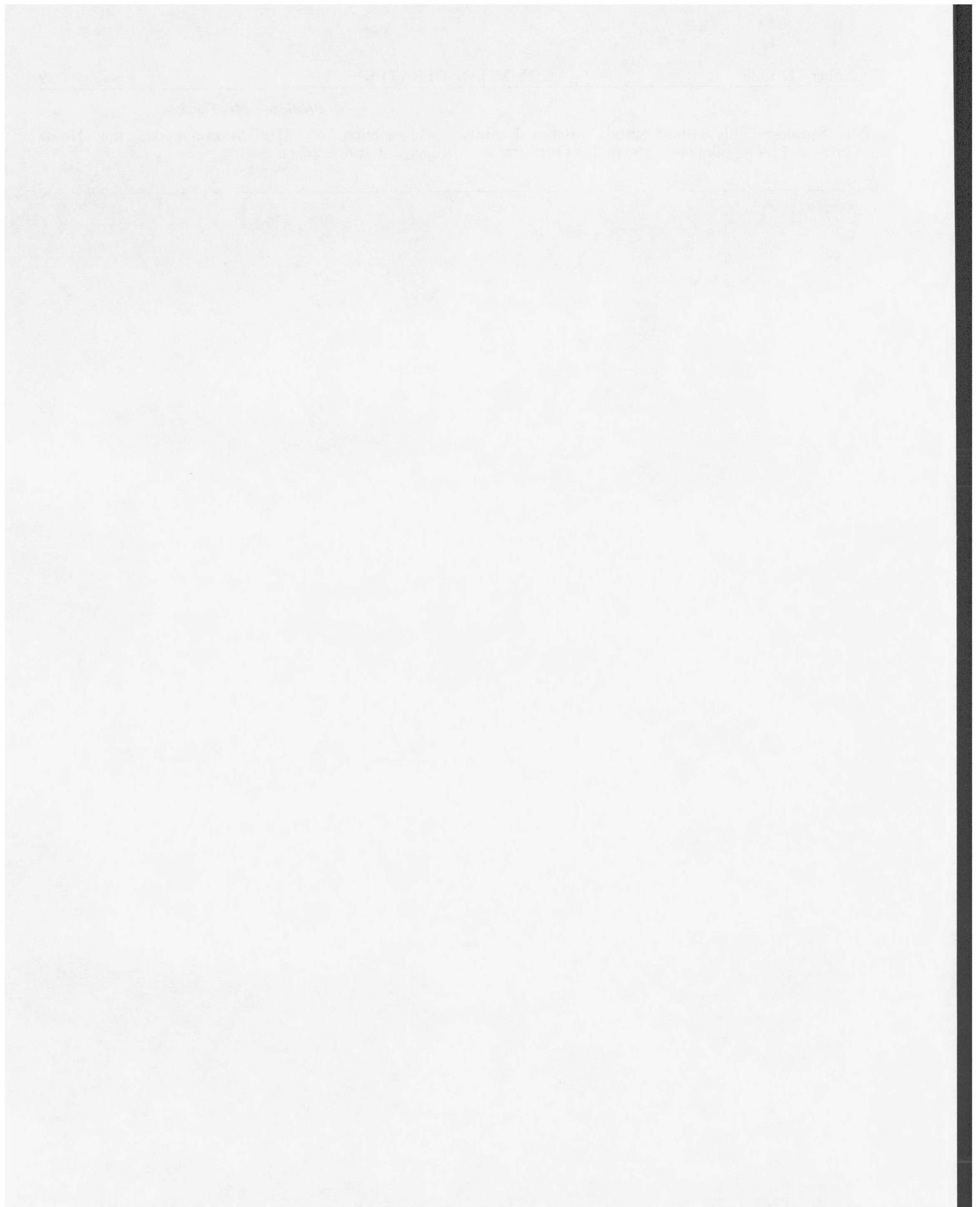
Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Motion agreed to.

Privilege—Mr. Thacker

Mr. Speaker: This House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 11 a.m. pursuant to Standing Order 24(1). On motion of Mr. Mazankowski, the House adjourned at 6.15 p.m.



HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, December 13, 1988

The House met at 11 a.m.

Prayers

[*English*]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, I wish to advise the House that there have been discussions among the Parties and the staff of the Parties as to the most appropriate order of business today. It is our wish to proceed in as orderly a manner as possible after the completion of the vote on the Ways and Means Motion.

Therefore, we are proposing to the House that we resume debate after the vote on the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne in order to give the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) an opportunity to speak, and also in order to give the Leader of the New Democratic Party an opportunity to speak.

We make that proposal on the condition that the procedural debate which is on the Order Paper in my name, which we intend to call tomorrow, be completed by 7 p.m. Wednesday evening.

Mr. Gauthier: That's closure.

Mr. Murphy: Closure on closure.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, while it seems reasonable on the surface that we have the debate continue today, I do not think that it is reasonable for the Deputy Government House Leader to attempt to direct you, Sir, as to at what point the procedural debate we are sure to have on the acceptability of the Government's motion to suspend the rules should conclude. I think that any such decision as to how long debate on the acceptability of the motion will go is a matter for you, Sir, to decide. I am prepared to rely on Your Honour's good judgment in this matter.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I have two reactions to the comments made by the Deputy House Leader. The first

concerns the intention to proceed with the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne, something which seems to be appropriate. I would like to seek an understanding at this point that once we get to this item on the agenda that the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) will speak and, with the approval of the House, that the Leader of the New Democratic Party will follow immediately in terms of having a chance to complete his remarks immediately following the remarks of the Leader of the Official Opposition. I seek that clarification first, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister in reply.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, naturally, on the understanding that the entire suggestion is taken into account, yes, we on the government side are prepared to hear the Leader of the New Democratic Party after the Leader of the Official Opposition speaks. We want to give both individuals full opportunity to speak. Naturally, we would proceed on that basis on the understanding that, however, the procedural debate on the motion which is on the Order Paper now be called tomorrow and be completed by 7 p.m.

I am giving our undertaking that the Leader of the New Democratic Party would have ample time, the same as the Leader of the Official Opposition, to speak. We look forward to the remarks of both individuals.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, this seems to be a twist in the way the House does business. Never before have we had conditions attached to the approval for the Leader of the New Democratic Party to be allowed to complete his remarks. I am concerned that the Deputy House Leader for the Government is also directing decisions that ought to be Your Honour's to make and tying our hands as to when we can make procedural arguments and when they have to be completed. That does not seem to be a decision that the Deputy House Leader should be making but one that in fact Your Honour should be making.

I want to say that we have to consider this proposal. We are certainly prepared to consider it. But at this point I am not in a position to respond either favourably to it or against it.

Tabling of Documents

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, I want to remind the House that I asked the House Leader yesterday in the House what the agenda for today would be. At that time the Deputy House Leader answered, and we will find that on page 18 of *Hansard*:

—we will be calling the vote on the Ways and Means Motion tomorrow—

I asked specifically if he would designate a day for continuing the debate on the address. He did not answer me. I took it that he knew what he was doing at that time, that there was either total confusion on that side or that they had a plan for today.

● (1110)

I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that the proposal now is that we will have this address continued today but on the condition put by the Government that we agree tomorrow on closure. That is the point. At seven o'clock tomorrow night, debate on a motion must be taken up and finished, if I understood the Minister properly. If that is the point, then—

[*Translation*]

. . . That is blackmail! That is all it is. It is bargaining in public and it does not work; it cannot work either.

I would say to the Minister that if he wants to begin the session with this kind of approach of giving, taking back, giving . . . this kind of attitude will not work.

So I ask him to be frank with the House. Today we would like to proceed with the Speech from the Throne. We ask that the Leader of the Liberals and the Leader of the New Democratic Party be heard. If he is prepared to do that, we will negotiate other matters after. But we must not negotiate the Throne Speech with such an unacceptable proposition as, "Tomorrow, we will impose closure." That does not work.

[*English*]

Mr. Speaker: I think under the circumstances it would be best if we proceeded with Routine Proceedings. There may, of course, be further discussions between representatives of all three Parties.

I have a preliminary matter which I must bring to the attention of Hon. Members. Hon. Members will know, at least some will know, but I want to bring it to all Hon. Members' attention, especially new Members, that there is a new set of House Orders which were adopted on May 27. These copies are now available. Some of you may have been operating under the old Orders. What you will find is that basically in substance they are the

same. However, the numbering is different. When Members are addressing the Chair on a procedural point, it might be advisable from now on to have a copy of the new book and keep it with you.

Some of you may find at first, because you are familiar with the old book, that you want to work with that, but as soon as possible I think it would be helpful for all to get the new book. You will find that it is an improvement. The rules are more logically set out. I do not think you will have any difficulty in using them. I do want to bring this especially to the attention of new Members.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[*English*]

STANDING ORDERS

TABLING OF REVISED ORDERS

Mr. Speaker: I must formally make this announcement. I have the honour to lay upon the Table, pursuant to the Order of the House adopted on Friday, May 27, 1988, a copy of the re-ordered and re-numbered Standing Orders of this House dated November, 1988.

* * *

SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

TABLING OF ANNUAL REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 32(1), I have the honour to lay upon the Table copies, in both official languages, of the 1988 Annual Report of the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions.

* * *

[*Translation*]

REMISSION ORDER

TABLING OF REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): And pursuant to Standing Order 32.2,

Tabling of Documents

I also table copies in both official languages of the report to Parliament on the remission orders for the six months ending September 30, 1988, as well as other important remission orders.

[English]

While I am on my feet, I wish to move:

That the House now proceed to the Orders of the Day.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I would like to seek clarification. If this motion succeeds and we go to Orders of the Day, does that preclude the request for an emergency debate being made today?

Mr. Speaker: I should advise the Hon. House Leader for the New Democratic Party that under the rules, unless some consent can be obtained, I would not be able to entertain an application for an emergency debate. It may well be that consent could be obtained, but at the moment that would be the ruling I would have to make.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the Government's interest in getting on with the daily business. I also appreciate that the Government would not want to be seen as, if you like, prohibiting a Member of the Opposition from requesting, at least, an emergency debate. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that you see if there is unanimous consent of the House to allow the Leader of the New Democratic Party to at least request an emergency debate, in the spirit of the process of healing and reconciliation.

Mr. Speaker: I think probably it would be advisable if Members discuss that matter further. I notice that the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) is seeking the floor.

Mr. Gauthier: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Indeed, what the House Leader just proposed and moved will cut off any chance of the Opposition Parties addressing the Speech from the Throne today. The motion says: "proceed to Orders of the Day". The only item under Orders of the Day is a Ways and Means motion, which is not debatable. It can only be put to a vote. We will vote against it, but that is it. You will have to recess after that unless you can find some solution now to address that question. I say to the House Leader, you cannot have it both ways. You allow the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) and the Leader of the NDP to address the question today on the Speech from the Throne, and do it democratically, otherwise you are cutting off debate.

Mr. Speaker: Of course, we will hear the Hon. Member for Kamloops. However, what I am going to suggest to Hon. Members is, because the Speaker is now seized with a motion, procedurally what the Speaker now has to do is put it to the House. Again, in the interest of making sure that all Members, especially new Members, understand what will take place, there will be a voice vote and then, depending on the outcome of that, there may very well be a 30 minute bell calling in the Members.

Of course, I cannot assure you of that, but that is a possibility. During that period I think Hon. Members on both sides of the House might have a discussion and perhaps the result of that discussion might assist the Speaker.

The Hon. Member for Kamloops, is there anything further?

Is the House ready for the question?

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion, which was agreed to on the following division:

• (1120)

(Division No. 2)

YEAS

Members

Anderson
Andre
Atkinson
Attewell
Belsher
Bernier
Bertrand
Bird
Bjornson
Blackburn
(Jonquière)
Blais
Blenkarn

Bosley
Bourgault
Boyer
Brightwell
Browes
Cadieux
Campbell
(Vancouver Centre)
Cardiff
Casey
Chadwick

Champagne
(Saint-Hyacinthe—
Bagot)
Champagne
(Champlain)
Clark
(Yellowhead)
Clark
(Brandon—Souris)
Clifford
Cole
Collins
Cook

Ways and Means

Cooper
Corbeil
Corbett
Côté
Couture
Crosbie
(St. John's West)
Crosby
(Halifax West)
Darling
DeBlois
de Cotret
Della Noce
Desjardins
Dobbie
Domm
Dorin
Duplessis
Edwards
Epp
Fee
Feltham
Ferland
Fontaine
Fretz
Friesen
Gérin
Gibeau
Gray
(Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-Madeleine)
Greene
Guilbault
Gustafson
Halliday
Harvey
(Chicoutimi)
Hawkes
Hicks
Hockin
Hogue
Holtmann
Horner
Horning
Hudon
Hughes
Jacques
James
Jelinek
Johnson

Joncas
Jourdenais
Kempling
Kilgour
(Edmonton Southeast)
Kindy
Koury
Landry
Langlois
Larrivée
Layton
Leblanc
(Longueuil)
Lewis
Littlechild
Loiselle
Lopez
MacDonald
(Rosedale)
MacDougall
(Timiskaming)
MacKay
Malone
Marin
Martin
(Lincoln)
Masse
Mayer
Mazankowski
McCreath
McDermid
McDougall
(St. Paul's)
McKnight
Merrithew
Mitges
Monteith
Moore
Nicholson
Nowlan
Oberle
O'Brien
O'Kurley
Paproski
Plamondon
Porter
Pronovost
Redway
Reid
Reimer

Ricard
Richardson
Robitaille
Roy-Arcelin
Schneider
Scott
(Victoria—Haliburton)
Scott
(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Shields
Siddon
Sobeski
Soetens
Sparrow
St-Julien
Stevenson
Tardif
Tétreault
Thacker
Thompson
Thorkelson
Tremblay
(Rosemont)
Tremblay
(Québec-Est)
Tremblay
(Lotbinière)
Turner
(Halton—Peel)
Valcourt
Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne
Vien
Vincent
Weiner
Wenman
White
Wilbee
Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple Creek)
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard
Worthy—156

MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
MacLaren
MacWilliam
Maheu
Manley
Marchi
Marleau
Martin
(Lasalle—Émard)
McCurdy
McGuire
McLaughlin
Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nunziata

Nystrom
Pagtakhan
Parent
Parker
Peterson
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Rideout
Riis
Robichaud
Robinson
Rocheleau
Rodriguez
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller

Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin
Turner
(Vancouver Quadra)
Vanclief
Volpe
Waddell
Walker
Wappell
Whittaker
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)—110

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

• (1210)

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

WAYS AND MEANS

THE CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade) moved that a Ways and Means motion to introduce a measure to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, laid upon the table on Monday, December 12, be concurred in.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

NAYS

Members

Allmand
Althouse
Angus
Arseneault
Assad
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South Centre)
Baker
Barrett
Bélair
Bellemare
Black
Blaikie
Blondin
Boudria
Brewin
Broadbent
Butland
Caccia

Campbell
(South West Nova)
Catterall
Clancy
Comuzzi
Copp
Crawford
de Jong
Dingwall
Dionne
Duhamel
Ferguson
Finestone
Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gaffney
Gagliano
Gardiner
Gauthier

Gray
(Windsor West)
Guarnieri
Harvard
Heap
Hopkins
Hovdebo
Hunter
Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Karygiannis
Keyes
Kilger
(Storment—Dundas)
Kristiansen
Langan
Laporte
LeBlanc
(Cape Breton Highlands—Canso)
Lee
MacAulay

The House divided on the motion, which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 3)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Friesen	Nicholson
Andre	Gérin	Nowlan
Atkinson	Gibeau	Oberle
Attewell	Gray	O'Brien
Belsher	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-Madeleine)	O'Kurley
Bernier	Greene	Paproski
Bertrand	Guilbault	Plamondon
Bird	Gustafson	Plourde
Bjornson	Halliday	Porter
Blackburn	Harvey	Pronovost
(Jonquièrre)	(Chicoutimi)	Redway
Blais	Hawkes	Reid
Blenkarn	Hicks	Reimer
Bosley	Hockin	Ricard
Bouchard	Hogue	Richardson
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Holtmann	Robitaille
Bourgault	Horner	Roy-Arcelin
Boyer	Horning	Schneider
Brightwell	Hudon	Scott
Browes	Hughes	(Victoria—Haliburton)
Cadieux	Jacques	Scott
Campbell	James	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
(Vancouver Centre)	Jelinek	Shields
Cardiff	Johnson	Sobeski
Casey	Joncas	Soetens
Chadwick	Jourdenais	Sparrow
Champagne	Kempling	St-Julien
(Champlain)	Kilgour	Stevenson
Clark	(Edmonton Southeast)	Tardif
(Yellowhead)	Kindy	Tétreault
Clark	Koury	Thacker
(Brandon—Souris)	Landry	Thompson
Clifford	Langlois	Thorkelson
Cole	Larivière	Tremblay
Collins	Layton	(Rosemont)
Cook	Leblanc	Tremblay
Cooper	(Longueuil)	(Québec-Est)
Corbeil	Lewis	Tremblay
Corbett	Littlechild	(Lotbinière)
Côté	Loiselle	Turner
Couture	Lopez	(Halton—Peel)
Crosbie	MacDonald	Valcourt
(St. John's West)	(Rosedale)	Van de Walle
Crosby	MacDougall	Vankoughnet
(Halifax West)	(Timiskaming)	Venne
Darling	MacKay	Vien
DeBlois	Malone	Vincent
de Cotret	Marin	Weiner
Della Noce	Martin	Wenman
Desjardins	(Lincoln)	White
Dick	Masse	Wilbee
Dobbie	Mayer	Wilson
Dommm	Mazankowski	(Swift Current—Maple Creek)
Dorin	McCreath	Wilson
Duplessis	McDermid	(Etobicoke Centre)
Edwards	McDougall	Winegard
Epp	(St. Paul's)	Worthy—156
Fee	McKnight	
Feltham	Merrithew	
Ferland	Mitges	
Fontaine	Monteith	
Fretz		

Privilege—Mr. Thacker

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gaffney	Nault
Althouse	Gagliano	Nunziata
Angus	Gardiner	Nystrom
Arseneault	Gauthier	Ouellet
Assad	Gray	Pagtakhan
Axworthy	(Windsor West)	Parent
(Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing)	Guarnieri	Peterson
Axworthy	Harb	Phinney
(Winnipeg South Centre)	Harvard	Pickard
Barrett	Harvey	Proud
Bélair	(Edmonton East)	Prud'homme
Bellemare	Heap	Rideout
Benjamin	Hopkins	Riis
Berger	Hovdebo	Robichaud
Black	Hunter	Robinson
Blaikie	Kaplan	Rocheleau
Blondin	Karpoff	Rodriguez
Boudria	Karygiannis	Samson
Brewin	Keyes	Skelly
Broadbent	Kilger	(Comox—Alberni)
Caccia	(Stormont—Dundas)	Speller
Langan	Kristiansen	Stewart
Callbeck	Langdon	Stupich
Campbell	Langdon	Taylor
(South West Nova)	Laporte	Tobin
Catterall	Lee	Vanclief
Clancy	MacAulay	Volpe
Comuzzi	MacLaren	Waddell
Copps	MacWilliam	Walker
Crawford	Maheu	Wappel
Dingwall	Manley	Whittaker
Dionne	Marleau	Wood
Duhamel	Martin	Young
Ferguson	(Lasalle—Émard)	(Gloucester)
Finestone	McGuire	Young
Fisher	McLaughlin	(Beaches—Woodbine)—106
Flis	Mifflin	
Fontana	Milliken	
Foster	Mills	
Fulton	Mitchell	
	Murphy	

● (1250)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

* * *

[Translation]

PRIVILEGE

TRAFFIC JAM ON PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCTS

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I should like to elaborate upon the question of privilege raised yesterday by the Hon. Member for Lethbridge (Mr. Thacker) relating to the traffic jam on Parliament Hill.

Mr. Speaker, this matter must be referred to a committee because today we have to solve certain problems concerning access to this chamber and to committee rooms. As a rule, access is difficult enough in normal times, but the situation does get worse in winter.

Privilege—Mr. Thacker

[English]

I do not have to remind you, Mr. Speaker, but I would like to read, for the purposes of enlightening some of our colleagues in this House, new ones perhaps, what privilege is all about, because the question was put yesterday.

Some Hon. Members: Dispense!

Mr. Gauthier: No, I will not dispense. It is a very important point. The front bench of the Government takes it frivolously, but we on this side take this very seriously.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, allow me to read Beauchesne's Fifth Edition Citation 16:

Parliamentary privilege is the sum of the peculiar rights enjoyed by each House collectively as a constituent part of the High Court of Parliament, and by Members of each House individually, without which they could not discharge their functions and which exceed those possessed by other bodies or individuals. Thus, privilege, though part of the law of the land, is to a certain extent an exemption from the ordinary law.

I go on quoting because this part is important.

The distinctive mark of a privilege is its ancillary character. The privileges of Parliament are rights which are "absolutely necessary for the due execution of its powers". They are enjoyed by individual Members, because the House cannot perform its functions without unimpeded use of the services of its Members.

Mr. Speaker, when a Member cannot come to the House of Commons because he simply cannot hear the bell—and we had an example of that today at the Wellington Building where the bell failed to ring—is that a breach of his privileges? I say it is.

If the same Member experiences difficulties because there is no adequate, rapid and efficient transportation from the Wellington Building or the Confederation Building, Mr. Speaker, again I say that the Member has a question of privilege and that, in such instance, his rights might be curtailed if he were to find it impossible to get here on time to vote or debate an issue.

Mr. Speaker, I think that a committee might be asked to consider the whole question of Parliament Hill and the means of transportation provided there.

[English]

Members should be sure that they can arrive at the House when they want and in time to discharge the duties for which they were elected. The question raised yesterday by the Hon. Member for Lethbridge (Mr. Thacker) indeed prevented him from arriving in time to

exercise the right of a Member; that is he heard the bells ringing when he got into the Confederation Building, he took a bus, and he told us in his remarks yesterday, he was unable to be here because of the traffic tie-up.

Members are elected to participate in debate, to participate in committees and to vote in this House, and they should be allowed to be here whenever they have to be here and whenever they want to be here. That is my point. There are several buildings in these precincts which are not connected by tunnels. At times we have to use buses. These buses sometimes have certain difficulties.

Hon. Members will remember that many times in the last Parliament we had to ask the Speaker to hold the vote because we knew certain Members were unable to come here in due time to exercise their democratic right to vote. The Speaker has given us this understanding.

I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that the point raised yesterday is interesting because we now have a building with the offices of 23 Members of Parliament, the Wellington Building, which has no transportation facilities available at this time. Buses are not at the disposal of the Members. They have to cross Wellington Street and come to the bus stop which is on the property of the Parliament of Canada. Therefore, those Members should be entitled to come here whenever they please, whenever they have to and whenever they want to exercise their rights as Members of Parliament.

• (1300)

I thoroughly endorse and support the proposition that this whole question be sent to a committee for study, consideration and that action be taken thereon.

Mr. Speaker: Before adjourning the House, has the appropriate motion been made?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: I have listened to the Hon. Member for Lethbridge (Mr. Thacker), the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) and I am completely in agreement that the House ought to entertain the appropriate motion.

An Hon. Member: So moved.

Mr. Speaker: So moved. I should also say that the Sergeant-at-Arms has made arrangements with the RCMP starting this afternoon for police assistance in clearing traffic and that that matter, including the matter of the bells, ought properly go to committee.

It being one o'clock, I do now leave the chair until two o'clock p.m.

The House took recess at 1.02 p.m.

AFTER RECESS

The House resumed at 2 p.m.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[Translation]

THE AUDITOR GENERAL

TABLING OF REPORT FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1988

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to lay upon the Table the report of the Auditor General of Canada to the House of Commons for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1988.

[English]

I remind Hon. Members that this document is deemed to have been permanently referred to the Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

MONITORING BY LIBERAL PARTY

Mrs. Sheila Finestone (Mount Royal): Mr. Speaker, on this day, at the beginning of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, I thank the people of Mount Royal for once again expressing their confidence in me. I pledge my commitment to represent them to the best of my abilities. One way will be working to ensure that the Government takes full responsibility for the impact of the trade deal.

Do plant closures by Gillette in Montreal, by Pittsburgh Paints, and Catelli Spaghetti represent the wave of Canada's future? Is the trade deal making plant closing decisions such as that of Northern Telecom easier? Is that the type of future Canadians expected and voted for on November 21?

Is the Government going to take credit for plant openings because of free trade, and try to blame plant

closings on some other mysterious force? The Government will have to learn that denying the connection between job losses due to the trade deal does not change the fact that workers are losing their jobs.

Liberals will be here every day watching the Government on behalf of the people of Canada, the majority of whom did not support the trade deal. We shall monitor the negotiations to ensure that the Government does not abandon its responsibility for the Canadian workers.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

EXPANSION OF CANADIAN COMPANIES' OPERATIONS

Mrs. Pauline Browes (Scarborough Centre): Mr. Speaker, free trade has already opened new opportunities for the city of Scarborough.

Next month, CDA Industries, Canada's largest display company, will open an office in Atlanta, Georgia, to pursue new markets as a result of the Free Trade Agreement. CDA's President, Mr. Vince Devitta, and the board of directors, have welcomed the free trade agreement as an opportunity for their company to expand. In fact, CDA has already negotiated a \$6.5 million U.S. order which will create new jobs at its Scarborough plant.

Canadian Thermos Products and Warner Lambert Canada, which are also located in Scarborough Centre, also plan to expand their operations as a result of free trade. Canadian Thermos expects to create an additional 60 jobs in Scarborough because of better access to the U.S. markets under free trade, and Warner Lambert has already built a new research centre.

CDA, Canadian Thermos Products, and Warner Lambert are proving that free trade will have long term benefits for Scarborough's and Canada's future.

* * *

DISASTERS

ARMENIAN EARTHQUAKE—CANADIAN RESPONSE

Mr. Bill Blaikie (Winnipeg Transcona): Mr. Speaker, on behalf of my colleagues I would like to take this opportunity to express our deepest sympathies to the

S. O. 31

people of Armenia who are experiencing one of the worst disasters of this century.

I would also like to commend those thousands of Canadians who have devoted their time, energy, and resources to collecting and sending relief supplies to the troubled areas.

Unfortunately, however, it appears that the co-ordination of the Canadian response could have been better handled. Some volunteers with needed skills were not even able to get a few supplies such as tents and blankets so that they could fly to the scene of the tragedy. Other questions have been raised with respect to the lack of communication between Emergency Preparedness Canada and External Affairs. I hope the Minister will look into this and report back to the House.

In the meantime, I hope that the quake will have done one thing useful. I hope that it brings home to us that the people in the Soviet Union are real human beings. If we can be moved as we have been by their suffering in this instance we should also be moved to eliminate nuclear weapons which would visit upon the people of the Soviet Union and all the people of the earth a disaster that would make even the events in Armenia look like a picnic.

* * *

THE FRANCHISE

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

Mr. Jesse Flis (Parkdale—High Park): Mr. Speaker, Zoya Stevenson, Nancy Jacobi, and thousands of other Canadians in Parkdale—High Park and across Canada were disenfranchised in the federal election of November 21 because of our inefficient enumeration process.

During every election we hear horror stories of residents of entire streets and whole apartment buildings not being enumerated. Many voters were omitted because they were travelling or working odd shifts during the enumeration period. Others did not discover the omission of their names until they arrived at the polls on election day.

I urge Parliament to give speedy approval to the following recommendations.

1. Develop a registration process to establish a permanent voters list.

2. Approve election day voters registration in urban areas, the same right as given to rural voters.

The implementation of the these two recommendations would prevent discrimination against urban voters, and would guarantee Canadian voters their citizenship rights. It is our duty as parliamentarians to make it easier for citizens to vote, not place obstacles in their way.

* * *

● (1405)

[*Translation*]

FREE TRADE

GOVERNMENT'S MANDATE

Mr. Michel Champagne (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister for External Relations): Mr. Speaker, first, I would like to thank the people of the riding of Champlain for putting their trust in me for a second consecutive mandate. Of course, I promise to keep on working for every man and woman of my constituency in order to improve our quality of life, attract significant investments and make the Canadian economy and that of my region work as well as in the past four years.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, I would like to remind both opposition parties that on the night they were defeated they solemnly committed themselves to let the Free Trade Agreement pass without objection or unjustified pressure. As we can see the session has no sooner begun that both parties have already reneged on their promise and simply seek to obstruct the Government in its action to prevent what Canadians decided on November 21 with their vote for free trade, for the economic development of Canada and against the regression of both opposition parties.

* * *

[*English*]

DISASTERS

ARMENIAN EARTHQUAKE—CANADIAN RESPONSE

Ms. Barbara Greene (Don Valley North): Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, December 7 last, the worst natural disaster to befall the Soviet Union in this century took place in Soviet Armenia.

Armenian Canadians in Don Valley North and other ridings in Canada are in a profound state of shock. While they, many thousands of Canadians, and the Canadian Government have responded with generosity, massive reconstruction efforts will be necessary.

I urge the Government of Canada to respond with the greatest generosity and compassion to this crisis and to advise the Soviet Union that Canadians would welcome such refugees as the Soviet Union may be prepared to grant exit visas to, in the face of this enormous calamity.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

SUPPLY MANAGEMENT MARKETING SYSTEM

Mr. Bob Speller (Haldimand—Norfolk): Mr. Speaker, the free trade agreement in its present form is a direct attack on the supply management system of marketing, a system that has served Canadian farmers since it was introduced in the early 1970s.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the Government gave assurances over the past few months that the supply management system of marketing as defined under Article 11 of the GATT will be protected under the Free Trade Agreement. But we have also heard, Mr. Speaker, that the Americans would like to see an end to the supply management system as we know it here in Canada.

The constituents of Haldimand-Norfolk, who include many supply-managed farmers, are genuinely concerned that supply management is threatened, not only under the GATT, but within the free trade deal itself. Clearly, the Bill, in its present form, does not protect these farmers.

Our Party, Mr. Speaker, has proposed amendments to this deal which we believe protect farmers. In fact, Mr. Speaker, our Party is committed to protecting all Canadians from the ill effects of this agreement. We will be the guardians of Canadian sovereignty, and we put the Government on notice that we will not stand for any decline in the farm economy.

S. O. 31

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

Mr. Ken G. Hughes (MacLeod): Mr. Speaker, last week I had the honour of attending the GATT talks as a member of Canada's parliamentary delegation.

Many Canadians involved in agriculture, including my constituents, were deeply disappointed with the lack of concrete results at the Montreal meeting.

The future of many agricultural industries in Canada is at stake in these talks. We must reduce subsidies to agriculture world-wide. Canada, as a member of the Cairns Group, as well as Japan and the U.S., were there prepared to negotiate. Where were the Europeans?

We must continue to pressure the Europeans in particular, as well as the Americans, to come to their senses and end the subsidy war.

As a new Member representing MacLeod in southern Alberta, I welcome the chance to defend aggressively the interests of Canadian agriculture.

* * *

[*Translation*]

POLITICAL PARTIES

PEOPLE'S CHOICE OF PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVES

Mr. Gabriel Desjardins (Témiscamingue): Mr. Speaker, last November 21, Canadians had to choose the leader and the political party best suited to govern the country for the next four years.

Well, Mr. Speaker, their choice was clear and unequivocal. Basing themselves on the record of the Progressive Conservative government from 1984 to 1988, they once more chose the team best suited to lead the country, the team of Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Party, thus giving them a second majority mandate, an historic event in the Canadian political life of the twentieth century.

The environment, implementation of free trade, national unity, security for our senior citizens, these will be the priorities of the government which I represent in this House.

To conclude, Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my fellow citizens for having entrusted me with a second mandate. They can rest assured that their Member of

S. O. 31

Parliament will continue to represent them with dignity and that he will defend their interests relentlessly.

* * *

• (1410)

[*English*]

PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS

VANCOUVER—CREATION OF NEW URBAN PARK

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure my constituents in Vancouver Quadra, as well as yours in Vancouver South, and the constituents of Vancouver Centre, will be relieved and grateful that the Government of British Columbia has dedicated the University Endowment Lands as a provincial park, preserving them in perpetuity in a natural state.

This will be the largest urban park in the world at 850 hectares, twice the size of Stanley Park of which you and I have spoken, four times the size of Hyde Park in London, and the greatest preservation of land in a natural state in any modern city in the world.

I want to thank and congratulate the Premier of the province, and particularly the citizens of Vancouver who have lobbied so well and incessantly to preserve these beautiful lands for nature and for the future citizens of British Columbia.

* * *

HUMAN RIGHTS

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. Peter L. McCreath (South Shore): Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, December 10, marked the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an occasion commemorated by organizations and individuals around the world. Having just resigned as a Commissioner of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission in order to take my seat in this Chamber, I take great pleasure in bringing this important occasion to the attention of the House.

Recognition of and respect for human rights are the foundation stones upon which our democratic government is based.

Together with our human rights legislation and the principles enshrined in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the Universal Declaration stands as a model for appropriate relationships amongst individuals and the peoples of the world. It will continue to be a source of inspiration for national and international efforts to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms now and in the future.

* * *

[*Translation*]

THE PRIME MINISTER

RE-ELECTION

Mr. Fernand Jourdenais (La Prairie): Mr. Speaker, for the first time in over a century a Prime Minister has been re-elected with a commanding majority. Congratulations on this remarkable achievement!

Mr. Speaker, the Right Hon. Brian Mulroney, one of whose Members I am proud to be, is the politician who did and will continue to steer the ship of state with firmness.

Our future looks promising thanks to the appropriate policies of this Conservative Government.

On behalf of the people of La Prairie and of my colleagues in the House I should like to express to him and to his family my heartfelt sentiments of affection and pride for this extraordinary achievement.

Once again, Mr. Prime Minister, sincere congratulations!

* * *

[*English*]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD

Mr. Rod Laporte (Moose Jaw—Lake Centre): Mr. Speaker, the Government is fond of saying that the people “spoke” in the last election. Millions of Canadians have expressed serious concerns with the free trade deal. Grain farmers in Saskatchewan are particularly concerned with the lack of protection for the Canadian Wheat Board under the terms of the Free Trade Agreement.

Oral Questions

The Prairie Wheat Pools, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, UPA and other farm organizations have repeatedly called for government action to protect the Wheat Board and other farm marketing boards. To date, the Government has not dealt with this concern.

American interests are continuing to pressure the Canadian Government to dismantle parts of the Wheat Board. Just last week at the GATT talks in Montreal, U.S. trade representative Clayton Yeutter said the U.S. administration will not rest until it gets its way with the Canadian Wheat Board.

The Canadian Wheat Board is vital to the survival of Canadian grain farmers. My colleagues and I will be expecting guarantees for the Wheat Board in the trade legislation to be presented in this House.

* * *

[*Translation*]

INDUSTRY

TRIBUTE TO MULTITEL OF QUÉBEC CITY

Mr. Marcel R. Tremblay (Québec-Est): Mr. Speaker, I am proud that my first remarks in the House at the beginning of this 34th Parliament should relate to a high technology firm located in my riding.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, Quebec City's Multitel is the world's only maker of a data management and acquisition device for back-up battery systems. It has been able to show that a small local business can successfully break through on the markets of such countries as the United States and Europe.

This has been made possible thanks to the co-operation of young and old employees whose experience and modern know-how are a guarantee of the firm's challenging future.

I pay special tribute to Multitel President Léon Méthot, Operations Vice-President Gilles Huot, and all their colleagues who had faith in the future and who live up to the daily challenge brought on by know-how and creativity so that high technology may, for all of us, become a way of life where excellence prevails.

• (1415)

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[*Translation*]

TRADE

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT— ELECTION COMMITMENTS—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister.

During the election campaign, the Prime Minister promised that his trade agreement with the United States would have no effect on our regional development programs, our social programs and our environmental programs, now or in the future.

Will the Prime Minister agree to put these election promises into the law itself? Will he do it in writing in the trade bill which is before this House?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, all these issues have been debated in front of the electorate.

The Leader of the Official Opposition has explained his point of view and the New Democratic Leader explained his position. I have defended the Government's interests; on behalf of the Minister for International Trade and of the Government, I said that the matters raised were not affected by the free trade treaty. I explained the reasons why. The treaty has not changed since then and I think that the Leader of the Official Opposition has every reason to be confident that the matters he raised will be well defended by the Government of Canada.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, I could feel more confident if the Prime Minister were prepared to put in writing in the law itself the commitments he made during the election campaign.

[*English*]

UNITED STATES LIST OF CANADIAN PROGRAMS

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, four days after the election, namely, on November 25, the United States trade representative issued a 17-page report to the Congress of the United States which lists 40 Canadian programs and administrative practices which the United States claims, according to Mr. Clayton Yeutter, violate the trade agreement. These include Canadian Wheat Board

Oral Questions

programs, financial services policies, auto-pact regulations, and broadcast rules.

Does the Prime Minister intend to change any or all of the programs which the United States says must be changed under the terms of the agreement?

While I am at it I ask the Prime Minister whether Canada has a list of improper trade practices and administrative regulations of the United States which contravene the agreement. If so, why has that document not been made public?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, we will have to make our own report in due course as to whether we think the U.S. legislation complies with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, or whether there are any provisions of its laws which do not so comply. Under its legislation the United States has the same duty or obligation.

Of course the Americans can have their own opinions about various matters here in Canada as to whether they think they violate one principle or the other, or whatever. But that is not determinative of the situation. We have our own views of what complies with the Free Trade Agreement and what does not.

There is nothing unusual or alarming about the Americans having opinions that are contrary to our opinions. We will continue to hold ours and to put our own position forward.

TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR AFFECTED WORKERS

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, there may be nothing alarming in the mind of the Minister, but at least the Americans have a forthrightness to be public about what they have in mind for the implementation of this trade agreement. My point to the Minister is that if he has anything in mind—something which we begin to doubt—would he render public what the Canadian position is on American administrative practice and regulation?

Since the election there have been massive lay-offs announced by several Canadian industries—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. McDermid: Come on! That is why you are over there.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The new Minister from Brampton is becoming just as sensitive as his colleague from St. John's.

Under the Prime Minister's trade deal with the United States will the Government of Canada be allowed to provide new training and retraining programs for these workers who have been displaced? More important, why has the Prime Minister been stalling on the introduction of any adjustment policy? All he has told the country so far is that we must await the de Grandpre Report. That might be months and months away. Does he not realize that the workers at Canada Packers, Northern Telecom, Pittsburgh Paints, Catelli, and Gillette have already lost their jobs? They cannot afford to wait for the Prime Minister.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1420)

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, what the Prime Minister and I and other members of the Government have made clear is that we have in place the Canadian Jobs Strategy which provides—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mrs. McDougall:—which provides an adaptable and flexible approach to job training both in terms of skill development and skill investment so that people can upgrade for the future.

We have also made it clear that we are committed to innovative and generous adjustment and retraining programs to assist individual Canadians under the Free Trade Agreement as under other economic concerns.

The Canadian economy is constantly adapting. That is why we as a nation have had such an excellent record in the past few years. There are, for example, 1.5 million layoffs in Canada in any typical year, where someone doesn't return. We are prepared to deal with that as we are with other things.

RISK TO CANADIAN PLANTS

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct a supplementary question to the Prime Minister in response to the answer provided by the Minister of Employment and Immigration. It is interesting to know why the Government has cut back by 32 per cent the actual expenditures under the Canadian Jobs Strategy program.

Oral Questions

We would like to know from the Prime Minister also whether the Government has examined the report from the Economic Council which it refers to as the Bible of the Free Trade Agreement. It states that over 24,000 Canadian plants are at risk if the trade agreement goes ahead. We would like to know if the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Prime Minister, or anyone in the Government can tell us which plants are at risk, where they are located, how many workers will be affected, and what the Government is going to do—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Axworthy: Well, Mr. Speaker, it shows the insensitivity to all those workers in those 24,000 plants that the Government is proceeding on sheer and total ignorance of those facts. We want to know if the Government will set up a special committee of the Commons to examine the critical question of plant closures to make sure the victims of the trade agreement are properly protected.

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, my hon. colleague raises some very specific questions and I would like to answer him with very specific numbers.

In terms of announced investments in this country, since the beginning of the year—and I will spare him the details by industry but I would be willing to provide them to him—in Nova Scotia, \$2.2 billion; in New Brunswick, \$1.6 billion; in Newfoundland, \$1.7 billion; in Quebec, \$3.1 billion; in Ontario, \$3.7 billion; in British Columbia, \$511.1 million; in Alberta, \$6.78 billion; in Saskatchewan, \$150 million; in Manitoba, \$10 million, a total of close to \$20 billion of new investment, of faith in the future of this country and its job-creation potential.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy: I say only to the Minister that the workers who will be losing their jobs under this trade agreement cannot feed their families on the statistics given by that Minister.

FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS—REQUEST THAT
PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE BE ESTABLISHED

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct my supplementary question again to the Prime Minister. During the election campaign the Prime Minister gave guarantees that a number of essential Canadian programs would in

no way be affected or touched by the trade agreement, such as the Wheat Board, the regional development programs, and agricultural subsidies. We now have a report from the United States Trade Office challenging many of these programs.

We have the Minister for International Trade himself saying that the agricultural transportation subsidies are on the negotiating table, and we have a new round of negotiations beginning on the question of subsidies and the harmonization of standards without any report or any examination as to what will be on the negotiating table.

Canadians do not want to be blindsided again. Will the Prime Minister agree to establishing a committee of the Commons to examine the new round of negotiations to ensure that the essential programs for Canadians will not be negotiated away this time?

• (1425)

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, every conceivable kind of assurance has been given to the Canadian people to that effect.

Mr. Allmand: Not true.

Ms. Copps: Your word is not worth the paper it is written on.

Mr. Crosbie: Certain personages opposite do not want to believe any assurance, no matter how many assurances are given.

Mr. Allmand: We had a bitter experience.

Ms. Copps: The Prime Minister's word on seniors' pensions.

Mr. Crosbie: My voice is not loud enough to shout out the Hon. Member for wherever she is from this time. The position is that Canada has been part of GATT since 1947, and there is a GATT code on subsidies that has been in effect since then. There has been no agreement yet between us and any other nation in the GATT or between any two nations in the GATT as to what constitutes a trade distorting subsidy and doubtless it will be a very long time before that is agreed.

If Canada and the United States, in the next seven years, can agree on that it will be a great precedent for the world. In the meantime we do not intend to agree to any definition that would in any way endanger regional development or other Canadian programs of that nature.

Oral Questions

MEASURES TO AID AFFECTED WORKERS

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. We just heard three Ministers indicate that the Government is not prepared to bring in any innovative measures to aid workers displaced by the trade deal. The Prime Minister said on November 25, in complete contradiction to what we just heard, that the Government would be innovative and generous with adjustment and retraining program wherever and whenever they were needed.

Since we have had some 2,400 lay-offs—

Mr. Crosbie: Nonsense.

Mr. Broadbent: —that have been announced to be either directly or indirectly related to the trade deal since the election day—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Broadbent: —why is the Government not bringing forward those measures that the Prime Minister promised to aid workers who are affected now, not next spring?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the New Democratic Party prefaced his question by saying, I think I have it accurately, that three Ministers indicated that the Government was not prepared to bring in new training programs. That is not accurate.

Mr. Broadbent: Now.

Mr. Mulroney: Now the Leader of the NDP says “now”. The free trade agreement is not yet in effect. We already have various—

Ms. Copps: What about Gillette workers?

Mr. Marchi: Just wait until it is in effect.

Mr. Speaker: I think Hon. Members would agree that, with many more Members seeking the floor during Question Period, I have to try to be as fair and firm as I can. I would ask Hon. Members to keep their comments to a minimum so that their own colleagues will be able to have a chance to ask questions. The Right Hon. Prime Minister.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, I was trying to indicate to the Leader of the NDP, in regard to a legitimate question that he raises about retraining and innovative and generous retraining programs, that at the moment we have some of the best in the world but clearly we can

do better. We have invited Jean de Grandpre, one of Canada's most distinguished people, to chair a blue ribbon commission to examine the programs that exist around the world, to ensure that as the Free Trade Agreement comes into effect over a period of time, as the need emerges, if it does, we have in place the finest programs that exist anywhere. That was the commitment we made and that is the commitment we are going to honour.

Mr. Broadbent: I say to the Prime Minister that unemployed workers who have already had their lay-off announcements cannot eat blue ribbons. They want action now.

● (1430)

REQUEST THAT GOVERNMENT INTRODUCE NEW PROGRAMS

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Since the distinguished gentleman to whom the Prime Minister has alluded has said he will not have his report ready until quite possibly as late as June, I return to what the Prime Minister promised on November 25 when he said that whenever and wherever those programs would be needed, the Government would produce them. They are needed in Canada and they are needed now. Why do we not get such legislation before we recess for the Christmas break and not after?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the NDP says that the programs are needed now and he ties that statement to a quote of mine on November 25. That quote on November 25 was in regard to the Free Trade Agreement which will come into effect beginning on January 1. There is no correlation whatsoever between what the hon. gentleman says now and that, which is not to diminish the need for better retraining programs on behalf of employees in Canada.

My hon. friend refers to some of the job changes that have occurred. Some four million Canadians a year change jobs for various reasons. We have a very dynamic and mobile workforce. Retraining will always be a great challenge for the federal and the provincial Governments.

What my hon. friend should, I think, remember, is that the record of 1.3 million new jobs that have been created over the last four years, leading the industrialized world, can and will be maintained with the dynamic and modern approaches that we have adopted with the Free Trade Agreement.

Oral Questions

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, the new jobs that have been created, and the Prime Minister knows this, do not directly affect the people who are laid off at Gillette, Catelli, Pittsburgh Paint or any other industry that is making decisions in the context of free trade. That is the reality and the Prime Minister knows it.

[*Translation*]

GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question is very direct. The Government has expressed its intention to adjourn the House till the spring, but the workers who have lost their jobs have lost them recently. Why does the Conservative Government give priority to giving time off to its members rather than dealing with the layoffs? Is that Tory justice?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, major programs have been established throughout the country to assist workers laid off because of technological changes. It is a fact of life in industrialized societies and that situation is not about to change, unfortunately. A responsible government must therefore provide the affected workers with the most generous programs possible. That is what we have done and will continue to do.

My hon. friend brings up some problems with the Gillette company, which is a real problem. But he does not mention the \$500 million investment in the Trois-Rivières region in the aluminum sector, which is going to create hundreds of jobs. He does not mention the hundreds of jobs created at National Sea Products in Lunenburg and at Hearn Harbour Terminals in Windsor.

[*English*]

Du Pont Canada plans to double its capital spending for 1989 to \$156 million. There will be 480 new jobs at a new Cargill Limited slaughter house in High River, Alberta. There are 90 new jobs at Quaker Oats, Campbell Soup, et cetera.

[*Translation*]

Of course, jobs are lost regularly as a result of technological change. Many more new jobs are created because of the new climate of cooperation with the provinces fostered by this Government.

[*English*]

AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT

CANADA-NOVA SCOTIA DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mr. Ron MacDonald (Dartmouth): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister and concerns the Report of the Auditor General. The Auditor General has chronicled case after case of questionable projects approved under the Canada-Nova Scotia offshore Development Fund. Of the \$130 million approved to date, the Auditor General concludes that fully \$75 million worth of projects is questionable as to their eligibility under the fund.

Will the Prime Minister now give this House and the people of Nova Scotia his assurance that a full investigation will be undertaken and, where evidence of misappropriation is found, that the Government of Canada will replenish the fund for the amounts spent which did not meet program criteria?

[*Translation*]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, for four years, this Government has operated on the basic premise that the provinces are partners with the Canadian Government in developing policies within their jurisdiction, and it intends to maintain this attitude in the present mandate.

In this spirit, an accord was signed between the Governments of Canada and of Nova Scotia to give this province the means to develop its infrastructure when offshore development occurs. The Government of Nova Scotia did what it was entitled to do, namely present us with its priorities for developing its own territory, and this Government recognizes its responsibility and treats Nova Scotia as a full partner, Mr. Speaker.

[*English*]

DARTMOUTH SEWAGE SYSTEM PROJECT

Mr. Ron MacDonald (Dartmouth): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is directed to the Prime Minister because that answer is simply unacceptable.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. MacDonald (Dartmouth): The federal Minister has the responsibility to sign off on each and every one of those projects. My supplementary question deals with a specific project. I wish to know under what specific program criteria did the federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources approve \$2.3 million for the

Oral Questions

construction of a sewage system for Portland Estates, a private residential development in Dartmouth.

Is every private development in Nova Scotia now eligible for such funding, or has this particular project qualified solely on the basis of the developer's personal friendship with the Conservative Government of Nova Scotia?

[Translation]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, the development of Nova Scotia's territory is primarily a responsibility of the Government of Nova Scotia. With this in mind, this Government drafted and approved . . . and Parliament approved the legislation and funds required for the development of these programs. We recognize the responsibility of the Government of Nova Scotia, and we are particularly proud that Government of Canada money was spent for the development of Nova Scotia's territory.

* * *

[English]

AIRPORTS

PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT—REQUEST TRAFFIC BE REDIRECTED TO HAMILTON

Mr. Stan Keyes (Hamilton West): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Transport. Ordinarily this is a wonderful time of year for Canadians. Unfortunately, many Canadians are finding themselves frustrated and harassed by the fiasco at Pearson International Airport in Toronto, frustrated by lengthy delays, congested airways, and real danger to lives. In view of the fact that there is a viable, under-used and highly accessible airport at Hamilton, will the Minister of Transport finally take immediate action to improve the situation and redirect traffic to the Hamilton airport, or will it take a catastrophe before the Government acts?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, as the Hon. Member for Hamilton West well knows, action was taken at Pearson International Airport on Friday when we started to control the traffic flow through Pearson by the number of flights per hour. That action has been taken. Traffic moved well yesterday and it moved well today. It will continue to move over the Christmas season to make sure that Canadians

will be able to travel home with the least amount of delay possible.

REQUEST FOR ACTION

Mr. Stan Keyes (Hamilton West): Mr. Speaker, interestingly enough, another Hon. Member from the Hamilton area on the government side of the House has indicated that he cannot condone his own junior Minister's statements of Friday.

I might point out to the junior Minister that three years ago the Liberal Party pleaded that the Government designate Hamilton airport as an under-used airport. Three years have passed. Would the Minister of Transport redirect air traffic from a paralysed Pearson to the under-used, viable Hamilton airport immediately?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, the traffic through Pearson International Airport is not paralysed at this time and it is flowing.

● (1440)

As far as the Hamilton Airport is concerned we have been working over the last four years with the people there to make sure the airport is utilized.

Ms. Copps: That is a farce.

Mrs. Martin: We now have flights in and out of Hamilton.

An Hon. Member: Once a week.

Mrs. Martin: A little more than one a week, Sir. You should try it some time. Hamilton, certainly, will be part of the over-all study as we look at the medium and long-term problems within the area and as we look at the management of the airspace over southwestern Ontario.

* * *

TRADE

UNITED STATES TARIFF ON CANADIAN SHAKES AND SHINGLES

Ms. Joy Langan (Mission—Coquitlam): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister. Last week in a move that will be devastating to the shakes and shingles industry in British Columbia, U.S. President Reagan renailed the industry with a punishing 20 per cent tariff.

Does the Prime Minister recognize the seriousness of this tariff and does he intend to capitulate to this attack,

or will he take action on behalf of the workers, the owners, and their families?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, unfortunately the free trade agreement was not in effect when—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Read the agreement.

Mr. Crosbie: I try to answer in a mild fashion, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: If I might just start my reply again. Unfortunately, in 1986 when this matter arose, the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement was not in effect. If it had been in effect the shakes and shingles decision taken in the United States could not have occurred in the form—

An Hon. Member: You are choking.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: Perhaps the Minister could finish his answer.

Mr. Crosbie: This is my first glass of water in 20 years, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I agree with the Hon. Member that this is a deplorable decision. It was a decision that is damaging to both the Canadian and the U.S. industries, and it is a great pity that President Reagan apparently was not advised so that he did away with the shakes and shingles action as he could have done. He did, however, reduce, as the Hon. Member knows, the amount of the additional duties that are being levied. I suppose we should be thankful for that, but this decision is harmful to the industries in both countries.

Ms. Langan: Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to the House that loss of jobs in the shakes and shingles industry is not a laughing matter.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Langan: I would thank Mr. Crosbie for his choking response.

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Oral Questions

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Ms. Joy Langan (Mission—Coquitlam): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is for the Prime Minister. Is the Prime Minister rushing through the business of this House so that we can take a Christmas holiday while families in British Columbia, in Mission—Coquitlam in particular—

Mr. Lewis: Stop ringing the bells.

Mrs. Langan: —are facing a future of unemployment? Will the Prime Minister stand up for those people, the workers in the industry, on this issue?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I rather resent the suggestion that I made a joking reply to the plight of the shakes and shingle workers. I am having difficulty with my voice because I am suffering from a cold as a result of struggling at GATT last week with 100 nations.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: We have taken action to protect the jobs of Canadians by refusing to allow cedar logs, blocks, bolts, planks and short boards to be exported to the United States. We issued an export prohibition. That was challenged in the courts. We were successful and that prohibition is now in effect. We are doing everything we can to preserve the jobs of Canadian workers.

We do not find this amusing, and I am not amused by the Hon. Member's suggestion that I took this matter lightly. We have done everything possible within Canadian law to ameliorate the effects of the action taken in the United States.

* * *

AIRPORTS

PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT—HIRING OF TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

Mr. Brian Tobin (Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte): Mr. Speaker, being a fellow Newfoundlander I have some compassion for the Member for St. John's West. I know that he is screeched out—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Tobin: It is that time of the year. We heard that he was in a sing-along in St. John's last week.

Oral Questions

Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Transport. We have just witnessed the spectacle of a Minister of Transport, a member of this Government for the last four years, stand and tell the House that we finally began to deal with the problem at Pearson last Friday.

An Hon. Member: Question.

Mr. Tobin: Pearson is inefficient, it is frustrating for passengers, and Pearson International Airport is dangerous.

Beyond these bland assurances, what measures are being taken by the Government to hire and train additional air traffic controllers and to make the system safe so that Canadians travelling during this holiday period and in the months ahead know that Canadian airways are safe?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, as I answered earlier questions in the House today, action has been taken to ensure that traffic flows safely and more effectively through the airport at Toronto. Part of the problem that we have with some of the shortages go back to the Auditor General's Report under the former Government which said that we had—

Ms. Copps: You have had four years.

Mrs. Martin: Four years of deregulation. Regulatory reform has brought forth far more traffic at Pearson International Airport. Traffic has escalated and we are working to handle it. We will be bringing more air traffic controllers on-stream next year to help. We are handling the traffic that will be going through over the holiday season. Safety has always been number one and will continue to be number one at Pearson International.

GOVERNMENT MEASURES

Mr. Brian Tobin (Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte): Mr. Speaker, the Auditor General's Report in 1984, as the Minister started to say but thought better of, said there were insufficient air traffic controllers in Canada. The Standing Committee on Transport of the House of Commons said at the time of the introduction of deregulation, four years ago, first that we must have more air traffic controllers. The Government in 1984 actually laid off air traffic controllers.

The current situation is dangerous. It is not just frustrating. It is dangerous. I want to ask the Minister of Transport to quit beating around the bush and tell

Canadians and Members of this House what concrete measures the Government has taken concerning our air transportation system after the Government has botched it through four years of inaction.

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, action has been taken to make sure that traffic flows safely through Pearson over the Christmas holiday period so that travellers can get home for the holidays.

Meetings will be held in January in Toronto with all the interested parties. As far as the medium and long-term plans for the airport are concerned, number one is safety and will continue to be for this Government as far as air traffic flow is concerned.

* * *

FISHERIES

EEC NORTH ATLANTIC FISHING QUOTAS

Mr. George Baker (Gander—Grand Falls): Mr. Speaker, the EEC yesterday unilaterally set its own 1989 fishing quotas off the East Coast of Canada 12 times higher than those allowed by the North Atlantic Fisheries Organization. A spokesman for the Government claimed this morning, "There is not enough fish in the entire north Atlantic to satisfy that EEC quota".

Does the Government realize that 84,000 tonnes of the 160,000 tonnes of cod in that unilateral declaration will be from the nose of the Grand Banks where, Mr. Speaker, as you know, a moratorium exists on fishing activity to help rebuild the stocks so that they can come ashore and employ our people in our fish plants?

What does the Government intend to do about this further destruction of our fishing resource by foreign nations?

• (1450)

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): Mr. Speaker, we are delighted to know that the Hon. Member can distinguish the nose from the tail of the Grand Banks.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Siddon: The Hon. Member raises a very serious issue. It is one that Ministers, provincially and federally, have been wrestling with for the last two years, and which has led to partial results.

The point that the Hon. Member raises is the over-fishing beyond Canada's economic jurisdiction on the common property stocks of the Grand Banks. That overfishing is being pursued by the European nations, especially Spain and Portugal, contrary to the rules of the International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization which sets the quotas and administers these stocks. Canada deeply regrets this outrageous abuse of these resources.

This very day I am meeting with the Atlantic Fisheries Ministers to decide how we might escalate the initiatives we have set out under a plan to end this flagrant violation of all good conservation principles. We expect to take further actions, over and above those which we have taken to deny port privileges and quotas in Canadian waters, to end this wasteful abuse of our fish resources.

ALCOHOL TARIFFS

Mr. George Baker (Gander—Grand Falls): Mr. Speaker, of course I can distinguish between the nose and the tail. I wish to tell the Hon. Minister that the EEC is pillaging our fishery on the nose of the Grand Banks, and they allow the U.S. to fish unchecked on the tail of the Grand Banks, so we are getting it at both ends.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Baker: I want to ask the Minister the following question. Does the Government not realize that Canada has lost respect internationally because we do not have the will to protect our fishing resources?

Will the Government today instruct the negotiators who are meeting with the EEC this afternoon on wine, beer, and spirits to tell the EEC that we will talk about tariffs on their booze when they cut their quotas on our fish?

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member knows full well the consequences of linking a fisheries management issue with another trade issue.

The Hon. Member also knows full well that the Government has taken strong measures to end the European abuse of our fish stocks within the Canadian 200-mile zone, but the fish stocks in question are beyond Canada's sovereign jurisdiction from a management perspective.

The Hon. Member knows that we have denied port privileges, we have ended over the side sales, and we

Oral Questions

have denied any quotas of any fish in Canadian waters to these wayward European nations, and we will continue to raise the pressure in order to end these very regrettable practices by the European Community.

* * *

AGRICULTURE

DROUGHT AID PROGRAM

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister will recall that only 10 days before the election date the Government announced a drought aid program for farmers which was supposed to top up crop insurance by 10 per cent, and cost the Government some \$850 million.

Since the Government's delay in making that announcement was supposed to have been in order to make certain that the program would be ready to implement immediately, can the Minister explain why at this date there is still no program, why the drought zones have not been defined, and why the provincial Premiers on the Prairies are now being asked to contribute money to the program, money which was supposed to have already been committed by the federal Government?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I regret that the Hon. Member takes exception to the fact that we have announced a program to support the farmers in a serious drought situation.

Our record of support for the farmers, whether it was for drought, grasshoppers, depressed prices, you-name-it, has been pretty good; in fact, second to none.

We have made the commitment and we will deliver.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is the following. Given that prairie Conservatives who were defeated by the farmers on the Prairies have been stating after their defeat that this means that the region will no longer get any money, can the Minister tell us whether that is in fact his Government's policy? If so, is this the reason why it has not provided the drought program to the dried out prairie farmers as promised during the election?

Oral Questions

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, it is one thing to malign a well-intentioned program during the course of an election campaign, and the NDP are experts at that. It is another thing to malign the program now that the election is over. The Hon. Member does not have to worry. His farmers will be looked after.

Mr. Althouse: The Premiers are maligning you.

Mr. Mazankowski: We go back to the days when we announced the first billion dollar deficiency payment. The Leader of the NDP said that it was borrowed money, then it was advance money, and then he was concerned about whether it was new money or old money. This money will be put on the table and the farmers will receive it as was outlined.

* * *

[*Translation*]

NATIVE PEOPLES

CONSTRUCTION OF THREE HOUSES IN CLOVA— GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister of State (Housing).

The Quebec Regional Office of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation has decided not to press for the construction of three homes in Clova this year under the native demonstration program, by citing the remoteness of that community located in Quebec's heartland.

Here is my question: Can the Minister assure the House that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation will immediately review that decision so that native people in Clova can get warm and comfortable homes in 1989, despite that community's remoteness?

[*English*]

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr. Speaker, first I want to thank the Hon. Member for his question. I can advise him that the CMHC officials have informed me that the municipality of Clova will be in a very good position to receive its housing under the Rural and Native Housing Program in 1989.

[*Translation*]

FISHERIES

QUOTAS ESTABLISHED BY EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Douglas Young (Gloucester): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, and deals with the matter raised earlier of the quotas established by the European Economic Community.

Mr. Speaker, the Minister is no doubt aware that Eastern Canada's fishing industry already suffers from insufficient resources, especially in northeastern New Brunswick. Here is the question I must ask you today on behalf of plant workers and producers and the whole Eastern Canada's fishing industry: What steps are you expecting to take to protect the fishing industry's interests, in view of the quotas that have been set at twelve times the level recommended by NAFO?

[*English*]

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): First I would like to welcome my colleague, the former Minister of Fisheries for New Brunswick, to the House.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Siddon: I have appreciated his helpful advice and that of the provincial Ministers of Fisheries for the five Atlantic provinces on such questions during the past three years.

Today I am meeting with the same Ministers to deal with the question of shortage of quotas within the Canadian 200-mile economic zone. We hope to have some progress to report which will be beneficial to the fishery of Atlantic Canada.

On the question of quotas beyond Canada's economic jurisdiction, we must resort to diplomatic initiatives and sanctions such as the denial of port privileges. Together with my colleagues we will continue to search for more effective ways of stopping this blatant abuse of fish stocks beyond Canada's economic jurisdiction.

CANADIAN POSITION

Mr. Douglas Young (Gloucester): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is directed to the same Minister. I recognize that the Minister stated he is meeting with eastern Canadian Fisheries Ministers. Can the Minister advise us when the Government will meet with the representatives of the European nations? What exactly

will the Government of Canada put forward in terms of how it sees the situation of overfishing and the overlap that will exist if this policy is pursued?

Finally, will the Minister advise what measures Canada will put forward on the basis of retaliation? We have talked about the closure of ports. Does the Minister have any other suggestions to make to our colleagues in the European nations with respect to possible Canadian retaliation?

● (1500)

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): The Hon. Member, as a former Minister, knows that, whatever measures we contemplate putting forward, we do not put them forward in the House of Commons until such time as the deliberations have been completed.

At this stage I am not prepared to speculate as to what additional measures may be taken. I can tell the Hon. Member that the provincial Ministers from Atlantic Canada, together with their federal counterparts, now consider that we will probably have to raise this matter to the diplomatic level in a major way, which is a course of action that I am contemplating at the present time.

Mr. Speaker: I must advise Hon. Members that the time for Question Period has expired.

Privilege—Mr. Thacker

PRIVILEGE

TRAFFIC JAM ON PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCTS

Mr. Speaker: I wish to put the following motion before all Members, by unanimous consent. Mr. Thacker, seconded by Mr. Gauthier, moves:

That the question of transporting Members of Parliament to and from the buildings within the precincts of Parliament be referred to the Standing Committee on Elections, Privileges and Procedure.

Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

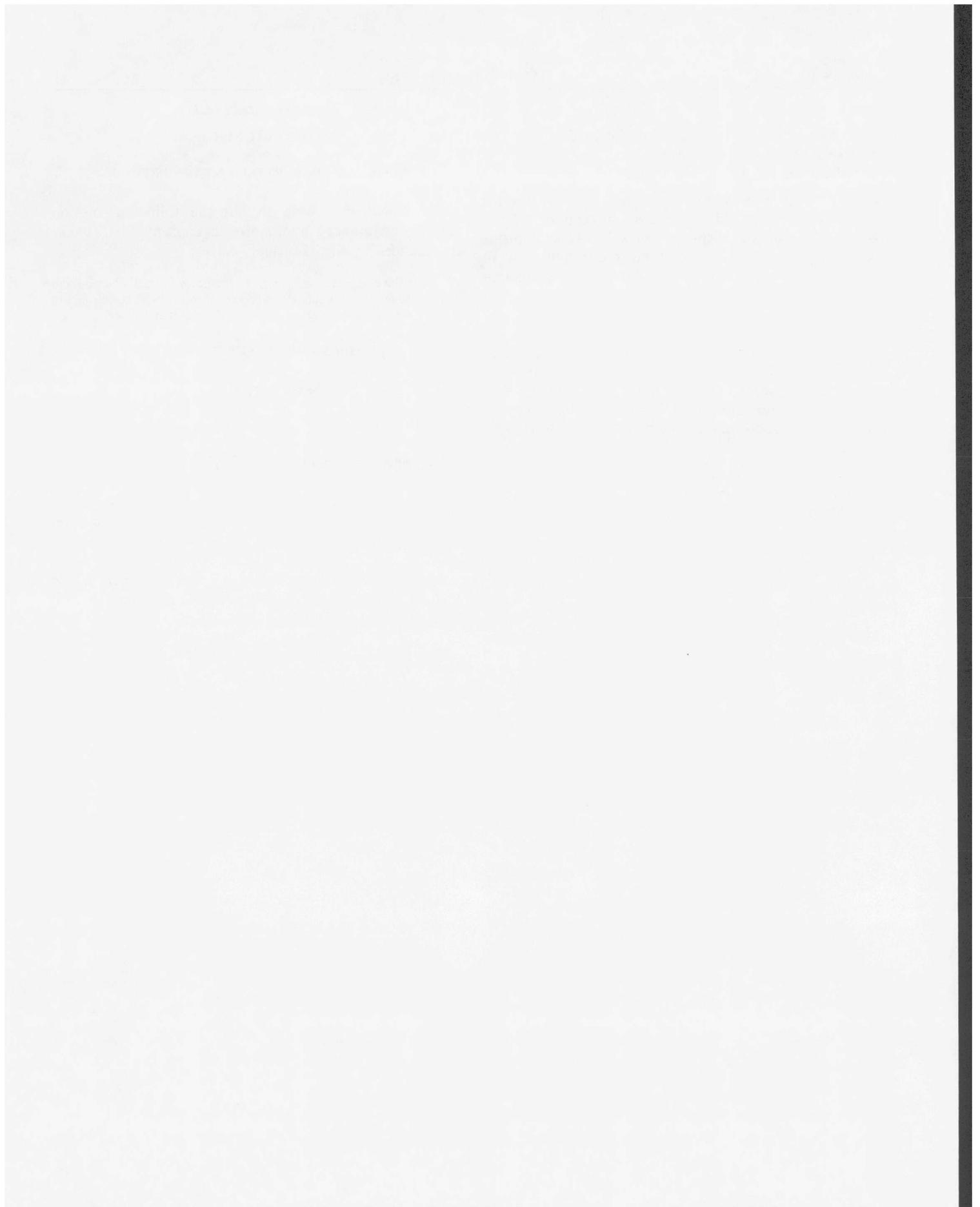
Motion agreed to.

Mr. Speaker: Orders of the Day.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, under the rules of the House, it is not possible to proceed with further business at this time, without consent.

Mr. Speaker: There being no business before the House, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 2 p.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 3.01 p.m.



HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, December 14, 1988

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[*English*]

THE FRANCHISE

VOTER REGISTRATION—CALL FOR AMENDMENT OF LEGISLATION

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, the sound of disappointment, anger, and even despair on the part of citizens who discovered to their dismay that they were not empowered to vote on election day because the deadline for being placed on the voters' list had expired still rings in my ears.

Thousands and thousands of voters across Canada could not exercise their right to vote because they were not on the list. It is on behalf of each and all who were disenfranchised on November 21 that I urge the Government, with the co-operation of all parliamentarians, to change the Canada Elections Act to provide for registration up to and including polling day regardless of whether one lives in rural or urban Canada.

Let us make sure that Canadian citizens will never again be denied the right to vote. Our fine democratic system will thus be made stronger and fair to everybody in rural as well as in urban Canada.

* * *

[*Translation*]

FREE TRADE

IMPORTANCE OF LEGISLATION

Mr. Nic Leblanc (Longueuil): Three years ago, Mr. Speaker, the McDonald report came out strongly in favour of freer trade relations with the United States.

Today's high technology means that we need more time and money to build up our industrial concerns, so it follows that they must seek wider and longer-term markets.

Through the Liberal non-elected majority in the Senate the Liberal Official Opposition blocked our free trade initiative and forced us to call an election on the issue.

Mr. Speaker, the people gave us a clear mandate. Liberals and New Democrats, for heaven's sake show respect for democracy and the choice made by Canadians, let this House work in peace and dignity for the well being of Canadians!

* * *

[*English*]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

INCREASED BUSINESS INVESTMENT

Mr. Girve Fretz (Erie): Mr. Speaker, the socialists and the Official Opposition are quick to condemn the Free Trade Agreement. They are reluctant to mention the great news of plant openings and expansions throughout Canada. Here are some examples. Campbell Soups will spend \$50 million; Cargill, \$50 to \$400 million; General Foods, approximately \$5 million; Nestle, \$38 million; Pillsbury, approximately \$12 million; Quaker Oats, \$15 million; and Unilever, \$5 to \$15 million. There is more, Mr. Speaker.

In the east, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, National Sea Products will spend \$2 million; on the Prairies, High Water, Alberta, there is the building of a \$50 million slaughter house. Such an operation will lead to significant export sales.

In the west, the president of Prudential Bache Securities Canada in a speech reported on December 1, said:

Investment in Canada from industrialized Asian countries is likely to increase significantly because of the Free Trade Agreement.

S. O. 31

CANADA POST CORPORATION

RURAL POST OFFICE CLOSURES

Mr. Len Taylor (The Battlefords—Meadow Lake): Mr. Speaker, Canada Post is in the process of closing rural post offices including one in Mont Nebo, a rural community in the Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency. In doing so it is moving the services offered to private sector contractors, corner stores, cafés, and even grain elevators.

During the past year the communities affected and the contractors involved have found the practice unsatisfactory and inadequate. One year ago the organization, Rural Dignity, was formed to protect the rights of people living in rural Canada from the uncaring attitudes of Canada Post.

I want to pay tribute to Rural Dignity today as it celebrates its first anniversary, and again request that the Minister responsible for the Post Office ask Canada Post to review its plan of operations, to commit itself to a system of strong post offices in rural Canada, and to begin the process of finding ways to improve the income side of Canada Post rather than trying to remove the postal deficit by cutting back on the delivery of services to Canadians who live in the rural areas of our country.

* * *

[*Translation*]

HUMAN SOLIDARITY

VICTIMS OF ARMENIAN EARTHQUAKE

Mrs. Nicole Roy-Arcelin (Ahuntsic): Mr. Speaker, as the newly elected Member for the beautiful riding of Ahuntsic I want to thank all my constituents who voted for progress and the future, namely for the Progressive Conservative Party. Their democratic action shows that they did understand our message in support of elderly people, women and ethnic minorities whose future is directly tied to the early passage of the free trade legislation.

Though my election is a source of joy for the residents of Ahuntsic who voted for me, Mr. Speaker, some of my constituents are now experiencing infinite sadness. I am referring to Canadians of Armenian ancestry who are living through yet another tragedy in their eventful history. I share their sorrow and thank my Government for rushing to their help. Human solidarity did not require anything less than that.

HUMAN SOLIDARITY

EARTHQUAKE IN ARMENIA—FORWARDING OF AID

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, human solidarity is fine as far as it goes, and attention-getting announcements concerning the tragic events in Armenia may be welcomed, but I think action is needed as well.

Last Friday the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) announced a \$5 million donation to help the Armenian victims, but I am very disappointed by the fact that the Canadian Red Cross which is expected to deliver medical and other supplies to the Armenian people has yet to be told whether funds will be available to buy medical supplies.

[*English*]

I certainly commend the Government for the \$5 million assistance to the Armenian people. I would suggest, however, that, as well as making the announcement, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) should tell the Canadian Red Cross so it can go ahead immediately to secure the necessary medicine, dialysis machines and other machines. Five days have elapsed since the Prime Minister made his announcement. There has been no money forthcoming to the Red Cross. I ask the Government to act in the most expeditious way to address this necessary issue.

* * *

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

CHARLES NG—APPEAL AGAINST EXTRADITION RULING

Mr. Bill Domm (Peterborough): Mr. Speaker, the case of Charles Ng has brought to light problems in our system for dealing with fugitives who come to Canada seeking refuge from foreign authorities.

The Alberta Court of Queen's Bench has ruled there is sufficient evidence to extradite Ng from Canada to face 19 charges in California, 12 for capital murder. Ng has appealed this decision by way of a habeus corpus application. He has a further appeal to the Alberta Court of Appeal, along with other legal manoeuvres which are available to him.

Ng not only has our appeal process to exhaust but there is also the possibility that the Minister might refuse extradition because of Article 6 of the Canada-U.S. Extradition Treaty of 1976 which provides Canada

with the right to refuse the surrender of fugitives who face the death penalty.

We must ensure that, in our attempt to uphold justice, Canada does not become the destination for desperate fugitives attempting to seek a safe haven here.

* * *

AIRPORTS

HAMILTON AIRPORT—CALL FOR GREATER UTILIZATION

Mr. Geoff Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Parliament for Hamilton Airport, my attempts over the years to encourage the Government of Canada to re-route traffic to Mount Hope have been well known to successive Ministers of Transport.

• (1410)

More recently, with the crisis at Toronto International Airport, I have made public statements in my community, and privately pleaded with the Minister of State for Transport (Mrs. Martin), to regard Hamilton as Toronto's third terminal for the time being. I am delighted to see another Hamilton Member of Parliament playing catch-up and offering support in the House yesterday.

We are talking about a \$52 million federal government investment. It is an hour by ground transportation from the tarmac at Mount Hope to the Royal York Hotel.

Our colleagues from Metro and the Peninsula are asking what is going on. Hamilton Airport is the best kept secret in southern Ontario.

I know the Transport Canada policy of not ordering airlines to fly into certain airports. But I am asking the Government to make an exception and make Hamilton Airport fly.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

SPECIAL LABOUR ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS ADVOCATED

Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce): Mr. Speaker, one thing that was absolutely clear in the

S. O. 31

recent election was the overwhelming support by Canadians for special adjustment programs for those hurt by the Free Trade Agreement. This was the case even among those who supported the agreement.

Earlier this year every provincial Premier requested special adjustment programs. The Economic Council and the Macdonald Commission made similar recommendations.

No one accepts the Government's response that the Canadian Jobs Strategy is adequate for free trade adjustment or that we should wait for the de Grandpre Commission next summer. Since 1984 employment and training programs have been cut by 32 per cent from \$2.2 billion in 1984 to \$1.5 billion in 1988. Right now thousands of Canadians cannot get into training and retraining programs and there is a shortage of skilled workers in some parts of Canada.

Already many Canadians have been hurt by the Free Trade Agreement. Gillette workers in Montreal are a good example. We absolutely need special adjustment programs for free trade disruption. When will the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) start listening to Canadians?

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

INCREASED BUSINESS INVESTMENT

Mr. Ken James (Sarnia—Lambton): Mr. Speaker, the Opposition is determined to focus solely on any business closure, attributing all to the Free Trade Agreement.

But there is a whole lot of good news out there and once again the burden of telling the whole story falls upon the shoulders of government Members.

For example, a recent announcement by Dupont Canada, with a plant in my constituency of Sarnia—Lambton, commits a 50 per cent increase in capital spending in 1989 as a result of the opportunities the company is ready to seize under the Free Trade Agreement.

This means an additional 375 person-years of external employment in engineering, 600 person-years in field construction, and 600 person-years in equipment fabrication. These jobs are in addition to ongoing new job creation inside Dupont.

Oral questions

I want to let all Canadians know that the Free Trade Agreement will bring us new opportunities, new jobs, and a new and better future in Canada.

* * *

TAXATION**CORPORATE TAX SYSTEM**

Mr. Simon de Jong (Regina—Qu'Appelle): Mr. Speaker, the Government has once again seriously misled the Canadian people. Last year the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) promised tax fairness under his tax reform. He promised that average Canadians would get a tax break and corporate taxes would be increased. Figures released by his Department last week show the opposite has occurred.

Since April of this year individuals' share of the tax burden has increased 11 per cent to \$26.8 billion while corporate income tax revenues had actually decreased by 10 per cent to \$4.7 billion. So much for tax fairness and the closing of corporate loopholes!

Before the Minister attempts to reduce his deficit, let me advise him to look at his corporate friends and the tax rip-offs right under his nose. Canadians will not stand for paying more taxes while rich and large corporations take advantage of a rotten tax system.

* * *

CANALS**WELLAND CANAL—OPPOSITION TO SUGGESTED SALE OF CANAL LANDS**

Mr. Gilbert Parent (Welland—St. Catharines—Thorald): Mr. Speaker, the Welland Canal Parkway Commission came into being in the early 1980s to develop the use of the old Welland Canal proper and the lands adjacent to the water itself.

Over the years a succession of board members, led by Mr. Willard Wright, the first Canal Commission Chairman, and Mr. Andy Carse, the present Chairman, strove to carry out this mandate.

It has been brought to my attention that the commission members will receive a report in the very near future that suggests that the canal lands, should be sold to developers so that condominiums and/or apartments

can be built. Further, it is suggested that these developers be sold this land right down to the water's edge.

I am categorically opposed to the sale of even as much as one square foot of the canal lands, and I respectfully advise the House that I will be keeping surveillance on these developments and will be keeping my constituents fully informed of any attempts to sell these lands.

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

TRADE**UNITED STATES TARIFF ON CANADIAN SHAKES AND SHINGLES**

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. Yesterday, in the very first Question Period of this new Parliament, as reported at page 37 of *Hansard*, the Minister for International Trade said that it was "a great pity", using his words, that President Reagan was not advised to do away with the red cedar shakes and shingles tariff. Why did the Prime Minister not advise President Reagan directly to do away with that tariff?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. President—Mr. Speaker—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Copps: Mr. President, that is right.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Here we go.

Mr. Crosbie: Of course that is French for Mr. Speaker.

The Prime Minister and other members of the Government made vigorous representations to the United States authorities, including by letter to Mr. Yeutter and to the President himself. We made strong representations in connection with the shakes and shingles issue, as did our Ambassador in Washington, as one would expect. Of course, there was some small improvement made in connection with that matter by the President.

Mr. Speaker: The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): "Yes sir, Mr. President!"

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

DECISION MADE BY UNITED STATES PRESIDENT

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the Minister for International Trade also said yesterday that the decision to impose a tariff on shakes and shingles could not have occurred under the trade deal signed by the Prime Minister. That statement is patently ridiculous. Section 301 of the agreement allows for just such tariffs.

If the Minister for International Trade were to be right, why did he not call upon the Prime Minister to explain why President Reagan did not eliminate that tariff completely from 35 per cent down to zero, when he made his decision this month? Putting the question to the Prime Minister again, does he have a commitment from the President that on January 1 that tariff will be eliminated?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, even the Leader of the Opposition has to concede that the shakes and shingles matter is entirely unconnected to the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: It occurred in 1986 before there was a free trade agreement executed and signed. The hon. gentleman's question would have a lot more value if he were more supportive of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, and in fact more supportive of a positive policy toward the United States of America rather than campaigning up and down the country, criticizing the United States of America for every conceivable thing he could think of.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I just want to remind the hon. gentleman that I am elected to the Parliament of Canada, not to the Congress of the United States.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

PROVISIONS OF CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, this action of the President proves what we have been saying all along, namely, that under Article 1902 and Article 1904 of the agreement signed by the Prime Minister, to be implemented by legislation in this House, all the remedies enjoyed by the United States by way of countervail, by way of duty, by way of quota, surtax and all those remedies, are incorporated

Oral questions

into this agreement and are still available to the American industries affected. Therefore, I ask the Minister to come clean and admit that this agreement changed nothing for Canada in terms of our exports to the United States.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to see the Leader of the Opposition ask a British Columbia question for a change. I suppose he is following the precedent that was set yesterday.

With reference to the FTA, had it been in effect the steps taken by the United States to counteract Canada's exports in the shakes and shingles matter could not have been taken. The FTA would have prevented that. In addition, we would have had a different dispute settlement regime in effect and therefore the kinds of actions taken by the President of the United States and the administration could not have occurred.

• (1420)

I do not have time in Question Period to go into all the details as to just what way the results would have been different but, believe me, this shakes and shingles problem would not have arisen in this form under the Free Trade Agreement.

* * *

[Translation]

EMPLOYMENT

NORTHERN TELECOM—QUERY MEASURES GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO TAKE TO AVOID CLOSURE OF AYLMER PLANT

Mr. Gilles Rocheleau (Hull—Aylmer): Mr. Speaker, when the Prime Minister visited the Quebec side of the Ottawa Valley on November 8, he took the opportunity to call me a hypocrite because I had left the Government of Quebec, which was for free trade, and joined the Liberal Party of Canada, of which I am very proud, because it was against free trade.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Prime Minister that I have always been in favour of freer trade, but not for the Mulroney-Reagan Agreement.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question now.

Mr. Rocheleau: My question, Mr. Speaker, is for the Prime Minister and concerns the Northern Telecom

Oral questions

plant in Aylmer, in my riding, which will close its doors in September 1989. One may wonder whether the Government was not already aware of it.

I would like the Prime Minister to tell me what his Government intends to do to prevent the Aylmer plant from closing down, since it is the principal industry, and what measures he intends to take to protect the workers.

[*English*]

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: I know Hon. Members would want to be sure that, with a larger Opposition, all of their colleagues can get a chance to ask questions. The Hon. Minister.

[*Translation*]

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, I would first of all like to tell you that we have been in touch with Northern Telecom and that in our opinion, there is absolutely no connection between the proposals concerning the Free Trade Treaty that are before this House and the rationalization which the company must do because of increasingly competitive world markets in order to provide Canadians jobs, to ensure that the company remains viable and one of the world leaders in its field.

We are satisfied that the company is setting up adjustment programs for its employees so that they can relocate and retrain, as much as possible.

QUERY WHETHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Mr. Gilles Rocheleau (Hull—Aylmer): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is still for the Prime Minister. One of the essential conditions of the Government of Quebec was that the federal Government recognize the need for adjustment programs for worker retraining.

That being so, does the federal Government intend to fund the adjustment programs?

[*English*]

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, one of the things that I think is important to note is that Northern Telecom is providing some considerable retraining assistance of its own. My Department stands by, as it always does, to assist workers in any affected area, whatever the reasons for layoffs.

Northern Telecom has been very sensitive to the needs of its employees. It has provided a \$2.5 million fund to retrain its workers, to provide the kind of training that will ensure that within other industries in the area its employees will be fully competitive in their ability to get new jobs.

In addition, the industrial adjustment services are ready to stand by in case there are further needs, and my colleague, the Minister of Labour, and members of my staff have met with them. Let me say that they have been very successful in the past in retraining and upgrading employees that have had a problem, and I think we will wait and see if this program works.

* * *

INDUSTRY

NORTHER TELECOM—ANNOUNCED CLOSURE OF AYLMEER PLANT

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I say to the Hon. Minister that the workers affected do not want to stand around and wait to see if it works. They want something that works right now.

On the same subject, the Minister will probably know that the union representing the workers affected at Northern Telecom has very strong reasons to believe, reasons which it has mentioned publicly, that the production jobs affected in Aylmer will be transferred to Atlanta, Georgia, where they are already producing a similar product for export into the Canadian market.

I want to ask the Minister, considering that Northern Telecom has a quasi-monopoly market guaranteed for its products in Canada and that it has already received from the federal Government, that is from Canadian taxpayers, millions of dollars in grants and assistance, does the Canadian Government simply intend to stand back and let these jobs be transferred to the U.S., or will the Government intervene directly to keep those jobs in Canada where they belong?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, first of all, Northern Telecom, as my colleague has said, is a globally competitive company and I think its employees are very proud of its record of job creation in Canada as well as around the world, and it intends to remain competitive.

Let me say as well in terms of the restructuring the company is doing that there will be more job reductions

Oral questions

in the United States than there will be in Canada, so I think the Leader of the NDP should get his facts straight.

Let me say as well that there will be the creation of more jobs in Canada, in Winnipeg and Montreal, as a part of this. I said that we wanted to see how the company's program worked, and it has taken the responsibility in terms of retraining. We will ensure that their programs work because we will stand behind Canadian workers every time.

STATE OF GEORGIA ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, the Minister has said that the company intends to remain competitive. I say to the Minister that the company is already making a profit on those plants that exist in Canada. It is not losing money, it is making money, and the Canadian taxpayers subsidize that as well.

I have here an ad from the State of Georgia I am sure the Minister saw that appeared in the middle of the election campaign that said to such companies: "Come to Georgia because only 18 per cent of our labour force is unionized. We have no minimum wage and don't worry about the environment". Will the Government of Canada say that even with companies that are getting subsidies from the Canadian taxpayer, it will stand back and watch these jobs shift to the United States because of the trade deal? Do you care about the jobs?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time that the Hon. Member has been taking his advice from the United States. I do not read the Georgia papers; I read the Canadian papers.

Mr. Broadbent: That was *The Globe and Mail*.

Mrs. McDougall: There is absolutely not one shred of evidence—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister.

Mrs. McDougall: Mr. Speaker, Nortel has 22,000 employees. It has been a growth company and it has been creating jobs in Canada for a long time and will continue to do so. The workers who are affected by these layoffs are workers we care about. The company has made some plans for them in terms of retraining. We will ensure that those plans work.

I do not know how often I have to say this because the Hon. Member clearly does not listen. If the programs Nortel has do not work, we will stand behind the workers. There is no evidence, repeat, n-o evidence that the jobs are moving to these U.S.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1430)

Mr. Broadbent: The workers affected do not want the Minister to stand behind them, they want the Minister to stand with them and keep the jobs in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

MEASURES TO ASSIST AFFECTED WORKERS—
GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my last question is directed to the Prime Minister. Yesterday, he spoke about the blue ribbon committee which intends to examine the situation of workers who will lose their jobs. But since this committee does not intend to present the Prime Minister with a report, and a secret report at that, until June, what does the Prime Minister say now to the workers who are losing their jobs? Do they have to wait until June?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): No, Mr. Speaker. I said that the committee chaired by Mr. Jean de Grandpré is composed of leaders from all segments of Canadian society and that its reports will surely be most interesting and most valuable for workers. Nobody is talking about waiting until June and the fact is that Mr. de Grandpré is scheduled to meet with the ministers responsible as early as Friday of this week to discuss an interim report.

* * *

[*English*]

ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

DENE-MÉTIS LAND CLAIMS

Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs. On September 5 the Government signed an agreement-in-principle with the Dene-Métis of the Northwest Territories to settle their longstanding aboriginal claim, which included a commitment to

Oral questions

provide additional funding to the Dene-Métis in order to conclude a final settlement in two years.

After the election, the Dene-Métis were advised that they would get only one-fifth of what was budgeted in pursuing the final settlement. If the Government is really serious in settling this claim, will it not reconsider this funding and honour its commitment made before the election and bring forth an agreement to provide the Dene-Métis with adequate funds?

Hon. Bill McKnight (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Minister of Western Economic Diversification): Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the Hon. Member on her election to this House to represent her people and all the people of the Northwest Territories.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McKnight: The Hon. Member's family and I have had discussions. Part of those discussions resulted in an agreement-in-principle being signed between the Government of Canada and the Dene-Métis people. The commitment made by the Government of Canada in the agreement-in-principle was to provide funding.

The Dene-Métis asked for \$1.5 million in funding for travel. Just so the House understands, Mr. Speaker, on signing \$2 million was transferred to the Dene-Métis people; \$1.2 million will be provided for land selection; \$500,000 was sent in October to assist on debts that had been accumulated during the negotiation process, and \$300,000 has been provided in response to the request of \$1.5 million.

Mrs. Finestone: What does that mean in English?

FEDERAL FUNDING

Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic): Mr. Speaker, the Minister knows that stability and progress in the North require a settlement of the Dene-Métis claim. If the Government really wants a final settlement in two years, then surely it must provide the Dene-Métis with adequate funds to prepare for that settlement.

Will the Minister make a commitment to do that today?

Hon. Bill McKnight (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Minister of Western Economic Diversification): Mr. Speaker, I believe the Government of Canada and the Dene-Métis people have

shown a commitment to the settlement of a long outstanding obligation so that development can take place in the Northwest Territories.

This year \$4.9 million has been provided to the Dene-Métis for claims negotiations. That brings the total to \$30 million that has been provided for claims negotiations during the time period in which they took place.

We believe that there is an opportunity to settle a long outstanding claim in the Western Arctic and we, the Government of Canada, and the Dene-Métis people, over the next two years I am sure will succeed.

* * *

[Translation]

THE ENVIRONMENT

DISPOSAL OF AMERICAN GARBAGE IN EASTERN TOWNSHIPS—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the new Environment Minister. In view of the fact that the Canadian public is now aware that between 150 and 160 American garbage trucks from the Boston area deliver their loads every week to the Eastern Townships area, more specifically to Saint-Denis de Brompton and the Magog Township, could the Minister tell the House what he intends to do to prevent Canada and Quebec, more specifically the tourist oriented Eastern Townships, from becoming the garbage dump of the United States?

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State of Canada): Mr. Speaker, the Quebec and federal governments, working closely together, are taking drastic measures in their effort to control the situation the Hon. Member has described.

We are all aware that under the shared jurisdiction which governs this type of situation, the provincial Government is responsible for the disposal of all waste on its territory, while the federal Government is entrusted with overseeing the transportation of dangerous materials.

We have the necessary powers to ensure the safe transportation of matters deemed dangerous or toxic, and the Quebec Government has the powers to control the disposal of all waste material on its territory, and especially with regard to burying it.

According to our investigations, these wastes happen to be neither toxic nor dangerous, so that we have put

Oral questions

together a three-stage process with the Quebec Government. First, beginning with last weekend, we have been making sure that federal inspectors are permanently in the field and carry out extremely thorough and strict investigations, to make sure that the existing regulations are strictly adhered to and that the wastes presently disposed of are neither dangerous nor toxic.

Second, the Quebec Government is now trying to ascertain . . .

Some Hon. Members: Order!

Mr. Bouchard: . . . it is busy adopting legislation and devising ways and means to control the transportation of these matters in that area. Third, . . . the Government . . .

Some Hon. Members: Order!

Mr. Speaker: I feel, regretfully, that the reply is much too long. I therefore recognize the Hon. Member for Shefford.

REQUEST FOR DETAILS

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, I am most interested in what the Minister has to say, so that as a supplementary, I should like him to go on explaining his third point.

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I hope I can finish my reply.

I talked on several occasions with the Quebec Minister of the Environment. I met as recently as this morning with the members of "La Coalition de l'Estrie" and the federal Government is contemplating several legislative measures to stop the dumping of these American waste materials in Canada.

Mr. Speaker, we will make sure that Canada does not become a garbage dump for anybody.

* * *

[English]

**CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT**

CHAIRMANSHIP OF COMMISSION EXAMINING LABOUR
ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Prime Minister informed this House of the appointment of Mr. Jean de Grandpré to a

blue ribbon committee, and described him as one of Canada's most distinguished people to chair a blue ribbon committee that will examine programs that exist around the world.

Was the Prime Minister aware at the time of this appointment that among the many distinguished accomplishments of Mr. de Grandpré was that of chairman and chief executive officer of Bell Canada Enterprises? Was the Prime Minister aware of the fact that during his role as chief executive officer of Bell Canada Enterprises, Bell Canada Enterprises held 52 per cent ownership in Northern Telecom?

Can the Prime Minister tell us how can the Canadian employees of the multinational corporations expect this fox-in-the-hen-house appointment to benefit them?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

• (1440)

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, only an NDP'er would think that success in the private sector represents failure in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, of course I am fully aware of the facts reported by my hon. friend. I am also aware of Jean de Grandpré's great achievements in his career, like those of the other members of this important commission which I think reflects the best interests of all Canadians.

So if the Hon. Member would kindly wait until Friday and then for the final report, I think that he will see the result of the work done at the national level by Canadians who seek the national welfare and who are playing a vital role for Canadian society.

[English]

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, while I thank the Prime Minister for his well worn cliché answer about what we recognize, I raise this question, in return. Is the Prime Minister still not yet able to recognize a conflict of interest when one is put before him in this House?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

COMMISSION MEMBERS

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): In the same vein, is the Prime Minister aware that the board of directors of this same corporation includes the Hon. Peter Lougheed, who was—

Oral questions

An Hon. Member: —who was a provincial Premier who was successful in getting re-elected.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Hon. Members for making me feel right at home. Their behaviour is as poor as that of the “Zalm” Socredits.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member will put his question, please.

Mr. Barrett: Is the Prime Minister aware that Mr. Lougheed is on the board of directors—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Nystrom: Don't heckle a new Member.

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, is the Prime Minister aware that Mr. Lougheed is also on the board of directors, and is he aware that the current president of Northern Telecom is the second Vice-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in which capacity he played an aggressive role in campaigning for the free trade deal; and how can the Prime Minister expect—

Some Hon. Members: Question!

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of that shocking conflict of interest situation, and I thank the Hon. Member for bringing it to my attention. He may be interested to know that, along with all of the other nefarious types who are on that commission with Mr. de Grandpré, is Dr. Wagner, the President of the University of Calgary—

Some Hon. Members: Oh no!

An Hon. Member: Shocking!

Mr. Mulroney: That is shocking in itself; but worse still, an immediate cohort and collaborator of Mr. de Grandpré's is James McCambly, President of the Canadian Federation of Labour.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: You are safe, Ed. You need not fear, Ed.

* * *

REFUGEES**BACKLOG IN PROCESSING REFUGEE-STATUS APPLICATIONS**

Mr. Sergio Marchi (York West): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Immigration.

If there is one policy area that was grossly mis-managed by the Government in the previous Parliament, and which continues today, it is that of Canada's refugee policy.

The backlog has increased from 9,500 in 1984 to over 70,000 today, and during all of that time the Government failed to take the necessary measures to alleviate the backlog problem.

Given the lack of concrete action on the backlog itself, irrespective of reforming the over-all refugee system in Canada, I would ask the Minister to inform the House—and, through the House, Canadians in general—when and what action the Government will take on the refugee backlog, a backlog that has grown to an alarming number and one which now threatens the viability of the entire refugee processing system.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, if there has been an increase in the backlog over the past couple of years, there isn't one person in this Chamber who doesn't know whose fault that is, given that it took two years to get the appropriate legislation through Parliament.

I am getting a little tired of the rhetoric from the Hon. Member about the refugee backlog, a backlog which began to build before we arrived in office and which continued to build as a result of opposition-caused delays in the passage of the appropriate legislation through Parliament.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mrs. McDougall: I can report to the House that, with the procedures that will be in place on January 1 next, the process will be a much improved one. My departmental officials have worked very hard on this problem, and I feel certain that the procedures which will be put into effect on January 1 will be exemplary.

We are considering various options in respect of the backlog, and I shall report to the House on those options as soon as possible.

Mr. Marchi: Mr. Speaker, the Minister fails to tell Canadians that it took three years before the Government introduced legislation, and it still, after four years in office, fails to recognize the difference between the system and the backlog, and the fact that both are in need of action at the same time.

This Minister continues to speak to the House of options—

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): He thinks he is Dave Barrett.

Mr. Marchi: Take it easy, Joe; you have more than enough on your own plate.

ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW—MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Sergio Marchi (York West): Mr. Speaker, I ask my question again of the Minister. Given that she has ruled out a general amnesty, something which we advocate and support—because it is not an answer; it does not distinguish between right and wrong—and given that there are rumours afloat about a mass deportation, would the Minister not agree that the most logical, humane and effective response would be to establish an administrative review process whereby refugees would be judged upon certain base criteria, with the Government retaining the option of refusing refugee status for security, health, or other reasons?

Does she not consider such a review process to be the best option?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, that is one of the options we are looking at, as the Hon. Member knows—and I very much appreciate his advice on how to deal with the backlog. But there are other ways to deal with the backlog, and we will consider all options.

Oral questions

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

HIRING PRACTICES AFFECTING WOMEN

Mr. David Walker (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Immigration, who is also the Minister responsible for the status of women.

As the Minister is no doubt aware, Canadian employers frequently hire workers overseas using criteria which are inconsistent with the Canadian Charter of Rights. In particular, the Manitoba Fashion Institute hires female workers only if they declare themselves to be single. If they are married, they are not hired.

Does the Government continue to condone such practices, which discriminate against single and married women and which are counter to the Charter of Rights?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, the Government has never condoned any kind of selection on the basis of marital status in the way that the Hon. Member has described.

An Hon. Member: Come on! You sent her back. You discriminated against a married woman.

Mrs. McDougall: The answer to the question is that the Government has never condoned such practices.

REQUEST THAT DEPORTATION PROCEDURES BE STOPPED

Mr. David Walker (Winnipeg North Centre): As a supplementary, there are women in Manitoba who are now suffering terribly because of this practice. When the Minister refused in August to intervene, despite pleas in this House to do so, Sally Espenelli was deported. Now, Violag Juay Yong faces the same fate in the next few weeks.

• (1450)

Will the Minister stop all deportation procedures, review these cases, and address this discriminatory practice immediately?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, there are other issues at stake in this case, as the Hon. Member well knows. We review every case which comes to us on a case by case basis and I stand by the decision that was made in my office.

*Oral questions***FISHERIES****BRITISH COLUMBIA SALMON AND HERRING INDUSTRY REGULATIONS**

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Fisheries. As he knows, Canada will be presenting replacement regulations for the B.C. salmon and herring industry to Peter Murphy in Washington next week.

Since a number of GATT member countries such as Great Britain have import requirements that fish be graded and eviscerated for entry into their markets, will the Minister assure this House that the replacement B.C. regulations will provide for landing, grading, and eviscerating in Canada?

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member is correct, we are refining proposed new regulations to ensure effective conservation, management and quality control of fish and fish products exported from Canada. These regulations were prepared with input by a working group representing the fishing industry of British Columbia. They were submitted to my office in mid-September. They are being reviewed by trade lawyers and experts in the Government, and at the appropriate time the form of these regulations will be made clear. Further discussions are presently under way jointly with my colleague, the Minister for International Trade.

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary is directed to the Minister for International Trade. He must be aware that if we do not have grading, landing, and eviscerating provisions for the B.C. industry, our salmon and herring industry will be destroyed.

Will the Minister be specific and assure this House that the Government will advise the United States that we are a sovereign country and one of the rights we have is the right to gut fish, and that means to gut salmon in British Columbia?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I am glad to know that the Party the hon. gentleman represents is a tremendous supporter of the GATT system, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. That Party knows, of course, that this is a problem originating as a result of the work of a GATT panel, the organization that his Party supports. That panel found certain practices in British Columbia, in connection with the regulation of the catching and

processing of fish, to be contrary to fair trade rules as enunciated by GATT.

Our response to the GATT panel will have to be GATT consistent in order to have the support of his Party. In due course he will know what that response is and I am sure that the B.C. salmon and herring industry will remain a healthy and productive one when our decision is announced. However, our decision will be GATT consistent, c-o-n-s-i-s-t-e-n-t.

* * *

AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT**CANADA-NOVA SCOTIA DEVELOPMENT FUND**

Mr. Francis G. LeBlanc (Cape Breton—Highlands—Canso): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Energy and again concerns the Auditor General's Report as it relates to the Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund.

In that report the Auditor General lists the approval of funding for the Stellarton to Sheet Harbour highway as questionable with respect to its applicability to criteria established for the disposition of this fund.

Could the Minister please provide this House with the background information given his Department by the Province of Nova Scotia which led him to approve this \$20 million project, which is obviously in contradiction to the legislative purposes of this fund?

Mr. Speaker: I hesitate to interrupt the Hon. Member but the question was getting awfully close to being out of order. However, the Hon. Minister may want to reply.

[*Translation*]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, if I understand the question correctly, the Hon. Member is opposed to the Government of Canada, in agreement with the Government of Nova Scotia, spending money to improve the infrastructure so that when offshore development takes place, Nova Scotians can fully benefit from it. Is that the Hon. Member's position, Mr. Speaker?

REQUEST FOR DETAILED REPORT

Mr. Francis G. Leblanc (Cape Breton—Highlands—Canso): Mr. Speaker, since the Minister has the responsibility to approve every one of these projects and to check that they meet the criteria clearly stated in the

Act establishing the fund, will the Minister take his responsibilities seriously and provide the House with a detailed report explaining how these abuses could have occurred?

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources decides on the basis of the Act already passed by the Parliament of Canada and reports every year on the use of this fund. This Act recognizes the province's responsibility in these matters and we in this Government, unlike the previous Government, take account of the reality of the provinces of Canada and we develop the territory with them. It is in this spirit that we make our decisions, Mr. Speaker, and the Canadian people have twice expressed their agreement with this interpretation of federal-provincial relations.

* * *

[English]

AGRICULTURE

DROUGHT AID PROGRAM

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Deputy Prime Minister.

Farmers in the three western prairie provinces as well as B.C. and Ontario suffered the worst drought in living memory recently. On November 9 the Deputy Prime Minister promised some \$850 million in compensation for those farmers, based on \$45 per acre. There are still no criteria, no guidelines, and no application forms have been made available.

To top that off, the Prime Minister's good friend, the Premier of Saskatchewan, Mr. Devine, as well as other prairie Tory Premiers, said they have no money for the program. Can the Minister give a commitment today that the \$850 million, or more depending on the amount of damage, is going to be provided to these hard-pressed farmers?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I answered a question similar to that in the House of Commons yesterday. The same answer applies. I know the Hon. Member and others were disappointed that we announced a drought program to meet the needs of farmers who were very seriously affected by this drought.

Oral questions

As in the past, when the need has arisen for support from this Government for farmers, we have been there. We have been there in the past, we are there today, and we will be there in the future. I can assure the Hon. Member of that.

DISTRIBUTION OF APPLICATION FORMS AND CHEQUES

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that the Tory Premiers are not going to pay for the Prime Minister's election promises.

In any event, the drought occurred last spring and summer. Thousands of farmers had no crop this fall. The program was announced on November 10. When are application forms going to be made available, and can the Deputy Prime Minister make a commitment today that the cheques will start to flow by January 1 so these farmers will have the funds available this winter?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member knows this is the fourth chapter of the drought program announced for the year 1988. The first was a \$12 million water related program; the second was a \$153 million livestock drought program; the third was the \$900 million crop insurance pay-out; the \$850 million is supplementary to that.

That totals close to \$2 billion. That is the kind of support this Government has given in the past and that is the kind of support it is going to give in the future.

* * *

AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT

FOREST INDUSTRY FINDINGS

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister responsible for forestry. The Auditor General states that unemployment is increasing in the forest industry, that the backlog of unreforested land is increasing, and that forest resource development agreements with the provinces have few clear guidelines and little or no evaluation, citing five examples from coast to coast. What immediate action is the Minister prepared to take to address these very serious issues?

● (1500)

Hon. Frank Oberle (Minister of State (Science and Technology) and Acting Minister of State (Forestry)):

Privilege—Mr. Fulton

Mr. Speaker, I am not surprised at the Auditor General's findings. After all, what we were trying to do was to redress a decade of deliberate neglect of our forests.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Oberle: What we have done is we have increased by four times the federal commitment. Some regions of the country have not yet caught up with the backlog in our forest land. In my own province that is not the case. Some 250,000 hectares have been restocked there.

The question now is how quickly can we move to a more intensive forest management regime which involves not just the planting of trees but the farming of our forests. Our commitment is quite clear, something which has been demonstrated by the establishment of a full Department of Forestry.

GOVERNMENT POSITION—PROVISION OF INFORMATION

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Mr. Speaker, I am shocked that the Minister is saying that he is not surprised. The question is this. What specific action is he prepared to take? I include in that information to Parliament, since there is no way that we can monitor this matter without having enhanced quality of information. As the Auditor General points out, information presented in Part III of the Estimates is inaccurate and at times confusing. Thus it is impossible for Members to monitor the expenditures adequately.

Will the Minister state what he intends to do about this specific issue?

Hon. Frank Oberle (Minister of State (Science and Technology) and Acting Minister of State (Forestry)): Mr. Speaker, we must be cognizant of the fact that the principal responsibility for keeping the inventory lies with the provinces. After all, it is a provincial resource.

The federal role in this area has in the past been exercised through research, as well as assistance, protection, maintenance, and enhancement of our forests. It is in that area that we will continue to play our role in co-ordination and co-operation with the provinces.

We are negotiating with the provinces about these matters to see how best we can develop a national inventory and how best we can redress some of the serious problems that have occurred as a result of this neglect in the past.

Mr. Speaker: That will be the last question of Question Period.

I have an application on privilege. The Chair recognizes the Hon. Member for Skeena.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

ALLEGED DUMPING OF MUSTARD GAS

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, I have consulted Beauchesne's, and I believe I have a question of privilege that meets the two tests, the first being a prima facie case and the second being the fact that I am raising the matter at the earliest opportunity.

The matter involves the dumping and location of 450 tonnes of mustard gas somewhere in the vicinity of Victoria and Esquimalt. On December 5, 1988, the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Beatty) wrote to a researcher who was at that time working for the Hon. Member for New Westminster—Coquitlam, and who has subsequently been doing some work for my office. In that letter the Minister of National Defence states:

Thank you for the letter of October 4, 1988 in which you inquired about the dumping of World War II shells containing nerve gas and mustard gas in the Pacific in 1947. There is no record of such an operation.

That letter is signed by the Minister of National Defence.

There is a very brief chronology which follows that. On December 8, 1988, CTV *National News* reported that National Defence dumped chemical weapons into the Pacific Ocean following the Second World War.

On December 9, 1988, Colonel Conrad Mialkowski, Assistant Director-General for Research and Development, National Defence, stated that the Canadian military never dumped artillery shells containing mustard gas into the Pacific Ocean. On that date I asked for a public inquiry into the matter because of the evidence that had been given by Canadian ex-servicemen regarding this matter. I point out that these were servicemen who were at Suffield when it was loaded, who were at Esquimalt when it was unloaded, and who saw it loaded onto a scow.

On December 13, 1988, the *Times-Colonist* of Victoria reported that by its own account of the 1947 dumping, it contradicted the statements made by the Canadian military spokesman and the Minister of

National Defence, and say not only artillery ammunition but mustard gas was dumped into the Pacific Ocean.

In a front page story on September 17, 1947, the *Victoria Times-Colonist* reported:

Four hundred and fifty tons of gas which was developed for chemical warfare is now lying at dockside at the government drydock, Esquimalt, waiting to be loaded aboard a dump scow which will take it out to the Pacific Ocean for dumping.

A photograph of military personnel wearing rubber gloves and loading material from a railway car accompanied the story.

On December 13, 1988, Colonel Conrad Mialkowski admitted that the Canadian military did dump shells containing mustard gas, but the new claim with the suddenly found records is that it was dumped 160 kilometres off the coast of B.C. What fails to be mentioned is the same evidence of one of the same ex-servicemen who pointed out that the scow sailed at dusk and returned at dawn. Again, this was a serviceman who was at the site. There is not a scow made, even if it was towed by hovercraft, which could in that time go 160 kilometres off Victoria for dumping.

This is a very serious matter. The Minister of National Defence advised there were no records. Senior people in his Department advised that there were no records. When they are caught by the media, caught by ex-servicemen and Members of Parliament, suddenly there are records. Suddenly, they claim that they know exactly where the mustard gas is located, exactly when it went there, and how it got there and so on.

This is a serious matter. Mustard gas that was dumped off the coast of France in exactly the same year, 1947, was subsequently picked up in fishing equipment, brought on board a fishing vessel and blinded 12 fishermen.

I would like to hear from the Minister of National Defence. Prior to doing that, I believe I have proven a prima facie case that I have been misled by a Minister of the Crown, and that I have been misled intentionally or otherwise by senior officials in the Department of National Defence. I am prepared to move the necessary motion that this matter be referred to the Standing Committee on Elections, Privileges and Procedure.

I do not think that Members of Parliament, their researchers or the media should be misled on matters that could affect the health and well-being of Canadian citizens or anyone else.

Privilege—Mr. Fulton

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, what we witness here this afternoon is the Hon. Member, who was recognized during Question Period and chose to raise a question with a totally different Minister of the Crown, now getting up following Question Period, not to raise a bona fide question of privilege but rather to attempt—

An Hon. Member: Let the Speaker decide.

Mr. Beatty: Indeed, Mr. Speaker, you will have the opportunity to decide, as soon as you have all of the facts as opposed to the misinformation and partial information that has been given to you by the Hon. Member, who has a track record in that respect, as he demonstrated in the case of Suffield earlier this year.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, Hon. Members opposite might extend the same courtesy to me that I extended to the Hon. Member when he was making his false allegations.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Tell the truth.

Mr. Beatty: The Hon. Member opposite says: "Tell the truth". Let me read to you, Mr. Speaker, from the letter that was quoted by the Hon. Member.

Mr. Speaker: I remind both sides in this discussion that it is an application on a question of privilege. I am not interested in hearing allegations about each other. I hope that other Hon. members will keep that in mind.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member quoted from the first paragraph of a letter which I sent to a person who is now a researcher for him. Curiously, he ended his quotation before going on to the second paragraph. He quoted this section:

Thank you for the letter of October 4, 1988 in which you inquired about the dumping of World War II shells containing nerve gas and mustard gas in the Pacific in 1947. There is no record of such an operation.

There the quotation ends. Had he had the courtesy to continue, Mr. Speaker, you would have heard the following:

If you are aware of any evidence that such dumping did occur, I would be anxious to receive it. As you probably know, surplus Canadian World War II stocks of mustard gas were dumped in the Atlantic in 1946; the gas was not in shells but in sealed metal drums. This operation was the subject of a number of articles in the press in

Privilege—Mr. Fulton

1984 and I am attaching two clippings from that time. The method of disposal used was considered at the time to be the easiest, safest, and most economical means of getting rid of the mustard gas. It would not now be permitted.

As the letter very clearly indicates, we have been unable to locate anywhere in the Department of National Defence, notwithstanding the efforts which we made, any record of surplus stocks being dumped over 40 years ago into the Pacific. What I indicated to the Hon. Member's researcher was that if he had any evidence whatsoever suggesting that was the case, we would welcome it being brought forward. That continues today.

There was no attempt, nor was there any action which would mislead the Hon. Member. The facts that were stated in the letter were accurate. We had no record. We could locate no record. We have continued to search during that time and can locate no DND record indicating such a thing.

Earlier this week, the *Victoria Times-Colonist* was contacted by an individual who brought to its attention an article which appeared in the *Victoria* paper in 1947, including a picture under the headline: "War gas brought here for dumping at sea". That was the first time—and it was this week, not last week or the previous week—that it was brought to our attention that there was a document on the public record, not in DND's records, which indicated this.

The Hon. Member makes a great point of the fact that Colonel Mialkowski indicated that the dump would appear to have been 100 miles offshore. Why does he say that? He said that because the article in the *Times-Colonist* of *Victoria* on Tuesday, December 16, 1947, states that some 600 tons of mustard gas and other chemical warfare ammunition "will be sunk 100 miles off the British Columbia coast, army headquarters announced here today". Where did the Colonel get his information? He got it from exactly the same source as the Hon. Member apparently got his from, that is, the *Victoria* newspaper of September 16, 1947.

• (1510)

Was there an attempt to mislead the Hon. Member? No, there was not. The Colonel simply referred to what was in the newspaper in 1947. Did Colonel Mialkowski indicate that there had never been any dumping off the West Coast? Not according to the article I have in front of me from the *Victoria Times-Colonist* under the byline of Paul Mooney of the *Canadian Press*. The individual who indicated there probably had been no

dumping of chemicals was Mr. Fred Hassell who worked as a supervisor in the laboratory at the Colwood Naval magazine during the period in question and stayed until 1973.

It was Mr. Hassell who said:

I am absolutely positive there was never anything like that (shells containing chemical agents). We had to handle everything that went through there, and we would have known about something like that.

Colonel Mialkowski did say quite correctly, and I quote this from the *Canadian Press* article:

Mialkowski said the Canadian Forces dumped hundreds of tonnes of high explosive shells at a site 90 to 100 kilometres west of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in a trench well off the continental shelf.

The site was more than six kilometres deep. That is what the Colonel said. Has the Colonel confessed that we have done this or, to use the words of the Hon. Member, admitted that 40 years ago the Canadian Forces dumped mustard gas? No, what was said by the Colonel in the last 24 hours is that on the basis of the newspaper article there would appear to be reason to believe this might have happened. It was not a confession or admission on his part, but rather that it has been brought to his attention now that newspaper records of the day indicate that mustard gas might have been put in that area.

The Hon. Member also goes on at great length to talk about threats to public safety. Had the Hon. Member consulted navigational charts for the West Coast of Canada, he would know that those dumps are marked on navigational charts precisely to warn people to stay away from them.

The practice of dumping excess war stocks after World War II was quite common around the world, and that includes Canada. It would not be done today, but it was done during that period. Because it was done, navigational charts were clearly marked to indicate where those dumps were precisely to avoid the sort of incident referred to by the Hon. Member. In particular, in the two large dumps that are marked on the map, we are talking about dumps which go to a considerable depth. I think the depth is as great as 8,000 feet. It is unlikely that fishermen would have a line down that low. However, if the Hon. Member has any information with regard to that, we would be glad to get the information from him.

If, Mr. Speaker, you still believe for a minute that the Hon. Member has presented any evidence whatsoever of a prima facie case of privilege, let me simply review the key facts. The Hon. Member alleges that presumably an

Privilege—Mr. Fulton

attempt was made to mislead a Member of Parliament. The facts indicate just the opposite. The letter that was sent to the researcher indicated that no records had been found but invited the researcher to come forward with any evidence, if he had it, so we could pursue it, as we are continuing to do today.

Second, the Hon. Member, albeit, I am sure, unintentionally misrepresents what Colonel Mialkowski said and makes an attack, a very serious attack, on a distinguished member of the Canadian Armed Forces who is not here in this House of Commons and able to defend himself. I consider that sort of attack reprehensible.

Mr. Fulton: I have two very brief points, Mr. Speaker. I think what the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Beatty) has done is worse than what this began as. The Minister of National Defence fails to point out what Colonel Mialkowski has in fact said to the press. I quote from a Canadian Press story, as the Minister of National Defence just did.

The Canadian military has never dumped artillery shells containing chemical agents into the Pacific Ocean, Forces spokesmen said Friday.

Col. Conrad Mialkowski, assistant director general for research and development at National Defence Headquarters, said Friday the Forces dumped surplus high explosive shells in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans until the early 1970s.

But no shells containing chemical agents were ever disposed of in that way,—

He had no qualification on that. Second, in *The Globe and Mail* today it says very clearly:

The Canadian Forces acknowledged yesterday that shells containing mustard gas were dumped off the coast of British Columbia . . .

. . . National Defence spokesman, Col. Conrad Mialkowski said that the shells are in an ocean trench about 2,500 metres deep about 160 kilometres offshore.

From whence does the Colonel get this new information? There were no records.

Mr. Beatty: From the *Victoria Times-Colonist*. I just read it to you.

Mr. Fulton: Oh, he gets it from the *Victoria Times-Colonist*. How is it that a serviceman who was there said he loaded it in Suffield, he unloaded it in Esquimalt onto a scow which sailed at dusk in September and was back at the dock at dawn? It cannot get 160 kilometres offshore to the deep water to which the Minister alludes.

All I am asking in this case is that information that was false, intentionally or otherwise, was provided time and again to a Member of Parliament, time and again to

the media in this country, and there may well be a situation where the lives of Canadian fishermen or others could be endangered. If there are no records, admit it and conduct an inquiry.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member says if there are no records, admit it. The original letter about which he is complaining said specifically that we could find no records with regard to that. What we are doing is attempting to find any information we can that is relevant to the situation. If the Hon. Member has any concrete information, instead of making wild allegations and instead of attacking the character—

Mr. Broadbent: It wasn't wild allegations. Listen to what he has to say.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister may be able to help the Speaker in deciding on a point of privilege, but it is not necessary to get into further argument. The Hon. Minister may want to close off his comments.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, I quote today from the *Ottawa Citizen*. What the Colonel is quoted as saying today by the *Ottawa Citizen*, is:

"It appears that the shells are down there and although I can't confirm it, it appears they're probably artillery mortar rounds filled with mustard", Mialkowski said.

This hardly constitutes an admission that he was withholding information. What it does indicate is a recognition on his part that since the original statement, someone has brought to his attention the article from the *Victoria* paper of 1947 and he says that based on the information included in the *Victoria* article from 1947, it appears that the material is down there and it appears it is mustard, based on the article. However, the central fact still remains that to date we have been able to locate no information within Canadian Forces' files related to this. We continue to invite the Hon. Member or anyone else in Canada who has relevant information to tender it.

You will recall, Mr. Speaker, that when the Hon. Member previously made wild allegations with regard to Suffield and the work being done there, the Department set up a hot line to enable anyone who was involved with that, and who had concerns about those tests, to call in. I can indicate that in none of those calls or in none of the letters we received was any reference made to chemical dumps of mustard, for example, on the West Coast.

Again, if there is any evidence that anyone in the House or outside the House has that would be of

Privilege—Mr. Fulton

relevance to us in searching back 40 years ago, we certainly would welcome that and would be pleased to pursue it, but all of us have an obligation not to unfairly accuse distinguished members of the Canadian Forces who cannot respond.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Leader of the New Democratic Party rises and, of course, I will hear him. I might indicate to him that I think I have heard enough to consider the matter which, of course, I will, but I will, of course, hear the Hon. Member at least for a few minutes.

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate that. I listened with care to what the Minister had to say, as I usually do. And I heard the Hon. Member for Skeena (Mr. Fulton). I rise at this point to respond to the last point the Minister made which is a repetition of one he made earlier, namely, if anyone has any evidence on this very important matter potentially affecting the health of Canadians, they should bring it forward.

My suggestion very concretely, and I would like to hear the Minister respond to it this afternoon before we complete this very important question of privilege which has been raised, is that there is an individual, living in Calgary today, who claims he had direct involvement and direct knowledge about the situation at hand, and he is describing his facts not relying on a newspaper article from Victoria.

• (1520)

He was actually there. Has his senior staff talked to him? If not, if he wants to get to the bottom of this, the truth, why does he not talk to him?

Mr. Speaker: I will let the Hon. Minister reply shortly, but I do not think any further discussion will help the Speaker very much.

I might indicate to Hon. Members that while there clearly seems to be a difference of opinion as to facts, and there may be very good reason why there is a difference of opinion as to facts, I have some difficulty seeing that it amounts to a breach of privilege. I will hear the Minister shortly.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, essentially the Leader of the New Democratic Party is extending Question Period under the guise of a question of privilege. I can indicate

to him that immediately after the individual in question was on CTV—

Mr. Speaker: If the Hon. Minister can assist the Chair, I will hear him. I am not having any further arguments between the two sides.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, I am trying to respond to the question that was posed to me. After the matter was raised on the CTV *National News*, I asked my staff to contact the individual in question. I do not know whether they have succeeded in doing it to date. They had difficulty initially reaching him. I will verify as to whether or not they have been able to reach him to date and will get in touch with Members opposite.

Mr. Speaker: I think I have heard enough. This is a question which is in the public domain. Clearly the Hon. Member for Skeena (Mr. Fulton) received some information, and in some cases did not receive other information which came to light at a later time.

There has been concern raised by the Hon. Member for Skeena that this might have been a deliberate attempt to keep information from a Member of Parliament. If that was the case and clearly there was evidence of that, then it would indeed be a very serious matter and understandable why the Hon. Member has raised this matter in this Chamber.

However, I have listened to the Minister and I have to take what Hon. Members in the House say as clearly in accord with the facts as they can know them, as I certainly did when listening to the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent).

I have listened to the Hon. Minister. There may very well be an argument under another proceeding as to what happened within the Department of National Defence. The whole question of why there were not records, if there are not, is something that can be pursued.

I must say to all Hon. Members that, in my view at least, listening to this as I have very carefully, it does not get into a question of privilege. It is essentially an argument over allegations of facts. While the matter as raised by the Hon. Member for Skeena is of course an important matter and it may be quite proper to pursue it in Question Period or at another time, I have to rule at the moment that it does not reach a question of privilege.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

APPOINTMENT OF INTERNAL ECONOMY
COMMISSIONERS

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to inform the House that Jim Hawkes and Bill Kempling have been appointed as members of the Board of Internal Economy for the purposes and under the provisions of Chapter 42, First Supplement, of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1985, entitled an Act to Amend the Parliament of Canada Act.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-2, an Act to implement the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Minister have leave to introduce the said Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Crosbie), which was agreed to on the following division:

• (1530)

Introduction of Bills

(Division No. 4)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Feltham	Nowlan
Andre	Ferland	Oberle
Atkinson	Fontaine	O'Brien
Attwell	Fretz	Paproski
Beatty	Friesen	Plamondon
Belsher	Gibeau	Plourde
Bernier	Gray	Porter
Bertrand	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Pronovost
Bird	la-Madeleine)	Redway
Bjornson	Greene	Reid
Blackburn	Guilbault	Reimer
(Jonquière)	Gustafson	Ricard
Blais	Halliday	Richardson
Blenkarn	Harvey	Robitaille
Bosley	(Chicoutimi)	Roy-Arcelin
Bouchard	Hawkes	Schneider
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Hicks	Scott
Bourgault	Hockin	(Victoria—Haliburton)
Boyer	Hogue	Scott
Brightwell	Horner	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Browes	Horning	Shields
Cadieux	Hudon	Siddon
Campbell	Hughes	Sobeski
(Vancouver Centre)	Jacques	Soetens
Cardiff	James	Sparrow
Casey	Jelinek	St-Julien
Chadwick	Johnson	Stevenson
Champagne	Jourdenais	Tardif
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Kempling	Tétreault
Bagot)	Kilgour	Thacker
Champagne	(Edmonton Southeast)	Thompson
(Champlain)	Kindy	Thorkelson
Charest	Koury	Tremblay
Clark	Langlois	(Rosemont)
(Yellowhead)	Larrivée	Tremblay
Clark	Leblanc	(Québec-Est)
(Brandon—Souris)	(Longueuil)	Tremblay
Clifford	Lewis	(Lotbinière)
Cole	Littlechild	Turner
Collins	Loiselle	(Halton—Peel)
Cook	Lopez	Valcourt
Cooper	MacDonald	Van de Walle
Corbeil	(Rosedale)	Vankoughnet
Corbett	MacDougall	Venne
Côté	(Timiskaming)	Vien
Couture	MacKay	Vincent
Crosbie	Malone	Weiner
(St. John's West)	Marin	Wenman
Darling	Martin	White
DeBlois	(Lincoln)	Wilbee
de Cotret	Masse	Wilson
Della Noce	Mazankowski	(Swift Current—Maple
Desjardins	McCreath	Creek)
Dick	McDermid	Wilson
Dobbie	McKnight	(Etobicoke Centre)
Dommm	McLean	Winegard
Dorin	Mitges	Worthy—153
Duplessis	Monteith	
Edwards	Moore	
Epp	Mulroney	
Fee	Nicholson	

Introduction of Bills

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gray	Nault
Althouse	(Windsor West)	Nunziata
Angus	Guarnieri	Pagtakhan
Arseneault	Harvard	Parent
Assad	Harvey	Parker
Axworthy	(Edmonton East)	Phinney
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Heap	Pickard
Crossing)	Hopkins	Proud
Barrett	Hovdebo	Prud'homme
Bélair	Hunter	Rideout
Bellemare	Jordan	Riis
Benjamin	Kaplan	Robichaud
Black	Karpoff	Robinson
Blackburn	Karygiannis	Rocheleau
(Brant)	Keys	Rodriguez
Blaikie	Kilger	Rompkey
Blondin	(Stormont—Dundas)	Samson
Boudria	Kristiansen	Simmons
Brewin	Langan	Skelly
Broadbent	Langdon	(North Island—Powell
Butland	Laporte	River)
Caccia	LeBlanc	Skelly
Callbeck	(Cape Breton High-	(Comox—Alberni)
Campbell	lands—	Speller
(South West Nova)	Canso)	Stewart
Catterall	Lee	Stupich
Comuzzi	MacDonald	Taylor
Copps	(Dartmouth)	Tobin
Crawford	MacLaren	Vanclief
de Jong	MacWilliam	Volpe
Dionne	Maheu	Waddell
Duhamel	Manley	Walker
Ferguson	Marchi	Wappell
Finestone	Marleau	Whittaker
Fisher	Martin	Wood
Flis	(Lasalle—Émard)	Young
Fontana	McCurdy	(Gloucester)
Foster	McGuire	Young
Fulton	McLaughlin	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Funk	Mifflin	109
Gaffney	Milliken	
Gardiner	Mills	
Gauthier	Mitchell	
	Murphy	

● (1600)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Mr. Crosbie moved that the Bill be read the first time and printed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Crosbie), which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 5)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Fontaine	Moore
Andre	Fretz	Mulroney
Atkinson	Friesen	Nicholson
Attewell	Gibeau	Nowlan
Beatty	Gray	Oberle
Belsher	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	O'Brien
Bernier	la-Madeleine)	Paproski
Bertrand	Greene	Plamondon
Bird	Guilbault	Plourde
Bjornson	Gustafson	Porter
Blackburn	Halliday	Pronovost
(Jonquière)	Harvey	Redway
Blais	(Chicoutimi)	Reid
Blenkarn	Hawkes	Reimer
Bosley	Hicks	Ricard
Bourgault	Hockin	Richardson
Boyer	Hogue	Robitaille
Brightwell	Holtmann	Roy-Arcelin
Browes	Horner	Schneider
Cadieux	Horning	Scott
Campbell	Hudon	(Victoria—Haliburton)
(Vancouver Centre)	Hughes	Scott
Cardiff	Jacques	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Casey	James	Siddon
Chadwick	Jelinek	Sobeski
Champagne	Johnson	Soetens
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Jourdenais	Sparrow
Bagot)	Kempling	St-Julien
Champagne	Kindy	Stevenson
(Champlain)	Koury	Tardif
Clark	Landry	Tétreault
(Yellowhead)	Langlois	Thacker
Clark	Larrivée	Thompson
(Brandon—Souris)	Layton	Thorkelson
Clifford	Leblanc	Tremblay
Cole	(Longueuil)	(Rosemont)
Collins	Lewis	Tremblay
Cook	Littlechild	(Québec-Est)
Cooper	Loiselle	Tremblay
Corbeil	Lopez	(Lotbinière)
Côté	MacDonald	Turner
Couture	(Rosedale)	(Halton—Peel)
Crosbie	MacDougall	Valcourt
(St. John's West)	(Timiskaming)	Van de Walle
Darling	MacKay	Vankoughnet
DeBlois	Malone	Venne
de Cotret	Marin	Vien
Della Noce	Martin	Vincent
Desjardins	(Lincoln)	Weiner
Dick	Masse	White
Dobbie	Mayer	Wilbee
Dommm	Mazankowski	Wilson
Dorin	McCreath	(Etobicoke Centre)
Duplessis	McDermid	Winegard
Edwards	McKnight	Worthy—151
Epp	McLean	
Fee	Merrithew	
Feltham	Mitges	
Ferland	Monteith	

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gardiner	Murphy
Althouse	Gauthier	Nault
Angus	Gray	Nunziata
Arseneault	(Windsor West)	Nystrom
Assad	Guarnieri	Pagtakhan
Axworthy	Harb	Parent
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Harvard	Parker
Crossing)	Harvey	Phinney
Axworthy	(Edmonton East)	Pickard
(Winnipeg South	Heap	Proud
Centre)	Hopkins	Prud'homme
Barrett	Hovdebo	Riis
Bélair	Hunter	Robinson
Bellemare	Jordan	Rocheleau
Benjamin	Kaplan	Rodriguez
Black	Karpoff	Rompkey
Blackburn	Karygiannis	Samson
(Brant)	Keys	Simmons
Blaikie	Kilger	Skelly
Blondin	(Stormont—Dundas)	(North Island—Powell
Boudria	Kristiansen	River)
Brewin	Langan	Skelly
Broadbent	Langdon	(Comox—Alberni)
Butland	Laporte	Speller
Caccia	LeBlanc	Stewart
Callbeck	(Cape Breton High-	Stupich
Campbell	lands—	Taylor
(South West Nova)	Canso)	Tobin
Catterall	Lee	Turner
Clancy	MacDonald	(Vancouver Quadra)
Comuzzi	(Dartmouth)	Vanclief
Copps	MacLaren	Volpe
Crawford	MacWilliam	Waddell
de Jong	Maheu	Walker
Dingwall	Manley	Wappell
Dionne	Marchi	Whittaker
Duhamel	Marleau	Wood
Ferguson	Martin	Young
Fisher	(Lasalle—Émard)	(Gloucester)
Flis	McCurdy	Young
Fontana	McGuire	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Foster	McLaughlin	113
Fulton	Mifflin	
Funk	Milliken	
Gaffney	Mills	
Gagliano	Mitchell	

● (1650)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

DIVISION BELLS IN SOUTH BLOCK

Mr. Maurice A. Dionne (Miramichi): Mr. Speaker, I will make my point very briefly. It concerns the bells in the South Block. It is still not possible to hear bells on the south side of the South Block. We can hear faint bells ringing in one corridor but not in the other, Mr. Speaker. I bring this matter to your attention and hope that we will not have to experience this situation again.

Petitions

Mr. Speaker: I will take the Hon. Member's intervention under advisement and will report back to the House.

* * *

CANADA REFERENDUM AND PLEBISCITE ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

Mr. Patrick Boyer (Etobicoke—Lakeshore) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-201, an Act respecting referendums and plebiscites in Canada on questions of public importance.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Boyer: Mr. Speaker, this Bill is one that is enabling legislation for the holding of a national referendum or plebiscite in Canada on issues of transcending national importance.

Briefly, this constitutes a complete code for the holding of such votes. Several of the provinces have legislation along this line. All of the municipalities are able to consult their citizens directly, and the purpose of this Bill would be to provide the Government of Canada with this democratic instrument for the occasional questions of transcending national importance that ought to be put directly to the people for an expression of popular will.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

PETITIONS

CHILD ABUSE

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell): Mr. Speaker, it is my honour and privilege to present a petition signed by 4,500 citizens of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell who want to bring a very serious matter to the House of Commons.

They are asking Parliament to intervene in the very important issue of child abuse.

S. O. 52

Mr. Speaker: There is a motion for an emergency debate. I would ask the Hon. Member for York Centre to address the Chair.

* * *

MOTIONS TO ADJOURN UNDER S. O. 52(1)

PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

Hon. Bob Kaplan (York Centre): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 52, I ask leave to propose a motion to adjourn the House for the purpose of discussing a specific and important matter requiring urgent consideration, namely the disastrous deterioration of service to the travelling public at Canada's largest airport, Pearson International Airport, caused by the failure of the Government to do its duty to administer the airport and to make proper provision for its needs and growth. The present situation amounts to a crisis to which no adequate solution has yet been brought.

• (1700)

It is difficult for anyone to exaggerate the seriousness of this problem—and no one is more familiar with it than are Members of Parliament. Delays of up to three hours are not unknown on a daily basis at Pearson International Airport.

Given that we are now in the holiday season, and given the tremendous economic damage which has already been suffered by the municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and the surrounding region, as well as to the industries involved in carriage through that airport, something has to be done.

This is a situation, Mr. Speaker, which is clearly and totally the responsibility of the federal Government to solve. One of the considerations you should bear in mind in considering this matter is the availability of other opportunities in this session to deal with it. I remind you that although we are engaged in the Throne Speech debate, it is not necessarily the case, or perhaps even likely, that there will be days devoted to the Throne Speech debate, with the result that the normal alternative times available to discuss this crisis might well not be available during this session.

I urge upon you, Mr. Speaker, the serious nature of this crisis for the entire region of southern Ontario and to permit this emergency debate to take place.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte on the same point.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, with the Chair's permission, I should like to take a minute or two to illustrate the crisis nature of the situation described by the Hon. Member for York Centre (Mr. Kaplan)—

Some Hon. Members: No, no!

Mr. Speaker: Order.

An Hon. Member: Come on, you guys. Don't you want to hear about the problem?

An Hon. Member: He is just trying to be helpful.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure all Hon. Members will understand the situation faced by the Chair. While the matter raised by the Hon. Member for York Centre is a serious one, it is not in order for other Hon. Members to speak to it at this stage. While I am sure that all Hon. Members take the matter seriously, I must restrict any comments on the matter to the Member presenting the application.

I have listened carefully to the presentation of the Hon. Member for York Centre, and as I had some notice of his application, I have had the opportunity to give the matter some considerable thought.

The Hon. Member, in his presentation, states that something may or may not transpire, such that there will not be another occasion to raise the matter in the House in this session.

I assure the Hon. Member that I consider the matter to be an important one, and certainly I will watch carefully to see how matters unfold. However, I do not think it appropriate to make an order permitting an emergency debate at this time.

ALLEGED LAY-OFFS RESULTING FROM CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I ask leave, under the provisions of Standing Order 52, to move a motion calling for an emergency debate in respect of lay-offs arising out of the free trade deal.

Since the November election, Canada has witnessed some 2,400 lay-offs by a number of companies, including Northern Telecom, Gillette, Pittsburgh Paints—

An Hon. Member: And how many new jobs have been created?

Mr. Broadbent: In respect of the lay-offs in question, a case has been made that there is good reason to believe

that they are the result, either directly or indirectly, of the free trade agreement.

An Hon. Member: The campaign is over, Ed.

Mr. Broadbent: Also, we have now had the reimposition, by the President of the United States, of an unfair tariff on Canadian shakes and shingles going into the U.S.—a tariff which, when originally imposed, resulted in a loss of jobs in Canada, and which, if continued, will result in further job losses.

In saying that there is a case for an emergency debate, Mr. Speaker, I have in mind that, since then, we have had a Throne Speech which specifically excluded the establishment of legislation that would provide for an adjustment program in the case of lay-offs and which specifically excluded the possibility of the establishment of a committee to monitor the impact of the free trade agreement, and all of this in the context of the Government saying that once we complete consideration of the free trade implementing legislation, Parliament will embark upon an extended recess, a recess extending, perhaps, into March of next year.

I say that the workers who are laid off now, Mr. Speaker, cannot afford to wait. We have an emergency that has to be addressed now.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I thank the Hon. Member for Oshawa for having given me extensive notice of his application. The formal application, in its written form, is much more extensive in detail than the oral summary provided by the Hon. Member, and certainly I have read it very carefully.

While the matters raised by the Hon. Member in his application for an emergency debate are serious matters, it is, I feel, premature for the Speaker to order an emergency debate at this time. Again, I am always ready to reconsider these matters should circumstances change.

There is the potential for some opportunity for Hon. Members to discuss the matters raised in the application.

To reiterate, while I consider the matters raised to be serious, I do not consider it appropriate to order an emergency debate at this time.

Orders of the day.

House of Commons

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[*English*]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

PROPOSED HOURS OF SITTING

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): A point of order—

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Lewis, seconded by Mr. Mazankowski, moves—the Hon. Member for Kamloops on a point of order.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. Speaker: I think that it is appropriate if I recognize the Hon. Member for Windsor West. I think it was quite clear that he was rising on the same point of order.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

An Hon. Member: Free trade is good for Windsor, Herb.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, the Government has given notice of a motion which proposes to suspend, and in fact drastically suspend, the rules of this House—

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): To summarize the motion, it appears to say that the House will sit continuously for an indefinite period, exclusive of December 26, 1988, and in fact will not adjourn on December 21 to resume in January, as is provided for by the Standing Orders. The motion also states that the House will not adjourn at 6 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays but will sit, without a break, until midnight on those days.

I point out, Mr. Speaker, that the wording of the motion does not state that the House shall sit for these hours only for consideration of the legislation to implement the Government's trade deal with the U.S.; rather, it states that the House will sit "for Government Orders". In other words, for any business that the Government puts on the Order Paper. The Government, therefore, could put anything it wishes on the Order Paper and use this motion to get it through.

Looking at the third paragraph of the motion, it goes on to state that for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills

House of Commons

be suspended, and all such Bills be ordered for referral to Committee of the Whole.

What this means is that the provision in our rules calling for every Bill to be sent to a committee separate and apart from this House would be suspended. The Government, through this motion, is attempting to take away a concept that has been a part of the procedures of this House for some 20 years.

It has been a long time since Bills generally have been considered in Committee of the Whole rather than by a committee separate and apart from this House, where Members can question officials directly and summon before it witnesses from the private sector, witnesses from outside of this House of Commons.

• (1710)

I also want to point out that this paragraph is not limited to the trade legislation but applies to all Public Bills. It speaks of staying in existence for the duration of this session until otherwise ordered. I want to point out that this session does not end January 1. The way our rules are structured it can go on for several years, in fact for the entire term of Parliament.

The final paragraph of the motion says:

That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this order.

The motion does not use the word "shall". There is no requirement that a Minister has to come into this House and propose a motion to rescind the order. If a Minister does not do that, the motion continues in effect indefinitely. Under the guise of taking a special measure to force the trade legislation through this House, it would appear the Government is bringing about a permanent and drastic change to our rules, our Standing Orders.

However, the Government now has given itself credit for the adoption of our current rules, our current Standing Orders. It has said before and likely during the election campaign that these Standing Orders are one of its paramount achievements, a supreme achievement of parliamentary reform, and has claimed it came about through its efforts, although this is not really so since it was an all-Party effort.

These reforms include confirming the House no longer sits at night. We have reasonable hours so there is quality debate and not legislation by exhaustion. This is a reform for which the Government takes credit. It has taken credit for us not sitting at night.

The reforms also provide that each Bill goes to a legislative committee for detailed and quality study, more quality study, the Government argues, than was possible in the old Committee of the Whole procedure where the House sat as a committee and witnesses could not be heard, whether they were officials or members of the public. As well, while the House sits as a committee, everything else before it is held up.

The Government has shown how little it really cares about parliamentary reform because it is saying through this motion that in order to get itself out of a tight corner, because it cannot live within the rules, the Government is ready to throw key elements of the rules out the window. Parliamentary reform means nothing to the Government so long as it can achieve its purpose of forcing this legislation through the House.

Last June the Government presented what appears to be a similar motion to this House, to suspend the rules, including those on the parliamentary calendar and the usual hours of the sitting of the House. When that motion was moved, arguments were made by myself and others that it was not in order and should be rejected by you. Of course, I have to say immediately that after hearing arguments, very patiently, with great consideration and attention, you gave a lengthy and detailed ruling in which you in effect ruled the motion was in order and debate on it could proceed.

I ask you to consider whether the motion before us now, and the motion you considered last June, are essentially the same, such that the ruling you made last June is equally applicable to the motion we are considering today. I submit this motion is different in substantial and important respects from the motion before this House last June, and therefore the ruling you made on the motion last June is not a precedent for the motion just called and which I am arguing should not be received and accepted by you.

The motion last June had a fixed expiry date, the date the House was to resume last September. The motion before us applies for an indefinite period.

Paragraph 1 of the motion before us appears to extend the days the House would meet for an indefinite period.

Paragraph 5 suspends the rules providing that Bills be considered by a legislative committee, for a period which is in effect indefinite. It has no fixed termination. You will note it also applies for the duration of this session or "until otherwise ordered".

House of Commons

Paragraph 6 of the motion says that “immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this order”.

This motion goes much, much further than the motion last June. It is drastic enough because, like the motion last June, it sweeps away parliamentary reforms requiring that the House does not sit at night, and also sits according to a fixed calendar. This motion goes further. It sweeps away not just the concept of legislative committees, something relatively new, but also entirely casts aside the concept that legislation be considered in small committees apart from this House with report stage in this House following such consideration, something which has been a fundamental part of our parliamentary process for over 20 years.

It is relevant to note, Mr. Speaker, that you pointed out in your ruling of last June, if I may summarize, that the motion did not do anything drastic to the rules of this House. However, I submit this is not the case here. Quite the contrary. As you said on June 13, 1988, as reported at page 16378 of *Hansard*, referring to the motion of last June:

—I should also reassure Hon. Members that its passage would not throw out the rule book, nor would it destroy the major recent reforms.

That is not the case with the motion before us. I have already pointed out that this motion would destroy a very important recent reform, that is the concept of the legislative committee.

Your ruling last June was based on two key citations from *Beauchesne's*, Citation No. 21 of *Beauchesne's* Fifth Edition, and Citation 10 of *Beauchesne's* Fourth Edition. It I may quote them very briefly, Citation 21 of *Beauchesne's* Fifth Edition refers to the rules of procedure generally:

The most fundamental privilege of the House as a Whole is to establish rules of procedure for itself and to enforce them. A few rules are laid down in the British North America Act, but the vast majority are resolutions of the House which may be added to, amended, or repealed at the discretion of the House. It follows, therefore, that the House may dispense with the application of any of these rules by unanimous consent on any occasion or, by motion, may suspend their operation for a specified length of time.

I also want to quote Citation 10 of *Beauchesne's* Fourth Edition which you also used as a foundation for your ruling. It says in part:

Standing Orders may be suspended for a particular case without prejudice to their continued validity, for the House possesses the inherent power to destroy the self-imposed barriers and fetters of its

own regulations. It may even pass an order prescribing a course of procedure inconsistent with the Standing Orders. A motion for such temporary suspension requires notice—but in urgent cases the notice can be waived—

I draw your attention to the words “for such temporary suspension”.

You used these citations as a foundation for your ruling of last June, and I will and do argue here that they clearly apply only to a temporary suspension of the rules, a motion by the Government for a “temporary suspension” of the rules, to quote Citation 10, or a motion which is for “a specified length of time”, to quote Citation 21.

• (1720)

This motion today is clearly not for “a specified length of time”, or to bring about “a temporary suspension” of the rules. Nor, by the way, is it limited to dealing with “a particular case”, to use another phrase from a citation. Instead, it applies to any and all Bills that the Government may choose to put on the Order Paper.

Again, as I have said, unlike the motion of last June, it does not end after a specified length of time.

By way of conclusion, I want to say that with this motion the Government gives the appearance of trying to smuggle in a drastic change in the rules, a permanent change in the rules, under the guise of forcing passage through this House of its trade legislation.

It has done this without having first had the advice of a parliamentary committee to study the matter, which has been the case in the past, or even without any consultation with the Opposition, which has also been the case in the past. In fact, this change in the rules is a reversion to an old, outmoded process, and the Government itself has in recent months been taking credit for helping bring about its elimination.

Therefore, relying on the Standing Order requiring you to rule on the acceptability of any motion or measure before it is debated or voted on, I call upon you to reject this motion before us. I call upon you to reject this motion, not only because, in effect, it is not within the ambit of your ruling of last summer, but it is also not covered by the citations on which you founded your ruling, inasmuch as it does not deal with a specific case. Nor does it attempt to bring itself to an end after a specified length of time or last only for a temporary period.

House of Commons

I am not going to take the time at this stage to point out to the House, as I did last June, that if this continues to be the practice of this Conservative Government then it means that nothing is safe or sacred when it comes to the basic process of democratic government in this House.

Last June it was simply suspending the calendar of sittings. Now the Government is throwing out the window our committee process. Next we may see this Government trying to force a motion through this House to get rid of the Question Period, or any type of debate in this House.

Some Hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, you are the protector of the minority of Members in this House.

You are the protector of this institution as a foundation of our democratic process. Therefore I call upon you to be very conscious of these responsibilities in taking into account the arguments I have made and the precedents I have cited which I submit would lead to only one firm conclusion, that is, this motion is not in order and must be rejected.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, I rise today both with a sense of sadness and with a sense of outrage. I am saddened by the spectacle of our parliamentary institutions being treated as little more than an irritant or a nuisance to this Government, something which must be tolerated at best. As a parliamentarian and as a Canadian I am outraged at the unashamed arrogance of a Government that shows absolutely no respect for the rights of the duly elected Opposition, a Government that does not think it has to disguise what is an open, naked act of aggression against democracy and our democratic institutions.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Riis: With this motion the Government has once again shown its complete and utter disregard for the traditional rights and freedoms that can be exercised by opposition Parties. When it does not like what we say or do, it simply changes the rules.

This is the Marcos and Pinochet approach to democracy. As a Canadian, I find it despicable and I find it disgusting.

Citation 1 of *Beauchesne's* Fifth Edition states:

The principles that lie at the basis of English parliamentary law, have always been kept steadily in view by the Canadian Parliament; these are: To protect a minority and restrain the improvidence or tyranny of a majority;

Clearly, what we have here is a case of the tyranny of the majority running roughshod over the rights of the minority.

As you are aware, this is not the first time that this Government has proposed suspending the rules without the consent of opposition Parties. As the House Leader for the Official Opposition has indicated, last June the Conservative Government brought forward a similar motion to suspend the rules and the parliamentary calendar, something that had not been done since March 16, 1883.

At the time, in June, the Government said: "Do not worry, this is a very exceptional circumstance. It will not happen again". It has happened again. It is just a few short months and here we are with this band of parliamentary assassins back to their old tricks. Their justification is that the Opposition has the unmitigated audacity to want a thorough and comprehensive study of the free trade legislation. We all recognize that this legislation will obviously change the very structure of the Canadian economy. All the Opposition is asking is that we have a complete, thorough and comprehensive debate and consideration of this important legislation.

We recognize of course that the Government has a mandate to govern—no one is disputing that. The Conservatives fail, however, to recognize that they did not receive a mandate to make Parliament little more than a rubber stamp. As opposition Members our role—indeed our duty—is to hold the Government accountable for those actions. We have the right and the duty to demand a full and thorough parliamentary review of this legislation, especially in view of the large number of plant closings that have taken place since November 21.

I think all of us in this House would have to admit that thousands of Canadians now find themselves facing a bleak Christmas of unemployment with the impending passage of the trade deal before them.

Unfortunately, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) sees the situation, in his own words, as nothing more than a problem. We on this side of the House see it as much more than a problem. We see it as nothing less than a tragedy. The responsibility for this tragedy must be placed squarely at the feet of the Prime Minister and his trade deal.

I must say that there are several reasons I believe Your Honour should rule this motion out of order. First, the Government has said that it requires the House to sit beyond the normal day of adjournment because the trade legislation must be passed by January 1. Leaving aside for the moment the fact that the United States implementing legislation does not require this, there is a provision in the Standing Orders at the moment which allows for the House to be recalled when it is in the public interest. Standing Order 28(3) states:

Whenever the House stands adjourned, if the Speaker is satisfied, after consultation with the Government, that the public interest requires that the House should meet at an earlier time, the Speaker may give notice that being so satisfied the House shall meet, and thereupon the House shall meet to transact its business as if it had been duly adjourned to that time.

We on this side of the House are quite prepared to let you, Mr. Speaker, make the decision whether or not it is in the public interest rather than leave it to the parliamentary assassins across the aisle.

In Your Honour's ruling of June 13 earlier this year you stated the following:

Does such a motion require the unanimous consent of the House or a simple majority decision?

There is no doubt in anyone's mind that the House can amend or suspend its rules by unanimous consent. That is a given.

Often, we do that in this House to make it more convenient for Members on rather insignificant aspects. However we are talking now about a major piece of legislation.

Your Honour went on to state in your ruling:

A review of our present Standing Orders reveals that they are, unlike those in the Australian House, totally silent on the manner of suspension.

You went on to state that if the Speaker rules that the Standing Orders should only be suspended or changed by unanimous consent of the House, the situation could arise where the House could be in jeopardy of becoming procedurally the hostage of a single Member.

You continued by saying:

The unique flexibility of the British parliamentary system, a flexibility which has allowed for adaptations to an infinite variety of circumstances, would be jeopardized. Clearly that is undesirable.

I agree that we cannot allow the House to become the hostage of a single Member, but I put to you, Mr. Speaker, that we cannot allow the House to become simply a rubber stamp where the rights of the Opposition are trampled by the tyranny of the majority.

• (1730)

I think all of us as serious parliamentarians must ask the question: Where does this stop? In over 100 years of government suspension of the rules without the consent of the Opposition has virtually never occurred. In the last six months we have now had two attempts by this Government to do just that. When will it stop, Mr. Speaker? Will we find on the Notice Paper later this week a motion to do away with Question Period? Will we find a motion to do away with committees or to fundamentally alter the process of our debate? When will these parliamentary assassins stop? That surely must be the question you must weigh heavily today.

I return to Citation 1 of *Beauchesne's*. A fundamental principle upon which this House of Commons rests is the protection of the minority against the tyranny of the majority.

Here we have two competing concepts: the rights of the majority and the rights of the minority. I put it to you, Mr. Speaker, that you as the Speaker, whose job it is to protect the rights of all Members, must be the final arbiter between the two competing tendencies.

In light of your decision, however, of June 13 last, and in the light of Citation 1 of *Beauchesne's*, I would suggest that in this case there is a clear abuse by the Government of our rights as a minority. It is our contention that given this situation you must exercise your authority and rule this motion out of order.

I want also to add that the parliamentary rules, as I indicated earlier, permit you, Mr. Speaker, the option of recalling the House at any time the Government convinces you it is in the nation's interest. However, I do now want to conclude by saying that democracy as it expresses itself in this House is not a neat and tidy thing. Oft-times it is a tiresome affair, yet it is fundamental to our system. Without the recognition of the rights of the minority, we have no democracy. It is in that spirit that I make this intervention and ask you to rule against this particular motion.

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to add some comments with respect to the procedural acceptability of this particular motion. The House will know that the Government has placed a motion on the Order Paper, the essence of which is to suspend the parliamentary calendar so that the House will not have the customary Christmas recess from December through to the middle of January. Instead,

House of Commons

the House will sit Monday through Friday with the exception of Boxing Day.

The motion also expands the hours of debate so that an extra six hours of debate is added to each of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. It also provides that the legislation will be sent to Committee of the Whole House rather than to a legislative committee.

The Government takes the position that this motion is procedurally correct and in accordance with the precedents established in this House. I intend to keep my argument to the procedural aspect rather than engage in any rhetoric which can perhaps more better be put in a debate on the actual motion.

I want to examine very briefly the elements of the actual motion. The first element is to suspend the parliamentary calendar. That will mean that we will sit through what is referred to as the Christmas break. It does allow for three days at Christmas. We make no apologies for trying to expedite the legislation to implement the free trade agreement. We have a commitment in the free trade treaty with the United States to pass implementing legislation as soon as possible. We like to think that no matter what Party is in government, we are a country which keeps its international commitments, and we want to keep this one.

I would suggest to you, Mr. Speaker, that members on the government side are prepared to work through the Christmas break in order that we keep our commitment. I am also pleased to note comments in the media of members of the Liberal Party, to be accurate, the Hon. Member for Humber-St. Barbe-Baie Verte (Mr. Tobin) who is quoted in *The Gazette* of Montreal as saying: "MPs are feeling pretty aggressive". That is fair. It continues: "We have people who do not even have Christmas on their minds. Some are even prepared to stay through some crucial holidays".

The Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis) made the same offer. He said: "We are not prepared to bend the rules to facilitate the Government having an early Christmas, but we are prepared to continue sitting". We took them up on that commitment, Mr. Speaker, when we drafted this special order in order to facilitate passage of the Bill which flows from the Throne Speech. I point out that there is only one Bill flowing from that speech. It is the Bill before us, the Bill which was introduced today. It is our intention to rescind this special order once the free trade legislation is passed and has received Royal Assent.

Mr. Gauthier: It doesn't say that.

Mr. Lewis: Wait for it, if you would. Out of respect for what we understand to be the conventions expected by the Chair in such motions, we have not specified the Bill in the motion since at the time of the giving of the notice of the motion the free trade Bill had not yet been introduced. To specify the Bill in the motion would have been anticipatory and open to procedural questions. The point to note, Mr. Speaker, is that this motion, like the similar motion accepted last June, is generic in its provisions.

The second element is the special House order to extend the sittings from 6 p.m. to 12 p.m. Monday through Thursday. The effect of this, obviously, is to provide an extra 24 hours of debate a week. I do not understand why any Member would object to us expanding debate time to allow them to get their comments on the record. I am prepared to offer an additional time for debate if my colleagues opposite want to get on the record. We are prepared to sit through the next weekend. We would suggest we waive the quorum requirement and allow Members, on the basis that we waived the quorum requirement—

Mr. Gauthier: He is negotiating on the floor, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Lewis: It is a comment that has already been made in House Leaders' meetings. In any event, we are prepared to add that extra fillip to allow colleagues, and I can understand it, to have their comments reported in *Hansard* so that their constituents will know exactly where they stand on this. We are prepared to do that and we could enter into those negotiations.

The third element of this special order is to send all legislation passed during its force and effect to Committee of the Whole House rather than to a legislative committee. That will allow all Members to participate in the committee process rather than just the seven Members who sit on a legislative committee. What could be more fair?

For those who want extensive hearings and witnesses, I would suggest that there were extensive committee hearings held last summer. Many witnesses declined to appear, and the committee sittings were actually cut short from the recorded reporting date. I suggest to you, Mr. Speaker, that no government Bill in modern history has been subject to so much witness testimony and was so spectacularly well covered by the media as this Bill. Day after day there were the rebuttals of expert and

House of Commons

layman critics. Obviously it was also a matter of considerable debate in the country during the recent general election.

I would like to read into the record so there is no confusion just exactly what did happen on the subject of free trade. In the last Parliament there were eight opposition days, thirty-five hours. The Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade—

Mr. Gauthier: What has that got to do with the acceptability of this motion? Tell me.

Mr. Lewis: One might notice that I did not interrupt Mr. Gray when he was speaking, nor Mr. Riis when he was speaking.

Mr. Gauthier: You promised you would stick to the motion. Stick to the issue.

Mr. Lewis: The Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade had 24 days of consideration, totalling 120 hours. There were government motions, four days of consideration for that, some 18.5 hours. Second reading of Bill C-130 took five days, some 30 hours. The legislative committee sat for 16 days, some 87 hours. Report stage of Bill C-130 took five days, and that took 30 hours. Third reading of Bill C-130 took two days, some 15.5 hours.

Mr. Cooper: What is the total?

Mr. Lewis: I am pleased the Hon. Member asked about the total. It is a total of 64 days of committee and House of Commons time, some 336 hours.

The Bill that has been introduced and printed today is virtually identical in content to the old Bill C-130.

• (1740)

The procedural precedent for this House order is the Chair's ruling of June 13, 1988. The Government of the day sought to suspend the parliamentary calendar in order to complete certain government business.

The major points in the ruling, which were all answered in the affirmative, were as follows: First, was it proper for the Government to give notice under Government Notices of Motions? The answer is yes. Can the Government initiate a motion to suspend the provisions of the Standing Orders? The answer is yes. Does such a motion, if in order, require unanimous consent or simply a majority decision of the House? The answer is yes. If the motion is in order according to precedents, has the recent parliamentary reform

changed our practice fundamentally and rendered prior precedents inapplicable? The answer is yes.

I submit that the motion on the Order Paper is on all fours with Your Honour's ruling of June 13, 1988. I urge that the Chair rule the motion to be in order.

In closing, I would give notice that at the next sitting of the House, immediately before the Order of the Day is called for resuming debate on the motion, that is Government business No. 1 on the Order Paper, and on any amendments proposed thereto, I will move that the debate shall not be further adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: I will hear the Hon. Member in just a moment. Perhaps all Hon. Members will let me consult with the Clerk for a moment.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, first I want to say to the House that the Minister has attempted a procedure which was to put before the House something which cannot be done at this time. The Standing Orders of the House—and they will remain the Standing Orders of this House until they manage to destroy them—state at Standing Order 57 . . .

Some Hon. Members: Ah, ah!

Mr. Gauthier: Standing Order 57, read it, take them out of your desk, the Standing Orders are there:

Immediately before the Order of the Day for resuming an adjourned debate is called . . .

So the debate must have been adjourned. In addition, the debate must have begun, but all we are doing today is beginning the debate on procedure, on the acceptability of the motion. The debate has not been adjourned, Mr. Speaker, so the Minister cannot table in the House a notice of motion concerning Standing Order 57. That is strictly against the Standing Orders and I submit to the Chair that it must tell the Minister to go back to his books, learn the Standing Orders, and then come back to the House once he has done that.

[*English*]

Mr. Les Benjamin (Regina—Lumsden): Mr. Speaker, in two minutes I would like to comment on the submission by the Government House Leader about committee hearings and the number of hours spent. As I recall, no travelling was done. There was extreme limitation on those who could appear. Many could not appear because any hearings that were held were in Ottawa only. There is more to this country than just the City of Ottawa.

House of Commons

Let me also suggest that the Government's main reason for proposing such a motion concerns a January 1 deadline. There is no such thing. That is only a target or an objective of the Government of Canada and the United States administration.

I believe there is an understanding and an exchange of letters that the implementation date of January 1 can be a later date.

There is also much made of doing this before Committee of the Whole and of the opportunity for all Hon. Members to speak. As I understand what is proposed by the Government, it allows for one day for 295 Members to participate. Surely it is a sham, as I hope you can easily conclude, Mr. Speaker.

Finally, it is incumbent upon you to decide when the Government is abusing the rules or when the Opposition is abusing the rules as they pertain to the rights of the majority and the rights of the minority. I urge upon you that if ever there were a classical example of an abuse of the rules and the rights of the minority, this is one of those occasions. I hope you will consider that when making your ruling.

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell): Mr. Speaker, I want to rise briefly to make comments and to participate in this point of order. First, I want to comment on the use of Standing Order 57 which was proposed in the closing remarks of the Minister when he attempted, erroneously I submit, to cut off the debate on this motion or give notice that he wanted to cut off the debate on this motion and even the acceptability of the motion.

I submit that Standing Order 57 states clearly: "Immediately before the Order of the Day for resuming and adjourning debate is called". Clearly we are talking here only about resuming a debate which has been previously adjourned. Right now we are speaking to this point of order regarding the acceptability of the motion. We have not yet debated the motion, therefore we have not adjourned the debate nor resumed it. Of course it has not been adjourned; it has not been started. We have not seen any of those criteria. Therefore, the use of Standing Order 57 is inappropriate.

Let me speak briefly to the acceptability of the motion proposed by the Government. The Minister promised to speak to the procedure and promised to demonstrate the precedents making his motion acceptable. I submit that the Minister has done neither. First, he spoke about a variety of things, some of which had nothing to do with procedure. More important, he

promised that he would demonstrate the acceptability of the motion based on parliamentary precedents. He admitted later that his motion was deficient. He chose to add further assurances to the House, hoping that it would satisfy the deficiencies that are in the motion offered to us.

Second, and even more important, there was only one precedent he utilized to make his point, which was the ruling of Mr. Speaker on June 13, 1988. Of course, the Minister failed to mention that the main criteria for that ruling on June 13 had not been satisfied this time.

It has been said previously, and you yourself said it on June 13, 1988, that Citation 10 in *Beauchesne's* Fourth Edition was quite specific when it talked of a temporary suspension of the rules.

● (1750)

When discussing the temporary suspension of the rules, it is important to read the last paragraph of the Government's motion, the acceptability of which we are discussing right now. I read to you the last paragraph:

That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this Order.

We have to remember that there is no obligation on the Government to rescind this motion or to propose a motion to rescind this motion at any time during the session, a session which could last up to five years. There is no compulsion, no obligation to do so.

First of all, there is no obligation to propose the cancellation of the motion and, second, there is no obligation then for the government majority to accept what the government Minister proposes if indeed he proposes it to start with, and there is not even an obligation to do that, so it is very clearly deficient in those two areas.

Assuming that there was an obligation on the Government to rescind that motion immediately after the first Royal Assent, I would submit to you that this motion would still be deficient because of course the Government could move and adopt any number of Bills. It could adopt its next Budget, it could adopt the Throne Speech, or it could adopt any number of things and not give Royal Assent to any of them and then give Royal Assent to all of those put together at some point in the future, enabling it to keep this ruling in force until that time. It does not matter because the "may propose" feature is offensive to the traditions of this House.

House of Commons

In closing, I submit that the Minister himself has probably now recognized that his motion is deficient. He has more than recognized it; he has actually admitted it in the House by offering certain corrective measures. I submit that the motion is so badly flawed that on the basis of those flaws themselves, the motion should be unacceptable to the Chair.

The assurances that the Minister has tried to provide to the Speaker and to the House in no way make the motion any more acceptable. I know the Speaker will rule on the motion as it has been put and as it is printed in its present form, not on good intentions expressed by the Minister after the motion has been put. After all, we know the record of this Government on keeping its word, and even more important, the Speaker, of course, has to rule on what is printed and what is offered to the House at this point.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, we have now added a new wrinkle to this procedural debate. When we began this, we were all aware of what the government order of business was for the day, and as you were rising, about to put the question, the House Leader of the Official Opposition and I rose, you recognized us and we began a procedural debate on the acceptability of the government business of the day. However, my recollection is that the question was never put by Your Honour, that the question itself was never on the floor.

I would contend that the Deputy House Leader of the Government cannot give notice of closure on something that we are not even debating, yet I think that is what he has attempted to do. It is further abuse of the rules, traditions, and practices of this House.

I contend that for two reasons, this is out of order. The first is the nature of the motion of the Government under government business on the Order Paper and the second is what the Deputy House Leader has just done, which is to attempt to give notice of closure on a question that has yet to be put.

Mr. John Nunziata (York South—Weston): Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to make some very brief submissions on this matter. I would submit, Your Honour, that the motion of the Government would result in a very serious and marked departure from the rules of this House. I would submit to you, Sir, that you ought to consider in the circumstances what the extenuating circumstances are that would warrant such a serious departure from the rules of the House.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the so-called January 1 deadline is not so sacrosanct that in the event that this Parliament does not rule on the free trade agreement by January 1, the result will be serious in nature. In fact, we are told by members of the Ministry that the January 1 deadline may in fact be extended.

Having said that, Sir, I would ask you to take into consideration the rights of the newly elected members of this Parliament. As you know, approximately 130 Members of the House are newly elected. In other words, the new Members did not participate in the debate in the Thirty-third Parliament on Bill C-130. This particular issue, the free trade agreement signed by our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and the President of the United States, was a central issue in the election campaign. In fact, it was a dominating issue in the campaign itself.

The people have in fact decided. Needless to say, a majority of those who decided and who cast their ballots in fact voted against the Government, against the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal. Sir, the 130 newly elected Members, including members on the government side, have a right to express their points of view and to fulfil the mandate given to them in the election campaign, that is, to speak out in a full and complete discussion of the free trade agreement here in the House of Commons. To accept this motion and to deny the new Members of Parliament their opportunity to speak and to express their points of view on this particular piece of legislation would be to deny them their right to fulfil the mandate given to them in the general election of November 21, 1988.

In closing, might I say to you, Sir, that as the Speaker of the House you have an obligation to protect the rights of the newly elected Members of Parliament and to give them the opportunity to discuss this matter. Sir, might I remind you that a few short days ago, they put their trust in you to protect their rights, so I would ask you, Sir, to keep in mind my submissions when you deliberate on this most important point.

Mr. Rod Murphy (Churchill): Mr. Speaker, I originally indicated my intention to speak on the motion in the name of the Minister of State for Treasury Board (Mr. Lewis) of December 12, 1988. However, the latest effort by the Government to have closure on a debate we have yet to start, I think, enhances what I wished to say in the first place. Not only are we in a situation where the Government is willing to suspend the rules for a specific piece of legislation, but we are now in the

House of Commons

situation where even before we start debating a piece of legislation, the Government indicates that it wishes to use the closure motion, a motion which has almost never been used in the House of Commons. Its use, historically, has been restricted to such debates as the pipeline debate of 1957, and even in 1957, there is no question but that the pipeline debate had actually started in the House of Commons.

We now have a situation where the Deputy Government House Leader is rising before we have heard one word of debate on the topic and saying: "Before you start that debate tomorrow, Members of Parliament, we are going to bring in closure".

If we do not have any defence with regard to the Government's ability to change the rules at any time, what defence do we ever have?

I recognize that it is six o'clock, Mr. Speaker. I wish to continue my remarks tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker: I think it is my obligation at the moment to close the House, but before doing so I think it is appropriate to say that I have been listening with very great care to arguments. There is, of course, an argument on the motion. There is, of course, an argument raised on the secondary matter, that is the motion for closure.

I want Hon. Members to know that I am aware there are two issues which I have to address. I shall do the best I can to return to the House as speedily as possible after proper deliberation.

It being six o'clock, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 11 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 6 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, December 15, 1988

The House met at 11 a.m.

Prayers

[English]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

TABLING OF LIST OF MEMBERS

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to lay upon the table a list of the Members to serve in this Parliament, received by the Clerk of the House from and certified under the hand of J. M. Hamel, Esquire, Chief Electoral Officer.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

ORDER IN COUNCIL

TABLING OF APPOINTMENT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to table in both official languages an Order in Council appointment which was recently made by the Government.

While I am on my feet, I move:

That the House do now proceed to Orders of the Day.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 6)

YEAS

Members

Andre	Duplessis	Masse
Atkinson	Epp	Mayer
Attewell	Fec	Mazankowski
Beatty	Feltham	McCreath
Belsher	Ferland	McDermid
Bernier	Fontaine	McDougall
Bertrand	Fretz	(St. Paul's)
Bird	Friesen	McKnight
Bjornson	Gibeau	McLean
Blackburn	Gray	Mitges
(Jonquière)	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Monteith
Blais	la-Madeleine)	Moore
Bouchard	Greene	Mulroney
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Guilbault	Nicholson
Bourgault	Gustafson	Nowlan
Boyer	Halliday	Oberle
Brightwell	Harvey	O'Brien
Browes	(Chicoutimi)	Plamondon
Cadieux	Hawkes	Plourde
Campbell	Hicks	Porter
(Vancouver Centre)	Hogue	Pronovost
Cardiff	Holtmann	Redway
Casey	Horning	Reid
Chadwick	Hudon	Reimer
Champagne	Hughes	Richardson
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Jacques	Robitaille
Bagot)	James	Roy-Arcelin
Champagne	Jelinek	Schneider
(Champlain)	Johnson	Scott
Clark	Joncas	(Victoria—Haliburton)
(Yellowhead)	Jourdenais	Scott
Clark	Kempling	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
(Brandon—Souris)	Koury	Siddon
Clifford	Landry	Sobeski
Cole	Langlois	Soetens
Collins	Larivée	Sparrow
Cook	Layton	St-Julien
Cooper	Leblanc	Stevenson
Corbeil	(Longueuil)	Tardif
Côté	Lewis	Tétreault
Couture	Littlechild	Thacker
Crosbie	Loiselle	Thompson
(St. John's West)	Lopez	Thorkelson
Darling	MacDougall	Tremblay
DeBlois	(Timiskaming)	(Rosemont)
de Cotret	MacKay	Tremblay
Della Noce	Malone	(Québec-Est)
Desjardins	Marin	Turner
Dobbie	Martin	(Halton—Peel)
Domm	(Lincoln)	Valcourt
Dorin		

House of Commons

Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne
Vien
Vincent

White
Wilbec
Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek)

Winegard
Worthy—140

NAYS

Members

Allmand
Althouse
Angus
Arseneault
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's
Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South
Centre)
Baker
Barrett
Bélaïr
Bellemare
Benjamin
Black
Blaikie
Blondin
Boudria
Brewin
Butland
Caccia
Callbeck
Catterall
Clancy
Comuzzi
Coppes
Crawford
de Jong
Dionne
Ferguson
Finestone
Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gagliano
Gardiner
Gauthier

Gray
(Windsor West)
Guarnieri
Harb
Harvard
Harvey
(Edmonton East)
Heap
Hopkins
Hovdebo
Hunter
Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Karygiannis
Keyes
Kilger
(Stormont—Dundas)
Kristiansen
Langan
Langdon
Laporte
Lee
MacAulay
MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
MacLaren
MacLellan
MacWilliam
Manley
Marchi
Marleau
Martine
(Lasalle—Émard)
McCurdy
McGuire
McLaughlin
Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Murphy

Nystrom
Pagtakhan
Parker
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Rideout
Riis
Robichaud
Robinson
Rocheleau
Rodriguez
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(North Island—Powell
River)
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller
Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin
Turner
(Vancouver Quadra)
Vancielief
Volpe
Walker
Wappel
Whittaker
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)
Young
(Beaches—Woodbine)—
104

● (1140)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Mr. Nunziata: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I was unable to vote as I was not in my seat when the vote commenced. Had I been in my seat, I would have voted with my Party, as I always do.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Maheu: Mr. Speaker, I, too, rise on a point of order. I was absent from my seat when the vote commenced. Had I been in my seat, I, too, would have voted with my Party.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

PROPOSED HOURS OF SITTING

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members will recall that yesterday afternoon I entertained extensive argument with respect to the motion standing under Government Order No. 1 for today. There were two important issues raised in that argument, and I am now ready to rule on those issues.

When Orders of the Day were called yesterday, December 14, 1988, the Hon. Minister of State (Mr. Lewis) proposed to move the motion standing on the Order Paper as Government Business No. 1. This motion, if allowed to be moved, debated and agreed to by the House, would have the effect of suspending various Standing Orders. Those Standing Orders relate to the hours and days of sitting, the adjournment proceedings, and the committee stage of public bills.

● (1150)

Both the Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray) and the Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis) rose on points of order at that stage to object to the motion being moved, arguing that it was procedurally unacceptable. They and other Hon. Members stated that the motion should not be allowed because it would contravene the recent reform to the Standing Orders by extending the hours of sitting and adding sitting days to the recently established fixed calendar. They also put forward the argument that this motion, by providing for all Bills to be dealt with in Committee of the Whole rather than in legislative committee, would also go against recent reforms and would prevent the hearing of witnesses at the committee stage.

[Translation]

The point was also made that because this motion related to all public Bills and could be in effect for the duration of this session, it was a potential abuse of the power of the majority.

[English]

During the discussion on these various points, the Hon. Minister of State proposed to give notice of his intention to move closure under the provisions of Standing Order No. 57 on the motion in question. Argument was then put forward by the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier), the Hon. Member for Kamloops, the Hon. Member for Churchill (Mr. Murphy), the Hon. Member for Regina—Lumsden (Mr. Benjamin), the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria), and the Hon. Member

for York South—Weston (Mr. Nunziata), that such notice was not acceptable because debate on the motion had not yet begun.

[*Translation*]

At 5.00 o'clock p.m. yesterday, I took the two questions raised, the procedural acceptability of the motion and the acceptability of the notice of closure, under advisement, and I undertook to study both questions and return to the House as quickly as possible with my ruling.

[*English*]

Overnight and this morning I have considered most carefully the arguments raised and have consulted various precedents and authorities, and I am now ready to rule.

Let me begin by addressing various points raised on the procedural acceptability of the motion. The Hon. Member for Windsor West, in his remarks on his point of order, referred to a ruling I made in the 33rd Parliament on June 13, 1988, which can be found in *Hansard* for that date at page 16376. For the benefit of those members who were not with us then and those who follow our proceedings, I hope the House will bear with me as I quote what I feel is the essence of that ruling. The main question before the Chair at that time was: Can the Government initiate a motion to suspend the provisions of the Standing Orders? What I said was as follows:

"In order to answer that question, we should initially look to the Canadian authorities.

First, the current Canadian House of Commons Standing Orders in number 56, paragraph (1), subparagraph (0) [now Standing Order 67(1)(0)] have at least envisaged the concept of the suspension of the rules. That subparagraph declares that motions for the suspension of the Standing Orders are debatable motions. There is no specific direction as to how such motions are to be decided but such a motion is clearly subject to the provisions relating to notice, debate and amendment.

Second, Citation 21 of Beauchesne's Fifth Edition refers to the rules of procedure generally:

The most fundamental privilege of the House as a whole is to establish rules of procedure for itself and to enforce them. A few rules are laid down in the British North America Act, but the vast majority are resolutions of the House which may be added to, amended, or repealed at the discretion of the House. It follows, therefore, that the House may dispense with the application of any of these rules by unanimous consent on any occasion, or, by motion, may suspend their operation for a specified length of time.

Citation 9 of Beauchesne's Fifth Edition gives further precision by stating:

All rules are passed by the House by a simple majority and are altered, added to, or removed in the same way . . .

Beauchesne's Fourth Edition amplifies more specifically on the Standing Orders by stating in Citation 10:

House of Commons

Standing Orders may be suspended for a particular case without prejudice to their continued validity, for the House possesses the inherent power to destroy the self-imposed barriers and fetters of its own regulations. It may even pass an order prescribing a course of procedure inconsistent with the Standing Orders. A motion for such temporary suspension requires notice . . . , but in urgent cases the notice can be waived . . . Any alteration in the regular procedure may be made effective by force of a simple resolution. This is one of the characteristics of British procedure and it has contributed in no small degree to the elasticity of our parliamentary system.

Furthermore, there are several precedents of such occurrences in the Canadian House found in the Journals for March 16, 1883, June 1, 1898, April 8, 1948, April 24, 1961, and May 14, 1964. Clearly then both the authorities and our practices allow for our Standing Orders to be suspended or amended by motion on notice.

The Speaker was urged by many Members to rule on this matter by using Standing Order 1 and referring to traditional parliamentary practice in other jurisdictions, if applicable . . . the citation on page 212 of May's Twentieth Edition is worthy of repetition:

Standing Orders are not safeguarded by any special procedure against amendment, repeal or suspension, whether explicitly or by an Order contrary to their purport. Ordinary notice only is requisite for the necessary motion; and some Standing Orders have included arrangements for the suspension of their own provisions by a bare vote, without amendment or debate.

The Chair has also looked to the Australian practice as commented on by J. A. Pettifer in *House of Representatives Practice*. It is clear the Australian House does deal with such motions on a regular basis. Their Standing Orders specifically provide for the suspension of a Standing Order on notice. Such motions are debatable, amendable and

require only the majority of votes cast to be adopted. The Chair is reluctant to use this practice as a convincing authority because it is supported in Australia by a specific Standing Order. Reference to the Australian practice does, however, demonstrate that suspension of the Standing Orders is not foreign to other Houses in the Commonwealth."

That is the end of the extract from my earlier judgment. I should now address the two major new objections of the Hon. Member for Windsor West.

The Hon. Member is, of course, absolutely right in saying that the motion differs because it suspends Standing Order 78 which relates to legislative committees. The June 18 motion also suspended Standing Order 10, now renumbered 27(1), which denied the right of any Member to move a motion relating to extended hours. In my view, both motions did indeed suspend the calendar but they also suspended other Standing Orders.

[*Translation*]

As far as his argument that the proposal now before us is a permanent change, I must tell the Hon. Member that I cannot agree. The motion, if passed, would alter the Standing Orders for the duration of the First Session only. The duration is finite in keeping with Citation 21 of Beauchesne Fifth Edition and the motion does

House of Commons

provide for an earlier expiry on motion of a Minister of the Crown after the First Royal Assent of the Bill.

[*English*]

The concept of studying legislation in Committee of the Whole House is certainly not foreign to our practice. Since the reform of 1968, after which most Bills were referred to standing committees, the journals abound with Bills reviewed in Committee of the Whole. Since the creation of legislative committees, the House has often waived the Standing Orders and often resorted to the Committee of the Whole for expediting business. The difference between most of those examples and today is that the House proceeded by consent rather than by motion. However, as I stated earlier, both methods for reaching such decisions are valid and stand on their own, whether achieved by unanimous consent or by a majority decision.

The Hon. Member for Kamloops did refer to and agree with my June comments that any other ruling would render the House hostage to a single Member if the House was required to proceed only by unanimous consent. He went on to claim, however, that this manoeuvre by the Government was an abuse and usurped the rights of the minority. I have some difficulty in reconciling these two positions.

• (1200)

On the one hand he concedes the danger of tyranny by a minority, but he does object at least in this case to the role of the majority. Both the minority and the majority have rights; however, primacy cannot be given to both.

Having carefully reviewed the arguments of the Hon. Member for Windsor West and the Hon. Member for Kamloops, as well as those of the Hon. Minister of State, I must advise the House that I am not persuaded that the motion on the Order Paper is fundamentally different from the June proposal. It is therefore in order.

I said last June that sometimes hard cases make bad law. This is another hard case. I am not pleased as your presiding officer to put this question to the House; but it would be bad law to do otherwise. I said just a few days ago that I am your servant. I cannot rewrite or reinterpret the rules at the behest of the majority or the minority. I have, however, a duty that the minority be protected and heard.

Let me now address on that note the question of the acceptability of the notice of closure. Standing Order 57 reads in part as follows:

Immediately before the Order of the Day for resuming an adjourned debate is called . . . any Minister of the Crown who, standing in his or her place, shall have given notice at a previous

sitting of his or her intention so to do, may move that the debate shall not be further adjourned.

[*Translation*]

From a careful reading of this Standing Order, it is clear that the closure motion may only be moved "immediately before the Order of the Day for resuming and adjourned debate is called".

[*English*]

In addition, this may only be done if notice of the intention to move closure has been given orally in the House by a Minister of the Crown at a previous sitting. While the Standing Orders specify when the motion can be moved, and how notice is to be given, it is silent on when notice may be given.

The Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier argued yesterday that notice could only be given after debate had begun. Standing Order 57 does not specify this. However, a search of numerous previous instances where notice of closure was given—going back to 1913 when the rule was first introduced—has failed to reveal an occurrence where notice was given prior to debate having begun.

It can be argued that merely because this has not happened previously that that does not prevent it from being allowed in this instance; that the Standing Order does not specifically prohibit this and therefore it should be allowed.

After a very careful consideration of this point, I am more persuaded by the weight of precedent and practice. Taking into consideration the gravity of the measure to be invoked and the necessity of protecting the rights of the minority, it is my feeling and decision that the intention of the Standing Order as drafted and as it has been applied is to allow a majority to impose closure only after debate on the question has begun. This is to ensure that such debate is not unfairly or prematurely curtailed. In this instance, debate on the motion had clearly not begun when the Hon. Minister served notice.

In resumé therefore I find that the motion standing on the Order Paper in the name of the Hon. Minister of State is in order and may be moved and debated. However, I cannot accept the notice of closure on that motion as proposed by the same Hon. Minister yesterday. Such notice can only be given once debate on the motion has commenced.

Again, may I close by thanking all Hon. Members who assisted the Chair with this extremely difficult decision by offering me the benefits of their collective wisdom.

MOTION TO EXTEND HOURS OF SITTING

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board) moved:

That, notwithstanding any Standing Order or practice of the House, from the day of adoption of this motion the House will meet on the days and at the times specified in Standing Order 24, but not on December 26, 1988.

That, during such period, the Speaker shall adjourn the House on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at midnight and on Fridays at 3.00 o'clock p.m., and that the provisions of Standing Order 38 in relation to the adjournment proceedings shall be suspended.

That, during such period, the Standing Order respecting the daily mid-day interruption of business on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays shall not be suspended;

That, at 6.00 o'clock p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, or at the conclusion of Private Members' Business, the House shall proceed to "Government Orders" pursuant to Standing Order 40(1);

That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended, and all such Bills be ordered for referral to committee of the Whole; and

That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this Order.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I would like to begin my remarks, if I may, by not commenting on your ruling but suggesting that with respect to the second part we appreciated there was no precedent. We took the position nothing ventured, nothing gained. I have to say that, upon reflection, I am in complete agreement with the ruling in that everybody appreciates that closure is a measure which one does not want to use all that often. For that reason I think that your ruling, Mr. Speaker, was sound and will benefit this place for years to come.

I made my remarks with respect to this motion yesterday. While I know that my colleagues opposite will benefit from the wisdom of those remarks if I repeat them, I will not refer at too great length to them.

Let us just lay out for the House what we are doing. We have placed a motion on the Order Paper which suspends the parliamentary calendar so that we will not have the customary Christmas recess. We are going to expand the hours of debate so that my colleagues opposite will have an extra six hours a day Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday to debate. We provide in the motion that the legislation will be sent to a committee of the whole House.

Extension of Sittings

Yesterday, I kept my remarks to the procedural part of the debate. I think that my colleagues opposite will benefit from some background as to why we are debating this motion at this time.

On January 1, 1988, the Government of Canada entered into an historic agreement with the United States, an agreement which will eliminate trade barriers over the next 10 years and provide a dispute settlement mechanism. That treaty was the result of two years of hard bargaining by the two countries. We feel that, on balance, we achieved a good deal for Canada. Our opponents disagree. So we set about to draft legislation.

We introduced a Bill in the last Parliament, Bill C-130. We allowed time for the Bill to be considered by the public. The Bill was fully debated in Parliament. Committee hearings were held. One should note that they were terminated before the deadline set by Parliament. The Bill passed third reading and was sent to the Senate.

At that point the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) and his Party, who opposed the Bill from the start, said to the Liberal Senators: "Please hold up the Bill".

There were several quotes, Mr. Speaker, which were made in *Hansard*, in which the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition said: "Let the people decide". The key thing, Mr. Speaker, is that the people decided—absolutely decided.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Lewis: They decided.

What happened after the people decided? On November 23 the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition said that his Party will not block free trade legislation, the people have decided. "They want the deal", he said. Here is another quote: "The people are always right", Turner told a few hundred subdued reporters". "We will be restating our position on the matter", Turner said in Vancouver yesterday, "but you know that we let the people decide".

• (1210)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): On a point of order, the Hon. Member for York—South Weston.

Mr. Nunziata: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I know my seat has been moved, but I am down here. I am still here.

Extension of Sittings

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Well, if your colleagues would leave the room, I would be able to see you standing up. Now that I have recognized you, would you please state your point of order.

Mr. Nunziata: Mr. Speaker, I hope you are not commenting on my height.

I hope that the Hon. Minister will not intentionally mislead the House and Canadians by saying the people decided in favour of free trade.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

Mr. Nunziata: The fact is that the people—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Minister.

Mr. Lewis: I will repeat the quotation. It is from the *Ottawa Citizen* of November 23, 1988. "Liberal Leader John Turner said Tuesday his Party will not block free trade legislation. The people have decided". That is his quote. When can I do? It is his quote.

I want to give equal time to the Leader of the New Democratic Party because the day after the people decided, there were some quotes that should be put on the record. "The people of Canada have taken a decision and now Mr. Mulroney has the right to continue with his free trade legislation", Broadbent said". That is from the *Montreal Gazette* of November 23, 1988. It gets better. *The Globe and Mail*: "He conceded that the anti-free trade forces had been decisively defeated". "The Canadian people have taken a decision and Mr. Mulroney certainly has the right to continue with passage of free trade".

A lot of people have forgotten the word "churlish", but not the Leader of the New Democratic Party. He said "It would be churlish and inappropriate to say something should be done about that law at this stage". Churlish. So here we are. I know we have had some procedural manoeuvring, but I suggest to my colleagues opposite that we proceed to debate this motion. I can give an undertaking, if my colleagues opposite want—and I am not suggesting closure of this debate. I know my hon. friend from Ottawa Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) is ready to pounce. But I would suggest, given that the Chair has decided the motion is in order, that if my colleagues opposite wish to curtail the debate, that if everyone does not want to debate this—I was going to say "*ad nauseam*"—at length, then we would be prepared to vote on this immediately. We can then get on to expedite what the Leaders of both Opposition

Parties have said they want to do. They want to let us get on with the legislation. Why do we not get on with debate on the legislation?

Mr. Gauthier: Bad case.

Mr. Lewis: Would that not make sense to my hon. friend?

Mr. Riis: This is dictatorial, that is why.

Mr. Lewis: I suggest to the House that given all those quotes, all those deathless quotes from the Opposition about how we had the right to pass our legislation, that we get on with the debate on this motion, wrap it up as quickly as possible, and if we wrap it up before one o'clock, we can introduce the free trade legislation at three o'clock and get on with the debate. Surely, that is what we want. Surely, that is what we want to decide. Let us get on to the debate on the Bill.

In the alternative, we can debate this and eventually come to a vote. But if my hon. friends opposite want to debate the Bill rather than this motion, why not vote on it immediately?

Mr. Harvard: I rise on a point of order. I am a freshman MP and I am just wondering whether it is fair to a new rookie like me to have to listen to this kind of drivel.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Axworthy: It is a fair comment.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Minister.

Mr. Lewis: My hon. friend opposite has certainly picked up the natural arrogance of the Liberal Party very quickly.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Lewis: They used to be the natural governing Party. Now they are the natural arrogant Party. I do not know exactly what "drivel" he was referring to. I referred to several quotes from his Leader. Which of the quotes from his Leader did he consider to be the highest amount of drivel? Does he want me to repeat them?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Lewis: I can quote from the *Toronto Sun*: "We let the people decide and the people have decided", Turner told reporters". "Having stated our case, we will let the matter proceed". Is that the drivel you were referring to, Sir?

Extension of Sittings

Ms. Copps: You are not letting the matter proceed.

Mr. Harvard: Why do you not just close Parliament down?

Mr. Lewis: I could go on and repeat all these deathless quotes, but if my friends opposite want to get to debate on the Bill, why do we not debate the Bill? I do not think the case has to be put any more strongly. I suggest that we get on with a vote on this motion. Let us debate the Bill.

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week you had the honour to table our new Standing Orders, renumbered and reorganized. At our first sitting of this House, you gave us a copy of the Standing Orders, explained that there was a lot of hard work put into this reorganization and renumbering. We were happy because it does make more sense and it is easier to follow. But today we have a Government that says about those Standing Orders: "We don't think they are worth very much. We are going to make them disappear somewhere into the background. We are going to reinstate our position", which is limited debate, closure on debate, bang, whang, the Opposition doesn't count. The Government has a majority and, therefore, it has its own way. Those Members call that democracy. We call that dictatorship.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, the Tories have implemented with a certain arrogance that might even be malicious . . .

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Gauthier: I am getting all the little Quebeckers excited! You over there know what arrogance is—you have acted that way long enough!

Mr. Speaker, the saying they go by is, "The end justifies the means." That is a proverb you certainly know and it is the principle of brute force. According to this principle, the end sought can excuse the wrong done to the one who suffers from it. The Government does not like the Standing Orders of the House. They say that they cannot work with those Standing Orders, that they cannot even understand them, that they cannot go by them. So they drop the Standing Orders and table in the House a proposal to limit time for debate.

Unable as we also said to manage the time of the House, the Government is trying with its majority to impose a provision that would have us pass within a few days what we consider to be a bad deal for the country. So Members must not be heard criticizing the Government. No! We must not criticize! The Opposition should

not criticize! It is not right to criticize the Government. We must admit, Mr. Speaker, that they won the election, but we already know that! But even so, two Opposition parties in Canada got 57 per cent of the vote and these 57 per cent of the voters say no to the Mulroney-Reagan trade agreement, no to the deal, and it is our duty to tell this Government that with 43 per cent of the vote, it cannot continue with this mean-spirited arrogance of imposing its views, its way of seeing things, its methods, of using the Conservative bludgeon. That is what it is—a bludgeon. The Government is proposing to use it.

It is being used to lessen and cut off debate. It is used to ride roughshod over the Opposition, to undo what you would maintain, Mr. Speaker, the few powers a minority can have. The Conservative majority says that they will proceed speedily and have done with this question. But we tell them, we say again to them that we want to debate the motion. We want to debate this question and we are ready to do so. I have with me 81 colleagues who are prepared to make speeches today, tomorrow, on the weekend and next week and after Christmas to make this Government clearly understand that it is mistaken in making a proposal like this one.

• (1220)

[*English*]

This is the third time in 100 years that the Tories have put a motion to suspend the rules in order to force their way on Parliament. The first time was in 1888. A Conservative Government put a motion to suspend the rules in order to force a Bill through Parliament.

The most recent sad episode, of course, was in the spring of this year, in June, when the Government had a motion similar to the one before us today, forcing an extension of sittings into the summer and showing with great incompetence how it could not manage the time of the House.

The Government had the House sit in July and August until 10 o'clock at night. We called it legislation by exhaustion. The Government tried to exhaust us. It did not succeed. It exhausted its Members.

Now we have a proposal that seeks to accommodate those Members whom we did not see here in July or August. They were somewhere in the boondocks, sunning themselves. Here we have the same proposal to accommodate that same gang so that they can go somewhere south and sun their buns in the sun again, in

Extension of Sittings

order to accomplish what I do not think is possible, namely to fix the agenda of the House according to some timetable that some Members of the Tory Party had for holidays. I tell them to have a nice holiday but when they come back the House will be sitting again. Maybe they will have missed an important part of this debate, a democratic exercise which I think is very important.

We will have none of that. We will have none of that fixing of the agenda of the House of Commons to accommodate some Tory Member who wants to sun himself in the south.

Mr. Thacker: Sheer nonsense.

Mr. Gauthier: Let us get back to the open-ended, sloppy motion that we have before us. I want to take some time because it is indeed a motion that needs to be explained thoroughly. It is true that it has some similarity with the motion we debated in June, but it has other things we would like to explain to Members.

[*Translation*]

The motion can be summarized as follows: it seems to provide that the House will sit without interruption for an indefinite period.

Mr. Speaker said in his ruling that for him, the session was a definite period; therefore, the motion in question was acceptable.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to call your ruling into question or to reflect in any way on this judgement—I accept it. But I will remind you that a session can last as long as a parliament. We have already had parliaments that lasted only one session. We had one with the Conservative Government in 1979 that only lasted one session.

So there is nothing in this motion that says that this session will end some time, in January, February or March.

So the session could last as long as the present Parliament and end some time in 1992. That is what we meant, Mr. Speaker, when we said that this motion was open-ended and not time-limited.

The motion says that the House will not sit on December 26. That is the only day; obviously the day after Christmas, Sunday, December 25, is the 26th and the House would not sit then. But it would not adjourn on December 21 as provided in the Standing Orders of the House to resume its work on January 16 as the Standing Orders specify.

The motion makes it clear that the House would not adjourn at 6 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, but would continue sitting without interruption until midnight. The motion does not

indicate that the House would use these extended hours to study specifically Bill C-2 dealing with the Mulroney—Reagan Trade Agreement. It does not state anything to that effect.

This motion which calls for the consideration of this bill is not limited in any way by the proposal. The third paragraph of the motion states that, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills is suspended, and that all such Bills will be ordered for referral to a committee of the Whole.

Mr. Speaker, this would make it impossible for Members of the House to move amendments, for a committee of the Whole is not a forum where a political group represented in the House could submit a series of amendments for study. This is only possible during the clause by clause consideration by a Committee of the Whole.

Also, this motion would suspend the application of a Standing Order which requires the referral of all Bills to a specific committee that is independent from the House. It would also make it possible for the Government to go against a principle embodied in the rules of the House of Commons for the past 20 years. Over that 20-year period, the House has abandoned consideration of Bills in a Committee of the Whole. It is being done now through legislative committees, which is certainly a good thing, but the Government would like to suspend the relevant Standing Order and have the matter referred instead to a committee of the Whole.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to return to each of these provisions, because, on the one hand, whether it likes it or not, the Government cannot state that it is dealing in good faith, and on the other hand, these provisions contain some absolute nonsense. I will now deal with the latter.

At present, there is not a single committee in existence. According to our Standing Orders, within the first 10 sitting days after the commencement of each session, a striking committee must be appointed to determine exactly which Members will make up the standing committees. This has not been done. There is no possibility for ordinary Members or backbenchers to introduce Bills which would be subject to a random draw. It is the Chair, usually represented by the Deputy Speaker, that is responsible for this draw to establish the order of precedence; there can be no such draw on bills because no Standing Committee is sitting at present. I suggest therefore that paragraph 5 of this proposed motion is somewhat odd and absolutely out of order.

Extension of Sittings

[English]

I want to address every one of those paragraphs. I will number them because they need to be explained carefully. In my opinion, this motion, which strangely resembles the motion in June, was drafted hurriedly and in a sloppy fashion. Paragraph one, by accident or design states that the House will meet on the days and at the times specified in Standing Order 24. This precludes sitting on Saturdays or Sundays because the Standing Order speaks only of Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. We do not know the Government's real intentions, but it had better not try Saturday or Sunday sittings because the Standing Orders say that it cannot do so.

The Minister proposed to the House in his speech a few minutes ago that if we want to sit Saturday or Sunday, the Government is open to that kind of proposal. His own motion prevents that from happening. I cannot see how he can have it both ways. He cannot make a proposal for study by the House today which says we cannot sit any other day but the days called for by Standing Order 24, then make a proposal while on his feet saying that we can sit Saturday and Sunday. He will have to make up his mind on that one.

• (1230)

Paragraph two, and I will not read it because Hon. Members can follow it in the Order Paper, states that the Speaker shall adjourn the House at three o'clock on Fridays. This is already provided for in Standing Order 24. It is redundant, to say the least. It is another instance, therefore, of bad drafting by the Government and demonstrates the Government's inability to put its business before the House in an orderly and proper manner.

Mr. McDermid: You are reaching, J.-R.

Mr. Gauthier: No, I am not reaching, I am just trying to show how badly drafted this is. The Minister of housing, the Minister for the ill-housed, is trying to make a comment. I am not reaching, I am just making sure he understands that we have analysed this.

Mr. Allmand: The Minister for the homeless.

Mr. Gauthier: The Minister for the homeless, as he is called.

Mr. McDermid: That is a great filibuster.

Mr. Gauthier: It is not a filibuster. Democratically, I have time to speak on this motion. I have listened to the Minister carefully. I have limited time. If he wants me

to go on for an unlimited time, I can do that as well. I have all kinds of notes and tons of things to say, but if the Minister does not mind, I would rather that he keep quiet and give me a chance to put my comments.

Paragraph four of the motion refers to proceeding to Government Orders at 6 p.m. or at the conclusion of Private Members' Business. We know that there will be no Private Members' Business because there is no Private Members' Business before the House. Why was that put into the motion? I do not know, but again, it shows sloppiness and disorder in the Government's drafting of this motion.

Standing Orders 86 and 88 state that at least two weeks' notice must elapse before a Private Members' Notice of Motion or public Bill can be taken up. Hon. Members know that there are motions and Bills on the Order Paper right now. I have a few. I think I have five or six motions on the Order Paper myself because that is what we have to do. We put motions on the Order Paper so that we will have a chance of getting at least one pulled in the draw.

You know the game, Mr. Speaker. Twenty items are called, and if I want mine to be one of those called for debate at private Members' hour, I must put 20 or 25 notices on the Order Paper so that I will get a chance to have one drawn. However, there will not be a draw for two weeks. Yet the motion deals with Private Members' Business. That again is an example of bad drafting, unless the Government intends us to sit through January, February, and March, but at least for two weeks hence. If the Government intends that, it should say so openly. It should not give us this business of saying that Private Members' Business is suspended. It cannot be suspended because it does not exist. This again is a matter of simple, common logic.

We on this side must assume that this motion was put in order to expedite the passage of the Government's so-called free trade Bill through the House. Are we also to assume that the Government intends the Bill to be before the House for longer than two weeks? I suppose that is a logical conclusion since government Members are basing their arguments for the proposal that is before us on the assumption of two weeks at least. Are we also to assume that the Government intends the Bill to proceed without any Private Members' Business being dealt with in the House, or does the Government intend the motion to be extended indefinitely, for God only knows how long? However, the motion does not say that.

Extension of Sittings

Has the Government other threats or forces in store for us besides the free trade Bill? I ask what else the Government has in its little Christmas bag. Will it make us happy and give us some legislation other than Bill C-2? The Minister says, "Watch me, trust me". Well, I do not mind watching him, but I do not trust him very much.

Paragraph five of the motion suspends Standing Orders 73(1) and 73(2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills, not just the free trade Bill but all Public Bills. We had a Ways and Means Motion before the House a couple of days ago, dealing with the free trade Bill, and if this order is still in effect some weeks hence, there may also be some Private Members' Business before the House. However, the motion suspends Standings Orders 73(1) and 73(2). It is another example of some pretty sloppy drafting.

If, in two weeks hence, there is a Private Member's Bill before the House during private Members' hour, we all know that it should go to a legislative committee, but because of this order of the Government, it will not be able to. It would go to a Committee of the Whole House. That does not make any sense. We abolished that 20 years ago.

Paragraph six states that after the House returns from the Senate following the first Royal Assent of this Session, a Minister of the Crown may, and I emphasize may, propose to rescind this order. The motion reads "may", not "shall". As pointed out yesterday in debate, if a Minister does propose this, it is a motion that is debatable, amendable and votable. How do we know how those people on the Government side will vote? When they come back from their little holidays, they may want to stay here for the whole of January because it is too cold outside. They may want to stay here until February, who knows. However, nothing in the motion provides that a Minister shall rescind the order. It provides that he may. It is not very difficult to understand. It is permissive.

If the Government chooses not to have Royal Assent until some time in June or next summer or next fall, nothing will happen. The Minister would not be able to move to rescind the order, even if he thought he should move to rescind it, because we would not have had a Royal Assent.

We do not do Royal Assent for every Bill we pass in the House. We do not want to disturb the Senate too often, so we gather a few Bills together and take a little walk down there for Royal Assent when there are several Bills requiring Royal Assent. How do we know when Royal Assent will be held? No one knows that.

This motion is so poorly drafted—

Mr. Nunziata: So what?

Mr. Gauthier: So poorly drafted.

Mr. Nunziata: I thought you called it pornographic.

Mr. Gauthier: Oh, no, it could be that too, but I will let you speak to that. I will stick with the facts.

I was saying that the motion is so poorly drafted that it is not possible for members of the Opposition to know what the Government intends, in what manner it intends to proceed, in what manner it would like Hon. Members of the House to proceed. It is not clear.

It being Christmas in a few days, we must presume that the motion is simply the latest example of the Government's inability to manage its business in the House. The latest example of incompetence and sloppiness was shown yesterday when government Members tried to move closure while they did not have the authority to do so. It is not for us to tell them what to do, but we would hope that some day they would get their act together and do things as they should be done.

Today is Thursday, December 15, at least three days into the session, and we are discussing a motion that would impose the will of the majority on the minority, that would settle a dispute between 160 elected government Members and some 130-odd elected Members on this side of the House who feel that—

An Hon. Member: That is a stretch.

Mr. Gauthier: Well, 82 plus 43 is 125. I said 130, but we may win a couple of these judicial reviews that are being held. One never knows, our numbers may go up by a few.

I believe it would be less than charitable—

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I hereby give notice that at the next sitting of the House, immediately before the Order of the Day is called for resuming debate on the motion that is government business No. 1 on the Order Paper and on any amendments proposed thereto, I will move that the debate shall not be further adjourned.

While I am on my feet, I wish to advise Hon. Members that immediately after Question Period, the Government intends to call the free trade legislation, Bill C-2.

Mr. Gauthier: There we have an example of a Notice of Motion that is in order. They are learning. I would hope that—

Mr. Lewis: We now have it on highest authority.

Mr. Gauthier: No, no, I just want to give Hon. Members an example of what happened prior to this debate starting, going back to Tuesday evening. We were told in the House by the same Minister who just sat down that a letter had been sent to our House Leader proposing certain ways and means of disposing with legislation.

• (1240)

I stood up and said that I did not recall seeing that letter and I did not recall my House Leader receiving a letter. I asked what the Minister was talking about and said that I would like to reserve our comments. I walked out of here and, believe it or not, we were having House negotiations by means the press—we were having as we say in French—

[*Translation*]

—“negotiation through the belly”.

At that point the Government could not pretend they had sent a letter. Hardly a few minutes after coming into this House, the Minister sent a letter to this Party advising us of a proposal. He then rose in this House to suggest the letter was out. That letter had not been received, although the media, outside this place, had got the letter, Mr. Speaker. They had the letter, they had the proposal. The Minister thought he might get away with this. I went to see him and told him: Listen, this makes no sense. Where is the letter?

I then got a copy. On December 12, 1988, at 6:25 p.m., Mr. Speaker, nearly some 15 to 20 minutes after he announced it in this House.

[*English*]

The letter in question that we got later in the evening had already been given to the media. The Member wonders why we are kind of upset sometimes with his methods of negotiation. If you want to tell me something, Mr. Speaker, I know you will tell me directly right here and that you will do it properly. You will not tell the CBC, CTV or some other media that you have

Extension of Sittings

sent me a letter which I have not received. You would have the decency to make sure that those to whom the letter is addressed have received it. But not the Government.

The Government wonders why we are upset. That is a heck of a way to start a session having media intermediaries tell us what is going on. We do not like it. The Government should not be doing it. It is a bad way to negotiate. The letter with that notice was not done properly and the Government has indisposed many of us by doing that.

Let us finish with this motion, Mr. Speaker.

[*Translation*]

This motion, well now we feel it is wrong, incomplete, utterly ill-drafted, we cannot support it because it is not at this point easy to understand. It is not correct at this point either, Mr. Speaker, because it refers to all kinds of things that do not hold together and that will not be able to hold together, because hopefully we will not proceed the way the Government intends to. I will leave it at this, since the Government gave notice and other Members may have something to say about it. I will therefore yield to speakers from the New Democratic Party. But I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of this side of the House, that Liberal Members will oppose the proposal.

[*English*]

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, if you listen carefully you can hear the muffled sound of jackboots in this place this morning.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: It is the kind of sound you attach to a dictatorial government. It is the kind of sound that you expect from totalitarian regimes which do not like Parliaments, votes or listening to people with opposing views. I am very sad today as I look across the aisle in the House of Commons of Canada.

Before I begin my remarks, which are not going to be pleasant remarks regarding this Government, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that if the Government wanted to debate free trade legislation today, why did it not have the debate begin at 11 o'clock this morning? We were here. We were gathered and we were prepared to debate. The Leaders of the opposition Parties were prepared to debate. But, no, the Government pulled a little procedural trick to force votes.

Extension of Sittings

In the Standing Orders are Routine Proceedings which give some kind of order to this place so that we can run it in a business-like way, but the Government said it was going to change that and ripped out that particular page of the order book. The Government is starting to rip out other pages. Here is the section that says the Orders of the Day in terms of debate will end at 6 p.m. That page will be torn out. Then where it says we will recess during Christmas, the Government has torn out that page as well. Where does it end? If we give this band of parliamentary assassins another four years they will have every bloody page in this order book torn out and there will be no more pages. That is the kind of tyranny which this Government is pushing toward every single day.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: This is almost parliamentary madness that we are experiencing. When was the last time a government did what this group of parliamentary assassins is doing today? The Government did it last summer, but then you have to go back decades to March 16, 1883. That was the last government which said it was going to throw out the Standing Orders, rip them up and suspend them. One hundred plus years have passed. We now have another band of parliamentary assassins and the Standing Orders that govern this place and enable us to do the business of this country properly in a business-like way have now been tossed out the window.

There are still a few pages left in this book of Standing Orders, but they are disappearing by the week.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: How did we get this book, Mr. Speaker? How did all of these Standing Orders which govern this place originate? It was a fine moment of Parliament when after months and months of deliberation, thoughtful caring deliberation, Members of the Conservative, the Liberal and the New Democratic Parties unanimously agreed on the way to do business and on the way the business of the House of Commons ought to be conducted. That was done after hundreds and thousands of hours of thoughtful discussion and debate. We had a unanimous decision, which does not often occur in this place, but we did and it was a very proud moment. I remember the day. A cheer went up in the House of Commons because of the tremendous amount of work that had been done by some extremely talented parliamentarians. But that was all for naught, Mr. Speaker.

The Conservatives say that they now have a slight majority which gives them the right to abuse this place.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Riis: Why are we surprised? I know that you will remember the day which was one of the darkest, dreariest, most damning days of this Parliament when the Conservatives said: "We don't like what is going on". They stormed the Chair, your chair. You are the servant of this House and they said "We don't like what is going on so we are going to disrupt Parliament". Conservatives were there shaking their hands and their fists. I am proud to say there was not a single New Democrat.

Mr. Nunziata: There was not a single Liberal either.

Mr. Riis: And not a single Liberal. There was a whole band of these assassins, if you like, smashing their fists on the table and pushing their fists into your face.

Mr. Nunziata: Were they wearing black boots?

Mr. Riis: No, they were not. But that is not all we can expect from this group on the other side of the House.

You can remember not long ago when they decided to close this place down. The Conservatives did not want to have a Parliament of Canada. They did not want to have a Question Period or an opportunity for debate. They were concerned because of a decision the Liberal Government had taken. They said: "We are going to fix the Parliament of Canada. We will shut it down". It was shut down for one, two, three, four, five and six days while the bells rang. This went on for seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve days, day after day. The Speaker had to sit in the chair all the time. You will remember, Sir, that that is the kind of behaviour the Conservatives have demonstrated time and time again, and here today we see it once more. When I say "Listen, one can hear the jackboots coming down the hallways", that is absolutely true, Mr. Speaker. We are getting closer and closer to a form of tyranny that the country has never seen before.

● (1250)

The Government states that it has an obligation to pass this legislation. There is no requirement that this legislation pass before January 1. We all know that. The Americans know that, Canadians know that, and all parliamentarians know that. The Government has this silly and arrogant attitude that it is going to show the Opposition Members, and jam this legislation through—rush it, ram it, jam it.

Extension of Sittings

What type of legislation are we talking about, Mr. Speaker? Are we talking about a silly little Bill? Are we talking about a simplistic order of business? No. We are talking about legislation that will profoundly alter the structure of the economy of the country. This legislation will profoundly affect and redirect the social, cultural, and political future of this country. This is legislation that we should study carefully.

There is no question that the majority exists by the Conservative Government to pass this legislation. My Leader, the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) has stated that the Government has the right now to introduce this legislation and proceed with it. However, there is a difference between proceeding with it in a matter of hours in some silly, nonsensical way that we are doing now rather than dealing with it in a thoughtful, positive, and caring manner. That is what parliamentarians were elected to do. They were not elected to rip up the Order Paper and toss it out, or sit here on Christmas Eve and on the day after Boxing Day late at night to 2 a.m. to attempt to debate this legislation.

When one thinks about this legislation, it will profoundly change a whole number of major statutes in our country. For example, the Bank Act, the statutes affecting agriculture, industry, regional development, broadcasting, and trust companies. One could go on and on. We are not going to have time to discuss it seriously. There will not be witnesses coming in. I challenge any single Member across the way and ask if he or she knows what this is going to do?

Mr. McDermid: What new things are you going to say?

Mr. Riis: As well as the person that is always yelling and mouthy, Mr. Speaker. Do Members across the way know what this will do to the Broadcasting Act of Canada? When I sit down in a few moments Hon. Members will have a chance to stand up and tell us. I want someone to tell us if he or she understands what this is going to do to the Bank Act.

Mr. McDermid: Yes, certainly.

Mr. Riis: I wonder.

Mr. McDermid: It's positive for Canada.

Mr. Riis: I doubt it. That is why we need the opportunity for the legislative committee to invite expert witnesses to come forward and outline what this legislation will do. Oh, no, do Members opposite want expert

witnesses? No, they do not. However, Mr. Speaker, why should we be surprised that the Conservative Government does not want to hear anybody who understands this Bill? When the Government introduced the child care legislation, it brought in witnesses. Every single witness stated that it was stupid legislation. Did the Government Members listen to those witnesses?

Mr. Allmand: No, they rammed it through.

Mr. Riis: They rammed it through again. What type of place has this become where the Government invites whole numbers of experts in the area of child care, listens to them, and then ignores everything that they say. That is the way the Government does business. Why is it that the Government does not want to hear a single witness about the trade deal? Why does the Government not want to listen to a single witness about the enabling legislation? Because the Government knows that it will ignore their advice anyway. Therefore, the government Members say: "Forget about it. Let's just jam it through here".

In this business one should not make predictions, but I am going to. I predict that the Conservative Government will invoke the heavy, brutal hand of closure at every stage of the trade legislation. We have already seen the Government attempt to slip it in yesterday prematurely, and not knowing the rules of the House the Speaker had to rule it out of order, however the Speaker did it at the next opportunity so there is closure even on this debate. This debate is to tear up the Standing Orders, suspend them, throw them out the window, and allow this majority to do whatever it wants. Is that really in the best interests of Canada? Because the Conservative Government has a majority of Members in the House of Commons, it now believes that it can do anything that it wants, throw out the window the Standing Orders and the rules that govern this place. Is that the type of Parliament, House of Commons, and Government that Canadians want? I say no.

If there was a need to recall Parliament during the Christmas recess to discuss this trade deal, there is a provision in the Standing Orders that permits it. Standing Order 28(3) gives the Speaker of the House of Commons the right to recall Parliament if there is an emergency or some need. If the Government, following the traditional Standing Orders, could make a case to the Speaker who was duly elected by the Members of

S. O. 31

Parliament to be our servant, and convince the Speaker that it is necessary and in the best interests of this country to recall Parliament to deal with the trade legislation, that could be done. The Speaker has the right to do that. However, no, forget the Speaker of the House of Commons. That is what this motion does, Mr. Speaker, it states that your chair is not worth anything because your advice is not worth anything. The Government is much smarter in terms of determining the priorities than the duly elected servant of the House of Commons. The Government ignores the Speaker, ignores Standing Order 28(3), it is going to decide when the House sits and how the business is conducted.

What is the next order of business? I wonder if next week the Minister of State for the Treasury Board or the Deputy House Leader will rise and state that the Conservatives have decided to do away with Question Period. "We do not like Question Period. The questions are too tough, we look too silly during Question Period, so we are going to do away with it." Presumably that will be the next motion that we will debate. The Government is then going to say: "What is all this business about having to sit in the House of Commons all year long? We will just come for a couple of days of the year to transact some business. What about allowing Members of Parliament to speak freely in debate? We should do away with debate." The Government has the right, presumably, to do that.

One hundred years passed in this country before the Government decided to invoke this type of change of the way we do business, to set aside and suspend the rules to allow it to proceed with its partisan political agenda. If that partisan agenda now suggests that we should do away with Question Period, presumably that is what will happen. If there has ever been an example of the abuse by the majority on the minority, this is it.

I do not believe that our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) understands what parliamentary democracy is all about. I do not think the Prime Minister of Canada cares how the Parliament of Canada ought to operate. There is a role for the Official Opposition. We grant the fact that the Government of Canada was elected with a majority to govern. There are rows and rows of Opposition Members who were elected to provide thoughtful and effective opposition. That is what we are attempting to do, but we are not allowed to do it. We are not allowed to follow the usual rules.

We are disappointed that expert witnesses will not be able to come before us and explain the effect of this

enabling legislation on critical pieces of legislation. We are concerned that we are now going to have to legislate by exhaustion. For some mysterious reason the Government decides that, if it can keep us here all day and half the night day after day, this is the way to jam, ram, and bash this legislation through the House of Commons.

An Hon. Member: Poor you.

Mr. Riis: I am prepared to sit here for the next six years to debate this. However, I cannot believe that Members opposite, without naming them, actually in their hearts believe that this is the way to conduct business. I cannot believe the Members opposite actually believe that this is the right thing to do. If Members opposite believe in the institution of Parliament, they cannot believe that this is an appropriate mechanism for the Government now to be injecting. I challenge government Members, if they are serious about the debate, why were we not debating this today at 11 o'clock.

I challenge those Members opposite at three o'clock to rise in their place and explain what this legislation will do to the Bank Act, the Trust Act—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Before I leave the chair, the Hon. Member will have seven minutes left in his debate, plus 10 minutes for questions and comments.

It being one o'clock, I do now leave the Chair until two o'clock p.m.

The House took recess at 1 p.m.

AFTER RECESS

The House resumed at 2 p.m.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[*English*]

WORLD BANK
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STUDY REQUIREMENT

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, in September the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) addressed the International Monetary Fund and World Bank meeting, held in Berlin, at which time he committed Canada to the principle of sustainable development and to changing World Bank policies so that environmental impact studies are done before projects are approved.

The Minister of Finance will have an opportunity to back his words with action when, in January, 1989, the World Bank will decide upon an application by Brazil for a \$625 million loan to build dams, which project will flood rain forests and destroy the way of life of native Indians.

How will Canada vote on that application?

If the Minister meant what he said in Berlin, Canada must vote against this project and lobby other nations to join us. Canada must not support further destruction of tropical rain forests.

In urging the Minister of Finance to live up to his commitment and have Canada vote against this loan to Brazil, we want to emphasize that his credibility, and Canada's, are on the line.

* * *

[Translation]

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

MATANE PAPER-MILL PROJECT

Mr. Jean-Luc Joncas (Matapédia—Matane): Mr. Speaker, the people in my riding have learned with enormous satisfaction that the federal Government has agreed to participate financially in the development of a regional paper mill project in Matane. As our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) had already promised in this House, the Conservative Government did not waste 20 years before reacting positively and supporting in a concrete fashion this major project for the enhancement of this long overlooked and disadvantaged area.

The Free Trade Agreement with our American neighbours will undoubtedly make it possible to consolidate this project and continue to encourage the inflow of foreign capital, which will enable us to process our own raw material and ensure, through job creation, a better economic future for all my constituents.

May I take this opportunity to offer my best wishes for this holiday season to my constituents and express to them my gratitude for their support during the recent elections.

[English]

S. O. 31

FISHERIES

WEST COAST FISH PROCESSING REGULATIONS

Mrs. Mary Collins (Capilano—Howe Sound): Mr. Speaker, if one goes to Japan and asks local residents what they associate with British Columbia, more often than not mention will be made of our fish products, with particular emphasis on the outstanding taste and quality of our British Columbia coastal salmon.

As you well know, Mr. Speaker, this is a reputation that we in British Columbia want to maintain, and that is why it is so important to have in place regulations which ensure the highest standards of quality control for all fish products.

Thus, as our Government pursues with the United States measures to replace the old fish processing regulations on the West Coast, which were found to be in violation of the GATT, we must put forward proposals which maintain controls over our fish exports, thus allowing us to ensure conservation of the resource while producing a healthy and safe product for consumers.

Only in this way can we continue to pursue new markets, confident of the quality of our British Columbia salmon.

* * *

FORESTRY

CALL FOR CREATION OF SEPARATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. Brian L. Gardiner (Prince George—Bulkley Valley): Mr. Speaker, the Report of the Auditor General points out serious problems in the Canadian Forestry Service. Five provinces were studied, including Vander Zalm's British Columbia.

In its first value-for-money audit of the Service, the Auditor General's Office found that guidelines are not being followed and that the NSR is continuing to grow.

The report points out the clear mismanagement of the Forestry Service by the Progressive Conservative Government.

I call upon the Government to create a full-fledged Ministry of Forests and to provide that Department with some legislative reality.

S. O. 31

We cannot wait until another election for a FRDA 2 agreement to be signed. We need action now to help solve the forestry problems in British Columbia and in my riding of Prince George—Bulkley Valley.

* * *

• (1405)

CANADA POST CORPORATION

RURAL POST OFFICES—SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF
RURAL DIGNITY ORGANIZATION

Ms. Catherine Callbeck (Malpeque): Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I speak in the House today on behalf of an organization that has worked diligently for the past two years for a cause which I wholeheartedly support. The organization, Rural Dignity, has concerned itself with the preservation of the rural post office.

In a rural community the post office serves as a focal point. I have spent the better part of my life living in rural Prince Edward Island and I know what a necessity the post office is to my community and its surrounding area.

Today, Rural Dignity is celebrating two years of existence, an existence which has dedicated itself to the education of government and citizens alike on the value of the post office in rural Canada. I know members of my Party join with me today as we acknowledge the second anniversary of this organization, and I invite all Members of this House to commemorate this necessary and worthy cause.

* * *

[*Translation*]

HUMAN RIGHTS

BICENTENNIAL OF FRENCH REVOLUTION

Mr. Fernand Jourdenais (La Prairie): Mr. Speaker, as a land where freedom flourishes, Canada is an oasis where individual rights are now protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

We are proud and happy to enjoy freedom in every sense of the word. Thanks to the French régime, we are heirs to lofty principles of freedom and equality.

In this context, we will have an opportunity in a few days to commemorate the 200th Anniversary of the French Revolution. Mr. Speaker, forty years ago, French Professor René Cassin, who now rests in the Panthéon, drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights together with Mr. John Humphrey, a great Canadian who played a predominant role in the fight for human rights.

Today, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and I want to pay tribute to the recipient of the United Nations Human Rights Prize for his contribution to the affirmation and development of human rights both nationally and internationally.

* * *

[*English*]

CANADIAN SPACE AGENCY

CONSULTATION SOUGHT ON POSSIBLE LOCATION

Ms. Marlene Catterall (Ottawa West): Mr. Speaker, two years ago space industry representatives welcomed the news that a Canadian Space Agency would be established. A year later they were accusing Ottawa of playing politics, and dragging its heels, causing confusion, uncertainty, and investment holdbacks in space activities.

A well-established agency will create a strong international presence, keep our industry at the leading edge, and ensure every region in Canada benefits from our investment in space. The space industry is now found in all regions, from Vancouver to Halifax, supported on a foundation of research in federal Departments and agencies.

Members from Ottawa-Carleton have written the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) requesting a full briefing for all Members on this important issue of our space program. I call upon the Prime Minister to consult with industry representatives from across the country to seek their advice and to ensure that the space agency is established in the best interests of the industry and in the national interest.

ENERGY

CAROLINE, ALTA.—\$600 MILLION GAS REFINERY AND SULPHUR PROCESSING PLANT

Mr. Doug Fee (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me today to share with this House my pleasure about an announcement made a few days ago concerning my riding of Red Deer.

The Caroline Area Gas Development Group, fourteen companies headed by Shell Canada, has announced a proposal to proceed with a \$600 million development, including a natural gas refinery and sulphur processing plant near Caroline, Alberta.

Over 1,200 construction jobs will be created.

There will be permanent employment for 150 people locally and over \$17 million a year pumped into our local economy.

There is no federal Government funding in this project. These 14 companies are confidently investing in their future because they believe they can compete.

With renewed confidence in government policy and more secure access to U.S. markets to be gained from the Free Trade Agreement, Canadians are going to see more projects like this one in Caroline.

* * *

• (1410)

[Translation]

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

COMMUNITIES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Mr. Michel Champagne (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for External Relations): Mr. Speaker, the residents of the Des Cheneaux-Mekinac region are proud and believe they can look forward to challenging social and economic development opportunities.

This is why my Government, responding to meet the aspirations of our people, has earmarked \$2.3 million under the Community Futures Program.

As they carry out this project, community groups are setting up the structure and the financial mechanism which will pave the way for a more diversified local economy and, in turn, for new and permanent jobs as well as better living conditions. Mr. Speaker, this is yet more evidence that our Government believes in regional development, diversification and, above all, success

S. O. 31

through the direct participation of responsible people who are quite prepared to face up to challenges and promote local initiatives.

* * *

[English]

INDIAN AFFAIRS

FIRE-FIGHTING FACILITIES ON RESERVES

Mr. Ray Funk (Prince Albert—Churchill River): Mr. Speaker, while visiting the 23 Indian communities in Prince Albert—Churchill River, I was often struck by the level of human misery which we permit in this rich country.

On November 25, seven-year old Colleen Fern died in a fire on the Fond Du Lac Indian Reserve in my constituency. Four days later, on November 29, three and a half-year old Jordan Sumner died in a fire on the Fairford Indian Reserve in Manitoba.

In both cases the available fire-fighting equipment and the training of the fire-fighters were far short of what was required.

This situation amounts to criminal negligence. Surely if the trustee relationship we have with the Indian people means anything it should mean that the Government of Canada will move immediately to ensure that Indian families in our country do not have to go to bed this winter with the fear that the fire-fighters in their communities do not have the tools to do the job.

Do any more children have to die before the Government acts?

* * *

[Translation]

FREE TRADE

IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTING TREATY

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): On a number of occasions, Mr. Speaker, the socialist NDP leader asked that the whole question of free trade be put before the electorate. He kept saying: Let the people decide.

After the elections the socialist NDP leader stated: In keeping with our parliamentary tradition, Canadians have decided and Mr. Mulroney now has the right and the mandate to have the free trade legislation passed.

S. O. 31

Mr. Speaker, the socialist NDP leader has known for months that January 1, 1989 is the date of implementation of the Free Trade Agreement and, last November 21, the people gave the Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) a clear mandate to carry it out.

* * *

[English]

TRADE

UNITED STATES TARIFF ON CANADIAN SOFTWOOD LUMBER

Mr. Len Hopkins (Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke): Mr. Speaker, the softwood lumber industry in many parts of Canada is in serious trouble today because of the reckless and insensitive wheeling and dealing of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and members of his Cabinet.

The Government caved in to the political pressures of the United States two years ago and imposed a 15 per cent export tax on Canadian softwood lumber destined for the United States. The Memorandum of Understanding signed on December 30, 1986, contained so many exceptions that most lumber enterprises were confused.

The Prime Minister and his then Trade Minister refused to give the Canadian industry a chance to fight its own case to prove that no countervail action was justified and, hence, that a 15 per cent export tax should in any way be levied.

The Prime Minister wanted a trade deal with the United States so badly that he simply caved in and sold out the Canadian softwood lumber industry. Equally as bad, he sold out the workers in the industry. The situation today, in particular in Ontario, is serious.

Because of the 15 per cent export tax and the damage that a higher priced Canadian dollar is doing to the Canadian softwood lumber industry, many less efficient American producers are taking over traditional Canadian markets as far south as Tennessee. In the meantime

millions and millions of feet of softwood lumber are piling up as inventory in lumber yards across Canada.

I call upon the Prime Minister and his Government to negotiate their way out of the Memorandum of Understanding with the United States, a document which they should not have signed in the first place.

To the Prime Minister I say: Get with it and support Canadians.

* * *

[Translation]

HARMONY

IMPORTANCE FOR PEOPLE

Mr. Marcel R. Tremblay (Québec-Est): Mr. Speaker, the holiday season is the best time to see that people get together to express their solidarity and their desire for peace.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend the young musicians from my riding, Harmonie de la Polyvalente La Camaradière directed by Mr. Jean-Marie Samson, and the Duberger choir led by Mr. Jean Robitaille, for the outstanding performance they gave us on December 11. It was a real Christmas spectacle under the direction of Master of Ceremonies Michel Ross.

Mr. Speaker, this concert was a timely reminder that traditions remain as strong as ever, and that with the participation and willingness of everybody we can show to the world that the quest for harmony is a worthy endeavour.

* * *

[English]

NEW MEMBER

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to inform the House that the Clerk of the House has received from the Chief Electoral Officer a certificate of the election and return of Jack Iyerak Anawak, Esquire, Member for the electoral district of Nunatsiaq.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

NEW MEMBER INTRODUCED

Jack Iyerak Anawak, Member for the electoral district of Nunatsiaq, introduced by the Right Hon. John Turner and Ms. Ethel Blondin.

• (1415)

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

TRADE

UNITED STATES TARIFF ON CANADIAN SOFTWOOD LUMBER

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. In December of 1986, the Government knuckled under to pressure from the American lumber industry and signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the United States to impose a 15 per cent export tax on Canadian softwood lumber shipments into the United States. The Government has incorporated that understanding and perpetuated that 15 per cent tax by reason of Article 2009 of the proposed trade agreement with the United States.

Since January, 1987, the value of the Canadian dollar has increased by over 15 per cent as against the American dollar. This combined with the 15 per cent export tax puts every sawmill in Canada in financial jeopardy and puts at risk hundreds of thousands of Canadian jobs. It is estimated that many plants will shut down over the winter in northern Ontario and central British Columbia alone.

Will the Government table its plan to meet this growing crisis? And what does the Prime Minister intend to do about it?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, once again the Hon. Leader of the Opposition brings up an unfortunate occurrence that would likely not have occurred, or could have been considerable ameliorated, if we had had the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement in effect when this incident occurred.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie (St. John's West): One has to ask oneself, if the Leader of the Opposition is genuinely concerned about these kinds of situations, why has he

Oral Questions

opposed the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement as he has? Why is he obstructing the House of Commons now in our attempts to get the legislation passed before the end of the year? Why does he not co-operate if he wishes to help the softwood industry in Canada?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, it is quite obvious the Minister has not read the agreement even now. He says this never would have happened had we had the agreement. Article 2009 re softwood lumber reads:

"The Parties agree that this Agreement does not impair or prejudice the exercise of any rights of enforcement measures arising out of the Memorandum of Understanding on Softwood Lumber of December 30, 1986."

It incorporated this understanding into the agreement. I do not know how we deal with a Minister who is not in charge and control of his own dossier. I do not know how we deal with it.

• (1420)

CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Let me put a reasonable proposition to the Minister in the current circumstances. Will not the Government at least negotiate with the Americans to ensure that the change in the relative values of our exchange rates is somehow taken into account in the imposition of this tax? In other words, will the Government of Canada attempt to ensure that the tax of 15 per cent is indexed against the changing difference in the comparative values of our dollars so that the industry is not faced with a double penalty?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, frankly, I do not know how the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition could ever claim that he had read the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. If he had read it his campaign would not have proceeded in the last 10 weeks as it did proceed.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I am answering the question of a failed crusader, of course. I might point out that—

Mr. Tobin: What about the crusade in Newfoundland, John? What about Newfoundland?

An Hon. Member: Tell us about Atlantic Canada.

Mr. Crosbie: There are the crusaders. They are still crusading. They have crusaded themselves right into an

Oral Questions

unpalatable situation in the last couple of days. They cannot accept defeat. It is time they realized that the election was won by the Government.

Mr. Speaker: The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, I suppose that is the best the Minister can do. You have one final strike ahead of you, Mr. Minister.

[Translation]

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the Government's attitude is absolutely unacceptable. One of Canada's largest industries is being wiped out. The facts are there; saw mills are closing down across the country, including Quebec, and Canadians are losing their jobs. But the Government does not want to do anything.

Why is the Government of Canada including this 15 per cent tax in the trade agreement with the United States? Why does it not insist on negotiating with the Americans to exclude this tax from the agreement? Why is the Government not prepared to defend workers throughout the country, especially in the lumber industry?

[English]

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, one of the virtues of the Free Trade Agreement is that it will help the forest industry of Canada tremendously in the future—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: —as testified to by the support of companies such as Abitibi Price during the recent election campaign, which made that clear in their advertising.

The FTA simply grandfathered the Memorandum of Understanding on softwood lumber which had been entered into before the FTA was concluded. The Free Trade Agreement is not retroactive, but this is a problem that can be assisted by the provinces. If there is a great problem because of the change in exchange rates, then the provinces have an opportunity with respect to their stumpage rates or other means of helping their own forest industries.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): They cannot change their stumpage. You know it.

Mr. Crosbie: The forest industries of this country, of course, are the forest resources owned by the provinces. This is a situation that could have been prevented had we had our U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement earlier.

* * *

INDUSTRY

GILLETTE CANADA—ANNOUNCED PLANT CLOSURES

Mrs. Sheila Finestone (Mount Royal): Mr. Speaker, Gillette Canada has been a profitable blade and toiletries manufacturer in Canada for 85 years. It enjoys 72 per cent of the consumer market and has never missed a dividend payment. It has been a good corporate citizen until now.

Two days after the election, Gillette announced closure of its Montreal and Toronto plants, putting 600 workers directly out of work, and hundreds more indirectly because of loss of suppliers' contracts. Why did the Government not take any action to try to stop these close-downs of these two profitable plants? What message was sent to the consumers and workers of Gillette and to corporate Canada that indicates our dissatisfaction with this kind of behaviour? Is not the Government's *laissez faire* attitude sending a wrong message to corporate Canada?

• (1425)

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, Gillette undertook, as many reasonable and decent companies do, a thorough review of its operations. I would like to tell the Hon. Member that those operations include 61 manufacturing plants spread over 28 countries in a very competitive, global environment, an environment in which we want to be present and active through agreements like the Free Trade Agreement.

We find that Gillette, after a careful examination of those 61 plants, decided to close plants not only in Canada but in the United States, in Argentina, in Brazil, in Australia and in Great Britain. It is to make sure that the company remains a sound corporate citizen world-wide and responsive to the needs of its employees.

Mrs. Finestone: Mr. Speaker, I did not know that the President of the Treasury Board was a member of the Gillette board of directors and was giving us the Gillette board report. I was not asking for that and the workers

of Canada were not asking for that. They have been profitable workers for the company.

[*Translation*]

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mrs. Sheila Finestone (Mount Royal): Mr. Speaker, why could our Government not show the same courage as the Government of France and show its disagreement with this procedure? You lack courage!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mrs. Finestone: Our Government issued no ultimatum to show its disagreement with this shutdown. Tell me, do you not think that workers and consumers find your attitude unfair? My question is: Does the Government want to make Canada an outlet for American products only?

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, I would just like to remind my hon. colleague who likes to quote facts from the past that I have not been President of the Treasury Board for more than a year and a half now. The President of the Treasury Board had very little to say in Gillette's decision; the President of the Treasury Board is not a member of Gillette's board of directors either.

We are concerned by this situation. We realize that there will be some lay-offs in Canada. We also realize that throughout Gillette's total system, more than 3,000 people will be laid off in foreign countries.

What we want to ensure is that our Canadian jobs remain in Canada in an industry that is competitive throughout the world. We want to maintain and increase the number of those jobs; it is with more technology, more rationalization, better management, better marketing systems that this can be achieved and that is what the company is doing, Mr. Speaker.

[*English*]

NORTHERN TELECOM—JOB CUTS

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, I would like to put a question to the Prime Minister. In the past 20 years Northern Telecom has received at least \$43 million in grants, in taxpayers' money, from the people of Canada, and hundreds of millions in low-interest-rate loans have supported its exports. Yet it is now cutting over 800 jobs. I want to ask the Prime Minister personally if he will not intervene in this case, given all this government help, and see to it that Northern Telecom is told that it owes the people of Canada and it owes these 800 workers their employment.

Oral Questions

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, we are facing here again a question of rationalization. We are facing a question—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Nunziata: Famous last words. Tell that to the workers, you dumbo.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister.

Mr. de Cotret: I would just like to elevate this debate to a question of facts. There are 650 employees in Aylmer, Quebec, and 250 employees in Belleville, who will be displaced by this rationalization move. Three hundred of them will be replaced immediately in Canada. There are investments planned by Northern Telecom of some \$30 million in St. Laurent and there is another additional expenditure by Northern Telecom in this rationalization effort of \$20 million for a technology lab of world class, very close by here in Nepean.

● (1430)

The company is doing its best, as it should, as a good corporate citizen to remain competitive and maintain its position in world markets for the direct benefits of its employees.

ANNOUNCED CLOSURE OF PLANT IN AYLMER

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, when the \$30 million investment in St. Laurent was announced back in July—and I have here the announcement—the company stated that there would be absolutely no negative consequence for the plant in Aylmer, Quebec.

How can the Minister now stand up and justify the shut-down of that plant in Aylmer on the basis of this expansion in St. Laurent when, in fact, the company in July contradicted him flat out?

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, I would also like to add that we are quite encouraged in our ongoing conversations with the company to see the extent to which it is concerned about the dislocation of employees. The company has put aside on its own, to supplement Government programs designed directly to assist those employees, some \$2.5 million, and there is its firm commitment to maintain its research and development efforts in Canada at the same level as it has over the last number of years.

Oral Questions

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, the question is not whether people should be encouraged by the company's response but by the Government's response.

REQUEST THAT GOVERNMENT INTERVENE

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, will the Government finally get tough and say to this company, which has received so much in Government money and privileges in the past, that all of that is finished, all of it will be reviewed and must be paid back if these jobs are not kept in Canada for the future? This is a test case for the free trade future of Canadian workers right across the country. Will the Government not get tough and act?

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, the Government will make a very serious undertaking, one that it has followed throughout its years in power. Whenever we give a grant to a company anywhere in this country conditions are set. There is a control period. The purposes of the grant are monitored and we ensure that the Canadian taxpayers' money given to a company, whether the grant be for research and development, whether it be for expansion, whether it be for job creation, is spent in the way for which it was designed. We have done that in every case, and we are doing it in this case.

FUTURE OF EMPLOYEES IN BELLEVILLE

Mr. Lyle Vanclief (Prince Edward—Hastings): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister for Employment and Immigration. The events of the past week related to the announcement by the Northern Telecom closure of its electronics plant in Belleville as of March 31, 1989, have made it clear that industry is beginning its adjustment to the Free Trade Agreement. For my part, I am concerned with how my constituents, now and in the future, will be able to adapt to this environment.

What steps are being taken by the Minister's Department to ensure that the employees of the Bridge Street Northern Telecom plant in Belleville will be able to keep their jobs or will have equivalent jobs in their own community?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, the Northern Telecom plant as in all of the plants, as the Hon. Member knows, will be provided with training programs for their employees.

I am very pleased that the company is moving ahead with this and that the Industrial Assistance Service is there to work with the company and with the employees in terms of their future plans. We have done that in the past and we will do it in the future wherever there are lay-offs for whatever reason.

ROLE OF DEPARTMENT

Mr. Lyle Vanclief (Prince Edward—Hastings): Mr. Speaker, I have a supplementary question. That type of answer is not satisfactory to the workers in Belleville.

Some Hon. Members: Why?

Mr. Vanclief: Inaction is not accepted. I have had phone calls to my office as recently as this morning from a lady who, with her husband, has been at Northern Telecom for eight or nine years and both of them are losing their jobs on March 31. During the election you promised more.

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

Mr. Vanclief: Could the Minister tell us when the employees in Belleville will be contacted by her Department? As of this morning they have not had any contact indicating the help they deserve and to which they are entitled.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, my Department and my officials are very aware of what has been going on at Northern Telecom both in terms of the kind of structure that it is putting in place for training and in terms of how we plan to monitor this in the future.

The IAS is standing by ready to work with the workers, with the employees and with the employers. Let me point out that the IAS has a success rate of about 85 per cent to 95 per cent in replacing workers.

HOUSING

METROPOLITAN TORONTO—CONSTRUCTION OF
HOUSES ON DOWNSVIEW SITE

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of State for Housing. Prior to the last election the Minister announced the release of some 50 hectares of land at the Downsview air base in Metropolitan Toronto for badly needed housing.

The Auditor General has had some kind words for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in his report, but the people of the city of Toronto where the average cost of a house is now in excess of \$250,000 believe that action speaks louder than words. When can the Minister tell us that actual housing will be built on the Downsview site and will he give us his personal undertaking that that housing will be affordable for seniors, tenants, and for young families?

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Hon. Member for his question because he has been at the forefront of the housing issue in Metropolitan Toronto. Maybe the Leader of the Opposition does not agree with that, but I think he has been.

CMHC is currently in the planning stage on the property at Downsview. We are working with the City of North York on the zoning that has to be in effect. We are hopeful that we can relocate the military personnel in 1989, with housing to start very shortly after that.

To answer the question on affordability, we will have a minimum of 25 per cent of the housing on that land as affordable housing for the elderly, the handicapped, and so on.

* * *

● (1440)

[Translation]

THE AUDITOR GENERAL

TAX COLLECTION—WRITE—OFF OF DELINQUENT
ACCOUNTS—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Alfonso Gagliano (Saint-Léonard): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of National Revenue and has to do with the report of the Auditor General of Canada and his Department. Paragraph 17.4 of that report shows that \$600 million in tax dollars have been written off between 1984 and 1986 and, according to the

Oral Questions

information obtained by that Department, another \$400 million will be written off next year.

Can the Minister justify those tax write-offs and tell us what kind of taxpayers do not pay their taxes in Canada?

[English]

Hon. Elmer M. MacKay (Minister of National Revenue): Mr. Speaker, in some cases these write-offs—if the Hon. Member is attributing them to the SRTC program—are not write-offs in the true sense. They are yet to be audited. Some of these so-called write-offs will be collected.

If my colleague is talking about collection procedures generally he will recognize, I am sure, being a fair person, that we are trying to bring a bit of equity into the system pursuant to the Declaration of Taxpayers' Rights and other procedures that allow us to consult with taxpayers and they, having a bit more equity, are utilizing it in terms of postponing their payments instead of paying the money up front as they used to have to do.

SIZE OF TAX WRITE-OFFS

Mr. Alfonso Gagliano (Saint-Léonard): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is the following. Today we see that there is a write-off of \$1 billion of taxes. We also learned that in 1986, 6,250 taxpayers making more than \$50,000 a year did not pay any tax.

How can the Minister justify his Department charging interest on seniors' income tax on their pension incomes when there are write-offs of \$1 billion?

Hon. Elmer M. MacKay (Minister of National Revenue): Mr. Speaker, my colleague will be pleased to know that, pursuant to an adjustment recently, we have charged a bit more interest to taxpayers who have delinquent accounts, but by the same token we pay more interest to taxpayers to whom we owe money.

As the Hon. Member knows, without going back into distant history, some of the problems are attributable to some of the misjudgments made by a previous Government with respect to the greatest scam in history, the SRTC program.

Mr. Crosbie: The Liberal scam.

Mr. MacKay: All in all, I have to point out that the percentage of collectibles pursuant to total tax income in fact peaked three years ago. Although there is still more attention required to collect moneys outstanding, there

Oral Questions

has been a noticeable improvement in the percentage relative to the total tax revenue.

* * *

AIRPORTS**PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT—AIR TRAFFIC CONGESTION**

Mr. Les Benjamin (Regina—Lumsden): Mr. Speaker, I would like to be able to address my question to the Minister of Transport, and I wish him well on his recovery. Perhaps the Acting Minister, or the Minister of State, or somebody, anybody, who knows something about transportation would respond.

Over the past five years the previous Liberal Government and the present Conservative one were repeatedly told and warned, inside and outside Parliament, about the chaos that would result from their ideological fixation about deregulation in the airline industry. That is not something I or many others relish being right about.

I would like to ask the Minister—

Some Hon. Members: Go! Go!

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Benjamin: I would like to ask the Minister if the Government will reinstate regulations regarding entry and exit privileges in city pairs or whole routes and immediately prohibit—

Mr. Mayer: Send out for a pizza, it is a long question.

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure that if Hon. Members on the government side could constrain themselves we could speed this whole thing up. The Hon. Member for Regina—Lumsden.

Mr. Benjamin: Mr. Speaker, what Members on the government side do not understand is that if they do not change their ways they are going to kill somebody.

Now, will the Government immediately also prohibit any more carriers from using Pearson International Airport until the third terminal and additional runway capacity are in place, and use other modes of transportation in locations such as Montreal, Ottawa, and Hamilton in order to avoid Toronto and any other place with over-used capacity?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Acting Minister of Transport): Mr. Speaker, I am the Acting Minister, and

I was afraid the Minister would be back before I got a chance to answer.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: On the Government side we are prepared to send out a search party for that question.

I believe, if I understand the question properly, that the answer is no, but I am prepared to change it when I find out what the question was.

An Hon. Member: Get serious, Crosbie.

Mr. Benjamin: Mr. Speaker, if you will give me a second supplementary I will repeat it.

Mr. Beatty: No, Mr. Speaker, no.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member has the floor.

Mr. Benjamin: I hope so.

TRAINING OF AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

Mr. Les Benjamin (Regina—Lumsden): Mr. Speaker, with the short-sighted and blind hysteria about the deficit and decreasing expenditures, throwing the air transportation industry into the whims of the market forces and profit-taking, I would like to ask if the Government will make some radical changes before somebody gets killed.

Will the Minister tell us, since we are short 500 air traffic controllers who will be needed over the next two to three years to replace 275 air traffic controllers who are presently over the age of 50, and 200 positions that we are presently short, is the training of more controllers receiving top priority and sufficient funding to correct a situation that the Government created?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Acting Minister of Transport): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member is asking a question about a very serious problem.

I would like to remind Hon. Members that the March, 1985, Auditor General's Report for the previous year was very critical of the Department of Transport for its considerable surplus of air traffic controllers and the costs associated with the large surplus. The Department acted in accordance with that report, unfortunately, as it turns out, because as the result of the booming economy of the last three or four years, and as a result of the deregulation policy of the Government, the air industry in this country is booming, more people are travelling than ever before at lower rates, and we now have a problem in getting sufficient air traffic controllers.

We now have a special recruitment and training program that began in the fall of 1987. We are trying to obtain experienced controllers from the United States. There are 168 students now beginning their training program.

AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS—DECREASE IN NUMBERS

Mr. George Baker (Gander—Grand Falls): Mr. Speaker, there are today 400 fewer air traffic controllers in Canada than there were four years ago. There are today 20 per cent fewer air traffic controllers in Toronto than there were four years ago. The same applies to Gander, Moncton, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver where there are more than 20 per cent fewer controllers today than there were four years ago.

• (1450)

I ask the President of the Treasury Board to admit to the House that the principal reason for the drastic reduction in air traffic controllers is the system of cash lump sum bonuses brought in by the Government, bonuses not unlike the productivity bonuses introduced in the House two years ago which paid public service managers lump sums of money at the end of the year based upon budget and staff reduction targets achieved.

In fact, I ask the President of the Treasury Board to admit that one such manager received the other day over \$18,000 in one lump sum payment, over and above his regular salary.

That individual is going to be flying high this Christmas. Let us hope that he stops in at Pearson International Airport.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Acting Minister of Transport): Mr. Speaker, at the outset I want to congratulate the Hon. Member for Gander—Grand Falls on his re-election. Had he not been re-elected, we would be faced with a lack of proper questioning from the Liberal side of the House.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I congratulate him on his re-election. I hope he continues to fly high and that some day we will have to look up when he asks a question.

In answer to the Hon. Member's question, there has been, and continues to be, a problem in respect of the hiring of air traffic controllers. Certainly they are a

highly qualified group of people and are very much to be admired.

The shortage of air traffic controllers is due, in part, to the increased economic activity in southern Ontario, leading to increased business travel, as well as to an over-all increase in travel on the part of the general public.

An Hon. Member: Why the reduction, then?

Mr. Crosbie: The Government listened to the recommendations of the Auditor General.

For all of those reasons, we are now experiencing a shortage in air traffic controllers.

I can tell the House that there will be 216 starts in 1989-90, and every year thereafter until 1995. Our plans should result in a yield of 100 qualified air traffic controllers a year. But there will be a period when we will be playing catch-up in this area, and bonus programs will be necessary.

HIRING OF AMERICAN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

Mr. George Baker (Gander—Grand Falls): Mr. Speaker, I am aware of one young man from Gander, Newfoundland, who passed his entrance examination for air traffic control two years ago and who is yet to hear from the Department of Transport. The answer he received was that the quota had been filled.

Just this past year two young women from Newfoundland passed all of the necessary examinations, only to be told that the quotas had been filled. Once again, they have not heard back from the air traffic control authority.

There are hundreds of young Canadians who want to become air traffic controllers, and that is what they come up against.

Given the interest on the part of these young Canadians to become air traffic controllers, I ask the Minister why the Government of Canada turned around and offered jobs to more than 40 retired American air traffic controllers, offering those individuals higher salaries than those received by Canadian air traffic controllers, and I put that question particularly in light of the fact that it takes almost as long to train American air traffic controllers on Canadian air traffic regulations as it would to train young Canadians to do the job.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Acting Minister of Transport): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member is right in

Oral Questions

saying that we have had a problem in finding sufficiently trained air traffic controllers over the last few months.

An Hon. Member: It is your own fault.

Mr. Crosbie: If the Hon. Member knows of available air traffic controllers, or young people who would be suitable for that purpose, or who are having any difficulty in becoming air traffic controllers and being accepted for training, I would ask him to give me the particulars, and I will certainly do my best to see that any bottleneck in that regard is broken.

* * *

HEALTH**PRESENCE OF LEAD IN SCHOOLS' DRINKING WATER**

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

As he is no doubt aware, two weeks ago the CBC program *Marketplace* revealed that, in schools across Canada, lead is present in the drinking water at levels 10 times currently allowed levels.

What does the Minister intend to do in order to remove this threat to the health of Canadian children?

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member is correct in his statement. I remind him that this Government has taken steps to remove the main source of lead contamination for Canadians in general and children in particular, namely, that which is contained in gasoline.

As the Hon. Member has correctly stated, lead levels in our drinking water supplies are unacceptably high, and that is particularly true of the drinking water supplies in our schools.

As I understand it, the schools in the city of Winnipeg were shown to have the highest drinking water lead content in the country.

In so far as our drinking water supplies are concerned, I understand that there is now in place a policy of flushing those systems. Additionally, there are some provinces which have moved toward instituting a program of lead-free solder for plumbing works, and certainly the Government of Canada supports a move in that direction.

[Translation]

REDUCTION OF PERMISSIBLE LEAD LEVEL IN DRINKING WATER—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Minister. Is the Government and the Minister willing to reduce to 10 parts per billion the

quantity of lead allowed in water, as other Western countries have done?

[English]

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, that is under active consideration. As well, as I think the Hon. Member will be aware, we are working on legislation in respect of water standards.

While the Hon. Member's question relates to our water supply, the Hon. Member should be made aware that there is another source of lead poisoning that my Department is looking at, along with other relevant Departments, that being the use of lead solder in canned food containers, and particularly in respect of such containers containing food for infants.

* * *

REFUGEES**BACKLOG IN PROCESSING REFUGEE-STATUS APPLICATIONS**

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity—Spadina): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Employment and Immigration.

As the Minister is aware, the backlog of 70,000 to 80,000 refugee claimants in Canada includes many thousands who would suffer undue violence or hardship were they forced to return to a situation of racial strife, civil war, or persecution, as well as many thousands who are becoming established here, often with the help of their families, and who could become contributing citizens were they allowed to work.

Will she, on humanitarian grounds, institute an administrative review to select, under relaxed criteria, those in the backlog who are either capable of establishing themselves in Canada or who would run serious risk of physical harm were they forced to return to their country of origin?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, as I have said in the House on previous occasions, we are considering several options in terms of dealing with the backlog, and once we have reached a decision on which option or options to pursue, I shall be pleased to report our solution to this very important human problem to the House.

An Hon. Member: In this century?

Mrs. McDougall: Let me say, as well, Mr. Speaker, that one of the things I have said repeatedly from the very beginning is that, whatever method we choose to resolve the problem of the backlog, we will ensure that no genuine refugee will be asked to leave Canada; that no one who would be in fear of persecution will be asked to leave Canada.

REQUEST FOR MINISTERIAL ACTION

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity—Spadina): Mr. Speaker, the question of only genuine refugees, as the Minister knows, is a very limited approach to Canada's humanitarian obligations. If the Minister refuses to act on humanitarian grounds, I would ask her to act so as to relieve the considerable log-jam that is now in place, especially in the Toronto region—a log-jam that is breaking down even the regular immigration processes there.

I would also ask her to act to avoid the huge expense, legal hassle and further delay that would be caused were she to try to deport many thousands of people, particularly in view of the fact that the present and future laws have been found to be wanting by those experienced in constitutional law.

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Minister to respond.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, we will be dealing with those in the refugee backlog in a humanitarian way. Whatever method we choose, we will take into account the sensitive situations with which we are confronted. That is a point I have made previously. It is not new.

Of course there are problems in the transition from an old system to a new system. Had we been in a position to have our legislation in operation much sooner, as opposed to the lengthy delays we experienced in getting that legislation through the House, this problem would have been solved a long time ago.

Oral Questions

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

TREATMENT OF RADIO PROGRAM HOST, DALE GOLDHAWK

Mr. John Harvard (Winnipeg—St. James): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister.

We are all familiar with the CBC radio program *Cross Country Check-up*.

As some Hon. Members may know, the program host, Dale Goldhawk, agreed to remove himself from the program during the last election campaign.

Mr. Goldhawk came under pressure from the CBC after it was revealed that he had written an article against the trade agreement in his capacity as President of ACTRA, the radio and television performers union.

After the election, the CBC gave Mr. Goldhawk an ultimatum: quit the presidency of ACTRA, or lose his job—

Some Hon. Members: Question.

An Hon. Member: Another after-dinner speech!

Mr. Harvard: Mr. Goldhawk chose to quit his job.

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Harvard: Mr. Speaker, former colleagues of mine at the CBC are wondering whether this is the beginning of a witch-hunt—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Question.

• (1500)

Mr. Speaker: Given the time, I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

Mr. Beatty: The Liberals want us to interfere with the CBC.

Mr. Harvard: As the Minister responsible for the CBC is not a Member of this House, I would ask the Prime Minister whether he agrees with this CBC policy of telling its employees what they can do in their private capacity as union officials?

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State for Canada and Acting Minister of the Environment): Mr. Speaker, this is the first time I have heard about those allegations and I will look into it. I take it as notice.

House of Commons

JOURNALISTIC INDEPENDENCE

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Winnipeg—St. James, a short supplementary.

Mr. John Harvard (Winnipeg—St. James): Mr. Speaker, I do not think that is going to make CBC employees very happy.

The Government promised in Bill C-136 that there would be journalistic independence for the CBC. Will the Government—

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Harvard: I am getting to it.

Mr. Beatty: You want us to interfere with it.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members will have noted that the Hon. Member's supplementary contained a very short preamble and he has now commenced his question. I ask for the usual courtesies.

Mr. Harvard: My question is very simple. Will the Government ensure journalistic independence from management in the same way it promised to ensure CBC's independence from government?

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State for Canada and Acting Minister of the Environment): Mr. Speaker, we are all committed to the principle of independence concerning the activities of the CBC. As for the specific facts here, I will look into them.

Mr. Speaker: I want to remind Hon. Members that, because of the introduction of a new Member, Question Period was extended for a couple of minutes. However, it is now concluded.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Crosbie, seconded by Mr. Mazankowski, moves that Bill C-2, an act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America—

[Translation]

—be now read the second time and referred to a legislative committee.

[English]

POINT OF ORDER

DISPOSITION OF BILL C-2

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, there is presently before the House a House order which the Chair has ruled to be in order and which would send this particular Bill to a Committee of the Whole House. It would seem that since this motion has been accepted as being procedurally correct that the House would be best to have the Bill read a second time and referred to a Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. Gauthier: No way.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): That is anticipating.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Wait until the debate is over on second reading.

Mr. Lewis: In the event that the Chair wishes time to reserve on that particular suggestion, I would suggest that we can entertain other business, but I am in the hands of the Chair.

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, it is bad enough that the Government want to force through a motion suspending the ordinary rules of the House. Now it wants to put it in place without even having the debate completed and the motion voted upon. This is going too far.

I say that the Deputy Government House Leader's (Mr. Lewis) proposal is not only unacceptable, it is out of order and I say let him make that proposal only if and when his motion is accepted by this House.

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, it is perfectly clear that the Deputy House Leader is well aware of the Standing Orders which indicate clearly that if we proceed now, as is his wish, the Bill has to be referred to a legislative committee. I would like to think just for once the Deputy House Leader would follow the Standing Orders of the House of Commons.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, if I may, I think it would be very evident that the motion is in order to move second reading of the Bill in question and that we can entertain that debate once the House order is completed. If it passes successfully, it would seem that the House order would supersede the motion which has been made on the floor.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, the rules of the House are clear. I know the Hon. Member and his Party do not like the rules. They do not want to live within them. They would like to get rid of them and terminate debate in this House completely. We have not got to that point yet and it is your duty to support and enforce—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): —the rules.

Some Hon. Members: Let the people decide.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister has moved second reading of the Bill and the usual course is, unless there was some motion that changed the rules or suspended them, that it would go to a legislative committee. As a consequence I have followed the usual form and that is what I have proposed to the House.

There is now a discussion as to the procedural acceptability of what the Minister is doing. That is a procedural matter and I am sure all Hon. Members would want the Chair to have an opportunity to hear argument.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, it is clear that you are very willing and anxious to carry out your traditional role as protector of the rights of this House and the minority of Members of this House. In view of the clear direction of this Standing Order I ask you to reject this quite unacceptable and out of order proposal by the Deputy Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis).

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest that the proposal being made by the Deputy Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis) has no precedence. If we are now going to proceed with second reading debate of this particular Bill, obviously at the completion of that it would be referred to the legislative committee. That is the tradition. That is the Standing Order. That is the practice. There is absolutely no precedent on record of any departure from that particular course.

Therefore, I would ask you to rule this request to be totally and completely out of order.

Mr. Speaker: I have explained to the House and the watching public the situation we are in. I know the Hon. Minister wants to proceed with the Bill at this time. He has said, of course, that another matter of business could be called.

It would seem to me quite clear that until the previous motion, which if and when passed would permit this, is in fact passed, which it is not at the moment, it is only being debated, the Minister is moving prematurely.

Point of Order—Mr. Lewis

Therefore I feel that I am bound not to accept the motion at this time.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1510)

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, under those circumstances the Government wishes to advise that we will revert to debate on the motion to extend the sitting through the parliamentary calendar.

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I think it has been the will of people on this side of the House to deal with the substance of this matter. We have been extending every bit of goodwill to try to get down—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) and I have been ready to deal with the substance of the trade Bill since Tuesday. I am going to say to the Deputy House Leader (Mr. Lewis) and to his leader, the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski), if any more games are played like this Santa Claus is going to come down the Peace Tower before he gets this thing through.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I may be able to assist Hon. Members by making certain that my comments were completely understood.

The Minister has moved a motion, and I responded in the usual way. The usual way is that it would go to a legislative committee.

If that is the motion the Minister is moving, that motion is of course in order. But when I said that I could not accept the Minister's motion, I took it to be that the Minister wanted the matter to go to Committee of the Whole. That is my point.

If that is the position of the Minister, I have to remain in the position that I indicated a moment or two ago, that that is out of order. In the meantime, the Minister has of course every right to stand and to bring about another order of business.

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, unless I have not understood properly the question before the House when you called Government Orders, it was Bill C-2. You read the motion, put the motion to the House. As far as I am concerned, that Bill was before the House.

Point of Order—Mr. Lewis

I would refer you, Mr. Speaker, to the “blues”. I would refer you to the video, or whatever you want, Mr. Speaker. But I submit to you that that Bill, Bill C-2, is before this House, until adjourned. If the Government is telling us now that it wants to adjourn that debate and proceed to something else, that is another ball game.

I am telling you, Mr. Speaker, Standing Order 73(1) and (2) make it clear that that committee, a legislative committee, is at this time where the Bill will be referred. I cannot see the Minister having it both ways in the same day.

Members opposite have to understand. They call the Bill, you read the order. The order is before us. As far as I am concerned, that order has either to be adjourned by the Government, and another order called, or that order is to be proceeded with.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I have just come to the Chamber. I came prepared to enter into the debate. I just want to get clear from the Government what it has in mind.

As I understood the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) just now, he has come to the House prepared to debate one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the Parliament of Canada, so described at one point by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) himself. I thought the Minister responsible for trade was prepared to debate that. We on this side are prepared to debate that. That is the sole subject of the Throne Speech.

I say to the Minister in charge here, for God’s sake let us come to our senses and have the debate that the people of Canada anticipated would take place after the Throne Speech. Let us get on with it.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, after ringing the bells in an effort to prevent the person moving the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne from speaking, after ringing the bells to introduce the Bill, after ringing the bells for second reading, my hon. friends are finally ready to debate the Bill. That is terrific.

I submit that the motion was never fully put to the House because when that wording came into question the Speaker stopped and that motion was never put

before the House in the the form in which the Speaker had it in his hands.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that we have the opportunity to change the order of business and that we are now prepared to debate the motion to extend the sittings.

Mr. Rod Murphy (Churchill): Mr. Speaker, it is very evident what has happened is that the Deputy Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis) has lost complete control of this House.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Murphy: On Tuesday we came here to debate the Throne Speech, and the leaders were ready. The Government would not debate the Throne Speech. Yesterday, he tried to move a closure motion on an item which was not even before the House. This morning the Speaker had to rule against him. So he changed the order for the afternoon. We were supposed to come back here to debate free trade.

This afternoon, he again tries a procedural trick, and again the Speaker rules against him. At this time he is now reverting to a different piece of business. Mr. Speaker, if you continue to rule against the Deputy House Leader (Mr. Lewis), we will be here until the new year.

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members of the House and the Canadian people would like to know why the Deputy Government House Leader is filibustering against its own trade legislation.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): I am sure the Members of the House and the people of this country would like to know why the Government does not want to get on to debate the legislation to implement its trade deal. Is it finally coming to realize what a bad deal it is?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Has the Government finally realized that it is even worse than 57 per cent of the Canadian people in the last election said it is? If the Government is serious about this legislation, either it should get on with the debate today or withdraw the legislation and admit that its trade deal is bad for this country now and in the future.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Point of Order—Mr. Lewis

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I think it is time that saner heads prevail. This is obviously a moment of some confusion, but let me make a suggestion.

The Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) is here, having been called to debate the trade deal. The Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent), the Leader of the New Democratic Party, is here prepared to debate the trade deal. The Minister is here prepared to debate the trade deal. Let us get on and begin the process.

Mr. Speaker: I appreciate Hon. Members' patience. However, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition was seeking the floor a moment ago and I would of course hear him.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, I am not seeking the floor on a point of order. I am seeking the floor to begin debate on second reading of this Bill.

Mr. Broadbent: I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I will try to put it in the most unpolemical way that I can. I say this to the Government. Let us forget, if we can, the acts of guerrilla warfare that have taken place from time to time in the past few days on both sides of the House, in appropriate parliamentary context in a democracy. Let me put it that way. I want to simply appeal to the Government on the basis of the Government's own Throne Speech. It had one item that it believes the Government of Canada, the Parliament of Canada, should now be dealing with. The Minister responsible is here ready for that debate. The Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) is here. I am here. I ask the Minister in charge, or the House Leader for the Government, let us just forget, if we can, on both sides, what has gone on for the past couple of days, and I appeal to you to consider your own agenda, and call the Bill that you believe is so important.

• (1520)

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Andre: Will you agree to pass it before Christmas? That is the question.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski).

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: I know there are a lot of procedural experts here discussing the matter among themselves, but the Hon. Deputy Prime Minister seeks the floor and I will hear him.

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, the last day or so we have been considering the special motion which would provide a mechanism and a formula for facilitating the debate the Hon. Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) talks about. We had tried in the best interests of parliamentary democracy to work out an agreement—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Mazankowski: Well, Mr. Speaker, these things are normally discussed at the House Leaders' level. What I find rather strange is we know very well that the House Leaders have been trying to work out some kind of agreement where this Bill hopefully could be moved along and proceeded with. Unfortunately, they have not had the support of their caucuses in arriving at such an agreement.

Mr. Broadbent: Is that so?

Mr. Riis: That is garbage.

Mr. Mazankowski: So it is the obligation of the Government to—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Mazankowski: —try to put before the House a mechanism, a way in which the Bill could be dealt with.

The proposed motion that you found in order this morning, Mr. Speaker, is very germane to the further proceeding of this issue. If there is any doubt about the acceptability of proceeding with Bill C-2 prior to the adoption of the proposed motion, then simply, as the Deputy House Leader suggested, fine, we will proceed with the motion and then we will proceed with Bill C-2 in a normal fashion under the aegis of the adoption of Bill C-2. That is what I recommend that we do, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: I have listened carefully to Hon. Members. I want, first of all, to deal with the matter that the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) raised, that this motion has been put to the House. I have some doubts about that. Yesterday, Hon. Members will remember with that particular motion, I began to read it. There was a clear indication from Members of the Opposition that they wanted to argue the admissibility of it, or argue about it and they rose, and the Speaker stopped reading. In this case this afternoon, as soon as the Minister heard the words *Comité législatif* he immediately protested. That was quite obvious.

Point of Order—Mr. Lewis

Hon. Members may note that I did not go on. I stopped at that point. I did not go on to say: "Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?" Now, it seems to me under the circumstances, the better view is that the motion has not been completely put to the House. That seems to me consistent with not only logic when one takes a look at the form the Speaker is asked to read, but also it is consistent, I think, with what happened yesterday, and on that particular occasion, of course, that was done in the way it was done as a courtesy to Hon. Members of the Opposition who clearly wished to question the propriety of the motion.

That seems to me is the situation we are faced with here. So it is up to the Hon. Minister to decide whether he wishes to proceed with this motion, and I have already ruled that if he proceeds with this motion, it would go to a legislative committee, and he has every right to do that, but he cannot, and I want to make it very clear, he cannot under the rules at the moment make a motion that would move this to a Committee of the Whole because the other motion which we argued about yesterday and which we decided upon today, which purports to give the Government that particular power, has not yet been passed.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, in my original intervention, I asked for guidance from the Chair as to whether or not if the procedural motion *vis-à-vis* the calendar were passed prior to the motion which the Hon. Minister would move, that is to a legislative committee, if the procedural motion were passed prior to the motion being put on second reading, would that procedural motion not then dictate that that particular Bill, Bill C-2, would then go to a Committee of the Whole House rather than a legislative committee?

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, I think we are getting along here and we could possibly find an acceptable solution to the impasse the Government got itself into. I do think one should read Standing Order 73(1),(2) and (3), and I refer you to the Standing Orders which are still with us and are still in effect the Orders of the Day. Standing Order 73(1) reads:

"Every public Bill shall be read twice and referred to a committee before any amendment may be made thereto."

Standing order 73(2) reads:

"Unless otherwise ordered, in giving a Bill second reading, the same shall be referred to a legislative committee, except as provided in section (3) of this Standing Order. A motion to refer a Bill to a committee shall be decided without amendment or debate."

And 73(3), and this is the part I think is interesting, reads:

"Any Bill based on a Supply motion—"

And this one is.

"—shall, after second reading, stand referred to a Committee of the Whole."

So the Minister can amend on his feet now with the Speaker the motion before the House and make it that that committee, a Committee of the Whole, will be the route we will follow. I do not see any difficulty with that.

Mr. Lewis: I welcome my hon. friend's suggestion, but I would ask, Mr. Speaker, if you could rule on my first question and, depending on that, we can perhaps follow my hon. friend's suggestion.

Mr. Speaker: The Speaker is always reluctant in a complicated matter to rule too quickly. I understand perfectly the point the Hon. Minister is making. The Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier), who has some considerable skill in the rules of this place and customs of this place, has made a suggestion that might be useful.

SITTING SUSPENDED

Mr. Speaker: I am going to ask the House to stand down for ten minutes and I think it might be appropriate for the House Leaders to have a discussion.

The sitting of the House was suspended at 3.29 p.m.

SITTING RESUMED

The House resumed at 4.52 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: Perhaps we could come to order. I think it would be appropriate to hear first from the Hon. Minister.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, there have been discussions among the House Leaders, very helpful discussions I would add, and I want to pay tribute to the Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray) for his suggestion.

I believe we have reached an agreement on how we can accomplish what we are trying to do and make it more definite. I would also thank my hon. friend, the House Leader for the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent), for his participation in these discussions.

When item No. 1 under Government Business which can be referred to as the motion to suspend the calendar is next called by the Government, we will be proposing an amendment to the paragraph which starts: "That, for the duration of this session".

You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that when I argued the procedural acceptability of the motion in the first place I indicated that we had not been specific *vis-à-vis* the free trade legislation because at the time the item was placed on the Order Paper there was no Bill, there was no Bill C-2. For that reason we felt it would be anticipatory to place a motion on the Order Paper using wording which could not be substantiated because the Bill had not been introduced.

In any event, we would propose the next time this motion is called to delete the words "all such Bills" in the fourth line of the paragraph to which I referred and which starts: "That, for the duration of the session" and to insert the words: "that Bill C-2". The amended paragraph would then read:

"That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended, and that Bill C-2 be ordered for referral to committee of the Whole; and"

That amendment will be moved the next time the motion is brought forward for debate. The motion in question will be passed before second reading is completed on Bill C-2. That is the way the Government intends to proceed.

We also had discussions among the House Leaders with respect to the debate today which we intend to propose, namely, debate on Bill C-2. It has been agreed that the House will hear three speakers this afternoon—the Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), the Right Hon. Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner), and the Leader of the New Democratic Party, the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent). The Leader of the New Democratic Party shall have sufficient time to complete his remarks in the tradition of the previous Parliament wherein that courtesy was extended. Upon completion of the remarks

Point of Order—Mr. Lewis

of the Leader of the New Democratic Party the House will stand adjourned until tomorrow.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, what the Government House Leader has said represents the substance of our discussions and, in particular, the proposal I made to help the Government get out of its difficulty.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I cannot refrain from commenting that I was hoping the Hon. Member for Windsor West would make such a proposal.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I want to make clear the reason I say that is to assure my own caucus that it is not my practice to do things like this.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): But I have done so in order to facilitate the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), and for that matter the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent), in their desire to put views on the record and to get to the substance of the matter of the Bill to implement the trade deal.

I want to say also that this amendment, when offered and proposed, will do what the motion should have done in the first place—and I do not agree with the motion—that is, limit its application to Bill C-2.

I want to say finally that I would like to have an undertaking from the Government on behalf of all of its Members that if and when Bill C-2 gets Royal Assent—and it may not—the motion to rescind the motion we are discussing will be made immediately and the support of the Government will not attempt in any way to vote against it. Do I have that undertaking?

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, in working out the wording of the motion there were several suggestions on how we might do it. We had thought of putting that particular comment in the introduction to the motion. We then decided that that might be dangerous and not acceptable. Therefore, we put in the wording that is used in the motion and it is, as my hon. friend has commented:

"That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this Order."

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I am pleased to give my hon. friend the undertaking of the Government that such a motion will be moved immediately upon that particular Royal Assent being given.

• (1600)

Mr. Riis: I simply want to say how much we appreciate the generosity shown by all Members of the House to enable the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) an opportunity to complete his remarks this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker: I think that I should say to Hon. Members, and also to the public watching and listening, that we have just seen an example of how, given an opportunity, Members who may have very strong views about the issue being debated can find a way to accommodate the necessities of the rules of debate in the House.

I thank the Hon. Minister, the Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis), and the Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray). Of course, I include other Hon. Members, but I do not think anybody will think I am going too far by including the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) who I know has been considerably helpful.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: Proceeding with debate, the Hon. Minister.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade) moved that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be read the second time and referred to a legislative committee.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I have the pleasure of speaking to this Bill at second reading once more. As I said yesterday, it is almost with a feeling of *déjà vu* that I proceed.

First, I would like to make reference to my predecessor, the Hon. James Kelleher, who unfortunately is not with us in this session of Parliament. He was the International Trade Minister when the negotiations started between Canada and the United States in

connection with the Free Trade Agreement, or the preparations for it in any event.

Also, my predecessor, the Hon. Pat Carney who did not run in the last election because of certain medical problems, will certainly be missed by her colleagues and by Members of the House. I want to, of course, refer to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and to the fine leadership he has given in accomplishing the agreement that is now before the House. I should also mention our two chief negotiators who are no longer with the Government and who have gone into the private sector in the persons of Mr. Simon Reisman and Mr. Gordon Ritchie who had so much to do with the negotiation of the agreement we will be discussing in what I hope will be a healthy and reasonably short debate.

The Government has sought to build on the system of international trade rules in a way that will create new opportunities for increased prosperity in all regions of Canada. In so doing, as the House well knows, we have been pursuing a two track policy in trade negotiations. First, we are seeking improved multilateral rules for global trade under the GATT, and we were pursuing that track last week at the mid-term meeting in Montreal. Members will know from the press reports what the results were. In addition, we sought and achieved a Free Trade Agreement to liberalize trade bilaterally with our largest trading partner, the United States of America.

Members will remember that free trade with the United States was recommended to Canadians by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in 1978. I need not remind the House that the majority of members of that committee were Liberal Senators. There is still a Liberal majority in the Senate, as we all realized again last fall.

Again, in 1982, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee recommended free trade with the United States to Canada and the Canadian people. The then Liberal Government appointed the Macdonald royal commission. A former Minister of Finance in the Liberal Government of Canada, Mr. Donald Macdonald, headed the royal commission. It sat for some three years and reported in 1985. After three years of study, that commission recommended a free trade agreement with the United States, one might say after exhaustive and extensive study.

Therefore, we are taking a step, if the House passes this legislation, that has been highly recommended by a large number of members of the Liberal Party of Canada both inside the Senate and outside the Senate.

Up until the last few months the Liberal Party of Canada has always been a supporter of a free trade arrangement with the United States, but under the direction of its present leadership it has become diverted from that path on to a crusade, and we all know how the crusade ended.

Given the advice of these various bodies, and seeing an opportunity to achieve major economic benefits for Canada—and we are only proposing this legislation and this agreement because they are going to lead to major economic benefits for Canada—the Government entered free trade negotiations with the United States in June, 1986, and reached an agreement in October, 1987, which was officially signed in January, 1988. We have been discussing and debating this agreement and free trade with the United States now for the period of 14 months. The negotiations involved the most extensive consultations with private sector representatives and with provincial governments for an international trade negotiation ever undertaken in our history. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister met with the premiers on 10 different occasions in connection with the U.S.-Canada negotiation.

I want to point out to the House what is already well known. The Free Trade Agreement itself received the support of eight of our ten provincial governments, two led by liberal premiers, Premier Bourassa of Quebec, and Premier McKenna of New Brunswick.

One of the funny things when one hears someone say that 43 per cent voted for the Government and 57 per cent voted for other Parties is keeping in mind the position of the New Brunswick Premier. He supported the Liberal Party of Canada in its national campaign, but he was also an avid supporter of the Free Trade Agreement which he confirmed again on November 10 was in the best interests of his province.

In New Brunswick tens of thousands of voters voted Liberal who are also supporters of the Free Trade Agreement, including Premier McKenna himself and all of the members of his Cabinet and Legislative Assembly. How anyone could argue that the 57 per cent of the populace who voted who did not vote PC were all against free trade in the face of that one particular fact makes an absurdity of the argument, in addition to the fact that the argument itself trashes our whole system of parliamentary democracy.

In addition to eight premiers and provincial governments, the agreement now before the House has received

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the support of the vast majority of organizations representing Canadian industry and exporters. All former friends and associates of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), just about all of them support this agreement.

It has been the subject of numerous independent studies that have indicated significant economic benefits to all regions of Canada. I will only refer to several—the book by Professor Crispo, the book by Professor Lipsey, and a number of other books written by economists and persons of repute in the field of trade and economics. I will not mention some of the books written in opposition, Mr. Speaker, because I do not want to send you out to the remainder men looking for those volumes.

After one of the most protracted and intensive public debates in Canadian history, the recent election was fought with the Free Trade Agreement as a central campaign issue. There has never been a matter come before this House that has been debated in so much detail and so often as the matters dealt with by this present legislation.

I have spoken many times before in the House in support of free trade. I have outlined to the House on more than one occasion the case for the Free Trade Agreement and why it will yield viable benefits for Canadians superior to any of the alternatives proposed. Yesterday at a press conference, after the Bill received first reading, these documents were made public to remind the people, for example, *Benefits of the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, A Summary*, 14 pages showing the benefits to every province in Canada, the macro-economic benefits, the benefits regionally, and the benefits in various of the important economic sectors of our country. This is why we proposed the Bill, because of the tremendous benefits for Canada and for Canadians. We are hardly likely to be suggesting legislation before the House that is not beneficial for the people of Canada.

• (1610)

I do not want to repeat these detailed arguments, Mr. Speaker. The question of “yes” or “no” to the Free Trade Agreement was settled at the ballot box on November 21, last. That question is settled.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Crosbie: It is over; it is decided. It was: “Let the people decide”, and the people rose up and they decided, sending 170 Progressive Conservative Members to this House.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I do not wish to bore the House today, Mr. Speaker, with all of the arguments in favour of the Free Trade Agreement. It is an agreement that has been accepted by the Canadian people, despite the many thousands of attempts to derail it along the way, including the request of the Senate by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) to block the legislation until such time as a general election was called.

The real issue before the House today relates to the reasons given by the Opposition for its stand against the timely approval of the legislation to implement the Free Trade Agreement. The only argument now relevant has to do with why the Opposition continues to try to prevent the agreement from going into effect in a timely manner.

I wish to explain why Parliament should approve the implementing legislation without amendment so that the Free Trade Agreement will go into effect on January 1, 1989.

On July 20 last, when the Leader of the Opposition announced that he would use the Liberal majority in the Senate to block the implementing legislation until an election was called, he was asked what would happen in the event that the Government were returned with a majority, and he replied:

"We would agree to a speedy passage—"

Speedy: s-p-e-e-d-y. He continued:

"—speedy passage, recognizing the verdict of the Canadian people, and so would our Senate colleagues, that is quite clear . . . (We would) accept whatever that decision is on an expeditious basis, I think that's a democratic procedure . . . Let Canadians decide."

That is what the Leader of the Opposition said then. Well, what has happened to the "speedy passage" that he then promised the Canadian people? What has happened to the "expeditious basis", Mr. Speaker, that he then spoke of?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): You are tied up in your own procedural knots. That is the problem.

Mr. Crosbie: The Leader of the Opposition was equally clear on November 22 last. The events of November 21 had clarified his mind wonderfully. On November 22 last, he said this:

"You know we let the people decide. The people have decided, so that having stated our case, well then, let matters proceed."

Well, why is it that since this House came into session, he has done everything he can to stop matters from proceeding? What is the logic in that?

Some Hon. Members: Nonsense!

Mr. Crosbie: Is the Leader of the Opposition afraid of some of the visages that we see in the benches opposite, Mr. Speaker? Have they barracked him in the caucus and made him change his position from that which he put forth on July 20, and November 22, respectively? Is the Leader of the Opposition in control of his caucus, or is he not? Does he lead and do they follow? Or, does he not lead and do they not follow?

Those are the questions that this conundrum poses.

What does the Opposition Leader say now? He says that the Government has the right to introduce the legislation but no right to expect speedy passage. But on July 20 last, that is exactly what he said he would do: Give speedy passage if we were returned with a majority.

Well, we were returned with a majority. What has happened?

There has been no explanation, adequate or otherwise, for the Leader of the Opposition reversing his position.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, in the end, that isn't what really matters; what matters is our responsibility as a Government, and that responsibility points to early passage of the implementing legislation, for two reasons: We are the Government that has been elected and, as such, we have a responsibility to see that the legislation in question is passed and to see that it is passed by January 1, 1989.

In the Free Trade Agreement, Canada committed itself to the date of January 1, 1989, in terms of the agreement entering into force and effect.

We must adhere to our treaty obligations if we are to expect others to adhere to theirs. Canada agreed, 14 months ago, that January 1, 1989, would be the date for the entering into force of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. A period of 14 months presented us with sufficient time to see that that was done. The Americans have met their obligation in that regard. We have had to have an election to ensure that we could carry out our obligation. We have had that election. We have convinced the Canadian public. Now we have to adhere to our treaty obligations and see that the agreement comes into force on January 1, 1989.

I am not aware of any instance, Mr. Speaker, where a Government of this country entered into a solemn international obligation and was later prevented by an obstructionist Parliament or by an unelected Senate from carrying out that obligation.

The second reason that this legislation ought to be in effect by January 1, 1989, relates to the conduct of business.

Canadians who are planning their business activities to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the Free Trade Agreement should be able to proceed with confidence in making new investments and thus creating new jobs—and there are hundreds of Canadian companies doing that right now. Having had to await the outcome of the election, with all of the uncertainty involved in that process, they now have the right to be able to go forward and take advantage of this agreement as of January 1, 1989.

If we are thinking of ordinary Canadians, of the Canadian business community and those who work for Canadian businesses, the ordinary men and women of Canada, we will see that the agreement is in force by January 1, 1989, regardless of whether we consider it to be a good move for Canada. That question has been decided by the electorate. It is now our duty to see that it gets a fair chance. It will only be in two, three, four or five years time that we will know how good this agreement will be for Canada, or whether any of the fears that have been voiced are justified. It is the duty of Hon. Members opposite to see that the Free Trade Agreement gets a fair chance, regardless of how they themselves feel about it.

I would not be making these comments, Mr. Speaker, had there not been ample opportunity for debate in Parliament and for discussion of the free trade deal nationally. There has been just such a debate and discussion.

The Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade reported on the Free Trade Agreement a year ago. That committee heard from 158 witnesses over the course of 24 days of hearings. As well, six opposition days were devoted to debate of the free trade issue at the end of 1987 and early 1988.

The implementing legislation was introduced on May 24, 1988, and was debated in this House and in the legislative committee for a total of almost 160 hours over a span of 39 days.

Do you really think, Mr. Speaker, that there is going to be one new argument put forward by Hon. Members opposite? There will not be. There will be a tiresome and boring repetition of all of the arguments that we have been hearing against the Free Trade Agreement

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

over the last year, including a lot of the fallacious and specious arguments that we heard during the election campaign. The ranting and roaring will go on until midnight over the course of the sitting days next week.

We are allowing lots of time for Hon. Members opposite to listen to themselves rant and roar, if that is what they want to do. If that is how they feel they can best enjoy the Christmas season, let them sit here and do that. Why should we stop them?

But we are going to hear nothing new. There is nothing new to be said in this debate. We have the obligation to get on with implementing the agreement.

The earlier implementing legislation was held up for three weeks as a result of specious procedural objections raised by the Liberals and the NDP, each trying to be more macho than the other. Who is the most macho of these two Parties? That is the question. Who can have the most obstructive movements during any one particular day? Are the movements of the NDP more obstructive than the movements of the Liberal Party? Who can beat his chest with the most resonance: the Hon. Herb Gray or the Hon. Nelson Riis?

Well, Nelson is not “honourable” yet. Perhaps someday, Mr. Speaker. But, that is what we are watching in the House.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, on a point of order.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I think the Hon. Minister has been in the House long enough to know that he has just broken the rules of the House, and I would ask for a retraction.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Minister knows that he should be referring to Hon. Members by their constituencies.

Mr. Crosbie: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

As well as the three-week delay on procedural questions, debate on the legislation was held up by recorded votes and the first reading of Private Members' Bills presented by members of the NDP, with such purposes as naming hockey as Canada's national sport or marking the anniversary of the signing of the Magna Carta. That is the kind of tactic that has been used.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

There has been ample opportunity for debate, Mr. Speaker. And then we come to the opening of this Parliament last Monday—if that is when it was. It seems like it was three months ago, but it was in fact only on Monday last.

Since the opening of this Parliament, Mr. Speaker, we have had the same specious procedural objections raised and again we have the unnecessary calling of recorded votes.

● (1620)

The Free Trade Agreement has been the subject of a national debate for 14 months. It has been the central element in an election campaign. It has been debated in Parliament. We have had a general election and Canadians have decided. Now we have to carry out our responsibility and decide about this legislation.

Let me turn to the Leader of the NDP. On November 22, he said: "The Canadian people have made a decision and now Mr. Mulroney certainly has a right to proceed with his legislation for free trade. I think the process has been gone through now. All the chances for amendments have been exhausted. It would be churlish and inappropriate to say that something more should be done".

Mr. McDermid: Who said that?

Mr. Crosbie: That was the Leader of the NDP the day after the election when his mind was wonderfully clarified as well. He said that it would be churlish and inappropriate to say something more should be done. Why, since November 22, has the Leader of the NDP (Mr. Broadbent)—

Mr. Broadbent: Stick around, John, and I will tell you.

Mr. Crosbie: —become churlish and inappropriate? Well, I know that Bob is jerking his string.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: What has happened since November 22?

Mr. Broadbent: You got it wrong. He said I do not listen.

Mr. Crosbie: Bob White has shown a great deal of petulance about the NDP's behaviour during the election. Shirley Carr has gone positively puce. She is quite upset. The leaders of the steelworkers' union are definitely irritated as well. As a result, the hon. gentleman has become churlish and is now attempting to stop us from going forward with this legislation.

We realize the hon. gentleman's trouble in his Party. Our Party is unified, disciplined, and we stand behind our Leader.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: It is a good thing it is Christmas, John.

Mr. Crosbie: What is the Leader of the NDP saying now? He says that amendments must be made to protect social programs, the environment, and regional development. What has happened? He has not given any adequate explanation for reversing his position. Yet in the end that does not really matter either. What matters is our responsibility as a Government.

Let me set out once more for the House and the country how it is that social programs, the environment, and regional development have been and will continue to be protected under free trade. I hope hon. gentlemen and ladies opposite are convinced of this by now.

At no time during the free trade negotiations were social programs on the table. The Government gave its negotiator no mandate to discuss social programs, and none of the provisions of the agreement affects social programs. Moreover, it is recognized by all trading countries through GATT and their own trade laws that social programs are a legitimate government activity and do not distort trade. That is why, for example, the U.S. Government rejected a claim by its fishing industry that unemployment insurance for fishermen was a countervailable subsidy. Hon. Members opposite know that, and I am ashamed that some of them went around the country pretending that somehow UI would be affected by the Free Trade Agreement when they knew of this 1985 U.S. decision.

Social programs will not be an issue for discussion during the forthcoming bilateral negotiations on subsidies and trade remedy laws with the U.S. The U.S. has not asked for them to be. If they do, we will say no, n-o. That is the position.

The concern has been raised that although the Free Trade Agreement does not deal with social programs, and this is another specious argument, competitive pressures under more open trade with the U.S. would somehow force Canada to level down its social support. Our experience and that of other countries is entirely to the contrary. For the last 40 years, as Canadian and foreign trade barriers have been reduced through GATT, our social programs have expanded and improved. That is no coincidence. Economic growth, promoted by trade liberalization, is the only sound basis for continuing expansion and improvement of social programs. That is the only way you can have improved social programs. You create more wealth so you can improve your social programs.

Like social programs, the Canadian health care system is not covered by the Free Trade Agreement. The "Services" chapter of the agreement does not cover the delivery of health care services. Why anyone would want to go around the country trying to pretend otherwise is beyond me.

This means that federal and provincial Governments are completely free to do what they wish with respect to their health care system, whether it is publicly operated, privately operated, or a combination of the two. It is up to the federal and provincial Governments. Only management services such as personnel, bookkeeping, cafeteria or cleaning which provide support to the health care delivery system are involved in the agreement. They in no way involve providing actual medical care.

As a matter of fact, this is a great plus for us because all of our management consulting firms can go down to the United States where it is open sesame. They do not have government operated hospitals and health care systems there. This means tremendous opportunity for us down there. There is very little opportunity for them up here because we have, by and large, government-owned and controlled health care systems. We are going to have a good export market in the U.S. for Canadian firms providing these support services. However, from a Canadian point of view, we are under no obligation to contract for such services with American companies. That is a procurement issue which is not covered by the agreement.

Let me tell the people of Canada again that there is no basis for any concern that American style bottom line management of health care is going to be forced on Canada by the Free Trade Agreement and thereby the quality of patient care or the publicly funded health care system could be undermined. No way is that the case under this agreement. Under this agreement, if it is the success we think it will be, the money will be there for improvements to our health care system in our own way. That is the virtue or value of the Free Trade Agreement.

Now, what about the environment? The Free Trade Agreement specifically exempts from its operations measures to protect the environment. It does so by

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

incorporating in Article 1201 an existing GATT exemption—do you want to listen or do you want to do something else?

Mr. Simmons: We want to hear something sensible.

Mr. Crosbie: You are in the wrong Party for that.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Article 1201 contains an existing GATT exemption for "measures necessary to protect human, animal, or plant life or health". As well, Article 603 of the Free Trade Agreement permits the setting of environmental standards even if such standards have the effect of inhibiting trade flows. These are sections in GATT and in the agreement, yet some people still want to go across the country pretending that somehow the agreement prevents us from setting our own environmental standards.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): All 90 independent environmental organizations.

Mr. Crosbie: I do not care what they call themselves. They have not read this agreement or they are deliberately misinterpreting it.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Every independent environmental association in the country.

Mr. Crosbie: We know the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) has been on a great crusade, just like Richard the Conqueror. He has come out of it just as well as Richard did, he got a few dents in his helmet.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): You have a helmet for a head, John.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I simply am not going to get mad at the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition. It is Christmas time.

The alleviation of regional disparities is a long-standing objective in Canada and is now enshrined in the Constitution.

Mr. Simmons: You will put the blocks to it.

Mr. Crosbie (St. John's West): We put the blocks to you, not to the regions. Oh, you are the one we put the blocks to, brother.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We were not successful in the agreement in defining trade distorting subsidies. The 96 countries that belong to GATT have not been successful in defining trade distorting subsidies. That matter has been discussed in the Gatt Uruguay Round and will be discussed again bilaterally with the U.S. We are firm in our commitment of ensuring that Canadian governments have the capacity to promote regional development. We are not going to change that. Despite the fact that the agreement does not deal with the question of subsidies, the concern was raised that our regional development programs will be at risk. Do you think for one minute, Mr. Speaker, that I am going to support a free trade agreement—

● (1630)

Some Hon. Members: Yes!

Mr. Crosbie:—that would put at risk—

Some Hon. Members: Yes!

Mr. Crosbie: There are 25,000 people in St. John's West who do not agree with Hon. Members opposite. The NDP got 2,000 votes down there. I got 25,000. Apparently they believe me.

This equates a willingness to discuss disciplines on trade distorting subsidies, with some inevitable compromising of regional development. That conclusion is unfounded. No government in Canada—not a Liberal government, not an NDP government, and certainly not this Government—is prepared to give up its ability to promote regional development in order to reach an agreement on subsidies.

In the absence of such an agreement with the U.S., Canada will still have the benefit of binding dispute settlement in subsidy countervail cases to ensure that politically motivated provisions are overturned. That is a tremendous step forward compared to the situation the last Government left behind. There was no binding dispute settlement regime. There is none today. There will not be until January 1, 1989.

On January 1, 1989, when we have a dispute, which we will have, we will have this binding dispute settlement process in place. The disputes will be settled by Americans and Canadians with a neutral chairman.

Mr. Simmons: And by American law.

Mr. Crosbie: In Canada they will be settled under Canadian law. In the United States they will be settled

under the United States trade law. They are not going to give up their law. We are not going to give up our law. We will have two people sitting on boards with a neutral chairman in the United States to ensure fair decisions there. When there is a dispute here in Canada the same will occur here.

This is not a one-sided agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Simmons: And snow is green.

Mr. Crosbie: If I were in full form today, I would eliminate the noise over there, I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, but my voice does not permit it.

Let me deal with another objection that was raised to the passage of this legislation.

Mr. Simmons: Bring him another Duracell.

Mr. Crosbie: Duracell should listen to this for a moment. It was suggested that we lack a mandate to proceed with the implementing legislation because we did not receive a majority of the votes cast in the recent election. You will recall that, Mr. Speaker. This ignores, of course, the conventions of our parliamentary democracy upon which we choose governments and give them a mandate to govern. It also shows an ignorance of the reality of Canadian elections, since the advent of third parties. These are the people who cause all the trouble—third parties.

There were only going to be two Parties. The Leader of the NDP said that there would be only two. I thought that this would be a tremendous improvement. He said that the Liberal Party would disappear. I look across the aisle to see that there are 83 of them. They have not disappeared at all—another false promise.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Since 1921, the Liberal Party has received a majority of the votes cast only once. That was in 1940. It took a war for that to happen. On the other 12 occasions when the Liberals have formed the government they did so with less than 50 per cent of the vote.

In 1980, Prime Minister Trudeau was returned to power. I have all the figures in front of me here. He was returned to power with just about the same share of the popular vote as we received in the 1988 election.

Mr. Simmons: And he did not sell out the country either.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: He did not sell out the country; he sold everything else.

The Liberal Party had 43.9 per cent of the vote at that time. On November 21, we had 43.3 per cent of the vote. What did the Liberal Party do under Mr. Trudeau? It brought in revolutionary policies in the energy field. It sold out the oil and gas industry right from under the people of Alberta. It brought in a new Constitution. It got Senator Machiavelli to help them bring in a new Constitution. It did not go around suggesting that it had no right to do it because 56 per cent of the people had not voted for it. Did the members of his Government now sitting in opposition say to Mr. Trudeau: "You do not have a mandate. You only have 43 per cent of the vote"? No, of course they did not. They know the system.

On November 30, 1972, Mr. Trudeau had 38.5 per cent of the vote. Did that stop the Liberals from governing? You better believe it did not, Mr. Speaker.

On November 8, 1965, the Liberals had 40.2 per cent, and so on. I could go on to give figures.

Of course the New Democratic Party has never got that high. It now appears that it never will. As the Leader of the New Democratic Party said, we will end up with two parties in this country—the leftists, or the Liberal Party, and the rightists are supposed to be us. The NDP is vanished. That is what the whole furore is. This is why Bob White and Shirley Carr are so aggravated, as one can well understand.

The Government has not only a right but we have a responsibility to proceed in what we believe to be the national interest. That is what we were elected to do. That is what we are responsible to Parliament and the electorate for doing. Those are the reasons we are bringing forward this legislation which we call upon Parliament to approve by January 1. That is why there are no substantive reasons for the Opposition's intended amendments.

I will not go into all the benefits that are listed in these documents. There is no point in repeating them. Our next step will be to implement the legislation. On January 1, when it goes into effect, our job will be to start to implement this legislation in all its—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Glory?

Mr. Crosbie: Someone supplied me with a word there. I was lost for words.

In one of these documents, Mr. Speaker, you will see listed for you what will happen. For example, tariffs will be completely removed on about 15 per cent of the dutiable bilateral trade on January 1, including on items such as fresh frozen fish, animal feed, skis and skates, whisky, furs and fur garments if they are of Canadian or U.S. origin. The cross-border temporary entry procedures will go into effect. There will be new rules in effect for wines and spirits. New rules of origin will go into effect. New service and investment provisions will go into effect. The new binational dispute settlement rules will go into effect. Our relationship with the GATT will continue.

Mr. Simmons: How about statehood?

Mr. Crosbie: I do not know what anybody says about the state of the Hon. Member's hood. I can tell the Hon. Member that it does not look to be in too good shape.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I would hate to look under yours, John.

Mr. Crosbie: The Leader of the Opposition has made a remark on recovering from his election, the condition he was in on election day. I want to congratulate him on his resilience.

Before closing I want briefly to deal with adjustment, which brings me to the Leader of the Opposition. He is adjusting to the fact that he is Leader of the Opposition again.

My colleagues, the Minister responsible for science and technology and the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall), will speak more fully about adjustment later in the debate.

Study after independent study indicates that free trade will lead to growth in exports and investments, higher real incomes, and increased international competitiveness. There will be more—and not what we hear every day in Question Period—better and secure jobs for Canadians because of the Free Trade Agreement.

Those studies also indicate that the number of workers likely to be affected adversely by free trade will be low. It will be a very small fraction of the millions of Canadians who change jobs annually. I would ask you to remember, Mr. Speaker, that in the last four years there has been an increase in job creation of more than 1.3 million jobs. We hear examples picked out in Question Period concerning someone who is restructuring his company.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We never hear the Opposition mention the dozens of companies which are expanding such as Dupont which has announced that it will invest another \$160 million in the next three years, creating more jobs here in Canada because of the Free Trade Agreement. We never hear them mention National Sea Products which will be expanding in Nova Scotia and creating more jobs as a result of the Free Trade Agreement. I could go on and on with the many other companies which are doing the same.

With respect to those who will be affected over the 10-year period while the agreement comes into effect, we offer a wide range of training, job search and relocation programs primarily under the Canadian Jobs Strategy to workers displaced for any reason. The Government will ensure that these services are available to all Canadians who need them.

To ensure that we are doing all that needs to be done and that there is anything genuinely further needed, we appointed the Advisory Council on Adjustment chaired by Jean de Grandpré to assist with respect to whether any further measures may be needed, and if so what they should be.

That is our commitment to Canadian workers. It is a reasoned and responsible commitment. It is fair to Canadian workers. If the de Grandpré committee or any other source is able to show or does show that more is needed to be done, then that more will be done.

• (1640)

Beyond any of the specifics, the controversy surrounding free trade has centred in many ways on questions of confidence. Are Canadians able to compete against Americans? That is one question. On this side of the House we say "yes" emphatically. On the other side of the House neither Party seems to think that Canadians can compete against Americans or compete against anyone else.

Another question is this: Is our sense of nationhood or identity secure enough to choose consciously to trade more freely with the U.S.? Do we have an adequate sense of nationhood or identity? We say that Canadians do. The Opposition, apparently, says that Canadians do not. Those Members think our identity is going to be threatened if we trade more freely with the U.S. Let them defend that point of view if they wish.

Another question is: Will we grow stronger as a people if we open up these new opportunities and face

these new challenges? We say "yes". We are going to grow stronger as a people when we open up opportunities and face challenges. Opposition Members are afraid of the future. They are the believers in a small Canada. They do not believe in an expanding Canada. They do not have confidence in Canadians. That is their basic problem.

Let me conclude with one of the best statements on this subject I have heard recently, a statement by Robert Fulford who said:

"In this long and painful but perhaps finally healthy debate, I sympathize with all those people who fear we'll abandon our own identity. But I believe firmly that they are wrong.

I believe—"

Said Mr. Fulton.

Some Hon. Members: Fulford.

Mr. Crosbie: Fulford, not the Hon. Fulton who is in the House. Mr. Fulford continued:

"I believe we are now deeply committed to follow our own path in Canada and that we won't stray from that path just because it displeases our trading partners—"

Many of the things we like best about Canada are costly and only a prosperous society can afford them. My belief is that over the next 10 years or so the free trade agreement will contribute not only to the prosperity of Canada but to its independence and distinctiveness as well."

That is a statement by a literary figure in Ontario, a Torontorian. I suppose you might call him a member of the Toronto literary elite. It is a signal, of course, of why we did so well in Ontario during the election, because so many people from Ontario took the same intelligent view as Mr. Fulford.

I believe Mr. Fulford is right. I believe his predictions are going to be found to be true. Free trade will make Canada a stronger and more united country. That is why I am proud to move second reading of this Bill today.

That in the end, Mr. Speaker, is why it is time now for parliamentarians to act, to implement the Free Trade Agreement. As was said in a great poem by the English poet about Ulysses:

"O Come my friends tis not too late to seek
a newer world."

We invite Hon. Members opposite to stop their timorous, fearful approach to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. It continued:

"O come my friends tis not too late to seek
a newer world."

The New Democratic Party surely ought to believe that.

“Cast off and sitting well in order smite the sounding furrows
For our purpose holds,—”

You will remember the poem, Mr. Speaker, you are a very literate man.

“For our purpose holds, to sail beyond the sunset and the baths of all
the western stars until we die. Tho much is taken, much abides,
and tho we are not now that which in older days moved earth and
heaven

“That which we are, we are:

An equal temper of heroic hearts, made weak by time and fate
But strong in will—”

And you have to be strong in will in this House, Mr. Speaker.

“To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.”

Having moved second reading of this Bill, I would invite members of the Opposition to make clear that they are satisfied, to put their points in the next four or five days of debate, and to approve this legislation in time for our Christmas break. We would give the Senate the chance to come back and meet its commitments to put this legislation through so that Canada would meet its commitment on January 1, to have it in effect. The Government does not propose to start a new relationship with the United States by asking it to do us a favour, simply because our Opposition was not prepared to accept the verdict of the people of Canada in the election of November 21.

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to address a most important subject. At this stage may I thank the people of Vancouver Quadra for once again having the confidence to put their faith in me as their Member of Parliament. I am very proud to have the privilege of representing this very representative riding in Vancouver and of sharing an unguarded border with you, Mr. Speaker, along 41st Avenue. I congratulate you once again on your election by your peers to the speakership of this great House. I would like to say, coincidentally, that we apologize for delaying what should be a happy birthday celebration this evening. We wish you well, along with your family.

Yes, the election is over. The people have spoken and the people are always right. I want to say to Your Honour as Speaker of this House that to your right is a parliamentary majority and to your left is the popular majority representing people who voted against this agreement.

There is no doubt constitutionally that the Government has a right to proceed. There is also no doubt that

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

we have a right, reinforced by the mandate of those who elected us, to oppose and to provide constructive amendments reflecting the concerns about this agreement expressed by millions of people during the election. We intend to do that to the fullest measure of our responsibility in this House of Commons.

The trade deal we are being asked to pass, in my opinion and in the opinion of millions of Canadians, will change fundamentally the values which built this nation. These changes will not occur immediately after the deal is implemented. There will not be some huge thunder-clap and suddenly everything will be different. We never said that. What will happen will be more insidious, more deadly. It will not happen following the weeks of headlines in the papers and days of lengthy reports in the television news. Every event will not be covered by the media. It will be a plant closing here, a regional development grant disallowed there, a regulation amended in this country to conform with U.S. practice here and a government program cancelled there.

To the extent that it is humanly possible, the Liberal Party will be there and here to protect the interests of Canadians. The Government opposite has abandoned that role and that responsibility. We will keep monitoring this deal and, in particular, the question of adjustment programs, the closing of Canadian manufacturing plants, the negotiation on the definition of subsidy, and the continuing use of the American countervail duties and quotas allowed under this agreement.

• (1650)

[*Translation*]

Nobody—not the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), nor the senior corporate officials who endorsed this agreement, nor the groups of Conservative thinkers who defied logic to rationalize their support—nobody can give Canadians the assurance that this agreement is anything more than a gamble, an act of faith. In fact, nothing more concrete than hope. First, hope that our trade balance with the United States will grow, therefore that our companies will expand, and third, the most significant consideration, that such growth and prosperity will automatically benefit our country in terms of new jobs and higher profits.

Those are the assumptions upon which the agreement rests. I do not agree with that approach. But one thing is certain, and that is that the Government could not have swung this agreement without selling off some of the levers which are essential to the development of our

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

nation, in addition to endangering a number of others. It has dropped our ability to control our own economic policies, our own social policies, our own regional development policies, our own cultural policies and, most of all, our ability to control our own future.

This trade agreement is a short-term answer to a long-term problem. It is an attempt to take a shortcut towards prosperity. However, the Government forgot that prosperity cannot be authentic and real unless everyone stands to gain, not only the select few who now have an opportunity to find themselves in a position of strength and influence to benefit from the new market forces on which this whole question is based.

Market forces alone do not account for the way this country was built up. Mr. Speaker, we have managed to build this country by resisting the natural attraction of the north-south trade axis. We built from east to west and towards the north. We built a railroad, an airline, a radio and TV network, but the Prime Minister of Canada changed that east-west movement and turned it into a north-south axis simply by signing on the dotted line. Gone are more than 120 years of unrelenting struggles to achieve better regional equality! Gone are more than 120 years of authentic social and cultural policies! Gone are more than 120 years of loyalty to a distinct and unique Canadian identity! All it took was a simple signature.

[*English*]

Our goal was not to be isolationist or neutralist or protectionist. We are faithful to our friends and our allies. We have worked to lessen international tensions over the years and to open up around the world an international trading system.

We believe and have always promoted an open and free country. We have always been in favour of more and better trade, not only with the United States but with all our trading partners. The proof is in the fact that since the Second World War successive Liberal Governments have lowered tariffs from an average of 40 per cent to 4 per cent. Today, without this agreement, 80 per cent of everything we trade with the United States goes across the border duty-free. We did that without sacrificing sovereignty and without giving up our ability to do things our own way.

We did it by negotiating internationally through the GATT and other international bodies, not because we did not want to talk to the Americans, far from it. We favoured the international route because we could do better for ourselves through global negotiations rather than through direct negotiations with the United States.

We have always, whether in defence matters, monetary matters, exchange matters, banking matters, or trading matters, done better with the United States in a global, multilateral framework than in direct negotiations. We have always had better leverage with the United States by negotiating multilaterally.

In global negotiations in such bodies as the GATT, the focus is solely on trade and trade related issues. While from time to time we may not like certain decisions of the GATT, and whereas Montreal demonstrated that the GATT may sometimes move slowly, the nations of the GATT do not dictate domestic Canadian policy as this agreement with the United States will do. Under the GATT we have the right to challenge American law. Under this agreement we have no such right to challenge American law.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) entered this House as a new Member a few years ago philosophically against a free trade deal with the United States. When he was running for the leadership of his own Party against the now Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), and the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark), only the Minister for International Trade has remained consistent. Only he was for a free trade agreement with the United States, and he must take certain satisfaction from that.

However in an open televised debate with the Minister, the present Prime Minister of Canada said: "Free trade, it affects our sovereignty and we will have nothing of it". He was right then and he should be right today and should never have introduced this agreement.

We are entitled to inquire what changed his mind. He said there was a growing protectionist sentiment in the United States, but this had been a fact for several years. What really changed was that his Government had no positive economic strategy to present before Canadians and opted for the illusion of security by tying our economy even closer to that of the United States. It was because of the bankruptcy of the economic strategy of the Government that it tried symbolically to hitch its wagon to a stronger partner, even yielding control over the reins of that wagon.

We were told countless times that the whole point of entering into a free trade agreement with the United States was to get secure access to U.S. markets and thereby to immunize ourselves from United States protectionism. But, as we on this side of the House have

pointed out countless times, gaining secure access to the American market meant gaining specific exemption from American trade law: the United States trade law of 1930, the U.S. trade law of 1974, and particularly the recent omnibus Bill just signed by the President of the United States.

In addition to that exemption we needed something to enforce that exemption by way of a binding, mutually acceptable dispute settlement mechanism. This is the one topic that the Conservative Government, led by the Prime Minister, never discussed during the election campaign. The point is clear. The very purpose of the agreement was never achieved, and the Americans are still free under this agreement to use the same protectionist remedies they have historically used against us. After the deal is signed there is no improvement. The deal can be passed but the same American remedies apply.

We can talk endlessly about the merits of free trade, but that is not what this deal is about. The pure, simple and unadulterated fact is that we did not get an exemption from American trade action, and we thereby do not have a free trade deal.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: Would you exempt them from Canadian law? Would you exempt them from Canadian law?

Mr. Prud'homme: Ask him to be silent.

Mr. Allmand: Minister of the homeless.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The Minister of Housing who we called the minister of homelessness during the campaign because his first suggestion as Minister was to suggest to the people of Toronto that they sleep on the streets at night.

Mr. McDermid: That is a lie.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Simmons: Retract.

Mr. Speaker: I am sure the Hon. Minister means that he does not agree with what the right hon. gentleman said.

Some Hon. Members: Apologize.

Mr. Boudria: Withdraw.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask the Minister—

Some Hon. Members: Withdraw.

Mr. McDermid: I withdraw those remarks.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I invite all Hon. Members to refer to Article 1902 and Article 1904 of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the deal. The same laws that the Americans have used to hit us on softwood lumber, as we talked about this afternoon, on potash, steel, fish, and other products are still in place. These laws still apply to our exports. Our Government's support programs will still be judged by the Americans using the same criteria they used before—the same laws, following American precedents and practice, and based on American judicial precedent.

It is true that we now have a new dispute settlement mechanism.

Mr. Crosbie: Right.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): What is the jurisdiction of that mechanism? The tribunal cannot challenge American trade law. It can only interpret that law according to American precedent, statutes, and regulations as that law may be amended from time to time.

● (1700)

We are bound under this agreement, not only by today's American law but by any amendment that the Congress of the United States may make. We are as wide open as we have ever been, and the fundamental purpose of this agreement was not achieved. That is what the agreement says.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I am glad to get more reaction from the other side than the Minister did, and I can understand it. This is a speech dealing with the merits of the case.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Despite the fact that the Government of Canada did not obtain the essential purpose of the agreement which the Government said we would get, namely, secure access to the American market, what is truly astounding is that after it became clear that that was not obtainable we learned something else. The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy), myself, the Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray), and others met with leading United States Senators from both sides of the aisle, led by Senator Lloyd Bentsen when he was up here and leading members of the House of Representatives from both sides of the aisle. They made it quite clear to us that in no event, under no eventuality, would the Congress of the United States ever yield its jurisdiction over American trade law.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The purpose of the agreement was not obtained and was not obtainable. Despite that, the Government signed this agreement, and as an additional measure of self-humiliation for Canadians, yielded economic levers, control over which is essential to the future of this country: our energy, agriculture, investment policy, and capital markets. This was the most astounding cession of sovereignty in the history of a free nation, and Canadians will live to regret it. That, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. McDermid: Do you want to talk about the election campaign?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I will accept that invitation. We will deal with the campaign in a minute. Right now, our side is interested in this. It may bore the other side, but I am dealing with the substance of the agreement.

That result was inevitable in any bilateral negotiation with someone or some enterprise 10 times stronger than we are, with 10 times the market, 10 times the population, 10 times the economic strength. It is inevitable that to get any perceptible entry into that market, Canadians would have to grant 10 times the concessions, and we did. This is the reason historically that we have always negotiated under the auspices of international organizations. In that style of negotiation, we can argue together as *demandeur* under international negotiations and cut side deals with the United States.

Look what we gave away. What about energy? The Americans have wanted secure access to our resources since the Payley report of 1956, ordered under the jurisdiction of the late President Eisenhower. The Payley Commission wanted it; it now has it.

Under this deal, we must ensure that any tax or other measure we take with respect to energy—and I am citing Article 1904—does not impose a higher price for exports of an energy good to the other party than the price charged for such energy good when consumed domestically. This means that we can no longer give any advantage to our own consumers over our own industry in competition with American interests. The National Energy Board will be turned into nothing more than a monitoring agency.

Canada also guaranteed that in times of shortages, energy shipments to the United States would only be

reduced in proportion to the total supply on a prorated basis of what was shipped in the previous three years. This same proportional access regime will apply not only to energy but to all our resources. The articles of the agreement make it clear that it applies to all our resources, renewable and non-renewable, including water which is included in this deal despite the claims made by the Government.

During the election campaign, the Prime Minister said that that was not important because we had done exactly the same thing when we agreed to the energy and emergency sharing system of the International Energy Agency in 1974. That agreement, as the Prime Minister should know but neglected to mention, related only to oil and only in certain well defined emergency situations. Contrast Article 904 of the trade deal which commits Canada to sharing all types of energy, not just oil, on an ongoing basis, and Article 409 which commits us to the same regime for all other resources as well.

I think the Prime Minister owes Canadians both an explanation and an apology for what he said on this issue during the election campaign because he was totally inaccurate. We have become an energy reservoir for the United States. What is theirs is theirs and what is ours has now become theirs too.

Let us turn to agriculture. Seasonal tariffs on fruits, vegetables, and other horticultural products are to be removed progressively. That protection will be progressively eliminated. Hon. Members just have to look outside the House today to know that our climate is not the same as that of California, Florida, or Georgia. Our farmers have a harsher climate, a shorter growing season, and higher costs.

Mr. McDermid: How about Minnesota? How about the farmers of Minnesota?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): They bray over there, but only a Conservative Government would sign a deal which completely overlooks the Canadian climate.

Add to that the fact that our whole agricultural supply-management system has been negotiated away. Our support systems will be brought into line with theirs.

Look at some of the programs listed which will be up for negotiation over the five to seven years. They are in the annex to this agreement. We have the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, the Agricultural and Rural Development Act, the Economic and Rural Development Agreements, the Agricultural Stabilization Act, the Western Grain Stabilization Act, and so on. Virtually the entire support system sustaining our western grain economy is to be negotiated now with the Americans.

[*Translation*]

And since the United States, because of its size and its market, massively dominates the agricultural industry, the level of support that we will be able to give our farmers will be determined not here in Ottawa, but in Washington. The food processing industry will move to the United States where products are cheaper. Some companies in this sector like McCain's have already indicated that this is the only choice they have left. Our fishermen will also suffer. We have given up our rights within GATT to protect Atlantic and Pacific fishermen.

The Government boasts that it managed to exempt some legislation concerning Atlantic fishermen from the Agreement. But in his statement to Congress, the President of the United States clearly indicated that although the grandfather clause applies, it does not mean much because if we ever invoke this clause to protect our processing industries, the Americans will retaliate.

The same threat applies even more clearly to our West Coast fishermen. Indeed, Section 304E of the American legislation implementing this agreement requires the President of the United States to initiate proceedings within 30 days if we ever invoke the grandfather clause to protect our fishermen.

This is but one example among many others of the way we have sold out this industry in this venture, this deal, which in this case involves an exemption for our fishermen when in fact none exists; like so many other aspects of this Agreement, it is just an illusion, a dream.

[*English*]

Nothing has changed. Nothing will change in the American approach to Canadian exporters. They retain the same remedies, they retain the same rights on countervail, on quotas, on anti-dumping, the same remedies as they had before the deal was signed.

Look what happened in lumber. The Government pleaded guilty before the trial. It agreed to impose a 15 per cent export tax on softwood lumber into the United States in perpetuity. Why did it do it? It did not want to

rock the over-all trade talks with the United States. Lumber mills are closing down. People are being thrown out of work.

The then Minister, Pat Carney, told us that when an agreement was signed, then the lumber industry would be protected, but what happened?

Quite the contrary happened. Under Article 2009 of this agreement, that Memorandum of Understanding imposing a 15 per cent export tax on our lumber into the American market, is now incorporated into and made part on a permanent basis of the trading relationship between Canada and the United States. They incorporated the lumber agreement into the trade deal, and rather than protect our lumber industry from further harassment, they protected a lumber agreement that guaranteed that our lumber industry would be harassed to the tune of a 15 per cent export tax as long as this trade deal is in effect. Some free trade deal when a whole sector is at a 15 per cent disadvantage. I have said to the people of Prince George, the people of northern Ontario, the people of Quebec—

• (1710)

Mr. Oberle: You did not get to Prince George.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The Minister is here. He is quite right. I had to go on an open-line show to make my apologies. Weather and his hot air held me up. The Minister knows that I have been in Prince George four times in the last four years. I always regretted not seeing him there, and I always left my best wishes.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I do not argue with the people's decision in Prince George. I have the highest regard for the Minister, but he knows as that American housing market drops, as the exchange rate floats dangerously higher perhaps as an implicit part of that agreement, and as that 15 per cent tax begins to bite—and it is higher than the profit margin of any independent sawmill in the Minister's riding or any independent sawmill in northern Ontario—that that 15 per cent tax and the 15 per cent increase in the exchange rate as compared to the American dollar since the Memorandum of Understanding was signed jeopardize every sawmill in northern and central British Columbia as they do right across this country. I say to the Minister that he should count on his good fortune to have been re-elected before the industry really comes to terms with what has happened.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We have also given up on our ability to control foreign investment. Any Canadian company worth up to \$150 million can be taken over and we cannot say a thing about it. There will no longer be any limit for review of indirect acquisitions. It was not enough that the Government sacrificed all its bargaining power before going to the table. It threw away its cards on the National Energy Program, whatever one may think about it. It threw away the cards on the Foreign Investment Review Act. It was the stupidest bargaining posture for a major trading nation to get into, namely, to throw away the cards before ever getting to the table. They agreed to open season on Canadian owned companies. Our capital markets are now wide open. I see the Minister of State for Finance (Mr. Hockin) here. He knows that our banking industry, our insurance industry, and our investments are now open to American takeovers.

Mr. Hockin: Be precise.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): He also knows that because of the jurisdiction under American law and because of the Glass-Steagall Act we do not have reciprocal rights into the American market. He knows that.

Mr. Hockin: We have more.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The Minister ought to read the agreement. That was probably the palpable inequality in that agreement. We threw our capital markets wide open to the Americans. They shrewdly know that the jurisdiction over banking and most of the financial institutions is the 50 states and that because of the Glass-Steagall Act our banks cannot go further into American banking. He got outmanoeuvred. We got euchred, and we really look stupid on that whole deal.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): We are granting American industry what is called under the agreement national treatment—national treatment in Canada for American institutions and American citizens, national treatment in goods and services and investments. That means our industry in either of those domains which represents about 95 per cent of our economy can have no tax advantages, no fiscal advantages, no subventional advantages or grants, and no regional development advantages over American competitors. That means Americans will be treated the same as Canadians when those Americans operate in Canada.

Our border will virtually disappear in most service sectors. When the border is open between a country of

26 million and a country of 260 million people, the trickle sent by the smaller nation will be overwhelmed by the flood from the larger nation. For example, let us take a company here in the Ottawa Valley, in Kanata. Two or three younger people with a new idea get some financing but are unable to get any further fiscal grants, incentives, or tax advantages which are not open to an American competitor because they are against the spirit of this agreement. At any rate they get a new idea off the ground and they do well on the Canadian market. They get a penetration into the American market, but when that penetration becomes visible, any American competitor can examine the advantages given our company here in Kanata and, if any tax incentives, grants, or encouragement is given under our system which is not available to an American company, the Americans can countervail.

If that does not work, then they can come over and buy because the limit is \$150 million. What happens to some of our Canadian citizens, our bright ones, instant millionaires? We have a couple of millionaires and we have 150 people out of work. Under the terms of the agreement the company in Kanata, which is now in American hands, can bring over personnel from Chicago, Los Angeles, or Detroit and run it, because that is what the agreement says they can do in terms of moving personnel across the border.

No other country as a member of the GATT has ever negotiated free trade in services. No wonder the President of the United States and the U.S. trade representative held this up as Exhibit A at the GATT meeting in Montreal. We are the first suckers. Who is next? The United States is using Exhibit A as a drill for every other country. The Mexicans were invited into the same kind of deal, but by God, they were smarter than we were. They stayed out. We have given away leadership in our own economy.

What lies ahead, Mr. Speaker? Under the terms of this deal, over the next five to seven years there is to be negotiation over what is an allowable subsidy. Real negotiations are now going to get under way. This was a subject on which there was no agreement reached before the deal was signed. In a statement to the Congress President Reagan said that there was "no higher priority than the elimination of Canadian subsidies." The Government signed the deal obligating us to enter the negotiations over the definition of subsidy without first agreeing to some parameters over that definition.

The Americans have a clear agenda. They know what they want. They come out in the open with what they want. They have said categorically, from the President to the United States trade representative to the senior Senator in the finance committee of the United States, that they want to eliminate any other programs which their companies consider unfair subsidies. That is what they have said, in black and white.

In the past they have claimed under their legislation—and it is perpetuated under the agreement—of 1930 and 1974, and the overwhelmingly broad definitions in the omnibus Bill just passed by the Congress that dozens of our regional development programs and social programs constituted unfair subsidies. Are we so naive to think that the Americans will change their minds?

[*Translation*]

Let us not kid ourselves, the next round of negotiations will be even more difficult than what we have experienced so far. Discussions over a five-to-seven year period will have to do with the definition of a subsidy. What is or is not a subsidy? This has now become the number one question. I do not believe the Government is fully aware of what is at stake. And quite frankly, although I already had very serious reservations about the ability of our Prime Minister to stand his ground before American pressure, I must confess that I am now ten times more worried. My concern has grown ever deeper as the days go by, for clearly the Government has not yet managed to stand up once to the Americans. This Government has kept on yielding to American pressure, totally and without any scruple whatever. Whether we are talking about lumber, foreign investment, prescription drugs, acid rain, our sovereignty in the Arctic, the President or Congress say "Jump!" and this Government slavishly asks "Where do you want me to jump?" That is the sad story we have lived through over the past four years, and I have every reason to believe that it is also the sad story we can expect to live through over the next four years.

In the course of the election campaign the Government solemnly promised that our social programs and our regional development programs will never be on the negotiation table. But the Government never did tell us what is negotiable, what are the parameters of negotiations concerning subsidies. Yes or no, are our social programs, our cultural programs, and our regional development programs open for negotiations?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

This, Mr. Speaker, is a bad contract. It is an unbalanced agreement. It gives Americans control over our economic levers. And when a nation has lost control over its economic levers, the political levers cannot be far behind. History has proved that a number of times. That is why we in this Party will continue our fight.

Most Canadian men and women fully realize that this is a bad agreement, which explains their massive vote against the agreement and against the Government. As a matter of fact, 57 per cent of Canadians did not vote for this Government nor for the Free Trade Agreement with the United States.

• (1720)

[*English*]

I have said that the Government won a majority of the seats. The Government has the right to govern. The Government has the right to proceed with its legislative agenda. But we on this side of the House have the right, and indeed the duty, to show how the deal will hurt Canadians. That is the essence of the Canadian parliamentary system.

Last summer I asked Liberal Senators to delay consideration of the trade legislation until the people had the opportunity to consider it in an election. As I said on July 20, 1988—and the Minister has quoted only part of that declaration—if a majority of MPs in a new Parliament want the trade agreement to become law, after debate the Senate should pass the Bill quickly. I stand by what I said, and that will happen.

What has happened during this week has not been the fault of the Opposition and cannot be laid at the hands of this side of the House. We have seen the most heavy-handed, ham-handed manipulation or attempted manipulation of the House, and the mismanagement of the House.

Our House Leader and Whip had to suggest to the House Leader on the government side how to bail himself out of an impasse. We were ready to debate this on Tuesday morning, Mr. Speaker, and you know it. We are ready to debate it at any time. We will not waste the time of the House. We will put our arguments, we will put our amendments, and we will allow these votes to be taken. But we are damned if we are going to be manoeuvred by a majority that thinks it is a game, a tyranny, and has not recognized the deep lack of consensus in this country, and the concern of millions of Canadians that their jobs and their futures are at risk under this agreement.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I was invited by the Minister to talk about the election campaign, and I will yield to that temptation for a moment. The main theme of the election and the main theme of this session is the trade Bill. The election revolved around the arguments pro and con, and through the efforts of this Party in forcing an election on this issue, we managed to focus the attention of Canadians on the most important issue of our lifetime.

Yes, it is true, we did not win a majority of the seats. However, I believe that we won the hearts and minds of Canadians on this issue. We won on the merits of the case against the deal. We discussed the deal in detail, as I have attempted to do, basing myself on the document. We discussed the details of the deal and how it would affect Canada.

Members of the Conservative Party attempted to obscure the details, and one cannot blame them because the Minister in charge had not even read the deal. What happened is that we won that debate for the minds and hearts of Canadians. We were winning the election, and then two things happened. I believe that all Canadians and the House had better come to grips with it. There was the unprecedented intervention of big business with millions of dollars in an advertising campaigning in support of the deal, an advertising campaign whose spending is outside the bounds of the Election Expenses Act, an advertising campaign contributed to by individual companies across Canada which will appear on most tax returns as a deductible business expense.

In other words, the Canadian people will pay for half of that campaign. We intend to push for changes to the Election Expenses Act to put limits on third party advertising once and for all because it was abused immensely during this election campaign.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): There were also major corporations sending letters to their shareholders and letters to their employees with their paycheques in support of the deal in a campaign of fear. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, and I believe Canadians ought to ask themselves, how much was spent? I believe that we need some good investigative reporting to dig out the total figure of what was spent on this issue on the government side in terms of taxpayers' money, in terms of Tory Party money, and in terms of big business money to win this election.

While I am on the topic of the media, I think it would also be a good idea for the media to take a look at its own role during this campaign. The fact that this Party

had to go to court to persuade the two major English speaking national networks to allow us to use material from the public debates in our own advertising spots is another subject that would make a very interesting topic for investigation.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I think there were a lot of games being played, and I think that the Canadian public has the right to know who paid for what, and what debts this Government will be forced to repay over the life of its mandate.

The great strategists of the Tory Party are now trying to take credit for what they call "turning the election around". I read all those think pieces. But how did they really do it? Did they do it by responding to the message? Did they do it by engaging us in debate on the issue? Did they do it by arguing the merits of the case? Did they do it by debating the subject rationally across this country?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): They could not attack the message because the message was winning, so they attacked the messenger. That is exactly what they did. As Allan Gregg of Decima put it, in an unusually frank interview: "We saw the bridge between the message and the messenger, and we had to blow up the bridge. We had to destroy the messenger's credibility", so they mounted an unprecedented personal attack on my character, on my sincerity, and on my competence. This negative advertising was imported for the first time into Canada from the Government's Republican friends in the United States. It was nothing short of the Americanization of Canadian politics, as the Government wants to Americanize everything else in this country.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): It was the most vicious campaign in Canadian history. I do not for a minute mourn my own personal loss. I have perspective in the history of this country. In political life, you win some and you lose some, and you have to accept the results whatever they may be. I fully accept the results of this election. I have always said that this issue was more important than any individual. I have always said that the cause was more important than anybody arguing it one way or the other. I am satisfied that the position that I advanced on behalf of our Party will be proven by history to be correct and that we are on the right side of history on that issue.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): At the same time I know that the process itself has been damaged in this campaign by the tactics used by the Government. That is something that every Canadian will regret for some time to come. In this campaign through the tactics of the Government, we saw democracy stripped of its majesty. It was a cynical manipulation of public opinion. A power hungry reach for the lower side of human nature. The Government was playing to fear and not to the pride of a nation. I say to the Prime Minister that you have a tarnished mandate, a sullied victory. You bought an election and you sold out the country.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Canadians will follow the course of future negotiations with a sense of foreboding, with a sense of unease and distaste. Canadians feel helpless as we are now about to be absorbed remorselessly into the American orbit. Canadians will mourn the loss of our sovereignty. What a mark of history for the Prime Minister. Two successive majorities, its true; two successive steps on the road to American statehood.

• (1730)

We in this Party do not intend to sit quietly while this country is being sold out. We in this Party have a mandate, and it is a mandate that is very clear. Millions of Canadians gave us their support because they wanted us to fight this deal, and we will not renege on that commitment. We will continue to lead the forces opposed to this deal. We have a mandate to push for, and insist upon, changes to the legislation, and we intend to pursue that mandate.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, we shall propose amendments to ensure that adjustment programs are in place before the agreement is adopted and not after, because after, it will be too late. As the Government knows, or should know, reports Nos. 331 and 334 of the Economic Council of Canada identified no less than 23,963 factories throughout Canada that are now endangered by the trade agreement with the United States. They are threatened because their productivity is considered to be "submaximal", to use the Council's term.

Just a few days after the election, announcements of plant shutdowns started to come in: Gillette in Montreal and Toronto, 590 jobs; Ortho Diagnostic in North York, 16 jobs; British Footwear in Lachine, 50 jobs; Northern Telecom in Aylmer and Belleville, 870 jobs; Canada Packers in Winnipeg, 90 jobs. And rumours of other closures are pouring in from everywhere.

During the election campaign, the Prime Minister promised time and again to set up labour adjustment programs. He told us that the de Grandpré Commission was working on this question. But this Commission will not present its report for many months! We have certainly seen this Government make the same kind of commitment in the past, always with its hand on its heart, so to speak. We have also seen what happened. Frankly, we do not believe that they are too serious. Therefore, this time, we want commitments from the Prime Minister in writing, directly in the legislation, in the law and nothing less! Admittedly, how often have we heard the Prime Minister and other say that our social programs and regional development programs are not affected by this Agreement. We want to see that in the legislation, on paper, in black and white. We do not want to wait four or ten years to see where these negotiations will take us. We want assurances in the legislation itself, from the beginning, right now.

[*English*]

We will also propose amendments to ensure that our agricultural programs are clearly protected, that our cultural initiatives are not subject to the trade deal, that our environmental protection programs are not compromised, and that Canadians are represented on any committees, panels or commissions that the Governments may create to oversee the operation of the agreement.

We shall also insist that there be comprehensive parliamentary monitoring of the agreement, and a full parliamentary review of the operation of the agreement after three years.

We do not agree with the negotiation process in respect of the definition of a subsidy. We want to ensure that the process is fully public and that Canadians are kept completely informed and aware of the issues being discussed.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We do not want a continuation of what we have had for the last three years, that being secret negotiations behind closed doors.

The only way I and my colleague from Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy), and our other colleagues, yet have been able to get any information about this deal at all is not from our Government, not from our Public Service, but from our friends in Washington. The Americans have been open and frank about this deal. We want information with respect to the negotiations on subsidies published here in Canada and made public here on the floor of the House of Commons. In that way we and Canadians generally will be aware of what is going on.

We will continue the Liberal Caucus Task Force on trade to monitor the impact of the agreement as it is implemented and to further define alternatives.

We have received the November 1988 report of the U.S. Trade Representative to Congress, Clayton Yeutter, which report makes it very clear that the Americans understand that the deal goes well beyond simple changes in law and legislation. I quote the words of Mr. Yeutter's report, as follows:

"In many instances, conformity with the FTA will require no modification of the law, but rather a modification of the regulation, policy, or administrative practice implementing the law."

In other words, the Americans are claiming now the right to tell us, not only whether or not a particular piece of legislation is in order, but whether we are administering it properly. Perhaps they will even want to comment on how we are proceeding in this House and whether or not we have the right to propose amendments to the deal.

If the Government opposite had any spine at all, it would serve notice immediately on the U.S. Government that we have no intention of allowing the American Government to dictate our administrative processes and procedures, and the scope of our own administrative practices.

Mr. Yeutter's report also serves to support a contention raised in this House a couple of days ago by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, that being that it has been obvious from the beginning that the Americans have known exactly where they were going. They have known all along what they wanted from Canada, and they are not afraid to make it public in the report to Congress. They are absolutely frank about their objectives, about their intentions.

Where is our report? How do we respond? What are our intentions? Where is the Canadian list of U.S. practices and U.S. administrative procedures that we demand be changed? Is this going to be a public document? Will we get to see it? Or will we, as is usual with this Government, have to ask repeated questions in this House and get repeated evasive answers and stonewalling?

We should know now what the strategy of the Canadian Government is. Or does the Government intend to keep it a secret, as it has kept the whole negotiation process to date a secret?

Where is the analysis of the impact that this deal will have over time on our trading partners? Where is that report? Where is that government study?

We in the Liberal Party believe that we have always done better by negotiating trade matters internationally through the GATT and other international bodies.

As I mentioned a few moments ago, that is the process by which, historically, we have achieved the greatest success.

I favour the continuation and expansion of that international approach. I set forth our alternative five-point trade strategy in this House on August 30 last, during debate on the motion for the third reading of the predecessor Bill to Bill C-2. I proposed action in the fields of the GATT, the world economy, Canada-U.S. trade, export expansion and enhancement, and global competitiveness.

Under the chairmanship of the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, we presented a minority report, ably seconded by the Hon. Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (Mr. Allmand).

We have set out an alternative trade policy for this country and one which historically is valid and which, historically, has been successful for Canada.

Our approach would permit us to trade with the world, including with the United States, without sacrificing our sovereignty and our independence as a nation.

There is a wider world out there. We have tremendous opportunities world-wide, particularly in the Pacific Rim and Europe. By concentrating all of our energies on the American market, we are in danger of losing, and are losing, opportunities in the new and growing markets in those countries.

We will become a part of fortress North America, in competition with other large trading blocs around the world. And, as nothing more than the junior partner in that enterprise, our role as a voice for reducing trade barriers around the world will be severely weakened and curtailed.

I believe that the Canada-U.S. free trade deal now before this House, Mr. Speaker, will prove to be an historic mistake for Canada. It will fundamentally change Canada as no other action in our history has changed Canada. It reduces our choices, and it reduces our ability to make those choices for ourselves as Canadians in our own way as a nation.

I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that we in the Liberal Party will abide by the rules of this House; that we will be responsible in our conduct in this House. We will state our case, and nothing more than our case.

I want to say to you, Mr. Speaker—and, through you, to all Canadians—that the fight over this deal is not finished. It is far from over. A new battle has just begun. We in the Liberal Party will continue to lead the fight for Canadian sovereignty. We continue to speak for the millions of Canadians, the majority of Canadians, who voted against this Government and against this deal. We continue to speak for Canada.

With that in mind, Mr. Speaker, I move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre:

“That the motion be amended by deleting all of the words after the word “That” and by substituting the following:

That this House opposes in principle and therefore declines to proceed with Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, because that agreement, which was negotiated in a secretive and irresponsible manner and has been rejected by 57 per cent of the Canadian people, will undermine the economic, social and political institutions of Canada, because it will fail to provide guaranteed and secure access to U.S. and other world trade markets, because it will create severe adverse effects on many industries and communities and because it will endanger the economic and social fabric and political independence of Canada.”

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1740)

Mr. Speaker: Before proceeding with debate on the amendment, and I will be recognizing the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) in just a moment, the Hon. Minister has a point of order.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, the normal business question was not asked today by my hon. friend, the House Leader for the Liberal Party. Therefore, I wish to advise the House that tomorrow the Government will call Item

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

No. 1 on the Order Paper, that is, the motion to provide for extended sittings. I want to offer once again on behalf of the Government an opportunity to the House to extend the sittings over the weekend. I am sure that if there is a disposition among the opposition Parties to consider that suggestion, they can get back to me.

As well, I give notice that at the next sitting of the House, before the Order is called for resuming debate on the motion for second reading and reference to committee of Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, I shall move that the debate shall not be further adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: I should say to all Hon. Members that debate will continue on the amendment. There is of course agreement and the usual courtesies for the Hon. Member for Oshawa, Leader of the NDP, and we will not see the clock until he is finished his address.

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to rise on behalf of my colleagues in this House to participate in this historic debate. The motion we have before us, as Members on all sides recognize, has been appropriately described—and I do not normally agree with the Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) on most matters of political significance in this country—as perhaps the most important measure the Parliament of Canada has debated since World War II.

What is at stake in the Bill that the Government has before the Parliament of Canada is the very future of this country, and it is precisely for this reason that before the election, during the election, and in the present Parliament of Canada the New Democratic Party, in all of its sections, in every province, in every council, including the federal caucus, the New Democratic Party opposes this measure.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most useful way of understanding Canadian history is to see it as a continuing tension between those of whatever generation in the history of our land who have thought it desirable to ensure that all the instruments of power, political, social and economic, remained within Canada so that Canadians themselves would be in a position to determine their own future, and those who, on the other hand, hold a competing view, which has lasted throughout the history of our country, that of the powerful continental lure of the United States.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Our predecessors in this Parliament, our predecessors in the provincial legislatures, have fought and fought successfully to maintain political independence. However, the struggle, without any ill will necessarily being assumed on the part of the United States of America, has been a real and constant one and will go on in the future.

This struggle has changed as the nature of our country has changed, as the world has evolved. On the one hand we have the view that has dominated the 20th century in the United States, that market principles should predominate not simply in the economy, but that they should predominate in all the principal relationships in society. That view has been argued at length and is broadly accepted in the United States. However, I say, as one North American, I am glad that there is still a minor tradition against that view in the U.S. However, that view has been and is the predominant one in the 20th century.

On the other hand, the modern Canadian tradition is something quite different. Our view, especially as it has evolved since World War II, is that in social policy, in regional development policy, and in cultural concerns, community and other non-commercial values should prevail. That is the Canadian way now, and that is what we intend to struggle to make sure exists in the future of this country of ours.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, my Party and I strenuously opposed a comprehensive trade arrangement with the United States when the Prime Minister first raised the idea with the U.S. President during the Shamrock shuffle of 1985. We did so precisely for the reason that I have just indicated. We fought as a Party in the past in this country, and we fight now and will continue to fight in the future, to ensure that the modern Canadian tradition, not the American tradition, will prevail in the major decisions that are reached within our own country. That is what is at stake in this issue.

In 1985, I said that the Government had no mandate to proceed even with negotiations on such a deal because there was not the slightest bit of discussion of such a comprehensive arrangement that goes well beyond, as Members who have studied and thought seriously about this matter know, the principles of trade. The Government in 1985, I said then and repeat now, had no mandate to proceed. Indeed, the only discussion of such

a comprehensive deal by members of the Government that was formed in 1984, as we have said many times in this House, the only views that had been expressed prior to the 1984 election on the subject matter by the Prime Minister, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, by the Minister of Finance, by the Secretary of State as he became in the Prime Minister's Government, were that such a deal would be completely contrary to the interests of our country.

• (1750)

So there was no mandate. The Government tried to do what it did in the Parliament of Canada prior to the recent election. Following the recent election I said, and the Minister quoted part of what I had to say, that in our parliamentary system having waged a serious, tough election from one part of Canada to the other—and Canadians of good will have been on on both sides—the Conservatives having obtained a majority Government, they do now indeed have a mandate to proceed with legislation, to have it introduced, debated, and at some point to have a vote taken in the House of Commons. That indeed is what parliamentary democracy in this country and in other countries has been all about.

At the same time I say that if the Government of the day—the Government now holding the reins of power in our Parliament—has that mandate then, as it knows, the substantial majority of Canadians voted for Parties in opposition to this deal. If the Government has obtained a mandate to proceed, then we have our responsibilities in the same parliamentary tradition to raise objections that we believe are serious, to point out criticisms, to talk about alternatives, and to use all the rules and procedures that are democratically available to us to give voice to all those people who voted against this deal. We intend to do so. Nothing I said in the Minister's selective quotation following the election contradicted what I say now.

Beyond that I want to speak on one matter of important procedure here in this democracy of ours. I have had other occasions to say it. In my view, on balance, if we consider the rights of the Government and the rights of the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament, we are somewhat ahead of the other parliamentary systems in the rigour of our democracy and in the particular form of our institutions.

But I say in that context that I was shocked that immediately following the election, when the Government was given a very good mandate in our democratic system, and the Prime Minister spoke of reconciliation, that the first act of the Government should be in fact to tear up the rule book of Parliament. That is totally unacceptable. The people of Canada did not vote this Government in to do that.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, we believe that this Agreement will change the very foundation of our country and we are prepared to defend this foundation. Our opposition will always be firm during this session of Parliament and after. We believe that this agreement threatens our future and the future of our children. We believe that this agreement threatens our fundamental values and there are thousands of Canadians who agree with us completely. They are concerned about the possible impact on our social programs. They believe that our environment will be threatened. They believe that our commitment to develop the outlying regions will be threatened. They want measures to protect the workers who will be laid off.

Mr. Speaker, we intend to ensure that their voice is heard here in the House of Commons.

[*English*]

The election illustrated that whether or not Canadians support the trade deal they do care deeply about preserving and enhancing our Canadian social policy tradition from medicare to pensions. They want to maintain the possibility of industrial development in all regions of our country, not just in those regions where the market mechanism happens to be working very well. They want to be certain that Government subsidies can be used to protect our environment and not simply used to develop energy for export to the United States at the same price as Canadians will be paying.

I want to call to the attention, particularly of Members on the other side of the House, what is particularly new and important in this phase of the debate—and I am not going to go over many of the old arguments that have been made and were made prior to the election. It is that there was a new aspect to the debate that occurred during the campaign itself. It was that these messages of concern about social policy, regional development policy and environmental concerns, which will be one of the great ongoing concerns not only in this country but throughout the planet in the next two decades, were raised not simply by Canadians who voted

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

for opposition Parties but also by Canadians who voted for the Government, even if they supported the principles involved. It is possible that their knowledge of the details was shaky, and perhaps it was not. But they differed in judgment. They had concerns about these matters as well.

The Government had an obligation when it came back to the Parliament of Canada not simply to pick up where it left off before the election but to respond in the Throne Speech and in a Bill that it brought before Parliament by indicating that it actually listened to the people of Canada. It did not do so.

Immediately following the election I wrote to the Prime Minister urging that he make his election night call for national reconciliation concrete by reaching out to millions of Canadians who expressed concerns about our future, including both those who voted for and against the Government. They wanted assurances that the trade deal would never be used as a vehicle to compromise these programs that I have said come to constitute the modern Canadian tradition.

I asked for action to ensure that our social policies would be protected. Steps could have been taken before Parliament was called back in terms of reaching a formal agreement and undertaking with the United States to have achieved that goal. I asked for legislation to protect those who would be losing their jobs, and I will return to that in just a few minutes.

I drew attention to the five to seven year period ahead of us as a country when the crucial question of the definition of a subsidy must be determined. I asked for a special parliamentary committee to monitor all aspects of the deal. There is already the equivalent of such a committee established in the United States. I did this because the people of Canada and I want to obtain assurances that over the next few years the activities of the Government, whatever the government of the day, will be monitored by an independent committee made up of government and opposition Members in the House of Commons.

Instead of responding in order to reconcile and to reassure, the Prime Minister ignored the appeal. Instead of listening to Canadians in his hour of victory, he callously dismissed their concerns. Instead of referring to new and relevant resolutions and Bills in an imaginative Throne Speech, the Prime Minister produced simply a rehash of what we dealt with in the previous Parliament.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Government does nothing and plans simply an extended vacation—and we all need a break. However, I want to put my remarks in the context of this Bill.

What is taking place in our country right now, while the Government is planning to get this measure through Parliament as quickly as it can, is that Canadian men and women in many parts of our land, in the hundreds—indeed in the thousands—are experiencing lay-offs. I wish to digress for a minute. I am quite prepared to accept what was alluded to in the House of Commons the other day. Yes, there are some new investments coming into the country, in some parts. Yes, some of them might be attributed to the trade deal. But I am speaking right now of the other side of the equation as we sit here debating this measure. There are men and women who have been told that their jobs will not be in existence within a matter of weeks. A Parliament that is now debating trade legislation ought simultaneously to be undertaking measures to ensure that those workers, their families, and their communities which will be affected are going to be responsibly responded to by the Parliament of Canada. We should be doing that.

● (1800)

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, ever since the free trade negotiations got under way the New Democrats have argued that pressures to harmonize as well as the very details of the agreement would lead to Canadian plant shutdowns and that the multinationals would transfer jobs south of the border. This is what the Prime Minister himself said in 1983: "What will happen with this kind of concept is that companies throughout the United States will increase production and close their operations in Canada."

Since the elections, our predictions, and those of the Prime Minister, are coming true. Let us look over the list of shutdowns since November 21. Gillette Canada was established in this country in 1906. On November 23, the president of Gillette Canada announced the closing of its plants in Montreal and in Toronto. The result being that 590 men and women lost their jobs.

Pittsburgh Paint announced they would close the plant they had been operating since World War II, and this took place although the plant was a profitable operation. In the future the company will supply the Canadian market through its American plants. Management claim they are closing their Canadian plant because it is not big enough to install the new equipment needed to make new products. Well, we believe the real

reason behind their decision to leave is that they did not want to follow Canada's environment protection standards, which happen to be stricter than those of the Americans.

As we said on a number of occasions during the campaign, the trade agreement is the source of this kind of confrontation between jobs and environmental considerations. There is ample evidence to show that our ability to impose our environmental protection standards is compromised by the trade agreement. And who are the victims of such compromises? Certainly not the big companies! The victims are workers, men and women alike, and Canadians who want a healthy environment. Perhaps the Conservatives are prepared to accept that, but certainly we New Democrats are not.

[English]

The list of lay-offs continues. Ortho Diagnostic Systems, a subsidiary of Johnson and Johnson, announced a transfer of its laboratory test production to New Jersey. Those were not unskilled but sophisticated, important jobs that we thought were durable and long-range jobs. They are moving out.

Allergan, a pharmaceutical company that is a subsidiary of Allergan California, announced on December 2 that it would close its plant in Pointe Claire on January 1. Last week Northern Telecom shut down plants in Aylmer, Quebec and Belleville, Ontario, throwing 870 workers on to the unemployment lines.

I say bluntly that I was astounded at the Government's reaction to this shut-down. This is a Canadian company whose plants that were shut down are profitable. One has received millions of dollars in assistance in different forms from the taxpayers of Canada through the federal Government. It is a company that has a quasi-monopoly in terms of access to the markets in Canada. The Government of Canada, instead of responding in a determined and tough-minded way on behalf of the workers, stood idly by. A Government that cares would not have done that. A Government that cares would have intervened directly to ensure those jobs are kept here in Canada.

Also this past week the President of the United States, in what I frankly regard as a hypocritical act, kept in place an unfair tariff on shakes and shingles. This tariff, when it was imposed long before the recent election, was condemned by the Prime Minister himself, who correctly pointed out that this was totally inconsistent with everything that Ronald Reagan had said as

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

President in terms of the deal he was allegedly negotiating between Canada and the United States. It was totally inconsistent with that. It is a matter that the President, in terms of his executive power in the American system of government, could have done something about this past week.

Instead of removing an iniquitous, unfair tariff that was imposed when Canadians were winning the competition, the President of the United States reimposed it. That is not only unfair and unacceptable to the people of Canada, particularly to the workers affected and the Province of British Columbia, it also reminds us that in this deal something which the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), his predecessor, and the Prime Minister told us was not obtained in the final settlement—guaranteed access to the U.S. markets.

What this decision demonstrates, but which the Government quickly sloughed over, is that whenever Canadians win the competition whether in lumber products, steel, plastics, or any sector of the Canadian economy, the United States has the same powers to take unfair action to stop our exports. What President Reagan demonstrated last week is what we will see in the future. Under this deal we can win the competition but the Americans can stop Canadian exports. That is not fairness. That is an unfair deal.

I say to members on the Government side that these recent lay-offs in one sense were hypothetical possibilities when we debated the deal before the election. But all of these announcements I have referred to were made since the election. They are real. They are concrete. Many of those affected are no doubt neighbours of a number of Members of the House of Commons.

While the Government believes that on balance the over-all impact will be positive and will lead to more pluses than negatives—something with which we do not agree—a caring government would have come back to this Parliament and introduced at the same time as this Bill, a Bill similar to that which was brought in with the Canada-United States Auto Agreement in the 1960s. The last time there was such significant dislocation for thousands of families, legislation was brought in to cushion the impact both on workers and communities affected by that arrangement. We should have similar legislation before Parliament at least to cushion the effect on all those men and women who will be losing their jobs over the Christmas period.

We believe that such legislation requires not only provisions that allow for human compensation to working people affected in their communities. We also need a body of experts on the commission who would

determine rapidly which industries and which lay-offs were the effect of free trade.

Presently we in the House of Commons make our judgment. We do not say that they are totally conclusive. We do not say that our judgment of the plants that I just announced is infallible. However, we say that in these cases there are good reasons to believe the decisions were connected with the expectation of a free trade deal coming into effect January 1, or shortly thereafter. If the Government were sensitive it would not need to take our word for it. It ought to establish a body right now that could make a quick decision about whether any particular lay-off is related to the trade deal, if it is to make sure that compensatory action is taken.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1810)

Mr. Broadbent: That, I repeat, is a new and important aspect of this debate. Whatever side of the issue one was on during the election campaign, it seems to me that this Parliament of ours should now be dealing with that matter.

Another issue that concerns us is the next phase, assuming that this legislation is passed as it will be at some point, and we all know that. It will be passed, and when it goes into effect, as we all know, during the next five to seven years, there will be a discussion period, a period of negotiation between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States to sort out the definition of a subsidy.

This for all of us will be a very important process. We are concerned about it, not simply abstractly concerned, or, to take one absurd argument, not because Canadians, whether members of my Party or of any other Party, are inherently anti-American. That is just nonsense. We are concerned about the previous direction taken by American policymakers within the United States on this kind of issue in terms of negotiations not only with Canada but with other countries. We are concerned, in short, about their ideological framework and about the prevailing value system that exists in the United States when it comes to be applied to such important questions as what constitutes a legitimate subsidy.

There should be no illusions about the priority that the Americans attach to the next phase. Some experts on both sides of the border have said that the most important part of the deal for the Americans was Phase 2, if I could put it that way, the five to seven-year period in which subsidies would be discussed and definitions established. Ronald Reagan himself said to Congress on July 25:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

"The administration has no higher priority than the elimination of Canadian subsidies which adversely affect U.S. industries."

If the stated intention of Ronald Reagan is ominous, given what his definition and the definition of people like those in his administration is likely to be, past experience, regardless of the administration in the United States, is equally ominous.

To date every major Canadian regional development program, from stumpage rates for lumber, to unemployment insurance for fishermen, to regional industrial and community development grants, to agriculture and grain transportation agreements, has been cited by U.S. industry as constituting an unfair subsidy.

Simon Reisman, that distinguished Canadian, has said—I exaggerate. He is the former friend of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner). Mr. Reisman said, concerning the U.S. proposals in this domain, that they were "so onerous that they would have made it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to pursue Canadian industrial development programs and particularly regional development programs". Those are not the words of members of the New Democratic Party or of the Liberal Party or of other people opposed to the deal. This is a description of the American attitude coming from someone who is one of the strongest defenders of the deal for the obvious reason that he was the principal negotiator. He said that if the American view had been accepted at the time of negotiations, in effect it would have been devastating for regional development—

Mr. McDermid: That is the difference.

Mr. Broadbent: I ask the Minister to wait for the rest of the argument. That was their attitude going into the negotiations, that it would have been devastating if it had been accepted in this deal. I thought the Minister might agree with that.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): So far so good.

Mr. Broadbent: So far so good. That was the attitude going in.

Before I come to the consequences of the deal and where we are going in the next phase, I add the words of the then Deputy Minister of Finance, according to the papers the next Chief of Staff for the Prime Minister's Office, who said just after the deal was signed that as a consequence of the deal—and these are his words and not mine—we would have to change our regional development policies.

While the Prime Minister said during the election debate, and I quote the Prime Minister with pleasure in this context, that Mr. Reisman was instructed not to "accept restrictions on our ability to provide regional subsidies", signing a deal which gave away everything—

and I will come to that in a minute—while at the same time leaving the definition of subsidies to further negotiations is no protection whatsoever for Canadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, Mr. J. G. Godsoe is the executive director of the Macdonald Commission. As the Government was wont to say very often during the election campaign, this commission advocated a trade deal.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): But not this deal.

Mr. Broadbent: But not this deal, quite correct. But this executive director of that commission actually opposed this deal. He wrote a very interesting article in *The Globe and Mail*, not a well-known social democratic newspaper, analysing the potential consequences for Canada of the next phase of the deal. He talked about the real problem of a negotiating team from Canada, and I use the term "negotiating team" loosely, meaning our salesmen who went down there and gave the ship away, having made all the concessions to get a signature on a deal of any kind, now being confronted with the United States, a country somewhat more populous than Canada, somewhat more powerful economically, and now having to make a case to get them to accept our definition of what a subsidy consists of.

I watched the process unfolding, as did Members of Parliament who were here at the time, of these negotiations leading up to the deal. I have no confidence at all in how we will end up with definitions of subsidies and the implications of that for regional development programs, social policy, and environmental concerns, because I saw this Government do the following. It gave the Americans what they wanted in energy. It sacrificed our pharmaceutical industry. It caved in on films. It in fact gave *carte blanche* to foreign companies to operate here. It in fact gave the ship away already, and I do not trust it to negotiate in the days ahead.

The Minister is obviously somewhat biased toward the other side. He thinks they got something wonderful. I profoundly believe—and a majority of Canadians profoundly believe it—that the Canadian negotiators gave away twice as much as they got in return. There is not much doubt about that. I simply want to say to the Minister: let us set that behind us and consider the future. Whose definition does the Minister really think will be accepted? Even if it is done democratically, I say that the Americans who are 10 times stronger numerically—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: Oh, get out.

Mr. Broadbent: He does not like this argument.

Mr. McDermid: Just because they are 10 times bigger, we cannot compete?

Mr. Broadbent: Why should an American citizen living in California or Maine or Georgia, someone who has a very different belief system than we have in Canada, ever democratically accept Canadian rules?

Mr. McDermid: You have no faith in Canadians.

Mr. Broadbent: I can tell the Minister, if I were an American, if I had that typical belief system and I knew that we outnumbered Canadians 10 to 1, I would never accept Canada's definition of what constitutes a subsidy, and I say to the Government: you should never have gotten us into this position.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: I say to the Minister and to other Members in the House, New Democrats—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Where is the Minister? Where is he?

Mr. Broadbent: Well, in fairness to this particular Minister, he explained to me why he is not here, and in fairness to him, there was a legitimate reason. That may not be the case for the Prime Minister who almost never turned up for serious debate in the previous Parliament. He is showing a remarkable consistency by not turning up for this important debate.

● (1820)

New Democrats will never give up the fight to keep our regional development programs secure, because we believe fundamentally as a matter of principle that regional equality is essential to our vision of Canada. As someone has already alluded in this discussion, we finally have that entrenched in the Constitution. We will not accept the possibility of an American definition overturning our regional development programs because we believe and believe with passion that a young person growing up in Cape Breton or in the interior of British Columbia, as I have said many times, ought to have the same opportunities for development as a kid growing up in Dalhousie.

I say also that New Democrats who first fought for pensions and first established medicare will never stop fighting to preserve our social policy tradition of contemporary Canada. New Democrats who have led the fight for a healthy environment in recent years will continue to fight for the definition of a subsidy that will

continue to provide, if we want, governmental intervention in the economy to ensure that the environment is protected.

For all of these reasons, Mr. Speaker, a New Democratic Party government, if it had been elected this time, would have given the six-month notice and got us right out of that deal. In the meantime, we are now dealing with a Government that has a mandate and will get this legislation passed at some time.

I have already talked about the important human need for legislation to protect workers affected in certain other concerns, but we have also said that what we have to get established is an independent committee here in the House with members from all Parties to act as our watch-dog in the years ahead, and it should not be a subcommittee of the External Affairs and International Trade Committee.

I saw the wording which the Minister of Trade used. He suggested that perhaps the Government would consider the hypothetical possibility of establishing a subcommittee of the External Affairs Committee which could obtain reports from the Government and then provide reports to the House of Commons.

We want, on such an important matter, something that will go to the root of what this country is all about. As Ronald Reagan well understood, we do not want a committee that is directly responsible to the government of the day. We want to see established a monitoring committee, an independent committee of this House, to monitor what will go on over the next five to seven years and to make regular reports to the Parliament of Canada so that we can see what is going on.

In conclusion I want to say the following: we in this country of ours have created a unique nation on the northern half of this continent with quite distinct Canadian values and traditions. Canadians have a commitment not simply to individual rights. We have that, but we also have a solid commitment to the idea of community rights. We as a nation believe in a mixed economy. We believe in a healthy viable private sector, but we also believe in entities in the economy like Petro-Canada, CN, and Air Canada. We believe not simply as a matter of second choice or the worst of all options after everything else fails should you move into the public sector; but we believe—and a majority of Canadians have come to believe it—that there is a legitimate role for the private sector and a legitimate role for the public sector in the Canadian economy.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: That is different from the United States. We are a nation where pensions and health care are not regarded as simply marketable items that you can get if you can afford to get it or that you have to accept charity if you cannot afford to buy it. We in this country have come to understand that pensions and health care go and ought to go to every citizen in Canada as a human right.

We are a nation with a constitutionally enshrined commitment to regional equality. We are a nation where culture creativity is encouraged actively by government. We are a nation of two official languages and many cultures. We are a nation profoundly different and profoundly better in so many aspects of human existence than the United States, and we intend to keep it that way.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: Thus, Mr. Speaker, members of my caucus intend to speak against this legislation and will

continue to fight against a deal that in our view would be seriously injurious to the future of our country. We will not let down those Canadians who have made this great country of ours what it is. We cherish our distinctiveness for ourselves, for our children, and for our children's children. We intend to retain the freedom for each new generation of Canadians to discover and decide for themselves what will be their path to building a better nation. We continue, in short, to plan on fighting the good fight that our predecessors have waged and that our successors will continue long after we are gone.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): It being 6.27 p.m., pursuant to agreement reached earlier this day, the House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 10 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 6.27 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday, December 16, 1988

The House met at 10 a.m.

(Division No. 7)

Prayers

YEAS

Members

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MOTION THAT DEBATE BE NOT FURTHER ADJOURNED

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Calgary West (Mr. Hawkes):

That the debate on Government Business No. 1 and on any amendments proposed thereto shall not be further adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

Anderson	Feltham	Oberle
Andre	Ferland	O'Brien
Atkinson	Fretz	Plamondon
Attewell	Friesen	Plourde
Belsher	Gibeau	Porter
Bernier	Greene	Pronovost
Bertrand	Guilbault	Redway
Bird	Gustafson	Reid
Bjornson	Halliday	Reimer
Blackburn	Harvey	Ricard
(Jonquière)	(Chicoutimi)	Richardson
Bouchard	Hawkes	Robitaille
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Hicks	Roy-Arcelin
Boyer	Hockin	Schneider
Brightwell	Hogue	Scott
Browes	Horner	(Victoria—Haliburton)
Cadieux	Horning	Scott
Campbell	Hudon	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
(Vancouver Centre)	Hughes	Shields
Cardiff	Jacques	Siddon
Casey	James	Sobeski
Chadwick	Jelinek	Soetens
Champagne	Johnson	Sparrow
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Jourdenais	St-Julien
Bagot)	Kempling	Stevenson
Champagne	Koury	Tardif
(Champlain)	Landry	Tétreault
Chartrand	Langlois	Thacker
Clark	Larivière	Thompson
(Yellowhead)	Layton	Thorkelson
Clark	Lewis	Tremblay
(Brandon—Souris)	Littlechild	(Rosemont)
Clifford	Loiselle	Tremblay
Cole	Lopez	(Québec-Est)
Collins	MacDonald	Turner
Cook	(Rosedale)	(Halton—Peel)
Cooper	MacDougall	Valcourt
Corbeil	(Timiskaming)	Van de Walle
Corbett	MacKay	Vankoughnet
Côté	Malone	Venne
Couture	Marin	Vien
Crosbie	Martin	Vincent
(St. John's West)	(Lincoln)	Weiner
Crosby	Masse	White
(Halifax West)	Mayer	Wilbec
Darling	Mazankowski	Wilson
DeBlois	McCreath	(Swift Current—Maple
de Cotret	McDermid	Creek)
Della Noce	McDougall	Wilson
Desjardins	(St. Paul's)	(Etobicoke Centre)
Dick	McKnight	Winegard
Dobbie	McLean	Worthy—143
Dommm	Mitges	
Dorin	Monteith	
Duplessis	Moore	
Edwards	Nicholson	
Fee	Nowlan	

Extension of Sittings

NAYS

Members

Althouse	Funk	Marleau
Anawak	Gaffney	McCurdy
Angus	Gardiner	McLaughlin
Axworthy	Gauthier	Miffin
(Winnipeg South Centre)	Gray	Milliken
Baker	(Windsor West)	Mills
Barrett	Guarnieri	Mitchell
Bellemare	Harb	Murphy
Benjamin	Harvard	Nault
Black	Harvey	Nystrom
Blackburn	(Edmonton East)	Pagtakhan
(Brant)	Heap	Phinney
Blondin	Hunter	Pickard
Boudria	Jordan	Prud'homme
Brewin	Kaplan	Rideout
Butland	Karpoff	Riis
Caccia	Keys	Robichaud
Callbeck	Kilger	Skelly
Campbell	(Stormont—Dundas)	(Comox—Alberni)
(South West Nova)	Kristiansen	Speller
Catterall	Langan	Stewart
Clancy	Laporte	Stupich
Comuzzi	LeBlanc	Tobin
Copps	(Cape Breton High- lands— Canso)	Turner (Vancouver Quadra)
Crawford	Lee	Vanclief
de Jong	MacDonald	Volpe
Duhamel	(Dartmouth)	Wappel
Ferguson	MacWilliam	Wood—82
Fisher	Maheu	
Flis	Manley	
Foster	Marchi	
Fulton		

● (1050)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried.
Resuming debate. The Hon. Member for Kamloops.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MOTION TO EXTEND HOURS OF SITTING

The House resumed from Thursday, December 15, consideration of the motion of Mr. Lewis:

That, notwithstanding any Standing Order or practice of the House, from the day of adoption of this motion the House will meet on the days and at the times specified in Standing Order 24, but not on December 26, 1988.

That, during such period, the Speaker shall adjourn the House on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at midnight and on Fridays at 3.00 o'clock p.m., and that the provisions of Standing Order 38 in relation to the adjournment proceedings shall be suspended.

That, during such period, the Standing Order respecting the daily mid-day interruption of business on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays shall not be suspended;

That, at 6.00 o'clock p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, or at the conclusion of Private Members' Business, the House shall proceed to "Government Orders" pursuant to Standing Order 40(1);

That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended, and all such Bills be ordered for referral to committee of the Whole; and

That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this Order.

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops): This is a very sad day for the Parliament of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis) at the adjournment had the floor, and he has been given the floor again. I would ask Hon. Members to give him the courtesy of listening to his comments.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, we have seen the parliamentary demolition crew on the Conservative benches at work in the last little while. Step by step Members on that side of the House have dismantled the parliamentary tradition that we have come to know in this country.

Let us just think back on the historical scenario. This was the Conservative group that held Parliament to ransom for 17 days not so long ago with the bell-ringing incident when they decided that it was in their political interest to close down Parliament, to stop debate in the one place where Canadians can hear both sides of an argument. But they decided that they wanted to close down the Parliament of Canada, which they did for day after day after day. We remember those dark days of that bell-ringing incident. That was the beginning.

Then, during parliamentary debate, we also remember that they did not like what was going on in the Commons so they stormed the chair. I remember that dark day when there was a group of Conservatives in front of the chair shaking their fists and screaming, saying that this was not the way that they wanted Parliament to proceed so they wanted to stop it.

Then, last summer, we saw the Conservatives do something that we have not seen in this House for over 100 years. They decided because of their political agenda—not because of any emergency, not because of any serious issue facing the country, but because of their agenda—that they wanted to take the rule book, the Standing Orders of the House of Commons, and tear it up. They threw it out the window. They said: "We have used this for 100 years. We developed this through all-Party discussion, and so on. We hold this as the way to

conduct the business of the House of Commons properly. But we do not like it and we have the majority." So the Conservative Government of the day decided to throw this away and impose their own set of rules that would suit their own political agenda. They said at that time: "Do not be alarmed, opposition Members, because we are only going to do this once. This is very important and we are not going to do this again. Trust us, this is a once-in-a-lifetime situation".

The last time this was done was in 1883. Since 1883, until this summer they said: "We are going to have to do this but do not be alarmed because we will never do it again." They are now doing it again. Once again they broke their word. They said: "Trust us, we will never do it again". They are now doing it again. They are now taking the Standing Orders, those rules that govern the way we do business in this place, throwing them out the window and imposing their own set of rules to suit their political agenda. As I say, it is their political agenda because the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) himself just yesterday indicated that this January 1 deadline for this trade legislation is an arbitrary deadline. It can be changed. If it happened in January or February of 1989, that would be fine, he said.

Why are members of the Conservative Government ramming, jamming, bashing this legislation through the House of Commons? They say it is in the nation's interest, it is a national emergency. Mr. Speaker, you have the right as the Speaker of the House of Commons to recall Parliament. If the Government really did need to sit extra hours and into the Christmas recess, and if you agree, Mr. Speaker, that indeed it was in the nation's interest to do that, then you have the right under the Standing Orders as we know them today to recall Parliament at any time. You have done that in the past, Mr. Speaker. Rather than listen to you, Mr. Speaker, the person who is the servant of the House of Commons, they said that they have a majority, they know best and they are going to forget the rules, traditions, practices and so on of the House of Commons and they will impose their Conservative agenda.

I think we have to ask ourselves what is this Conservative agenda. They now bring in a motion which states that we are going to sit late into the night, we are going to be here on Christmas Eve to debate this motion, and perhaps on the day after Boxing Day, and so on. We

are going to throw out the idea of a legislative committee so that we cannot hear witnesses. We are going to bar any experts from reacting to this legislation.

What is next? I ask Members opposite to think about this. Will the next motion the Government will bring forward be to do away with Question Period because it does not like Question Period? Will the next motion be to do away with having Standing Committees of the House of Commons because they can be embarrassing at times? I think of the Chairman of the Finance Committee and how on a number of occasions his comments have brought some embarrassment to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). So we will do away with committees.

Are we going to do away with the sittings of Parliament? It is required that Parliament must sit at least once a year. Why not change that to once every 20 years? That is how totalitarian governments begin.

I say let us be cautious. When we look at this situation step by step, there is no question that this demolition team is clearly at work in what their long-term agenda is in terms of demolishing this Parliament, something which I think we have yet to see.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1100)

Mr. Speaker: It being eleven o'clock a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 30(5) the House will now proceed to Statements by Members pursuant to Standing Order 31.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[English]

TRADE

SOFTWOOD LUMBER EXPORT TAX

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, two years ago the Conservative Government entered into an agreement with the United States to impose a 15 per cent export tax on Canadian softwood lumber being sold in the United States. This was the first time in history that any country imposed such a massive penalty of over \$500 million on its largest industry, the forest products industry.

In the last two years the Canadian dollar has appreciated in value from 71 cents to 83 cents to the U.S. dollar, costing the Canadian forest industry another 15 per cent on the value of its exports to the United States.

S. O. 31

The market for softwood lumber has weakened in the past several months and Canadian inventories of softwood lumber have increased dramatically. If current trends continue, we are facing lay-offs and shutdowns of many sawmills throughout northern Ontario this winter and the loss of thousands of jobs.

I call upon the Canadian Government to initiate negotiations immediately with the United States Government to eliminate this devastating tax on our softwood lumber exports to the United States which is going to cost us thousands and thousands of jobs throughout northern Ontario.

* * *

[*Translation*]

SPORTS

NINTH WORLD CUP CROSS-COUNTRY SKIING CHAMPIONSHIP—TRIBUTE TO ORGANIZERS

Mr. Charles DeBlois (Montmorency—Orléans): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to speak for the first time as the new Member for Montmorency—Orléans about a sporting event of international stature, that is the ninth Master's World Cup of Cross-Country Skiing which will be held in my riding at Mont Sainte-Anne from February 26 to March 4, 1989.

A team of volunteers is finalizing arrangements for this prestigious event which is being held for the very first time in North America, thanks to our Government's financial support.

I want to pay special tribute to the principal organizers of the event, namely Yvan Couillard, Claude Brunelle, Roméo Mailloux and, of course, Honorary Chairman, athlete Pierre Harvey.

I wish them the best of luck in staging the World Cup which should improve Quebec's standing as a tourist destination which hosts prestigious international winter sporting events!

[*English*]

ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

ARCTIC POLLUTION—CALL FOR TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Mr. Speaker, the lives of the peoples of the far North are at risk. Uncontrolled use of pesticides, chemicals, and toxic substances in the Soviet Union and Europe has brought pollution to the Arctic which threatens the food supply of the Inuit. Action is needed now. Canada must show leadership.

In the Canada and Polar Science Report of May, 1987, it was stressed that Canadian participation in the International polar research had suffered badly from a want of consistency, preparation, and a sense of purpose. Not only do we not have a sense of purpose, we now have a crisis on our hands.

The source of pollution must be determined and removed. I call upon the Government to fulfil its commitment immediately to constitute the Canadian Polar Research Commission and to commence circumpolar negotiations for an Arctic pollution treaty.

* * *

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

BURMA—SUPPORT URGED FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY

Mr. Jim Edwards (Edmonton Southwest): Mr. Speaker, in recognition of the great ground swell of support for the return of democracy in the Socialist Republic of Burma and of the need for national reconciliation, I call upon all members of this place and all Canadians to voice their support for the people of Burma and their efforts to restore human rights and democracy in that country, to condemn the killings and mass arrests in Burma, and to call upon the Burmese army and police to exercise restraint and respect for human rights.

I urge the Government of Canada to continue to publicly condemn the killings and mass arrests by the Burmese army, to further encourage the restoration of democracy in Burma and an end to one-party rule, and to persist in raising the issue of human rights and national reconciliation in its meetings with Burmese officials and in international organizations.

[Translation]

SENIOR CITIZENS

BUSING PROGRAM ESTABLISHED FOR WINNIPEG
SENIOR CITIZENS

Mr. J. Ronald Duhamel (Saint-Boniface): Mr. Speaker, I have just received a message from Winnipeg informing me that the busing program for senior citizens set up by the last Liberal government will be cancelled shortly.

The cancellation of this program will affect thousands of senior citizens in the province of Manitoba. At this time of the year, when temperatures are hovering around -30° Celsius in Winnipeg, this announcement is hardly welcomed news.

[English]

The cutting of this seniors' program will signal the end of a very important initiative, a highly successful pilot project that had importance for seniors across Canada and contributed significantly to their quality of life.

I am led to believe that the Conservative candidate in Winnipeg South, now a Member of Parliament (Mr. Dobbie) had supported the program during the election campaign, had given it at least qualified support. As well, I am informed that the provincial Conservatives had also supported it. If my memory serves me correctly, the federal Government had previously cancelled support for this program in 1985.

I call upon the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) to find support for the seniors' busing project, to work with the province, the city, and the various volunteer groups, to find a base for the continuation of this worthwhile seniors' busing program.

[Translation]

Senior citizens, the men and women who built—

Mr. Speaker: I'm sorry to have to interrupt the Honourable Member.

S. O. 31

[English]

TOURISM

IMPORTANCE OF CANADA'S ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

Mr. Ken James (Sarnia—Lambton): Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Rowe, Chairman of the Tourism Industry, better known as TIAC, has expressed concerns that although Tourism Canada's advertising campaign is exceptional, the amount of dollars allocated to advertising is not sufficient to compete with many other tourist destinations.

Australia has done an exceptional job of tourism promotion in the past two years because that country has worked hard to co-ordinate its advertising campaign with its exporters.

As Canada's tourist industry is one of its most important in terms of jobs, I ask that the Government look closely at the importance of tourism advertising as it affects our economy, our jobs, and our relationships throughout the world.

* * *

[Translation]

PUBLIC SERVICE

PARTICIPATION OF PUBLIC SERVANTS IN LAST
GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, on July 15 last, the Federal Court of Appeal struck down the section of the Public Service Employment Act prohibiting public servants from campaigning on behalf of or against a candidate or party. On November 21 last, public servants were able to do as they wished, despite attempts at intimidation on the part of the Public Service Commission. To my knowledge, the earth did not shake, war did not break out and the sky is still blue, even if the Ottawa region voted red.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the experience of November 21 shows the government that it must take immediate action and table a bill which will protect public servants who want to participate fully, or however they wish, in the democratic process of electing the Members of the House of Commons.

S. O. 31

ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

RAILWAY TRANSPORT—NOISE POLLUTION

Mr. Jean-Guy Hudon (Parliamentary Secretary to Secretary of State for External Affairs): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be making my first statement to the House after my re-election. First of all, I want to thank the residents of Beauharnois-Salaberry for entrusting me with a second mandate. Let me assure them that I will work hard to prove myself worthy of their trust.

I also want to thank the City of Ottawa for finally repairing the Queensway. It's the first time since 1984.

Mr. Speaker, free trade was obviously a very popular topic of discussion in my riding and the central theme of the election campaign. However, very little was said about the environment. When we talk about the environment, Mr. Speaker, we talk only about water and the air and about the threat posed by different pollutants. One subject, however, that is very important to us is rail transportation. Of course, railroads were once on the cutting edge of economic development in Canada. Today, however, we would like to see railroads rerouted around the cities and town which they helped found. In the Armand-Frappier neighbourhood of Valleyfield and along Saint-Charles Street in Huntingdon, there are many instances where the large rail companies, especially Conrail and Canadian National, make a great deal of noise and are active in the middle of the night. This situation adversely affects the quality of life of the area's residents. I simply want to assure them that I am actively working on this problem and will take steps to ensure that these companies respect the environment.

* * *

• (1110)

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENTDE GRANDPRÉ COMMISSION—ABSENCE OF INTERIM
REPORT

Mr. Ron Fisher (Saskatoon—Dundurn): Mr. Speaker, during the election campaign the New Democrats and scores of other Canadians all across the country who analyzed the trade deal pointed out that hundreds of thousands of Canadians would lose their jobs as a result of the trade deal. During the campaign and even

more vigorously since the election, and as recently as the day before yesterday in the House of Commons, the Government pointed out that Canadians had nothing to fear in relation to jobs because of the free trade deal.

At the same time it was pointing this out, the Government was discussing the de Grandpré Commission which was going to be making a report. As recently as the day before yesterday it stated that there would be an interim report of that committee tomorrow.

Jay Alam of the committee has confirmed that there never was any intention to have an interim report by that commission. This confirms what we have been saying all along, during the election campaign and as recently as this morning, that the Government does not have the interests of Canada at heart. Just pointing out the concerns of the trade deal—

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member has exceeded the time.

* * *

PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS

SASKATCHEWAN—BY-ELECTION WON BY PROGRESSIVE
CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE

Mr. Geoff Wilson (Swift Current—Maple Creek—Assiniboia): Mr. Speaker, we all know that by-elections traditionally go against the Party in power. This was not the case yesterday in the Saskatchewan provincial riding of Assiniboia—Gravelbourg where, for the first time ever, a P.C. Member was elected in the person of Jack Wolfe.

Because this by-election came at mid-term it was seen by the entire province as a crucial test, and all Parties put everything they had into the campaign.

The voters said yes to the P.C. Government and the able leadership of Grant Devine. They said: "We like your policies in support of the family, free trade, economic diversification and agriculture".

The voters said no to Roy Romanow and the policies of fear. They said: "We do not like the negative health scare, medi-scure, gloom and doom tactics of the NDP".

The electors of Assiniboia—Gravelbourg decided in favour of a positive commonsense P.C. Government, a Government that believes in the future of Saskatchewan and its young people.

CRIMINAL CODE

AMENDMENT PROPOSED TO BAN IMPORTATION OF GARBAGE PAIL KIDS CARDS

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell): Mr. Speaker, the House will know that I have been attempting for over a year now to have the importation into Canada of a product known as Garbage Pail Kids to be stopped. As you know, these are cartoons depicting children being mutilated, murdered, and dissected. It is my opinion that this product should never have been allowed to enter this country.

Later today I will be introducing into Parliament a Bill to amend the Criminal Code. This Bill will change the definition of hate propaganda under the Criminal Code.

It is my hope that this Bill will be adopted and Parliament will move immediately to stop the importation of this kind of trash into our country. We certainly do not need our children being influenced by this kind of human degradation that is depicted in Garbage Pail Kids.

* * *

[Translation]

THE ECONOMY

PRESENT SITUATION IN SAINT-MAURICE

Mr. Denis Pronovost (Saint-Maurice): Mr. Speaker, I would like to start by thanking the people of the riding of Saint-Maurice, who expressed their confidence in me on November 21. For the first time since 1891, the voters of Saint-Maurice have elected a Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament. This is a historic gesture on their part, and I am determined to meet worthily the challenges that await me.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that I was startled yesterday to hear the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) speak of the inheritance we would be leaving young Canadians after the signing of the Free Trade Agreement, because we in the riding of Saint-Maurice already bear the burden of a heavy inheritance: the Liberals left us the loss of 12,000 manufacturing jobs over the past 20 years they were in power—12,000 jobs lost, Mr. Speaker, an unemployment rate of 16 per cent, the economic decline of a region that was economically very promising!

Today, Mr. Speaker, I commit myself to defending the economy of my riding, to fixing up the mess the

Oral Questions

Liberals made, which has done so much damage to the future of my region.

* * *

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

SUPPORT FROM RESIDENTS OF TIMISKAMING

Mr. John A. MacDougall (Timiskaming): Mr. Speaker, first may I say thanks to the voters of Timiskaming for once again placing their trust in me and supporting our Party's progressive policies on November 21.

Well, the more things change the more they stay the same. Again yesterday we heard campaign speeches from the Leaders of the Oppositions. Once again we heard their scare tactics concerning our social programs and regional development policies.

Timiskaming residents have sent a message to Ottawa. They do not believe in NDP policies and they do not support the Liberal trade alternatives. They have voted for a far-seeing Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

I think it is a shame that the public who have supported this legislation are being held ransom by our irresponsible colleagues across the way.

I will say one thing, Mr. Speaker, I do look forward to being able to prove over the next four years, to both northern Ontarians and to the opposition benches, the many benefits Canadians will enjoy with this Free Trade Agreement.

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

DE GRANDPRÉ COMMISSION—TIMING OF REPORT

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I want to raise a question with the Deputy Prime Minister in the absence of the Prime Minister. Once again, even in this early session, we find the Prime Minister raising false expectations and playing loosely with the honest straightforward facts that Canadian people require.

Oral Questions

He had promised that by today the de Grandpré Commission would be giving a report on how to deal with the numbers of lay-offs that will be caused by the trade agreement to be signed with the United States. We learned today from officials that there never was any intention to table a plan or provide recommendations, and the de Grandpré Commission will not be reporting until next June. In the meantime thousands of workers will be affected.

What specific plans does the Government have in the next six months to provide direct aid and assistance to the thousands of workers who will be affected by the trade agreement, who will lose their jobs and their livelihoods in their communities? Is the Government prepared to offer any plans, now that the phantom of the de Grandpré Commission has been dispelled?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, in the first place the hon. gentleman's question is inaccurate factually. There will not be thousands of jobs affected as a result of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. There will be thousands of jobs created, tens of thousands of jobs created. Of course it will be just as easy to claim that they will all be due to the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement.

As the Prime Minister said, this morning we had a meeting with the de Grandpré committee to review with them their progress. We had an interim report from them to us about their progress, what they find to be the situation, and what their plans are in connection with making a final report. That report will be made as soon as possible, certainly long before the month of June.

Their report to the Ministers who met with them was very positive. There are a lot of positive advantages to the Free Trade Agreement of which we should be ready to take advantage.

There was no suggestion by them that there was any emergency situation that had to be dealt with in any way, shape or form.

I can give you a list of companies that are expanding, including Swift Textiles, R and M Nickel—

Mr. Speaker: Order. The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I would only say to the Minister that, rather than listening to the de Grandpré Commission, perhaps he and the Government would be advised to listen to the

workers who have already lost their jobs as a result of the agreement.

REQUEST FOR TRI-PARTITE CONSULTATION ON
POSSIBLE JOB LOSSES

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, in introducing Bill C-2, the Minister indicated that he expected that there would be job losses and the Government would be prepared to bring in plans.

Now that the de Grandpré Commission has failed to come up with any specific plan of action, will the Minister and his colleagues be prepared to sit down with the industry and the unions, in industries like food processing, printing, clothing, and all other industries identified by the Economic Council and the Bank of Nova Scotia as sectors where jobs will be lost, to deal with a plan of action to cover the kinds of losses and dislocations they will be facing? Will the Government act now? To follow the old slogan: "Don't wait for spring, do it now".

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, that slogan uttered by the hon. gentleman certainly shows his originality of mind. With respect to the meeting that was held with the de Grandpré committee, there already is a plan in force. There are already many adjustment programs in the Department of Employment and Immigration, Department of Labour and other government Departments.

• (1120)

We already have in Canada a very dynamic economy in which hundreds of thousands of people, and in fact millions, change jobs every year, and those who need to be assisted in that process are assisted. That will continue.

The de Grandpré committee will be recommending as soon as possible, and we urge it to do so as soon as possible, certainly long before June, whether or not it thinks there are any additions needed to those programs. There is no emergency situation.

The Hon. Member referred to the Economic Council of Canada. Its forecast was and is that over the 10-year period there would be 439,000 jobs created, 187,000 jobs lost, for a net gain of 251,000 jobs over 10 years. The U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement has not yet commenced, and the hon. gentleman does nothing but cry wolf.

Oral Questions

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, the Minister should read the statements of his colleague, the Minister of Finance, who said yesterday that the Government is following a high interest policy to cut job creation and job growth in Canada over the next year.

[*Translation*]

REQUEST FOR FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary is addressed to the Deputy Prime Minister. Last summer, the provincial premiers called for consultative mechanisms between the two levels of government, to deal with the many lay-offs and other effects of free trade. Will the Government be responding to its provincial counterparts and calling a federal-provincial conference as soon as possible, to help workers?

[*English*]

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the Government is following an anti-inflationary policy which has been most successful in inducing economic growth with the result that 1,303,000 jobs were created in the last four years. The youth unemployment rate was brought down, and 738,000 more women are working today than were working four years ago. We intend to continue with that kind of successful economic policy under the direction of the Minister of Finance and of the Prime Minister.

With respect to unemployment, the question is not whether someone is unemployed as a result of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement which is not even yet in effect; the question is how to assist persons who become unemployed from no matter what the cause, and we have in effect now a broad range of programs and we are prepared to improve those programs wherever it is seen that improvements are needed. We do not need any joint consultation with the provinces to continue with that. In the meantime, the premiers will be meeting with the Prime Minister in due course to discuss the economy, as they have every year.

CLOTHING INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Mr. Joseph Volpe (Eglinton—Lawrence): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade. Thanks to the Free Trade Agreement, the needle trade, the clothing trade, is already looking at massive closings, and with them the laying off of hundreds of workers both in my riding and across Canada. The Free Trade Agreement does not consider the particular interests and needs of the needle industry, given its materials, energy and labour costs, and the intensive, competitive nature of the business. The pinch

of the Free Trade Agreement is already being felt by Canadian-operated businesses.

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Mr. Volpe: This may not be of interest to the Party across—

Mr. Speaker: I hesitate to interrupt the Hon. Member, but I think the Hon. Member has set the basis for his question. I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

Mr. Volpe: Mr. Speaker, I want to know if the Minister for International Trade has specific strategies to assist the enterprises in the clothing industry and the workers who are dependent upon that industry for employment, workers who are about to lose their jobs thanks to the FTA.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I do not think either the country or the hon. gentleman's constituents gain anything from this kind of wild scare talk about the needle trade. There has been a SAGIT, an advisory group for that industry, which advised us during the course of the U.S.-Canada free trade negotiations. The SAGIT advises us during the course of GATT negotiations. That will be continuing.

The apparel industry and the industry generally have been assisted by the programs that were announced by the Minister of Finance at the end of last March. There may be some adjustment over the next few years in that industry and if there are adjustments that require government assistance, then the government assistance will be forthcoming.

Mr. Volpe: It will be interesting to see how the priorities of the Government shake down as the pressures for assistance come from both the industry and—

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Mr. Speaker: I know the Hon. Member who has a matter of some concern, and it is a serious matter, would want to use his preamble to set the basis for the question, and I ask the Hon. Member to put his question.

SITUATION OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS

Mr. Joseph Volpe (Eglinton—Lawrence): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is directed to the Minister of Employment and Immigration. Since the workers in the needle trade are primarily middle-aged immigrant women, among the most vulnerable in the labour force given their lack of education and language skills, what specifically is the Minister's Department proposing to do by way of assisting these women with limited employment opportunities outside the industry but who wish to continue to be gainfully employed?

Oral Questions

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, this Government has done more for immigrant women than any Government in the history of Canada. We have done it through—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. McDougall: That includes both language training and training programs that are specifically targeted toward immigrant women who have a particular employment need and who have problems that other people in the working community do not have. That is why we established those programs. They apply to people in the garment industry as they apply to people in other industries. However, let me say that the Hon. Member is taking the most vulnerable sector in our society and telling it that it has no future. That is wrong, and he should not be saying that.

DE GRANDPRÉ COMMISSION—INTERIM REPORT QUERY

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Prime Minister whose office told me he would be here not 15 minutes ago, I have a question for the Minister for International Trade. On Wednesday when I raised questions in the House about the effects of the trade deal on workers who are being laid off right now, not in the future, the Prime Minister said to me with reference to his blue ribbon committee that it would be most valuable for workers and that it would be discussing an interim report today, thus attempting to deflect any criticism in the House on Wednesday.

I would ask my question of the Minister since the Prime Minister is not here.

A member of the committee, Mr. James McCambly, whom the Prime Minister himself mentioned in the House on Wednesday, said there is no interim report and that such an interim report had never even been discussed by the committee, and the senior economist for the committee is quoted today in *The Globe and Mail* as saying that there is no plan to issue an interim report. Who is telling the truth, the Prime Minister or members of the committee?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the answer, of course, is that both the Prime Minister and the members of the committee

are telling the truth. If I might refer to *Hansard* of December 14, the Prime Minister said this:

“Nobody is talking about waiting until June and the fact is that Mr. de Grandpré is scheduled to meet with the Ministers responsible as early as Friday of this week to discuss an interim report.”

We discussed this morning an interim report, and we concluded with the committee that there was no need for it to bring in an interim report because it made its interim report to us at this meeting. They reported that there was no emergency situation in effect. They reported they will be in a position to bring in their final report in a very reasonable period of time.

• (1130)

There is nothing that the Prime Minister has said or any member of the committee that is incorrect. That is the position. Their report will be a final report and that will be brought in as soon as possible. Their interim report was made to us this morning and we agree they do not need to put in a written interim report.

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, it is very obvious to every Member of the House and to any person in Canada watching this that we on this side of the House were misled on Wednesday. The Cabinet is trying to bail itself out. That is the truth. The Cabinet has come back into the House to try to undo on Friday what it screwed up, to put it bluntly, on Wednesday. That is what it has tried to do.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Be honest, Ed.

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister suggested on Wednesday to the workers of Canada—

An Hon. Member: Bob White has you spooked.

Mr. Broadbent: —that there would be an interim report and that it was going to be discussed today, thus conveying a message that their concerns would be addressed now. Is the Minister not only contradicting what the committee members have said but contradicting what the Prime Minister said on Wednesday when he was trying to tell workers that, rest assured, there would be an interim report and the Government would do something? Come clean with the people of Canada.

Oral Questions

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, one understands that the Leader of the New Democratic Party is in a state of hysteria lately as a result of the attacks upon him by the official labour movement. That explains his ridiculous behaviour today.

If I might refer again to what the Prime Minister said as reported on page 49 of *Hansard*:

"Nobody is talking about waiting until June . . ."

That is absolutely right.

"—the fact is that Mr. de Grandpré is scheduled to meet with the Ministers responsible as early as Friday of this week—"

That happened this morning.

"—to discuss an interim report."

We have concluded an interim report is not necessary. There will be a final report within a very short period of time. There is no emergency situation. The fact that the Leader of the Opposition wants to cry wolf together with the Liberal Party, does not make an emergency situation exist. The suggestion that there has been any misrepresentation—

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

Mr. Speaker: Order, please. The Hon. Member for Oshawa.

Mr. Broadbent: I think it is wonderful, Mr. Speaker, to hear members of the Conservative Party telling people on this side of the House to be honest. That is the joke of the times.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, I remind the Government it was right after the 1984 election that it began systematically to mislead the people of Canada, and now the Government is doing it all over again.

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Order, Ed.

Mr. Broadbent: It is all right, Joe. We have not won all the seats in Alberta yet.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: I know the Hon. Member would want to put his question.

Mr. Dick: Be honest this time, Ed.

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, the Government has now reversed itself. On Wednesday the Government was promising an interim report and now the Government is saying there will not be an interim report.

Is the Minister saying to the working people—there have been some 2,400 who have been laid off since the election—that this Government of Canada does not plan to do anything in a special way either for them, their families, or communities affected? Is that what the Government is saying?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable to see the Leader of the New Democratic Party slip into these kinds of tactics so early in the session. But when one looks at who is sitting behind him, one understands the pressure that he is under.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: The firm of Roseworks is increasing its staff from 15 to 50 over the next two years. Du Pont is investing \$240 million over the next two years. Canadian Thermos Products Limited of Toronto is expanding its plant, with 102 new jobs. Bachan Aerospace plant in Windsor is going to operate while the Detroit plant closes, for another 20 jobs. Saskatchewan Intercontinental Packers has 148 direct jobs, and the Crestbrook Forest Industries has 4,000 new jobs—4,000—

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

Mr. Crosbie: And the Cargill—

Some Hon. Members: More, more.

Ms. Copps: Sit down, you dummy.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Labrador.

* * *

FISHERIES

LABRADOR FISHERMEN'S UNION CO-OP—REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO NORTHERN COD FISHERY

Hon. William Rompkey (Labrador): Mr. Speaker, it is great to be back in a civil House at Christmas time!

Oral Questions

My question is for the Minister of Fisheries who has said no to the Labrador Fishermen's Union Co-op for a supply of offshore fish. He allows the multinationals and even foreign countries, including France, to fish northern cod, yet he has said no to the Labrador Fishermen's Union Co-op.

Why has the Minister forced the Union Co-op to buy a Canadian vessel and not allowed it to fish Canadian fish? How can he as Minister of Fisheries, the protector of fisherman, turn down this request by the Labrador Fishermen's Union Co-op?

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): Mr. Speaker, I was tempted to welcome a civilized question from a civilized colleague but after hearing the question, I am not so sure.

We established a new enterprise allocation system two years ago for the northern shrimp fishery in which the Labrador Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company has participated with two licences, each being worth over \$2 million a year. It has done very well and we commend the company on its success. But the Hon. Member knows that the enterprise allocation system under which offshore cod, or northern cod more specifically, has made available—

Some Hon. Members: Oh?

Mr. Siddon: These folks over here did not ask the question, Mr. Speaker, but I am sure they are interested in the answer. They will learn.

The Hon. Member knows that enterprise allocations are not surplus to the needs of the established offshore users because that was clearly enunciated by industry at a meeting on the northern cod in St. John's two weeks ago. The Member knows there is no additional allocation for any one group, including the Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company.

FAMILY COMPACT ALLEGED—REQUEST THAT SYSTEM
BE CHANGED

Hon. William Rompkey (Labrador): Mr. Speaker, I know there is no additional allocation, but there is virtually a Family Compact now fishing northern cod. The only people in there are the big players, the multinationals. There is no way for anybody new to break in. I am saying it is unfair to deny those people who live closest to the resource and who depend on it for their livelihood permission to fish northern cod.

You have to change the system. Will you? Will you break that Family Compact? Will you allow the Labrador Fishermen's Union Co-op in to fish, those people who live closest to the resource and who depend on it? Will you do that?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Think of the fishermen first; do not think of the companies.

Hon. Thomas Siddon (Minister of Fisheries and Oceans): Mr. Speaker, I know the Hon. Member is very concerned about the Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company and that is obvious as he is a representative of that area. When he speaks of a Family Compact, however, he should recall that he was a member of the Cabinet of the Government that created that Family Compact, which decided who the members would be who got quotas. That is a policy of the Canadian Government that flows from the Kirby Task Force Report which his Government approved.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Change it then.

Mr. Siddon: The Member had better look back in history before he starts asking us to start changing long established policies.

* * *

ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

DON RIVER POLLUTION—REQUEST FOR ACTION PLAN

Mr. Dennis Mills (Broadview—Greenwood): Mr. Speaker, my question is addressed to the Acting Minister of the Environment. The Prime Minister told us repeatedly during the last election that he was committed to the environment. Just prior to the election the Prime Minister announced \$150 million to clean up the hot spots in the Great Lakes. The worst of these hot spots is the Don River.

● (1140)

Would the Acting Minister of the Environment make a commitment today to begin an action plan on this?

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State for Canada and Acting Minister of the Environment): Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to renew and confirm the commitment made by the Prime Minister on this subject.

REQUEST THAT MINISTER MEET AREA MEMBERS OF
PARLIAMENT

Mr. Dennis Mills (Broadview—Greenwood): Mr. Speaker, on June 3, in Montreal, the Government committed \$110 million to begin cleaning up the St. Lawrence River. That action has already begun. At the very least, would the Minister agree to meet with the Members whose ridings surround the Don River in order that we can get this project going there as well?

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State for Canada and Acting Minister of the Environment): Mr. Speaker, of course we are devoted with equity to the depollution of every river in Canada, and there will be no discrimination, whatever the river is.

* * *

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

MIDDLE EAST—DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS WITH
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

Mr. Bob Corbett (Fundy—Royal): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In his address to the United Nations Mr. Arafat made a clear call for peace in the Middle East and a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli impasse. He also amplified the Palestine National Council's November 15 acceptance of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and the PNC's renunciation of terrorism, which met the two conditions which successive Canadian Governments have set for higher level diplomatic contacts with the PLO.

Canada's American and European allies have all responded publicly and favourably.

Does Canada plan to raise the level of its diplomatic contacts with the PLO to that of our American and European allies?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, we already have contacts with the PLO and with other Palestinians. Naturally, those contacts are of particular importance given the developments in the Middle East now.

We are intending no immediate change in the level or nature of those contacts, but we are naturally encouraged by developments which we think are important and positive in the Middle East, and intend to continue to look for opportunities for Canada to contribute in a constructive way to a durable and acceptable peace in that region.

Oral Questions

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT

DE GRANDPRÉ COMMISSION—INTERIM REPORT ISSUE

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, on page 51 of this week's *Hansard* there is a response from the Prime Minister to a question put by me concerning the committee reviewing the programs necessary for displaced workers as a consequence of the free trade deal.

As reported at page 51 of *Hansard* in response to my question about that committee, the Prime Minister admonished me to do the following:

"So if the Hon. Member would kindly wait until Friday and then for the final report . . ."

When the Prime Minister suggested to wait for Friday he was specifically referring to the interim report promised by this Government on this Friday from this committee.

Mr. Speaker, they misled the House about this interim report.

I ask the Minister of Trade is he aware that Mr. McCambly, a member of the committee, not only said that there is no interim report, but he went further and said if this report is going to be useful, it is needed right away. Did Mr. McCambly this morning say that he was mistaken, or did he insist that there is no need now for an interim report?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I am surprised that the Hon. Member who comes here with such a reputation engages simply in repetition and has not got an original thought of his own. The question was already asked this morning, and the answer is exactly as was given a few moments ago.

This morning we discussed with the de Grandpré committee whether or not an interim report was needed. We had an interim report from them given to the four or five Ministers who were present. It was decided that, in view of the situation as they found it, it would be better to wait for their final report, which will be coming along as soon as possible. It will not be very long before a final report is available, certainly well ahead of June. That is the way that we are going to proceed.

Oral Questions

By the way, Mr. Speaker, that committee is going to examine the possibilities for Canadian businesses and workers to position themselves to benefit from the agreement. It is not only involved in examining government programs that support adjustment. The committee has very important business to do. There are positive aspects to the Free Trade Agreement that they will be following.

Mr. Speaker: I think that the Hon. Minister is getting well away from the question. The Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca.

POSITION OF COMMISSION MEMBER

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, in response to my good friend the Minister, I perhaps may be subject to the accusation of not having an original idea, but I have no difficulty in recognizing water when I see it, even after a 20-year absence.

If this report is going to be useful, Mr. McCambly said that the report is needed immediately. Did Mr. McCambly change his opinion of his own free will, or was he ordered to change his opinion by the Minister this morning?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the last time I had an altercation with the hon. gentleman he had an open line show, and he is now a refugee from that open line show. This is not an open line show. This is a foot-in-the-mouth show for some people.

Mr. Speaker: It is appropriate to move on. The Hon. Member for Hamilton East.

* * *

[*Translation*]

AGRICULTURE

PRESENCE OF PESTICIDES IN FOOD—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Agriculture.

One of the most appalling disclosures in the Auditor General's Report is that food that Canadians eat every day is not healthy. According to the Report, there are pesticides on the market that 55 years from now will still not have been tested.

I would therefore ask the Minister of Agriculture what he intends to do to remedy this dangerous situation, starting today.

[*English*]

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, as the Hon. Member knows, we are putting in place a full-fledged inquiry into the whole pesticide review process. That has been a recommendation brought down by a Standing Committee and by others. The terms of reference and the people who will be conducting this review will be appointed very soon. There is widespread consultation going on with interested groups and indeed the provinces.

I might say that most of the observations that have been brought to the attention of the public by the Auditor General were brought to the attention of ourselves by the systems that we have put in place. We have established a number of systems to do that. As the Hon. Member knows, we have one of the best systems in the world and we want to continue to ensure that it remains that way. We obviously welcome the Auditor General's constructive observations in this matter.

ABILITY TO CONDUCT TESTS

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, I am unclear why the Minister would be bragging about a system which puts pesticides that have known cancer causing capacities on the market-place, and where permanent testing is not done until 55 years after they have been brought into the market-place. I cannot understand why he calls that a good system.

Last August a study by the United Farm Workers in the city of Toronto showed that 86 per cent of California table grapes were dusted with pesticides of a cancer causing variety.

I would like to ask the Minister of Health what he intends to do immediately to improve the testing capacity, together with his colleague the Minister of Agriculture, and to assure consumers today that the table grapes that we are now buying are not dusted with potentially cancer causing pesticides as we saw in the city of Toronto last August?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, in response to the Hon. Member's question I simply say that for dairy, fruit, and vegetables the risk assessment will be completed by March, 1989.

Ms. Copps: What about now?

Mr. Mazankowski: This was detected by the Food Advisory Board and the Agricultural Food Safety Division. As a matter of fact, the systematic process for re-evaluation is in place.

In terms of the whole pesticide registration process, it certainly did not develop over the last three or four years, but it represents some years of neglect before we came into office. We had to put into place the type of systems, checks and balances, which we did, and which have identified these weaknesses, and, Mr. Speaker, we are acting.

* * *

• (1150)

[Translation]

FREE TRADE

REQUEST GOVERNMENT UNVEIL ITS ASSISTANCE PLAN FOR VICTIMS

Mr. Cid Samson (Timmins—Chapleau): Mr. Speaker, during the recent election campaign, the Prime Minister said there would be winners and losers after the Free Trade Agreement was in place. The Prime Minister never misses an opportunity to tell us who the winners will be. But he has never spelled out clearly who the losers will be.

We know there will be victims. The Government knows there will be victims.

My question is directed to the Minister for International Trade. Is the Government ready to admit there will be victims? Is the Government ready to announce now, today, its assistance plan for the thousands of workers throughout Canada who have already lost their jobs, and those who will lose them, because of the Free Trade Agreement?

[English]

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, at the outset I wish to congratulate the Hon. Member on his election to this House.

In answer to his question, the Canadian people, as a whole, are going to be winners as a result of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, the results of the election indicate that the Canadian people agree with the Progressive Conservative Party that, overall, we are

Oral Questions

going to win as a result of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

It has been admitted from the start that there will be some industries that will suffer from adjustments. All of the gains cannot be on one side. This is an agreement between two parties.

One area in which there will be the need for adjustment, as we already know, is that of grape production, and with that in mind this Government, in conjunction with the provinces in which there is grape production, instituted certain assistance programs.

While there may be other industries which will suffer adverse effects, overall we are gainers, as the figures of the Economic Council of Canada that I mentioned had indicated.

We are talking about an adjustment period of 10 years. I have in my hand a list of companies which have just announced expansion programs—

Some Hon. Members: Order!

Mr. Crosbie: Well, Mr. Speaker, if the Opposition is going to bring up the case of every person in Canada who they allege has suffered a job loss as a result of this agreement, an agreement not yet in force and effect, surely we can put forth the figures in respect of job gains.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

Mr. Cid Samson (Timmins—Chapleau): Mr. Speaker, the unemployment insurance program is not enough for the families of the 600 workers who are losing their jobs at Gillette. The unemployment insurance system is not enough for the 900 workers at Northern Telecom. The unemployment insurance program is not enough for the 140 workers at Pittsburgh Paint.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the Minister: is this absence of a commitment by the Government all the answer Canadians are going to get?

[English]

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the answers being given to Canadians are satisfying those who are taking a reasoned approach to this question. Canadians know that there will be some losers, and they know that we are dedicated to ensuring that those who will be losers temporarily are assisted.

Oral Questions

Canadians also know that there are job gains in industry after industry: the mining industry, the forestry industry, the agricultural sector, the petro-chemical industry, the energy industry. Canadians are gainers, and more jobs are going to be created. We have the proof of that. To cite just one example, we have the announcement by Crestbrook Forest Industries Ltd. of Alberta of a \$1.3 billion plant investment near Athabasca, Alberta, leading to the creation of 4,000 jobs.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, we also have an economy which, under the brilliant direction of the Minister of Finance, has already adjusted to the terrific increase in the value of the Canadian dollar vis-à-vis foreign currencies.

So, we can adjust to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. We can make whatever adjustments are needed. We have confidence in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

* * *

IMMIGRATION**MAHMOUD ISSA MOHAMMAD—REQUEST FOR EARLY REFUGEE BOARD HEARING**

Mr. Sergio Marchi (York West): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Immigration.

Yesterday an immigration inquiry concluded that Mahmoud Issa Mohammad deliberately misled Canadian officials on his immigration application, and the adjudicator further concluded, and I quote:

“Had he not claimed to be a refugee, a deportation order would have been made today.”

While I appreciate the adjudicator's decision to honour this individual's refugee claim, I would ask the Minister, given the national interest and the security implications of this case, to ask the refugee board to set this case down for hearing immediately, rather than allowing it to languish at the bottom of a refugee backlog that now numbers approximately 80,000 applications.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Clearly, Mr. Speaker, this is a case

which we in the Government have followed very closely and with considerable interest.

I am neither in a position to make the request asked of me by the Hon. Member, nor would I interfere with what the immigration and refugee authorities will determine in their own processes.

We shall continue to follow this case and we will, to the extent possible, ensure that due process is followed in a way that serves Canadians.

REQUEST FOR FAST-TRACK APPROACH

Mr. Sergio Marchi (York West): Mr. Speaker, let me clarify the question. No one on this side of the House is asking the Minister to interfere in the process or to diminish the rights of Mr. Mohammad.

My Party, last January, pushed the Government to expedite the immigration inquiry, and what we are asking today is that she expedite the refugee hearing.

Given that the Government's credibility and integrity are at stake in this case, we would request that the Minister recommend that the refugee hearing, a hearing in respect of which Mr. Mohammad will have full rights under the law, be fast-tracked, so that the interests of the system and of Canadians can be served.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, whatever one's personal views of this particular case may be, the interests of Canadians are only served when due process is followed, and the refugee board is in the better position to determine the timing in respect of this case, as with other cases.

* * *

HEALTH**CIGARETTE PACKAGE WARNINGS**

Mr. Rey Pagtakhan (Winnipeg North): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Cigarette smoking endangers the life of the unborn during pregnancy. It causes lung cancer, heart disease, and chronic obstructive lung disease. As well, it is highly addictive, aggravates virtually all other respiratory illnesses, reduces the life expectancy of smokers, and causes lung disease even among non-smokers.

Oral Questions

Given that the Canadian Lung Association has urged the Department of National Health and Welfare to include all of the health risks of smoking in the labelling of cigarette packages, I would ask the Minister to inform the House as to the reasons why all of these major known health hazards are not displayed; why it is that only one of the numerous health risks involved in cigarette smoking will be displayed at a time, on a rotational basis, on each cigarette package.

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, at the outset I want to congratulate the Hon. Member on his election to the House. As a result of his election to this House, we can now bring to the floor of this House the debates in which we engaged in Manitoba.

The changes that have been requested by the Canadian Lung Association, the Canadian Heart Association, the Canadian Cancer Society, and others, have been examined by my office, and some changes have been made. As a result, the information that he includes in his question is somewhat dated in terms of the kind of message that we intend to bring forward.

REQUEST THAT MAJOR HEALTH HAZARDS BE INCLUDED
ON LABELS

Mr. Rey Pagtakhan (Winnipeg North): Mr. Speaker, given the serious implications for all Canadians of not knowing all of the major known health hazards, given that the Canadian Lung Association is an authority on this subject, and given that the Department of National Health and Welfare anticipates the implementation of this regulation shortly after the New Year, I would ask the Minister to instruct his Department immediately to require that all of the major known health hazards be displayed on each cigarette package, and displayed not on a rotational basis, one at a time, but all of the time, for the safety of all Canadians.

● (1200)

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I think the Hon. Member might want to re-examine that suggestion. If all these warnings were placed on the same cigarette package, given his age and mine we might need even more help to read them all because of their size.

This Government brought in Bill C-51, which has been recognized as legislation leading the world with respect to both the message and also the space for the message on packages and cartons, as well as billboards which presently do not have warnings. These warnings

have been stiffened compared to the ones originally considered. As well, there are two tranches to those warnings, which must be considered in light of our trying to get them into the marketplace for January 1, 1989.

I believe when he sees the warnings he will see they are not only in keeping with the health objectives of the Government, but specifically with the commitments we made under Bill C-51.

Mr. Speaker: There will be a single question from the Hon. Member for Windsor—Lake St. Clair.

* * *

PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

DRUG COMPANY'S OFFER OF COMPUTERS TO DOCTORS

Mr. Howard McCurdy (Windsor—Lake St. Clair): Mr. Speaker, my question is addressed to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

According to Dan Burns, Vice-President of Squibb, in an effort to meet the promise to double research in response to the imposition of the new drug patent legislation on Canadians, Squibb and Company are offering a \$2,000 personal computer to each doctor who prescribes Capoten, its expensive anti-hypertension drug, to ten or more patients.

What is the Minister's view of this transparent bribery, and what action does he intend to take?

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I remind the Hon. Member that Bill C-22, which he opposed so vigorously and which he said the industry would not respond to, has been responded to through expansion of research and development exceeding \$1 billion. We needed that money in this country and we needed to put ourselves on the leading edge of drug research. That has happened across the country and I am very pleased that the Bill is working so well.

With respect to the gentleman's specific question, he knows that the medical associations are self-policing professional associations. As I understand it, a letter has been sent from the OMA to various physicians involved in the program. From my Department's point of view, obviously we do not encourage any process that would be seen as inducement. We believe professionalism should be the hallmark of any action taken by physicians.

Privilege—Mr. Lewis

Mr. Speaker: I should advise the House that we have some questions of privilege to deal with. I will hear the Minister first.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

ALLEGED REMARKS DURING QUESTION PERIOD

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, my question of privilege arises out of Question Period. I gave you a letter indicating that we are going to review the “blues” and the comments of the Hon. Leader of the NDP in his first question to see whether he used the word “deliberate”, or if there were words used which convey the allegation of a deliberate misleading of the House, which would constitute a question of privilege.

I would add that the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) used the same type of language.

The Leader of the NDP was often in the grey area of privilege and was in fact once thrown out of the House for using the term “liar”. We want to eliminate that from the debate.

Mr. Speaker: The Chair is in some difficulty here. The Hon. Minister rose on a question of privilege. As I understood what he said, he is going to review the “blues”. That may well be. He sent me a note to that effect, as he told the House. However, until I have an allegation in front of me, which I do not have at the moment, I find it difficult to proceed with the question of privilege.

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I say to my hon. friend who has just raised the point that I recall vividly the incident he refers to. According to the rules, having said what I said and the Prime Minister having done what he did, everyone in the country knew, but because of the quaintness of our rules we are prohibited from saying so in blunt words from time to time.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): You are above the rules, then?

Mr. Speaker: I want to say to the Hon. Member for Oshawa that I am much indebted to him for refraining from saying so.

Mr. Broadbent: As always, Your Honour, your observations are pertinent and appropriate.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Double-standard Broadbent.

Mr. Broadbent: The Secretary of State for External Affairs is vibrating again.

Mr. Nystrom: Take a valium, Joe.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

DE GRANDPRÉ COMMISSION INTERIM REPORT

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I have a question of privilege that I want to raise. It is quite serious. I gave the Prime Minister’s Office notice this morning.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Another double standard?

Mr. Broadbent: In response to a question from myself about his blue ribbon committee, in which all Canadian workers are supposed to have so much confidence, indicating that the information we had was that this committee was not to report until June, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said at page 49 of *Hansard*:

Nobody is talking about waiting until June and the fact is that Mr. de Grandpré is scheduled to meet with the Ministers responsible as early as Friday of this week to discuss an interim report.

He said that to me, and he also said in reply to a similar question from the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett):

“So if the Hon. Member would kindly wait until Friday and then for the final report—”

The clear implication was there was an interim report coming today—

Mr. Crosbie: There was no such implication.

Mr. Broadbent: —that was going to be discussed and the workers did not have to wait until June. Action was going to be taken on Friday. That is the truth.

It is not simply our interpretation because the senior economist of the committee responded, and presumably he was responding to ordinary language as used by the

Prime Minister as well, and I quoted him earlier in my question, that there is no plan to issue an interim report.

Another member of the Commission, Mr. James McCambly, said there was no interim report and that such a report had not even been discussed previously.

My question of privilege is quite straightforward. In order to do my work as a Member of the House, I have to rely not on judgments or matters of opinion but on alleged contentions of fact coming from Ministers of the Crown, principally in this case the Prime Minister. One should be able to assume that what the Prime Minister says, not in a debating context but in a claim of facts, is the case.

What he told us was there would be an interim report. There would be a meeting about an interim report today. We all assumed on Friday that that would be the case. In contradiction of that, we have a senior staff member of the committee as well as a member of the committee who say that is not the case.

My question of privilege is simply this. The Prime Minister, inadvertently or deliberately, has misled the House. We have to have this important matter resolved in order to do our job correctly as Members of Parliament.

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I wish to respond to my Hon. friend's comments.

There is no question when one reads the actual words of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), and interprets them the way any normal individual would, rather than trying to draw inferences for partisan purposes which are not in the words, what they mean. What I want to do is read the words in the House so that this one time my hon. friend will be able to understand what the Prime Minister said very clearly. He said:

““Nobody is talking about waiting until June and the fact is that Mr. de Grandpré is scheduled to meet with the Ministers responsible as early as Friday of this week to discuss an interim report.”

To “discuss”, d-i-s-c-u-s-s, an interim report. There is no suggestion that there was going to be an interim report. There is no suggestion there was going to be a report in writing. It was a discussion about an interim report.

Mr. Broadbent: He did not say discuss the possibility of one, either.

Mr. Lewis: Fortunately, when my hon. friend, in a state of—well, I will not use the word “ignorance”, but perhaps in a state of confusion raised the matter in question here again today, the Hon. Minister for

Privilege—Mr. Broadbent

International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) gave it another shot to try and explain to the Hon. Member that there was discussion with Mr. de Grandpré of an interim report. Not an interim report discussed, discussion of an interim report.

• (1210)

Then my hon. friend goes to the word “June” and says: “We are not going to wait until June”. The Hon. Minister indicated that because of the discussions this morning there was no need for an interim report. That is what was discussed. The possibility of an interim report was discussed. The Hon. Minister made it very clear that in fact the final report will be presented within a reasonable length of time. Therefore there was no need for an interim report which may have flowed from the discussion.

We are talking about debate. We are talking about my hon. friend trying to twist the words that were used to get some political mileage out of them. He did not get any mileage. He did not get a foot. He did not get an inch. He did not get a millimetre.

I submit that this is obviously not a question of privilege. It is a matter for debate.

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, since I too was the recipient of an answer in question here in the House, I wish to point out to the Chair that the wording in response to a similar question from me leaves no doubt of the intention of the answer of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). It states:

“So if the Hon. Member would kindly wait until Friday and then for the final report—”

I was being admonished for raising this issue because, as the Prime Minister had informed the Leader of the New Democratic Party, (Mr. Broadbent) there would be an interim report this Friday. I was reminded of it by his answer to me.

I find it curious that the Prime Minister is not here to answer these questions and to clarify them, even though he told the Leader of the New Democratic Party that he would be here.

It is my presumption, and I would ask the Chair to correct me if I am wrong, that upon hearing the word of the Prime Minister, one should be assured that that word is indeed fact. I find now that it has become a question in my mind. The people of the country are interested in the answer because their jobs were the subject of discussion in the House. Now, today, we are being given a construction of an interpretation that was obviously not meant in the initial answer.

Privilege—Mr. Broadbent

That is what the Leader of the New Democratic Party and I are raising with you, Mr. Speaker. We expect—nay, Sir, we demand—honest answers to honest questions. We have a right to hear those.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, for my own edification I would like to know, if there are rules in the House that do not require honest answers, whether the Chair would please allow me the privilege of reading that information.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to get in the middle of this NDP leadership campaign. I want to point out to my hon. friend the actual words of the Prime Minister. They are:

“So if the Hon. Member would kindly wait until Friday—”

Mr. Barrett: “—and then for the final report—”

Mr. Lewis: My hon. friend waited until Friday, asked the Hon. Minister about the meeting that was held today, got his answer from the Minister that there was no need for an interim report, that there was no emergency, and in fact that the final report will be presented in a reasonable length of time. Obviously, there is no misleading of the House, either intentional or by accident. All my hon. friend is doing is twisting the words of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) for political, partisan purposes.

Mr. Speaker: I would ask Hon. Members to pay attention to this because it is important. I let go a couple of comments earlier that might be considered imputing motives or otherwise. I do not want to be unduly harsh with the Minister. However, it does not help the Chair at all in a discussion such as this as to whether or not there is a question of privilege to be imputing motives of either side.

I am quite prepared to listen to further argument on this if other Members are rising.

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, one of the questions which comes up with respect to this is that the answers which were provided by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) were provided in French. The answers as are given in French are even less ambiguous than the translation suggests in English. In fact, if we look at the French *Hansard* we see that the statement which was made to the Hon. Member for Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) was:

Alors, si le député veut bien attendre à vendredi prochain et ensuite au rapport définitif, je pense qu'il verra le fruit d'un travail au niveau national—

In short, there was a specific commitment that we would see “*le fruit d'un travail au niveau national*” in the final report, *au rapport définitif*.

It seems to me that there is no possible construction that can be put on those statements in French except that the Prime Minister was saying to this House that there would be a statement of the results, at least of an interim sort, of this committee on Friday, and that there would be a final definitive report later. The French phrasing makes it absolutely clear. I do not think that the Government should be permitted to start misleading the House at this stage.

Mr. Dick: They have not. That is a lie.

Mr. Speaker: With the greatest of respect to the Hon. Member, as I remember the exchange it was in the English language. I know enough about *Hansard* to sometimes wonder whether in English or in French there is an exact replication of all the words.

What we are facing here is—

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: Is the Hon. Member rising on a point of order? If I made an error, I will hear the Hon. Member.

Mr. Langdon: I am quoting from the French *Hansard*. I could do so also from the English.

The question was put in English. It states: [*Traduction*] and the answer was stated in French, *en français*.

Mr. Speaker: I thank the Hon. Member for pointing that out to the Chair. I appreciate very much the fact that he did.

What we have here is an allegation from the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) and another Member that they were led to expect that there would be a report, some sort of an interim report today from the de Grandpré Committee. I listened to the exchanges, as did other Hon. Members. I am not for one minute going to say that the interpretation that the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) puts on that exchange might not have led to the idea that there would be some sort of interim report today. I think that is clear. However, the Hon. Minister has been on his feet today and has said there was a meeting, the committee reported, but there is not an interim report in writing. What we are getting into now is a debate as to what kind of report or how substantive that report should be, or should it be published or should it be in writing. That is a legitimate item for debate and it is a legitimate item for comment.

• (1220)

My difficulty as your Speaker is that while it is an important matter, it is an important matter because it concerns the well-being of fellow Canadians. That is why it is an important matter. It is also an important matter because it could have been taken from that exchange which I heard, as did other Hon. Members, that there might have been some sort of interim report today, some kind of written report that could have been published or could have been submitted to the House or could have been commented upon or could have been handed to the press.

That might have happened. If it had happened, then certainly the exchange we heard would have been suggestive of that happening. It did not happen. But, as the Hon. Minister has said, there was a report of some sort. It seems to have been verbal. There was a report back to the Government. There is not now an "interim report" in written terms that can be handed to the House or be handed to the press or handed to Hon. Members.

What we are getting into—and it is an understandable thing—is a debate as to what was intended at that time as opposed to what happened today. I repeat to the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) and to the Hon. Member for Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) that the Chair is not quarreling with the legitimacy of the issue. The Chair is saying, though, that under these circumstances, we have a dispute as to the interpretation of something that was said, an interpretation as some people have said, of facts, but it does not go to the point where it has affected either of the two Hon. Members from carrying out their duties as Members of Parliament.

There is a dispute, it is a legitimate dispute, it is a matter of debate, but it is not a matter of privilege. I thank both Hon. Members and the Hon. Member for Essex Windsor (Mr. Langdon) for reporting the points, and I apologize to the Hon. Member for Essex Windsor because I clearly had not appreciated fully the point the Hon. Member brought to my attention. That does not change the ruling, but I do appreciate his point and I do want him to accept my apologies. Again, I thank all Hon. Members for their submissions. The matter is for now closed.

Tabling of Documents

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[*English*]

CANADIAN ADVISORY COUNCIL ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

TABLING OF ANNUAL REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to table in this House, in both official languages, the annual report for the year 1987-88 of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

Mr. Speaker, I have a message from Her Excellency the Governor General signed by her deputy.

* * *

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES (B), 1988-89

A message from Her Excellency the Governor General, signed by her deputy, transmitting Supplementary Estimates (B) for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1989, was presented by Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board) and read by Mr. Speaker to the House.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, I may just point out to the House, and perhaps you may wish to add to it, the tradition is that when the message is from Her Excellency and signed in her own hand, all Members of the House rise. I tried to emphasize the word "deputy" because I checked with the Table and found that when it is signed by her deputy, there is no necessity for all Members to rise.

REFERENCE TO STANDING COMMITTEE

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 81(6) I move:

That Supplementary Estimates (B), 1988-89, tabled earlier this day, be referred to the several standing committees of the House as follows:

Interparliamentary Delegation Report

Because the list is rather long, and there is a detailed allocation of the Supplementary Estimates to the committee, if it is agreeable to the House, I would ask that this list be printed in *Hansard* as if it had been read.

Mr. Speaker: Is that agreed?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

[*Editor's Note: List referred to above is as follows:*]

To the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Votes 5b, 10b, 15b, 35b and 50b.

To the Standing Committee on Agriculture

Agriculture, Votes 1b, 5b, 10b, 15b, 35b, 45b and 65b.

To the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture

Communications, Votes 1b, 5b, 10b, 25b, 40b, 45b, 55b, 60b, 65b, 75b and 80b.

To the Standing Committee on Consumer and Corporate Affairs

Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Votes 1b, 5b, 17b and 23b.

To the Standing Committee on Energy, Mines and Resources

Energy, Mines and Resources, Votes 5b, 10b, 15b, 25b, 30b and 45b.

To the Standing Committee on Environment and Forestry

Agriculture, Vote 20b, 25b and 30b.

Environment, Votes 5b, 10b, 15b, 20b and 25b.

To the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade

External Affairs, Votes 1b, 5b, 10b, L11b, L12b, 25b, 30b and 55b.

To the Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs

Finance Vote, 1b and 32b.

National Revenue, Votes 10b and 15b.

To the Standing Committee on Government Operations

Governor General, Vote 1b.

Public Works, Votes 25b and 26b.

Supply and Services, Votes 1b and 5b.

To the Standing Committee on Justice and Solicitor General

Justice, Votes 25b and 40b.

Solicitor General, Votes 1b and 5b.

To the Standing Committee on Labour, Employment and Immigration

Employment and Immigration, Votes 5b, 15b, 20b and 30b.

To the Standing Committee on Management and Members' Services

Parliament, Vote 10b.

To the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism

Secretary of State, Votes 1b and 5b (portions dealing with Multiculturalism)

To the Standing Committee on National Defence

National Defence, Votes 1b, 5b and 10b.

To the Standing Committee on National Health and Welfare

National Health and Welfare, Votes 1b, 5b, 10b, 15b, 20b, 35b, 40b, 45b, 55b, 60b, 65b and 70b.

To the Standing Committee on Regional Industrial Expansion

Regional Industrial Expansion, Votes 1b, 3b, 10b and 41b.

To the Standing Committee on Research, Science and Technology

Science and Technology, Votes 1b, 5b, 10b and 15b.

To the Standing Committee on Secretary of State

Secretary of State, Votes 1b and 5b (except Multiculturalism portions) and Votes 20b and 25b.

To the Standing Committee on Transport

Transport, Votes 10b, 26b and 27b.

To the Standing Committee on Veterans Affairs

Veterans Affairs, Vote 1b.

That the Privy Council Vote 15b be referred to the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages.

That a message be sent to the Senate to acquaint Their Honours thereof.

Motion agreed to.

* * *

INTERPARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION**PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF CANADIAN NATO
PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION**

Mr. Bob Hicks (Scarborough East): Pursuant to Standing Order 101, I have the honour to present to the House the thirty-fifth report, in both official languages, of the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association.

[*Editor's Note: See today's Votes and Proceedings.*]

* * *

CENTENNIAL FLAME RESEARCH AWARD ACT**MEASURE TO ENACT**

Mr. Patrick Boyer (Etobicoke—Lakeshore) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-202, an Act respecting the Establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the said Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Boyer: Mr. Speaker, I have a brief word of explanation to Members of the House. In front of the Parliament Buildings is a centennial flame which was first lighted by Prime Minister Pearson at the beginning of our Centennial Year. Since that time many visitors to the Parliament Buildings throw coins into that fountain. I learned some months ago that the money gathered there is going into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. I have found it to be in excess of \$1,000 a year.

The purpose of this Bill is to establish a centennial flame research award or fellowship that would be used each year under the direction of the Speaker and the House, and awarded to a Canadian with disabilities to do research on the contribution to the Parliament of Canada and the public life of Canada of Canadians with disabilities.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

● (1230)

CRIMINAL CODE

MEASURE TO AMEND

Mr. Howard Crosby (Halifax West) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-203, an Act to provide interim measures respecting abortion and to amend the Criminal Code.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the said Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Crosby: Mr. Speaker, the Bill I have presented to the House is entitled "Abortion Law Interim Measures Act". The purpose is twofold: First, to enact a law restricting abortion to the extent permitted by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and, second, to require a constitutional conference to consider a Charter amendment to protect the unborn.

Following the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada invalidating Canada's abortion law, Parliament could not reach a consensus on legislative action. Nonetheless, it is clear that most Canadians support a law restricting abortion. This Bill responds to that concern by proposing an interim measure on abortion.

Petitions

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

CRIMINAL CODE

MEASURE TO AMEND

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-204, an Act to amend the Criminal Code (hate propaganda—age group).

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the said Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the Bill I am offering to the House today would be to provide the application of the Criminal Code to hate propaganda that advocates or promotes physical destruction of persons of an identifiable age group. The object of the Bill is to stop the importation into Canada of a product known as Garbage Pail Kids.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

PETITIONS

DESIGNATION OF ROUGE RIVER VALLEY

Mrs. Pauline Browes (Scarborough Centre): Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to present this petition today in the Thirty-fourth Parliament pursuant to Standing Order 36. The petition has been certified by the Clerk of Petitions. It relates to saving the Rouge Valley in Scarborough. It states that the Rouge Valley in Scarborough is a unique and precious natural area, that protecting the endangered wildlife and wilderness areas is in the national interest.

This property of the Rouge Valley is owned by the provincial government. Recently the federal Government committed \$10 million for the preservation of this valley. The mayor of Scarborough, the federal Minister of the Environment, the Save the Rouge Valley System and the Coalition of Scarborough Community Associations have expressed support for this, as well as petitioners from Scarborough, Ajax, Markham, Etobicoke, Nobleton and Richmond Hill. They call upon Parliament to work with the Government of Ontario to establish the Rouge River Valley as a Canadian heritage land or a provincial park.

*Questions on the Order Paper*CANADIAN ADVISORY GROUP ON HYDROGEN
OPPORTUNITIES

Mr. Bob Hicks (Scarborough East): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased and honoured to present a petition, duly certified, signed by 101 of my constituents in Scarborough East and the senior alumni participants in the lecture series "Canadian Perspectives" recently held at the University of Toronto Scarborough campus.

We are all deeply concerned about the adverse effects on Canada's environment due to the use of carbon-based fossil fuels which results in the continuing escalation of acid rain and the greenhouse effect. These Canadians and myself call upon Parliament to implement the recommendations in the report of the Canadian Advisory Group on Hydrogen Opportunities entitled "Hydrogen—National Mission for Canada".

[Translation]

LABELLING OF FOOD INGREDIENTS

Ms. Sheila Capps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, they say that the more things change, the more they stay the same. This time, it gives me great pleasure to table a petition.

[English]

It is a pleasure but I hope something is done about it. I am presenting a petition from the undersigned residents on the issue of food labelling. I am pleased that the new Member for Kent (Mr. Crawford) is also taking up this issue.

The petition is signed by 4,000 people from across Canada who are calling upon the Government of Canada to require proper labelling of ingredients in restaurants so that people can realize that when they have a meal outside their home they do not have to play Russian roulette with their lives as in the case of the Chinnick family, Christian Taylor and others. I hope this time the Tories do something about it.

* * *

QUESTIONS ON THE ORDER PAPER

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, with respect to the item under Routine Proceedings entitled "Questions on the Order Paper", I notice that there are no questions on the Order Paper. Is it the bad record of the Government in answering questions that has made MPs decide not to ask any more

questions or is the Government trying to tell us that there are no questions to be answered at all?

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, in fact it is the contrary. We are doing so well that there can be no question as to how we are governing. People said that on November 21.

Mr. Speaker: I know that the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier) will realize that the Chair has to put the item in any event.

* * *

MOTION TO ADJOURN UNDER S. O. 52

ALLEGED LAY-OFFS RESULTING FROM CANADA-UNITED
STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I rise under the provisions of Standing Order 52 to ask leave to move a motion for an emergency debate. You will recall I moved a similar motion on Wednesday. The reason is that there have been some 2,400 announced lay-offs since election day that have been attributed in people's judgment to the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement as of January 1, 1989, or shortly thereafter. At the same time the Government has not announced its intention to bring in programs which will be designed to aid the workers and the communities affected. Therefore, there is what can only be called from our point of view an emergency or crisis situation. Men and women are being laid off. The Government has no specific programs and intends to recess the House for a couple of months. We were told that the chairman of the committee allegedly dealing with such a problem would not have anything ready until June.

When Your Honour ruled against this on Wednesday, you did so after the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) had said in the House during Question Period that there would be an interim report by the committee on Friday of this week. We now know that we have no such interim report and we believe we drew the right conclusion. The Prime Minister was telling us that there would be an interim report. The Government is now contending that it was just going to discuss the report.

The bottom line is that there is no interim report and workers are being laid off. We are going to be recessing shortly for a couple of months and there are no programs in place to help the workers affected. Therefore, Your Honour, I would suggest to you that the circumstances have changed since you offered your ruling on Wednesday and that we still have a serious and urgent situation. I appeal to you to allow the motion.

● (1240)

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) has brought this motion twice this week, and I can say to him and to his colleagues that the Speaker is quite aware of why he has done so and there has been considerable discussion, only a few minutes ago, which related to the concerns of the Hon. Member for Oshawa and, I am sure, other Hon. Members. I know that the reform committee said that the Speaker ought not to give reasons for ruling one way or the other on an application of this nature, but I think under the circumstances, it is appropriate that the Speaker say something.

I say this to the Hon. Member for Oshawa because the Speaker is as concerned as is the Hon. Member for Oshawa about the matters which he raises, because the Speaker is also a Member of Parliament. The concerns of the people who may be affected by whatever measure is being taken are concerns also of the Speaker. I want the Hon. Member for Oshawa to accept that as a Member of Parliament, I am deeply concerned about this issue. However, on Monday there will be extensive debate. I think that that debate will enable the Hon. Member and others to address these matters. If that turns out not to be so, I will hear the Hon. Member for Oshawa again.

Mr. Murphy: Mr. Speaker, I see that the Minister of Labour (Mr. Cadieux) is in the House. I wonder if he could indicate when he will be introducing some legislation on this very important matter.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member may not get an answer, but I think the Hon. Member has made his point.

Extension of Sittings

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MOTION TO EXTEND HOURS OF SITTING

The House resumed consideration of the motion of Mr. Lewis:

That, notwithstanding any Standing Order or practice of the House, from the day of adoption of this motion the House will meet on the days and at the times specified in Standing Order 24, but not on December 26, 1988.

That, during such period, the Speaker shall adjourn the House on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at midnight and on Fridays at 3.00 o'clock p.m., and that the provisions of Standing Order 38 in relation to the adjournment proceedings shall be suspended.

That, during such period, the Standing Order respecting the daily mid-day interruption of business on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays shall not be suspended;

That, at 6.00 o'clock p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, or at the conclusion of Private Members' Business, the House shall proceed to "Government Orders" pursuant to Standing Order 40(1);

That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended, and all such Bills be ordered for referral to committee of the Whole; and

That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent of this session, a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this order.

Mr. Jim Hawkes (Calgary West): Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to rise in this Thirty-fourth Parliament for the first time. Rising in this House is a familiar position after nine and a half years, but it is a particular pleasure to welcome you back to the chair with the confidence of the House. I would also like to pay tribute to the three people who serve with you in the chair at various times on our behalf. We are in good hands. It has probably not been the easiest week in a Speaker's life, this first week of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, but we hope that with the passage of time it might get somewhat better.

I think it is unfortunate and I feel badly that we are having this debate today and that there is a necessity for it. When we left this Chamber in September, we had debated in a formal way, either in committee or in the House, the trade legislation to implement the international trade agreement for a total of 64 days. It is an agreement between two countries which our law allows us to sign. This Chamber, in its wisdom, passed that enabling legislation. An unelected part of our Parliament indicated clearly that it would not give Royal Assent to the legislation. The Opposition called for an election to let the people decide and the people have decided.

Extension of Sittings

An agreement had been entered into by two nations to try to bring this agreement into effect by January 1, 1989, and we have every right and Canadian voters have every right to anticipate that all elected Members of all Parties will act in the national interest, co-operatively, to put it in place by January 1. That is what Canadians have the right to expect, and the Government has an obligation to provide the opportunity to do so.

By starting this Parliament last Monday, 21 days after the election, we have set an historic precedent. No Parliament has been convened so quickly after an election in all of Canada's history. The previous parliamentary record was 41 days. The Government had the obligation to call Parliament as quickly as possible, and 21 days was it.

The Canadian people have made some agonizing decisions about whether or not the Opposition was right in the fears that it raised. When I went door to door, I knocked on the door of a young woman who was about 20 years of age. It was nine o'clock on a Friday night. I introduced myself, and she broke into tears. She had a child in her arms and she started to bawl because she had been reading information that meant to her that if we passed the free trade deal, the very next morning there would be no ambulance coming to her door if there was an emergency in her home. That is the kind of fear that was out on the streets. For that young woman to have to decide who to vote for in that kind of an emotional situation was a trauma, and that trauma was repeated as well in senior citizens' homes again and again.

I recall seeing a cartoon pamphlet done by some group. I do not know where the funding for it came from, but it was full of misinformation designed to create fear. It was an ugly election campaign, but it is over. On November 21, it was over, and the obligation shifts from campaigning and all of the shenanigans that go on. The nasty parts of it and the deceptive tactics are behind us. The obligation shifts to us as individuals in this Chamber to act in the national interest on behalf of Canadians. We should be doing that co-operatively.

We are here today on the Friday of the first week of this Parliament and we have heard three speeches on the legislation to implement the Free Trade Agreement. On Monday, with unanimous consent, we could have begun the debate. We could have tabled the Bill, we could have done all kinds of things together, because this place can always do what it wants to do by unanimous consent. We could have debated the free trade initiative all this

week. Every Member of the House could have had an opportunity to speak more than once and we could still have met the timetable. But no, we have had bell ringing about nonsense.

Yesterday we had to suspend the House temporarily, though the House Leader said right from the start that the timetable and the motion that are in place supersede the normal situation and technically everything we want to happen can come to pass. However, confusion was created and the House sitting had to be suspended. A little later today, I will move an amendment to provide greater clarity for those who are new to the House and perhaps want that clarity. One of the things we discovered is that people were not clear on this so we will give them clarity. It is not necessary to do so, but we will.

Why am I not on my feet right at this moment talking about the legislation to implement free trade? It is because I cannot, because I have to debate a motion which will have the consequence of giving us 12 days of normal parliamentary debating time crammed into five days next week. We believe that there should be 12 days of debating time. Co-operatively we could have created 20 days of debating time in the two weeks.

• (1250)

The Opposition's use of dilatory tactics led to the return of our Government. In some way I should thank the Opposition for wasting the time of this House over the last four years because it helped us get re-elected. Ours was the only Party viewed by the voters of this nation as capable of governing, of having the will to do what the country needed. People perceive the opposition Parties as having wasted time and of not being serious about their concerns. That will be the consequence of the kind of tactic that has been going on in this House all this week.

On average it costs \$1 million a day to run this place. We have been forced into a position of spending today's \$1 million debating procedural motions. We have spent \$5 million for three speeches on free trade this week. Look at those three speeches. Are they worth \$1.75 million a piece? Were they that well crafted and delivered? I suggest not. In the private sector you could not sell those speeches for \$1.5 million or \$1.75 million.

Mr. Darling: Perhaps \$50 each.

Mr. Hawkes: I hear someone say \$50 each.

Extension of Sittings

What should we be doing today, Mr. Speaker? I suggest that in the next 10, 15, 20 or 30 minutes or the next hour we should vote on the motion to set our timetable in place for next week. That is an option. We can do it in an hour. We can do it at 1 a.m. We can debate this motion for the next 12 hours or we can vote and we can work co-operatively. The minute we vote we could agree—and the Government is quite willing to agree—that we get on with the debate on free trade. We can set aside our quorum rules. We can set aside the possibility of votes. We can simply not see the clock until 1 a.m. and get our free trade speeches started today. Let us go to 1 a.m. If people want to go until 2 a.m., Government Members are agreeable to that. Why not start debating free trade today?

What is the logic of spending 12 more hours and \$1 million debating the procedural motion? Surely Canadians are tired of our procedural motions, the little internal games. This is an issue of substance on which we have strong feelings. My feelings are probably different from a number of people on the other side.

An Hon. Member: And just as strong.

Mr. Hawkes: And just as strongly held. We should be using this Chamber in the finest democratic tradition to get our feelings and our thoughts out on the table. Why 12 hours? That is the equivalent of three parliamentary days of debating time. It is the equivalent of \$3 million that we can spend on procedural speeches or we could agree co-operatively to spend that time on substantive speeches about the issue of concern to Canadians.

What choice will be made, Mr. Speaker? Our choice is clear. Members on this side of the House would prefer to talk about substance. We will probably talk about opportunity. Almost all our Members would have that characteristic. I suspect the Opposition will talk about their perception of what the problems might be. If we are going to spend \$3 million worth of taxpayers money today, surely we should spend it on that debate.

According to the rules of the House the only way we can get there now is to vote as quickly as possible, set in place our timetable for next week and reach an agreement co-operatively to set aside our rules and get to the debate. So that we can make sure we do it in an orderly manner, I would like to move an amendment to the motion and, once that amendment is in place, the first vote would be on the amendment. It is in line with the agreement that we reached co-operatively yesterday afternoon.

There should be no need for a standing vote. We could pass this with a voice vote. Then we could have our standing vote, agree not to see the clock, agree not to call quorum and have no votes for the rest of the day. We could have a lot of speeches on free trade between now and 1 a.m. We could quit a little sooner if people wanted and commence on Monday morning with more speeches on second reading. Therefore, I move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Lachine—Lac-Saint-Louis (Mr. Layton):

That the motion be amended by deleting in the penultimate paragraph the words "all such Bills" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "That Bill C-2"

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I want first to acknowledge your presence in the chair and say that once again it is a pleasure to have your smiling visage and, even though you are not conditioned by Bill 101, it is nice to have you back in the House looking after these affairs.

I want to acknowledge that the amendment just introduced is an amendment that was proposed by our House Leader as a way of bailing the Government out of a situation of total and complete chaos in which it found itself. Obviously our willingness to support it would be more than apparent.

An Hon. Member: Why not vote?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I found the remarks that introduced the amendment to be most illuminating about the density by which the Parliamentary Secretary thinks about Parliament. I have here the questions he posed. Why are we here, he said? Why are we debating this motion? Why are we looking at questions of procedure as if Parliament were some kind of a sausage machine where the Hon. Member and his Ministers simply turn on the crank and churn out the legislation according to some kind of mechanical, automatic computer-like dictate without the full requirement of the Canadian people through their elected representatives to be heard.

It was an interesting commentary on the way in which Parliament is viewed by Members on the other side. This is not a place, in their view, where Members of Parliament duly elected by their constituents will have an opportunity to present their case, to have an exchange, a dialogue, to try to influence legislation or to make sure that the public can be heard in open committee hearings.

Extension of Sitings

● (1300)

This is simply a place where you put the plug in and turn on the machine in order to get the tyranny of the majority answered as quickly and as efficiently as possible. It is the type of thing that Mussolini used to say: "Let's get the trains running on time". Now we have the Parliamentary Secretary saying: "Let's have Parliament work according to our timetable".

The Parliamentary Secretary and his cohorts, colleagues, and masters did not say that the reason we are having this debate has nothing to do with the Opposition trying to defend the rights of Parliament. It has to do with a Government that is insisting that the trade legislation, the most important Bill in the history of this country, be passed by January 1, the Government's deadline. As a result Government Members were the ones who set the timetable, set the motions to say that we will not allow Parliament to function in its normal and proper way. They are the ones who say that there will not be committee hearings so that all those industries that are presently being closed down and shut down as a result of the impending Free Trade Agreement will have an opportunity to be heard by this House and by this Parliament.

That comes as no surprise to those of us who were here for the last four years, because we realize that the whole formula of the Conservative Party is to make sure that people not be heard. Going back to 1985 the whole thesis of the trade agreement was: "Don't tell the people what is going on. Keep it hidden, keep it under wraps, and keep it under a blanket, so in that way we will be able to fool them".

They almost succeeded, until we got to the election and people all of a sudden began to understand that the agreement was more than a commercial agreement and that it would affect us in many ways. There is not one Conservative Member of Parliament who was not bruised when going door to door by questions from individual constituents who said: "You did not tell me what it was about. You did not tell me that it was going to change the way foreign investment comes in. You did not tell me that it was going to affect the way in which regional development programs can be applied".

All of a sudden Tory candidates were faced with a barrage of questions. For the first time Canadians were stating that this thing was a time bomb and that it was going to change the country. The only way government Members overcame that was to return to the old tactics and swamp the country with a tidal wave of propaganda,

paid for by their friends in big business, to ensure that they could hang on by their fingernails for another week or two until the election was over. That is the way that they succeeded. They have learned nothing.

An election is not simply an exercise of raw power and how many seats the Government has. An election is also an exercise of listening. An election is being at the street corner, around the kitchen table, and at the doorstep listening to what people have to say. Canadians were clearly stating that they saw serious flaws in this agreement and that they had serious concerns about it. Yet, did the Minister of Trade in introducing this Bill or the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) in setting the timetable give one, single concession to those concerns? Were they listening at all? Did we hear anything from the Minister of Trade, the Prime Minister, or the rest of that phalanx that the Canadian people have some deep-seated anxieties that deserve to be listened to? Let us bring in a Bill that responds to that. Let us change the Bill from the old C-130 to respond to those concerns. They only changed one thing. That was the date of implementation.

The Deputy House Leader, the House Leader, the Parliamentary Secretary, and all the others are now introducing into the House the most Draconian usurpation of the parliamentary rules in the history of Canada in order to meet a January 1 timetable that the Government has stated is not important. What an incredible contradiction.

The one thing that was changed in the entire Bill was the taking out of the January 1 deadline. If it was so important, why was it not left in? If it was absolutely essential to the agreement, why was it not left there? No, the Government took it out. Now we have the hijacking of Parliament in order to meet a timetable that is no longer important to the Government. Something is wrong there. Somehow the logic escapes me. Perhaps Government Members have a basic sense of masochism. They like twisting and turning the rules of Parliament for the sake of doing it. Perhaps this type of parliamentary terrorism is something that appeals to their basic psyche. Perhaps that is the basic character of members of the modern Conservative Party. Perhaps they do not like Parliament working by its normal rules. Perhaps they do not like rules, because after all it is a little awkward to have to come here and answer questions and deal with debate. Maybe we should just turn off the lights forever and turn on the computer, or have the Deputy House Leader do his high jinks.

Extension of Sittings

Mrs. Dobbie: Let us talk about trade.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We are going to talk about trade. We have lots of time to talk about it. The problem is that government Members do not even want to debate their own motion. "Get on to another topic," they are pleading. There is the new Member for Winnipeg South down on her knees pleading: "Please, don't talk about this motion, talk about something else, will you, because I can't stand the recognition that a duly elected Member of Parliament is now part of the conspiracy to erode and destroy the rules of this House". That is what is going on.

The fact of the matter is that these rules are absolutely irrelevant to what the Government wants to do. Furthermore, by imposing these rules it is going to prohibit Canadians from having a full opportunity to be heard on this legislation. By taking it into Committee of the Whole—

An Hon. Member: Since November 21, we have been heard.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Why do you not get to your feet and talk? What are you afraid of?

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I am pleased that the House realizes that there are still some rules of debate liable to be followed so that the rabble simply cannot take over this Chamber whenever it wants.

One of the most important issues facing us is the one that was raised in the House of Commons today. One thing most strongly felt by Canadians during the past election was the question of jobs and the recognition, as it was exposed by various groups and various industries, that there was going to be serious dislocation. In the printing industry 10,000 jobs would be lost; the food processing industry itself said that 100,000 jobs would be lost; 24,000 women in the garment industry are having their jobs put at a risk.

Ms. Copps: They do not care. They do not care about women.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Now we see the same type of disruption taking place in softwood lumber, in shakes and shingles. Before the agreement is even signed those companies are beginning to rationalize. It is wonderful to see the new explanation. Three months before the election all the business commentators, the editorial writers, and the ministerial spokesmen

said that the reason for the trade agreement was to rationalize our industries. Now that our industries are rationalizing they say: "It has nothing to do with free trade". It is somehow happening by magic. "This is something we have been planning to do for years". We know how much hog-wash that is.

What is absolutely essential now and what our Members have been saying since we arrived back on the Hill is that it is a responsibility of the Government to put in place the type of programs to deal with the dislocation of workers and communities across the country.

Instead we have reason number one from the Minister of Employment who states that he does not have to do anything because there is already a jobs strategy, even though the jobs strategy has been criticized by every independent, reputable organization saying that it is not working and that the Minister has cut back expenditures by 32 per cent. College classrooms are being shut down today as a result of that jobs strategy program. One enormous con job of the election was when the Prime Minister went to a community college outside Toronto and had a photo-op with students, showing him talking about the new world of high technology. As soon as the camera shut down the classroom was shut down. Why? It was because the federal Government had cut off funding for that program. As soon as the photo-op is over, why keep the program going? It is no longer important. The jobs training strategy is not the answer.

• (1310)

How does the Progressive Conservative Government resolve the situation under the Unemployment Insurance Act whereby older workers who have a right to severance are not eligible for unemployment insurance assistance and training until their final severance payment is in hand, something which may take a year or a year and a half following job loss? How does the older worker get back into the job stream when he or she is not even eligible for training grants under the Unemployment Insurance Program as a result of the amendments brought in by this Government?

Why is the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall) not answering that kind of question?

The reason that we on this side of the House, Mr. Speaker, want a proper parliamentary examination of this legislation is that, through that process, answers to those questions could be had.

Extension of Sittings

Once we got off that little fallacy, that little fable about the Canadian Jobs Strategy, we had a new big fable put forward by the Prime Minister of Canada, who is the biggest fable-maker in the history of this country—

An Hon. Member: It is a big fib.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) makes Aesop look like a piker in comparison. Some day in the future there will be a new book for children entitled *Mulroney's Fairy-tales*.

What we heard today is another fairy-tale. We were told that the de Grandpré Commission will solve all of our problems. Earlier this week, the Prime Minister asked us to wait until Friday, when the answers would be forthcoming. Well, we are now at Friday, and still there are no answers.

An Hon. Member: Where are the answers?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Where are the answers? Well, one answer was in a newspaper report which quoted the members of the commission as saying that they had no answers. The article quotes the commissioners as saying that they were not expected to report this soon; that they had made no commitment to table an interim report. It went on to quote them as saying that they may get around to presenting a report next June.

How many workers, Mr. Speaker, how many factories, how many communities are going to be adversely affected before the de Grandpré Commission gets around to reporting?

The only conclusion that our far-sighted Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) could come up with is: "Well, I met with the de Grandpré Commission this morning, and there is no problem out there. Nothing is happening out there".

Once again, like the giant Goodyear Blimp, the Minister for International Trade is floating high in the atmosphere, totally removed from the reality down here in the real world, where workers are today losing their jobs as a result of the Free Trade Agreement.

The Minister has a nice kitschy little breakfast with Mr. de Grandpré, with little china teacups and little *petit fours*, and they conclude that there is no problem out there.

An Hon. Member: The public trough.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): And after breakfast, they all get into their chauffeur-driven

limousines and are returned to the House of Commons, or Bell Canada, or wherever, and we hear: "Oh, no, there is no problem out there. No, no; no problem out there", except that the workers at Northern Telecom are being laid off, as are the workers at Canada Packers. I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, that those individuals do not have a chauffeur-driven limousine to take them to the UI counter, which is where they are going to be come Monday morning.

Because Mr. de Grandpré and the Minister for International Trade are unable to see a problem, there is no problem.

An Hon. Member: We were asked to let the people decide, and the people decided.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, Parliament must have the opportunity to exercise its right to examine these issues properly. The obdurate, dense Parliamentary Secretary opposite asks why Parliament should be given the opportunity to debate the issue fully. Well, that is the reason. It is only through Parliament that ordinary Canadians can exercise their right to be heard. It is only in this forum that ordinary Canadians can have their problems addressed.

An Hon. Member: Tories do not care.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, that is why this Government is moving closure; that is why this Government is proposing that the rules be suspended; that is why this Government is trying to shut this place down. It is a Government that is not interested in listening to ordinary Canadians. The great paranoia of Hon. Members opposite is that ordinary Canadians might in fact have the opportunity to be heard.

It is for that reason that we on this side are engaging in this debate. We are fighting for the right of Parliament to continue its work, to operate as a forum in which there can be an open, honest and clear dialogue on the issues facing Canadians.

In defending the rights of Parliament, Mr. Speaker, for that type of debate, we are defending the rights of all Canadians. Ordinary Canadians do not have access to the boardrooms of the nation. They do not have million dollar propaganda budgets. They do not have fancy high-powered friends. All they have is a democratically elected forum where their views can be put forth.

Extension of Sittings

The real victim of the Free Trade Agreement will be this place, this Chamber. While there are people being thrown on scrap-heaps and communities closed down, ultimately the most serious casualty of the FTA will be this place, inasmuch as this Government has treated this Parliament, this House of Commons, with great disdain and arrogance—and it does so because it fears this place. It fears what will be heard in this place.

We have had four years of efforts to bring down the curtain totally and completely, to close the doors, to try to conceal and hide the real facts, and we are starting a new round.

We on this side concede that the majority opposite will exercise its will. This Government no longer has a conscience such that it is moved to respond to the kind of balance of interests of which I have spoken.

I heard one of my colleagues earlier today commenting on the privilege of having the opportunity to stand up in a civil society and debate issues. The problem we face today is that we no longer have a Government that recognizes civility. It does not recognize that Parliament works through a proper and appropriate balancing of the rules, conventions, practices, and understandings on the part of all Members. Parliament does not work on the basis of the raw, naked exercise of power. Rather, it works on the basis that political Parties will serve, in turn, in government and opposition, with the recognition that the rights of Parliament have to be protected by all in order that it can function properly on behalf of the people.

That is a lesson that went unlearned during the first term of this Government, and it is one that continues to go unlearned today.

It is for all of those reasons that we on this side are going to fight as strongly and as mightily as we can against the hijacking of this place. The Tories treat Parliament in the way that they treat ordinary Canadians; that is to say, with arrogance and with indifference. We are now going right back to where we were immediately before the election? This is a government for those of privilege and power and one which is not prepared to serve the interests of the majority of Canadians, the same majority which voted against this Government in the last election.

We will do all that we can to ensure that the rules of this House are preserved. In that way, when the day comes that there is in place a government that is

prepared to act in the interests of ordinary Canadians, this Parliament will have the opportunity to serve those interests in the appropriate fashion.

We will support this amendment, and we do so because we can do nothing but have pity for the poor organization of this Government, a government which failed in its ability to manage this House yesterday and had to be bailed out. Never let it be said that Liberals are not charitable and generous, even to Tories. We will help the poor Deputy House Leader (Mr. Lewis) out of his misery and show him how to make the House work in a proper way. However I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, that the motion that caused all of this was totally unnecessary. Had the Government permitted Parliament to take its natural course, leading to a full parliamentary debate, including committee hearings, in respect of the FTA, it would not have had to resort to the kind of parliamentary terrorism inherent in its motion.

We on this side want to have the opportunity to put on the record one more time exactly what this Government is doing to distort and destroy this Chamber, a Chamber which is so essential to all Canadians.

Mr. Rod Laporte (Moose Jaw—Lake Centre): Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and an honour to be able to stand in my place today and participate in this debate, this being the second time I have had the opportunity to participate in the debates of this House.

As a new Member, I have the greatest respect for this House. I have always considered it to be a forum for open debate and thoughtful reflection, resulting in well formed and well thought out legislation. As well, it is an institution that takes into account the rights and opinions of minority groups.

While I continue to have respect for this Parliament, I must say that, having completed my first week, I am disappointed with some of the Members, and particularly some of the Members opposite. Certainly I continue to have the greatest respect for those Members on both sides of the House who are interested in the democratic process, who are interested in engaging in open debate. I am, however, disappointed in the senior members of the Government who are ramming Bill C-2 down our throats, to use an oft-quoted phrase.

Having sat in this House for one week, I have seen the Government acting as a street bully, and this is a view of government to which I have not been privy heretofore.

Extension of Sittings

● (1320)

I wish every Canadian had the opportunity, as I have, to sit in this House for a week and see it from this view. It is a different view from the one you see on television. I know if every Canadian had a chance to sit in this House for a period of time, they would have a different view of the Conservative Party. Certainly the Conservatives would be having a different view of this House because they would not be on the government side but on the opposition side and in much fewer numbers.

I have watched the games and the charades being played in this House and it is disappointing. It is disappointing to see Standing Orders being changed seemingly on a moment's notice. This action being taken by the Government not only tramples on the rights of Members on this side of the House, but on the rights of Members on all sides.

We have in this House, I believe, 127 new Members from all Parties. They wish to speak on this issue. Certainly the trade issue was the key issue in the last election. This is the earliest time, 21 days after the election, that a House has been called back. It is very difficult for new Members. First, it is difficult to get used to the rules and procedures of the House. There are new offices to set up, staff to hire, and constituency problems to address. Not only myself and other Members on this side are having difficulty; I know of new Members on the Government side who are having the same difficulty. They have not had an opportunity as in past Parliaments to establish themselves, to get their constituencies set up, and to start dealing with the problems every Member has to deal with.

Mr. McDermid: On the job training.

Mr. Laporte: It is a new and difficult experience. During the last campaign the trade issue was the most dominant issue. Certainly people in my riding have a number of concerns. They are concerned about the Wheat Board. They are concerned about the future of agriculture and what is going to happen to rural Saskatchewan in the years that lie ahead. Moose Jaw itself, a small city of approximately 36,000 people, is in danger of losing one of its manufacturing plants, that of CanaDay's. That plant employs some 150 people making dress slacks, one of only two in western Canada. Certainly when the tariffs come off textiles, when the trade Bill goes through, and our dollar at some point will very likely reach a par with the American dollar, our advantage is going to be lost. If that happens, CanaDay's is very likely to close. That is something

Moose Jaw cannot afford and something which the people in Moose Jaw do not wish to happen.

We are having a difficult time with the Devine provincial Government in attracting business to Moose Jaw, and we can certainly not afford to lose an industry of that kind. I hope that during the trade debate itself I will have an opportunity to go into detail on that matter.

There seems to me to be no need to be rushing through this legislation, to be forcing this Bill through in such a short period of time. The Americans have said that there is no magic in the January 1 deadline. The deadline can be extended a reasonable amount of time. Certainly it would seem logical to me as a new Member to follow the Standing Orders of the House, to follow the normal procedures, and to allow for an open debate, especially with almost half the House being composed of brand new Members. They would have the opportunity to deal with this debate in the House and with their new constituencies. It seems very unfortunate and I am very disappointed over the manner in which the Government chooses to proceed in this matter.

I would also like to state that I am very proud to be a member of this Party, the New Democratic Party, especially after seeing the way the Conservatives have acted this week in the House. I am very proud to be a member of a Party that had as its Members people like M. J. Coldwell, J. S. Woodsworth, Tommy Douglas, and Stanley Knowles. They believed in and stood up for the fundamental principles of democracy. They believed in fair play and open debate. They also stood up for the right of others to express different points of view. I am also very proud to be a member of a Party with a Leader like the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) who has been following those footsteps and traditions.

In closing, I do hope that in future the Government will take a page from our Party's history book and when Members opposite look at Mr. Knowles sitting in the House, they will remember that tradition of democracy and apply it to this House in the days and months and years to come.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to speak today.

Mr. Albert Cooper (Peace River): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have an opportunity to speak for the first time in this new Parliament. I want to begin by congratulating you and your colleagues who serve us so ably and so well in the chair. It is a difficult job and we as Members traditionally have appreciated it, and certainly this case is no exception.

Extension of Sittings

I also want to take a couple of moments to welcome to the House of Commons our new colleagues like the Hon. Member who just spoke. We are glad to see them with us and we look forward to working with them and against them over the next four years.

I would also like very quickly to say thank you to the people of the Peace country for returning me to this august institution for another term. I appreciate their vote of confidence in me.

I find the debate we are involved in just a bit unusual, Mr. Speaker. I do not know about you, but I watched the television on the night of the election and for the next couple of days and it was very apparent to me, as I think it was to all Canadians, that both opposition Parties indicated that the people had spoken. The Canadian people had expressed their confidence in this Government, but in addition they had expressed their opinion on the issue of free trade.

As a result, I think it was a fair assumption on the part of Canadians, as well as Members of Parliament, that we were going to proceed with the free trade debate, that things would go quite rapidly, and that we would all be home in time for Christmas, a time which is always so special for each and every one of us, a time we want to spend with our families and friends.

In reality, with a little bit of hindsight and a couple of letters that accidentally ended up in the papers, we suddenly find ourselves in a situation where we are forced to have almost a new hearing, a whole new process, on the question of free trade.

● (1330)

We heard comments this morning that the motion we are dealing with at this particular moment is Draconian, that we as a Government are terrible, and that we do not like the rules of Parliament. It has been said that we manipulate, twist and turn, that we do all these terrible things, and that we are hijacking Parliament. That is what the Hon. Member from Winnipeg said a little while ago.

However, Mr. Speaker, you know very well that in fact we are doing no such thing. That is nothing more than a bunch of rhetoric designed to stir up Canadians, just as much as the rhetoric we heard during the campaign was in no way based on fact but simply on emotion, which was the whole design of those particular remarks.

What about the motion that we are debating at this very instant? Is it really Draconian? Is it such a terrible document that we should all be living in fear that this

great democratic institution is in some way harmed and that democracy is suffering? Not at all. In fact, I think it was in the month of June in the previous Parliament that we had the almost identical motion before us. It is a motion that has become acceptable for a Government which has an agenda that it wishes to accomplish within a certain timeframe. It is a perfectly legitimate tool for a Government such as our own to use in these circumstances.

Let us for a couple of moments look at this particular motion. If we look at the first paragraph we see that what it really states is that this House, this Government, is prepared to debate the issue of free trade between now and Friday of next week. We are also prepared to come back and debate this issue the first day back after Boxing Day. In other words, we are prepared to make sure that the House sits and allows time for this issue to go through the process which the rules of Parliament make clear that this particular Bill has to go through.

What does the second paragraph of the motion do? It is very simple. All it does is extend the hours so that we no longer adjourn in the early evening but continue on until midnight of every night. What for? It is to allow the new Members to express themselves on the issue of free trade. We are not cutting off debate; we are expanding it. We are giving more time.

Mr. McDermid: Twenty-four hours.

Mr. Cooper: My colleague reminds me that it is a total of 24 extra hours. Does that sound like a Government that is trying to cut off debate? To the contrary, it sounds like a government that has an agenda, a government that has a goal and a purpose. That is why the Government was re-elected. It was because Canadians saw in this Government a government which knew the kind of leadership and direction that it wanted to give to this country. That is why Canadians expressed their confidence in us. That is why we are once again back on this side of the Chamber, rather than on the other side from where we hear some of this complaining.

The second paragraph allows for an extension of time to make sure that all those Members who wish to speak on the issue of free trade have that opportunity.

What does the third paragraph do? Is it Draconian? Is it a terrible paragraph that limits the rights of Members of Parliament? Does it somehow destroy and undermine our democracy? No. All it really does is state that we will continue with our regular midday breaks. Is that a terrible thing for the Government to do? How

Extension of Sitings

terrible we are that we would allow this kind of behaviour in an institution such as this? It is a mockery. The kind of rhetoric that we heard just a few minutes ago is silly. It was said that we were ramming all these things through Parliament, that we were not giving Members of Parliament a chance to be heard. If Members want to take the time to read the motion, to look at what it says, they will see that we are giving them every opportunity to speak on this Bill at this time.

What about the fifth paragraph? Is it another terrible paragraph? As you know, Mr. Speaker, the standard way of dealing with any particular piece of legislation is to send it to a legislative committee. What happens in a legislative committee? A legislative committee has a restricted number of members. As a result of that, at the committee stage only a certain number of people will have the opportunity to participate in those hearings and in that work at that particular time.

What have we allowed in this particular motion? We have asked that the Bill be referred to Committee of the Whole. In other words, every Member of Parliament who wishes to take his or her seat in this place can participate in the committee stage of this particular Bill. Is that not a terrible thing for us to do? How terrible is it that we would treat the Opposition this way, that we would give all of them the same opportunity as would be afforded to the few if we had a legislative committee?

No, Mr. Speaker, it is not at all some Draconian measure. It is a very reasonable, responsible way of dealing with the legislation that we have before us and making sure that the legislation is passed in due time so that we can get on with the agenda that we as a Government want to present for the Canadian people.

The last paragraph deals with the question of Royal Assent and what will happen with this particular motion. Is it left wide open so that things will go on forever? Not at all. In fact, with the amendment that was just tabled by my colleague from Calgary, this particular motion will die the very moment that Bill C-2, the Bill relating to free trade, receives Royal Assent. Then, we can come back and begin once again to operate under the rules of the House of Commons. These are rules which this Government took so much time and energy reforming to ensure that Members of Parliament on all sides of the House, Members of Parliament who were not necessarily members of the Cabinet, would have an opportunity to have some real force, some power, some influence in this institution. It was this Government that brought in those reforms. It was this Government that cared enough for the back-

bench MPs in this House to bring forward those reforms.

This is not a government that discards the rules. This is not a government that acts in a Draconian fashion. This is not a government which hates democracy. This is a government which has demonstrated by its actions over the last four years, and will continue to demonstrate over the next four years, that it is a Government that not only cares about the people of Canada. It wants to provide an opportunity for Members of Parliament to function in this institution and to be valuable and viable workers within it.

There is another point that has to be made on this particular situation we find ourselves in today. This is not normal type of legislation. It was not introduced a few days ago for the first time. This legislation was before this House on a previous occasion just prior to the last election. In fact, it was not that the Bill was just introduced and then totally forgotten. No, that is not the case. We took that legislation through stage after stage as is required by parliamentary tradition. That Bill went through all of the stages, I believe with the exception of Royal Assent, giving members of this institution a chance to speak to the Bill, to participate in committee hearings, and to participate in several votes. It is not a new piece of legislation. We are not going into new territory. We are not opening up new ground. We are simply repeating what has happened already.

This is a government which has an agenda, a government which has some goals for the Canadian people, a Government which wants to lead this country to a strong economy, to opportunity for our young people in areas of research and development. That is what we want to get on with. There is no need for us to go through a long, drawn out exercise just simply to satisfy the needs of the Opposition. Those are needs that exist internally, not needs that have anything to do with the subject, but of political partisan needs to which I want to refer in a couple of moments.

• (1340)

In fact, the reason we are involved in this particular debate today is simply because of what is happening on the other side of the House. It has nothing to do with the question of free trade. If it did, those Members would recognize very quickly that the motion we are debating right now gives them every opportunity to express their concerns and make their points. No, that is not the real reason, it is not on the question of free trade.

Extension of Sittings

You will recall what happened on the night of the election, Mr. Speaker. We had members of the Opposition, representatives of both Parties, telling the Canadian people that they accepted the decision of the Canadian electorate. Something happened between then and now that has made them all excited. It has made them say: "We have to debate this deal. What is the rush? Let's take our time. Let's drag this out". It all has to do with Bob White.

Bob White, as we have since discovered, likes to write letters. Not only does he like to write letters, he likes to put them in the mail. We have discovered that not only does he put them in the mail to the people to whom he addresses them, the person whose name is at the beginning of that letter, but he sends them to the public through the newspapers and the media. We know what happened then.

All of a sudden this secret communication, this important discussion between the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) and Mr. White, was all over the front pages of the newspapers. What was Mr. White saying? He was saying that the NDP had rolled over and played dead in the election and that the Liberals had been able to co-opt them. As a result, the Liberals have more seats than the New Democratic Party, and that will never do.

Here we have this public criticism out there where everyone can see it and suddenly the lights go on. Those Members could not come into the House and stick to what they had said the night of the election, that the Canadian people had decided.

Suddenly after this letter there was a change of heart. Suddenly we found that members of the New Democratic Party had to stand up to their full height—and it is an expression I am well familiar with, Mr. Speaker—and fight. They had to prove that Bob White was wrong, even though Mr. White was part of their campaign team and even though he sat in on all of their meetings. The New Democratic Party did not like Bob White criticizing its Leader and its Party. Now we know what has happened with the New Democratic Party.

What about our colleagues, the Liberals? What is the situation with the Liberals? Those of us who have been here for a while know that during the election they fight one another. When the election is over the Liberals and the New Democratic Party still fight each other. Would it not look terrible to see the NDP fighting tooth and nail for its constituents and its voters and the Liberals sitting on their hands? Of course it would. They could

not let that happen. That could not possibly be allowed to take place. In fact we have a catch-22 situation. The NDP is going to make sure it proves Bob White wrong, and the Liberals are going to make sure the NDP does not steal the limelight as the Liberals were successful in stealing it from that Party during the election.

Fortunately, the Canadian public was watching very closely and it chose our Party because of our vision for this country. It let the other two Parties fight it out between them as to who would be the Official Opposition. That is what it is really all about.

It is about a battle that is going on within their caucus and within their Parties and it has spilled out on to the floor of the House of Commons. As a result there is the possibility that a grinch may in fact steal Christmas.

None of us want that to happen. We really want to proceed with this legislation, but we want to ensure that all the people in this House who wish to speak on the issue of free trade will have that opportunity. That brings me right back to where I began, with this motion which the Government very wisely and very generously tabled here in the House of Commons. We want all of these people to have a chance to speak. We do not like to see fights and anger within the NDP caucus. We do not like to see tension between Bob White and the Hon. Leader of the NDP. That worries us. We do not want to see that happen. We want to ensure those Members have a chance to come into this House and express their concerns on the issue of free trade.

There has been an election since the last time we dealt with this legislation. The reason we have to go through it again is that it did not receive Royal Assent. That is why we have to go through the procedure at this point to make this legislation a reality.

The Canadian people chose this Party to form the government. They chose us because of our vision for the country. They chose us because they saw us creating jobs and opportunity for the Canadian people. They saw us as the Party offering a positive direction for this country. That is why we were chosen.

In fact, we are in a majority position today, which is a very unusual circumstance. As Canadians know, it is not common to have back-to-back majorities elected in this country. When the Canadian people do that, when they elect back-to-back majorities, it is because of the confidence they see in that Party. That was demonstrated very clearly by the very fact that this Party has now formed the government for a second time.

Extension of Sittings

By electing us Canadians have accepted the free trade deal. Canadians have accepted the leadership of this Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and this Government. Canadians have said: "Let's get on with free trade, let's get on with the business at hand, and let's get on with the kind of vision this Government expressed to the Canadian people".

Mr. Rey Pagtakhan (Winnipeg North): Mr. Speaker, parliamentary procedure is an essence of our parliamentary democracy. Indeed, I am honoured and privileged as a new Member of this distinguished Parliament to be sitting in the company of Mr. Stanley Knowles.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Pagtakhan: He showed us that we could use procedure to achieve the proper objective. Indeed, Parliament is to serve all our people including those who chose not to elect this Government. The people of Winnipeg North have given me their ears. They have opened their eyes and entrusted me with their minds and hearts that I may be their voice in Parliament to speak for their concerns.

Parliament is the forum, as has been said, for the voices of all Canadians, including those, I repeat, who did not vote for this Government. Any threat, therefore, to be held over our parliamentary process must be resisted and the treatment is adequate debate. It will be an historic mistake if new Members of Parliament now and in the future are deprived of the right to speak for their constituencies. If that happens, this Parliament becomes a Parliament of government, not the Parliament of all Parties representing all people across the country.

● (1350)

I am beginning to learn, and he who says that he knows everything, for him it is the beginning of educational death. Citation 16 of Beauchesne's the rules and forms of the House of Commons of Canada reads as follows:

"Parliamentary privilege is the sum of the peculiar rights enjoyed by each House collectively as a constituent part of the High Court of Parliament, and by Members of each House individually, without which they could not discharge their functions—"

I underscore the latter part of it. If we allow the suspension of our rules, if we do not allow Members of Parliament to speak, then we will not be able to discharge our duty to our people.

Citation 21 of the same authority provides that "the most fundamental privilege of the House as a whole is to

establish rules of procedure for itself and to enforce them". I recognize the right of Parliament to suspend debate from time to time, but it must be used only seldom if there is truly a compelling national reason. That has not been demonstrated.

It is true the Free Trade Agreement was introduced and passed by the Thirty-third Parliament. We must recognize, however, that the Thirty-fourth Parliament is different. It is different for a variety of reasons. We must recognize, as well, that although the Government was returned, it was returned with a remarkable reduction in its majority, something which the Government has failed to point out honestly to the people of Canada.

On the matter of the Free Trade Agreement, which matter I would have been prevented from saying even a few words on, I would like to say that the people of Winnipeg North are very concerned, very concerned indeed, that the health care and social programs of our country, for our youth, and for our seniors, will be jeopardized. On that basis—and I call this to the attention of Government—about 75 per cent of the sum total of our constituents voted that the Free Trade Agreement not be passed.

I recognize the reality of parliamentary democracy. I recognize that the Government has been given the mandate to implement its policies, but the Government must be honest. It has to recognize, as well, the right of the Opposition to introduce amendments, to point out the evils, the vaguenesses and weaknesses that the Free Trade Agreement has been shown to have.

It was an American who said that the Free Trade Agreement was the beginning of economic union and that economic union was the beginning of political union. The inescapable conclusion is that when political union happens, we will have lost our sovereignty and independence.

It has been said earlier—and I echo the position of my Party and the position of my Leader—that we must ensure not only the success of our economy but also the economic health of our people whose jobs may be lost. Therefore, job assistance programs must be ensured.

It is the essence of any quality program that the program must be reviewed. Our Party's submission that there be a parliamentary committee and that this Parliament oversees the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement is not only sound but is imperative.

Now I would like to touch on the weakness of the dispute settlement mechanism that the Free Trade Agreement hopes and claims is good. I would like to read very briefly the words of an authority, Mr. Bruce Fisher of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in Halifax, a policy analyst in the trade policy division:

"While the dispute settlement mechanism of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA) has been widely claimed to be the solution to bilateral trade disputes, in reality it is a complex and one-sided system which may prove detrimental to Canadian interests."

I emphasize that it is detrimental to Canadian interests. Is the Government not concerned about this? I continue:

"The maximum time allotted for the resolution of disputes is excessively long... Almost all panel decisions are unenforceable."

On the review of trade remedy laws, the same authorities states:

"A 'binational' panel is created upon the request of one party. Panelists—all of whom must be American or Canadian—are chosen from a permanent roster. The panel is empowered to review changes in countervail or anti-dumping statutes for violations of GATT laws. Although free to rule for or against either country, and with no waiver of GATT panel rights, the entire process can require as long as 195 days. Even then the offending party cannot be forced to enact changes. After an additional ninety days of 'consultation' and a 9-month waiting period, the other country is free to retaliate or to terminate the FTA with sixty days written notice."

That tells of the weakness of the dispute settlement mechanism. If I might continue—

Mr. McDermid: Which one?

Mr. Pagtakh: When his time comes, Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member may speak. On the future of redefining subsidies, the same authority states:

"Canada has committed itself to successfully negotiating a definition for 'subsidy' within 7 years... The US views these negotiations as ending Canada's extensive subsidy practices, including regional development... As a strongly litigious society, the US will never cede its right to initiate trade remedy actions. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to redefine subsidies so as to exclude Canadian assistance programs."

I would like the Government to listen to this:

"At the end of seven years, a future U.S. government could deliver an ultimatum: cease subsidization or face termination of the agreement. After seven years of industrial restructuring Canada would have little room to maneuver during the course of such negotiations... Undoubtedly, Canada's trade negotiators saw the danger in this caveat. But, strongly anti-subsidy themselves, they saw little harm in its inclusion."

• (1400)

Then we come to the worst of the *status quo*:

"Ironically, the FTA magnifies the flaws and errors of the status quo... " Also, "security of access" for Canadian exports to the United States remains as elusive as ever."

I continue:

Extension of Sittings

"The next 10 years will establish that the changes to the status quo are marginal and probably damaging."

I rise on behalf of the constituents of Winnipeg North. I know I have the trust of their minds and hearts. I am determined in this Parliament to speak for them and to resist any attempt on the part of the Government to violate the spirit of the parliamentary process. I will defend the right of the youth to be heard. I will defend the right of seniors to be served. I will defend the right of all Canadians to be heard and to be served.

If my privilege as a Member of Parliament is potentially threatened by a suspension of rules, then we will have surrendered democracy. Co-operation is not surrender. Co-operation is a challenge to the majority, the Government, to see the heart and soul of the minority, the total Opposition, who in this instance represent the majority of Canadians across the country.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell): Mr. Speaker, thank you for this opportunity to address the House today. It is my first opportunity to make a speech since the election of November 21, when the voters of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell again gave me a mandate to represent them in the House of Commons. My first words will be to express my thanks and gratitude to the voters of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell for the support they gave me in the election on November 21.

Mr. Speaker, it has often been said that it is an honour to be a Member of Parliament. The greatest honour, the greatest privilege that can be given to a Canadian is to represent his or her fellow citizens in the Parliament of our country and for me, the honour is even greater when a Member is sent to the House of Commons with the support of a large majority of the voters. The voters of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell supported me with about 74 per cent of the vote in my riding. So I am extremely honoured with the confidence they have given me.

Mr. Speaker, the voters of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell spoke in this election. It is true that the Canadian people chose to re-elect a Conservative Government, but it would be false to claim that Canadians all said yes to free trade. If the Government claims that a vote for the Conservative Party is a vote for free trade, it would therefore be equally true to say that a vote against the Conservative Party is a vote against free trade. Of

Extension of Sittings

course, not all those who voted for the Conservative Party are for free trade, not and those who voted for an Opposition Member are against it. But, Mr. Speaker, the fact remains that this election was almost a referendum and one must at least assume that most people who voted in this election nevertheless expressed serious concerns about this trade agreement negotiated by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

[English]

We should ask ourselves how we got into this mess in which the Government has placed us today. Why is it that we are here a few days before Christmas just starting the debate on the trade deal? We started it for an hour or so yesterday. The Government should have completed its agenda in time for the January 1 deadline that it placed upon itself.

Here is how we got into this mess, Mr. Speaker. First, the Government decided on the strategy last year that it would make the least amount of information available to the Canadian people.

An Hon. Member: Wrong.

Mr. Boudria: That is not wrong. That is entirely correct. There were leaked cabinet documents. The Hon. Member should pay attention; we will give him a copy of those leaked cabinet documents later. The documents express a strategy of communicating the Government's message while withholding as much information as possible and keeping the debate low key. That was the strategy.

What the Government failed to realize was that by keeping or attempting to keep the debate low key and by attempting to withhold information from the Canadian public, the Government achieved instead a prolonged debate because people were craving for information about the trade deal. It took longer to get information, but the people eventually got what they were looking for.

The Government meanwhile manufactured millions of dollars of propaganda through pamphlets, leaflets, flyers, and video clips. I was even sent a cute little video cassette. I put it on the VCR machine in my office and played it. It had pictures of cabinet Ministers telling each how smart they were and just how great this country would be under free trade, but not explaining anything about what was in the deal. The Government spent over \$30 million on that kind of propaganda.

As well the Government printed an original or a preliminary draft of the trade deal. Sometime later there was a final version, so there was no use for the first draft. What did the Government do with all the material that had been printed? It was recycled.

When we recycle paper do you know what the converted product ends up being, Mr. Speaker? Sure enough, we have millions of dollars worth of recycled free trade material which ended up in—you guessed it—toilet paper. I raised the issue on the floor of the House of Commons. I did not get much in the way of response from the Government. Of course, I never do get much of a response from the Government across the way. Most of the time the Government does not know the answer, but whenever it knows the answer it fails to hold itself accountable to the people of Canada.

In any case Canadians wanted information. The Government was feeding propaganda through leaflets and flyers. There was little information of substance, no background studies of what the damage would be or even the alleged benefits. The Government was not giving any more information than it had to give.

Early in the summer the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) indicated to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) very clearly that the Government had no mandate to negotiate, to sign, or to put into effect this trade deal. After all, it was the Prime Minister who said in 1983, that free trade was like sleeping with an elephant. "Everything was fine until the elephant rolled over and then," said the Prime Minister, "you are a dead man."

Two years later the Prime Minister had this conversation on the way back from the Shamrock Summit. He wanted a free trade deal but he had not received a mandate from the people of Canada. Given that he had no such mandate, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition pointed out very astutely, I might add, that the only thing to do was for the Prime Minister to call an election right there and then. The Leader of the Opposition said to the Prime Minister and to his Government: "Look, folks, you want this trade deal. Go to the people now, get a mandate. If and when you come back, we will debate the Bill in the House of Commons, and the Senate will not object any further".

• (1410)

Of course, as usual the Prime Minister did not listen to anything. He did not call an election at that point. He woke up one morning in October, I believe it was October 1. Perhaps he had had a walk in the fog the night before, or something like that, but on that Saturday morning the Prime Minister took a stroll over to Government House and asked the Governor General to dissolve Parliament and to call an election for November 21. I saw it on my own television set.

Extension of Sittings

We fought the election. It was a bitter and tough one for all of us. The Government was feeding the people more propaganda, and we were telling our side of the story. People ultimately had to make their choice. Until a week or so before the election it was quite clear that the choice was going to be to defeat the trade deal.

In came the big guns to the rescue with all their money. They bought newspaper ads, many ads to attempt to discredit people on an individual basis, when they felt that they were losing. The Government, sadly I must say, won the election of November 21.

The next day the Prime Minister woke up and decided "Wait a minute, I promised Ronnie Reagan that I would have the trade deal signed by January 1. That only leaves me 41 days. What am I going to do now?" He decided that he was going to rush the Chief Electoral Officer, and everyone else to get the writs in as quickly as possible, to recall Parliament for three weeks hence, and to present what he claimed was a Throne Speech. Actually, it was nothing of the sort. It was a 90-second document in which the Prime Minister said: "I was elected, now I want my trade Bill". The Governor General read that to us, and we were called back into the House.

We listened to the so-called Throne Speech, but we are not convinced that the Prime Minister still has a mandate to negotiate the deal, to adopt the Bill in Parliament, and to do so within a seven or eight day timeframe.

Let us pretend that the Prime Minister told us the facts as they are, which sometimes is questionable. Let us pretend that he gave us all the information when he said that this is the greatest and most important trading agreement ever signed by any two countries on the face of the earth. If it is so important, would it not be true that it should be studied by Parliament for more than five or six sitting days of the House of Commons? If it is as important as the Prime Minister tells us it is, why are we not allowed to do what we would do with any other Bill?

We should have a thorough debate on second reading and send it to a legislative committee. I am sure you know this, Mr. Speaker, but for the information of some of our newer colleagues, if it were a very important Bill we would have a committee that would hear witnesses. It would hear witnesses across the country and have meetings in various provinces and the territories in order that we could listen to what the people had to say about a particular legislative initiative. If that is true of any

important Bill, should it not be even more so when we are talking about this Bill which is supposed to be the most important piece of trading legislation ever signed by two countries on the face of the earth?

Obviously, the Government never had in mind to have a full debate on this issue. On the very first day the House was sitting the Government sought the consent of the House to suspend the rules duly adopted by Parliament. I have in my hand the *Standing Orders of the House of Commons* dated November 1988. Incorporated in those rules are the days of sitting of Parliament, the process that we must use, and the parliamentary procedure. The Government even flawed its motion and had to start it over. Today we gave consent that the Government could amend its motion. It was so badly flawed that it probably would not have worked at all to start with. There are still things in the motion brought before us that I question. For instance, it states:

"That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended—"

What does that mean? Does it mean that Standing Order 73(1) which states that we will have amendments to the Bill after second reading is now suspended? Does it mean that we could move an amendment at second reading after this motion is through, that we could actually amend a Bill at second reading stage as opposed to committee stage? Perhaps it means that we could amend the Bill at third reading on the floor of the House. The provision in the rules that has been suspended tells us where and when we can make amendments to the Bill. I say to government Members that they had better look again at that motion they brought to the attention of the House.

The Government has stated that there is a precedent for doing this, that it was done once before, but it is not quite what the Government did before. I know that the Chair has already ruled on it. Notwithstanding the ruling of the Chair which determined that this motion was in order—and I am not questioning that—I submit to the Speaker that it is far more strict, far larger in scope, and far more important than the one we were dealing with last summer.

The motion that we had before us last summer was for the purpose of one piece of legislation only and for a specified period of time. I know an amendment was introduced today to amend this badly flawed motion. The final paragraph states:

Extension of Sittings

"That immediately upon the House returning from the Senate after the first Royal Assent—"

When is the first Royal Assent? It could be at any time. The Government could pass 15 Bills, not give Royal Assent to any of them, and ask for Royal Assent on all of them at the same time. The motion further states:

"—a Minister of the Crown may propose, without notice or debate, a motion to rescind this Order."

It states that "a Minister of the Crown may propose, but then again he may not. There is no obligation on the part of the Minister to reinstate the rules we have now which are being suspended with this motion today.

Let us assume that the Minister made such a proposal. The House would not have to accept it in any event, because the Government could have a member of Cabinet move the motion to reinstate the rules and have the same parliamentary majority. In other words, if all the other Conservative Members vote against the motion that was proposed by the Minister, we could end up with a situation whereby that suspension of the rules would be here for the rest of this session of Parliament.

That is how badly flawed this motion is. It was probably written on the back of an envelope by the Deputy Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis), perhaps on the way back from the men's executive washroom or wherever, trying to find a process to deal with and get rid of this Bill immediately, which is what the Government wants. Why do they want this? For no other reason than to accommodate a political agenda.

In March, 1985, you will remember, Mr. Speaker, that in Quebec City there was what we now know of as the Shamrock Summit. At the Shamrock Summit the Prime Minister promised the President of the United States that we would have a trade deal. In the beginning, it was not called the free trade deal because he pooh-poohed those words.

I have a copy of a story written by Martin Cohn, a well respected journalist who works for the well respected *Toronto Star*. In that article the Prime Minister is quoted as saying: "Trade enhancement I'd go along with—not free trade. Trade enhancement with all of our partners is what we want". This was stated by the Prime Minister at the Shamrock Summit.

• (1420)

As you will recall, Mr. Speaker, it was during the Shamrock Summit that we had the Prime Minister and

the President of the United States appear on our television sets singing *When Irish Eyes Are Smiling*. My television set has not been the same since.

We heard the Prime Minister and the President of the United States agree that we should try to improve our trading relations. But even then, the Prime Minister said, and I quote: "Trade enhancement with all of our partners is what we want."

Well, Mr. Speaker, that is the position of the Liberal Party. It is our position that we should be working toward the lowering of tariffs on a multilateral basis, and not the type of binational agreement represented by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement—and a flawed one at that. It is an agreement under which we gave away the store and got nothing in return.

[*Translation*]

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to you that the Conservative Government did not properly negotiate this agreement, the Conservative Government needlessly put off the elections, and then in an attempt to meet its needs, stick to its political agenda and live up to its promises—the Prime Minister's promises to the President of the United States—the Prime Minister now expects us to accommodate him and give him the green light to have this legislation adopted after only a few days' debate.

Mr. Speaker, that is not what we intend to do. The Canadian people have spoken, the Canadian people have elected Government Members, but quite a few Canadians also voted for other candidates. The role of the Government is to govern, my role as Opposition Member is to oppose and to propose constructive amendments as we are wont to do. I have every intention of continuing to do just that.

[*English*]

Ms. Lynn Hunter (Saanich—Gulf Islands): Mr. Speaker, I was very proud to have been elected to this House of Commons, proud to have been given the opportunity to participate in this democracy in an active way.

The electorate of the riding of Saanich—Gulf Islands is very serious about its politics, very serious about participating in our democracy.

Extension of Sittings

I was voted in with a large majority, with a voter turn-out of 85 per cent. My constituents took the issues in the last election seriously, and they expect me to work hard on their behalf, and I intend to do just that.

My introduction to this House over the course of the past week, however, has left me profoundly disillusioned. I came to this House with the expectation that I would be taking part in one of the greatest debates in this century. And what does my first speech have to be about? It is about the arrogance of this Government in suspending its own rules of operation.

If we do not have rules in a democracy, we have nothing. The arrogance of this Government is to be deplored.

On the night of the election, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) talked about a period of reconciliation, and this is what we have now. Is this what he calls reconciliation?

An Hon. Member: Shame!

Ms. Hunter: It is certainly not reconciliation in my estimation. The motion under debate represents a brutal attack on our fundamental traditions of democracy. The more people know about it, the more they will come to understand the kind of people they have elected to form the majority in this House. It is a shame that this Government is behaving in this manner.

Some government Members have accused us of obstruction. That is the word that has been used. If "obstruction" means to provide for fair debate of the issues before this House, if that is what they refer to as obstruction, then I can understand why they can use a tactic such as the suspension of the rules of the House.

We must have debate. The Free Trade Agreement constitutes the whole reason for my becoming a candidate in the last election, and now we are not to be allowed to debate it. Closure is to be introduced.

My constituents elected me to speak out forcefully on their behalf in opposition to the Free Trade Agreement and to try to get the best deal for them.

The fact that the over-all election result meant that I would have a front-row seat to this Government implementing an agreement which I find so abhorrent meant that my election to this House was a bitter-sweet victory.

We must press this Government to adhere to the traditions and the rules that have governed our democracy. We must bring this Government to its senses.

If we do not conduct our business in this House pursuant to those rules, we are going down a very dangerous road.

Prior to my election to this House, I worked in international development, and in that capacity I had occasion to witness the violations against human rights in a number of countries, countries where the Governments had no interest in representing the ordinary citizens. I thought Canada was different from those places. Well, this week has taught me something new. It has taught me that we are not immune from the types of human rights violations that one sees in other countries. It can happen here.

We have a tradition of democracy in this country, and we have to defend that tradition of democracy. With all of my being, I will defend it. The people of Saanich—Gulf Islands elected me to speak out forcefully, and I am proud to be able to do that today.

It is my hope that the next occasion on which I speak in this House, it will be in a substantive way in opposition to the free trade Bill.

Mr. Benno Friesen (Surrey—White Rock): Mr. Speaker, I should like to begin by welcoming to the House the Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands (Ms. Hunter). I compliment her on her speech. While I do not agree with very much of what she has said, and while I would have preferred to have heard her predecessor, Pat Crofton, I must say that she did acquit herself well. She spoke with conviction.

In addition to welcoming to the Chamber the Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands, I should also like to welcome the Hon. Member for Winnipeg North (Mr. Pagtakhan), who I think has provided us with one of the better speeches from the opposition side. I compliment him on what he has said.

The Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands berated the Government for its arrogance. In fact, arrogance is when the losers try to prevent the winners from tabling their legislation.

As has already been said, the election is over. The Leader of the New Democratic Party, the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent), on election night, conceded that the Government had won, that it had a mandate, and that he would not try to stop it from introducing and passing its legislation.

The Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner), both on election night and the day following, made the point that the Government had a clear mandate to table its legislation and that his Party had no right to hold it up.

Extension of Sittings

That is what we heard on election day and the day following. What do we now find? We now find that those who are in the minority are saying that they want to debate the legislation, while at the same time they are doing all that they can to prevent the Government from tabling its legislation so that it can be debated.

That, Mr. Speaker, is arrogance. We do not need to be lectured by the Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands about arrogance, when all that we are trying to do is fulfil the mandate given to us by the Canadian people. That is all we are trying to do. Far from what the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria) has said, the motion that is before us today is to apply to one Bill only. It has a sunset clause. It will expire when this legislation is passed. It is not Draconian. It is not extreme. It is functional and designed to let the Government fulfil its mandate.

● (1430)

As I said before, repeating what others have said, the election is over. We are now here to work and fulfil the mandate the Canadian people have given to us.

I now want to draw on our experience of a few years ago in this Chamber and the work done by the committee headed by the former Hon. Member for St. John's East, James McGrath, now the Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland. It was commonly called the McGrath committee. I was a member of that committee, as was the Hon. Member for Winnipeg—Transcona (Mr. Blaikie), at that time the Hon. Member for Winnipeg—Birds Hill, and the Hon. Member for Peace River (Mr. Cooper) who sits next to me here. We did much to streamline the proceedings of this House to make it work better, create a better atmosphere, and give backbenchers a more precedent setting role. Members from all Parties agreed with the recommendations.

One of the memorable experiences we as a committee had was travelling to the United Kingdom and hearing witnesses from the House of Commons, the Mother of Parliaments, telling us their experience and how they proceeded with their work. I think all Members here realize that if ever politics were polarized, they are polarized in the United Kingdom.

It is a little like British Columbia that way. We have the Conservative Party on one side and the Labour Party on the other side, and the Leader of the Coalminers' Union is very prominent in the Labour Party. It is a polarized political scene and the practice is that each Party at election time publishes their manifesto. They

line up before the electorate all the things their Party believes in and would institute if elected to office. It is assumed that when that Party is elected it is going to fulfil its manifesto. On election night the public, having elected the majority Party, expect it to bring in legislation that will fulfil that manifesto.

When we on the committee met with officials of Parliament there, the clerks and their deputies, they told us of the practice that when the governing Party brings forward its legislation, it will meet with Leaders of the Opposition Parties. They call it "talking with the usual channels", who in our case would be the House Leaders of the various Parties. "The usual channels had their discussions," they say. There is a very important phrase they use constantly in those discussions and when they report back. They say: "The Government is entitled to its legislation". The Government has presented its manifesto to the people, the people have chosen that manifesto, and the Government is entitled to its legislation. That does not mean the Opposition is not entitled to debate it, raise its opposition, and bring forward amendments. Yet the understanding among the Parties is that it will not be unduly held up.

What is the experience in the U.K.? It does not matter how important the legislation, the debate lasts at most for a few days.

Mr. Marchi: Who rang the bells in 1980?

Mr. Friesen: I will come to the ringing of the bells.

Mr. Marchi: Did you charge the Chair as well?

Mr. Friesen: When the Hon. Member has something to say, he can stand on his feet and say it.

The debates in the U.K. usually last a few days and the legislation is passed because there is an understanding. The socialist party in England, being a little bit more mature than the two socialist parties here, understands that when democracy speaks the winners are the winners. They are entitled to pass their legislation. Our two socialist parties have not understood that yet. They are still in the adolescent stage when it comes to that kind of democracy.

One of the reasons the Parties here say we are not entitled to our legislation is that we had 43 per cent of the vote, and that is not a clear mandate. Let me point out, for example, that in 1972, we had a general election in the Province of British Columbia. The Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett), who sits

Extension of Sittings

opposite me, became the Premier of British Columbia as a result of the election of 1972. He had a mandate. Did he have a mandate! He brought in auto insurance. I remember that campaign when the Hon. Member went around the province. He never said: "I will get you auto insurance for \$25". He never said that. What he did say is: "The Government has a fleet of vehicles and do you know what they have? They have coverage for \$25. Would it not be nice if you and I could have that kind of insurance?"

He never said that he would provide \$25 car insurance, because I think he knew he could not do that. However, once he got his mandate, boy, did we get auto insurance. Not for \$25, but for about ten times \$25. Something like \$250.

We got auto insurance on the basis of his mandate. What was that mandate?

Mr. Cooper: He had a majority.

Mr. Friesen: Yes, 39.59 per cent of the vote.

Mr. Cooper: What?

Mr. Friesen: That gave him a mandate to give us auto insurance in British Columbia. Wow! At least we did four points better than that. We got 43 per cent and that ought to give us a mandate.

Not only did he give us auto insurance, he gave us a land freeze. I remember the demonstrations around the province during that land freeze. It escalated the price of land for developers so they could make a healthy profit. Those people who are always fighting land developers lined the pockets of land developers during that land freeze. How did he do that? With that overwhelming majority of 39.59 per cent.

We had bumper stickers all over British Columbia during that time, because he ruined the mining industry, which read: "Welfare, B.C.'s No. 1 Industry". He did that all on a mandate of 39.59 per cent.

Did he have a mandate for that? Do we have a mandate today? I think the Government is entitled to its legislation.

I was elected in 1974, when we were campaigning on wage and price controls. It so happened that the Liberals were elected under Mr. Trudeau with a majority of about 43 per cent. Did that prevent him from bringing in the six and five program a year later? Not at all, even though he campaigned for exactly the opposite. I suspect the Hon. Member for York West (Mr. Marchi) supported him. He campaigned on exactly the opposite. He got a mandate of 43 per cent. That did not stop him one bit.

• (1440)

In 1980, Mr. Trudeau was elected again with no overwhelming mandate. It was less than 50 per cent. What did we get out of that? The bell ringing. Why? Because of the National Energy Program. Had he told us in the campaign that he was going to give back-in provisions for Petro-Canada? Did he tell us at that time that he was going to confiscate lands? Not at all. But on the basis of 43 per cent he said he had a mandate for the back-in provisions, and to confiscate lands. That is why we had the bell ringing, by the way. It was because the Government was not entitled to legislation it had not campaigned on. The Government did not provide a manifesto that declared forthrightly what it was going to do.

I come back to what this House ought to be providing by way of tradition, and what the political system in Canada ought to do. It should be to provide a clear message to the Canadian people during the election campaign on what the issues are for each political Party. Our responsibility as political leaders in each campaign is to make sure that our electorate understands clearly what we stand for, if we are to be elected. Believe me, I think all Members in this House in this Thirty-fourth Parliament understand very clearly what they were campaigning for in this election. The public certainly understood. They knew that it was one overriding issue. That was made clear by the Leader of the Opposition when he said: "Give the people the chance. Give them the voice. Give them the choice". The people have spoken. It was one issue. It is our mandate.

Members of the Opposition have every right to stand, to debate, and to outline their principles, their objections, and what they stand for. They have not only the right; they have the duty to do that. We are trying to provide them with that opportunity.

That is why we tried to table the legislation as soon as we came into the House. That is why we cannot understand why the Opposition forced two votes at least just on tabling the Bill. That took up an hour that could have been spent on debate of the legislation. It was taken away from us. What we are saying is let us establish the tradition as has been established in the United Kingdom.

As political Parties during the election campaign we decide on our manifesto. We decide what we plan to implement, if we are elected. We must make the

Extension of Sittings

message clear as we did during this campaign so that when Parliament comes together after the election the people have a clear understanding of what is before them. Thus when the majority Party takes office it is entitled to its legislation with proper debate, but not obstruction, with clear statements of principle on the part of the Government, on the part of the opposition Parties, but not obstruction, not trying to hijack the system.

I say to Members: Let us debate. Let us debate free trade. Let us state our points. But let us pass the legislation because the people of Canada have decided. Free trade is the future for Canada. It is the horizon, the hope for the Canadian people. Let us have that legislation.

[*Translation*]

Mr. J. Ronald Duhamel (St. Boniface): Mr. Speaker, as a new Member from St. Boniface, of which I am very proud, what is most important for me and I believe also for all Canadians in the provinces and two territories is that every Member be able to speak on every issue that he or she feels important for his or her constituency, province and country. And that is exactly what I intend to do.

I have just arrived, I am brand new and I admit that I have a lot to learn. For example, what struck me is that the Government has greatly embellished or somewhat exaggerated many things and has sometimes been contradictory.

Let us take one example. When they talk about spreading fear, it seems to me that the Government has contributed to this situation. I remember a press release stating that two million families would suffer if the agreement were not implemented. That is fear-mongering!

I heard many times that if the Government were not elected, the dollar would fall, the economy would collapse and our links with the United States and other countries would be weakened. What I found most disturbing during the election campaign was the interference of leaders of other countries. For example, the President of the United States took the liberty to make a speech in which he referred to this agreement. This same gentleman had said after concluding the agreement with the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), that it was the realization of the American dream. And later on, the Prime Minister of England also meddled in our affairs.

I ask, with all due respect, whether they took the time to read the Agreement. Have they read the Agreement? Have they really understood it? And if they neither read

nor understood it, did they have the right to interfere and make favourable comments on this Agreement?

I would point out that not only the Opposition parties have raised serious questions about this Agreement. Many groups have done so, and here are some of them: an impressive number of women's organizations from almost every part of the country, unions throughout Canada, at least 90 environmental groups, cultural groups throughout Canada and a large number of churches in Canada. I know at least five that have spoken out. Business men and women from small, medium and large companies have also done so.

We are being led to believe that business men and women are all for the agreement, that they want to support it. But that is false. And I sincerely believe that if they did not feel muzzled, they would have spoken up much more loudly about its shortcomings.

I like to believe that all these people whom I have just mentioned, and I identified only a few, are not always wrong.

[*English*]

During the election campaign we were told that a number of issues that we had raised were not at all being threatened, for example, our culture. This is a real concern to a number of groups, for example, our new Canadians, our northern and native peoples, *les francophones hors Québec*.

We were told, as well, that our environmental standards would not suffer, that the very serious problem of acid rain and the thinning of the ozone layer which has caused numerous kinds of medical problems would in fact not suffer as a result of this particular accord. We were also informed that our regional development programs would not be hampered in any of serious way. We were told that our control and pricing of our natural resources would not be jeopardized. We were also told many, many times that our social programs would in no way be negatively affected now or in the future. We were told that our working men and women would not lose better jobs than those that might be created by the Mulroney-Reagan agreement, that when they were displaced they would be entitled to assistance and retraining and/or moving and adjustment expenditures.

If all of this is in fact true then what the people of St. Boniface—and I think many people throughout Canada—are really requesting is that that be put down very simply and clearly, not in some isolated or remote section of the accord or in the appendix, but that it be written simply and clearly so that their fears can in fact be removed.

Extension of Sittings

● (1450)

Let us tell the one million people who are unemployed today how they will be helped. Let us guarantee to them that that is in fact the case. We have more than four million Canadians who are poor and who are working at minimum wage. Out of those four million there are over one million children who are involved. How well can their condition be improved? If their condition will be improved, let us set it down clearly. How will our seniors, our youth, our women, our northern and native people, and our new Canadians profit from this agreement?

I would suggest that if the Government is really concerned about the people of Canada, the concerns which have been raised by these various groups and some of the concerns I have just pointed out need to be addressed. These concerns need to be reflected in some sort of mechanism such as legislation.

What the people of Canada really want from Government and from the Opposition is the truth about this trade deal. They want us to share honestly with them the information we have. They want copies of the studies the Government has. They want to be told clearly and unequivocally about the difficulties that lie ahead. They want to know if the definition of subsidies will cause serious difficulties. They want to understand more about what is meant by the process of harmonization. They want to identify the industries that will fall or suffer seriously as a result of this agreement.

I think you will agree that our Canadian population is, generally speaking, quite politically literate. They are really vitally interested in the politics of this nation and where we are going as a country. I think they increasingly resent what they perceive as being manipulated, not being given the whole truth, all the facts, being treated as if they are not knowledgeable enough or intelligent enough to understand what we as politicians supposedly understand. In fact, I would suggest that they are insulted and angered by such an approach. I would venture that they will no longer tolerate such treatment.

Canadians want their Government and their opposition Parties to do everything in their power to protect them. Personally, I will do everything in my power to protect all my constituents and all Canadians.

Mr. John F. Brewin (Victoria): Mr. Speaker, when I see the Minister of State for Transport (Mrs. Martin), as I understand her position to be in the House, I am inclined to begin with a discussion of the Heliport in Victoria, but I will save that for another occasion.

The topic that we are supposed to be discussing, as I understood the Order of the Day, was the Government's decision to use its majority to change the rules of this House. I find it something of a shame that those of us who are making our first speech here are required to speak to this particular topic.

We come here with a deep sense of excitement and honour at the opportunity we have to serve our country in this place. We listened carefully to the Speaker's words yesterday when he ruled in order the motion that we have before us. I am disappointed the Government did not take the very broad hint or strong words the Speaker gave to this House. He said of the motion before us that while it is in order, he found it was a hard case. I quote from page 78 of *Hansard*:

"I am not pleased as your presiding officer to put this question to the House; but it would be bad law to do otherwise."

He is saying that it is in order for the Government to introduce this motion, but it is a bad motion that is being put.

Let us look at precisely what the Government is asking this House to approve. It is not asking the House to approve the Free Trade Agreement or the enabling legislation. It is asking this House to change the Standing Orders. To paraphrase the Hon. House Leader for the Government (Mr. Lewis), it is changing three rules.

First, it is extending the sittings on four days a week from 6 p.m. to midnight. It is wiping out the rule that the House would have no evening sittings.

Second, it is changing the regular House schedule by extending beyond December 22, this session of Parliament. Normally, we would rise on December 22, and return on January 15.

Third, it changes the requirement that this very complicated piece of legislation go to a smaller legislative committee and provides that it be discussed clause by clause in Committee of the Whole which gives to the Government far greater opportunity to shorten the debate.

Those are the three things that are being proposed by the Government. I come here, I admit, as a new Member, but it is my understanding that the Standing Orders are the constitution of this House. The Standing Orders have been developed over a number of years and, in particular, these provisions were the result of the McGrath reform introduced at the urging of a former member of the Conservative Party and Conservative caucus.

Extension of Sittings

What is very disappointing is that the Conservatives have so quickly forgotten what it is like to be on this side of the House. It has not taken them very long to take on the demeanour of our friends to the right in the Liberal Party, to behave as the Liberals did for so many years.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Brewin: I had them with me up until now, but I will get them back before we finish, Mr. Speaker. The reforms to the Standing Orders that were adopted, as I understand it, in 1985, represented a very delicate balance between the need for legislative efficiency and the need to ensure that the business of the House had full and careful consideration. That balance was agreed to on all sides of the House. These particular rules play a very important part of that balance.

First, it was the wisdom and experience of the House that evening sittings were not sittings which gave full and proper consideration to issues before the House. All sides agreed that in normal circumstances, in fact in all circumstances apart from closure, those evening sittings were to be done away with. Second, it agreed that there should be fixed times for the House to rise, and for it to rise during the Christmas season has obvious advantages. Not only are the Members themselves in need of and entitled to a break from the business of the House, but the public is obviously not focusing on the business of this House at this time of year. It made some sense, if the public was to play its part in consideration of the business of the House that we should not be dealing with business over the Christmas season.

● (1500)

Finally, the earlier rule about sending matters to smaller committees was clearly aimed at having full and detailed consideration of legislation, and particularly of complicated legislation. It enabled the House to call and to hear from witnesses who might conceivably contribute to the improvement of the legislation. These rules, as I understand them, were a compromise of interests and were designed to further the public interest. It is these rules which this motion proposes to do away with.

The Government proposes to do so for two stated reasons: first, to meet the alleged deadline that the Government sees it must set; second, because the Government says there has been enough discussion. The Hon. Member for Surrey—White Rock (Mr. Friesen) went on about the mandate the Government has. I certainly concede, as I understand all Hon. Members concede, that the Government has a mandate to

introduce legislation, to have it considered and ultimately to bring it to a vote, but the Government does not have a mandate to set aside these important and sensitive rules and to deprive the public—not the Opposition but the public—of its right to have the details of this legislation thoroughly and carefully reviewed.

I submit that the exercise of the election campaign will have changed significantly the perspectives of every single Member of this House on the details of this Bill. The election campaign may well not have changed the over-all view for or against the Free Trade Agreement, but none of us could have gone through this particular election campaign, this exciting and dramatic election campaign, this very intensive election campaign, without having learned something from the all-candidates meetings, without having learned something from the people we argued with on the doorsteps, without having learned something from the intense public debate of all aspects of this matter. We come, new Members and veterans, informed in a very special and sensitive way to this legislation.

I would like to think that if we had the opportunity carefully to go through this legislation clause by clause, using the committee system, if we had the opportunity to go through it, not during midnight sittings but fresh and during the day-to-day sittings, if we had the opportunity to go through it when the public was in a position to pay full attention, it is possible this legislation might be improved. It will not be ultimately defeated. The Government has a mandate for passing it, but it might be improved.

The specific concerns that we all heard and to which the Government responded at least in its advertising and public commitments, concerns about social programs, about the environment, about the impact on regional programs, about the dislocation of workers, might conceivably be met by changes in this legislation. Further, there may be very specific impacts of this legislation on the tourist business, for example, or on real estate. Various sections of the legislation or the appendices, if we had a full and proper opportunity, might be improved by a proper consideration of the legislation.

Now the Government is depriving the public of this opportunity. It does so for the second reason, this alleged deadline. I know many Hon. Members have spoken of the deadline, but let us remind the House through you, Mr. Speaker, that the deadline, the short time we have to consider this, is self-inflicted by the Government.

It is the Government and the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) in particular who decided the timing of the election. He did so in full knowledge of the fact that he would have only eight working days of Parliament left when the writs were returned. It was the Prime Minister's choice to wait until October 1, to have the writs for the election issued, it was no one else's. He could have called the election under the new electoral boundaries at any time after July 14. He chose to do it when he did it and now he and his Government come to the House and say, "Let us push aside these protections for the public interest in the interest of trying to meet a deadline". It is a deadline which is far from written in stone.

As a new Member, sitting here in this place with some awe, I thought of some of those who have been here before us. As I began listening to this procedural debate, I recalled my first particular interest in the goings-on of this House. It was in the mid-fifties when I was at university, the time of the infamous pipeline debate about which we have already heard.

I thought of the role played by the former Hon. Member for Winnipeg North Centre who sits here as an esteemed honorary Clerk of this House, and I am very pleased on a personal level to see him here. I recall that it was the Conservatives who joined with the then CCF to stand up to a move by the government of the day, the Liberals, to change the then rules of the House in order to meet a deadline, a deadline that the then government had gotten itself into because it had mismanaged the business of the House. Having mismanaged the business of the House, the Government then had to meet this particular deadline in order to guarantee financing for the trans-Canada pipeline.

In that exciting exercise, which I remind the Government opposite ultimately brought down the Liberal Government of Prime Minister St. Laurent, it was none other than Mr. Diefenbaker who stated the words which I will now put to the Government, words which I wish it had remembered before it brought this motion, words which I suppose it is naive to hope that government Members would consider when they come to vote tonight. I quote from page 4736 of *Hansard* for June 5, 1956. Mr. Diefenbaker then said to the House:

"The House of Commons—with its traditions, its dedication to preserve and maintain freedom, its necessary dependence on the fact that an opposition must be able to express itself fearlessly and powerfully upon the issues of the day—requires rules that are interpreted fairly."

Extension of Sittings

He went on to say:

"—the rules of parliament should not be altered, dare not be changed in order to meet the demands of an overwhelming majority. Only yesterday the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech giving one of the reasons for the action the other day which denied the rights of parliament, when the decision of the previous day was reversed in the morning, said that after all that prejudiced the government. I have his exact words, and I asked him to repeat them. "To the prejudice of the government." Is that the basis upon which the Parliament is operating? Is that the basis by which we in fact, as Members of this House, are to be attendants at the will of the Prime Minister and those associated with him? Sir, the events of the last week will be forgotten, but not forgotten in this generation will be the short-cuts through freedom that have been made by a government that has set the zero hour and then curtailed the rights of parliament in order to achieve an arbitrary date."

He referred to this as the cry of every dictator and every potential dictator in every generation. Parliament works too slowly. They want action now. The rules have been with us for generations, dump out the rules. It seems to me that this statement made 32 years ago applies precisely to the situation we have here.

• (1510)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Jean-Guy Hudon (Beauharnois—Salaberry): Mr. Speaker, I have listened to a lot of rhetoric this afternoon from great democrats who maintain that this motion is absolutely dreadful and that it curtails freedom of speech.

Last night, on television, Mr. Bourassa was talking about his reaction with regard to Bill 101, saying that he would introduce a bill next Monday in the National Assembly. When he was asked if he would follow normal procedures, he said no, that they would be suspended and that a bill would be passed.

Mr. Speaker, it is not anti-democratic for rules to allow us to change or abolish laws or to put forward motions of closure which enable a duly elected government to take power, because there is a difference between the two.

Mr. Speaker, when the rules allow us to put forward motions of closure, it is democratic to do so. To have in our rules special clauses which allow a government to pass a legislation is not antidemocratic.

Mr. Speaker, we have just had an election campaign, and a good many people described it as a referendum campaign. During this campaign the poll figures went

Extension of Sittings

up and down all the time and when they seemed to indicate a strong preference for the Conservative Party some people would take us to task—particularly those who did not share our views, of course—and say to us: Why did you not hold a referendum on this question? My answer was: Listen, I recall that in the House of Commons both the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party urged us to hold a referendum election. Well, you have one. We are in the midst of a referendum election and the outcome could very well have been quite different. However, we followed the democratic rules all along and we had a referendum election. Now we are asking the Opposition to play by the same rules and stop wasting the time of Members in the House.

We have all been democratically elected by the people. We should never suggest that someone is wasting his time here. But when I begin repeating what someone else just said, and when others enjoy repeating what they heard earlier we may well think that we are not wasting our time, but we are certainly not making very good use of it. We are going to debate until one o'clock in the morning and then vote on a closure motion. Will democracy be short-changed? And tomorrow you will see that none of the newspapers in Canada carry headlines about Parliament being anti-democratic. Most of them will say: At last the Canadian Government or the Parliament of Canada has taken action after winning the election and having been brought back into office. Nobody will accuse us of being anti-democratic because of that, Mr. Speaker. The session opened last Monday. We have been sitting since Monday. We have been here five days and have yet to debate the free trade issue. Members have been talking about procedure.

But it does not matter, I am a patient man. I am prepared to sit through the weekend, I am prepared to come back next week, not to mention between Christmas and New Year's. So what? If that is what they want for Christmas that is what they will get for Christmas. What more can I say. Democratic principles have not been breached, Mr. Speaker.

So we had an election campaign which was a referendum campaign. That is exactly what the people wanted. John Turner—this must have been before he was first stabbed in the back over his leadership—had this to say on June 22, 1988: The kind of trade deal the Government is about to make with the United States is an issue which has to be decided in Canada by Canadians, debated in Canada by Canadians. Well, that is what has happened. He said that on June 22. He made a number of other comments which I will not repeat, he even said bad things about the Conservative Party. I will skip that. On August 31, 1988, Mr. Turner told the press what his

election slogan would be: Let the people decide. You know Axworthy. It is very simple, Mr. Speaker, if the Minister is in favour of democratic choice, why not the ultimate test, a general election. He said that on July 26, 1988. And the House sat through the summer as well. Let us not kid ourselves.

In view of that alarming circumstance, and I stress alarming, Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) should ask Canadians for their agreement. We got it on November 21. Sheila Copps: The power lies with the people. That was a good one she hit upon. Gagliano, for once not talking about super-boxes, stated: The nation's future, and he stressed that, is sufficient reason for holding elections; that was on July 23, 1988. And so on. Even Senator Hébert took it upon himself to go on record: The Senate never suggested it would block the free trade legislation. It only said free trade was too important a matter not to allow the Canadian people to give their opinion. On November 21, the Canadian people gave their opinion, especially in Quebec. The quote comes from Liberal Senate leader Allan MacEachen, a worthy senator, on July 22, 1988. Carlo Rossi: Call an election! which we did. And won. To their regrets. They wanted an election which would be a referendum, well they got it. That is what democracy is all about.

On December 8, 1988, Axworthy said: We will not take Brian Mulroney's word, stated Liberal critic Lloyd Axworthy, the assurances he gave Canadians during the elections will now have to be inserted into the agreement et cetera. That was from one side of the Liberal Party. And the same party, Mr. Speaker, which had very solid foundations in Quebec, when we came here in 1984, there was one Conservative Member for 74 Liberal Members. That was the power base, Quebec. But there we won again. In 1984, they said it was only a glitch. We recouped seats in Quebec because people did not believe that. Because when we came in in 1984, we changed the job strategy—we changed a lot of policies in 1984 and 1985. A lot of policies and Government programs set up by the Liberals. At the time people said this was horrendous, and how many jobs would it cost? Axworthy said: What will the number of job losses be—100,000 or 200,000? He asked that on November 9, 1984, not long after being elected. He could already foresee the downturn in employment. Warren Allmand: That will result in 125,000 to 150,000 job losses. Certainly Sheila Copps must have said something on that. Yes, she did. She suggested: They will destroy 125,000 jobs. Yes.

Extension of Sittings

[*English*]

Mr. Marchi: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. You are an experienced Member of this House as is the Member who is speaking. I have had some patience but the Member continues in his remarks to refer to a Member by name. He knows better than that. He knows he should refer to the Member's riding. I think he has continued naming Members enough times to warrant some caution from Your Honour.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Belsher): I would remind the Hon. Member that he should not refer to Members by name but by their ridings.

• (1520)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Hudon: All right. I thought indeed, Mr. Speaker, that I may quote from documents. But if this will please you, I will change that.

And since November 4, 1984, more than one million new jobs were created in this country, because of the policies put forward by this Conservative Government that point to the economic reliability of this Government's policies.

Mr. Speaker, the people in 1988, had to decide, and as I said during my election campaign—the major thing in the 1988 campaign is the credibility issue. Whom are you going to believe? And of course, Mr. Speaker, I was referring to the liberal party's history or record in Quebec, which explained why people did not believe them. My Liberal opponent, among others, travelled around . . . I may not name her, and please note that I prefer it this way. She drove around the constituency aboard a large van, with slogans to the effect we were selling out the country to the Americans. There were loudspeakers chanting: I love my country, I love it. How beautiful that was. American flags, the unemployment rate, the American minimum wage. That was awful. I told the people that the big van they saw is just like the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party's program is a big empty box. And they lost seats with the big empty box, Mr. Speaker, because people remembered that, Mr. Speaker.

I am not sure whether you remember the early 1970s when the Conservative Party was led by a man named Stanfield. He was not good-looking, he did not come across well on television, he spoke badly, he spoke French badly and furthermore, he was a little "wacky" because he suggested voluntary wage and price controls—5 and 6 per cent. It was awful, Mr. Speaker! It was terrible! They beat him, the man who was not good-looking, and the Liberal Party implemented his unpopular measure not long after. I reminded people how this

reflected on the Liberal Party's credibility. Mr. Clark led that Government for eight months in 1979-80, Mr. Speaker. He was beaten on the price of gasoline, the 18-cent tax proposed by the Minister of Finance at the time. It was disgusting because the Liberals wanted a 14-cent tax then, and a year later, they had increased it by 54 cents.

We have started to consider free trade; we did not just start yesterday. People were saying, "It's awful. They'll tear up that Agreement." But during the election campaign, the Leader of the Opposition backtracked. Perhaps it was due to his sciatica, but he said, "Well, we won't tear it up; we'll negotiate something else." And when I saw them bring out the subject of old age pensions, that is where they put their foot in it, because people stopped believing them anymore—they remembered something. True, the present Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) did urge the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) to lower indexation, but he did not do so because it would not have worked out. The last Minister of Finance who did that was the man who is now Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), at the time he was Minister of Finance.

That is something the people remembered. It was just like a big empty box, and they did not have any alternative measure to suggest. It was a matter of credibility. Who to believe? The Liberal Party has just shown that it has lost most of its support in Quebec. What happened in 1984, and in 1988, will happen again in 1992, and 1993, because people now understand that they cannot have faith in this Party which has no policy at all. So what do you have to offer? When did we first hear about free trade? Under the previous Government, in 1982, through a royal commission of inquiry on prospects for Canada.

It was not strictly a politicians' program, for it cost \$21 or \$22 million. People stopped to think, Mr. Speaker. They said: Our trade and our markets are south of the border. The world is getting organized, Europe is organizing, they are talking about the Europe of 1992, about the deal between Australia, New Zealand and Southeast Asia. Here we are in Canada, 25 million producers, and apparently we cannot agree with our consumers? We export 30 per cent of our gross national product and we have no confidence in ourselves? Well, now, if we export 30 per cent it is because we produce quality goods at competitive prices, our neighbours to the south buy them. Some 85 per cent of our products are shipped south. Why should we be unable to sit down with them and sign an agreement? Well, Mr. Speaker, here again it is a matter of credibility.

Extension of Sittings

How was this country built? If you read Berton's history of Canada, he says Canada was built on two railroads. He has a point there! I come from the constituency of Beauharnois—Salaberry, right south of Montreal. Beauharnois—Salaberry is the former Beauharnois Seigniory. Troubles had started in 1837 between Lower and Upper Canada, and in came at some point a bloke from Britain named Lord Durham who said let us make the Union in 1841.

Of course, when you set up a new political structure you have to feed it with major projects. I see my colleague from Ville d'Anjou, the former mayor of Ville d'Anjou. I was mayor of Beauharnois. My colleague here behind me also was a mayor, and we also have the former mayor from Laval... with projects that put people to work, everything is fine.

So they decided back in 1841, to build the Beauharnois Canal, the one which went through the land of Lord Durham's brother-in-law's, but we'll talk about this detail another time. And they built that grand canal that was to unite Lower and Upper Canada. After that, the bets were laid on the Canadian Confederation, because it was only a matter of transportation! Look at the map of Canada. We have a huge country, ten provinces, extending from East to West, and it was said that Canada would be built on a difficult challenge, East-West trade. This is something. Figure out how much it costs to take this piece of paper and move it from Montreal to Vancouver, when we have neighbours down South who can buy it.

So we have been building ever since our trade from East to West, with the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific. Our grandparents paid dearly for those railroads. But there was a hitch—we still had to go down South. And the broker who goes down South does not live in Beauharnois nor Montreal but in Toronto.

Well, Mr. Speaker, the Free Trade Agreement will make many as well off as Toronto. Why did we get eight out of ten premiers on our side? We will leave the Premier of Prince Edward Island on his island. Why does Ontario not agree? It is like a Cherry Blossom—it cannot be shared. They do not want to share economic growth, Mr. Speaker. There will be north-south cleavages, in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia. People are worried—that is quite normal. But there will be north-south gaps and Torontos. That is what the

Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) wanted to show Canadians and that is why, Mr. Speaker, we have eight out of ten Premiers with us. They are not crazy. Eight out of ten are with us and even in Ontario, people were saying that Ontario—the people there are on our side. Look at the popular vote we got in Ontario. We got more than forty seats.

Mr. Speaker, not everyone is against free trade. It is quite normal and healthy that people are worried about change. But, Mr. Speaker, we are here to build the future, to build something for our children. What sort of country will we build, Mr. Speaker, if absolutely the only thing we invent, that the Liberals invented in 22 years in power, is a Canada Works project? That is what they came up with. They built their world around Canada Works. This program was cut. I too find it a shame that it was cut. But basically, when unemployment goes down, Mr. Speaker, the Government must make way for the private sector.

Now the history of our country, Mr. Speaker, shows that it was built on the future, and the facts show today that a country which manages to export 30 per cent of its Gross National Product... Never forget that Japan is supposed to be about the finest example of an exporting or trading nation in the world. It does not export more than 10 per cent of its GNP. We export 30 per cent. From 80 to 85 per cent of these exports go to our friends to the south. That represents \$170 billion crossing the border every year. My father had confidence in the future and he built this country on two things: a quality product and the ability to produce it at a better price. That is why we export. And suddenly, we are not supposed to try to reach an agreement to take on the trading blocs that are organizing throughout the world. That is what will save us. If we can agree with... People lecture us. Our neighbours across the floor say that they are for free trade, but with all countries. Well, my God! If we are for free trade with all countries, let us start with our neighbour and then we will set an example for everyone. We know people, psychologists, who agree that a man and a woman get along but cannot work it out at home. I am not singling anyone out. Let us get along then with our southern neighbour.

That is what we wanted to do, Mr. Speaker. We will build a better economic world order. I am not at all

Extension of Sittings

worried about the lesson in democracy. The people spoke on November 21. At one o'clock this morning, we will vote on a closure motion. We will take power tonight. Next week, we will talk about free trade and be done with it and pass it before New Year's Day.

● (1530)

[English]

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, I was interested in the words of the Hon. Member for Beauharnois—Salaberry (Mr. Hudon), who said the people spoke on November 21 last. And indeed he is correct. In fact, 57 per cent of the people spoke against the present Government of Canada on November 21 last.

While today we have a government that has the legal right to pass the implementing legislation in respect of the Free Trade Agreement, it has very little moral right to do so. In any event, no government has the right to suspend the rules of the House of Commons so as to impose legislation unilaterally without proper debate, without proper investigation, without study by the appropriate committee of this House. It is only through the full parliamentary process that we can ensure that the legislation in question does not destroy certain sectors of the Canadian economy, as we on this side believe it will.

And so today we have a continuation of what the Government's game plan was when it launched into its activity to integrate the economies of Canada and the United States through the Free Trade Agreement.

If one reads the communications plan of the Government, it is evident that its intention was to conduct the whole process in secret. The premiers were sworn to secrecy, with the result that they had no opportunity to talk. And while some of them have since commented on the free trade deal, it is not many.

As well, if one visited the office of the Trade Commissioner, one was sworn to secrecy. If one participated in one of the special advisory groups on international trade, the SAGITS, one was sworn to secrecy. Again, while some of those individuals have since commented on the deal, most have not.

This whole scheme has been entered into on the basis of secrecy. And that is not surprising given that the communications plan of the Government of Canada said: "Look, our proposition is so controversial and will find such little acceptance on the part of the people of Canada, our approach must be to tell the people as little as possible. We will try to sell the deal, but we will not try to explain it."

If one reads the little blue book that was sent out, a book that was produced at a cost of millions of dollars, one can readily see that the whole approach was to sell the deal.

In my 20 years as Member of this place, this is the first time I have seen a document that is designed more in terms of selling the legislation than its substantive value. Normally one would expect the details of the agreement to be spelled out. Instead, we have all of this advertising and editorial comment, all designed to sell the agreement.

That is the approach of the Government in respect of the Free Trade Agreement, and we are now at the point where this Government is going to shove it down the throats of the Canadian electorate. Over the course of next week, the Government will probably invoke closure three times.

Just imagine, here we have the most important trade document in the history of our country, and we will have debate on the motion for the second reading of the Bill closed off after one day's debate. We have now in this place something of the order of 75 new Members of Parliament who campaigned against the agreement and who were elected to represent their respective constituencies, and most will be deprived of the opportunity to speak on the motion for the second reading of the Bill.

As well, closure will be invoked during report stage. The motion that is before us today is designed to ensure that Bill C-2 does not go to a committee separate and apart from the House, with the result that those workers who are already losing their jobs as a result of the Free Trade Agreement will be deprived of the opportunity of coming before a legislative committee of their Parliament to voice their views.

And finally, a week or so from now, we will have closure invoked for a third time, with Bill C-2 then receiving third reading and being referred to the Senate for consideration.

It has been 105 years since we have seen the rules of this House so badly skewed, changed, altered, so as to ram a piece of legislation through in less than a week—and all of this in the context of an election in which 57 per cent of the people voted against the deal.

I believe that all Members of Parliament should have the opportunity to participate in the debate on the free trade legislation and to vote against it, as I expect some 125 Members will do. More important, they should have the opportunity to move amendments to it.

Extension of Sittings

If Government Members are prepared to destroy sectors of the Canadian economy—the textile sector, the electrical sector, the footwear sector, and many parts of the food processing industry, where we estimate that over 100,000 could lose their jobs—surely they should be prepared to stand in their place and vote against amendments which would preserve those sectors of the Canadian economy intact, thus giving those affected by this deal the opportunity of knowing precisely who voted against the preservation of those industries in our country.

Under the process proposed, it is questionable that the amendments that would normally be moved by those on this side of the House will ever see the light of day, let alone be passionately debated by those on this side of the House.

As has already been pointed out, 57 per cent of the electorate voted against this deal. Those people believe that Canada should maintain more of a sovereign position in terms of our trade relations. They believe that we should not integrate the North American economy into one economy. They believe that Canada should maintain its independence, while working toward the lowering of trade barriers over-all. And past Liberal governments in this country lowered average tariffs by some 40 per cent, taking them from 45 per cent to somewhere around 5 per cent. But we do not wish to turn over to the United States the fate of vast sectors of our economy.

Clearly, there are important amendments in the agricultural sector relating to supply management, relating to the dairy industry, the poultry industry, as well as to the operation of the Canadian Wheat Board, and to the fruit and vegetable industry. These are all sectors which will be not only adversely affected but practically wiped out as a result of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

It is not something that will happen on January 1 next. However, over the course of the life of this deal, and certainly over the next four or five years and beyond, there will be extremely adverse impacts on those sectors of the Canadian economy.

Perhaps no action by the Government in the last two years represents more of a microcosm of what is going to happen as a result of the Free Trade Agreement than the agreement that was signed two years ago on December 30 next, that being the Memorandum of Understanding on Softwood Lumber. If we examine what has

happened in respect of that softwood lumber deal, I believe we can come to understand what will happen in many sectors of the economy as a result of the entering into of this Free Trade Agreement.

The Government of Canada entered into the Memorandum of Understanding on Softwood Lumber because it was threatened with a countervail action by the U.S. softwood lumber industry, an industry which had already been turned down in respect of a similar application heard in 1982.

The application in question was before the International Trade Commission in Washington, and that commission was about to come down with a decision. But that decision could have been appealed to the International Trade Court in New York, where Canada would probably have come out the victor—not because the federal Government was doing anything but because of the efforts of the forestry industry.

Two weeks before the decision was taken to enter into the Memorandum of Understanding on Softwood Lumber, through the usual obsequious approach, the weak-kneed approach of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), the application we had before the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade for the establishment of a panel of that body to challenge the petition brought before the U.S. International Trade Commission was pulled. Why did we pull out? Because the Prime Minister was more concerned about making a deal on free trade than he was about protecting the forest products industry. We probably would have won either at the GATT or the International Trade Court, but the Government pulled out. It withdrew the application before GATT because of the Prime Minister's usual obsequious approach to the President of the United States. He was not willing to slug it out for the Canadian forest products industry, so we have the deal and a 15 per cent export tax.

● (1540)

The industry was in a very strong position back then, but in the last two years what has happened? As in all things which are very strong, the market for softwood lumber eventually deteriorated. Prices dropped dramatically during the last couple of years. On top of that, the value of the Canadian dollar has risen from about 71 cents to about 83 cents U.S., almost 15 per cent, during that period of time. With falling prices the Canadian softwood industry is practically on its knees because its

Extension of Sittings

position today is worse by about 30 per cent. I do not know many industries in this country with a profit of 30 per cent, especially in the face of falling market prices. As a result, the G. W. Martin Company in Sault Ste. Marie, for example, has seen its position deteriorate by almost \$1 million because of the exchange rate and \$750,000 because of the export tax. I believe that many sawmill operators in northern Ontario, especially if they are selling into the U.S. market, are going to face drastic shut-downs and lay-offs this winter.

What is the solution? Five Members of the northern Ontario Liberal caucus met with the provincial Government, whose position is sharply circumscribed. It cannot reduce the stumpage charge. If it does, that would invite further retaliation by the U.S. It would violate the deal. The \$30 million which has been collected through the export tax by the federal Government and turned over to the provincial Government cannot be channelled towards assisting the sawmill operators who are going out of business and facing shut-downs this winter. It is spelled out very clearly in the deal that you cannot do that.

As is provided for in the Memorandum of Understanding, to transfer the export tax, which is costing our producers in northern Ontario about \$30 million a year, to a stumpage charge, it would have to be applied to all stumpage, whether it is lumber for export or for the domestic market. The export tax, which is now costing us \$30 million in northern Ontario, would become \$80 million if it was transferred to a stumpage charge.

They did something like that in British Columbia. They have a much larger industry there and it is in a terrible situation, even worse than in northern Ontario. So Ontario has practically no room to move. If it tries to reduce costs for the industry, that breaks the deal. It could invite further retaliatory action by the U.S. If it did as was proposed earlier in the agreement, transfer the export tax to a stumpage charge, the province would have to go to Washington to get permission. From then on our books are constantly monitored, audited and investigated every year.

I guess that is what frightens us. You begin to wonder who is running who. Here is the Government of Canada imposing an export tax on an industry which is primarily under provincial jurisdiction, and if they want to make any changes in their stumpage fees, forest management agreements, roads, any change whatsoever, they have to go to Washington to get permission. It seems to me we end up practically losing our sovereignty over this

industry because any change we want to make to try to keep it open this winter is going to invite action by the U.S.

Normally in these situations, if you have a dispute, you can go to GATT. Within two weeks of a petition by the U.S. industry demanding a countervailing or dumping duty, the Government of Canada can ask for a decision by GATT. We cannot do that any more. Oh, the Tories will tell you, sure, in the Free Trade Agreement it is all under GATT and you can go to GATT if you have a dispute with the U.S. However, I ask any Tory over there to stand up and tell me when since 1949 has GATT ever agreed to hear a dispute between two countries with a Free Trade Agreement? It never has and never will.

The only salvation in all of this is to go and negotiate somehow to get out of the deal with the U.S. In any event, it is symptomatic of this agreement that we are totally locked in to the United States. We lose our rights under GATT. We lose our sovereignty to operate as a free and independent nation. Therefore, we will be putting forward an amendment to this deal, if we ever get to the actual Bill itself, with regard to the export tax. It is just a disastrous situation because we do not believe that the U.S. is going to back off on its export tax. We are going to see shut-downs and lay-offs this winter. We cannot go to GATT.

Clearly the Government should not have enshrined it into the free trade deal. It should be trying to get out of it. It should be trying to avoid this export tax on softwood lumber. It is a disaster for our workers in northern Ontario and I believe a microcosm of the whole Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. which I do not believe is going to create jobs. It is going to take away our sovereignty, cost hundreds of thousands of jobs, and remove our right as a free and independent nation to try and develop independently. We will not be able to maintain and develop our export potential, not only with the United States but with countries around the world, or develop our full resources, both human and natural, and that is why in my constituency the voters voted three to one against the Tory candidate. They do not think this is a good deal for Canada either.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Sergio Marchi (York West): Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in rising in this House, for in my case this is my second Parliament. This is also a special occasion to take the floor of the House to debate a major piece of

Extension of Sittings

legislation which is of utmost importance to all Canadians and to all regions of this country, and I am referring of course to the Mulroney-Reagan Free Trade Agreement. It is a question which raised a lot of interest during the election campaign. Mr. Speaker, it is a question which led our Party and our leader to force all Canadians to look at their families and at their country and ask themselves what the future has in store for this nation. Our leader and our Party raised the issue, in keeping with tradition and Canadian history as was the case with respect to the flag debate, the debate on the national anthem, the debate on the Canadian Constitution.

As I see it, history will show that our Party led the debate and, as far as we are concerned—including our leader, my colleague in the House of Commons—this debate is not over yet. We think this is just the beginning of the debate and, like the millions of Canadians who supported and voted for our Party, we think we will be on the right side of history.

• (1550)

[English]

The frustration that we are feeling on this side of the Chamber, and the frustration that Canadians are feeling as they watch this debate on the parliamentary channel, is with the inability to debate what Canadians had expected us as parliamentarians on all sides of the House to debate. In fact, we are debating a desire on the part of the Government, on the part of a majority which has the mechanisms at its disposal, a Government willing, wanting and demanding to change the rules, change the constitution governing our place for its own political satisfaction. We are not prepared simply to roll over and play dead.

Yes, we want to debate the question of the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal. But we are also not willing to step aside and allow the forum of debate for the country to be held at ransom. After all, this is not a Chamber for the Conservative Party to play fast and loose with the rules. This Chamber, Your Honour, is a Chamber for Canadians. It is the vessel of democracy.

Members of Parliament will come and go. In a few years perhaps there will be another Member standing in my place, as is the inevitable future for all of us. But while Members come and go, the House of Commons and the democratic system that we fought for, and for which our forefathers died, will remain. That is what is at the core of this debate.

I ask myself, as my colleagues have been asking themselves for almost a week, why does the Government

want to change the rules? What is the Government afraid of? It has an absolute majority. In the end it will rule the day. In the end it will win the vote. I served four years in the previous Parliament. One of the greatest frustrations during that time was losing every vote. I accepted that because it was democratic. While we on the Liberal side may have lost the votes, we believe that in many of those debates we did not lose the intellectual capacity to win the hearts and minds of those who were concerned with a particular debate.

Therefore we are asking the Government what it is afraid of, what it fears from having a proper debate that would put before Canadians the issues, the challenges, the questions, the concerns and the fears about which many average Canadians on the streets of our country are asking themselves and their Members of Parliament. Yes, the Conservatives have won a majority Government. But we ought also begin to realize that this forum is not only to ram through a piece of legislation to abdicate the rules but that this House, after all, is the forum for debate. This is the forum in which various political views clash, and clash in peace, not clash in arms, in bloodshed the way we see on our television sets and read about in our newspapers. That is this forum. Through that exchange, through that give and take, through that exchange and sharing of views, we can reform, we can change. We can avoid the pitfalls that this deal has for many Canadians.

Which Party and which side is upholding not only democracy at its very fundamental levels, but which side of the House really wants to debate the issue for and with Canadians? That side wants the House to continue into the midnight hours. How many Canadians will be afforded an opportunity to sit at their television sets at midnight or at one in the morning? Most of the Canadians that I have the great honour and privilege to represent in York West have to get up between 5.30 and 6 a.m. in the morning to put food on their tables.

I can tell you one thing, Mr. Speaker. They will not be sitting up at one o'clock in the morning, as exciting as many speakers are to watch in this Chamber, to watch the parliamentary channel, with all due respect.

This Government also wants to have the Committee of the Whole look at the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal. Why the Committee of the Whole? You know and I know, Mr. Speaker, that we—295 Members—are indeed privileged to be able to participate on the floor of the House of Commons. The Canadians who are watching and observing in the galleries can only do

Extension of Sittings

that—observe, watch, be spectators as if somehow we were only debating something that is real, alive and important just for this very select club. I beg to differ. My Leader begs to differ. We on the Liberal side, the Official Opposition, beg to differ.

This Parliament is the Parliament of 25 million shareholders. We happen to be the board of directors for four years. But the board of directors takes the charge from the shareholders. That is why we should have a committee study this so that Canadians can also come in front of that committee to express their views. In that way Canadians can tell Members of Parliament: Look, I have a stake in this country, too. This is my future as well.

Let me share with you my dream and my vision for change because I watch you guys every night and many of you are caring Canadians. But I, too, have a vision of things to come. Canadians are being displaced already by a trade deal that is not even in legislation, not even ratified. We are seeing the ravages of it already. Why can we not hear from those Canadians who have lost their jobs and their livelihoods, those Canadians whose futures have been threatened? Why can we not hear from them as well? Who are they after all?

● (1600)

We are asking Canadians to take note, to take a look at the real debate, because not one Liberal Member of Parliament has risen in this House and irresponsibly said to the Government: "You will not get this deal. We will not be going home. The Senate will block the deal". Have you heard one Liberal Member of Parliament say that, Mr. Speaker? Not at all. What we have been saying is, yes, the Conservative Party of Canada has won the first round and it happens to be the election of 1988, but that does not give licence to this Government to run roughshod over the traditions of this House and over the concerns that people have on the question of the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal.

Mr. Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I hate to interrupt the Hon. Member for York West (Mr. Marchi), but he keeps referring to the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal. He should obey his own rule. He was up on his feet about an hour ago telling the Hon. Member for Beauharnois-Salaberry (Mr. Hudon) not to refer to a Member of this House by his or her last name. If you are referring to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), say the Prime Minister of Canada or the Hon. Member for Charlevoix, otherwise

it is the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Speaker.

Ms. Mitchell: Mr. Speaker, I just wonder at the same time if you would mind reminding the Hon. Member who just spoke that one does not in this House use a pronoun such as "you".

Mr. Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): You are right.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All three Members are senior Members here in the Chamber. Please speak accordingly.

Mr. Marchi: Yes, Mr. Speaker, I should have referred to the Prime Minister as—

[*Translation*]

—the little guy from Baie-Comeau, with his big American uncle.

[*English*]

I think it is pertinent that we also take the view with respect to the debate that we are trying to be forward looking. We are trying to suggest to Canadians and to this Government that eventually when it gets this trade deal through both Houses of this Parliament, the concerns should not stop there. The *raison d'être* of this session of Parliament does not end there. We have been trying in our negotiations to establish some parliamentary forum, a parliamentary committee of sorts, to monitor the future course of this country under this historic trade deal.

We have been trying to encourage the Government to act upon its rhetoric when it says: "We will retrain those who need training because of fall-out from this trade agreement". The Government says we will find new job opportunities for those who are displaced. Those are fine words, but we have the evidence of plant shut-downs, of people marching on the streets, of picketing. They are saying they have lost their jobs, but they have been met only by individual members of a Government which is led by this Prime Minister who simply does not have the time of day for those people, despite the fine speeches. It is this Party, as it was this Party during the election campaign, which will focus and lead the charge in standing up for Canada, not in the aspect of necessarily being anti-American, nor in the sense of being anti-trade, whether it be with the United States of America or with the international community, but by having a trade strategy for our country that in the end works best for our country, which is number one.

Extension of Sittings

When I look at this trade deal, irrespective of political affiliation, I am saddened as a Canadian that we have allowed the United States to get us into a deal that looks to me very much like a one-way street.

In terms of our energy resources, as precious as those resources are, we will now be treating the United States of America as if it were Canadian. We cannot sell oil to the United States at a higher price than we can sell it to Nova Scotia or to another province. To me that belittles and undermines the very sovereign fact of any nation. Show me any nation on the face of this globe that sells its energy resources, its bank account, at a lower or the same domestic price, and you will be showing me a precedent in world history. Yet we have allowed ourselves to enter that kind of agreement.

There is a great deal of concern in this country with respect to financial institutions because once again we are going down a one-way street. The American business interests can come into this country and buy our banks and our trust companies, but because American banks and trust companies are controlled state by state, we cannot do that.

If one wants to get into an exchange and allow a country to buy into another's financial institutions, fine. I happen to disagree, but if that is the *raison d'être*, fine. But to allow one side to do it and not the other, when talking about financial institutions, what kind of leadership does that suggest? What kind of leadership does it suggest to the country? How can we engender a sense of confidence and maturity and national building with this kind of deal?

Yesterday our Leader, in a very moving, passionate and articulate statement of fact, set the individual substance for this debate in the proper perspective, that is, that we have the firm belief, not of arrogance but a deep moving, gut feeling, that we are on the right side of history. We feel that the majority of Canadians, as witnessed by the popular vote, share that feeling. As we begin to see people displaced in the factories and plants in our own backyard, that feeling will swell. It will not provide any pleasure for us to say: "We told you so". It will cause a certain anguish that the Government did not hear the calls and concerns.

We are looking forward to entering into the debate on substance. We are looking forward to monitoring the trade deal. We have every confidence that Canadians will join in our struggle, and our movement, and will stand up for the country that we not only have built and

love, but a country we wish to pass on to future generations.

This forum is important. It is for that reason we are not going to let go of a debate that wishes to do away with the rules and our democratic right to speak our mind as an elected representative. We will not allow that flame to die easily.

Mr. Brian L. Gardiner (Prince George—Bulkley Valley): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to participate in this debate today on the hijacking of Parliament by the Conservative Government. It is regrettable that we have to participate in this debate today, but I look forward to further discussions as we talk about the trade legislation that this Government has brought forward.

At the outset, I would like to congratulate the Speaker on his election to the chair.

• (1610)

However, it is regrettable that in our enthusiasm last week over his election we are now dealing with the situation of a ham-fisted Government. I also want to pay credit to my leader who spoke last night about the concerns we have over this current trade legislation. He raised our concerns over the softwood lumber tariff, shakes and shingles, which are critical to my riding of Prince George—Bulkley Valley in my Province of British Columbia. He also spoke of the concerns we have over the environment and social programs and, frankly, our view of this country.

We are talking today about a procedural motion. We are talking about the abandonment of the Standing Orders of this House. These are the rules that govern this House and give us our guidance in our proceedings when we consider legislation, motions and other issues.

Now the Tory Government has hijacked the rules of Parliament. We are used to that under the Tories. In fact, I took the opportunity before our debate today to do a little research. Let us see just where the Tories stand in history. The *Collins Dictionary* states that Conservatives were outlaws who preyed upon English settlers. The *Encyclopaedia of Parliament* says about the Conservatives: "The word originally applied to Irish bandits". The Conservatives are preying upon Parliament and the Members opposite are bandits who have stolen the rules of Parliament.

What will they do next? The Members opposite are certainly repeat offenders and should be placed on probation, like the notion we are giving them now.

Extension of Sittings

I campaigned in my riding of Prince George—Bulkley Valley on fairness, fairness for the people of Prince George—Bulkley Valley, because we did not have that under the Conservative administration. We had 23 years of combined representation in the City of Prince George and we have seen nothing under the Conservatives.

We want to change that. We do not ask for everything. Most definitely we ask for an opportunity to have our say and our input. Many Members who represent rural ridings like I do had to deal with some of the programs that the Government brought forward and its bungling on issues like the northern tax allowance that affected my constituents in communities like McBride, Burns Lake and Houston. The only thing we asked for was an opportunity to have our say. We did not have that under the Conservatives and now, because with their hijacking of the rules, they are limiting that even further.

Through us, Canadians and the people of my riding have an opportunity to have that say in legislation and on motions before the House. However, as the Government rams this legislation through the House, we are not having that say. If we do not have that say, neither do our constituents.

As we begin to discuss this legislation next week, it is critical that we are given the opportunity to present our amendments and debate fully the legislation. January 1 is not engraved in stone. It is not a date by which we have to pass any legislation. As my colleague, the Member from Victoria stated earlier, it was the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who set the date for this election, in full knowledge of what kind of timetable he would have.

It is our responsibility as Members from all Parties and all sides of the House to express the concerns that we have over this legislation. I call upon Members opposite to abandon their ways and return the House to its normal practice of reasonable and thoughtful debate.

As an outside observer of this House and its rules for some time, I think it is a pity that it is now rare that we have an opportunity to see full debate. It is an honour that Stanley Knowles is with us in the House from time to time to give guidance about what we must debate. The most important reason why we are here, regardless of where we are from and what we stand for, is to provide input to this House and represent the views of our constituents.

I look forward to next week when we debate the substance of the trade legislation, when we show Members opposite and the Government that we are

serious about representing the concerns of our constituents, the people of British Columbia and, in my case, the people of Prince George—Bulkley Valley.

Mr. Garth Turner (Halton—Peel): Mr. Speaker, I want to thank you for the privilege of addressing this House. As this is the first time I have spoken in the House, I want to thank the voters of my riding who sent me here.

My riding of Halton—Peel is one of the newly created ridings under redistribution and encompasses a number of communities. They include Bolton, Burlington, Georgetown and Acton. My riding is rural and urban. I believe that its make-up is a reflection of the complexion of Canada as a whole. Such a riding will benefit under free trade very strongly.

I believe this was indicated by the fact that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) chose my riding to kick off his national campaign. He was able to tour a plant in Georgetown that will benefit substantially from free trade and will likely see the creation of many new jobs under the provisions of the Free Trade Agreement.

During the course of the campaign in our riding we took pains to make sure we adequately surveyed manufacturers and retailers in the community. We surveyed all the Chamber of Commerce manufacturing members and different chambers throughout the riding about what free trade will do for them. We asked if they were afraid of it, whether they looked forward to it, and what their business plans would be as a result. Well over 70 per cent of the respondents, not large corporations but small and medium sized businesses from 12 employees to 300, said yes to free trade. They said there is no question that they will benefit from free trade and will likely add employment as a result.

I want to thank the Prime Minister. I want to thank the Government of Canada for its vision. I want to thank them for looking to the future, not to the past or the status quo.

As a new Member I have been somewhat surprised over the last four days at what I have seen and heard in the House. For example, a little while ago we heard the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South (Mr. Axworthy) make some interesting comments. He repeated a statement in the House that he had noted on *Canada A.M.* yesterday. He said: "Unfortunately, an election is just an exercise in raw numbers". How can he believe that? An election is an exercise in democracy. An election is the people speaking. An election is the highest authority that we can have. When the people speak they

Extension of Sittings

ask us to come here and serve them. The people have done that. They have spoken and we are now their servants here in the House.

The Hon. Member also said that a lot of Conservative candidates during the election faced a barrage of questions about free trade. Of course we faced questions. We certainly faced them after the leaders of the opposition Parties ran around the country making totally irresponsible statements about the contents, influence and outcome of the Free Trade Agreement.

Because of fearmongering we were answering questions, yes. Because of scare tactics we were answering questions. We were answering them about medicare. We were assuring Canadians that there was no threat to medicare. We were talking about old age pensions. We were reassuring people who had been needlessly frightened that old age pensions would not be cut. We were answering that social programs will not be touched in this country. We were talking about the environment and how free trade does not in any way threaten our ability as a country and a society to protect our environment.

• (1620)

We were talking about and answering questions about energy. We were saying that in no way does the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement jeopardize our adequate and secure access to energy. We were talking about cultural protection. We were even answering questions about our water. Some of the most insane things that were said about free trade were said about our water, about the fact we had to sell it out.

I have also heard in the House today that the Conservatives kept the trade deal under wraps, that they refused to tell the Canadian people what was in it. Nothing could be further from the truth. This House saw the Free Trade Agreement debated for 15 months. We had a debate that was fully open at all times to all Canadians to participate in.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the Government of Canada, any government, is elected to negotiate complex treaties, complex deals, on behalf of Canadians. That was done in this instance. I think that the Free Trade Agreement is just as complex and just as important as, for example, the Auto Pact was, and few Canadians read the Auto Pact, few Canadians have expressed a desire to know exactly how the Auto Pact works, but it benefits Canada. It is exactly the same principle.

The Government was elected to negotiate on behalf of the people. That is the mandate. We have not hidden the Free Trade Agreement under wraps for one minute. I can speak from my own experience throughout the election campaign in the new riding of Halton—Peel where we requested from the other candidates and received a series of debates exclusively on free trade, taking place in different parts of the riding.

We did a survey of manufacturers, as I mentioned, and got very encouraging results. We undertook a canvass of all voters. We offered them consultation at every step of the way on any questions regarding free trade. We established toll-free phone numbers, a free trade hot-line that any citizen could call to talk to me directly for information.

I took the time to read and understand the agreement in its entirety, and when I did, to produce a document of my own, a guide to free trade in every-day language that citizens could use, read and understand. I know many other Hon. Members did similar things in their own ridings during the election campaign.

We also brought in cabinet Ministers to be fully accountable, from the Prime Minister on down, cabinet Ministers who explained what free trade meant and who helped people to understand. At no time was there anything to hide in this agreement, nor did we attempt to hide anything at any time.

The election campaign was won on one simple principle; that is, tell the people the truth, and when you have told them the truth, they will support you. It was not easy, but we did it because once Canadians understood free trade, they knew what they were voting for and they voted decisively, returning the Government with an overwhelming majority. So the people have elected a Government to implement free trade. That was the purpose of the election.

As a new Member of Parliament, I have been surprised by some of the things I have seen in this Chamber. I have been surprised by some of the things I have heard during Question Period. I have been surprised by opposition Members who believe the election campaign is still on. Well, they are wrong. They are wrong to blame every corporate layoff or rationalization for the next number of years on free trade without giving equal credit to the fact that the economy now is a tremendously strong engine of growth. Last month alone 66,000 jobs were created in Canada. That is 2,000 jobs a day, an awfully impressive record of achievement. The economy did that, not free trade.

Free trade has not cost us a job. It likely has not created a job so far, but the powerhouse of the economy the Government has created over the past four years has done that, with unemployment down, inflation down, the value of the dollar up and housing starts strong. Free trade is the way to continue that.

As I said, it is not the past we have to look to, it is not the status quo, but it is the future. Free trade is the future. It is the way to build upon the achievements of the past. It is the way to avoid the next recession. Free trade is the way to counter a global move toward trading blocs around the world. Free trade is the way to gain access to the world's largest, richest and most important market. Free trade is the way, for the first time in 140 years of our history of trading with the Americans, to have a dispute settlement mechanism. We have never had that. We have never had a way to take the Americans and their bad trade laws to court. Now, for the first time, we have a mechanism to protect Canadians.

We now have some protection against American protectionism. If the Free Trade Agreement did nothing more than that, it would be a tremendous success. But free trade is not everything. We are also looking toward GATT, and as the conference in Montreal showed last week, we are intimately involved in that phase of negotiations for world trade as well.

The motion we are debating is intended to expand the debate on free trade and to give us all an opportunity to get on the record. Free trade will pass. You know it and I know it, Mr. Speaker. No matter what is said about it in this Chamber, free trade will pass. That is because Canadians want it to pass and Canadians have decided.

I would like to say in conclusion that I think the silliness of this debate should end. I think we should get on with it. I think we should do what the people have asked us to come here to do, to stop being partisan, to start being constructive and to remember, all of us, that our first loyalty is always to the people who elected us. So let us get on with it. Let us do what the people told us to do.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Is the House ready for the question?

Mr. Nelson A. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order to bring to your attention what I consider to be a problem with the motion as it is before us. I would like to draw your attention to paragraph five of the motion which reads as follows:

Extension of Sittings

"That, for the duration of this session or until otherwise ordered, the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended, and all such Bills be ordered for referral to the committee of the Whole;—"

Obviously what the Government is attempting to do here is to eliminate the requirement for a legislative committee so that the Bill can go directly to Committee of the Whole. We all understand that.

Standing Order 73(1) states:

"Every public bill shall be read twice and referred to a committee before any amendment may be made thereto."

Standing Order 73(2) states:

"Unless otherwise ordered, in giving a bill second reading, the same shall be referred to a legislative committee, except as provided in section (3) of this Standing Order. A motion to refer a bill to a committee shall be decided without amendment or debate."

In order to achieve its objective of eliminating the legislative committee stage of the trade Bill, the Government obviously had to include a provision for suspending Standing Order 73(2). However, in suspending Standing Order 73(1), the Government House Leader has, I would contend, unwittingly opened a Pandora's box. Let me briefly review once again the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) as it now stands. It states:

"Every public bill shall be read twice and referred to a committee before any amendment may be made thereto."

The purpose of this Standing Order, as I read it, is to prohibit the possibility of amendment to the substance of a Bill at second reading. The Standing Order states that the Bill must have second reading and be referred to a committee before any amendment may be made to it. This is explicit in the text of the Standing Order. Yet the motion that we are now debating, standing in the name of the Deputy Government House Leader, suspends this provision and the amendment to the motion offered this morning by the Government Whip makes no change whatsoever to this part of the text.

If this motion passes, I suggest that what the Government will have done will be to have opened up the possibility of amending the substance of the free trade Bill at second reading. If Standing Order 73(1) is suspended, what is to prevent any Member of the House from proposing a motion to make a change to Clauses 1, 2, 3, 25 or whatever? What normally prevents this from happening is the existence of a specific Standing Order preventing such motions, such as Standing Order 73(1). As I have said, if this motion passes and Standing Order 73(1) is suspended, there is nothing preventing such motions from being brought forward.

Extension of Sittings

● (1630)

In closing, I would like to refer to Beauchesne's Fifth Edition, Citation 734 which states:

"The second reading is the most important stage through which the bill is required to pass; for its whole principle is then at issue and is affirmed or denied by a vote of the House. It is not regular on this occasion, however, to discuss in detail the clauses of the bill."

Also, at page 509 of Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure, a respected procedural authority, it states the following:

"The second reading of a bill is that stage when it is proper to enter into a discussion and propose a motion relative to the principle of the measure."

What we have here is a motion which will open up to Members the possibility of amending the substance of a Bill at second reading, something which Beauchesne's states should not happen. I do not think this is what the Deputy House Leader had in mind when he brought forward this motion. I cannot understand why he would want to suspend that Standing Order because, as I stated earlier, in order to achieve what he did to his colleagues there would be no need then to suspend Standing Order 73(1). I must say that, perhaps unwittingly, the Deputy House Leader has opened up a whole set of possibilities that would allow amendments at the second reading stage far beyond the one amendment that he would like to have made.

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, the House Leader for the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent), has made an interesting argument. I am informed exactly that the same point was raised by the Deputy Whip of the Liberal Party in his excellent speech earlier today. In particular, on this matter, why should the Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis) not be taken to have intended what the House Leader for the NDP has just stated? It may well be that the Government House Leader unintentionally, but in a welcome spirit of generosity, rather than take away from Members of this House their rights to the extent he has been doing all along wants to balance things by giving Members something new. That is what he has done. What is wrong with that? If we are now able, through the adoption of this motion, to offer amendments that we could not offer before on second reading of the Bill to implement the trade deal, what is wrong with that?

As I was saying, I suppose it is up to the Government House Leader to say what he had in mind. Whatever he had in mind, the clear words of the government motion do permit something that is not ordinarily permitted, and if that expands the rights of this House, I repeat, something of that kind might well be very welcome in a

generous spirit connected with this holiday when you contrast it with the arbitrary and jackboot approach of the Government up until now in dealing with the rights of Parliament.

I realize I said yesterday that I would not do this again, and I say this to members of my caucus that I would not be saying kind things about the efforts of the Government House Leader but I am sorry, I apologize to my colleagues in the Liberal caucus, but I find I have to do it again. Unless I am sadly mistaken, the Deputy Leader of the Government may well have done something very generous, and why should we be against that, Mr. Speaker?

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Just a couple of points on this, if I may, Mr. Speaker. First, I would argue that the procedural debate on the acceptability of the motion took place on Wednesday afternoon. I felt it was a good debate. Members from all sides were heard. As is the case, often one makes one's point when on your feet. The Chair heard the argument and decided that the motion was procedurally correct.

Yesterday during that point of order on whether or not the motion for Bill C-2 could properly be referred to a Committee of the Whole House rather than a legislative committee, I made the reference to anticipatory arguments. I could have gone on to defend my argument as not being hypothetical because this motion was moved and the Bill had been read a first time. Both were before the House. I suggest to my friend that if he has a point of order, it has to be a point of order. He seems to be seeking direction from the Chair.

I have always understood that hypothetical questions and points of order are not in order. It may very well be that when we reach the second reading stage of this debate again on Monday that my hon. friend may put an amendment at second reading. I think that is the point at which the Chair should rule on whether or not my hon. friend has a point of order, at that point when the action is taken, not here in the context of this debate whether the substance of the motion should pass.

I say to my hon. friend he has an interesting point. I think it is premature and I think it is hypothetical. I submit to the Chair that it should be ruled out of order if that is the case or just perhaps taken as comment by the Chair, but I do not believe that my hon. friend has a valid point of order.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Riis: I want to say to my hon. friend, the whip for the Official Opposition, that I was absent during his presentation and, therefore, did not have the benefit of his sage observations.

I want to suggest very clearly, rising on this point of order, that I believe the motion is, in fact, out of order. The motion itself should be ruled out of order.

Mr. Lewis: It has been ruled in order.

Mr. Riis: We have made some changes, Mr. Speaker. I suspect what the Deputy House Leader (Mr. Lewis) has indicated is that as a result of his initiative, the ability to deal at second reading stage of this Bill is improper.

An Hon. Member: Enhance?

Mr. Riis: While it is enhanced procedurally, it is improper. For that reason I think this whole matter should be ruled out of order. That was the point of my intervention.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The motion has been ruled on by the Speaker and the motion is in order.

An Hon. Member: It still is.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): If the Hon. Member would like to raise it at a future time, the House will then look at it again.

Therefore, the question is as follows: Mr. Lewis, seconded by my Mr. Mazankowski moved that notwithstanding any order and practice of this House—shall I dispense?

Some Hon. Members: Dispense.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The vote is on the amendment. Mr. Hawkes, seconded by Mr. Layton, moved in amendment thereto that the motion be amended by deleting in paragraph 5 the words "all such Bills"—

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski):—and substituting the following Bill C—A point of order. The Hon. Member for Kamloops.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, are you of the impression that there are no further speakers? What are we doing at the moment?

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The question is on the amendment. I was under the impression that there were no further speakers. I was putting the question on the amendment.

Mr. Riis: With all due respect, Mr. Speaker, perhaps you should give us an opportunity to see if there are further speakers.

Mr. Dick: Nobody stood.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): If the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) would like to speak, I will recognize him.

Mr. Barrett: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I did think that there were no further speakers after the Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis) got up on a point of order. I apologize. The Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca has the floor.

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, I was under the assumption that perhaps the Chair would take the point raised by the Hon. Member under advisement and not put the rest of this debate in jeopardy as being totally out of order. Nonetheless, since that is not the case, I will continue in the same vein of wide range of order which the Chair has so graciously allowed.

What the Member has pointed out is that the Government in its haste to ram this legislation through the House of Commons is actually building more of a mess than what can be anticipated up until this point. We have spent this time debating a motion that has been totally and inadequately prepared. Had the Government been more responsible and moved immediately to put this Bill into committee, we would have been further ahead in all instances. If anyone is to blame for wasting time in the House, and wasting the peoples' time, it is the Government in its inadequate way of handling this whole matter.

● (1640)

When I came to this Chamber, I was told that this was the big leagues. With the Government's handling of this matter I have discovered that it is the bush leagues. I have discovered very quickly that there is an inadequate understanding of what this whole process is. If there had been some graciousness, some maturity, and some deep concern about the feelings of people on this legislation, the Government would have immediately moved the Bill into committee and held hearings in committee in an orderly fashion.

Extension of Sittings

This raises in people's minds a very simple question: What is the hurry? What is the hurry to push legislation on the eve of Christmas, legislation that is probably the most important that this House has debated in perhaps 50 years?

Some of the most profound arguments against this type of debate were made by a great parliamentarian, the Right Hon. John Diefenbaker, who was a Leader of the Conservative Party. If John Diefenbaker were alive today, he would be up on his feet not only condemning the Government on the free trade legislation, but on the method by which it is trying to ram it through the House.

One becomes attuned to the niceties of the process itself. As I watched the process develop, I was struck by the graciousness of the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner). Yesterday, the Leader of the Official Opposition took his place in the Chamber when the debate was initiated on the Bill and profoundly laid out his opposition to it. During that process we received a signal of the Government's attitude toward the debate and toward the total opposition. On the Government benches, the Minister responsible for the Bill rose and apologized that he would not be here for the debate. However, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) was not present for one single minute during that particular—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): On a point of order, the Hon. Minister.

Mr. McDermid: I know that the Hon. Member is a new Member to the House of Commons. However, he is a former Premier of a province. He may not know the rules in the House, but we do not refer to the attendance of individual Members and whether they are present in the House. That is the second or third time today that we have heard that from the New Democratic Party.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I would hope that the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) would consider that in context and please be advised not to mention who is and who is not in the House.

Mr. Barrett: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Being an *ingénue* I welcome hearing the rules. If it is an offence to suggest that everybody on the Cabinet benches should be here when this debate is taking place, I apologize.

After the presentation by the Leader of the Official Opposition, he sat through the whole debate of the position taken by the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent). He thanked the Leader of the New Democratic Party and continued a tradition that I think is essential to the spirit of co-operation in this Chamber.

Now that I cannot talk about a point that I wished to make, if memories are long enough to remember the point that I made, I would like to complete the argument by suggesting that courtesy is also an essential element of co-operation in the House, and there has been very little courtesy from the Government Members. Yes, you won an election, and good for you; yes, you sold your case, and good for you; yes, you are here in great numbers, and good for you. However, it is the duty of those who are elected from other Parties to stand up and represent the other point of view in this country, and that is exactly what they have been sent here to do.

There is a haste that is being pushed by the Government that does not appear to be reciprocated by the other partner in this deal. Have the Americans publicly stated that this deal must be signed by January 1? Not to my knowledge. That raises the question, have they said privately that this must be signed by January 1? Is there a deadline that we do not know about that is forcing the agenda of the Government? Is there an agreement of which we are not aware that makes it absolutely mandatory that this agreement go through on January 1?

We have no public knowledge that the Americans have taken the position that the deal will be dead if it is not passed by midnight, January 1. Is there a secret agreement that unless it goes through by January 1, it will be dead? I do not know, Mr. Speaker. Who is setting the agenda? Is it the concerns of the Canadian people that will set the agenda, or is there something else going on that we do not know about?

Far be it from me to suggest that there is a secret agenda. Far be it from me to lay that suspicion in anybody's mind. It is mighty suspicious that after winning the election the Government stated that it wanted a reconciliation and a healing process, and then comes into this Chamber and attempts to ram the legislation through, in light of the fact that there was not truly a debate in the House prior to the election on the issue itself.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. McDermid: How would you know, you were not here?

Mr. Barrett: I was in British Columbia, part of this great dominion. There was no parliamentary committee in the province of British Columbia visited by Ottawa to allow ordinary citizens to present their case one way or another in front of that committee on the free trade issue.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. McDermid: Wrong.

Mr. Barrett: Were the people of Sydney, Nova Scotia visited by—in tatters and rags, I am sure because it is a long trip for these venerable gentlemen—a parliamentary committee in order that ordinary citizens could have their say? Not at all. There was no travelling committee. There was not even a subcommittee of this Chamber. It was put in this House and again closure was used. Closure was used by a political Party that, under a former Leader, promised that it would never do so.

The Government has decided that it is ruling by divine right rather than by a consensus of citizens. There are going to be disruptions from the agreement, and everybody on the government side acknowledges that. However, does the Government intend to head off the deep resentment of people who will be affected by this Bill by at least letting them have a say? Not at all. Government Members say: "Suspend the rules, we are going to ram it through, and we will have anything we want any time we want it".

I suppose that is permissible. I suppose one can do whatever one wants with the rules. Earlier I heard someone talk about moral responsibility. There is no such thing as moral responsibility with a Government that has this majority. It has decided that it will change the rules to suit its own purposes.

I suppose in another Chamber or with another attitude some Members will go to high schools or to universities and tell students to behave themselves, obey the rules of life, and they too will be a success and can join the Conservative Party and then break the rules when they get there.

These sanctimonious Tories who, in deep, serious tones, talk about their mandate to put forward this legislation without a commitment for allowing full debate, suggests the word hypocrisy. I do not know if the word "hypocrisy" is allowed in this Chamber, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Dick: It is not.

Mr. Barrett: It is not allowed in this Chamber.

Mr. Marchi: Generically, it is.

Mr. Barrett: Generically, it is allowed. Well, generically it applies to the Conservative Party. I see it as a

cynical move by a Government that does not have a commitment to the total parliamentary process. Only that type of Government would bring forward the amendment we are debating today.

• (1650)

There will be anger over the legislation, Mr. Speaker, as it goes through, and the anger over its results will continue to build in this country. One of the higher points of that anger will relate to the fact that committee consideration of the legislation was done in Committee of the Whole as opposed to a legislative committee of the House.

The whole process, Mr. Speaker, is not a good lesson for new Members of this Chamber, who actually believed that they would be heard as individuals—and that is true even of government back-benchers.

The fact that the Government placed its back-bench Members in the front benches on this side of the House, where opposition Members traditionally have been, is symbolic of how this Government feels about the Parliament of Canada. The front benches on this side of the House should be allocated to the Liberal and New Democratic Parties, with the Government back-benchers then being allocated seating. But that was not to be the case. This Government returned to this House, flush with victory, and declared, through the selection of seating alone, that it did not give a fig about the Opposition; that it was going to have its way, no matter what. And that is exactly what is taking place.

Some Hon. Members: You should consider yourself fortunate to have a seat at all.

An Hon. Member: We did not know it bothered you so much, Dave.

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, I am thankful that I have captured the attention of Hon. Members opposite. I am thankful that I have Hon. Members opposite listening to me and that they are acting so friendly toward me. In fact, I now want to ask the Government—

An Hon. Member: Hey, windbag, when are you going to learn the rules of this place?

Mr. Barrett:—what its purpose is.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, I find some of the interjections most interesting. I really do.

An Hon. Member: That is good, because your speech sure is not.

Mr. Barrett: It is the kind of arrogance that is being displayed by Hon. Members opposite that leads to cynicism about politics in this country; and it is that kind of arrogance that will lead to the disillusionment on the part of the majority in this country in respect of what it is we in this Chamber attempt to do.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, I have been told that I should not make reference to attendance, and I will not; however, I find it interesting that there is not one voice on the Government side that is prepared to say: "Okay, we will go back to being the principled Tories we were under Diefenbaker. Okay, we will take a little more time; okay, we will hear this debate out, permitting every Member to speak, and then we will have our way."

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that there is a secret agenda, one that Hon. Members opposite are not sharing with this House. That can be the only explanation for the motion we have before us.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Is the House ready for the question?

The Hon. Member for Sault-Ste-Marie, on debate.

Mr. Steve Butland (Sault-Ste-Marie): Mr. Speaker, I am saddened to rise for the first time in this House to speak to an issue of little substance, to speak to a point of principle—a principle of considerable import to me, to my constituents, and to the people of Canada. While I appreciate that what I have to say will fall on deaf ears, I am obligated to speak against the kind of undemocratic heavy-handed style of this majority Government.

Before being elected to the House of Commons—something which makes me feel very proud and honoured—I was an educator, the principal of an elementary school, of some 26 years, in which capacity I had the occasion to referee many school yard disagreements. What we are faced with in this session reminds me of just such disagreements. Often, the disagreements were playground quarrels resulting from the arbitrary decision by some bully to change the rules of the game.

If I may continue the analogy, as the referee and witnesses to the event inevitably would rule against the bully, the Government in this case, being the bully, will, in the end, receive its just retribution. It will take time, but inevitably it will happen.

When one modifies the rules—or worse yet discards the rules—the effect on the rules is great; but even more dramatic is the effect on the process itself. Let us not forget the effect upon the participants.

It is no wonder that people are cynical of Government.

The bottom line for New Democrats—and, we believe, for Canadians—is that we object to the contravention of the long-standing revered traditions of Parliament, and we wish our objections to be stated and recorded. We question the abandonment of the rules. Why were they abandoned? There is no apparent reason, other than to satisfy a self-inflicted but non-binding deadline.

January 1, 1989, is not significant to the Americans, apparently; yet, the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) states that he is concerned that the Americans may request exemptions from the Free Trade Agreement if we ask for any change in the deadline. That statement only leads credence to the perception that we will soon be into a master-slave situation as a result of the Free Trade Agreement.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, let me reiterate what a major personal disappointment it is to be obligated to speak to a matter that should not be in question, rules that are enshrined to serve a particular and pragmatic purpose.

It has been a sorry beginning to this the Thirty-fourth Parliament, and we are fearful that things will continue in this fashion, unless this Government changes its pompous, inflexible attitude. The election victory was not meant to condone or endorse smugness. We are only requesting the opportunity to speak to a deal that we believe to be the death-knell of Canada as we know it.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Guy Ricard (Laval): Mr. Speaker, this is my first opportunity since November 21, to rise in this House to thank all my constituents who sent me back to Ottawa to represent them for another term, and also to congratulate all new Members who came here for the first time and witness the charade that is going on today.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder how fascinated they must be by the debates going on and especially by the kind of demagoguery that has been rampant for some four days. I remember in 1984, when I was first elected and sat in this House and heard people talk, I was telling myself: "It must be fun to make one's maiden speech, to have something to say, not to utter nonsense."

Extension of Sittings

For four years I have been working with a team I think has been serving the community well, especially the Canadian electorate, because in those four years the conservative Party succeeded in reducing the deficit, in creating new jobs, in bringing provinces together. Also globally, Mr. Speaker, we succeeded in giving our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and our Canadian Government a credibility that had been lost for some years.

But having followed for four days the proceedings on the procedural matter, quite frankly I wonder what role the Opposition can play in the debate and what should that role be. Are we here to discuss a legislation that is good for the community, good for Canada, for everyone, or are we here to discuss procedure?

I feel we are wasting time, wasting the time of Canadians. They did not elect me for that. Why did they elect me? Because with the Free Trade Bill, Mr. Speaker, we have something good for their future, the future of our children. But during four days we have been discussing the procedural matter of whether we are going to speak through the night, whether we are going to discuss something? Listen now. I am not sure people in my constituency are proud of what the Opposition is doing. On this side we are so to speak muzzled because they are delaying matters. And on top of that, they rise and tell us we are delaying. On top of that, they rise and tell us we are being hypocritical, we did not act properly during the election campaign, Canadians did not vote for free trade.

Well, I will tell you something, Mr. Speaker. In the Province of Quebec . . . I was listening to the Hon. Member for Winnipeg North (Mr. Pagtakhan) suggest we were asked questions on free trade during the election campaign. As far as I am concerned, I can tell you one thing: Not one question was put to me during the elections. Nobody told me: Your thing is no good, explain it to me. They all said: It is good for us, jobs will be created, go ahead. As proof, look at us Quebeckers—we were 57, I think, before the election, and now we are 63.

An Hon. Member: Laval is true blue!

Mr. Ricard: That is a fact! Laval is true blue!

So here is what I am telling myself: Why repeat that some one million plus Canadians voted against free trade and because of that, Mr. Speaker, we should start all over again holding public hearings, having committees travel across Canada, debate through mid-January or perhaps mid-February. Come on. They should be a little more serious. I think that today we should make a

final decision on that, adhere to our schedule and make the decision we had proposed with Bill C-130, complete before the end of December the debate on free trade so as to be in a position in January to implement what we said we would, what is good for the Canadian community, for Quebeckers and for people in Laval.

• (1700)

[*English*]

Mr. Jim Karpoff (Surrey North): Mr. Speaker, I am particularly disturbed to find myself making my first speech in this House on a procedural motion.

Mr. McDermid: Then save it.

Mr. Karpoff: There are four reasons why I am unhappy about this. First, I am one of the new Members of this House. I was not here during the last debate on the free trade Bill. There are 126 other new Members who did not have the opportunity to discuss and lay before the House their concerns and those of their constituents over this Bill. I think it is shameful that the Conservative majority would try to prevent new Members of Parliament from having the opportunity to speak on such an important motion.

All the new Members of Parliament are not just on the opposition side. There are new Members in the Conservative benches who I think also would like the opportunity to stand up and say what they know about their constituents' feelings over the trade deal.

Second, I am representing a new riding. My riding is one of four new ridings in British Columbia. Surrey North was made up from parts of two ridings held for the last 15 or 20 years by Conservatives. That new riding voted solidly New Democrat because it wanted me to come to this House and speak on its behalf about this trade deal. Clearly it was unhappy and wanted changes. It wants protection for social programs and economic development. Yet, the Government is determined that we will not have ample discussion about it.

Surrey North is basically a family community. It is one of the fastest growing residential areas in Canada. Some 60 per cent of the new housing built in the lower mainland of British Columbia in the last five years has been built in Surrey North. The riding is made up of working families and they are deadly afraid of this deal. They are not the big multinational corporations. They do not sit on boards of directors. They have difficulty making ends meet. They cannot afford to risk unemployment and see their social programs eroded by this free trade deal.

Extension of Sittings

People have said the Government has a mandate. Let me tell you, in British Columbia the mandate was very clear.

Mr. Dick: Get rid of Vander Zalm.

Ms. Langan: That, too.

Mr. Karpoff: That, too. The people of British Columbia understand that the Vander Zalm Socreds and the Tories are the same people.

Mr. Dick: No, we are not.

Mr. Karpoff: That is why they will get rid of both.

In British Columbia, people understand very well that this was a vote on the free trade deal. They voted very clearly against the Government, as did the majority of Canadians. Some 53 per cent of Canadians voted against the Government and against free trade.

Mr. Friesen: It was 57 per cent.

Mr. Karpoff: It was 57 per cent. Why not 58 per cent? Next time it will be 60 per cent.

Another thing I am very unhappy about is on a personal level. Like many other people in this House, I am the son of an immigrant.

Mr. McDermid: Are not we all?

Mr. Karpoff: My father left Russia because he belonged to a minority group and faced persecution. There were no laws to protect minority groups. There were no rules to protect minority groups. There was no parliament to protect minority groups. There was nothing like Standing Orders to protect minority groups.

My father left Russia and chose to come to Canada because he thought this country was based on parliamentary democracy. He thought all Canadian governments abided by House rules, by democracy. Yet, what do we find? That is not the case. That is one of the reasons I think it is so important that this kind of suspension of the rules not go forward.

There are many people who have come to Canada because they value democracy and freedom. Therefore, we should not allow a Conservative majority, simply because it has been elected and has its own political agenda, to set aside democracy.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Jean-Pierre Hogue (Outremont): Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Vancouver Centre (Ms. Campbell)

quoted our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who said on a number of occasions that wealth is created by the citizens rather than by governments. And so one might add that the citizens of a country are not led by the economy, they are the ones who steer and manage the economy.

Our colleague from Langelier (Mr. Loiselle) supported this argument, and he delivered a speech which is a credit to the Conservative Party, its Members, and the vast majority of Canadians.

I quote:

"We saw quite clearly, in the way the people of Quebec participated in the national debate on the major economic issue of the recent campaign, to what extent the whole of Quebec shares in the confidence we have in our capacity to meet the new challenges involved in the globalization of trade. Massively, Quebecers joined millions of Canadians who felt free trade is the assertion of the national will to open out rather than shutting ourselves in, self-confidence rather than fear of new horizons."

Hon. Members are no doubt aware that the riding of Outremont, which I have the distinguished honour and privilege of representing in the House, is the image of our beautiful country. It is home to no fewer than 20 different cultural communities, and over 40 different languages and dialects can be heard there. We all know very well in the House that the riding of Outremont has a long and uninterrupted Liberal tradition at the municipal, provincial and federal levels. These people, representing every imaginable status in society as they do, stood up despite their traditional loyalty to a Party, despite a definitely positive perception of the overly and basically theoretical notion of social democracy. So these people stood up and voted, not to elect a particular candidate but to meet certain needs. A professional psychologist who teaches the subject and has been practicing for a little over 30 years is in a good position to single out these needs which explain why the people voted as they did in Outremont, a vote which faithfully reflects everything that happened throughout Canada.

An Hon. Member: The people have decided!

Mr. Hogue: The people of Canada thought it would be useful to bring back into office a program, a Prime Minister and a Party—

An Hon. Member: A wonderful team!

Mr. Hogue: —a team that can help our country move forward.

The Opposition, which seems to believe that its role is to oppose, is unfortunately spreading falsehoods. In every society, the Opposition's job is to promote debate, not to act as if it were at the helm. It seems to me that the Opposition resorts to demagoguery when it claims that more than 50 per cent of the population voted against free trade.

Some Hon. Members: That is untrue.

Mr. Hogue: One cannot with impunity, Mr. Speaker, distort the rules of democracy. Either we abide by the percentage of votes or by the number of Members elected. And according to the rules of our democracy, the number of Members elected is what enables a party to take power and govern.

Since the Free Trade Agreement is a treaty, it allows both parties, over a certain period of time, to normalize their relations. There can be no security in the absence of standards, procedures and limits. The same thing goes for this House, which can only function because it abides by standards and procedures. One can always indulge in histrionics and tear up pages in a book, but if the Members respect each other, they will treat this book as it should be and they will obey the rules of procedure instead of constantly bypassing them.

It is therefore, as I was saying, through standards that a people can increase its security and the Canadian people will be more secure because it will no longer depend on the whims of a huge country like our good neighbour to the south.

The people of the riding of Outremont voted for free trade because the wider the border is open the easier it will be for all cultural entities to benefit from unrestricted economic and financial exchanges. People will have more disposable income. Canadians, individually and collectively, will stand to benefit from the freer flow of consumer goods.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think that Canadians deserve this kind of treatment, and I do not think that Canadians should have to put up with the kind of incidents we have been witnessing in the House over the last few days. As a new Member of the House, I have learned that there are, to use an English expression, losers as well as winners.

It seems to me that some of our colleagues rise to express a feeling of mistrust, as if Canada stands to lose under this treaty.

Extension of Sittings

I would suggest that the Progressive Conservative Party and its Members are taking a more constructive approach, and this is why we fully support this initiative and look forward to debating such a challenging issue.

In university lecture rooms we can see how democracy works. A lecture room is not unlike this House, but after a while the students accept the authority, they get in step with the kind of authority as expressed by the vote of the people. Mr. Speaker, there have been enough speeches, the people brought the Conservative Party back into office and gave it a mandate to administer the country, so we should not waste too much time listening to demagogic comments which, as I said earlier, do not lead us anywhere.

Mr. Speaker, whatever their cultural background, I think that the people of the riding of Outremont want free trade. I must be their spokesman in this House and suggest that we ought to launch a more constructive debate at the earliest opportunity.

• (1710)

[English]

Ms. Joy Langan (Mission—Coquitlam): Mr. Speaker, I was elected in Mission—Coquitlam by people who oppose the trade deal. It is true that the Conservatives won the majority of seats in this House and that they formed the Government. But I believe, as many Canadians believe, that they did not win the hearts and minds of all Canadians.

What the Government's motion does is to suspend the rules and to make a mockery of what Parliament is all about. This Government is mocking those Canadians who voted for any other political Party but Tory. The Government is mocking Canadians in 126 ridings who said no to the deal and yes to Canada. The Government is mocking new Members of Parliament who came to Ottawa to represent seriously and thoughtfully their constituents. The Government, through its wheeling and dealing, is in fact frustrating the established system of parliamentary democracy and the established rules of order.

New Members in all parts of this House are struggling. We arrived two weeks ago to absolute chaos. We had no offices, no telephones—indeed there are still Members without offices and telephones—no staff, and no briefing on parliamentary process. Now, as new Members, we struggle to work our way through this book, the *Standing Orders of the House of Commons*.

Extension of Sittings

Members on the Government side of the House ignore this book. Members on the Government side of the House remove rule after rule. It certainly makes bed-time reading easier, but it does not help Members of Parliament to work through the process.

● (1720)

The Government should have more respect for its own new Members if not for the new Members on this side of the House. As a new parliamentarian, I am shocked, dismayed, and saddened by what I have seen in this House for the past week. I am sure the constituents of Mission—Coquitlam, no matter what their political stripe, are as dismayed and shocked as I am by the performance of the Government to date.

I ask you, Mr. Speaker, in your capacity to urge the Government to respect all Canadians and to respect other Members of the House of Commons be they honourable or otherwise, and to respect the rules and the traditions—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Order, please. There is no such thing as “otherwise” in this House. They are all Honourable Members.

Ms. Langan: I would like to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that had we been given the rules—

Some Hon. Members: Withdraw!

Ms. Langan:—and the training, we would not be making these kinds of mistakes. My apologies.

Mr. Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Islands): Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to speak in the House today. I want to express at the outset my thanks to my constituents in Kingston and the Islands who did me the honour of electing me to represent them in this Parliament. Like the speakers who have preceded me, I regret that my first speech in this Chamber is on a procedural motion, as this one is. I think it is unfortunate that the Government has chosen to take the first week of a new session of Parliament to abandon the traditional speeches that proceed in this Chamber, the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne, and try to ram through a Bill to force the Free Trade Agreement on Canadians.

The Government is the master of its own misfortune in this place, but I will turn to that later in my speech. For the moment, I would like to discuss the application of the closure rule which the Government is using to force this measure through the House.

Twice already we have had notice of closure, and today we have had one of the motions put and voted on in this House. I would like to go back to the history of that rule. It was introduced by a Conservative Government originally in 1913, and was used to ram through a certain naval Bill at that time, as I recall.

Subsequently in 1917, it was used on a couple of occasions to rig the election so the Conservatives could gain re-election in the general election of 1919. It was also used again on a more famous occasion by another government in 1956.

None of the Members who are in the House today were present on that occasion, as I understand it. They have all left the Chamber. I listened with interest to the speech of my friends in the New Democratic Party. They quoted Mr. Diefenbaker during the course of the pipeline debate. I will not repeat those words, but it seems to me that they embody the view of the Conservative Party on closure.

I note that in 1957, during the election campaign that year, Mr. Diefenbaker, who was then the Leader of the Conservative Party, although my friends opposite seem to have forgotten this fact, campaigned on a platform to abolish the closure rule in this House. Indeed, in the session of 1957-58, he introduced a motion that would have eliminated the rule, but he did not proceed with it. It was another broken Tory promise. However, I do not think Mr. Diefenbaker and his Government ever used closure. In 1964, we had, of course, closure once again. After months and months on the flag debate, the closure rule was applied by the then government to bring that lengthy debate to an end.

Mr. McDermid: A Liberal Government.

Mr. Milliken: That is correct. The person who spoke out most vociferously against the use of the rule was a person who was a member of the present administration until his resignation in January, 1987. That person was Mr. Erik Neilsen, the former Hon. Member for Yukon. He had a lot to say about the Government's use of closure in 1964. I would like to quote him because, of course, he will be fresh in the minds of many of the members on the opposite side of the House. I quote from page 11059 of *Hansard* of December 11, 1964:

“The procedure of closure has been repugnant to the sense of fair play of the Canadian people. My own personal view is that never in parliamentary debate should there be a muzzling of free debate. They will say they were forced into this by a fatuous opposition. Surely we had the right to debate this issue,—”

Extension of Sittings

He went on to say:

"In every single case, as Laurier said on one occasion, where closure has been imposed, the opposition has been justified."

On page 11061, Mr. Nielsen went on to say:

"There is something else I will vote against when the time comes to do so, and that is the imposition of closure in the House of Commons. I will vote against the gagging and throttling of parliamentary debate, because that is what is happening."

Mr. Diefenbaker in the same debate, a wonderful, wonderful fellow, went on to say:

"—any flag brought in by closure cannot but fly over a divided nation and a discredited Government."

He was talking about our flag, of course, and we know that he was wrong on that issue. He said further:

"The Prime Minister says that an opposition has no right to prevent a decision. Taken literally that might be true, but in actual practice one of the major features of our parliamentary system is that oppositions have a responsibility to prevent wrong decisions."

Those are the words not of Liberals. Those are the words of Conservative Members of great credibility, leaders of their own Party. Indeed, Mr. Nielsen was the Deputy Prime Minister, as I recall, before his resignation in January, 1987.

I think the record should show that during the years he was here—and I believe he was also the Government House Leader from 1984 to 1987—closure was never imposed in this House. He obviously believed what he said, and I am sure he was speaking for his Party when he spoke. What happened after he left in January? In June 1987, closure was invoked to cut off the debate on capital punishment. In June, 1988, just this past summer, on a motion similar to the one before the House today, closure was invoked to ram that suspension of the rules through as well.

In other words, the suspension of the rules and the use of closure to do it is becoming a bit of a habit. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, it is a bad habit and one the Government ought to correct at once.

I would like to turn to the question of why we are facing this particular problem today. The Deputy Government House Leader has pointed out quite accurately that there was extensive debate on this issue during the course of the last Parliament. He has given us statistics to show how many days and hours the debate raged, and that is fine. There are something over 100 new Members in this Parliament—and I am subject to correction on my figures—who have never had an opportunity to discuss this issue in this House or in committee. Surely we have a right to proceed with that kind of discussion. Surely the discussion ought not to be forced upon us by sitting through the Christmas holidays well into the night, which is the proposal the Government has put before us.

Surely the debate ought to proceed in a normal parliamentary fashion where the matter is brought forward and referred to committee for study. This committee ought to be permitted to travel the country to get the views of Canadians on this issue, and then to come back and give the matter serious deliberation, to vote on the proposals for amendment, and to have third reading debate.

• (1730)

If the Government knew this all along, and it negotiated the deal, why did it call the election so late in November that there were only eight or nine sitting days of Parliament left before the normal Christmas break?

In July, Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) made it clear that the Bill would not clear the Senate before an election was called. It is not as though it were a surprise to the Government that there would be a problem. In spite of that the Government sat here and introduced, beginning in June, virtually its entire legislative program. After three years of indolence it decided that since it had to go to the people within a matter of months it had better do something and pass some legislation. It introduced a whole series of major Bills, starting in May and June of this year and including tax reform, child care, broadcasting and, of course, free trade. When it found it was having trouble getting some of this legislation through, it changed the rules as it is trying to do today in order to make Parliament accommodate itself to the wishes of the Government.

It got some of its legislation through but things stalled again. We went to the people finally in November after, in the view of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) at least, the polls had changed. He is the one who told us that he did not govern by polls but governed by the great democratic tradition and his great thought process on when it would be best to let the people make a decision.

If he had not been governing by polls, I suggest that normal rational consideration of the parliamentary timetable would have taken him to the people long before November 21. He would have been there in October, and we would have had several months in which to debate this issue in Parliament and to give this major Bill the consideration it deserves. Hon. Members know how thick the Bill is. As I recall, the Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) claimed he could not tear it up because it was so thick. We are expected to pass this Bill before the end of next week. It has only just been introduced this week.

Extension of Sittings

We have not had any of the usual discussions at the opening of Parliament. We have been plunged into debates on procedural matters, and now a debate based on a closure motion that was passed this morning and is cutting off this debate later today.

It is a poor way to run a House of Commons, and the Government has that responsibility. It is a poor way to run a government, and the Government has that responsibility.

I say to Hon. Members opposite that I hope that having heard the very reasonable arguments which have been advanced on this side of the House throughout the day, they will consider exercising some independence of judgment and voting against this resolution which will change and in effect abrogate the rules of this House.

We could have a full, free, honest and open debate on free trade in which all Members may participate fully in committee and at all the various reading stages of the Bill. Rather than have midnight sittings and holiday sittings, I invite those Members to exercise that judgment today and vote with us to defeat this motion.

[Translation]

Mr. Jean Corbeil (Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies): Mr. Speaker, it is a great honour indeed for me to be here today and to make my maiden speech in such an impressive forum rooted in tradition and history. As I rise for the first time as the newly elected Member for the Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies riding, Mr. Speaker, I should like, if I may, to express my sincere gratitude to all the men and women in that new riding who have granted me the privilege of representing them in this House and, together with my honourable colleagues and under the undisputed leadership of the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), to be part of the first majority government for the first time ever over the past fifty years to be re-elected for a second term.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Corbeil: Mr. Speaker, I represent a riding which is situated at the eastern limit of Montreal Island and which is made up of two Montreal wards together with an autonomous municipality, Ville d'Anjou, which I had the honour to represent as its mayor for 15 consecutive years before seeking my election as Member of the House of Commons.

The Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies riding is very active in the commercial and industrial fields, has a population of about 100,000 people of diverse ethnic origin. It is made up of a very large Francophone majority, along with significant Italian, Haitian and Anglophone

communities, as well as various other ethnic communities which have learned to live and work together in harmony.

My political progression in municipal affairs was a source of great satisfaction for me during all those years and I am grateful to all the men and women—the volunteers and community organizations, my municipal colleagues and supporters—who helped me during that period.

However, Mr. Speaker, I must admit that I was overjoyed to have been elected as a Member of this distinguished assembly and that I was really looking forward to coming to the Canadian Capital to represent the men and women of my riding, of my Province of Quebec, of my country Canada. I must admit also that this legitimate desire to come here to discuss the major issues which concern our fellow citizens has been considerably dampened by what performance we have witnessed so far during this session.

Mr. Speaker, one of the main reasons I agreed to run in the election was my conviction that free trade is the key to future Canadian prosperity. During a campaign that was long and hard for all players, we had to spend a lot of energy and effort to reassure the most vulnerable members of society, the poor and the elderly, who were told by representatives of the two parties now in the Opposition that their pensions and social benefits were threatened by an agreement which we think will bring prosperity to the whole country.

But what is distressing in this spectacle we have been subjected to since the beginning of the week and the session is to realize that the people opposite have not yet understood that this Government has been re-elected because it combines two intrinsic qualities required to form a government citizens can trust: an unchallenged leadership and a credibility built up over the years. And we have seen this week that Hon. Members of both Opposition parties are on that side of the House precisely because they do not have sufficient credibility to deserve the trust of most Canadians.

With great emotional speeches, they would have us believe that the people did not make a clear-cut decision on November 21. They seem to be pretending to ignore all the governments that led this country in recent years; they were governments that had a majority of seats, because that is how the Canadian Parliament works. And they juggle figures and use all sorts of percentages to try to show and to lead the Canadian people, whose intelligence they seem to greatly underestimate, to believe that the next government should be led by the minority.

During the election campaign, we saw the leader of a party make tearing up the agreement one of his main themes. Today, we have on two or three occasions witnessed certain Hon. Members of this august body also tear up other official documents. That is exactly how, throughout the election campaign that ended in our victory on November 21, the Members of those two parties showed the Canadian people that they were not unifiers like our leader and our party, which bring the Canadian people together; rather, they tear the Canadian people apart. They do not care about the prosperity of the country, but are more concerned with spreading mistrust among the Canadian people.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Corbeil: Mr. Speaker, the reason we obtained the confidence of the majority of Canadians is that we bet on their maturity and intelligence rather than on their mistrust and their fear of the future. We are convinced that the Canadian people are mature enough to have confidence in the future and to know that the Government they chose four years ago and returned to power recently is one that cares about the interests of all Canadians, men and women, one that says the same thing in all parts of Canada, and not one that says one thing in the West against Quebec, something else in the Maritimes against Ontario and something else again in other parts of Canada. The Progressive Conservative Party is a Party and a Government that says the same thing throughout Canada, that speaks the language of reason and invites the citizens of Canada to a prosperous future, based on constructive actions.

Over these last few days, Mr. Speaker, they tried constantly to avoid addressing the purpose for which Canadian citizens sent us here, that is to finalize the free trade agreement. And that lack of credibility is being shown by the actions of those people over these last few months. First, they asked for elections to be held on the issue of free trade, suggesting we had no mandate to implement free trade, there should be an election on that.

An Hon. Member: Let the people decide!

Mr. Corbeil: Let the people decide!, as I am reminded by my friend Vincent. The people decided on November 21. They decided by giving us a majority. They elected the Party that proposed signing a free trade agreement,

the Party that proposed prosperity for Canada over the coming years.

The people's verdict therefore was very clear-cut, so much so that on election night and over the following days both Opposition Leaders appeared before the media and conceded they had failed to convince the Canadian people to support their cause. They realized in the days that followed the election that the issue had been settled by the Canadian people and we had to proceed with signing the free trade. But soon, perhaps by chance, the rumblings started within those two Parties and the leadership races got underway, even though the leaders are still in place, they are still on the job. The membership did not wait for the corpse to get cold before it started the leadership races, almost starting to celebrate certain departures and arrivals.

So, Mr. Speaker, this is the reason why those Parties did not enjoy the credibility that would have allowed them to form the Canadian Government for the next four years. Over these last few days they still lack the kind of sincerity that would have regained them some credibility. As we came here on Monday we had every opportunity to take the steps and make the understandings needed in order that during the first four days of this week we could sit 12, 13, or 14 hours a day. We could also have had sittings tomorrow and Sunday and also on the four or five next days of the following week, to give them the number of hours needed, even though the debate already had gone through for more than 33 hours during last Parliament. The possibility was there for each and every Member, new or old, to express his or her views on the matter. Rather, they chose to get into procedural debate, having us go in and out of the House waiting for the bell to stop ringing in order to come and vote on matters of procedure.

Mr. Speaker, the matter of closure of which we heard nothing today . . . Really the debate has raged on free trade under the guise of discussing the motion of closure. Closure is something that is provided for in the Standing Orders, and therefore a procedure that may be used when we want the majority to govern the country, majority rule rather than minority rule using procedural gimmicks to prevent the real debate to proceed, to prevent free trade from being finalized, to prevent

Extension of Sittings

Canada from starting again on the road to prosperity we had opened over these last few years.

• (1740)

[English]

Mr. Lyle Kristiansen (Kooteney West—Revelstoke): Mr. Speaker, as I was saying before I was so rudely interrupted some four years ago, I rise to oppose the arrogant behaviour of an arrogant government. The only difference between today and some four years ago, when I last rose in this House, is that the arrogant government is now a Conservative Government instead of a Liberal Government. That seems to be the only difference except in the matter of degree.

For a while that previous government, Mr. Lalonde in particular, had begun the process of weakening what was then called the Foreign Investment Review Agency, and we warned about the consequences of that. This Government has, for all intents and purposes, now wiped it out all together and attempts today enshrine in an international agreement a Conservative regime now and for all time, which would prohibit the people of Canada from exercising their freedom of choice to ensure that Canada remain Canadian in the future.

It appears that my colleagues on my immediate right in the Liberal Party have learned something from their mistakes. They have now realized that rather than let this country drift more and more into the orbit of the friendly republic to the south, they have to take a stand. They have joined with us in attempting to stop the trade deal that this debate is about, despite this particular part of the debate being about the rather nasty rules being imposed. This debate is about preserving this nation for the future and preserving the future freedom of choice of Canadians to determine what kind of society they want to live in.

I always thought things were supposed to be a little better after the second coming, but as the old song goes, I now find out that *It Ain't Necessarily So*. When the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said after election day that it was now time for healing, that the battle was over, I did not know that healing was spelled h-e-e-l-i-n-g. I always thought it was h-e-a-l to which he was referring, and the newspapers and the press obviously thought that too.

• (1750)

But all we have heard since that time is the Prime Minister yelling "heel", and the Tories obey. He says: "heel" and they heel. He says: "heel", and they heel again. The Minister of Trade says: "heel", and they heel again.

That is not what this Member of Parliament was elected to do, and I suggest to Members opposite that it is not their duty to heel to anyone's command as individual Members of Parliament. When the Prime Minister says "heel", I suggest they check the spelling of the word because what we have seen is not the "healing" interpretation of the word, which means to get over some of the nastiness that pervaded during the last election campaign. Feelings were strong and they were sometimes bitter because they were strongly held on both sides.

Individually we all have different mandates from our particular constituencies, but we must attempt to recognize that we have distinctive mandates and that we are marching to different drummers. All wise people are not on one side of the House. We are not necessarily all-wise on this side, but we shall continue to attempt to stop this deal because that is our mandate. We shall attempt to stop it also because we have not had the opportunity to debate it in this context before. If the Government is hell-bent on proceeding with its plan, which we think is wrong, it must attempt to do so in such a way as to preserve certain essential ingredients of the future freedoms of the people of Canada in the process. It must ensure that the fewest people possible are dislocated, hurt, or adjusted whether horizontally, vertically or however the Government intends to adjust them.

The Government has a mandate. It knows it, but so do we have a mandate. We in the Opposition have a mandate. I as the Member for Kootenay West—Revelstoke have a personal mandate approaching some 47 per cent, and indirectly a mandate of 64 per cent of the electors of my constituency, almost two-thirds, who voted for candidates and parties who said: "Stop the deal". That is a majority in Nelson, in my home community. It is also a majority in Trail, Castlegar, Kaslo, Nakusp, Rossland, Revelstoke, Salmo, Montrose, Warfield, Silvertown, Slocan, New Denver, and Fruitvale. In every major community of my riding there was a clear majority, approaching two-thirds of the electors and sometimes much more, who said the deal was wrong and that they wanted none of it. I have a responsibility as do my colleagues, to make sure that the Government recognizes that we have mandates too.

This kind of debate and these kinds of procedures are not the way for a civilized Parliament in a civilized country to attempt to reach rational conclusions and display some sensitivity to all those out in the country who have given us our individual and collective mandates.

The debate in the election and before, both in this House and out in the countryside was simply yes or no. Do we want this deal or not? The debate now is still yes or no, but it is also how and under what conditions and how best to protect Canadians from the effects of this deal. That debate has not yet been held. That is just one more reason why the Government's arrogant attempt to impose new, reprehensible and unjustified rules and procedures in this debate is wrong.

This is legislation by exhaustion and an attempt to achieve annexation by exhaustion or, if you choose, absorption by attrition. That is not what an assembly of supposed intelligent debate ought to be about.

My colleague, the Hon. Member for Mission—Coquitlam (Ms. Langan), mentioned just a few moments ago that those new Members in this House who have not had the dubious distinction or pleasure of having been here or of having visited this place before in an official capacity and find themselves in some consternation attempting to learn the rules in a few very short days. It is one thing to want to learn the rules, but when you have a government that insists on changing the rules to meet its whim—and that is what it is, a whim—it is wrong because there is no compulsion upon the Government to have this agreement passed through all stages by January 1, 1989, and the Government knows it.

The Government says that its credibility is at stake. It said: "We have told our American brothers that we would have this thing signed, sealed, and all wrapped up by January 1, 1989". But our friends from the republic to the south have already said that they are quite willing to extend that time. There is nothing hard and fast about it. The Americans certainly perceive it to be in their interests that this agreement ought to be concluded. Obviously the Government thinks that it is in our nation's interest, rightly or wrongly. But there is no need to rush this matter through and deny this House the opportunity to make careful examination of the provisions of the enabling legislation, particularly in view of the fact that the Government made quick, last minute changes to that enabling legislation the first time it was brought into this House at third reading.

Obviously the Government had not given good thought to it at that time, but the Tories found out after they had almost got the Bill through the House of Commons that they had made a serious mistake. They

finally decided to delete the section which originally indicated that the Free Trade Agreement would take precedence over all Canadian law. They thought that was a mistake either for good, sound reasons or simply for sound political reasons.

We are not going to have time to review this carefully in the limited time the Government is giving us. By sitting all hours of the night, and very soon on a very limited and closed, set timetable, we will not be able to give adequate attention to the detailed provisions of this enabling legislation. Is it still the same, or has the Government made more changes? We do not know yet. Perhaps the Government does not know yet either. It did not last time. Does it?

Mr. Clayton Yeutter played a very key and vital part in selling the American case during the negotiations between the U.S. and Canada on this deal. In the *Vancouver Province* for Thursday, November 17, 1988, at page 17 we read:

"The U.S. could introduce tough new laws against imports from Canada—even if the free trade deal were in effect and the Canada-U.S. panel found them contrary to the agreement.

That suggestion was made in a letter written by President Ronald Reagan's top trade official, Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter.

In the letter, to U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini, Yeutter spells out the wide latitude the U.S. would retain under the trade deal to penalize imports from Canada.

Canada would have similar powers. The letter was written March 28 but was unpublicized. A copy was provided to the *Toronto Star*.

Yeutter's assertion appears to contradict claims by Prime Minister . . . and business supporters of the proposed deal that Canada has made a major gain in circumventing U.S. trade laws.

Yeutter notes in his letter that, under the trade deal, the U.S. will continue to apply its trade laws against Canada. "We will also retain the ability to amend our countervailing duty law and to apply this amended law to Canada," he says.

Those laws permit U.S. agencies to impose countervailing duties and other penalties on Canadian imports that are taking markets away from American companies."

That item did not receive any publicity at all in this country until four days before Canadians went to the polls. Mr. Yeutter's comment in his letter of some months earlier, which was only released for public consumption in late November, very clearly stated that all that the opposition Parties, whether they be New Democrat or Liberal, had been saying during the course of the election campaign was true, that this trade agreement did not guarantee us any access at all.

Extension of Sittings

• (1800)

In other stories published in the last few days of the campaign it also made clear that any idea that the binding dispute mechanism would be binding or have any teeth to it was also an argument that was thrown out of the window. There was nothing of either kind. If we did not get either of those two things then what did we get from this deal?

In 1983, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) knew exactly, and he forecasted absolutely correctly what would be happening today, and what has already happened to some 2,400 Canadians, under free trade when he stated:

"We'd be swamped. We have in many ways a branch plant economy in certain important sectors. All that would happen with free trade would be the boys cranking up their plants throughout the United States in bad times and shutting their entire branch plants in Canada. It's bad enough as it is."

It is bad enough as it is, Mr. Speaker, and it is just that bad now. The Prime Minister's forecast was absolutely accurate in this regard. What he forecast would happen is now happening. After the results of the last election the corporations involved in these practices now have no doubt that this deal is going to go through, they are going to get what they want, and in the Prime Minister's words they can now "crank up their plants throughout the United States . . . and shut their entire branch plants in Canada". These are the process that has started.

If the Prime Minister knew back in 1983, that that is what was going to happen, then why does he not have some plans in place to ensure that those Canadians who have or will be cast out on the street have some significant protection? Members opposite have been asking, why should one group get favourable treatment in relation to another group that is laid off, or had their plants closed down? Well, all Canadians who are subject to mass plant closures should have protection. However, there is a particular incumbency upon any government, whose own actions are responsible in a very direct way for such closures, and it should adopt special measures to ensure that there is as little sacrificing as possible in terms of the incomes and the means of livelihood of those workers who, as a direct result of its policies, have been cast out on the street.

In conclusion, I would like to draw attention to some remarks made by Remi J. De Roo, Roman Catholic Bishop of Victoria. During the debate on this subject very little has been said about some of the wider implications of this deal. In a section of his treatise entitled *Free Trade and Global Disparities*, from a

presentation to the Summit Citizens Conference in June, 1988, he stated in the section entitled "Economic Militarism":

"Secondly, Canada prides herself on being a nation committed to global peace and nuclear disarmament. Yet, the creation of a North American trade bloc will further consolidate the links between Canada's economy and the U.S. military industrial complex in a global war economy.

Take article 907. It serves to tie Canada's energy exports (oil, gas, uranium) more closely to the U.S. military production priorities. If the U.S. runs short of energy needed for military production purposes, then Canada's energy sources will be made readily available. What this means, in effect, is that Canada's role in promoting nuclear disarmament will be further restricted and compromised by our role as an energy supplier for the U.S. military machine."

If one looks at what has happened to uranium production and the marketing of uranium in the years 1981 to 1986, a good portion of which time is under the regime of the Conservative Party, and a good part of it also was under the Liberal Party before it, one sees that Canada's world market share of uranium production has virtually doubled, while that of the United States has been cut in half. Is that the type of future that is in store from a Government that states it is so concerned about environmental considerations? Is that the type of future that is in store for energy production in the energy resource sector in Canada? Are the increasing wastes left over from that process the residue of this Government's policies and its trade deal? If so, it puts the lie to all of the handwringing and the anguish shown by Members opposite over their great environmental concerns.

This trade agreement is bad for the environment. It is bad for working people. It is bad for men and women. We have been challenged throughout the election to say what is our alternative to this trade agreement.

Mr. Nowlan: And you lost.

Mr. Kristiansen: The alternative is a nation called Canada, a Canada that is fair to working people, fair to the environment, and most important, a Canada that is fair to future generations who are entitled to freedom of choice.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I regret that the Hon. Member's time has expired.

[*Translation*]

Mrs. Marie Gibeau (Bourassa): First, Mr. Speaker, I would like to greet my dear constituents of Bourassa thanks to whom I am here tonight. I wish to thank them for choosing me to protect their interests and, as I promised them, I will not wait ten years before rising and speaking for them in this House.

Extension of Sittings

Tonight, I was supposed to take part in several Christmas parties with my constituents but, given the circumstances, it is much more important for me to be here to speak in their name than to celebrate with their associations.

I wish to thank them for choosing me to represent their interests. However, I am well aware that, in choosing me, they chose my Party, its program and the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

Since Monday, I have had the privilege of witnessing the free trade debate and, as a new Member, I am learning all the intricacies of our parliamentary system. I stand absolutely in awe of the competent people who have made this debate possible. I understand that it is through confrontation that we achieve progress in a country. Nevertheless, I deeply regret that all sorts of little schemes and tricks are used to avoid dealing with the real issues. However, we have to remember that, throughout history, the Members of the opposition have been true to themselves.

We recall, for instance, that in 1968, the Liberal Party got itself elected on the promise that it would put Quebec in its place, and we saw the War Measures Act invoked. In 1972, to be returned to office, the Opposition solemnly promised that there would never be any income and price control. However, in 1975, we were put under wage and price controls. In 1979, there were great protests because our Conservative Government had proposed a 16-cent gas tax. But no sooner was the Opposition returned to office that they doubled that tax. We must also remember that in 1979, Mr. Trudeau got a fresh mandate by promising renewed federalism, but as early as 1982, we saw once again Quebec alienated through the exclusion of our province from the repatriation of the Constitution. In 1984, the people of Quebec and the people of Canada expressed their contempt for the schemes and about-turns of the Opposition which had no strategy and rushed to borrow those of the Conservative Party.

Again this week I am witnessing all kinds of shenanigans on the part of Opposition Members who want to start a debate over again which, they know, lasted 64 days. I think people should know that my fellow citizens . . . Indeed I would draw the attention of the people of Bourassa to the fact that we are once again facing mistrust. Opposition Parties are playing games, raising and stressing issues which have absolutely nothing to do with the basic question. What we have to ask ourselves in fact is which of two possibilities are we going to choose. And here are these two possibilities: are

we going to prevent a people—the Canadian people in this instance—from flourishing, under the pretence that we have to protect the weakest or most fragile among them, or are we going to protect the weakest while still allowing the stronger citizens to reach their fulfilment? As I see it, if we decide to prevent everybody from growing because we want to protect weaker people, we are headed the wrong way. Thank God, our mothers decided that such would not be the situation. Instead of keeping stronger children in check, they led us by the hand and taught us to walk so we would eventually be able to run.

When the residents of the riding of Bourassa elected me—and again I recall the fact that there had been a long Liberal tradition at both provincial and federal levels—they had decided they would fulfil their aspirations. The elderly people of Bourassa chose to vote for the future of their children and to protect the investments they had made during their years of active life. Older people have opted for free trade. Younger people have opted for better employment opportunities. Minorities chose to have faith in the people who had welcomed them and they voted for free trade. As I recall, the Opposition had said that the people would decide. The people have had their say: *Vox populi, vox Dei!* Free trade it must be.

• (1810)

[English]

Mr. Fred J. Mifflin (Bonavista—Trinity—Conception): Mr. Speaker, I should like to begin my remarks by thanking the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception for having elected me as their representative in the House of Commons. I should also like to thank my family and my team members, without whose help I would not be here today.

I am proud to have the opportunity to participate in this important debate today, and during the course of my remarks I shall endeavour to convey to the House the concerns of my constituents, as related to me during the course of the election campaign.

Given that I rise for the first time in the House of Commons, and given the time of year, I should like to take this opportunity, as a recently retired member of the Canadian Armed Forces, specifically the Navy, to remember those in Canada's Armed Forces who are involved in the protection of this country, and particularly those who cannot be home over the Christmas season.

Extension of Sittings

In fact, I note that at this very moment one of Her Majesty's Canadian destroyers is off on a rescue mission, with the object of that mission being the rescue of the oil rig team which had to take to a safety pod when the oil rig that they were on ran into difficulty.

I ask all Hon. Members to take cognizance of the work done by the members of our Canadian Armed Forces.

The riding of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception is a large one, with a population of 90,000. I can assure the House that during the election campaign, the free trade issue was prominent, was of real concern. In fact, it is difficult for me to convey to the House in words the depth of the feeling on this issue.

Time and time again, people spoke to me of the difficulty they were having in understanding the issue. From one day to the next they would hear arguments pro and con, and both would sound convincing, with the result that it was difficult to draw any clear conclusion.

The problem for the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception, and for me, and for all of us here today, I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, is that it is indeed very difficult for any of us to draw any conclusion in respect of the free trade issue given that we are dealing with future impacts and effects. When one is dealing with what is to happen in the future, one can never say with certainty what will transpire. In fact, it is often the case that, in trying to guess the future, one is more often wrong than right in one's predictions.

In speaking to my constituents about the Free Trade Agreement, I explained to them that we are dealing with the future and that I did not know what the future was going to bring. In fact, in respect of the stance taken by any Member of this House, it can only be said that one cannot know what the future will bring.

An Hon. Member: Prosperity.

Mr. Mifflin: In assessing the Free Trade Agreement, we are measuring a risk against a gain.

In my riding, there are 226 communities, all of which rely on fishing for their livelihood. And fishing, as all Hon. Members will know, is a seasonal occupation. As well, there are no certainties as to the catch. The fishing season, depending upon the licence one holds and the area in which one is fishing, ends sometime in August and resumes in the spring. The result is that unemployment insurance benefits, subsidies of one sort or another, and regional development programs play a major role in

those areas of the country where fishing is the economic mainstay.

In those circumstances, it is little wonder that these people should be concerned about their future; it is little wonder that they should be concerned about the fact that subsidies are as yet undefined under the Free Trade Agreement; it is little wonder that there is a great concern that the impact on Canada's social programs is unclear, as is the impact on regional development programs.

In the course of the campaign, I had great difficulty in explaining to my constituents that, in the words of our chief negotiator, we ran out of time in trying to negotiate the definition of what is a subsidy and how regional development programs will be treated.

How does one explain how we could have run out of time for something so important to the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception and to the people of many other ridings in this country? How can you run out of time for something that important? Why not ask for more time? Why are we running out of time in this debate? Who said January 1? We are answering to the President of the United States. We do not want to offend him. That is why we are having this debate and closing it off. That is why I have to go back to the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception and say I could not debate the issue to the fullest because I did not have time. Once again, we ran out of time.

• (1820)

Why did we run out of time? Do we not control what we are doing ourselves? Is this what it is going to be like from here on in? Are we going to be second-class citizens in our own country because we are running out of time? I do not believe we should run out of time. However, it does not look as if my belief is going to hold much weight. It is a little bit like putting your hand in a pail of water and drawing it out again. The pail of water is not much different when you take your hand out than when you put it in. This is going to be very difficult to explain to the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception. It is also going to be difficult to explain why I just wasted that glass of water! I guess this can be allowed in my maiden speech.

Mr. Marchi: Another glass of water for the Hon. Member.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): No, no, save it.

Mr. Mifflin: I want to talk now about other concerns we have in Bonavista—Trinity—Conception. We have concerns about the fisheries. We have concerns about the 50-odd subsidies which have already been earmarked under this deal such as piers, development programs and unemployment insurance. There are many more and some of them are very difficult to define.

I have to go back and explain to the people of Bonavista—Trinity—Conception that there was no time to define these subsidies or the results that will ensue downstream. This is of great concern to me and my constituents and, I would say, to Newfoundland as a whole, indeed all the Atlantic provinces. That is an indication of why there are so many of us on this side of the House today from that part of the world.

I also believe there is a need to address where we go from here. What do we do when all these things happen? What recourse do we have? Are we going to be able to look at the six-month clause and say it did not work and we are going to withdraw? I suggest that is not going to be a very easy thing to do. One of my constituents, when I explained this to assuage his fears, indicated that it is going to be a little bit like taking the egg out of the omelet; very, very difficult. That clause is not a panacea to the 226 communities in my riding or to the fishermen I represent or the other professions in my constituency.

Beyond that we have the issue of other Members of this House who are unable to express their concerns, particularly those new Members of whom I am one, their fears, and the apprehension of those who are watching this debate on television who do not perhaps understand some of the finer points of the rules of procedure. They do not understand why we cannot extend this until later in the year in order to have a better discussion.

Having been through the trials and tribulations, having understood more about what is involved in free trade as a result of the campaign in which many of the issues surfaced, we should now go on and have a more learned discussion in this House on the key issues that surfaced during the campaign. At least we would all be the wiser and be able to understand some of the things that would be discussed here in the House. Yet this does not seem to be the case. We do not seem to have the time and the opportunity to express these feelings.

It is my concern, indeed my fervent hope, that as the business of this House proceeds beyond the Free Trade

Agreement on to things like the nuclear submarine program and other issues of vital concern not only to the security of this country but the very well-being of all the people we represent, we will take cognizance of the rules of debate and the necessity for getting up and expressing our views, our feelings, and yes even our emotions. In that way there will be a full debate and an opportunity for a full display so that the mosaic of this country can serve as a backdrop for the tapestry of parliamentary democracy, so that people will feel their representatives have had a fair go in this House of Commons.

I am very pleased to have had this opportunity to speak here this evening and I look forward to speaking at further length, without being limited, about something that is this important now, in the immediate and the long-term future for me, my constituents, my children, and my children's children.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Vincent Della Noce (Duvernay): Mr. Speaker, it is the first time I rise in the House during this 34th Parliament, Mr. Speaker. I wish first of all to congratulate all my colleagues from this side of the House who spoke out for the first time today and let them know how great I thought they were. It is an extraordinary Quebec team which spoke out with a lot of enthusiasm and I am looking forward to four great years with them.

If I may, Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to express today my sincere gratitude to all my Duvernay constituents who have again put their trust in me for a second consecutive term. I should like also to thank all the business and working people in my riding who supported my Government and my party not only on free trade, but who expressed their satisfaction with the good things and prosperity they have enjoyed over the past four years.

I also want to thank the people of Saint-François, Pont Viau, Saint-Vincent de Paul, Auteuil, Vimont, and most specifically Duvernay which is the very heart of my riding.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to comment on the waste of time we have seen in the House since Monday, something my colleagues have already mentioned.

The *La Presse* newspaper carried an editorial this week by Mr. Dubuc, a known Montreal journalist, who remarked that the time wasted in Parliament had become a sort of procedural warfare. I think that this expression perfectly describes the situation. He also said that this type of manoeuvring has caused a loss of credibility.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Speaker, I must confess that in the past four years I never felt that it was that bad, but our new colleagues today must be shocked when they realize the amount of time being wasted here. This waste of time and loss of credibility—it is a sort of procedural warfare and it also turns the House into a circus.

The Canadian people who have elected us, and more specifically those who elected me in the Duvernay riding, wanted a debate to deal with free trade, so that the prosperity they have experienced over the past four years may continue.

Several of my colleagues who rose before me provided a number of examples; I will not repeat them, but I should like to insist on one of them which I hold dear to my heart, that of gas. When the Right Hon. Joe Clark was Prime Minister of Canada, the Liberal Party used to criticize the Conservative Party which thought that an increase of 18 cents a gallon would put Canada back on the right track again. But they said it was too much and that it ought to be thrown out. What did they do? I would like to set the record straight about the amounts involved. The Liberal Party gave us an increase of \$1.01 a gallon. As we say back home: "Hold on!"

Today, Mr. Speaker, after four years, after having abided by an international policy, a policy of cheaper prices, we pay gas 10 to 12 cents less a litre and we now pay 20 cents a litre for heating oil which used to cost 40 cents a litre because the Liberals had increased it from 5 cents a litre. With temperatures like today's, 25 below zero, let me tell you that heating oil is not a luxury in our part of the country. It is a basic necessity and the people surely remember that and they certainly thought, when they marked their ballot, that heating oil at 20 cents a litre is far better than at 40 cents a litre, especially when it used to be 5 cents a litre.

I would also like, Mr. Speaker, to talk about the question periods we have had for the past four days. The Liberal Party, the New Democratic Party keep talking about Gillette. Gillette is shutting down its operations. Here again, the culprit is free trade. Free trade is always the culprit.

I have been hearing for a number of years that Gillette was going to shut down its operations, was going to make, like all good businesses from time to time, small adjustments.

Once again, I refer to an article published in the December 9 1988 issue of *La Presse* under the signature of Alain Dubuc and entitled "IBM vs. Gillette". I will not read out the whole article, Mr. Speaker, but I think that this man has well summarized the situation by

saying: "What is most striking is the extent to which the double standard applies." At the same time we heard the sad news concerning Gillette, we also found out about two major investments planned in Quebec: \$550 million for expanding the aluminum plant in Becancourt and \$225 million for building the IBM headquarters in Montreal. But none of the free trade supporters had the gall to say that those investments were due to the Free Trade Agreement. Of course, Mr. Speaker, we have to look at the other side of the coin.

I also refer to page 35 of *Hansard* of December 13, 1988, where the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent), leader of the New Democratic Party, the socialist party, asked a question and the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) gave him this very good answer: "My hon. friend brings up some problems with the Gillette company, which is a real problem. But he does not mention the \$500 million investment in the Trois-Rivières region in the aluminum sector, which is going to create hundreds of jobs. He does not mention the hundreds of jobs created at National Sea Products in Lunenburg and at Hearn Harbour Terminals in Windsor, Du Pont Canada plans to double its capital spending for 1989 to \$156 million. There will be 480 new jobs at a new Cargill Limited slaughter house in High River, Alberta. There are 90 new jobs at Quaker Oats, Campbell Soup, et cetera.

Free trade supporters do not talk about that. I was listening to the Hon. Members earlier today. It is scary to hear them say: "Let the people decide!" We sit here and we vote together. It is a good thing that there is not a tenth party because they would have included it in the total! But they forgot that here it is the number of seats that counts.

But, Mr. Speaker, I want to tell the Hon. Members opposite:

• (1830)

[*English*]

Let the people decide. Well, the people in my area have decided. Some 54,937 people went into the little box and 61 per cent of them voted for a Tory. They voted for me. They voted for free trade.

I did not meet one person in my area who was against free trade. I campaigned for 50 days without stopping for one. I met up to 400 people per hour in shopping centres. I did not meet one person who said: "Mr. Della Noce, I am against free trade". I met a lot of people who said to me: "I am a Liberal but I want to vote for you guys because you have free trade". I said to the

Extension of Sittings

same people: "Well, it's a good idea. Vote for me instead of voting for a Liberal. One thing is for sure. With us you will still drive your BMW, your Mercedes Benz, but if you vote for a socialist you will drive a Lada. That is what you will drive, a Lada or a bicycle". These guys always say that everyone is equal—everybody poor. That is what they want.

Some 22 per cent of the people voted for a Liberal in my area. Some 15 per cent voted for the Associate President of the New Democratic Party. He was supposed to finish first and be the first one to run and win a seat in Quebec. He finished last—poor guy. Now he does not know if it was his fault or his Leader's fault. He will find out.

This is what the socialists are like in my area. I am sorry that they got 15.1 per cent of the vote. They should have received less than 15 per cent so as to lose their deposit.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, a committee traveled for a year. The new Members were just saying that we should consult and then see. But the committee traveled across Canada for a year, spending money. It has been consulting people for a year. The Leader of the Liberal Party and the House Leader tear up everything here. Yes, they do. They spend money to waste time. They tear up agreements. They tear up the Standing Orders. They should be made to pay for the paper they have torn up. It makes no sense to destroy other people's property. All they think of here is to tear up. It does not work. Anyway, they all say the same thing. Even if 150 of them spoke, one would say that they are all of the same school. They all say the same thing.

There is one thing they have forgotten somehow. The reason the country is broke, or almost, is that they were in power for a long time.

An Hon. Member: For 20 years!

Mr. Della Noce: So, if we had to raise taxes . . . I see the Minister of Finance in front of me. Were it not for him, the price of heating oil would be even lower. Perhaps the price of gasoline would be lower still. Gasoline costs 9 cents a litre today. The rest is tax.

Although our Minister had to tax gasoline, it still costs half as much as in 1982. That is something. Of course, no one likes taxes. No one, no politician can afford to try to get elected by increasing taxes.

But even while he raised taxes, this Minister managed to lower prices because he had a good policy. This Minister should have a statue in front of the door here. He has been Minister of Finance for four years and it

has been wonderful. So this Minister should have a statue next to John Diefenbaker outside.

An Hon. Member: It would be Michael Wilson!

Mr. Della Noce: Yes, sir! Nothing like it has ever been seen.

We are talking about the motion, Mr. Speaker. If it is in the book, it means we are entitled to use it. Look, it is like giving a policeman a revolver and then telling him not to use it. Come on! It is in the Standing Orders. We can use it. Others have used it before. It is a matter of using it reasonably, at the right time.

Mr. Speaker, I say that we have been elected by the people. Even if the same people who shout in front said:

[*English*]

Let the people decide. Well, guys, the people have already decided.

[*Translation*]

It is clear, as the Liberal Party's great slogan goes. It is clear.

Yes, it is clear, all right! There you have it.

[*English*]

Stay there for another four years and we will see what we will do with those guys afterwards.

Ms. Mitchell: Fifty-seven to 43.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Della Noce: And when I hear my . . .

You are pretty, Madam, with your blue dress, but you are not in the right party. You are a socialist.

When I heard the leader, the House leader who has left, my friend the House leader say that if the Prime Minister of Canada had confidence in this approach with the Americans, why would he not call an election. You were spoiled. It is done! Do you want us to call another election?

That was the phrase the Leader of the Liberal Party had. We have 10 pages of his quotes. "I will stand by the people's judgment." The people have decided. Why do you not stand by their judgment, Mr. Leader of the Official Opposition? Why not let Canadians decide the matter? They decided it where I come from, 61 per cent in favour. That is clear. That is easy to understand. It does not take a chartered accountant to understand that. Even if we combine the votes for the NDP and the Liberals in my riding, they still have only 35 per cent. So they would still have to double their numbers. Even if I gave them 20,000 more, they would still be behind. Would you believe it?

Extension of Sittings

• (1840)

[English]

Let the people decide, and they did decide yes, and we have to do something about it because in my area there are people already doing business with the United States and they are very happy about it. They want to continue and do more business. In my area there are people who are doing some sort of secret military pieces for the U.S. Defense Department. For example, in my area—

[Translation]

—Quebeckers. You will never be able to compete with the Americans. We are being disparaged, run down as unable to compete. Sure we can compete. We already have one up on them. I think of Mr. Péladeau, of Péladeau-Québecor, one of the greatest businessmen in Quebec. He said: "Only weaklings are afraid of the Americans. Let the Americans come. We do not fear them. We will bring them here." That is the way he talked publicly about them. He said: "I had to get involved in the election campaign because the Liberals make me look as if I were afraid." The first thing that man, Pierre Péladeau, had to do when he started a business, Mr. Speaker, was to sell his mother's piano to get his first printing done.

His mother asked him where was the piano when she returned. He told her he had sold it, that he had started a printing business. That is how Mr. Péladeau got started. Today, he has a turnover of \$2 billion. He takes over companies, he operates in the United States. He is not afraid. Quebeckers are not afraid. If they ever were, that was before my time. They are no longer afraid. Stop saying we are unable to compete, that we are afraid. I worked in the United States and did business there. I was a leader back home. I was not afraid of the Americans. They invited me back to make speeches later on. We gave them advice on "how to sell products". If we listened to both Opposition Parties we would say that is not good, we are not able to compete and we will be swallowed whole. That is not true. We can compete.

Our workers have the ability, and if you study the hourly rates, and the trade union activities, and what not, you will see that, give or take 60 cents, we have about the same hourly rates. But as I heard someone say during the campaign, "I have a good union, but I would rather have a good job than a union membership card. I have been on strike for six months". And then I saw my good old friend Louis Laberge hugging the NDP leader, like two people in love, while the latter was campaigning in my constituency and posing as a trade-unionist. But

let me remind you of something though. The NDP leader did not solve the Canadair problem. We, in the Progressive Party, did. Mr. Laberge should have been hugging Brian Mulroney. The NDP leader did not put an end to the Bell Canada strike. Mr. Laberge should have hugged the Minister for Labour here.

But, no, he hugged a politician who, to me, is the Bob Hope of politics, because they are what we called funnies. It is funny how they never tell the truth. They are scaring people. They are funnies, they put on a show. But, in my constituency, people need more than a show to live. They need money. Those people have to live, to eat, and they want some means of transportation. They do not want to pay too much for all of this, and they want a little more, because they are affluent people. They are all in favour of progress, and when they come to see me, we shake hands and say "Progressively yours". Because we always want more. As you know, Mr. Speaker, when I came to this country as an immigrant, my family had nothing. We have never known fear. We had to get rid of fear. When we first got here, we were given the worst jobs possible, jobs nobody else wanted to do. People often claimed that we were stealing jobs from Canadians.

They were wrong, they did not understand then that we had come here to build Canada along with them, and today, I am proud of the community I represent, and I take pride in saying: "Not only have we helped build this country, but we even own part of it, and proudly so". I say come to Montreal, come to Quebec City, and you will find that we lose no time in parades, marching away to the call of union leaders and for organized workers. We were in the ditch when we first arrived but we worked hard and succeeded, and today, we feel content.

Being a Canadian is a privilege, so my colleagues and fellow citizens tell me. It is truly a privilege, indeed, to be a Canadian. They were insulted to see people being admitted into Canada without having to wait in line as we had to do, for immigration admission. Today, we now are thankful to Canada for accepting us and giving us a break. I know I am speaking in the name of all Canadians of Italian background and other ethnic groups. Our message is now: "We want a little more. We are not afraid, we like it, we know what pleasure is all about and we request a little more. Give us free trade and we will go to our large customers, our friends next door, and enter the biggest market in the world".

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention to Italy, my home country. Before becoming part of the Common Market, Italy was called *la pecora ch  zoppica*, in other words, the lame sheep. However, since joining the Common Market, it ranks fourth only behind Japan, the United States and West Germany; it is now the fourth best producing country in the world, after West Germany, Japan and the US. This is not bad, as you know. It is like being second to Wayne Gretzky; you are a pretty good hockey player when you are second only to Wayne Gretzky. And you are not only good, you are the best. Or second to Mario Lemieux who, incidentally, played in Laval, in my riding. He is a product of my riding. My colleague for Prescott—Russell . . .

Mr. Boudria: Glengarry—Prescott—Russell!

Mr. Della Noce: . . . for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria) will know that Michael Bossy and Mario Lemieux are both from Laval, more precisely from Saint-Vincent-de-Paul—Duvernay, in the Province of Quebec.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to end my remarks by telling my constituents . . .

Mr. Boudria: So soon!

Mr. Della Noce: I know that my colleague from Glengarry—Prescott—Russell will miss me, but it doesn't matter because his friend will be back soon and we will be able to discuss this further. It is serious business; we have to get out of here with free trade because that is why my constituents elected me with a 61 per cent majority. It is more than . . .

[English]

Let the people decide. The people have already decided. They want it and they want it badly.

Ms. Dawn Black (New Westminster—Burnaby): Mr. Speaker, at the outset, as a new Member in this House, I want to make it clear to Members on the other side, after some of the comments made by the previous speaker, that I am proud to be a New Democrat. I am proud of the Party I represent. I am proud to be here in this House representing the men and women of New Westminster—Burnaby, British Columbia as a Democrat. I am also very proud to follow in the tradition of other great New Democrats like Stuart Leggatt, who represented my riding, and Pauline Jewett, who was here in this House before me.

As a new Member for New Westminster—Burnaby, I share with new Members on both sides of this House a responsibility to the men and women who have elected me. The men and women from my constituency have entrusted in me their confidence to represent their interests here in this Parliament of Canada. It has been a difficult week for all of us, more difficult perhaps for some of us who have managed to have accidents. Perhaps it has been most difficult for the 126 new Members who have had to contend with a number of new experiences as they come here to Ottawa. It has been difficult to find office staff and to get set up, to get installed in our office. It has also been difficult to try to learn the rules of this House. So it is with a sense of sadness that I watch the Government opposite attempt to change those rules that we are all trying to learn right now.

I listened to the Members on the Government side tell us that the debate on the trade deal has already taken place. However, I would remind Government Members that this is a new Parliament. There are new Members here who have not had an opportunity to debate this major economic change, or economic disaster, for Canada.

During the election campaign, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) promised Canadians that social programs would not be threatened under this deal. He promised Canadians that there would be no threat to the protection of our environment. He promised that regional development programs were not threatened. But a majority of Canadians are still very concerned. There are amendments that could be introduced to this deal which may ease the deep concerns felt by a majority of Canadians. We have an obligation in this Parliament to address these and other concerns that Canadians have with the trade deal.

• (1850)

Canadian women have a right to know what impact the trade deal will have on them. Many of their questions are still unanswered.

I was elected by the men and women of New Westminster—Burnaby, to represent their interests here. My constituents, in contrast to what the Member opposite said, are overwhelmingly opposed to this deal, as are the majority of the people of British Columbia.

Extension of Sittings

Yesterday, the Minister responsible asked why the Opposition is stalling the passing of the trade deal. As I said earlier, during the election campaign the Conservatives made commitments to the people of Canada. They made commitments on social programs. They made commitments on environmental protection and on regional development programs. These commitments must now be enshrined in the House through this deal.

Democracy does take time. We must take the time to debate this legislation fully and to know that we have brought forward the concerns of our constituents and the concerns of Canadians.

Mr. Greg Thompson (Carleton—Charlotte): Mr. Speaker, I will ask your indulgence for a degree of latitude as it is my first speech in this magnificent House. I want to thank the people of Carleton-Charlotte for allowing me to take this seat in the House. I am very grateful for their support.

Also, I want to thank the gentleman who preceded me, Fred McCain. He is a man who spent 36 years in elected office, 12 of them here in Ottawa representing the people of Carleton—Charlotte. I know that Members who are in the House today and were here in the last Parliament have a high degree of respect for Mr. McCain and the job he did, not only for his constituents but for the people of Canada. Let me point out to the people of Carleton—Charlotte that that is exactly what I want to do as a Member of Parliament in this House.

The geography of Carleton—Charlotte is unique. It is one of the most diverse ridings in all of Canada. Carleton—Charlotte is situated in southwestern New Brunswick and takes in three Fundy islands in the Bay of Fundy, Campobello, Grand Manan and Deer Island. There are many fishing communities within the riding of Carleton—Charlotte. As we walk through the riding we can go through some of the most famous farm area in our country, which is of course, in Carleton County where the potato belt is perceived as the biggest and best in the country.

Also in our riding is a very high number of forestry workers. They are very hard workers. I believe they deserve the very best from the Government of Canada, and that is what we are debating at the moment. I sincerely believe that the Free Trade Agreement will benefit our riding more than any other riding in Canada.

It is for that reason that the Premier of my province, Premier Frank McKenna, who happens to be on the other side of the political fence, is very supportive of the Free Trade Agreement. He has gone on record in the last number of years as being supportive of that agreement.

He supports that agreement for one very simple reason. It will help the people of New Brunswick. I realize this made it difficult for a number of Liberal candidates in New Brunswick during the past election, but I respect Mr. McKenna in standing up for what he believes and transcending the political barriers, which I think all honourable people in politics have to do from time to time.

When one analyses the arguments we have heard today and in the past number of days, one must ask whether they have really changed significantly from the arguments used in the last Parliament. I believe the arguments have not changed, but are the same and are based on the same shallowness as they were in the last Parliament.

Let us examine what Members of the last Parliament did in relation to the Free Trade Agreement and the hours spent on that agreement. There were 8 days, or 35 hours devoted to debate on supply motions. The External Affairs Committee spent 24 days or 120 hours in debate. It spent four days, a total of 18.5 hours, on Government motions. At second reading there were five days of debate, for a total of 28.5 hours. These debates were on essentially the same agreement.

A total of 16 days, or 87 hours, were spent in legislative committee. At the report stage a total of five days, or 27 hours, were spent in debate.

There was a total of two days or 15.5 hours of debate at third reading. In total there were 64 days of debate, or 331.5 hours on essentially the same Bill. Have the arguments changed since last summer? No, they have not. They are the same arguments and the same scare tactics that we heard on the campaign trail. The campaign is over. The opposition Parties should realize that it is over.

I want to point out to the House some of the statements that were made by the Leaders of the Opposition Parties in relation to this Free Trade Agreement. Let us begin with the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) who said: "The Government's trade deal with the United States is an issue to be decided by Canadians in Canada, debated by Canadians in Canada". It was.

The Leader of the Opposition said: "I have not requested the Senate to reject the deal". He said: "I have asked the Senate to allow the people of Canada to reject the deal". The people of Canada did not reject the deal. They voted for it, as evidenced in the Government today.

Extension of Sittings

The Leader of the Opposition is also on the record on July 21, as saying: "I am ready to stand by the judgment of the people". He said: "Why not let the people decide?" He went on further to say: "Every Canadian is affected by this deal and they have the right to decide. Why does the Deputy Prime Minister of Canada not let the people of Canada decide?" They did decide.

The Globe and Mail quoted the Leader of the Opposition on August 6, 1988, as saying: "Should Canadians decide they want this trade agreement I will accept their direction and ensure speedy passage by the Senate".

It is interesting to note what the Leader of the Opposition said immediately after the election, on November 23, as reported in the *Ottawa Citizen*. "Liberal Leader John Turner said Tuesday his Party will not block free trade legislation, that people have decided they want the deal. They want the deal, he said. The people are always right, Mr. Turner told a few hundred subdued supporters outside Vancouver." Again, on the 23rd, he said "We let the people decide and the people have decided. As for free trade, Mr. Turner confirmed, as he has said often during the past few weeks and in his speech Monday evening, that he would respect the verdict of the electorate."

● (1900)

"The people have made a declaration, we will therefore let things follow their course," he said on November 23. They have not added anything to this debate nor will they add anything to this debate.

Let us take a look at some of the statements made by Members of the NDP and their Leader. On August 10, 1988, the Leader of the New Democratic Party said: "Go to the people now". The NDP Leader stated on August 31, 1988, again: "Take the trade issue to the voters".

I guess the statement that really means the most and the one that really points out the lack of sincerity on the part of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) was the statement made on November 23 by the Leader of the New Democratic Party. He said he has conceded that the anti-free trade forces have been decisively defeated, the Canadian people have taken a decision and the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) certainly has the right to continue with the passage of free trade.

Nothing has changed. The argument is the same and the arguments being used by the Opposition are the

same. It is almost like we are going through another election campaign right here in the House.

I support the Free Trade Agreement because it is good for Canada. I support it because it is good for New Brunswick. I support it because it is good for my riding of Carleton—Charlotte. Let us get on with the running of the country. Let us get together as Parliamentarians should and hasten the passage of this Bill.

Mr. Les Benjamin (Regina—Lumsden): Madam Speaker, I am delighted to take part in this debate, and I must say with certain feeling that since 1968, this is about the sixth time this has happened. Four of the previous times, it happened under Liberal governments.

I sat day after day listening to my colleagues in the Conservative Party condemning the Liberals for doing what the Conservatives are doing now. That only proves something that my Party has been saying for many years. There is no difference. The only difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives, as Tommy Douglas used to say, is that one is in and one is out. Otherwise we cannot tell the difference.

Mr. Horner: Sure can tell you guys, though.

Mr. Benjamin: I know, I hope you can.

I want first to congratulate the Speaker and all of those who are helping him fulfil the onerous task of being in the chair. I know you will continue to do a good job as you have done in the past and that you will treat us with whatever we deserve. I want also to welcome and to congratulate the new Members from all Parties.

I listened to every speech of new Member today, either in the House or in my office over television. The new Members from all three Parties, even the ones I thought were 100 per cent wrong, made excellent speeches. Other Members who have been here for a while and should know better spoke, but they were still wrong. I want to say that I am impressed with what new Members who made their maiden speeches today had to say and how they said it, whether or not I agreed with them.

I want to particularly compliment my hon. friend from Kootenay West—Revelstoke (Mr. Kristiansen) who uttered a key word about the mandate, not only of a Government but of a Parliament and the individual members of it. Each one of us individually has a mandate. I want to talk about the mandate that I have and the mandate that my colleagues and members of other Parties have as well.

Extension of Sittings

The first thing I want to mention is that all of this was totally unnecessary. No matter how the Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis) handles the Government's business, the Government has the elected right to decide on the order of business. There is no dispute about that. No matter what happens, though, all of us, either individually or collectively, have the right to speak on the mandate under which we are here.

My mandate from my constituents is to get the Government to agree to changes in the legislation that will put into Canadian law, not U.S. law, provisions to protect the people of my constituency and dozens of others in Canada from the bad results of the free trade deal that I and many others think are inevitable. My mandate was to express the views of an obvious majority of my constituents, even the views of those I did not agree with.

I want to say to my hon. friend from Duvernay (Mr. Della Noce) that I listened to his speech and I thought he made an excellent speech. I actually enjoyed it, I really did. I want to remind my hon. friend, since we are discussing a motion about amending the rules, that before he was born, a countryman of his suspended all the rules of the Parliament in Italy. The Hon. Member should talk to the older members of his family about when that happened. All the rules of a democratic parliament under a monarchy in Italy in the 1920s, before the Hon. Member for Duvernay (Mr. Della Noce) was born, were suspended. I hope he will keep that in mind because no political Party, the Government, the Official Opposition or mine have the right or even a mandate to play fast and loose with the rules of Parliament upon which we have all agreed. I would not hold still even if it were my Party doing this. I promise you that, Mr. Speaker. When you play fast and loose with the rules that have been unanimously agreed upon, you are on a slippery slope to a one-party state and a one-party government. I kid you not. I say that in order to ask my colleagues from all Parties to keep that in mind.

• (1910)

I said at the outset that I have been here on a number of previous occasions since the fall of 1968. I have listened for hours while great Members of the Conservative Party have spoken and have voted against what the Liberals were doing. I had to sit and watch the same spectacle last summer, at what is being done now is even worse. The Liberals are condemning the Conservatives for what the Liberals did before. What a spectacle. I

will not use the words "hypocrisy" because none of us are perfect. None of us are pure.

I can remember when the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) came here in a by-election in 1976. I can remember hearing the Tories rail against the then government of the day, a Liberal Government. They said how terrible it was when closure was brought in. My goodness. In the first place I think my hon. friends, and many of them are friends in this House—

Mr. Horner: Are you afraid of Bob White?

Mr. Benjamin: He is a friend too, especially when I argue with him. When I think of my hon. friends in the Government I would like to suggest to them that they did not, I repeat, did not need to suspend the rules or bring in closure. Some of the fault is on the two opposition Parties as well. But none of this needed to happen. Why, Madam Speaker? I will tell you why. It is because there ain't no deadline.

Mr. Friesen: You would not let us table the Bill.

Mr. Benjamin: The hon. gentleman says that we would not let them table the Bill. We could maybe stop the Tories from doing that for a day, if we are lucky. The Member knows that. I have been here longer than my hon. friend. The whole thing was totally unnecessary because the Government could have just said, "Fine. Take all the time you want", or it could have said "you have to the middle or the end of January". So what. There has already, as I understand it, been an exchange of letters between the U.S. administration and the Government of Canada. If the implementation date is not January 1, but January 31, or February 28 or whatever, so what.

The Government might have been smart to let us run out of gas. The trouble is we found out that the government Members are the ones who have the gas and have the gall to suspend the rules. I exert a word of caution. This is dangerous ground on which we are treading.

I want to return to the whole matter of a mandate which my colleague, the Hon. Member for Kootenay West—Revelstoke (Mr. Kristiansen) mentioned. The mandate that I as an individual Member have and my nine other colleagues from Saskatchewan have is not to be totally ignored whether on the majority side or the minority side. We all have to consider why each of us is here. We must not disregard those who are here for different reasons than I am. I have the greatest respect for the mandate of Members on the Government side. I expect nothing more than the same regard and respect for my mandate.

Extension of Sitings

Let us not get into the numbers game, and let us not be on the slippery slope of suspending the rules of a democratic parliament. It is not needed. It is not necessary. The Government can get its Bill whether it is next week, a month from now or two months from now. The Government still gets its Bill. Why bother? Why create all this unnecessary, unneeded activity about suspending the rules? If we do not have rules that remain in place, we can suspend rules by unanimous consent. We can make changes. We can do anything we want by unanimous consent. In the years I have been here we have done that many, many times.

Mr. Prud'homme: Yes.

Mr. Benjamin: We have suspended one or more rules on numerous occasions.

I am sad that the Conservative Government is just as dumb as the Liberal one was.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Benjamin: I must say that even the Liberals did not have nerve enough to go this far. The Conservatives have now set a new distance in belabouring, impinging, upon the rules of Parliament and parliamentary democracy.

I want to say something about why we are doing this.

Mr. Prud'homme: I rise on a point of order. I know that the Hon. Member talked generally about Liberals being as dumb as Conservatives. We all have an opinion on that. Is the Member going to announce tonight that he and his Party are going to disband since his leader during the campaign said that we are entering into a two-Party system?

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Hon. Member for Regina—Lumsden.

Mr. Benjamin: Madam Speaker, I hope you will deduct that 20 seconds from my time but, in any event, I can recall similar kinds of remarks from various and sundry Liberals, starting with Mr. Trudeau. If my hon. friend is sensitive about the cut and thrust of the campaign before, during or after, then maybe he should go to a retirement home.

Mr. Prud'homme: Madam Speaker, I have another point of order. I would be delighted to retire if the Hon. Member would like to join me.

• (1920)

Mr. Benjamin: I would like to continue by expanding on something the Hon. Member for Duvernay had to

say. He may well have a point. I am not sure yet. The Hon. Member agrees that we should suspend the rules of Parliament, suspend parliamentary democracy. Why? Well, because the closing of the Gillette plant has nothing to do with free trade. They have been going to rationalize that plant for the last two years. I will take the hon. gentleman at his word, but I do have a question for him and all other Government Members. If the free trade deal is so good for Canada, if it means so many more jobs, how come that Gillette plant is being rationalized? Why is the plant in Georgia not being rationalized into a plant in Quebec?

I am just an innocent stubble-jumping prairie boy. I would appreciate it if somebody would explain why I cannot find a single plant in the United States or Mexico being rationalized into Canada. Perhaps the trade deal is good, who knows. I will not condemn the Government, far be it from me. However, if it is so good, I would like somebody, anybody on the Government side to explain why the Government needs to suspend the rules of Parliament, and why these plants are not rationalizing into Canada and not the United States, or why Canadian corporations are hiring Mexicans at 65 cents an hour to make components. I would appreciate some answers, and then perhaps I might come onside. Do not bet on it, but I might.

I have a mandate from my constituency to fight to protect the Canadian Wheat Board. Our problem in Assiniboia and Gravelbourg was that the Tories got more of the Liberal vote than we did, which proves my point again: what the hell is the difference?

Mrs. Sparrow: Come on, you can tell the difference.

Mr. Benjamin: Supply management, poultry, eggs, and the Western Grain Transportation Act are down the drain. My friend, the Hon. Member for Souris—Moose Mountain (Mr. Gustafson) knows it. The Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) has already admitted that the ink was hardly dry on the ballots and it was up for grabs, and he knows it.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I am sorry, I must interrupt the Hon. Member. His time has expired.

Mr. Benjamin: Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I wonder if I could have the unanimous consent of my good friends opposite for another couple of minutes.

Extension of Sittings

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The House has heard the Hon. Member asking for unanimous consent. Is there unanimous consent?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I do not hear unanimous consent. Resuming debate with the Hon. Member for Gloucester—Carleton.

• (1930)

[Translation]

Mr. Eugène Bellemare (Carleton—Gloucester): Madam Speaker, it is an honour for me to address today the Canadian Parliament. Since the tender age of 10, I have been living in the shadow of our Parliament. As a child, I have often seen Prime Minister Mackenzie King walking three blocks from my home. When I was 8 or 9, I have seen him strolling by, and a few years later I had the pleasure to meet Prime Minister St. Laurent and, also, Mr. John Diefenbaker, and almost all those who succeeded after him.

I have the honour to speak for the first time in this Parliament and this is a very special occasion for me. Like several other new Members, I find myself involved in a procedural debate . . .

For almost 20 years I had the privilege of working at the municipal and regional levels, in the Ottawa-Carleton region, and procedure was often discussed, but it was quite simple.

Nobody was ever denied the chance to speak on the matter. There was always discipline. I have always noted, at both the municipal and regional levels, that people have respect for those who have the floor, that other politicians listen, because when you listen you can always learn something while, if people shout or, even worse, throw insults at each other, they admit to a certain ignorance, in the broad sense of the word. However, when one listens, one always learns something. Since Tuesday morning, I have learned a lot. But I must admit that I am still learning about procedure.

However, Madam Speaker, I would like to do exactly what my constituents asked me to do, that is go to Parliament to speak on various issues. The people who elected me are from the new riding of Carleton-Gloucester. This riding was formed by taking a part of Glengarry—Prescott, that is a section of Cumberland, the major part of the city of Gloucester, that I represented for nearly 20 years, the whole of the municipalities of Rideau and Osgoode, a good part of the city of Ottawa, all of which makes up a territory of 350 square miles with a voting population of over 77,000.

I am very proud to have been elected. I am quite touched by the fact that I was elected by 31 000 voters. I make it a rule of going door to door during election campaigns. But this time I had to cover a larger area than the City of Gloucester and I did door-to-door campaigning in every municipality in nearly every area. Two municipalities, Rideau and Osgoode, were represented by a Conservative MP, as was a large part of the City of Gloucester. As one of the main themes of my campaign, I asked people first what they thought about free trade in general, and then what they thought about that agreement. The answer was simple: everybody was in favour of free trade. They thought it was a good thing, but the public at large or the people I met during my door-to-door campaign or while speaking in public asked: What is this agreement about? How will it affect us? Does it refer to goods only? This particular agreement does not affect goods only, it also deals with services and investments.

Those two items worried people because, you see, Madam Speaker, it is a bit like buying a house and having a mortgage for the first time. A wise person will make sure to have a competent adviser check all the clauses of the mortgage or the selling agreement. Any lawyer will tell you that it is not wise to buy a house or do any other kind of deal without checking the agreement first.

During the election campaign, I had the opportunity to read a lot about free trade. There are many interesting things to know about free trade. However, what will be the impact of the deal? This worries people because they do not know what the effects of this deal will be. This is why we need a debate, Madam Speaker. We need to have someone sit down and explain what happens with this deal. We need to go further than to speak to a single politician. If you talk to many politicians representing the Conservatives who are now in government, the NDP or my party, the Liberal Party, you will get three different points of view. And I suppose there are other opinions across the country.

It would therefore be rational, wise and mostly prudent to be able to discuss free-trade and its effects.

I am told that one must have faith. I have faith, Madam Speaker, but not when I realize that this deal could have an impact on the workers of today, that it could adversely affect my own children or grandchildren or those of others. Anybody willing to keep his eyes open realizes that the philosophy and the method of operation in Canada is going to make a 180 degrees turn. Of course, if one takes only into account political aspects, one could totally disagree.

Extension of Sittings

Personally, I would gladly hear more about the motives, the rationale and the possible impact of the deal. I was here all week long, from early in the morning until the last hour, and I listened to everybody. I learned a lot, but what I heard repeatedly from the Government side was mostly that one must have faith. I would like to say to the Government Members that I indeed have faith. I do have faith in my Parliament. I do have faith in free trade. However, as far as this trade deal is concerned, you could give me a chance to listen to your arguments. I would also appreciate hearing those of the socialist party and having a chance to listen to my colleagues. To sum up, I would like to be able to go back home and to explain to my constituents that such and such a clause is a good one or that another one is weak or harmful. So I wish I could do that. For the time being, however, I cannot, because of the procedural problem, Madam Speaker. I cannot do that, because nobody seems willing to sit down with me or rise in the House to provide me with explanations.

Often what I hear, Madam Speaker, is nothing but gibberish and shouting, which astonishes me a lot. I am still looking for substance. I have not found much of it to this day. I have heard a lot of noise. Sometimes, the House reminds me of the Granby Zoo. When I look at some of my hon. friends opposite—I hope they will take it in good part, Madam Speaker—I think they look like a bunch of trained seals making a lot of noise and swinging their arms about.

I am sorry, Madam Speaker, but I am much more eager to hear arguments than noise and sounds. I hope that next week the Government will give me and my colleagues—I mean all Hon. Members, including even the learned and experienced ones—the possibility to hear arguments in full, that we may vote in confidence and follow the dictates of our conscience. The important thing is for one to be able to vote according to the dictates of one's own conscience. I know that it is necessary to inter-pact matters in accordance with one's Party, but it is a question of trust and conscience.

In view of the fact that this is my maiden speech in the House, Madam Speaker, I greatly appreciate the kindness of all the Hon. Members who are now present in the House. I wish them to know that I appreciate their courtesy and attention. I find the Hon. Members sitting in front of me most gracious and I thank them for listening to what I had to say. I promise that when I have an opportunity next week to listen to them, I will

act likewise, pay very close attention to their arguments and extend to them the same courtesy of not talking during their speeches. I want to be able to tell my constituents that I voted on the basis of what I learned, understood and according to my conscience.

• (1940)

Mr. Gabriel Fontaine (Lévis): Madam Speaker, since this is the first opportunity I have to speak since November 21, 1988, I would like first to congratulate all my Conservative colleagues who succeeded in conveying the message of this Government from one end of the country to the other. Our party is the only one representing all of Canada and for that I congratulate my Conservative colleagues.

I also want to congratulate some Liberal colleagues who owe their election to their own personal qualities since their party's program had neither content nor good sense. Among them are good people. So I congratulate them also and will abstain from making any comment about the third Party that sit on my right here in the House, Madam Speaker.

I also wish to thank the people in my riding of Lévis who elected me with a 50 per cent stronger majority compared to that of 1984.

I must tell you, Madam Speaker, that the people who elected me represent, and this might surprise some people, the union movement. During the last campaign, union leaders made speeches in my favour to the detriment of the socialist party candidate. They came out in support of the policies of my Government because they realize that, under this Government, jobs are being created and that jobs provide their livelihood, their weekly pay. I also got the support not only of business people, of workers, of consumers, but of major cooperative institutions like the Mouvement Desjardins, which manages assets of \$35 billion. I therefore got the support of the co-operative movement.

I also got the support of senior citizens who understand that pensions are here to stay provided that the labour force can go on making money. There is nothing sinful about making money. The men and women in the labour force, people who are 30 to 65 years old, have to make money to pay for senior citizens' pensions, to pay for young people's education and to help those who are permanently or temporarily in need. I got the support of senior citizens.

Extension of Sittings

I also got the support of young people because the ones that leave university or college realize that there have been jobs in this country since 1984, and that is the reason why they supported me.

Finally, I had the decisive support—the kind of support all Conservatives had—the support of the community and of the people who sign the pay cheques of working Canadians, and I mean business people, chambers of commerce, those who know what exports to the United States mean. I got their support and today I want to pay them public tribute and thank the residents of my riding.

Now to get back to the issue at hand. Here we are again trying to re-open the debate of the famous question of free trade, a question we are debating for the information of new Members, a question which is the topic of debate by the House and by technocrats, a question which was raised during the last campaign. Canadians who want to listen and learn have been able to get all the facts about free trade over the last two and a half years. And before the election the Leader of the Liberal Party (Mr. Turner) had said to them: Let the Canadian people decide.

As it happened, the socialist leader shared his views and he too could hardly wait for the election call. The Liberal leader had said: Once the people have decided, the senators, my Liberal senators, the senators appointed by Trudeau and others, will say yes if Canadians say yes. The day after the election, Madam Speaker, we heard the Liberal leader say: Yes, everything is fine now, Canadians have spoken. We also heard the socialist leader say: Yes, Canadians have made their choice, we will not stand in the way of that legislation. But then something happened.

They received a letter, Madam Speaker, an eight-page letter from the man who pulls the strings, from Bob White, president of the Canadian Auto Workers, who can order them around, because he spent \$2 million dollars towards their campaign. His union financed a third of the socialist election campaign, and that amount of \$2 million dollars does not include all the equipment, material, stationery, telephone lines, and personnel provided. They will deny it, Madam Speaker. But you will only have to look at the report that will be tabled by the chairman of the Election Expenses Committee in a few months. They will maximize all those services provided under the table in order to get from the Government all the subsidies, that is all the money they can, to finance their election campaign. On the one hand, they pretend that they received no support from

the various unions, and on the other hand, after the election, they maximize all their campaign expenses in order to be able to beg for money from the Canadian Government.

They maximize what they claim to be election expenses. So, they received a letter from Bob White which changed their whole attitude. They also got a letter from the Steel Workers' Union, the most important union in Canada. Those two unions expressed their dissatisfaction, saying that free trade will cost them their jobs. But Bob White's people are the best paid workers in Canada, the only ones who have been enjoying certain advantages linked to free trade, since 1985.

So, Madam Speaker, as you see, we got a very clear message from the electorate. On November 21st, Opposition parties said: If the vote is in support of free trade, if you Conservatives are re-elected, we will expedite the bill. But today they contest that, suggesting that the people did not all vote for free trade. Maybe the majority did not support free trade. The majority supported the Conservative Government. It told us Conservatives: Thank you for providing us with excellent management! And indeed we just saw that in the Auditor General's report the management of Government departments has significantly improved—they should be listening, Madam Speaker, because it is for their benefit that I repeat this—a significant improvement in this Government's management. Coming from the Auditor General of Canada. People thanked us for that. People thanked us also for facilitating the creation of 1,300,000 more jobs in Canada—1,000 jobs per day under a Conservative Government. They said thank you on November 21.

People thanked us on November 21 for achieving national reconciliation, Quebec's return to this great country. Everyone supported then the so-called Meech Lake Agreement. But since then the socialists' pettiness has become evident across the land because they are once more bent, on dividing the country, being dissatisfied with the elections results. They are aiming at preventing Quebec from being a living, contributing part of this country. Such is the essence of their message, the thrust of their actions.

Madam Speaker, we received a vote of thanks for Meech Lake and national reconciliation, and we hope that those people over there will rise above petty partisanship and help us complete the finalization of that matter with the two last provinces.

Extension of Sittings

And finally, Madam Speaker, Canadians said yes to free trade on November 21 1988 because free trade means sustained economic growth for our Canadian businesses. That positive response came from business people, consumers, the farming community—withstanding the position of one farming union—the farming community and I am referring to co-ops, those groups owned by Quebec farm producers. I am referring to the co-ops that said yes to free trade. And those co-ops each year in Quebec produce \$3 billion in income for farmers. I would rather listen to those people than to the leader, the star of the *Union des producteurs agricoles* which, because it is entitled by law to collect \$150 every week from its members, is meddling in the affairs . . .

An Hon. Member: Speak on the motion!

Mr. Fontaine: Madam Speaker, I am going to suffocate. I can hear alcoholic ramblings from here. I do not want to hear them any more.

Madam Speaker, cooperatives such as the *Mouvement Desjardins* and the big banks have supported us in our fight for free trade. We are a responsible Government and we want to meet our January 1, 1989, deadline. We want to finalize our agreement with the United States. We can tell you, Madam Speaker, that it is important because we have seen what happened last week in Montreal at the GATT negotiations. The Opposition Parties have always said that GATT was going to solve all our problems.

They have been proven wrong, as we have seen how difficult it is to come to an agreement. It is a lot more difficult with 93 countries than with two. So, Madam Speaker, we are going to govern and pass the free trade legislation. And those who claim that some businesses have closed because of free trade are wrong! And I ask the people who make those claims to explain why Du Pont has decided to invest in Canada \$160 million this year and \$320 million next year. I would like to hear about that. I would like Hon. Members to say that it is due to free trade because it is true. I would like to hear why Alcan has decided to invest \$500 million, that is half a billion dollars, this year. I would also like to hear that, next year, Alcan's capital spending will amount to \$1 billion.

Sixty plants in my riding, Madam Speaker, want to export more to the United States and need better guaranteed access to that market. In our close to 300 ridings in Canada, 18,000 small and medium businesses are best able to adapt rapidly to free trade, need that

assured market in the United States and want it immediately.

That is why Canadians must be given that agreement and we must pass this legislation quickly, despite the orders of backers such as Bob White and company who are the first beneficiaries of free trade in Canada because, and this is something I am proud of, they have been living in a free trade climate since 1965. It is urgent that all Canadians and people in the riding of Lévis benefit from that climate. Thank you, madam Speaker.

● (1950)

[English]

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Madam Speaker, I rise to speak on the amendment to the motion before us, which may come as some surprise.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): What is it?

Ms. McLaughlin: My colleague asks what it is.

The motion before us, as you know, Madam Speaker, proposes to change significantly the parliamentary rules of this House and, in particular, to suspend the rules to ensure that there is no particular time limit concerning the specific Bill at hand. With the amendment we are talking, of course, about Bill C-2.

Under the motion we are told that immediately upon the House returning, and I quote from the motion, "a Minister of the Crown may propose . . . a motion to rescind this Order." We are therefore looking at a motion which proposes, perhaps indefinitely, to suspend the rules of the House. I think that is totally unacceptable.

By having the House sit continuously for an indefinite period of time we are not allowing, in my view, the due process as I have come to understand it, that is, the democratic process. Simply specifying that this concerns Bill C-2 only is certainly an improvement over the original motion, which was that it would include all Government Orders. However, it cannot be supported because to support the amendment would be to support the over-all thrust of the motion, which is to suspend the rules. Therefore, it is an insupportable amendment.

One of the most serious points about the motion in my view, having had the opportunity to participate in a couple of legislative committees, is that under this motion the legislative committee process would be suspended and we would go into Committee of the Whole.

Extension of Sittings

In my view, and from my brief experience in the committees, I would say that is the place where we are able to obtain information from expert witnesses, as my colleague from the Liberal Party said, as well as from a variety of groups which are involved and have information on the topic in a variety of perspectives, they being political, business and academic. In this case, since we will be talking about Bill C-2, that perspective would also include economists. Surely it is important in maintaining the democratic process and in ensuring that we respect the traditions of Parliament that Members of Parliament have the opportunity to avail themselves of the best information that is available on which to base their final decisions.

Again, since we are talking in this amendment about Bill C-2 specifically, I think there is a particularly important reason that we cannot support this motion and this amendment as it refers to the trade Bill. The Trade Committee which did travel prior to the end of the last session of Parliament was clearly inadequate. First, it did something in the order of 10 capital cities in nine days. It never even went to the Yukon and had but a brief visit to the Northwest Territories. Clearly it was not soliciting information, the type of comprehensive information on which such very serious decisions about the future of Canada should be made.

The free trade Bill is not just a simple change in legislation. It is a change in the thrust of the country. All along in the process there has been an attempt to cut short debate and consultation with the public, after which we went into the election campaign. What one saw initially, if one followed the polls during the campaign, was that there seemed to be a fair amount of support for the deal as people understood it, but the more people learned about the deal, the more that support decreased. The more the support for the deal decreased, the more we seemed to see an increase on the Government's part to speed up to close debate, to ensure that no more witnesses come in to speak about it. In other words, there appears to be a determined effort to narrow the range of information available, not only to Members who make these decisions, because legislative committees certainly have publicity, but to others.

I certainly found, as I am sure many Members here found during the election campaign, that the more information electors sought, the more confused they became. What was most clear was that virtually everyone I talked to, those who thought they were for it and those who thought they were against it, felt they did not have enough information. It is through the legislative

process and the parliamentary process that not only are we able to garner information, but we are able to share it with the people who have elected us, and with the public at large.

Many of us have had information from the many reports we have read and so on, as well as from our constituents. In the legislative process we have the opportunity to hear from experts, both national and international, to question them and to fully explore the issues. Not everyone is an economist, a financial expert or a lawyer. We can read the reports, as well as the free trade deal, as I am sure many of us have. The opportunity to be able to examine a witness in a legislative committee would really provide the information on which to base rational decisions which we could convey to our constituents.

I believe that we have all come here to represent our constituents in a manner that is responsible and which shows respect for their views, as well as to share with them the information that we learn. We do that because they are the people who are most affected by whatever actions we take here. I am sure all of us share the common desire to represent our constituency and the issues in the most democratic and knowledgeable manner possible.

One of the ways we have of doing that is through the Standing Orders and the parliamentary processes which have been instituted to make this more democratic and thoughtful and to allow not just Members of Parliament to share their various views but to allow members of the public and experts to share their views as well. It is one of the few opportunities that many people in the public have to make these types of views known in this forum.

There are still many questions left to be answered with respect to Bill C-2, the Bill referred to in the amendment. It is quite clear that the Government has a mandate to proceed, but it does not have a mandate not to go forward and ensure that the public fully understands what is happening. Debates in the committee process would enhance that. This particular motion is an attempt to impede that.

● (2000)

Bill C-2 has many measures. For example, the magnitude of this Bill presents difficulties for the average citizen to understand it, just because of its length. If the Bill goes into effect, as I understand it, it will necessitate amendments to about 27 existing federal statutes, for example the Federal Court Act.

Extension of Sittings

Does the average person know what amendments that is going to require? And, it may have a lot of impact on the average life of many citizens. What about the Bank Act, the Broadcasting Act, the Customs Act, the Canada Grain Act, to name a few? This is one of the areas where we cannot say that we are just passing one piece of legislation. This will affect many pieces of legislation, as well as our relationship with a major foreign power. Surely, there is a fundamental necessity to ensure that due process through Parliament is observed.

It has been said that tyranny is always better organized than freedom. Yes, it is faster to suspend the rules perhaps under, as was said last June when the Standing Orders were suspended, exceptional circumstances. But we all know how quickly exceptional circumstances can become the norm. It seems to me that as parliamentarians one of the obligations we have to ourselves and to our constituents is to be the guardians of the parliamentary and democratic process. If we cannot even ensure that the democratic process will continue through this Parliament, what kinds of legislation we pass may in a sense become quite secondary because in fact we will have tyranny ruling. Yes, it is easier. Democracy takes a lot of time. I believe—and I am sure most Members of this House believe it—that in the end we can have reasoned decisions which will be of benefit to all Canadians.

The rules of order, as I understand them, are not simply impediments to a government and should not be allowed to be seen as such. I believe this is not at all a frivolous debate as some people have suggested. In fact, I believe it is a very fundamental debate about the democratic system. There are countries such as Chile that had a full democracy and now does not. I talked to a number of people from that country who said to me that they would not have believed that democracy in that country could have been undermined, but it was done.

Certainly, if we are not willing to fight for the democratic process to make sure the decisions we so very recently have been sent here to make are made on sound judgment, if we do not fight strongly to ensure that all the information about a particular piece of legislation is made public, we are not doing our duty. This is not a frivolous debate. This is a fundamental debate about democracy and the democratic process.

We have, Madam Speaker, a majority Government. The Government does have a mandate to govern, but to govern, I would suggest, with respect for the minority views. I would also suggest the Government has a particular responsibility to be accountable to the Canadian people. Accountability is that ability to be able to justify the decisions one has made. If this trade Bill is so good as many Members opposite believe it is, that is great. Let us hear the reasons. Let us be able to tell the Canadian people. We know that in the last election 53 per cent of the Canadian people did not vote for this Government. Surely, a Government that respects the people will also respect the democratic process which will allow those people to have the information about what is happening here.

Edmund Burke in 1771, said: "The greater the power, the more dangerous the abuse". I would suggest again that the debate we are having today and tonight is very fundamental, because it is our duty as parliamentarians to guard the democracy and the democratic principles as well as to participate in the serious debates of this country.

While Members of Parliament may disagree about various issues, and assuredly they will, any reasoned examination of the issues, it seems to me, should be supported. We cannot allow, and should not allow exceptional circumstances to arise continually. To support this amendment would be to support changing the Standing Orders. It simply is not supportable to do so. Therefore, when we are discussing the most significant and crucial piece of legislation in 50 years, I as a parliamentarian cannot say that this is an exceptional circumstance.

This is one of the most important events in our history. Surely it deserves full debate, a full legislative process, with the opportunity for all Members to speak to the legislation, for witnesses to be called, and, therefore I would urge that the motion be withdrawn and the amendment be withdrawn.

● (2010)

[Translation]

Mr. Ricardo Lopez (Châteauguay): Madam Speaker, I am pleased to be able to participate in this debate that many call historic, but which, to me, is a debate on the prosperity we will get if we can overcome the ill-feelings and the hypocrisy that has long been spread by our friends on the other side.

Extension of Sittings

First, Madam Speaker, I would like to thank my constituents in the riding of Châteauguay for their trust. Some will remember, Madam Speaker, that in 1984 I was first elected to this place with a majority of a little over 5,000 votes. But in 1988, now that my constituents know me better and have learned to work with me as I learned to work with them, they renewed my mandate with about 2,000 more votes than four years ago. This happened in spite of some comments or some difficulties that my friends opposite tried to create by campaigning in my riding of Châteauguay. This is true, but they did not succeed, and their efforts did not worry me too much. At that time, I said: Listen, they can campaign as much as they want, Canadians do not trust them because they have lost their credibility. Let them come, one, two or even fifty Liberals, they will only get me more votes because they were rejected in 1984. People will not look backwards, they will not go back to the old Liberal ways.

Madam Speaker, as you all know, I represent a rural riding mostly made up of farmers. Some say that the trade agreement between Canada and the United States will be bad for the agricultural industry. Nevertheless, we had a debate on free trade in my riding, opposing myself, of course, and the candidates for the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party who took turns trying to attack the agreement and to spread rumours to the effect that certain social programs would disappear.

They also tried to scare farmers, with the help of the president of the UPA in Quebec. It is he who came to my riding to try and sell dreams to farmers or to scare them by spreading unfounded rumours. But I am happy to inform you that in my riding it is the farmers who export some of their produce to the United States who put their confidence in me and financed my election campaign.

I did not get any financial support from any union or high finance source. I was financed and supported by the grass roots, I mean the farmers, workers and small businessmen and I am both very proud and very grateful to them for that. We even had some new municipalities. As you know, because of the new electoral boundaries, the sizes and shapes of various ridings have changed. So there were four new municipalities attached to my riding. All during the election campaign, I focussed my attention on these new municipalities, because the people there wanted me as their representative, and they followed this example of the other municipalities which are also made up essentially of farmers. They got to know me and I won their full trust.

I am proud today to belong to a Party which has always kept its promises. You will remember that during

the summers of 1987 and 1988, the Opposition parties demanded an election. They wanted the Prime Minister to call an election. Sometimes, when we left the House of Commons, we would meet a number of groups on the Hill, probably organized by either one of the two Opposition Parties or even both, that were shouting and waving signs, insisting that Canadians should have an opportunity to vote on free trade.

Finally, the Prime Minister, as you know, decided to call an election. It never occurred to me that free trade would play such an important role in that election. I thought of it as one of our numerous achievements such as good government, the sound management of taxpayers' money and especially, the state of the economy, improved federal-provincial relations, the reduction of unemployment and all the positive things we had achieved during the four preceding years. But opposition parties thought that they might benefit by taking aim at something else. They all focused on free trade. They even suggested that this was a kind of referendum election. What could we do? We had no choice but to play their game and try to explain to the voters the advantages of the Free Trade Agreement.

We also promised that free trade would come into effect on January 1, 1989. And we want to act quickly to keep our word. Some people say: "Why are they in such a hurry?" These people want more debate, they want this and that. But we have been talking about free trade for three years, Madam Speaker. We talked about it in committee, we talked about it in this House, we had debates and a Bill had been adopted, Bill C-130.

But here we are again. Will we talk about free trade for the rest of our lives? It seems to me that time has come for action. Let us act now!

The day after the election, I was really glad to hear the leaders of the two opposition Parties say: "The Canadians have made their decision. The Conservative Party won the elections. We must now accept that fact and we will co-operate to have the free trade agreement come into effect as soon as possible. That is what the Canadians really want."

I was happy to hear that, thought a bit surprised, because we do not often get any co-operation from the other side of the House. But, so be it! If such is the case, they must have changed, they must have understood that we must listen to the Canadians. They must have finally understood that we live in a democracy and that the majority always wins.

Extension of Sittings

Yet, they changed their mind a few days later and said: "No, no, we will do all we can to prevent you from passing this legislation". And they are going to do that even though the Canadian population thinks otherwise. Madam Speaker, is that not an attack on democracy which proves once again how hypocritical the Liberal Party has always been? I think it is. Democracy spoke, and you said that you would listen. I am not all that surprised. When has the Liberal Party kept its word? Never. I would have been very surprised if it had done so this time. During the election campaign, our slogan was "Let us continue in the right direction". I am sure that we will continue and that the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States will be implemented as planned, in spite of all.

As you know, Madam Speaker, I was born in Europe and I had the chance to live in almost all European countries. Some years ago, 10 to 15 at the most, many European countries were importing grains and produce from Canada, United States and other countries. But at one point, they woke up; faster than the Liberals and the NDP. They understood that they had to get together, to open their frontiers to each other if they wanted to develop their trade and production. So, they created what is now called the Common Market, some kind of free trade zone made up of France, Germany and England at first, and finally, Portugal. All those countries which were once importing and poor countries have become self-sufficient one after the other. Later, they became exporting countries. Today, they are our competitors. How strange that countries which have been importing goods for decades, countries on the verge of under-development, have been able all of a sudden, and thanks to the EEC, to become self-sufficient and then to start exporting their products. Not to mention that they have become nowadays fierce competitors.

Is it not a clear signal that we should not be inward-looking? I know a country called Portugal. The only way it could open to the world was through Spain and France, two countries 10 times its size. Even so, Portugal should not fear losing its language or its culture, since, as we all know, it has not so far. The people of Portugal speak Portuguese as well as they did 20, and even 50 years ago. None of their cultural or social programs have been threatened, but they have found new wealth.

Portugal, which was not able previously to support even 50 per cent of its consumer needs, is now wealthy and more than self-supporting. It has become an exporting country.

Spain, just beside Portugal, was also an importing country for more than 50 years before joining the EEC. Spain has not lost its language, nor its culture, nor any of its social programs. The Spanish business community is not afraid of competition. Today, Spain still has one of the highest standard of living in Europe. You can imagine the turnaround they achieved! But some people in Quebec, Madam Speaker, say they are going to be swallowed up by the United States because it is such a big country. They are not yet convinced that they can compete with anybody.

We all know about Lavalin, Bombardier, Cascade Papers, the Lamarres. All those people have shown their mettle throughout the world. They are not afraid of free trade. They know what is going on in the world. They know that to get on in life, you have to open up then work, you have to have confidence in yourself. And there are many others like them, the caisses populaires, for instance, which, 50 years ago, were doing business from church basements and, having started from nothing, have today become a huge economic force. Is that not a proof that Quebeckers and Canadians are quite capable of competing with anybody? They have proved it in the past. They will continue doing so.

To withdraw from the world, Madame Speaker, is to diminish oneself. To stop is to move backward. Since, as a country, we must open up to the world, to the future, to prosperity, we cannot withdraw in a cocoon.

Economists will tell you that today a country needs at least 200 million potential consumers in order to assert and develop certain types of expertise, and certain manufacturing and marketing methods. Canada has a population of only 25 million. Although Canadians are productive, although they are clever, they cannot, with a market like ours, a very small market, compete with giants with potential markets of 200, 300 and 400 million consumers. Our Government has understood that. It has understood that, in order to really develop ourselves, we need a much greater market than the one we have now. Some say that we must gain access to the markets of Europe, of Asia, of other continents.

I have nothing against that. I quite agree. We should not limit ourselves. The farther we can go the better it is going to be for Canadians. But let us begin at the beginning, let us begin by what is closest, by our friend. First, Madam Speaker, let us begin by keeping what we already have and putting it in a more secure place. As you would know, American protectionism has been more evident in recent years, particularly last year, and there

Extension of Sittings

is nothing we can do about that. But with the Free Trade Agreement there will be a dispute settlement mechanism where Canadians will have the same representation as the Americans. We will be able to have our say and defend our rights. Right now we do not have anything at all.

There is one sector where, for all practical purposes, free trade is already a fact of life. I am talking about the Auto Pact which, through sheer coincidence, happens to be in southern Ontario. They enjoy the kind of economic prosperity which is the envy of all Canadians, and all regions of Canada should be in a similar situation. When I heard somebody mention the name of Bob White a moment ago, a man who spoke against free trade and who was against the Conservative Party, I am not surprised because he is an egoist who rules and says: What is good for me is good for me but only me. He already enjoys the benefits of free trade. His members are already protected under the Auto Pact, but they do not want others to have the same privileges. With the advent of free trade, within a few years the entire country's economy will be growing and flourishing just as fast as it is now in southern Ontario.

That is what Canada means, a Canada fair to everyone! I always dreamed in my youth, in my life, of being able one day to be part of this great, beautiful country called Canada. But today I am doubly proud of this great, beautiful country which is just, fair and open everywhere and to everyone because I am one of those who have such a vision of openness, of tolerance, of acceptance, of prosperity, and when I say prosperity, it is not only for us today; I am thinking of our children's and grandchildren's future. That is what I have sought in my life and what I have found in Canada.

But I am still concerned that not all Canadians have understood this yet. I am disappointed to see the Liberal Party and the NDP opposed to this boost to the economy, to this open-mindedness and free trade. I am disappointed because after all, they are Canadians, but Canadians who have understood nothing, and I hope that one day they will understand and also begin to keep their commitments and their word.

Madam Speaker, do you know that in the past, out of ignorance, I must say, I supported the Liberal Party, in a way, and I must admit—

An Hon. Member:—out of great ignorance.

Mr. Lopez:—and I must admit, it was out of great ignorance. But you know that it is never too late to learn. I found out about seven or eight years ago, but

you over there have still not learned! And the way you are going, you will never understand.

Madam Speaker, in 1979, the Liberal Party campaigned on four points: deficit reduction, lower unemployment, lower interest rates and also the business of the 18-cent/gallon gasoline tax. But a few months after they were elected, they did the exact opposite of what they had promised. It does not surprise me at all that a few days ago, they said that they were prepared to cooperate on free trade and today, they have done an about-face and are saying completely the opposite. This is typical of the Liberal Party of Canada and I ask Canadians to get rid as soon as possible of a party that does not keep its word.

● (2020)

[English]

Mr. Ross Harvey (Edmonton East): Madam Speaker, I must confess to you at the outset that I stand here as, possibly, the unhappy subject of a cruel and bitter irony. It is that I, the first, and for four years, the only elected member of the New Democratic Party from the Province of Alberta, find myself seriously considering rising in this House, for the first time, to speak to some degree in favour of a device proposed by members of the government Party.

The Hon. Member for Simcoe North (Mr. Lewis) and the Hon. Member for Calgary West (Mr. Hawkes) have brought forward an amendment that would seem to address one small part of the overwhelming problem that confronts this House in Government Motion No. 1. The motion proposes to trample on the rights of committees that would otherwise consider Public Bills brought forward in this ostensibly brief session, and the amendment proposes to restrict it just to Bill C-2, the Bill which ostensibly we are here to consider, and no other. In this, it is perhaps a commendable thing, and hence my dilemma, Madam Speaker.

● (2030)

It is important, certainly, that the House defend its rights and privileges. And if in so doing—as the Government seems itself to recognize—errors, grievous offensive errors in Government Motions can be fixed, then we must seriously consider so doing. I think it is to the credit of the Members from Simcoe North and Calgary West that they have attempted, at least, to address one of these offensive errors in limiting the scope of government Motion No. 1. What makes limiting its scope a question very much before the House at this time is the Throne Speech itself which initiated this session.

Extension of Sittings

I would draw the attention of Hon. Members to the third paragraph of Her Excellency the Governor General's Speech in which she said:

"The purpose of this early session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament is to seek your approval for legislation to implement this Agreement as scheduled."

That is a goal, I will not say a commendable goal, but it is from some points of view an understandable one. But in the fifth paragraph of this self-same speech we find this sentence: while this is going on—

"Meanwhile, you may be asked at the present session to consider others matters as deemed advisable by my government."

What we have is a situation in which the Governor General has warned us that we may be facing other public Bills at this session. Hence, again, it is prudent that, if the Government is determined to trample the rights of the House of Commons, the Commons at least attempt to defend itself to the extent of narrowing that elephantine tap dance to the scope of Bill C-2 where, to quote from the motion, we will have a situation in which:

"—the provisions of Standing Order 73(1) and (2) respecting committee stage of Public Bills be suspended,—"

"And that Bill C-2", assuming the amendment to be successful, "be ordered for referral to Committee of the Whole". Thus, presumably, if we do get other Public Bills during the course of this, we have been told, brief sitting for the purpose of considering the trade legislation, we may at least reasonably consider those in the proper committee. Perhaps. The wording remains unclear in that regard, but we must assume the intent of the Government in moving this amendment to limit the effect of the motion to Bill C-2 is that any other Public Bill get the full treatment.

We have an amendment from members of the Government that I, in all honesty, must seriously contemplate supporting because anything that will limit the effect of this iniquitous and offensive resolution is greatly to be considered.

I would in this regard, if I may, draw the attention of Hon. Members to the Bill of Rights. By the way, I do not mean the Bill of Rights of our neighbour to the south. I mean our Bill of Rights, that Bill of Rights, which, by virtue of the British North America Act now the Constitution Act, 1867, granted us the rights and liberties originally taken by the British people as a consequence of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, when

the corrupt and venal Stuart King was deposed, and which was enshrined in—and I believe it was the second Act of 1688—an Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown. I would especially draw Hon. Members' attention to a couple of sections of our Bill of Rights, for the time being at least; who knows?

First, the preamble concludes as follows:

"And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most serious Consideration the best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid—"

It is basically the rights and liberties of the subjects, if I may interpolate:

"—do in the first Place (as their Ancestors in like Case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties, declare—"

Herein those 13 points which constitute our Bill of Rights, including point number 9 which reads:

"That the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament."

Is it so unreasonable to assert here tonight, Madam Speaker, that, in fact, the otherwise proper proceedings of this House of Commons have been questioned in a place outside of this Parliament, that place being the chambers of the Government?

Have they not decided to restrict the functioning of this House of Commons in a manner unnecessary, but definitely odious, solely for the purpose of depriving those roughly three-eighths of the Members of this House who are here for the first time of the opportunity to consider and debate fully what all sides of the House agree to be the most important legislation placed before it, certainly since the Second World War? If that does not constitute a move that falls at least within the ambit of the ninth point of our Bill of Rights, then I must confess myself greatly surprised.

I would finally point to the conclusion of that section which follows the thirteenth point in the Bill where the Parliament of the United Kingdom in this Act says:

"And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example."

Extension of Sittings

The Government of Canada in 1988 in the Thirty-fourth Parliament is doing just that. It is drawing into consequence and example a restriction of the rights in committee of this House. That is not to be tolerated. It is certainly not to be approved by a House that has any respect for its rights and privileges.

I think perhaps I have argued myself out of my difficulties in this regard. Yes, the motion is worthy of contempt and rejection, and with all due respect to the Hon. Members from Simcoe North and Calgary West, any attempt to tinker with it, to render it somewhat the less appalling is insufficient. Only its rejection will do. Therefore, I can in conscience resume my seat arguing now against both the motion and its inadequate amendment.

Mr. Jack Shields (Athabasca): Madam Speaker, first I would like to congratulate you and your colleagues in the chair upon being re-appointed. I would like to congratulate all of my colleagues and friends who have been elected to this House. I welcome this opportunity to bring forward some of my thoughts on the present motion that is before us.

I think one must remember that immediately following the election, leaders of both Opposition Parties said that the people had spoken. An election, a very hard-fought election, took place on free trade. Both leaders clearly stated for all Canadians to see that they would co-operate and that their Parties would co-operate to bring speedy passage to this legislation. Basically they said that because we had formed a majority Government and had a mandate to proceed with the legislation now before us.

• (2040)

I would like to remind Hon. Members and perhaps inform some of the new Members in the Chamber that in the last session before the election this legislation was debated for more than 350 hours at all stages. It was contemplated at all stages for more than 60 days.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): A different Parliament.

Mr. Shields: I hear an Hon. Member say that that a different Parliament. I wish to remind Hon. Members that it passed the House after vigorous debate at all stages.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Closure at all stages.

Mr. Kempling: You were not here, you would not know.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): I was watching you on TV.

Mr. Shields: We sent the Bill to committee, we heard witnesses, and the Bill then went to the other place for Royal Assent. The Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition (Mr. Turner) directed the Liberal Leader of the other place to stop and let the people decide. That was the cry that originated with the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) and his Party and was picked up by the socialist Party. I submit that the people did decide. This Government is the first back-to-back majority Government since 1953, and the first back-to-back Conservative Government in more than 90 years. The question then becomes: Do we in the House have a mandate? Absolutely, we have a mandate to proceed with this legislation.

After the election the Leaders of the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party were interviewed by the media. They said that our job and commitment was to go back to the House of Commons and co-operate in speedy passage of this legislation.

I wonder what happened between the time of those interviews and now. I would like to suggest that the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition is having leadership problems. He is being stabbed in the back by his Party, and he is going to be turfed out. All of this is speculation. To keep the focus of the Canadian people off what is going on within the Party, they have taken up the charge today because new Members are demanding it. Therefore, we have heard many comments about delaying this legislation and keeping it here.

Why have members of the New Democratic Party returned and changed their tune when their Leader made a commitment to the Canadian people and to all Members of the House that he would provide co-operation and speedy passage? Well, he received a letter from Bob White who said: "I do not like the way you ran the campaign. You let the Liberals get ahead of us and take the debate to the people when we should have, and we should have had more Members." The House Leader of the NDP has stated: "If they think they are going to get this legislation through the House, they can forget about it. We are not going to accommodate them so that they can have early Christmas holidays".

We heard the tone, we knew exactly what was happening, and we saw what happened when we returned to the House of Commons and attempted to seek agreement from both Parties to proceed in an orderly, co-operative manner to get the legislation passed through the House and into the Senate.

Extension of Sittings

The new Member from Edmonton East (Mr. Harvey) rose in the House and stated that it is an offensive resolution. I submit that the resolution is not offensive. What is offensive is the action of Members of the two Opposition Parties who say one thing and then come into the House and do a complete about turn and, through lack of co-operation, force the Government to do exactly what it has done.

The Government has an international commitment. We have signed an agreement that must be in place by January 1. Now we hear the argument that it does not matter. January 1 is a deadline, but we can still carry on for another couple of months. Members opposite do not recognize, will not recognize, or even admit that the delay could cause serious problems for Canada and the Free Trade Agreement because of demands that could be made by the United States Government. The delay would put us in a position that we do not want to be in.

The NDP and the Liberals have been against this legislation from the very beginning. Their members campaigned across the country. I do not say it lightly, and I do not say that all candidates did this, but I had cases in my riding where native groups were told that if the Free Trade Agreement went through they would not be able to leave their reserves. They were also told that they would lose their reserves or their treaty Indian status if the Free Trade Agreement went through because of the pressure put on by the United States. I went into a senior citizen's home in High Prairie and a lady I have known since I was a child came to me and said: "Jackie Shields, is it true that I'm going to have to find another place to live, and I'm going to lose my old age pension if the Free Trade Agreement goes through?" Those are the type of tactics we saw during the debate and during the campaign across the country.

Since the turn of the century the Liberals and the Liberal Party have been known as free traders. In fact, they lost a government over a free trade resolution not unlike this one. At that time, my Party led by Sir John A. Macdonald won an election against free trade. During the campaign not all Liberals were against free trade. However, why did the cry go out?

I submit that we saw the spectacle of a Leader attempting to save his job. I say that with some hesitation, but I felt it. I also felt it was a rallying cry. They saw that there might be a possibility that, rather than ending up in third place in the House and sitting as a rump, they could at least gain official opposition status. We saw all the old timers come back on the bandwagon when they thought that perhaps this was working. We saw the Lalondes, the Chrétiens, and the rest of them.

The old gang came back because they thought that they might just get in there.

I understand why the NDP were against it. If I were a socialist I would also be against the Free Trade Agreement, and I would have no bones about it. However, I would stand up and say exactly why I was against it. I would not use the scare tactics that I saw during this campaign that said to old age pensioners that they were going to lose their pensions, or to the people who depend on health care, that they were going to lose that, or that the United States would take over all our energy supplies and have total access to them. All of those things we know not to be true, the good solid scare tactics.

• (2050)

The NDP, being socialists, are afraid of the Free Trade Agreement. The aim and objective of that Party is to have Canada be a socialist country, and that is an aim and objective that I could understand were I a socialist. But, that is the objective the New Democratic Party has in mind. It wants big government.

We even heard the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) saying that in the event that they were to form a Government in this country, they would buy back Air Canada, along with some of the other Crown corporations that this Government has privatized.

An Hon. Member: And what about the banks?

Mr. Shields: It is a Party that believes in big government. And, yes, it wants to nationalize the banks. That is its philosophy, and one can readily understand that such an aim and objective would be difficult to achieve in the context of a Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, a country far removed from the socialist philosophy.

The other group that came out against the Free Trade Agreement is the labour movement. But of course the labour movement and the NDP are one and the same. We have Bob White, the President of the Canadian Auto Workers' Union, who is also a vice-president of the NDP. He holds that position not because he has been elected as an NDP Member of Parliament but because, as President of the Canadian Auto Workers' Union, he automatically becomes a Vice-President of the NDP. We also have Shirley Carr, the President of the Canadian Labour Congress, who is a Vice-President of the NDP. One can also look to some of the advisers to the NDP, among whom are executives of the Energy & Chemical Workers' Union and the the Steel Workers' Union. Many of the advisers to the NDP come from the ranks of Canada's unions.

Extension of Sittings

Does the labour movement control the NDP? All one has to do to find the answer to that question is to go back to the last Parliament and examine the breakdown of the votes that took place in this place. When we legislated the railway workers back to work in order to get grain moved off the farms and into the grain terminals for export, who voted against it? Surprise, surprise: the NDP.

An Hon. Member: Unanimously.

Mr. Shields: Unanimously. They did not want to offend the union. When we legislated the grain handlers back to work, again we had the NDP voting against the legislation. They do not want to offend the unions.

An Hon. Member: That is where they get their money.

Mr. Shields: Madam Speaker, I learned a long time ago that if it walks like a duck, if it looks like a duck, if it swims like a duck, if it quacks like a duck, in all likelihood it is a duck.

It is my hope, Madam Speaker, that the people of Canada recognize that we on the Government side are not going to accept an attempted filibuster, an attempted delay in getting this legislation through. We want this legislation passed so that we can live up to the international obligation that we have entered into with the United States.

We hear the criticism that we do not have a mandate to enter into the Free Trade Agreement on the basis that, in percentage terms, more people voted for the other Parties than for the Progressive Conservative Party. Yet, we formed a majority government.

Let me take people's minds back to the debate on the Constitution. The Prime Minister of the day, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, did not have a mandate to patriate the Constitution, beyond the fact that he had a majority in this House of Commons. There was not one Liberal Member of Parliament west of Winnipeg. There were two Liberal Members from the Winnipeg area, but none from Saskatchewan, Alberta, or B.C. But lo and behold, Mr. Trudeau struck a deal with the Leader of the NDP. The Leader of the NDP agreed to support the Liberal Government's initiative on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and on patriating the Constitution, and in

that way he at least had the pretence of having a national mandate for his constitutional initiatives, a mandate that he so urgently required at the time.

When the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was first tabled in this House it included a clause setting out the fundamental right to own property. That very night the Leader of the NDP (Mr. Broadbent) went to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and informed him that if he did not withdraw the clause in respect of property ownership, the NDP would not support it, and the very next day the clause in question was withdrawn.

An Hon. Member: It was Peter Lougheed who wanted that clause withdrawn.

Mr. Shields: I suggest to the people of Canada that they ask the New Democratic Party Members of Parliament why it is that there is not entrenched in our Constitution the right to own property, a fundamental right that should be in our Constitution and one that is in every major constitution in the world.

It is clear, Madam Speaker, why the New Democratic Party is against the free trade legislation. It is equally clear that the Progressive Conservative Government is a government which represents every corner of this nation. We number among our Members, Members of Parliament from every province of the country. We are truly a national party and a national Government. For someone—

Mr. Prud'homme: You have no Members elected from the Province of Prince Edward Island, nor from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory.

Mr. Shields: The Hon. Member is right. I stand corrected.

The Hon. Member always corrects me, and he does so in a courteous fashion.

To get back to my remarks, this Government has a commitment to the people of Canada in respect of the Free Trade Agreement. We have that mandate. We have the first back-to-back majority governments in over 40 years. We are here to get on with the business of government, and not to put up with the delaying tactics of the NDP, who want to re-argue issues that were fully thrashed out during the election campaign.

I suggest that, with all but one Member from the Province of Alberta, we speak for Alberta, and I think the position of Albertans is very, very clear. I suggest that the Hon. Member for Edmonton East (Mr. Harvey) check with the people of Alberta before he again stands up and talks about this process being offensive. It is not offensive. What is offensive is the delaying tactics being engaged in by the NDP.

When this legislation was debated in the last Parliament, I witnessed opposition Member after Member stand in this House and read off petition, after petition, after petition. As well, they would adjourn the House and do everything they could to delay the business of this House of Commons. That is the behaviour that is reprehensible.

Mr. Marcel Prud'homme (Saint-Denis): Madam Speaker, it is difficult to sit here and listen to the previous speaker, the Hon. Member for Athabasca (Mr. Shields)—who is the only veteran of the Korean War sitting in this place I might add—remind us of the delaying tactics that we in the Opposition use from time to time in the light of the tactics engaged in by his Party when in opposition. I well remember sitting in the Speaker's chair day after day after day while we listened to the bells ring.

An Hon. Member: For weeks and weeks.

• (2100)

Mr. Prud'homme: However, I will abstain from doing so.

I will touch on at least two points. The first is what we should be talking about, this motion. The second is the right of a Member to be heard in this House.

I have sat here for many years, as you all know, and I hope I have learned a lot. I still have a lot to learn and I am about to learn a lot more today. If John Diefenbaker, whose memory I always cherish, was to be in this House today there would be an explosion of anger. If Mr. Nielsen, with whom I disagree totally on his concept of Canada, was to be here he would use every tactic in the book, he would invent tactics, so that what we are about to do would never take place.

It is quite difficult to understand why a government which has just been elected would immediately go to that kind of tactic. I have tried, as I always do, to understand the reason why. Is there something behind the curtain? Is there a motivation? I wonder if one of the main motivations would not be to attract us into an easy trap, one into which we have to fall. We could have abstained but we have to fall in it, that is a procedural

Extension of Sittings

trap, by being extremely arrogant and imposing immediately at this time that kind of procedure.

In this way new colleagues will be impeded in putting to Canadians listening to us their view on a very important piece of legislation. Attract them in a procedural debate, they will have to answer, they will be totally upset, therefore we will apply more guillotine and no one is going to talk exactly about what this entente is all about.

If Diefenbaker were here, I tell you he would resent every minute of what the Government is about to do, without a shadow of a doubt in my opinion.

I hear from my friends from Quebec. In Quebec they voted for you, but I may still disagree with what we are about to do. You said, let the people talk.

Mr. McDermid: No, you said that.

Mr. Prud'homme: You said in the House time and time again that we provoke you by saying: Let the people decide. Fine. It so happened that the people of Canada have decided to vote for the Government, yes. I respect the British parliamentary system. It is one of the best systems in the world. A majority of seats was given to the Government. Fair game. However, I have to note, too, that when we said, let the people speak, let the people decide, a majority of Canadians decided otherwise.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Prud'homme: My dear colleagues from Toronto may disagree with me. They will have plenty of time to put their views forward. However, on a piece of legislation of this importance I have to put to you that 57 per cent of Canadians, on one particular issue since the campaign was run on it, disagree. Let the people decide, yes. It so happened that in the Province of New Brunswick the majority voted Liberal. Yes, a majority in Nova Scotia voted Liberal. Yes, in Prince Edward Island a majority of the people voted Liberal. Yes, in Newfoundland the majority voted Liberal. Yes, in the two Northwest Territories seats they voted Liberal.

Mr. Boyer: In Etobicoke—Lakeshore no one voted Liberal.

Mr. Prud'homme: In Ontario, a majority voted Liberal. Yes, in British Columbia and Saskatchewan they voted NDP. The Conservatives barely had a majority of the vote in Manitoba by 4,000, if my memory is correct, over the Liberals. That is quite a remarkable achievement for the Liberals, coming from one seat to almost a majority of the votes.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. McDermid: You now sound like the NDP.

Mr. Prud'homme: You have a majority of the votes in my province and in Alberta.

When we say, let the people speak, do you not agree with those of you who like reform of Parliament, and there are a lot of people here who believe in the reform of Parliament? I happen to disagree often with my House Leader on one of his interpretations of the House rules, and that is fair game, good debate. Yet we have here people who have just arrived in the House, so who speaks more for others? We say, let the people decide, let the people speak up, let the people take their responsibilities. These new colleagues of mine, and they are all here, may like to put forward their views in a few days.

Mr. McDermid: They will have time.

Mr. Prud'homme: And force you really to react and tell us how it is, for instance, that this or this or this is included or is not included in the agreement.

Mr. Dick: Let us get off this motion, then.

Mr. Prud'homme: You may yell as much as you want, but that is the fact that remains.

My friend from Athabasca said we used scare tactics in seniors' homes.

Some Hon. Members: You did!

Mr. Dick: That is truthful.

Mr. Prud'homme: Fine, let us say it did happen. Let us say some Members did it. If you are so sure, my friend from Portneuf, stand up now. If you believe social programs are not included, why not put it in the entente? Put it in writing.

Mr. McDermid: Should we put everything in the agreement that is not in the agreement? Get serious.

Mr. Prud'homme: I knew I was going to touch some nerves. There is the Minister of housing who made the most strange noise during the campaign about people who have no place to sleep. Yesterday he became red and full of anger because we told him what he said during the campaign.

Mr. McDermid: Because it was not true. I did not say it.

Mr. Prud'homme: He is still trying tonight to diffuse me. He will not.

Mr. McDermid: The *Toronto Star* said it. You get all your facts from the *Toronto Star*.

Mr. Prud'homme: You yell. You must be very upset. Listen to the Hon. Minister; she is telling you to be quiet.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Prud'homme: And to be cool.

Mr. McDermid: On a point of order, Madam Speaker. I know the Hon. Member wants a break and a drink of water so I am giving him a chance so he can get wound up again.

Mr. Prud'homme: Do not worry about it.

Mr. McDermid: There are two facts that he has had wrong so far tonight in his speech which I think he should correct.

Mr. Prud'homme: This is not a point of order.

Mr. McDermid: Let me make my point of order before you interrupt. She is the Speaker, not you, Marcel. I know you would like to be there. We all know that, but you are not, so I have the floor.

Mr. Prud'homme: On his statement, Madam Speaker, you know he cannot call people by their first names.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Della Noce: Let the people decide. Let the Chair decide.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I wish the Hon Minister would come quickly to a point of order if there is such a point of order.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Speaker, there are two points that the Hon. Member should correct. First, I did not say what he accused me of saying. A newspaper, one newspaper, made an incorrect report. Secondly, the Hon. Minister was telling me that I was doing a great job and to keep it up.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (2110)

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Hon. Minister knows that that is not a point of order. He could certainly use some other time in debate to correct the record.

Mr. Prud'homme: You understand, Madam Speaker, that I cannot start correcting everything that was said during the campaign. I know that I do not have anything to correct. I was very careful during the campaign to describe things as I saw them. If the Minister was misinterpreted, then it is for him to correct, but certainly not at this time. He should have done so right away.

Mr. McDermid: I did.

Mr. Prud'homme: I still believe that more than 56 of my colleagues in the Liberal Party in the House of Commons have the right to put to the country in the House their views on this most important piece of legislation. It is not a tax law we are about to pass. We may be passionate. We may say that the law should not be passed. But we could live and correct it.

This is an immensely important piece of legislation about which we are talking. Our future is in this piece of legislation. It deals with the way we will be in 10 or 20 years. Should we not be allowed the time that is necessary to consider it? Is it your opinion, Madam Speaker, or is it the opinion of the people who like to listen attentively, that it takes too long to debate a major issue when there are 126 new Members of Parliament? These people must have gathered information. When knocking at doors they must have listened to some dream. They must have had expressed to them some views that they would like to put to the Minister. They might have been asked: "Would you kindly ask the Minister to say yes or no if this is in danger or not?" For example, they might have asked: "Or what is the future of the textile industry? What is going to be done by the Minister responsible for retraining?"

These are very important questions that should be answered in a very cool debate. What is the urgency? My esteemed friend from Athabasca (Mr. Shields) said it has to be done for January 1. However, we all now know that it could be delayed. If it could be delayed, then why could it not be delayed a little bit longer? In this way Members opposite could be satisfied that the House is satisfied that there have been enough explanations.

I will tell Hon. Members one thing. My experience has shown me that when a new Parliament is started in the way in which this Parliament has been, we must understand that it will be quite an unruly House for the next four years.

Extension of Sittings

I was in the gallery on May 15, 1956, when C. D. Howe arrived with a motion which is less rude than the one which is before us. It was a motion that took the Government down. According to the press and to the history of our country, the Government abused the power it had in its hands. The Hon. George Drew and Mr. Coldwell meant well for Canada, I am sure. But the Liberals at that time were impatient, as Conservatives are now impatient. At that time I was a student attending every minute of every debate for months. I was a student at the University of Ottawa. At that time there was the same arrogance, the same urgency that we see now in the Government. If a little bit more time were taken, the due process of the British parliamentary system would have been fairly put to the House.

I did not invent the British parliamentary system. That system taught me great lessons. It taught me the lesson that the House at least must be partially satisfied. The socialists will never be satisfied. Some of my colleagues will never be satisfied. But at least a reasonable group of people will be satisfied that they have answers to questions.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Prud'homme: I believe that the Government has made commitments to the President of the United States. The Government has said: "Don't worry, you will get it for the first of January". There is nothing wrong in delaying this measure and calling the Government of the United States to say that a few more days must be taken in order to satisfy the House of Commons and Canadians. There is nothing wrong with that.

Do Members opposite remember when our esteemed colleague from Châteauguay (Mr. Lopez) who made a speech earlier made a speech in 1984? He is the Member who wants to get away from unemployment insurance. He believes social welfare should be abolished. He believes that the Indians in his territory should be sent to Labrador. Attila the Hun is a socialist compared to him.

Perhaps he likes free trade because in the United States state after state has no protection for the worker. Maybe that is the type of society he wants for Canada. That is not the type of society we want for Canada.

I am embarrassed by debate of that type. I am past 50 like those who try to interrupt me. We are now going to give our consent to a law, immense as it is, as a colleague of mine showed to the House and to Canadians, that will determine exactly the destiny of the country of these young Canadians who come from all over the country to be pages. That is the country we are making today.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. McDermid: That is the point.

Mr. Prud'homme: At least the Minister should listen to arguments. I do not say that he will not get his law. But I would like him to convince Canadians without a shadow of a doubt that it is a good law.

Mr. McDermid: We did.

Mr. Prud'homme: I want him to convince the 57 per cent of Canadians that they may—

Mr. McDermid: Do you believe in the parliamentary system?

Mr. Prud'homme: Yes.

I am not going to make a point of order concerning the language that is being used. If someone is saying that I speak with forked tongue, I remind Hon. Members that in 1984, I did not campaign in Quebec saying that never, ever shall we deindex pensions. I wonder which Party or which person has a forked tongue in this House.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Prud'homme: Hon. Members opposite have talked about the Liberal Party being the biggest bunch of hypocrites ever. Someone said:

[*Translation*]

The biggest bunch of hypocrites.

[*English*]

For me a hypocrite is one who may be gentle to you, Madam Speaker, and then go behind the curtain and be less kind. It is someone who may give his word that he will do something and then do otherwise when he has a chance. This is why I am so upset. I will not receive lessons on hypocrisy from people who promise to do something and once they are elected do something else. That I will not accept.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: Tell us about price and wage control.

Mr. Prud'homme: The Minister is the one who claims to be virtuous—I am not. It is Members opposite who say that they are better than us. If they are better than us, then they should stick to their guns and do exactly what they said they are going to do.

I want to try to convince the Government that it has started with a kind of motion that is worse than the C. D. Howe motion. Hon. Members may disagree. Later I

would like to send that motion to the Minister responsible for housing who prefers to see people out rather than in. I read the motion today and yesterday and thought that that is why it is good to have some older Members who have good memories. It reminds me of the debate on the pipeline, except that it has come the day after the election.

It is extremely arrogant for people to say: "Listen, we have been elected. You said, let the people decide. They have decided. Now we can do anything we want". It is that disrespect with which we disagree. They are not allowed to do anything they want. They were not given a free lunch to do anything they want now that they are elected. They were elected to be responsible, I put to the House and I put to Canadians. I put to Canadians that to be fair about an important piece of legislation, the Government should give ample time to new Members of Parliament who have just been elected, who have gathered information and who would like to be sure that what the Government is about to do will be the best for Canadians. But how do we know the Government is going to do its best when it takes us to a debate of guillotine instead of saying, what the hell, one week or two or three weeks? The Government will get it passed and it knows it will get it passed.

• (2120)

I will tell Members opposite what I did at the national caucus, and we are not supposed to talk about that. I said, surely it would be well advised for the Senate not to participate longer than the lower Chamber. We were elected and, yes, the Government was elected, but these new Members were also elected and they have a message to bring to this House because of what they feel about it. I say to the great Minister of Agriculture—no, he is not the Minister of Agriculture. He is still dependent on the Minister of Agriculture, the actual one, the one from Quebec.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I have tried to signal the Hon. Member to help him finish his speech. His time has expired. I would need the unanimous consent of all Members.

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Extension of Sitings

Mr. Prud'homme: Let my colleagues tell you.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Resuming debate.

Mr. Prud'homme: Madam Speaker, on a point of order. I think I got permission from my friends.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I did ask the House and I did hear some noes. I was quite prepared to allow the Hon. Member to continue, but I did not get unanimous consent. Is there unanimous consent?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Prud'homme: I will respect that, as Hon. Members know. I will conclude shortly and I will finish as harmoniously as I can. I remember that in 1884, I pleaded with the Prime Minister of Canada—

An Hon. Member: 1984.

Mr. Prud'homme: What did I say?

An Hon. Member: 1884.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Prud'homme: Well, I told you I was going to finish on a harmonious note. A great thing happened in 1884, but it will be too long to explain. In 1984, I did not hesitate in one of my speeches to call on the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) directly and say, "Mr. Prime Minister of the country, you wanted to deindex. You see the result". There is nothing wrong with backing off. There is nothing humiliating in backing off. That is the essence of Parliament. You listen, you feel passionately, you say you are going to go ahead with it, then you discover that people are not happy and there must be a reason why people are so upset. It is not because we lost the election.

Mr. McDermid: No, not that!

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Prud'homme: My dear colleagues, look at me, you will see that I am not that unhappy. So to finish on a harmonious note, why would you not reflect during the weekend as you did in 1984, when you saw that you were totally on the wrong track? The Prime Minister of Canada decided, yes, Mr. Prud'homme should be listened to a little bit. There is nothing bad in backing off or, to call it differently, harmoniously trying to accommodate to what seems to be better.

I tell you, Madam Speaker, I am totally convinced, and I will not take too much more time of this House, but I am convinced without a shadow of a doubt that the way the Government is proceeding is not going to produce a harmonious parliament for the next four years, and we will be together to see it. Therefore, it is

still time for you Members opposite to change your opinion and to allow more Members to participate. I urge you to withdraw this unbelievable motion that is worse than the C. D. Howe one.

Mr. John E. Cole (York—Simcoe): Madam Speaker, I find it a little difficult to follow some of the debate today when I hear the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) say he wants to give more time to the newer Members. I happen to be one of those newer Members and he seems to want to keep going and going and going.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Cole: I guess when you have your back against the wall that is all you can do.

An Hon. Member: And he has been here since 1884.

Mr. Cole: I am proud to be able to rise in the House of Commons to represent the people of York—Simcoe. The new riding of York—Simcoe is a riding made up of the heart of the Region of York which happens to be the fastest growing region of Canada. It consists of towns like Newmarket, Sharon, Georgina, which happens to be the ice fishing capital of Canada, Bradford, Beeton, Tottenham. In addition to being the commercial centre of the area, it also includes the vegetable basket of Canada, the Holland Marsh. It has many new industrial and manufacturing facilities. It really does represent a true cross-section and is a reflection of the population of Canada.

Fortunately, or maybe unfortunately, my campaign was only four weeks long, but it seems to be going on and on. It was very evident that the people of York—Simcoe, and because that is a reflective riding, the people of Canada, have spoken. They want a government that can lead this country when there are outside forces over which we as a country have no control. They have chosen a Party to form the government which has shown leadership, credibility and, yes, ability.

The Government reached an agreement when previous governments failed. The Free Trade Agreement is all about improving Canada's access to the U.S. market. The Free Trade Agreement increases the access of Canadian producers to the U.S. market through the elimination of tariffs and most non-tariff barriers such as quotas, import restrictions, custom requirements and various taxes, and through stricter rules of origin and non-discrimination for goods and services. This will help companies like Office Specialty, which happens to be in Holland Landing, in my riding.

Extension of Sittings

There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement that will jeopardize the continued operation of Canada's agricultural marketing boards including those for dairy products, poultry and eggs. Other supply management programs can be added, if desired in the future, which is Canada's right under the terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

• (2130)

Canada's highly efficient farmers, particularly those in the Holland Marsh, produce much more than we can consume. Agriculture commodity exports amount to \$4 billion a year.

The Auto Pact is improved. Not only are the already existing Auto Pact incentives and safeguards which guarantee Canada's share of production maintained, but a new North American content standard for foreign firms such as Honda and Hyundai, both new plants in my riding, will continue to fuel the growth of auto parts production in Canada. We can compete with the Americans. I really do not understand why we underestimate our ability to manufacture quality products.

Consumers are the main beneficiaries of the agreement. Tariffs on goods increase prices, limit competition, and decrease selection of consumer goods. For consumers, average savings from the elimination of tariffs on U.S. imports is estimated at \$1,800 for a family of four.

There is something in free trade for all consumers. It is not fair to say it will only benefit big business. Consumers will also benefit from more competition once barriers to the U.S. market are finally eliminated.

The Free Trade Agreement provides Canadian industry with effective protection against the unfair or incorrect application of U.S. trade remedy law. The binding trade dispute settlement mechanism provided for in Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen of the Free Trade Agreement will, for the first time, give Canadian industries an avenue of appeal to an impartial, neutral panel of Canadians and Americans.

The Free Trade Agreement's dispute settlement mechanism gives Canada an equal voice in resolving trade disputes and constrains the ability of the Americans to harm Canadian trading interests.

All Government-run social programs, including child care, health care, education, unemployment insurance

and welfare, are exempt from the agreement, despite what the Liberals and New Democrats told our seniors during the campaign. If they were at risk I, for one, could not have supported this agreement. However, I know perfectly well from reading the agreement that those things are not at risk.

After the Throne Speech on Monday it was obvious that the Government wished to open up the debate on the Free Trade Agreement and allow everyone, new and senior Members of the House, to speak to the Bill. Nothing else was involved in the Throne Speech, except for the Free Trade Agreement with the United States.

Despite their outcries, the Opposition has done everything in its power to avoid the debate on the Free Trade Agreement. As the Member for York—Simcoe I was hoping that we would have received the co-operation from the Opposition. How naive I am, being a new Member, in believing we could get the Free Trade Agreement discussed and debated.

I believe it is necessary to pass the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. It will be the first step in putting together future trade agreements with other countries. It will lead Canada through the 1980s, 1990s and into the next century not as a country that hides its head in the sand but as an aggressive country led by an aggressive government, sharing its confidence in its ability to compete with anyone, along with the confidence of the people of Canada who also want the opportunity to compete internationally.

Mr. Stan Keyes (Hamilton West): Madam Speaker, I too happen to be a new Member. As far as I am concerned, the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) can take all the time he needs to speak ahead of me.

I want to begin my maiden speech by stating for the record that when I walked into this wonderful, time-honoured Chamber I felt as though my family, friends, volunteers who were at my side during the election campaign and the residents of Hamilton West walked in with me.

Following the election night, people asked me how it would feel to be a Member of Parliament. To be honest, I did not know what to say. As the expression goes, it had not quite sunk in.

Extension of Sittings

Let me say to my fellow Hon. Members and everyone at home that I only came to realize that I was truly a Member of Parliament when, during that first vote my heart pumped, the palms of my hands started to sweat, and my knees started to shake because I was about to vote on behalf of thousands of fellow Canadians. It is a privilege and responsibility accorded relatively few individuals in this wonderful country.

My role as I see it is to take part in the much envied, respected democratic process of this country. However, the Government's motion to suspend parliamentary rules, which are the very essence of democracy, has prompted me to stand here tonight and state in a clear, strong voice that the issue of the trade agreement deserves full debate. At the outset I must say that there are good, well-meaning Canadians on both sides of this argument.

Having said that, permit me to reveal some obvious facts. If the Government were building a new Canadian pipeline it would do an environmental impact study. If the Government were marketing a new product it would do a pragmatic, authentic, intensive impact study. If we were the Crazy Canuck ski team challenging for the Can-Am Cup at Whistler Mountain, British Columbia, we would never hit the slopes without checking out the course to ensure that it was fair in its layout and safe enough for all the competitors. Yet for a trade deal of historic proportions there is little evidence that the Government has costed out, with the critical eye of a truly responsible government, one, the actual demands financially, two, the actual impact socially, and third, the actual changes from province to province required to fulfil this agreement.

Let us consider the impact of this agreement, particularly Chapters Fourteen, Fifteen and Nineteen. I understand the Government did project a gain of 250,000 jobs over 10 years, about a 1.8 per cent increase in employment. However, was this before or after subtracting the job losses? That was never made clear.

It seems to me that Canada has entered a bold competitive series, much like an international hockey series. Let us call it the Can-Am Traders Cup. It is the economic match of the century. The organizers of this event, the promoters, have repeatedly announced the day of the big game. It is January 1. But many of this on this side are concerned that there seems to be no game plan for *les Canadiens*. This is beside, of course, the Americanization of the league. Now the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) says we can play with the best of them. Canadians are ready to compete, he says. Unfortunately, the puck has not even been dropped yet and the job score has the Americans out front, way out front. The

coach, the Hon. Member for St. John's East (Mr. Crosbie), has given us the pep talk, our team is warming up on the ice and, oh, there is a cheap shot: November 22, Gillette, 600 jobs; November 25, Johnson & Johnson, 16 jobs; November 25, British Footwear, 50 jobs; November 26, Pittsburgh Paints, 140 jobs; December 7, Northern Telecom, 870 jobs; and the list goes on.

• (2140)

It appears the American team has too many players on the ice. There does not even appear to be any kind of a penalty box. This certainly is a game being played under protest.

I draw the spectators' attention to Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen of this agreement, and I am not sure if the coach has read these parts yet. In particular, let us examine Article 1502 which grants temporary entry to professional people engaged in providing services. As well, let us examine, in light of Article 1502, Article 1403 which encourages the mutual recognition of licensing and certification requirements.

Both 1502 and 1403 refer to a lengthy list of professionals including scientists, dentists, psychologists, lawyers, social workers and nurses. In 1502, there is no limit placed upon the temporary status. It is a sort of permanent temporary. It can refer to one month or one year or five years.

Now, Article 1403 eliminates Canadian professional control over standards of certification and practice. These are professional aspects essential to consumer protection and safety. Consider this very real possibility. An American company implements a medical health and safety program at its plant in Hamilton. The company imports its own nurses and psychologists. Can Canadian workers be guaranteed that this health program operates with the same quality and professional authority we have come to expect from any Canadian health worker?

Some Hon. Members: Yes!

Mr. Keyes: Can we? You can guarantee that? We have it in writing in *Hansard*. Surely a responsible government must ensure that any Canadian trade legislation will safeguard its citizens against low professional standards and services. Surely this legislation must safeguard the role of professional organizations to maintain those high standards of care and certification. I want to state for the record that I cannot vote in favour of a trade agreement which puts in jeopardy high Canadian standards of certification and professional care.

Extension of Sittings

Do not look now, Madam Speaker, we just pulled our goalie and we are only into the second period. But wait, the other team is giving us one of their goalies. Now that is temporary entry! An American firm installs new computerized industrial equipment. A large team of trained computer operators is brought in from the parent company, temporarily, of course. No employee retraining seems to be necessary. The farm team has entered the arena. These computer experts are three to five years temporary and outside the normal labour contracts of Canadian workers in the same plant.

These are facts. Do the rules of fair play in labour relations still apply? Are American workers on long-term temporary entry required to pay a full share of benefit costs, benefits which Canadian communities provide?

Next I draw your attention, Madam Speaker, to Chapter Nineteen. How much will it cost Canadian businesses to play the Can-Am Traders Cup? Chapter 19 describes what will happen if an American business blows the whistle on Canadian business.

If it is a situation involving GATT, there is no problem. It will take about six months for Canadian officials to obtain a resolution to a disagreement. However, under Chapter Nineteen, if a Canadian is defending his or her company against American charges, look out, Madam Speaker, the game just went into overtime.

Article 1904 of the trade deal prohibits Canada from requesting a panel until the U.S. Department of Commerce and International Trade Commission make final determinations approximately one year from the time the petition is presented, then go on to require a bilateral panel to make financial decisions within 315 days from the date it was requested.

What will it cost Canadian businesses to play in this game? Well, according to a retired Canadian trade negotiator, the cost under the trade deal would be prohibitive for many companies. They would face at least one year's legal costs while a petition is before the U.S. Department of Commerce and International Trade Commission. If the Canadian company requested a panel to review a U.S. decision, its legal bill would increase substantially. The company could be required to provide U.S. Customs with securities to cover temporary countervail and dumping duties for as long as 18 months before a panel decision.

The legislation before us makes no effort to compensate or assist Canadian businesses against American harassment through Chapter Nineteen. But then, I suppose that would be considered an unfair subsidy. You see, it is a game that we cannot win.

I have spoken with members of the business community, chief executive officers of successful Canadian companies, businesses keen to get into the game, to score in the Can-Am Traders Cup. Some of them find this legislation, though, more crippling than enabling, more rushed than encouraging. Every time they turn around—

Mr. Kempling: Who are you talking to? Give us names.

Mr. Keyes: They are coming. Have patience, my hon. friend. Every time they turn around, it is a three on one break for the American industry. They wonder why the rules are not balanced for everyone. The apparel industry is a case in point.

This trade agreement removes from our clothing manufacturers the right to use the highest quality materials from around the world. While these Canadian manufacturers do not compete in quantity, they can definitely compete in quality, until now. Powerful Washington lobbyists have won the provision that Canadian apparel exported to the U.S. must be made only with North American fabrics. This is not free trade but manipulated trade in favour of protectionist interests in the U.S. textile industry.

For example, access to the U.S. market from Hamilton's Coppley Group has been restricted by quotas and duties to 2 per cent of the U.S. market, while American companies can compete for 80 per cent of the Canadian market. We suggest that the best the Government could do for the industry is to provide time, time to upgrade and expand worsted wool fabrics, time to establish long-range contracts in the U.S., time to obtain large financial outlay.

Large American companies will score long before one can put a viable team on the ice. By forcing Canadian apparel makers to use American fabrics, this agreement limits the variety and quality available to differentiate Canadian high standards from American mass production. It is clear that the Government has no interest in the maintaining of standards of quality in clothing or in professional certification.

Extension of Sittings

Canadians have laced up their skates only to find themselves in a game in which the rules are clearly suspect and the American players have clearly been granted unfair advantages.

By voting for me, the majority of Canadians in Hamilton West said no to free trade.

• (2150)

For all the reasons I have stated here tonight the issue begs to be debated, debated fully and debated democratically.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Charles DeBlois (Montmorency—Orléans): Mr. Speaker, I am deeply moved to be making my first substantial speech tonight as a new Member for the constituency of Montmorency—Orléans. It might help my colleagues of the House to remind them that Montmorency—Orléans is close to the great city of Quebec. The city of Beauport forms two thirds of the riding and then there is the Côte de Beaupré. I think of all those small villages along the St. Lawrence River: Boischâtel, L'Ange-Gardien, Château Richer, Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Beaupré, Mont Sainte-Anne, not to forget Île d'Orléans and, of course, the two new parishes that have just been added to the riding of Montmorency—Orléans through redistribution, Saint-Féréol-des-Neiges and Saint-Tite-des-Caps, and finally, in the northern area, the municipality of Sainte-Brigitte-de-Laval.

So I want to thank most sincerely the whole population of my Montmorency—Orléans riding—which numbers about 95,000—and all my supporters who have made it possible for me to live this experience! As you know, I worked for 15 years as a journalist for the CBC and the TVA network. I spent 15 years covering the political scene at the Quebec National Assembly. I was anxious to see from the inside what politics was all about. I had often experienced what it was all about from the outside, and during the last election campaign, I had at last an opportunity to enjoy this rich experience in human contacts and discover the men and women who are our fellow citizens.

As you must have guessed, dear friends and colleagues, this emotion was counter-balanced by the warm welcome I received from all my Cabinet colleagues, including the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and all of you. I admit that the welcome I received from our great Conservative family was a great comfort to me and is helping me make the transition from journalism to politics.

I do not intend to make a long speech on free trade tonight. I will have an opportunity to deal with the

substance of this issue next week. I will deal only with the motion which is now before the House and which calls for the suspension of some provisions of our Standing Orders.

Personally, it makes me laugh. I have heard some of my colleagues opposite complain that the Government is behaving like a dictator and that the Conservatives should be ashamed of their behaviour. In my opinion, leadership was one of the main issues during the election campaign. A leader is someone who, at some point in time, stops talking and starts acting. And our Leader is a man of action.

Mr. Speaker, we have been talking of free trade for three years now. The legislation before us has already been passed by this House. We are considering it again, but people have heard enough talk. We talked for two months during the campaign. People have had enough, they want action and this is what we want to give them. This is why I have a lot of admiration for our House Leader and our whip who have been negotiating with their counterparts opposite from the beginning of the session. They tried with courtesy to agree with them on some rules of debate. But it is now time to act speedily on free trade. This afternoon, I was talking on the phone with people in my riding. I was to attend a seniors meeting this evening. I have three more meetings tomorrow evening and one more on Sunday. When I said: I cannot go, I have to stay in the House for a debate on free trade, the people in my riding were shocked. They asked me: How can you still be talking about free trade?

My constituents elected me so we could have free trade. Now they ask me how come it has not been done yet, how come we are still debating this Bill in the House. I have to tell them that it is not because we do not want to settle this issue once and for all, but because the Opposition uses all kinds of tactics to prevent us from doing so, no matter what the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (M. Prud'homme), the Hon. Member for Yorkton—Melville (M. Nystrom) and the Hon. Member for Carleton—Gloucester (M. Bellemare) say about that. They say it surprises them that they cannot discuss free trade. We want to settle this issue as soon as possible, and we introduced the motion to suspend the rules when we could not come to an agreement with the Leaders of both opposition parties. This motion to suspend the rules is not a sign of dictatorship. It is provided for in the Standing Orders and can be used when all else fails.

Extension of Sittings

And again we have been discussing free trade for three years. It is about time that we decide to move. When I saw the NDP House Leader (Mr. Broadbent) tear out the Standing Orders the other day, I was shocked. To a new Member of Parliament like me, the Standing Orders and parliamentary customs and tradition are absolutely sacred and must be respected. We are not here to give a show but to see to the collective well-being of our fellow citizens. And I am proud to be part of a team which has decided to move, to do something tangible.

Indeed, the turmoil aroused by the motion to suspend the rules makes me laugh since that motion is far from being strict and tough enough. Under that motion, discussions can go on every day till midnight, and we are being accused of gagging the Opposition. On the contrary, who has been preventing the House from discussing free trade since the beginning of the week? Our friends opposite! They have been preventing us from discussing free trade through all sorts of dilatory tactics. Let us take a concrete example. This week, when the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), the Hon. Member for Newfoundland, tabled the legislation, they asked for a vote. As we know, there usually is no vote on first reading in order to speed up the process. But our friends opposite have been asking for registered votes, all the time wasting time, half hours at a time in the halls, although we could have used that precious time to discuss the substance of the matter. So, we could not discuss free trade. This is why I feel that our friends opposite are somewhat hypocritical. I apologize for saying that, Mr. Speaker. This may be an unparliamentary term. Perhaps you will ask me to withdraw, but I feel compelled to say they are being hypocritical, bleached sepulchres.

On this side of the curtains they say they want to discuss free trade, but behind the curtains they are using every means to prevent us from discussing free trade. I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, but I find that disgusting.

I am reminded of an old latin saying I learned during my classical studies. I wonder if some of us remember those latin sentences. We used to have that beautiful saying *Roma locuta, causa finita*: Rome has spoken, the matter is settled. It was used in the Roman Catholic Church to mean that once the Pope had decided, the matter was settled. But in politics, the people are the pope, and once the people have spoken the matter is settled. We have no time to waste. And I can tell you something, Mr. Speaker. I did not speak much about

free trade at the beginning of my campaign. But we know what the TV debate did. It spurred us on. Personally, I talked about free trade almost day and night. One of my most rewarding experiences during the election campaign was a conversation I had in the wee hours of the night around a table with about a dozen workers of Abitibi Paper, a superb industry in my riding which exports 95 per cent of its production to the United States. These workers who had been brainwashed by their union against free trade were certainly delighted to get explanations! When this brotherly meeting was over, these people were glad to know what the deal was all about.

During the election campaign, I noticed that the more we explained free trade to the people, the more they were in favour of it and understood that better economic relations with the United States are the key to progress in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Mr. Speaker, dear friends, I will conclude with this. If I joined this Party—I must tell you that it was very difficult for me to decide to join a political party. As a newspaperman I was impartial. I kept my distances. You must realize that it was very important for me to keep my distances with the political parties. When I joined the Conservative Party, it was a matter of choice, because believe it or not, the Liberals had asked me to be a candidate for them. I had an opportunity to join either side.

An Hon. Member: You made the right choice.

Mr. DeBlois: The main reason was the leadership of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. DeBlois: The greatest quality of a leader is his ability to act. The Parties opposite would like to paralyze us . . . quite the contrary! The time to talk is over. The people have spoken, and I am anxious to address other issues. We have been considering this matter for three years. The time has come to deal with something else. Canadians and Quebecers have other issues to deal with, other solutions to seek, and I am anxious to move on to something else. I feel the matter is settled and I hope the Opposition will finally understand that the issue is settled, now that the people have spoken.

I conclude by saying how proud I am to belong to that great family of the Progressive Conservative Party. I will have an opportunity, next week, to say much more about the benefits of free trade for the small businesses, the workers, the farmers and the whole population of the

Extension of Sittings

riding of Montmorency—Orléans. My electors told me something about those benefits when they gave a majority of almost 20,000 votes, that is six times as strong as that of my predecessor. That makes me very proud and once again, thank you, Mr. Speaker, for allowing me to explain those facts to you and to all my colleagues.

• (2200)

[*English*]

Mr. David D. Stupich (Nanaimo—Cowichan): Mr. Speaker, I gave my maiden speech almost 25 years ago in the British Columbia legislature. However, my riding is different now and I am in a different place. I doubt very much that I will take part in a Throne Speech debate in the near future, so I thought I would take this opportunity, as others have before me, to briefly introduce my riding.

Had I the opportunity to draw the boundaries for the area I would like to represent, I would draw exactly the boundaries of the riding of Nanaimo—Cowichan as they presently exist. It is where I have made my home all of my life.

The area depends upon logging, fishing, and tourism. I have worked in logging camps, done some fishing, have farmed in the area, and currently have a chartered accounting firm that I will have to do something about when the House recesses and before we come back together again.

I started campaigning on May 2, the day after I was nominated by the Party. I campaigned for almost seven months and I enjoyed it. I travelled around the riding and met many people, all of whom seemed to know me. I knew a few of them, and many of them knew various of my relatives. One of them had worked in a local coal mine with my father some years ago. It was like coming home and meeting people. Although not all of them I knew, it made me feel like we were family all together. It was a good seven months and a good campaign.

There was one theme that kept recurring during the campaign. At the doorstep when the people wanted to talk, they always stated that we have to get rid of both of them. They did not use the title Prime Minister, they used the surname, which I know I am not to use in this place, but the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and Vander Zalm. The people used the two of them together, it did not matter which came first. Both had to go.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Stupich: The other theme that came up was the free trade deal. It was not that the people were all totally against it. The majority were worried and concerned. They did not know whether they should be opposed to it or support it. On balance they were a little afraid. They felt that they had not been told enough about it, had not had an opportunity to hear enough or read enough about it. They were puzzled, concerned, worried, and inclined to vote against the Conservative candidate because on balance they thought they had better not take a chance on supporting the free trade deal. I went along with that argument very nicely. I enjoyed that campaigning.

One of the reasons I came to the House was that I was very worried about the free trade deal, wanted to oppose it, and felt the best way of accomplishing that would be to become a Member of Parliament, take part in the discussions during the campaign, take part in the discussions here, discussions that will not end when the motion or the Bill is passed but will go on for many years to come. It will be a continuing discussion in Canada, and I hope that we will gain something from that long term discussion. I wanted to be part of that, particularly in the beginning. That is one of the main reasons I came here. I wanted to discuss it in this period of one week or two weeks, whatever period we will be here before the new year. I came here today expecting to be speaking about the free trade deal.

I notice that other Members have talked about the stalling and delaying tactics on the part of the New Democratic Party. The New Democrats have stated from the beginning that we want to have the maximum amount of time possible to talk about free trade. We did not devise the various procedural motions and discussions that have taken place. We have taken part in them, but none of them have been at our prompting. Government Members have raised these motions, and one has to wonder if they did it on purpose because, as was the case before the election was called, as was the case during the election, and as is still the case, the Government does not want too much said about free trade in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Stupich: They are afraid that if the people hear too much about it, then there will be more worry, concern, and opposition to the free trade deal that has been engineered. Therefore, we spend our time talking about procedure.

Extension of Sittings

I am not going to talk about free trade at the present time. I hope to have that opportunity later on. I am not even going to talk about the motion that is on the Order Paper, a motion that is there with the obvious intention of cutting down debate on free trade. That is exactly what it does, and the amendment makes it more certain. I would like to discuss that amendment.

Earlier, the Hon. Member for Edmonton East (Mr. Harvey) said that he was inclined to think that perhaps the amendment made it better, and perhaps he should consider supporting it. I do not see it that way at all. To me the amendment makes a bad motion worse.

The original motion dealt with anything that might come up in this session, and stated that we were going to treat everything alike. We all know that the amendment will pass. It will state that the only situation for which we will use this extreme power will be the most important issue that has ever come before the Canadian Parliament. People on both sides have said that. It is not going to be used for anything of a minor nature. It will not be used for the little things that the Government may bring up. It is going to be used in only one instance, and that is the instance that is the most important issue ever to come before the Canadian Parliament. That is not an improvement to the original motion. It is zeroing in and saying that we are here to pass this Bill, regardless of the devices to be used, regardless of the changes that have to be made to the rules of this House.

• (2210)

The Government is prepared to do whatever it has to do in order to meet its political agenda. Regardless of what it has to do in terms of the workings of this place, regardless of what it has to do in terms of the rights of the Members of this place, it is going to meet that political agenda.

That is one reason for putting forward the amendment. It makes a bad motion worse. Another reason for opposing the amendment is that it sends up a flag. It tells us that whenever this Government has something important, whenever it has a measure involving a political agenda, it will bring in a similar motion, a motion which will again restrict the rule changes to the one issue. In that way, it can say that it is not a course that is being followed in every case. If it is an issue that is not terribly important, it will not use the sledge-hammer approach. But when anything important comes up, it will use the biggest sledge-hammer it has at its disposal.

What this Government is saying, in effect, is that there is no limit to what it will do, no limit to the powers it will take unto itself to accomplish its political agenda.

While it is hard to conceive of the motion before us being made worse, Mr. Speaker, that in fact is what this amendment does, and it does so by revealing, in all truth, the precise plans that this Government has for this the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

I shall have absolutely no hesitation, Mr. Speaker, in voting against the proposed amendment.

Ms. Barbara Greene (Don Valley North): Mr. Speaker, by way of introduction, I am the new Member for the new riding of Don Valley North, in the City of North York, in Metropolitan Toronto.

The riding of Don Valley North is one of the most interesting ridings in Canada, with 62 per cent of the electorate being apartment dwellers and 45 per cent being immigrants. It comprises a varied cross-section of Canadian society, ranging from those living in \$1 million homes to those on welfare. It has beautiful ravines and wonderful shopping plazas, and is home to many businesses, all of which make it the envy of any community in the world.

The City of North York is the home to many multinational corporations which provide jobs for many of the citizens of Metropolitan Toronto, as it is the home to many hotels. In addition, it is the home of the Metropolitan Board of Trade.

It is a cosmopolitan city. It is a city whose citizens enjoy working and who live there very successfully, and it is a city whose citizens are served well by the government sector.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the people of Don Valley North for electing me to be their representative in the House of Commons. At the outset, I considered it to be an easy riding for me to win. It was an area in which I had been very successful in municipal politics. However, following the televised Leaders' debate and the campaign of the Liberal Party against free trade, I began to notice a change in the attitudes of the electorate as I met them at the door. People were scared. They were struggling with the issue of free trade. They were attempting to understand the issue—and I was impressed by the lengths to which they went to understand the issue. The supply of the free trade synopsis that we had in our office went like hot cakes. We distributed as much information as we had on the free trade issue, and we attempted to answer questions at the door about the issue.

Extension of Sittings

We had to cope with the premier coming into the riding and scaring the hell out of senior citizens. In my door-to-door canvassing, I came across people who were thoroughly terrified that they would lose their pensions. As well, those in Metro Housing Authority dwellings were very much frightened. It took a lot of talking to reassure these people.

People were told that free trade was good for the rich but terrible for the poor. They were told that our water would be diverted to the United States, that the lights would dim, and all sorts of other dreadful things.

The people of Don Valley North were able to see through much of the rhetoric, and today those people, if they are watching this debate, are probably shaking their heads at this very moment and asking themselves why it is that we are here this evening, the fifth day of this Parliament, December 16, and we are still not debating the substantive issue of free trade.

An Hon. Member: A good question!

Ms. Greene: The people of Don Valley North, and the people of Canada, must surely consider this situation to be ridiculous. We had an election in which the major issue was free trade. The timetable in respect of the implementation of the agreement has been well known all along. It is a date that is set out in the agreement itself. And yet here we are, their representatives in Parliament, debating a procedural matter.

We hear from the other side of the House that this is a debate about fundamental democratic processes, and so forth. To my mind, it is insane that we are here debating a procedural matter.

I was 11 years on the Metropolitan Toronto Council, and the number of times that we varied the procedures of Council, the number of times we dispensed with normal parliamentary procedures in order to deal with a given issue is countless. Any kind of parliament occasionally varies its procedures. The issue is not whether procedures should sometimes be varied; the issue is whether this particular issue deserves to have our procedures varied. And if any issue deserves to have our procedures varied, it is this issue.

The amount of debate to which the Free Trade Agreement has been subjected is unequalled. I cannot think of an issue that has been the subject of so much debate.

We had the Royal Commission on the Economy, a commission headed by a very prominent, distinguished and patriotic Liberal, recommend that a free trade agreement with the U.S. be negotiated. As well, we had

the process engaged in during the course of the last Parliament, including many public hearings across Canada; literature distributed by Members of Parliament; and Members of Parliament meeting with their constituents to discuss the free trade deal. As well, we had an election called on the free trade issue, and it was an election that was called because the Opposition asked for it. During that election campaign, the public had the opportunity to listen to an enormous amount of debate on the free trade issue. The news media did an excellent job in presenting the different viewpoints. The amount of time devoted to the free trade issue by the CBC was nothing short of incredible. As well, the issue was fully debated and discussed on numerous phone-in radio programs, and other public fora.

The public had so much exposure to the issue, I feel they became truly sick of it, and I feel that they are sick of it now. Everybody knows what the issues are. Those who sit on the opposition side of this House are not going to change their minds, and we on this side are not going to change our minds. We are in a very fixed position.

In so far as adjustment programs are concerned, who knows what adjustment programs will be necessary, if any. At the moment, finding a job is not difficult for anyone living in the Metropolitan Toronto area. In fact, one can get several jobs, if one wishes. And certainly any employer offering only minimum wage will find that he will not be able to attract applicants.

An Hon. Member: Try British Columbia!

Ms. Greene: The Hon. Member suggests that one should try in British Columbia—and he is right: British Columbia really needs free trade, as does the rest of Canada.

The Liberal and New Democratic Parties, during the election campaign, tried to saddle the electorate with an almost impossible task, that of understanding free trade. As a candidate in the election, I felt it necessary that I be fully informed on it, and with that in mind I read the Free Trade Agreement in its entirety. Once I had read it for the first time, I think I understood about 25 per cent. I thought it an absolute bore. I then decided that, given its importance, I had better find out more about it, with the result that I read all of the available literature, including that of the Opposition. I struggled to find the answers to the various criticisms put forward in the literature of the Opposition, and I found them. It is my view that those criticisms are simply not valid.

Extension of Sittings

● (2220)

Many of those criticisms that were debated before will continue to be debated in the future. On the question of subsidies, we now have a committee which will sit for seven years and hopefully resolve some of the more obvious problems. Of course, various countries will always be debating the question of subsidies, one versus another.

Then we have other issues that were mentioned, things such as water. That was a completely phoney issue, in my view, when one looks at the legislation and the amendments and so on. Then there was the pension question. Pathetic, absolutely pathetic. It was alleged that social programs were going to be damaged and reduced and so on. That issue came down to a question of the indirect impact of the Free Trade Agreement.

The basic supposition was that the Tories would give away the ship. Pressures to reduce government programs are there in any country, and of course these are the things that Canadians value. I think any government that reduces social programs in Canada would definitely disappear in very short order. There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement that would cause that to happen, and fortunately the people of Don Valley North were able to see through that in sufficient numbers.

I think I would have had a much larger majority had the election gone on for another few weeks. The more I got around, the more I explained things to people, and they were anxious to learn, the more votes I won. I think on this particular issue they were very intelligent and very wonderful people to be able to see through so much garbage.

I very firmly believe that the people of Canada and the people of Don Valley North do not want this Parliament to spend another six months debating this issue. That is why I support the motion before us. This Government has a mandate to commence free trade. It does not have a mandate through a majority of Canadians, but of course no government ever has. This Government was elected on a lot more than free trade. It was elected on competency. It was elected on a regional representation basis. It has a clear mandate to proceed with the legislation it espouses. I think the people of Canada would want us to be home with our families for Christmas, and we may well be here Christmas Eve, but I certainly think we should be home for Christmas and free trade should be through Parliament. We should get on and deal with the many other issues that people are

concerned about, issues such as housing, and the environment, pressing issues which are of concern to the people of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Comox—Alberni.

Mr. McDermid: All these provincial NDP Leaders retire to the House of Commons.

Mr. Bob Skelly (Comox—Alberni): It is said there is another House that provincial hacks retire to but we cannot mention that one here.

I am glad to have this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to take part in this debate and discuss some of the issues brought out during the long debate today and this evening. I would just like to deal briefly with some of the suggestions made by some of the Members on the other side of the House. I would like to talk a little bit about scare tactics because I understand the Tories felt a little threatened during the campaign and felt their constituents might have been a little threatened by the scare tactics that were used.

We on the other side of the country noticed that some of the scare tactics were being generated by the pro free trade party. I can recall the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) speaking to the people of Canada and suggesting that if they did not accept the free trade arrangement we were debating, the U.S. would not agree with the acid rain proposals of the national Government and we would be subjected to more and more acid rain from the U.S. The threat was there from the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) that if we did not accept this Free Trade Agreement, regardless of what we thought it contained that might be damaging to the people of Canada, we would be pelted with acid rain from the U.S. That was the threat delivered to the people of Canada by the Prime Minister himself during the election campaign.

Another statement he made was that if we did not pass this free trade legislation or accept the free trade proposal with the U.S., the U.S. would retaliate against all Canadian trade and all Canadian products. The U.S. would descend into a completely protectionist regime.

Mr. McDermid: Who said that?

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): The Prime Minister of Canada said that.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. McDermid: Nonsense.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): He said the U.S. had a very protectionist sentiment and would be attacking Canada at every possible opportunity in retaliation for our not accepting this free trade arrangement.

Some Hon. Members: Nonsense!

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Not only that, Conservative Members were saying in my constituency and throughout the Province of British Columbia that if this free trade arrangement did not pass, Canada would suffer economically and we would lose the ability to generate the finances necessary to pay for our social programs. In other words, those people across the floor said that if we did not get free trade, pensions would be threatened and health care programs would be threatened. They went around the senior citizens housing projects and made that threat and scared senior citizens into voting for this Free Trade Agreement even though it was contrary to their own interests.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Kempling: No wonder they dumped you from the NDP.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): That is the reason they dumped the Tories in British Columbia. One after one they fell like dominoes. For the first time in history we elected a caucus of 19 New Democrats from British Columbia, a majority of Members from that province, who are opposed to free trade.

Mr. McDermid: About half the strength of the whole caucus.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): They are opposed to free trade.

Mr. Friesen: I have heard it all before.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): You have been in British Columbia and you should know better.

Mr. Kempling: Tell us about how you are a national Party.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member for Surrey—White Rock (Mr. Friesen) told us that in this House of Commons there are winners and there are losers.

Mr. Epp: We are listening to the losers right now.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Mr. Speaker, everyone in this House of Commons won his or her election. No question about it. Everyone received the confidence of the constituencies in which they campaigned and in which they worked.

Mr. Friesen: Now we know why you had such a stirring career as leader.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): In fact, it can be argued that those individual Members from individual ridings all across Canada received a mandate based on the campaign they fought in their constituencies. I can tell you that virtually every Member on this side of the House, representing 53 per cent of the voting public of Canada, was given a mandate to vote against free trade and do whatever they possibly could, representing those constituents in the House of Commons, to speak against it and attempt to prevent it from being passed. A tremendous number of Canadians—in fact a majority—are concerned about economic integration with the United States. They have not wanted it throughout this century. They have not wanted it for generations. They do not want it now. They made their opinion clear during the 1988 election campaign in which 53 per cent of the voting public voted for Parties opposed to free trade while only 43 per cent voted for Parties in favour of free trade.

● (2230)

The clear majority is against free trade.

Mr. Epp: The Christian Heritage Party is for free trade. The Western Reform Party is for free trade.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): The majority of people in the country voted against free trade. They voted against it for good reason. That is because there are people in this Parliament representing that 53 per cent majority who as a result of the mandate given them by their electors have to vote against the free trade legislation as it is being presented.

My constituents voted for me for a number of reasons. They have in every year from 1972, through 1975, through 1979, through 1983, through 1986, and through 1988. They voted for me in order to give me a mandate to come here to talk to the people of Canada and to debate with the people in this House issues that they felt were important during the election campaign.

They asked me to bring a message about tax fairness. They were concerned that the Conservative Government has restructured the tax system in such a way that the rich, powerful and mighty get a free ride while those in the poor and middle-income levels are taxed to the point that they are broke. They would like to see some redistribution of the tax burden so that those who are getting a free ride will have to pay at least their fair share while those who are bearing the whole burden of taxes in the country get a little relief so they can spend, invest and make a positive contribution to Canada rather than having the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) suck one-third of their incomes out of their pay cheques every single pay-day.

Extension of Sittings

The people of Comox—Alberni sent me to this House because they wanted me to talk about an issue that is extremely important to them. That issue is regional fairness. They saw what happened under a Tory Government over the last four years. They saw that procurements by the federal Government in British Columbia over a four-year period dropped from 6.5 per cent of total procurements to 4.1 per cent, in a province where the population is 12 per cent of the total population of the country. That is absolutely unfair to western Canada. That is why we have 10 Members from Saskatchewan and 19 from British Columbia.

People have given us a mandate to discuss the issue of regional equity because the Conservatives have been sucking the West to pay off the provinces of central Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Our constituents want us to talk to the Government about child care as well. If the last Parliament had been extended by one week then we might have had a child care program. It would not have been all that satisfactory, but at least it would have been something. Why did the Government not reintroduce it in the first days of this Parliament? By doing so the Government could have shown how important it considers that issue. After all, who are to be served in terms of the child care legislation? Single parent families are being served—women. It is they who on the basis of equity want to get out and use their talents in the workforce while being assured that their children are being well taken care of. Why did the Government not put that on the floor as a priority? Why instead is the Government recognizing its obligations to Ronald Reagan before recognizing its obligations to men, women, children and families in our country?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Dick: How about talking to the motion?

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): I will be getting to the motion in my next few words. Why does the Hon. Member not get in motion and make a speech on this issue?

Mr. Dick: I might.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): My constituents sent me here to talk about matters of importance to them, matters such as the environment. They would like to see a government that expresses at least a minimal amount of priority for the environment, a government that is committed to clearing up the mess it has made so far but which is also willing to prevent further damage to our environment so we can set aside something for our children, our grandchildren and future generations. There is an organization in British Columbia called the Telkwa Foundation which says that we do not inherit the environment from our forefathers, we borrow it from our children. We should be treating the environment as if it were borrowed goods that we have to keep intact, maintain, restore and turn over to the benefit of our children when we are finished with it. We are doing an unbelievable job of stewardship as far as the environment is concerned.

More than any other issue that developed during the last election campaign, more than any other issue brought to me by constituents, whether expressed in letters to the editor, letters directed to me or questions on the floor at all candidates meetings, was the issue of trade with the United States. The people of my constituency absolutely reject the idea of economic integration with the United States. They see that such a free trade arrangement so called is nothing more than a foot in the door to economic integration and, ultimately, to political integration with the United States. That is what they are concerned about. That is why we saw such an overwhelming support for the New Democratic Party in British Columbia, the Party that opposed vigorously the free trade arrangement because we did not want to see the sovereignty of our country compromised. We do not want to see the independence of our country compromised. We do not want to see through every economic door the political independence of our country compromised by a Government that wants to turn us over lock, stock and barrel to Ronald Reagan before January 1.

Mr. Dick: Do you know anything about procedure?

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): The Hon. Member can get up and speak about procedure until the cows come home.

Extension of Sittings

I want now to talk about what happened to the rest of the country. How many provinces gave a majority to the Free Trade Agreement? Did Saskatchewan which sent 10 New Democratic Party Members to Ottawa and four others?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did Manitoba?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did Ontario?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did New Brunswick?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did Nova Scotia?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did Newfoundland?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did P.E.I.?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did the Yukon?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Did the Northwest Territories?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): A majority of provinces and territories, a majority of electors, voted against the Free Trade Agreement. When we talk about the people having spoken, we are absolutely right. People have spoken. The people have told legislators in this building: "Kill the deal". That is what they have said. Some people called this a referendum. The free trade arrangement won 43 per cent of the votes of Canadians, a minority.

● (2240)

Mr. McDermid: More than that.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): How much more?

Mr. McDermid: Take in the Western Party. Take in the Christian Heritage Party. They voted for free trade.

Mr. Layton: All the Liberals in Quebec.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): And the silent majority who did not vote. I will tell you something—you have 43 per cent of the popular vote, and 43 per

cent of the popular vote does not constitute a popular mandate for free trade. You do not have a majority of support in this country for that free trade arrangement.

Mr. McDermid: Nonsense.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Let us look at a referendum that was conducted in Quebec recently, under the Parti Québécois. It was a referendum about sovereignty association. They got 45 per cent of the vote and they lost.

Mr. Layton: It was 59 to 41.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): Whatever. It was pretty close to what you got. At 41 per cent they still lost. You got 43 per cent and you are now saying you have a mandate to bring in free trade legislation.

Mr. Epp: This was not a referendum.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): This was absolutely wrong whether you base it on a popular vote, whether you base it on provinces. However you base it, you have a rather skimpy argument coming into the House saying that you have majority support in the House for the free trade arrangement.

One can argue that they have the majority of seats in the House of Commons. They have the majority of seats so basically they can do whatever they want whether or not they have a mandate. That is what power is all about.

Mr. Kempling: That is right.

Mr. Epp: That is why you never got it.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): That is what power is all about. I recall reading my ancient Greek history when I was at university. I recall the debate the Athenians and Mycenaeans had before the gates of Hellas when the Athenians sacked them during the Peloponnisos war.

Mr. Epp: We thought Ray was bad, but is he a shining light in that family.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): My mother always liked him best. The Athenians had a tremendously powerful army and told the Mycenaeans that because they had the power they could do anything they wanted to the City of Hellas. Therefore, they sacked it, burned it to ashes and killed all of its inhabitants.

Extension of Sittings

That is the definition of power as those Members see it. If they have 150 seats they can do anything they want. Whatever Canadians have said, or whatever they have told Canadians, they have no more regard for that than for any other promises they have made, and for whatever Canadians have said. They only consider the number of seats they have in Parliament and the power it gives them to do anything they want.

The Conservatives are attempting through this resolution to use their power in terms of numbers to ram down the throat of this House of Commons legislation that has not been accepted by the people of Canada. They used fear tactics during the last election campaign. They are using fear tactics now.

Mr. Della Noce: You cannot talk about fear tactics.

Mr. Skelly (Comox—Alberni): You attempted to use the majority you have in the House not to involve yourself in a healing process or a debate with the people of Canada, but to pass this agreement on the Prime Minister's schedule. This is the last act of submission by the Canadian Government to the United States.

It is shameful that its Parliament has to go through this kind of measure just to see the Tories submit once more to the tactics of the United States Government. It makes one wonder what kind of negotiations went on. The Conservatives went to the heel of the United States. They took orders from the United States. There was no process of negotiation.

This agreement is for the benefit of the United States, not for Canada. The Government is simply serving the priorities and requirements of Ronald Reagan rather than the people of Canada. One can see this in its priorities in the House and its efforts to get this legislation through prior to January 1. It is simply a way of submitting again and again to the United States and reducing the image of this country in the eyes of the world and the eyes of Canadians.

Mr. Ken Atkinson (St. Catharines): Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the people of St. Catharines for their support and to say how proud I am to represent the City of St. Catharines here in the Parliament of Canada.

I was interested in the comments just made by the Hon. Member opposite. He spoke of a loss of sovereignty. A similar argument was raised by the same Party with regard to the Auto Pact when it came into effect. The Auto Pact is very important to my community. St.

Catharines has prospered as a result of the Auto Pact. It is the one form of free trade we can look to as an example of how it works for this country. As the Hon. Member for Chateauguay (Mr. Lopez) said, we would like to spread it to the rest of the country. That is what the people of St. Catharines would like.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, Hear!

Mr. Atkinson: The Auto Pact has not resulted in a loss of sovereignty in Southern Ontario or St. Catharines. Obviously the argument made during the election campaign still holds true. Up to 80 per cent of the tariffs have been reduced over the years, since 1947. Canada has not lost its sovereignty as a result of that. That is a fallacious argument and should not be continued.

The motion we are debating tonight is a procedural one to extend the hours of this House in order that more Members can be heard with regard to the Free Trade Agreement. We have heard other new Members state how saddened they are because of the loss of their rights and the fact that the first debate in which they participate is on a procedural matter rather than something more substantial. I share that view.

I sat in this majestic place on Monday during the election of the Speaker. There was a short Speech from the Throne relating to one issue. When we returned to this Chamber, a motion was placed to the House stating that the Speech from the Throne be taken into consideration "later this day". That was the extent of the motion and I did not think there was anything unusual about it. We came here to do a job and why would we not consider that speech? Much to my surprise, rather than the motion passing without great difficulty, five Members rose, the bells rang for 30 minutes and we had a recorded vote.

This side of the House did not set the tone for this session of Parliament. The tone was set in the very first instance with regard to that motion. Since then we understood what we were going to face in trying to get a debate on the free trade legislation. We have still not succeeded in doing that today.

We are here discussing a procedural matter which began at two o'clock this afternoon. We are still debating whether we will pass this procedural motion to extend the hours of the House in order that more individuals can be heard on the free trade legislation.

Extension of Sitings

We have heard a great deal about the free trade legislation in the context of this procedural motion. We will probably hear more about it.

I have some difficulty understanding why we cannot get right to the free trade debate. Why do we have to go through this particular motion? Members on our side of the House have said the people have decided. The debate on this matter during the election campaign should have been sufficient. We know what we are here for, let us get on with the debate. We have heard indications that the Opposition would like to make some amendments. Certainly, let us hear what the amendments are and let us debate them.

• (2250)

There has been some suggestion that moving the legislation into Committee of the Whole would somehow be usurping the rights of Members of Parliament. It seems to me that the matter of free trade has been debated throughout this entire election campaign. We hear that the legislation should go to a smaller committee and that there should be experts look at it and give evidence. I would submit that experts have looked at this agreement. We have debated it through the election campaign. It was debated in the House prior to the election campaign. I would submit that there is enough information on which to go.

We should get to the Committee of the Whole and have every Member of the House consider the legislation. To me that seems logical. Obviously it is something that is important to everyone. We all have our opinions. We have all done a great deal of research on it. I do not think that expert evidence will add anything to that.

We want to get into a Committee of the Whole discussion. Obviously everyone has an opinion on this particular matter. If we put it to a committee of seven members who would report back, we would still have all these Members of the House wanting to speak on the matter. I have difficulty understanding why we cannot get to that point. The amendment that has been moved seems to be a reasonable one, in line with trying to get us to the point where we can debate the Free Trade Agreement. I would think that we should get to that point and get to it as soon as we can.

The thing that amazed me about the election campaign was that we did not actually discuss what was in this particular agreement, a commercial agreement. My understanding is that a commercial agreement speaks for itself. There is nothing else in that agreement, but all

these extraneous issues came in during the election campaign.

We heard talk about losing social programs and the like. Social programs were not mentioned in the Free Trade Agreement. We found out subsequently that an international trade case has said that any universally available social program cannot be considered a subsidy. Only a leap of logic must be taken to possibly say that any of those universally available social programs could be considered a subsidy. We found out during the election campaign that that cannot be done.

We spoke about the environment during the election campaign. There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement about the environment. We spoke about sovereignty during the election campaign. There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement about sovereignty. We spent so much time on matters that are not even mentioned in the Free Trade Agreement that we did not get down to a discussion of the actual agreement.

Now the Opposition decides that it is time to get down to discussing the agreement. Why did we not discuss it during the election campaign? Why did we have to wait until this point in time? We should have discussed it during the election campaign, and a great disservice was done to the Canadian public by not discussing the agreement itself.

As I indicated, my community has benefited from a form of free trade. The Auto Pact has been a great benefit to our community and we have prospered. We would like to share that prosperity with the rest of Canada.

There are other sectors in the community that would also like to share in that prosperity. One that is not so noticeable is the greenhouse and cut flowers industry. It is important to this industry to have a market in the United States, and in fact, it does now, but there is a tariff on flowers. There are even rumours that the Americans would countervail against the cut flower industry. The industry does not say too much, but it is rapidly becoming the second largest industry in our area after the automobile industry. It wants secure access to the American market and it wants it quickly.

As I previously indicated, we should get to the matter of the Free Trade Agreement. We should not be going through all this. We can say more on the Free Trade Agreement during debate on the Bill, and I certainly hope that we can get past this procedural motion and get to the Free Trade Agreement itself.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Francis G. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): Madam Speaker, I too am rising to give my first address to the House, and I share with my colleagues who are here for the first time the sense of awe, pride and humility in having the privilege of representing our electorate here in this House. For my part, I am particularly proud to represent a constituency as varied and as interesting as Cape Breton Highlands—Canso.

[*Translation*]

I am also especially proud to be the first Acadian to represent that part of the world.

[*English*]

I would be remiss if I did not begin my remarks by expressing my sincere gratitude to the people of Cape Breton Highlands—Canso for their support and their confidence which enables me to be here to address the House this evening. The people of Highlands—Canso take their politics seriously. They are great teachers in the art of politics and they ensure that their representatives are constantly made aware of their concerns. They never let them forget it.

I would also like to pay tribute this evening to the previous Liberal Member for Cape Breton Highlands—Canso who, as all Hon. Members know, is one of the most distinguished Canadian Parliamentarians this House has ever known. I am speaking, of course, of the Hon. Allan J. MacEachen who has made such a contribution to this House and to Canada over his long years of service to the Canadian Government and whose guidance and friendship has been of such valuable support to me.

As others have said before me, the election campaign was a passionate debate among Canadians about one single issue, the Government's Free Trade Agreement. That issue absorbed the country as no issue had ever done before. In fact, our neighbours to the south marvelled at the extent to which we as a country were able to mobilize during an election campaign, to have intelligent conversations among Canadians about an issue that was of such deep concern to us. I suggest that if this agreement goes through, we may not have a chance to see that again because our future election campaigns may look very much like the one we saw in the United States this fall.

In my constituency of Highlands—Canso, the free trade deal was the central issue of the campaign, as it was across the country. My constituents wondered why, after arguing so strenuously against a comprehensive

trade agreement with the United States, this Government was so hell-bent on entering into one even before calling an election on the issue. They wondered particularly once we started to get into the details of the agreement as the election campaign progressed.

I am prepared to look at these things dispassionately. Having been trained in economics and having studied at some of the best universities in Canada, universities like St. Francis Xavier, Dalhousie, Queen's and Université Laval, having studied economics with Professor Richard Lipsey, who I admit is one of the ardent supporters of this agreement but is also one of Canada's best economists, I was prepared to look at both sides of the issue.

Fundamentally, I am philosophically for free trade because of my university training and also because I am a Liberal, because as a Liberal, I know that it has been successive Liberal governments that have promoted free trade in Canada and have promoted the successions of agreements and international arrangements which have promoted prosperity in Canada through an extension of the reduction of our trade barriers.

● (2300)

Successive Liberal governments have been responsible for that since the war, and we have always been a Party for free trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): I was even prepared to entertain the notion that a comprehensive free trade agreement with the United States might conceivably be in Canada's interests. I was willing to listen to reasonable arguments in favour of such an idea and to consider the benefits that it might have for our country. I was even prepared to suspend judgment when I kept hearing about all the flaws in this agreement and about the hastiness and the secrecy with which it had been negotiated.

I started to discover, as we did throughout the debate prior and during the election campaign, that the agreement did not provide secure access to U.S. markets. It left several key sectors of the Canadian economy like agriculture, textile, and several other industries vulnerable to being overrun by U.S. competition. There was no protection for the displaced workers before the agreement would go into effect. Our social programs were in no way protected. There was no commitment on the part of the Government to ensure that they were protected. Our oil and gas and other natural resources were pretty well laid on the table for the United States to take over.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): I was prepared to suspend judgment and look at the merits of this deal. When I encountered supporters of the deal, as I occasionally did, although more at the beginning than at the end of the campaign, I asked them: "What does this deal do for you?" Invariably I would get the answer: "The deal could always be better, but we might as well go ahead with it."

When asked the question "how will this deal benefit you", the answers were hard to come by. The more I learned about the deal, the more disturbed I became and the more concerned I was about the consequences that it would have for Canada and for our future.

[*Translation*]

No matter, Madam Speaker, on November 21, Canadians gave their support to the Conservative Party and gave it a mandate to proceed with this agreement with the United States. As agreed before the election and during the campaign, we said we would not prevent this agreement to go through.

So we will have our agreement with the United States.

[*English*]

This Government has been given a mandate to proceed with this Free Trade Agreement. We concede that, but it did not receive a mandate to ram this deal through the House. It did not receive a mandate to limit debate, to ride roughshod over the concerns of 57 per cent of Canadians as expressed by their representatives on this side of this House.

I would like to know from the Government what the rush is. I would like to know what the indecent haste is to pass this legislation and to lock ourselves into this agreement. Whose agenda are we following here?

Mr. McDermid: The Government's.

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): What new initiatives does this Government have on its agenda that require that we pass this legislation within two weeks?

Mr. McDermid: Because it is our agenda.

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): If there is an agenda, it was not revealed in the Speech from the Throne. Maybe the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) is trying to accommodate his friend, the U.S. President. Maybe he wants to give Ronnie one more

Extension of Sittings

notch in his belt, one more conquest, our Canadian resources, to finish off his presidency before he rides off into the California sunset on January 21, to retire gracefully on his ranch with a secure supply of Canadian gas to keep his and Nancy's hearth warm and cosy.

The Canadian people gave the Government a mandate to proceed with its free trade deal. Canadians also expressed grave concerns about our social programs, our regional development programs, our resources, and our future. These concerns are expressed in the election of all Members on this side of the House.

Why not withdraw the guillotine? Why would the Government not provide for a reasonable period to consider and include in its legislation amendments to improve the agreement and reassure Canadians? That would build consensus. I somehow doubt that any form of accommodation is possible. This Government within weeks of its re-election has shown its true colours. It has been affected by the disease that accompanies the unbridled lunge for power that we saw exhibited in this election. It is the idea that no one, not even Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition with 83 seats in this House, has anything to contribute to a debate on Canada's future.

We in the Liberal Party have amendments to propose. We have improvements to make. We are ready to debate.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

An Hon. Member: Let us go.

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso): Under our able and principled leader, the Right Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Turner), we have articulated the concerns of Canadians about this deal. We are equipped to make major improvements to this flawed contract. That is why, although I would much rather debate the substance of this important issue—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

An Hon. Member: Come back on Monday.

Mr. LeBlanc (Cape Breton Highlands—Canso):—I have to add my voice to those of other hon. colleagues on this side of the House against this Draconian measure to curtail and stop debate in this House.

Mr. David Bjornson (Selkirk): Madam Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to rise as a new Member in this great House to represent the new riding of Selkirk, Manitoba.

Extension of Sittings

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Bjornson: It is a great honour to represent the riding of Selkirk and the class of September, I believe it was, at the particular college I went to.

As I stand here this evening I am very uncomfortable in the fact that I am a purist as far as rules and order are concerned. I can see where the Chair is uncomfortable with the way the situation is going, and I am sympathetic.

I think it is important to speak to the House this evening about the fact that we are debating procedure and tradition somewhat. I would like to remind Members opposite that they basically broke with tradition and used their strength in other sections of the Government to slow down the passage of the trade agreement. It was that influence which caused the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) to take us out on the campaign trail.

• (2310)

The result is that the people decided what they wanted, and we are here this evening. It is also important to speak to the people at the far end of the House, and I believe the term is the rump of the House. I had the opportunity to run against the flagship of the NDP Party and the Free Trade Agreement. We worked very hard in the riding of Selkirk. The people of the Selkirk riding decided that they wanted free trade. That was widely shown by the fact that their flagship, Howard Pawley, is not sitting in the House this evening.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Bjornson: To a greater extent, there is the fact that the flagship for the Liberal Party did not receive as many votes as the NDP candidate. It is important that I say to the House that the people in the Selkirk riding do want the Free Trade Agreement. The people in the Selkirk riding want us to get on with the business of the House and discuss the trade agreement. When the vote is taken in the near future, we are going to get on with the business of getting the trade agreement through. The trade agreement is very important to the people in the riding of Selkirk. Along the campaign trail many people came to my aid for many reasons, but most of them understood the fact that we need the trade agreement for the riding of Selkirk.

The biggest single employer in the riding of Selkirk is the steel industry. It knows what can happen to it, and the people of Selkirk know what can happen to it if we do not have access to that American market.

In the northeast corner of my riding there is a fishing community. Freshwater Fish is a major exporter of fish

into the U.S. market. It is the biggest market for the Freshwater Fish Corporation, and it is important to the people of the Selkirk riding.

In the bottom right-hand corner of my riding there is a large Hutterite community which works very hard in various sectors of the agricultural industry, pork being a major one. Seventy per cent of the pork in Manitoba and in the Selkirk riding is exported to the United States. We no longer need those artificial barriers because we are more efficient at raising hogs than the people on the other side of the border.

During my first few days in Ottawa in preparation to come into the House, I had the opportunity to phone home and find out that there is an industry that wants to come from the United States to expand in Canada. Dow Corning wants to come to the community of Selkirk to expand. These are jobs that will be coming our way. Members opposite are not speaking about those jobs. In our community we have the opportunity to do well and progress. The trade agreement will give us the availability to do that.

An Hon. Member: At what cost?

Mr. Bjornson: I do not want to hear negative comments from the other side of the House. If we have the opportunity to go out and work hard, let us go and do it.

I am very fortunate to have three healthy children. They are very good children. When they are finished their education, I want them to have opportunities, as I did when I finished my education. We want all our children to be able to get out and earn a living. It makes one feel much prouder to have a pay cheque rather than a UIC cheque.

I urge the House to consider the amendments in order that we can quickly get to the business of discussing the trade agreement in a good and honourable fashion. I know after Hon. Members opposite hear the arguments on this side of the House that they will agree with us and will pass the agreement.

Mr. Iain Angus (Thunder Bay—Atikokan): Madam Speaker, I wish to congratulate you and your colleagues in the chair on your re-elections to key positions in the House of Commons.

I also want to thank the constituents of the riding of Thunder Bay—Atikokan who saw fit to return me to the House of Commons as their representative. All of us fight elections. Some of us win and some of us do not. It was my first re-election, and I am pleased to have passed that threshold and have returned.

Extension of Sittings

I also want to compliment my new colleagues in the New Democratic Party who have spoken tonight. I watched many of them on television and sat with many of them in the House. I am incredibly impressed, and I am sure that their constituents must be proud of the work that they have done in choosing to send them here. That is why they are here and not their opponents. Congratulations, my friends.

I am here tonight to stand up in defence of parliamentary traditions, traditions that have been developed collectively in Canada, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere over centuries. Those protections are designed to look after the rights of the minority as opposed to the rights of the majority. I wish to quote an individual who shared that concern in a debate some time ago which dealt with an issue similar to that of closure, which is what we are talking about tonight:

"Mr. Speaker, I participate in this debate with a degree of sadness and regret having regard to the fact that we have just had thrust upon this House one of the most repugnant and most destructive devices ever perpetrated on the democratic process.

I am deeply saddened, because the debate that has taken place in this Chamber for the last 24 hours interspersed over a couple of weeks or so is perhaps the most important historic debate I have ever witnessed in my 12 years as a Member of the House. It is with a great deal of regret that I see it cut off prematurely having regard to its importance and the fact that some Members who wanted to speak will not have that opportunity.

The government's action is the result of a move that is ruthless, arrogant and, I believe, cowardly. Parliament is now succumbing, as the Hon. Member for Provencher (Mr. Epp) has said, to the tyranny of the majority.

Who was that Member of the House who spoke so eloquently? Was it a member of the New Democratic Party? No, it was not. It was a member of the then Official Opposition, now the House Leader of the Government of Canada, the Hon. Member for Vegreville (Mr. Mazankowski). That is what he said on October 23, 1980, as reported in *Commons Debates*. Some things come back to haunt people, and that is one of them.

In my experience as a parliamentarian, what we have seen over the past five days is extremely distasteful. It is extremely unfortunate for the democratic process. We have before us a Bill of major consequence. We have a fundamental disagreement in the House in terms of whether it is good or bad. That is what the House is for, to take a look at issues such as that, to debate, to argue, to propose, and in some cases to modify.

In the previous Parliament we were very successful in modifying government legislation to reflect more accurately the spirit of its intentions. We have to oppose other Bills because they are fundamental to what makes this country what it is today and we do not want to see that change happening. The future of our country is more important than attempting to rush through an important piece of legislation in time to be home for Christmas.

• (2320)

While it is true that this legislation has already been debated—and while I have not read through Bill C-2, I assume that it is identical, or almost identical, to its predecessor Bill—we have to remember what kind of debate it was. The debate held last summer was not a lengthy, reasoned debate. It, too, was crunched. At every stage of the process, closure was invoked. The Government was not prepared to have a full and open debate, not only on the principle of free trade, but on the nitty-gritty of the legislation.

The legislative committee charged with the detailed study of the Bill was not permitted to hold hearings outside Ottawa to enable it to hear from those in opposition or in favour of the Free Trade Agreement. It had no opportunity to travel to those parts of the country which would be negatively affected by such an agreement and hear from Canadians living in those areas. Conversely, it had no opportunity to travel to those parts of the country which would benefit from the Free Trade Agreement and to hear from the people living in those areas.

At that time we listened to a former Prime Minister of this country taking issue with the fact that the legislative committee then charged with considering the free trade legislation was not allowed to travel to various areas of the country to hear the views of Canadians on the important issue of free trade.

What has happened over the course of this past week, and continuing this evening, and which will culminate in a vote within the next couple of hours, is the tyranny of the majority, the power of the majority being used to thwart the views of not only the Members on this side of the House but the citizens we represent. We are the representatives of our constituents. Each and every one of us spent countless hours during the campaign knocking on doors and talking to people about this issue.

Extension of Sittings

Some Hon. Members: As did we.

Mr. Angus: Yes, as did Members opposite. The point is, we should then be given the opportunity to stand in our places in this Chamber and report on the concerns that we heard at the doorstep. And, yes, free trade was the issue on the doorstep. There is no question about that. I am sure Members opposite found that to be the issue as well, and particularly the new Members opposite.

It is important that we be given a reasonable opportunity to stand in our places in this place and report to the House on the views expressed by our constituents. It is not something that should be done at 11.25 in the evening at the end of a very chaotic week in the House of Commons. This past week represents one of the most chaotic periods in the history of this Chamber. We should be able to reflect upon the views of our constituents and report to the House on them in a reasoned fashion, without the pressure of time constraints.

It is our job to convince the Government that an error has been made, and we need a reasonable time in which to do that. We should have set aside sufficient time in which the Government can listen to Members on this side of the House report on the views of their constituents.

Time and time again during the course of the campaign we heard the fear expressed that the Free Trade Agreement will affect programs held dear by Canadians. There is no need for me to go into the details. We all know what they are.

This Government, notwithstanding that it constitutes a majority in this place, has the responsibility to listen to those concerns. We on this side should be given sufficient time to report on those concerns to the House and to have the Government reflect upon them. We must be given sufficient time to convince the Government of the merit of including in the enabling legislation the kinds of protections asked of us by our constituents.

It is unfortunate that the Government has chosen to ram the enabling legislation through this House; it is unfortunate that it chooses not to permit a reasoned debate.

I listened with interest to the Hon. Member for St. Catharines (Mr. Atkinson) saying that it is not the Government that has set the tone of this House over this past week. Of course, it was the Government. We have the fact that it broke from tradition in terms of the Throne Speech debate, a debate which normally commences the day following the opening. It did not permit

the Leader of either Opposition Party the courtesy to deliver their traditional response to the Speech from the Throne. Debate on the Speech from the Throne was cut off.

In addition, it proposes to impose, through the invocation of closure, a schedule for the passage of the free trade enabling legislation that will make it very difficult for all Members of Parliament to participate fully, all with the aim of having the legislation referred to the Senate for passage in the period between Christmas and New Year's. The irony is that it is not legislation that has to be passed by January 1, next. The Government has admitted that. The agreement will only be implemented once the Canadian legislation is adopted. There is no need to have it passed by January 1, next. There is no need to rush it through. We need to spend a reasonable length of time discussing all of its ramifications.

We on this side of the House represent the collective voice of more than half of the population of Canada. The Government ought to keep that in mind.

This debate will take place. We will have the opportunity, albeit in condensed fashion, to stand in this place and reflect upon the views of our constituents in respect of the Free Trade Agreement. I only hope that the Government will take the weekend to consider what it is doing and return to this Chamber on Monday with a saner approach, an approach that will permit us sufficient time not only to study the legislation but to add to it the necessary protections in respect of Canada's social programs, our medicare program, and our environment. We need to have the opportunity to include the establishment of a permanent committee of this House to monitor the ongoing effects of the agreement.

The hour is getting late now, Madam Speaker, and I know that other of my colleagues wish to make some remarks. I thank you for your indulgence. Before I take my seat, I wish once again to thank the electorate of Thunder Bay—Atikokan for again putting their trust in me.

Mr. Howard Crosby (Halifax West): Madam Speaker, I wish to address the procedure inherent in the motion now before us. Before doing so, I should like to take a moment to thank the electorate of Halifax West for electing me to the House of Commons for the fifth time. I appreciate the confidence they have shown in me, and I hope to discharge the mandate that they have given me satisfactorily.

Extension of Sittings

Let me address now the mandate we were all given on November 21 last, and specifically with the procedure inherent in the motion before us.

This sitting of the House of Commons was advertised in advance as the sitting which would deal with the passage of the Free Trade Agreement, something that was talked about among Canadians in all parts of Canada for days, and weeks, and months during the election campaign. When the verdict came in on November 21, of course a sitting of the House of Commons was called for the purpose of dealing with the major issue in the election campaign, the passage of the Free Trade Agreement.

There is no reason for any Canadian to be surprised about the taking of that action. For members of the Opposition to stand in their places, as the Hon. Member for Thunder Bay—Atikokan (Mr. Angus) has done, and say that we must follow the ordinary procedures, that we must feel our way along and do the things that we do in an ordinary session of the House, is absolute nonsense, given that everyone knows that this is a special sitting of the House of Commons called strictly for the purpose of passing the Free Trade Agreement enabling legislation. Canadians understand that. I think we are justified in proceeding with the motion now before us. I do not think there is anything to fear in terms of an erosion of the democratic processes, now or in the future.

● (2330)

Let me talk about the procedure for a minute. Members of this House govern its procedure. We are not subject to rules from on high or some other authority. This House of Commons is the authority. We write the rules and we can change them, and surely no one can seriously object to that.

The document we have in our desks, the *Standing Orders of the House of Commons*, is there to be changed. As the Speaker said the other day, we write the rules and we follow the rules we write and we do not follow anyone else's rules. Please get that through your heads, will you, because there will be many more occasions in the future that we will have to change the rules to meet the exigencies of the situation. Canadians understand that. They do not want us guided by anything coming down from a mountain. We take the responsibility and we will take that to the Canadian people. Do not worry about that, just follow the rules when they are made and you will not have any difficulty.

It has been said continuously in this debate that we do not have a mandate from the Canadian people. Speaker after speaker from the Opposition stood up and told us why we do not have a mandate. I would not expect anything less from members of the Opposition, but unfortunately journalists get involved in the act. Presumably they have some credibility beyond making their point in the House of Commons for the benefit of their readers. We tend to believe the printed word. Here is a journalist by the name of Francis Russell who said that it was not an election, that it was a referendum. How a journalist can call an election a referendum just like that, I do not know, but there it is in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for everyone to read. He said that the Progressive Conservative Party got only 43 per cent of the vote. We all understand that. We got only 43 per cent of the vote. Never mind we got 170 seats. Forget about that because we got only 43 per cent of the vote.

However, the Reform Party got 2.1 per cent so they are going to concede that to us and add 2.1 per cent to the 43 per cent and bring it up to 45.1 per cent. Yet that is not enough, that is not a mandate, because the opposition Parties, those people over there, New Democrats and Liberals, got 52.3 per cent of the vote. The other 2.6 per cent did not count because nobody knows why they voted or who they voted for, so we are not going to count them. They are at 52.3 per cent, not the 57 per cent they are talking about.

However, there is a little problem here. There were 17.5 million people entitled to vote in the last election. How many of them voted? Can anyone guess? It was 13.2 million, so 25 per cent of the electorate did not even vote. Do you think they woke up on November 22 and said: "Oh, darn, we did not vote. Let us get out there and re-vote this election, have it over again, and then we will vote"? Where were they on the free trade issue? What gives anyone in this House the right to stand up and say that the 4.3 million Canadians who did not vote are against free trade? I say that they are in favour of free trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosby: I will tell you why. Because 4.3 million voters, 25 per cent of the Canadian electorate, said we are not going to vote, we are going to abide by the outcome of the election. What was the outcome of the election? Does anyone know? The Progressive Conservative Party was re-elected. We did not have 43 per cent of the vote; we had over 50 per cent of the vote because 4.3 million Canadians abided by the results of the election.

Extension of Sittings

Do not think you can go out there and tell people you have a mandate to come in here and stop the free trade legislation. You have no such mandate and even if you get the backing of journalists, neither one of you know what you are talking about.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Boudria: Do you use that kind of math, too?

Mr. Crosby: All right, you bring those 4.3 millions who did not vote into this House of Commons and find out if they are for or against free trade. If they are for free trade, then I will cross over and help you guys.

Mr. Gauthier: God forbid, Howard. You stay where you are.

Mr. Crosby: That is not enough for you? I will tell you, in case you do not know down there in Vanier, knocking on doors—I would like to know how many doors you knocked on.

Mr. Gauthier: It was 22,585.

Mr. Crosby: A few people voted on other issues in this election. Maybe the Liberals and NDP do not know about it but—

Mr. Gauthier: I counted every one of them.

Mr. Crosby: Will you tell Vanier to calm down or take the 89 bus and go home?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Gauthier: What is the bus again?

Mr. Crosby: There are a few people who were concerned with other issues in this election. Maybe they did not know that in the NDP, but there are a few people in this country concerned about abortion. The NDP is not, but the people are concerned about it and a lot of them voted on it. There are defeated Members sitting out there who know it. Do not tell us what the electorate did in the election. We are here and we are in a position to tell you what the electorate did in the election.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosby: That is why we said that your Leader said let the people decide. The people decided and now you will not accept the verdict of the people.

Mr. Boudria: Talk to the Speaker. She will accept it.

Mr. Crosby: I am talking to the Speaker, but I am looking at you.

Let me deal with some of the myths these people perpetrated during the election. You were out there on

the election trail, Madam Speaker. You heard some Liberals say: "Oh, do not deal with the Americans. Some 80 per cent of our trade goes there already. Go somewhere else. Go to the European community. You can make a deal with them".

Do they read the papers over there on the other side? If they did, they would find that that same community which they think we can sit down and make all kinds of wonderful deals with is increasing its fish take from the North Atlantic by ten times the allocated catch. They are going to clear out our codfish on the north coast, those same people they want us to sit down and deal with.

Do you know what they did a few years ago when Brigitte Bardot decided she did not like the seal hunt? They stopped the seal hunt and then said if you do not stop it we are going to ban your fish products, that is the European Common Market. They want us to throw away deals with the U.S., not solidify our trade there, and go out and take a pig in a poke in Europe. Then maybe we can go to Japan and sell our TV sets and stereos to Japan.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosby: That is the Liberal-NDP trade strategy. I see the Hon. Member from Kamloops (Mr. Riis) there. He is a great trader. He knows how to trade. Watch him. Listen, what he knows about international trade is not worth knowing. The man was never out of British Columbia until he came to Ottawa, but he knows exactly how to trade internationally.

The fact is that they do not know anything about international trade. They do not know how to increase and enhance trade. They do not know how to create jobs in Canada. That is why we were elected in 1984. People elected the Progressive Conservative Government because they wanted a stronger economy. They gave us a mandate to do the things that would strengthen the economy. That is exactly what we did from 1984 to 1988.

We thought we had to do something else. We had to move outside. We had to create wealth in Canada by trading abroad, and where were we going to trade? Yet they do not understand that because they do not understand the Canadian economy. They only understand giving stuff away.

• (2340)

One has to get the votes, which is why they keep talking about social programs. Do they worry about social programs? No, no, no. They use social programs to buy the electorate. We know that the Liberals did that for decades. They know how to scare the electorate, too, with social programs. That is what they did. You heard them in the election campaign, Madam Speaker. They said: "Social programs will collapse. The Americans will take away our social programs".

Have you ever met anybody from the United States, Madam Speaker, who did not admire Canada's medical care system? Did you ever meet anybody from the United States who said: "One thing I don't like about you in Canada is your social programs. You should not have those things such as unemployment insurance and medicare. They are terrible, as are your hospitals. Get rid of them"? What nonsense. The people of Canada do not believe that nonsense.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosby: The great thing about that is that it did not work. The people of Canada were too intelligent—I will not say anything about Prince Edward Island or some of the Maritime provinces. I have to go back there a little later. They did not accept the opposition rhetoric on social programs and other aspects of the Free Trade Agreement. They know we have to keep Canada strong economically. They know the greatest threat to social programs is a bankrupt Treasury—it is not a trade agreement. It is not something that will create wealth. If we create wealth in Canada, we will have social programs. We will have even more social programs. But they are afraid of that. Do you know why they do not want this trade agreement to pass by January 1, Madam Speaker? It is because they know it will not have the disastrous effect that they have been predicting.

When January 2, February 1, and March 1, come around and there is no disastrous effect, where will the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) be? Where will the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) be? They will be right where the clippings in *Quorum* say they will be—fighting their buddies for leadership. Bob White will be on the doorstep here every day watching the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent). That is why he does not want the trade agreement to pass. When it is passed and implemented it is: "Goodbye, Mr. Leader of the Official Opposition, and goodbye, Mr. Leader of the New Democratic

Extension of Sittings

Party". If they do not know it, others do, and so do the journalists.

There are a great many things that could be said at this time—

Some Hon. Members: Go ahead!

Mr. Crosby: I take special offence to the remark that we want to get home for Christmas. Are we not awful? We want to go home for Christmas to spend Christmas with our families in the traditional way that Canadians spend Christmas. We are not supposed to do that. Do the Members opposite think that the people of Canada will fall for that nonsense? Do they think that the people of Canada think we are smart Members for being up here Christmas Eve debating some issue that was already decided by the people of Canada on November 21? No. They think we are nuts.

I just want to tell the people of Canada, or those who might be listening since it is 12.45 a.m. in Nova Scotia, that I think it is nuts, too. I want them to make sure they point the finger of blame right at that side of the House of Commons, right at the Leader of the Liberal Party and at the Leader of the New Democratic Party. They are the ones who want to rehash this whole deal. They are the ones who want to distract Canadians. They are the ones who want to create a problem where there is no problem. But it would not be so bad if it did not have a potentially disastrous effect.

Another myth we heard all through the election campaign—and I am sure everybody heard it—was that we did not negotiate a good deal and that we were really dumb. It was said that we did not sit down to put the right words on the paper and get the right kind of concessions. That is terrible, terrible, terrible. What about Simon Reisman? Was it suggested that we get rid of Simon Reisman and get somebody? What about Ambassador Ritchie? As a matter of fact, I always associated those people with the Liberal Party. They were there before we were. I do not know how they got there.

What are we going to do about this negotiation? This is what the Opposition wants to do at this late date in December. They want us to go to Washington tomorrow or the next day and say: "Will you please delay this deal? We do not want to sign it right now. We want to renegotiate the deal. What concessions can we make to get that delay?" Why would the opposition Parties send a negotiator to Washington to fix up a trade deal with

Extension of Sittings

both hands tied behind his back? Because the first thing he has to do is ask for a delay. Does that make any sense? It may make sense to some Members opposite simply because, as I said before, they do not know anything about international trade and even less about negotiating national trade agreements. So do not come into the House of Commons and try to tell the people of Canada that you know what you are talking about. We know that you do not.

I want to say one thing about Nova Scotia because Members opposite talked about selling out energy in the agreement. They said that we will be selling Canadian energy cheaper. The Hon. Member from Cape Breton got up and talked about energy. What are we going to do with the oil and gas off the coast of Canada? Are we going to bring it into Vanier in a pipeline and sell it there?

Mr. Gauthier: Good idea.

Mr. Crosby: Let us get serious. If we are going to develop east coast oil and gas, there is only one customer and it is the United States of America. If that customer is taken away, then that oil and gas will stay in the ground under the ocean forever. Hon. Members opposite know it. If they do not, I am telling them right now.

An Hon. Member: What about your mandate?

Mr. Crosby: Talking about mandates, where was the mandate for the National Energy Program? Was there any referendum on that? Some \$8 billion was spent on holes in the ocean floor and the Canadian people were not even asked if they wanted it or not. Do not tell us about mandates.

I wish to make one remark generally. We have no monopoly on good faith. But neither do members of the Liberal Party and certainly not members of the New Democratic Party. They continually suggest that they know how to treat the Canadian people. Trust them! They know how to respond to all the problems in Canada is what they say. The NDP has never formed the government, and it never will in my time or in anybody else's time in the House of Commons.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosby: Yet they can claim moral victories. They run Main Street. They may run Main Street in Coquitlam or some place, but they sure as heck do not run any main streets in Atlantic Canada. I can vouch for that. They do not even walk down the main streets of Atlantic Canada.

Do you know what happened to the NDP in the Nova Scotia election, Madam Speaker? It lost its deposits in 30 of the 52 seats. The Party won two seats—and talk about majorities. The two winners received 36 per cent

of the vote. I would be ashamed to walk into the Chamber with only 36 per cent of the vote. I would say that it is only fair to have a recount and another election.

But do Hon. Members know what the Leader of the NDP in Nova Scotia said? She is now being thought of for national Leader. She said, guess what, it was a—

Some Hon. Members: Moral victory!

Mr. Crosby: We are not here for any moral victories. We won an electoral victory. We won it with policies that were intended to strengthen the economy of Canada. We are here to put those policies into operation and implement them for the benefit of all Canadians. We are not going to let Members opposite stand in the way.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Madam Speaker, perhaps I will be closing the debate if the Government will stop putting up speakers. Tonight we are reviewing the rules of the House of Commons, using procedures that were used in this House but only once in more than 100 years. Why has this House operated at almost an impasse in the last week? It is because I believe the Deputy Government House Leader and the Government have failed to recognize the importance of 300 years of British Parliamentary practice. During 121 years of Confederation we have developed British Parliamentary rules for this country, but the Government fails to recognize the importance of that tradition.

• (2350)

It is a fact of recent history that most governments in this country have not had a majority of support of the people of Canada. Yet they have managed to rule the country quite adequately.

There have been times when the Opposition did represent a majority of the country. Yet the Government proceeded through carefully and succeeded in getting a majority of the country to accept its particular proposals.

The Government seems to have forgotten examples provided by previous governments, both Conservative and Liberal. While a government may have had less than a majority, it persevered slowly and carefully, using the rules and recognizing the rights of both sides of the House and that all were attempting to represent their constituents. It eventually got its way in a manner that was accepted by the country because it used the democratic process.

Extension of Sittings

The process involved in this House is extremely important in holding the country together. This is disparate land of differing opinions from east to west, north and south. It is important that time be taken for the process to work. The Government and its Deputy House Leader, acting on behalf of the Government, failed miserably and totally this past week to follow those procedures and recognize their importance in the continuation of this country.

Whether it was the flag debate, the constitutional debate or the pipeline debate, governments of the day finally were forced to recognize that time was needed and healing must take place. Any Government which refused to learn that lesson was promptly defeated in the next election. That is what happened in the pipeline debate when the government absolutely refused to take the time necessary for the country to accept the proposition before it.

The issue before the country today is equally important. The Government did not clearly get a mandate. That has been discussed *ad nauseam* today and I will not go further into it. I am talking about the process and the ridiculous and unnecessary motion before us.

Government Members are well aware of the process involved with the Speech from the Throne. On the first day we hear the Speech from the Throne. The second day is normally devoted to the speeches given by the mover and seconder of the Speech from the Throne. As well, the Government usually presents its urgent legislation. Day three would have resulted in a leader's debate and day four, Thursday, would have been the beginning of the debate on Bill C-2. The Government would have been well into its agenda, but that was not good enough for the Government.

If it has learned anything about parliamentary procedure in this country, it will know that one makes haste slowly. It may be unhappy about the length of time consumed by following the proper procedure, but the fact is that it works. We have proved again that if it ignores the process it will not work.

The person who has thrown the roadblocks in front of this process all the way has been the Deputy Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis). No roadblocks were thrown in the way by Opposition Members because he threw them first. We did not have to erect roadblocks.

The Deputy Government House Leader insisted on attempting to speed the business by disrupting the process on the first day. He insisted on disrupting the process on day two, which prevented the leaders from making their speeches on the Speech from the Throne. How marvellous. It was not a moral victory on this side of the House, but one for the Deputy House Leader, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and all his backbenchers. What a great victory in stopping the two Opposition leaders making their speeches on the Speech from the Throne. What a great day for Parliament.

The Government claims that it knows how to manage but it cannot even manage the House of Commons. It purports to be able to manage the economy. It cannot make efficient use of time. It has wasted the time of the House.

The Government has continued to ignore the rules of the House, the lessons of history, the lessons of Parliament, and continued to display its ridiculous incompetence. At the same time it has made righteous speeches about trying to protect the country from the horrible Opposition.

We are only responding to their blatant attempts to break the rules and traditions of the House, and to change the Parliamentary process under which this country has operated for 121 years. What a stupid thing to do to this country.

At the same time that the Government House Leader has been putting roadblocks in the way of due process, he has been claiming that we must get on with the business of running the country. At no time during this debate has the Opposition indicated it was not willing to get on with it, given an opportunity. There was no opportunity for the usual Leader's debate, which is a long-held tradition. There was no opportunity to debate the legislation that the Government alleges it has called us back for. There was no preparation for a debate.

The Deputy Government House Leader threw enough roadblocks in the way of the House that even he could not extract us from it. We had to adjourn the House temporarily yesterday. It was the Opposition Parties, not the Government that got us out of that predicament. We eventually reached all-Party agreement to allow the two Opposition Leaders to begin debate on Thursday.

Extension of Sittings

This morning we came to the House prepared to work again. However, we were faced with this motion which, according to the Government, is meant to speed things along. While Members are ready to debate, we cannot do so because we must fight a motion that is almost unprecedented in the history of this House.

The Member for Halifax West (Mr. Crosby) demonstrates the attitude we have heard all week. He said: "We have the majority, we write the rules, and all you have to do is follow them". That completely rewrites more than 300 years of British parliamentary tradition. It is utter arrogance. It is complete stupidity. It is totally unacceptable to this Parliament.

● (2400)

I think this House, in the interests of maintaining that tradition of parliamentary control, should vote against the motion that is before us and the amendment to it. We should then be able to continue on with the normal parliamentary process which is much less hazardous than this and gets much more work done than this Government has been demonstrating it can do this week. I say let us have the vote. Let us revert to correct parliamentary process. Let us reject this motion and allow the House to function as the House was meant to function.

Mr. Peter L. McCreath (South Shore): Madam Speaker, my hon. friend opposite says that this debate is about the rules. This debate is about getting on with the business of Canada. That is what this Government has been attempting to do for some time.

In as much as this is the first time that I have risen to participate in debate in the House, I would beg your indulgence to allow me to compliment you on your appointment, Madam Speaker, and indeed your colleague, the Hon. Mr. Speaker, on his election. At the same time, I would like to pay tribute to the man who preceded me as the Hon. Member for South Shore, a man who served this Parliament, this country, and indeed Nova Scotia from June 10, 1957, until November 21, 1988, the Member of Parliament for South Shore for 31 years, five months, and 11 days, the Hon. Lloyd Crouse, PC.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McCreath: Lloyd Crouse served the House of Commons with great distinction for many years. He is a great Canadian. He is a very much beloved Nova Scotian. He is the most popular man on the South Shore, and that is a reputation that is much deserved.

I would like, if I may, also to thank the constituents of the South Shore who have elected me to represent them in Parliament and to assure them that I will do the best I can to do that effectively. That is why I wish to speak in this debate on the motion.

The people of the South Shore are people who like to get on with the business of life. They are people who like to see economic growth. They are people who are self-reliant. They are people who believe in getting on with the business of the day.

It is an historic time for those of us who are new Members to enter the Chamber and to participate in the debates of this House. What we have in the debate that is before us and in the business before the House this week is a logical follow-up to the economic growth and development that the Conservative Government has brought to our country during the course of the last four years.

This new agreement represents an opportunity and a challenge for Canadians. It strengthens our entrepreneurship, it strengthens our identity as Canadians, and it is a sign of the self-confidence that we have developed as a nation moving toward the twenty-first century.

This debate, as I said before, is about time. The time for talk has passed. We have had enough talk. The people of the South Shore have had enough talk. The people of Nova Scotia have had enough talk. The people of Canada have had enough talk.

Contrary to what I have heard from the other side of the House this evening, Canadians in my part of the country and, I suspect, right across this country are ready for Parliament to deal with this Bill so they can get on with the other business of Canada. Really and truly, what this debate is about are the perceptions that Canadians have about Canada.

Clearly, during the last few months Canadians have been presented with two alternatives to the approach to governing this country. One Party has offered positivism, an upbeat approach and confidence in the country and in our future. The alternative presented has been negativism, fear, and disconsolation. This governing Party is the Party that has offered positive leadership to the country, and that is why Canadians opted for this Government on November 21.

This Government is one that leads the way. I would like to say that the South Shore joined in supporting this Government. By electing the Progressive Conservative candidate, it chose to go along with positive leadership.

Extension of Sittings

The South Shore typifies the best of Canada. It is beautiful country. There is no riding in Canada more beautiful. There is no riding that has the beaches, the forests, and the hills that we have. It is a wonderful place to live, and I look forward to returning there very soon.

It is an area that has a wealth of resources, ocean resources, forests, fields and so forth. It is an area that has marvellous people. The 77,000 constituents whom I now represent are a self-reliant people. They are a hospitable people, as the Sikh refugees found out when they landed on the shores of Charlesville which is in the South Shore riding last year. They are a compassionate people as well as an optimistic people. They cherish their values. They are industrious and self-reliant.

We have on the South Shore in Nova Scotia a very proud history. We have a history of European settlement that goes back 350 years, and throughout that period our best times have always been the times when our trading links have been the strongest and the best with the people to the south in the United States. Many Nova Scotians share personal links with the New England area through their friends and relatives. I myself have a grandmother who came from New England of whom I am very proud.

The Free Trade Agreement will be good for Canada but it will be particularly good for Nova Scotia and for the South Shore. I was pleased to hear the previous speaker from this side, the Hon. Member for Halifax West (Mr. Crosby), make this point. I perhaps better than anyone in the House know what an outstanding Member and representative he has been here for the last decade, and I compliment him on his remarks.

Debate on this resolution is not waiting to take place. It has been taking place since the negotiations began in June of 1986. I suggest that Canadians want to get on with what they know will be a good deal for Canada.

Why will it be good? It will be good because of the access it will provide us to American markets. It will be good because of the impact and the benefit that will come from the gradual reduction of tariffs. It will be good because of the greater investment that will flow. Such investment has been so valuable to the Province of Nova Scotia as have the jobs it has created, including, for example, the 6,000 jobs that have been created through Michelin Tire plants and through Bowater and the various other industries that we have.

We will benefit from the dispute settlement mechanism that will address the problem that has been created by countervails put up against various products

over the years, and as Canadians we will all benefit from lower consumer prices. In 1986, \$2.1 billion was paid by Canadians in taxes to the United States through tariffs.

I would like to comment briefly on the impact that this legislation, getting on with it through this motion, will have that will benefit the people in the South Shore. By far our biggest industry is the fishery. South Shore is the biggest constituency in Canada in terms of the fishing industry. Approximately 60 per cent of the people of the South Shore are employed directly or indirectly in the fishing industry.

Fishing, of course, is a great industry for Canada, and the fishing industry must be represented as a valuable resource for all Canadians. Sixty per cent of Canadian fish are exported to the United States. Seventy-five per cent of Nova Scotia's fish exports go to the United States. In fact, 62 per cent of all fish caught by Nova Scotians end up going to the United States. That is one of the main reasons why this agreement is so important to us in the South Shore and is so potentially valuable to all Nova Scotians, and indeed to Canada.

All elements of our fishing industry will benefit from this agreement. Fishermen will benefit because there will be guaranteed access for the fish that they catch, and indeed the increased demands for Canadian fish will inevitably lead to better prices down the road. Our processing industry will benefit because of the reduction in tariffs and the jobs that will be created as a result.

I could not help but be amazed, as I went through the various fish plants in my constituency during the campaign, that there are over 200 fish plants in South Shore. In one area alone, Barrington Municipality, there are 110 fish plants. I went into most of them during the election campaign, including Bon Portage Fishery in Shag Harbour, for example, as well as those in Woods Harbour, Doctor's Cove, Bear Point, Clark's Harbour, Centreville, Southdale and Newellton.

Time and again I heard plant operators telling me that the Free Trade Agreement is important to them because it will mean an opportunity for expansion. It will be an opportunity to sell their fish, whether they are selling processed fish or saltfish or more cooked fish. In any case, all of them were looking forward to the opportunities that this agreement presented to them.

I was amazed when I walked into fish plants and heard plant operators saying to me: "I have been a Liberal all my life, but for the first time I am going to vote Conservative because there is no way I can vote against this agreement because it is so good for our industry and so good for our products".

Extension of Sittings

● (0010)

One of the greatest fears that fishermen in Nova Scotia have had for many years is that Americans will get the right to come back and fish on the Canadian side of Georges Bank again. The fact that we have reached this agreement which gives us access to American markets without giving them access back to the Canadian side of Georges Bank is probably the single most important thing we get from this agreement that will benefit the fishery in the South Shore. That is probably the main reason why Senator George Mitchell of Maine so vigorously opposed this agreement at all stages. We do not very often hear about him in Upper Canada.

The reduction of tariffs will mean the creation of jobs for Nova Scotians. We look to the creation of anywhere between 300 and 500 new jobs over the next four or five years. National Sea Products alone estimates that it will mean 200 jobs in its various plants in the South Shore. Clearwater talked about another 100 jobs and, as I mentioned earlier, many other fish plants see possibilities. Because of the growing demand for fish sticks and consumer ready-cooked dinners, this will mean job opportunities and expansion for Nova Scotians.

The dispute settlement mechanism will prevent some of the phoney claims that are presented in courts and will quickly lead to a resolution of others. There was a lot of talk about social programs and a real effort made in Nova Scotia to terrorize fishermen into thinking they would lose their unemployment insurance because of this free trade deal. That is nothing but bafflegab. Thank goodness the people recognized it and elected a Conservative Member to represent them, because it indicated their support of the agreement.

The United States Commerce Department already in 1987, said what the score was with respect to UIC when a countervail was brought against Atlantic ground-fish. The U.S. Department of Commerce threw that claim out and said, of course, Canadian unemployment insurance is not a subsidy because it is universally available.

Much talk was directed to our social programs throughout the campaign. It scared a lot of people in the South Shore. I found it very distressing to go into senior citizens homes to find people who were terrorized into believing that their senior citizens assistance or their pensions and so on would be affected.

Nothing in this agreement whatever imperils social programs that are so much a part of Canadian life and

are so important to Canadians. That matter was never on the table. That would never be put on the table by a Tory Government and no government that I am a part of, and I am proud to be a part of this Government, will ever have any part of impairing in any way things like medicare and unemployment insurance that are so important to Canadians.

The real protection for social programs comes from a strong economy. It comes from having an economy that will grow and generate more revenue for the Government of Canada. That in the long run will give the Government more money to improve the quality of social programs. That is what the people in the South Shore are in favour of. I could go on at some length about the fishery but I am not sure you really want to hear me, Madam Speaker.

I do want to mention two or three other things. Forestry is a major industry in Nova Scotia, particularly in the South Shore. We have one industry, Bowaters, Mersey and Liverpool, that employs close to 1,000 people. Eighty per cent of the product of that plant goes to the United States. It recognizes the value of the free trade agreement.

We have in Nova Scotia a \$50 million Christmas tree industry that employs 3,500 people; 70 per cent of them are in the South Shore. If this agreement did not go through, the U.S. developing Christmas tree industry in New England would be looking to put tariffs up again that would destroy that Christmas tree industry. It is not something we want to see happening. My opponent during the election campaign suggested that we should develop new markets in Asia for our products. I can see selling Christmas trees in Hong Kong, Singapore or Thailand.

We have a Michelin Tire plant that employs 1,500 people. Michelin in Nova Scotia employs 6,000 people, and 95 per cent of its products go to the United States. Michelin is looking at expansion that will create several hundred more jobs because the agreement is going through.

I can talk about ABCO and Lunenburg. I could talk about ABCO plastics in Mahone Bay. I could talk about the beef and pork producers who would be exempted from meat import laws and look forward to new marketing opportunities. I could talk about culture. There is nothing in this agreement that imperils Canadian culture. Canadian culture has never been so strong.

We as Nova Scotians have a sense of our identity. Newfoundlanders have a sense of their identity. I saw the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) earlier. I am sure the Mennonites in Manitoba have a sense of who they are, and the Ukrainians have a sense of who they are, and on and on. We as Canadians have a very proud sense of who we are. We have confidence in who we are.

One could talk about sovereignty. If we are imperilled in our sovereignty going into this agreement, goodness gracious how has Luxembourg survived in the European Economic Community over the last several years?

I could go on, but the hour is late and I will draw to a conclusion. It is very clear what we are here to talk about. We are here to talk about getting on with the business of Canada. We are here to choose between a Government that offers strength, confidence and optimism in the future of Canada, and an Opposition that offers timidity, weakness, fear and pessimism.

Canadians chose Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Government because they opted for leadership that will develop this country in the 21st century. We are not here to stifle debate. The debate has gone on. When we get home this weekend Members will find out that Canadians do not want to hear the free trade debate anymore. They want us to get on with this legislation, get on with the business of Canada.

I am proud and I will be proud on behalf of the South Shore not only to vote in support of this motion but to vote in support of Bill C-2 when it comes before the House.

Mr. Bob Kilger (Stormont—Dundas): Madam Speaker, I am honoured to be able to make my first speech in this Chamber especially on an issue which is of such importance to Canada and to the people of Stormont—Dundas. I represent a riding which has both a rural and an urban mix. I can tell you that whether or not my constituents are from Cornwall or from some small town in Dundas county, people showed on the night of November 21, just how they felt about free trade.

There are farmers in my riding who fear how free trade will affect their livelihood, how it will affect supply management and how their markets may erode before their very eyes.

In my riding I have several large food processing plants. We were told before the election by the major food processing companies themselves that they will

relocate in the United States if free trade comes into effect. If they do, and this exodus includes those plants in my riding, then the economic tragedy to those workers and to the riding will be substantial.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the electorate of Stormont—Dundas who put their faith in me as their representative in the House of Commons.

[*Translation*]

I shall do all I can to maintain their trust and to represent them to the best of my ability here in this House.

I was elected because the good people of Stormont—Dundas lost confidence in the Conservative Government, but I also believe they elected me because they did not agree with and did not trust the free trade deal proposed by the Conservative Government.

[*English*]

They did not approve of this deal because of fear but because they felt the deal was inadequate. I certainly agree with their assessment. As the representative of Stormont—Dundas and as a Canadian I strongly disagree with the free trade deal. I cannot let the concerns of my constituents be ignored and I cannot let this debate go by without registering their concerns in this House. I take much pleasure and pride in speaking tonight in this debate, but the seriousness of this issue must not be lost.

The unemployment figures in Cornwall are already high. As well, Cornwall ranked ninety-ninth out of 100 Canadian cities in terms of income. The free trade deal will, I believe, only add to the economic woes of Stormont—Dundas. We cannot afford plant closures in Stormont—Dundas. We cannot afford the destruction of the family farm and we cannot afford the elimination of small businesses, Canadian small businesses.

• (0020)

The electors of Stormont—Dundas cannot afford the free trade deal. The voters in my riding, like many others in eastern Ontario, showed that they cannot afford to put their future in the hands of the Conservatives.

I will monitor the factories and businesses in my riding. I will monitor the agricultural and agri-food industries, and I will monitor the textile plants. I will not tell my constituents how sorry I am that they face layoffs and dismissals. I will tell them that they can lay the blame at the feet of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

Extension of Sittings

Mr. McDermid: Will you give the praise to him when the new plants come in?

Mr. Kilger: I say to the Hon. Minister of Housing that, yes, I would look forward to the day that I could stand in this Chamber and tell him and his colleagues that the trade deal has brought the prosperity that we would look forward to in Stormont—Dundas. I look forward to that day.

Mr. Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): Try today.

Mr. Kilger: Should it not come, I will rise and we shall reopen that same discussion.

Mr. Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): How about today?

Mr. Kilger: Today, I have no reason to give that credit until you are worthy of it.

I will tell them to lay it at the feet of the Prime Minister, a Prime Minister who by this deal shows how little concern he has for Canadians.

The Government has been slow to tell Canadians how those who will be adversely affected by free trade will be looked after. I for one see this as another example of the Conservatives' lack of concern for the people of Canada. I am appalled that the Government is content to put through free trade without considering the negative impact that it will have on many Canadian workers and their families. The Government is merely intent upon implementing a trade deal. Why should it give any consideration to those who will feel the agony from its actions? The Prime Minister called for a healing in the country. I believe that the Prime Minister is the one who requires healing.

I implore the Government to reconsider its naive actions and cancel this deal. It has received no mandate to inflict pain on Canadians. It has a mandate to provide good government, not government for those individuals the Government perceives to be good.

In conclusion, I would like to congratulate members of my Party who were re-elected to the House. I especially would like to congratulate my colleagues who are new Members. Those Members represent ridings whose voters could not support free trade, and their voices can now be added to those of many other Canadians. I hope that the Government is prepared to listen.

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Madam Speaker, I am pleased to have an opportunity to participate in this debate to speak against the motion and against the amendment. There are many Canadians watching who

are interested in this debate who know that the Tories and their big business friends bought their way back to government. We still do not know how much big business threw into the coffers in buying newspaper ads in my riding, and in many others, who bought radio ads, who bought TV ads, and porked all the money over to the Tories to buy their way back into government.

However, let me spend a moment on the motion before the House and what has gone on during this week. Since 1913, this is the first time we have seen a government come before the House and attempt to move closure before a debate had even begun. There are many Canadians who understand what type of a jackboot Government has been re-elected.

The rules under which we operate have been in place since 1883, untouched. The Government comes in and hoists the Standing Orders, and hoists our opportunities to have the minority voices of Canada heard in the House. The first thing the Government does is try to dispose of those. Of course, we have the Government House Leader (Mr. Lewis) who requires the assistance of the two opposition Parties even to get his motion before the House so that he can carry on the debate before the House today.

Let me digress for a moment and deal with the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans (Mr. Siddon) and the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) on fish, because we see the type of deals involved. We know how the Government gave away on drug legislation. It gave it over to the United States. It got rid of generic drugs in Canada and made all Canadian consumers pay higher prices, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars a year. That was just one of the little cards that the Government handed over to the United States. There is also the film industry, and many other things.

I am glad to see that the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) is present. I remember his remarks when he was in British Columbia and the fishing industry asked him about that industry. What did he have to say? "Oh, sorry, you guys lost. You were sold out in the negotiations". Who is protected under Article 1203 supposedly? Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia—

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): That is false, Jim.

Mr. Fulton: He is trying to stand up for it now.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Tell the truth, Jim.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Fulton: The five Maritime provinces think they are protected. The Minister for International Trade sent off these cozy little letters.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Try a novelty, Mr. Fulton. Try the truth.

Mr. Fulton: The Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) is a little tender about this.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): I am tender about the truth.

Mr. Fulton: They are trying to sell out our fishing industry, our herring and salmon industry which is worth \$750 million a year. They will try and sell it out on Monday and Tuesday of next week in Washington. Peter Murphy is the negotiator for the United States. We are sending down Howie Wilson. What is he going down with?

Cabinet yesterday decided for British Columbia that landing requirements are all that are required for British Columbia for our herring and salmon—no grading requirements, and no evisceration requirements. If we do not have a right to gut fish in British Columbia, what type of a government have we got over there? They are giving the whole thing away. They are gutless, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and the whole works. What are they doing over the weekend? They are bringing Mr. McRae back from France and getting everyone together over in Hull to have a summit meeting.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Tell the truth, Jim. Try the truth.

Mr. Fulton: They are going to decide that we are going to have A sockeye and B sockeye. We are going to have dark chums, and we are going to have this, and we are going to have that. They think that they are going to have it ready by Monday to take down to Washington. I know what Peter Murphy is going to say. The Minister for International Trade has said to Howie to go down there. "Don't worry, there is no herring fishery until March, but offer Peter Murphy the opportunity to negotiate with Canada with a December 19 deadline." Why is there this short deadline?

The Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) receives a call from Brian Peckford. He receives calls from the East Coast. They say that they are worried about the fishing industry and do not want any retaliatory action against the east coast fisheries. "Give away the West Coast." We know that the Government gave away the West Coast fishing industry during the negotiations on the Free Trade Agreement. Why were the B.C.

regulations not protected? We know that Mr. Vander Zalm did not do anything. He finally sent a letter today to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). He said: "We want full regulations. We want landing requirements. We want grading requirements. We want evisceration." A deathbed repentance by Mr. Vander Zalm.

An Hon. Member: He supported free trade.

Mr. Fulton: That is right. He is a big supporter of the Free Trade Agreement, like Mr. Bourassa. Five Liberal Premiers favour it and four are opposed. We are starting to get the swing of things here. Mr. Vander Zalm comes in right at the tail end.

Let me come back to what they are doing over the weekend. They are working on the grading regulations. They are saying that Cabinet is going to claim just landing requirements for British Columbia. We will designate certain places where chum, sockeye and spring—things that the Secretary of State would not even know about—are going to have to be landed in certain places, but no grading requirements, no evisceration requirements. This week in the House I stated to the Minister of Fisheries that GATT countries like Great Britain and many other countries have import controls—

Mr. McDermid: Import.

Mr. Fulton:—GATT consistent on graded fish and eviscerated fish from British Columbia. They have to be graded and eviscerated to get into Great Britain.

• (0030)

And what does the Minister for International Trade say? "Oh, the U.S. doesn't want B.C. to have grading, or evisceration requirements. We will get rid of those."

An Hon. Member: It is the same as with the GATT.

Mr. Fulton: It is just another trade-off to the United States, Madam Speaker.

Well, let us take a look at what the implications are. It means that offshore buyers will be able to come into Canada and buy our fish, and they will be able to gut them and can them, and short freeze and ship them to markets all over the world.

One has to ask oneself why it is that B.C.'s fishing industry is known around the world as number one; why it is that B.C. fish products are number one around the world. Well, it is because we have in place comprehensive quality of product controls. It is because we in British Columbia, unlike the U.S., understand stock management and stock conservation.

Extension of Sittings

We heard the Hon. Member for South Shore (Mr. McCreath) talking about the Georges Bank decision. That is a decision that was made by the World Court. My friend the Secretary of State for External Affairs has told me to my face that this Government would like to negotiate 54/40, the AB Line, the fixed entrance.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: He wants to negotiate that with the U.S.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Tell the truth, Jim.

Mr. Fulton: It is a preposterous proposal.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: Here we have the richest fishing grounds in the whole of Canada, and they want to give it away.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): If you are going to quote me, tell the truth.

Mr. Fulton: The Secretary of State for External Affairs says that what I say is not true. He said it to my face. We have heard similar kinds of statements from the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). The Prime Minister, on Wednesday, said to my friend from Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett): “Oh well, there will be an interim report on Friday. You will see it on Friday. Don’t worry about a thing.”

An Hon. Member: It is now 12.30 a.m. on Saturday morning, and we have not seen a thing.

An Hon. Member: Tell the truth, Jim.

An Hon. Member: We have waited until 1 a.m., and still nothing.

Mr. Fulton: They had a little meeting. A couple of Ministers got together with Jean de Grandpré, who has stepped down from his \$1 million a year job at Bell Canada to head up the blue ribbon committee to look at the impact on displaced workers.

Let us look at what the U.S. Congress has done. There they have insisted upon 60-day notice of plant closures for any plant with more than 200 workers. The U.S. Congress considers that to be a good idea.

This Government has had two and one half years in which to put into place retraining and assistance programs for displaced workers, and it has done nothing.

All we hear about are interim programs, interim studies, and final studies.

We have to wait until next May or June before we find out what this Government is going to do. It is absolutely preposterous!

What has this Government done for the displaced workers at Gillette, for the displaced workers at Catelli, for the displaced workers at Northern Telecom? Nothing. And what is it doing in relation to the B.C. fishing industry? Nothing. It will be giving it away on Monday and Tuesday. Mark my words. Here we have Howie Wilson—who is a nice guy and an excellent public servant, going down to Washington with a full set of regulations in hand to deal with Peter Murphy—and in the person of Peter Murphy we do not exactly have your naive “short pants” negotiator.

Howie Wilson will arrive in Washington and present the landing requirements for B.C. to Peter Murphy. It will be a case of Howie saying: “Oh, oh, Mr. Murphy, here are the landing requirements for B.C.”

There is no exemption under Article 1203. There is no protection there. And when British Columbia falls, Newfoundland falls, Prince Edward Island falls, New Brunswick falls, Nova Scotia falls, and Quebec falls. Those fishing regulations aren’t worth salt. Read Article 1205.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Tell the truth, Jim. For a change, try telling the truth.

Mr. Fulton: The Secretary of State for External Affairs has never even read Article 1205.

Let me deal now with forestry. We have heard a lot of drivel from the other side of the House. I remember only too well the former Member for Vancouver Centre, the past Minister for International Trade, going down to Washington to deal with the U.S. on a countervail action in respect of softwood lumber—and this at a time when there was absolutely no reason whatsoever to even deal with the U.S. on that countervail action. Canada had been found absolutely innocent. There was no need to change any forest policy, any stumpage policy in any province or the territories of Canada.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): What dishonesty; what rampant dishonesty.

Mr. Fulton: There was no need for any change in U.S. or Canadian law.

An Hon. Member: Tell the truth, Fulton!

Mr. Fulton: We send down to Washington a Minister with no backbone whatsoever. And what do we get?—“Oh, oh, I am going to make a one-time only 10 per cent offer.”

The Americans go: “This is incredible.” And that is precisely what Murphy is going to say next week in respect of fish. These idiots go down to Washington and offer to give away a \$750 million herring and salmon industry.

They will not get away with it in so far as British Columbia is concerned. I have already told the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) that if they do that, the Minister of Fisheries will be crabmeat in British Columbia. And his reply was: “So what.”

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Fulton: Well, while he may not like the Minister—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Fulton: Well, Madam Speaker, we in British Columbia are simply not going to accept that kind of giveaway. But let me finish my point on forestry. The Minister for International Trade in the last Parliament goes down to Washington and says: “Oh, oh, I will make this 10 per cent one-time only offer.” And the Americans go back to their offices and they belly laugh until they are almost sick. They are laughing. They are going: “Oh, oh, oh; this is really incredible. These Canadians are incredible. They want to tax themselves.”

So, they say: “Listen, Madam Carney, you slap it on at 15 per cent, and we will be your pals.” She comes back and gathers this magnificent Cabinet together and they say: “Oh, Pat, 15 per cent! We are only going to tax ourselves to the tune of \$650 million a year. That’s great. That’s great.”

Who are these people, Madam Speaker! They are giving away the country. They have given away our pharmaceutical industry; they have given away our film industry. These are the same people who tell us that we need not worry about our social programs. These are the same people who gave away our largest industry, our

Extension of Sittings

forestry industry, an industry that, directly and indirectly, employs one million Canadians.

Look at what they are doing to B.C. Look at what the Auditor General has had to say.

I am glad to see the Minister of State for Forestry (Mr. Merrithew) in his seat. Not a single contract under FERDA is being properly administered.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: NSR is growing in the whole country.

Some Hon. Members: What a mess!

Mr. Fulton: Our forestry lands are not being satisfactorily restocked. Our forests are being overcut. Everyone in the country knows it.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: Bill Vander Zalm replaces the 15 per cent countervail with a \$800 million stumpage fee increase per year. Yet, he does not put one thin dime back into reforestation.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: The Tories condemned the Liberals for putting less than 10 cents on the dollar back into reforestation. Yet here we have the Tories putting less than nine cents out of every dollar back into reforestation in this country.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Fulton: It is absolutely shameless what is going on. And let us talk about shakes and shingles for a few moments—

An Hon. Member: Shake them up, colleague.

Mr. Fulton: We have to get right down to it. I was speaking earlier this evening to a person who is very knowledgeable about the shakes and shingle industry, an individual by the name of Mary who lives in Point Grey in Vancouver. She has a great deal of knowledge about the shakes and shingles industry.

We had a 35 per cent countervail imposed on shakes and shingles, without any legal basis whatsoever. And what does this Government do? “Oh”, it cries; “Oh, oh, oh”. We had thousands of workers put out of work. And then this Government said to the U.S.: “Oh, oh, take it off.” And then they say: “Don’t worry. Had the free trade deal been in place, this never would have happened. And once it is in place, it will disappear.”

Extension of Sittings

And what does President Reagan do? The Canadian dollar, between 1986 and 1988, increased in value by 17 per cent vis-à-vis the U.S. dollar, and President Reagan drops the countervail to 20 per cent. "Oh, thanks, President Reagan; thanks."

Once you add on the 17 per cent increase in the Canadian dollar, the countervail amounts to 37 per cent. It is worse now than it was in 1986! It is worse now!

These guys are absolutely incredible! Absolutely incredible.

An Hon. Member: And they negotiated a free trade deal.

Mr. Fulton: The Hon. Member for South Shore (Mr. McCreath) made his first speech in this place this evening, and I do not intend to be too hard on him. He talked about a disputes settlement mechanism.

That was the Prime Minister's (Mr. Mulroney) bottom line—a binding disputes settlement mechanism. We were told that if we do not get that, there would be no deal signed.

There is no binding disputes settlement mechanism in this deal. There is diddly squat in the deal, Madam Speaker. Anyone who can read, anyone who knows about fish, anyone who knows about forestry, anyone who knows about agriculture, about manufacturing, knows the difficulty we are in.

And what about plywood? What happened this week about plywood? "Oh, Canadian knots are too big. Ooooh!"

Some Hon. Members: Ho, ho, ho! It must be Christmas time.

Mr. Fulton: Canadian knots are too big. "Oh!"

Let me tell you a story, Madam Speaker. You need to hear a story. We took a Canadian two-by-four. We have what is known as SPF No. one, a product made in my constituency—

An Hon. Member: It probably fell on your head.

Mr. Fulton: We took that two-by-four to a meeting in Washington, an eight footer, and we picked up an American southern yellow pine two-by-four and carried out an experiment on the two.

Well, Madam Speaker, as you can see, I am not very big. I weigh 100 kilos. I went metric some time ago in an effort to keep my weight down. Yet, with a mild swipe

of my hand I was able to break that American southern yellow pine two-by-four. No problem.

An Hon. Member: I have news for you, it would not work on the Canadian two-by-four.

Mr. Fulton: I am coming to that. A good solid Canadian two-by-four, whether produced in the riding of the Hon. Member for Thunder Bay—Atikokan (Mr. Angus) or on Vancouver Island, or in the interior of B.C., or in my own great riding of Skeena, there is no man or no woman in this country who could break that two-by-four; not in any way, shape or form. "Oh!" What do the Americans—

Some Hon. Members: Ho, ho, ho!

● (0040)

Mr. Fulton: So what do the Americans do? They say we cannot compete with you. That is what they say in every industry.

Mr. Kempling: What is the punch line?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Fulton: Our workers and our mills are more productive. Do you know what they are doing now on shakes and shingles? They are keeping the 20 per cent on in order to allow the roofing industry to figure out ways to replace our shakes and shingles. If we are beating them on anything they slap on a tariff.

The Tories do not seem to understand that. They claim we are trading to the marketplace. Those guys cannot run a popcorn stand. They really cannot.

Mr. McDermid: But guess who got re-elected!

Mr. Fulton: Oh!

Mr. McDermid: The little red rump is still in the same place.

Mr. Fulton: I knew they would come around again.

Mr. McDermid: A moral victory! We know, we know.

Mr. Fulton: We know who put them in. Who paid for all the big ads?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Kempling: The unions.

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Bob White.

Mr. McDermid: Shirley Carr.

Extension of Sittings

Mr. Fulton: Oh, the unions paid for the Tories' ads?

Let me deal with a few other things. The Tories say the Americans are so progressive on social programs. Some 40 million Americans have no medical coverage of any kind, and 20 million of them are children.

Mr. McDermid: A terrible shame.

Mr. Fulton: The Minister of Housing says in a humorous way, oh, isn't that terrible?

Mr. McDermid: Do not impute motives, my friend.

Mr. Fulton: It is unfortunate for anyone who actually goes into a constituency and knows what the real impact of poverty is, who knows what the impact of being out of work for a long time is. That is a Government that forgets in the countervail case against east coast fish that unemployment insurance was found as a counter-available subsidy.

Some Hon. Members: No way!

An Hon. Member: The Commerce Department threw it out.

Mr. McDermid: And you know it. Now, tell the truth.

Mr. Fulton: It was found as a countervailable subsidy.

Some Hon. Members: It was thrown out.

Mr. Fulton: Let us talk about a few other things.

Mr. McDermid: Yes, get off that one because you are not telling the truth.

Mr. Fulton: They do not like to hear the truth.

What about the Maquiladora zone? There are 150,000 Mexican men and women working there for \$6.25 Canadian a day. Some of the products they are making will find their way into the Canadian market.

What about the 12 States with no minimum wage? What about the nine States with a minimum wage below \$3 Canadian an hour? Those Tories are trying to tell workers over here in Aylmer, in Belleville, in Arnprior, out in British Columbia, in Alberta, Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the Maritimes: "Do not worry, we will lower our wages and get rid of our social programs." It is Canadian companies that will bring pressure to get rid of social programs, not just American companies.

This deal is stupid. It cannot be described as anything else. The bottom line that the Prime Minister wanted, a binding dispute settlement mechanism, is not there. We know what the Secretary of State had to say about the

Free Trade Agreement. We know what the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) had to say. We know what the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) had to say.

Some Hon. Members: Time!

Mr. Fulton: They were all opposed to a Free Trade Agreement because they all said "if it affects our sovereignty, we will have none of it." It does affect our sovereignty, and we will have none of it!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Madam Speaker, I appreciate having an opportunity to close this debate on the motion before the House. It is important that those watching us are reminded of what we are debating tonight.

We are debating something very straightforward, but the first point made by the Members opposite is that the Government is hijacking the rules of this House. They say we are doing that because we want to get legislation passed without the rules of the House. That is simply not correct.

The fact is that it is only within the rules that any government can get any temporary changes such as we have in this motion. It is a very restricted motion with respect to time and the issue it covers. It is done under the rules. In fact, it is so clear it is within the rules that the matter was put before the Chair for a ruling. The Chair clearly ruled that we were within the rules and the Government was sustained in the position it took.

There has not been any hijacking of the rules. There has not been any changing of the rules. It has been done within the rules, and I think that is the first point people listening should be aware of.

What we are discussing now is simply the amount of time for debate and we will decide in about 15 minutes time not only to confirm the rightness of the Speaker's decision, but to sustain the rights of the majority in this House.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): You do not vote on Speakers' rulings. You are 20 years out of date.

Mr. Epp: The second point is also interesting. It concerns the matter of a mandate. We have heard a lot during this debate about the Government not having a mandate or the moral right to bring forward free trade legislation. Let us look at that position.

Extension of Sittings

First of all we have a parliamentary system. That is interesting to note because Members opposite have been arguing both sides of the issue at the same time. On the one hand they talk about the traditions and practices of the British parliamentary system. That system is based on majority government. It is based on the ability of any government, majority or minority, as long as it enjoys majority support, to put forward its legislation. If it is sustained in its legislation, it continues to govern. If not, someone else governs or an election is called. That is the parliamentary system.

Members opposite say this is a hijacking and it would never happen in Britain. If they look at the rules in the British House they will see they have a method of determining how much time will be spent on each piece of legislation. It is pre-determined even before they debate the legislation. Here they are trying to say on the one hand this is a violation of the system, but they should go back and look at the rules in that system right now.

There is an even more interesting point. They said we did not have a referendum. Well, we do not have a referendum system. We have the British parliamentary system which is very clear. If a prime minister, such as ours, has the support of the majority of Members in the House, he has the ability and the right to put forward legislation and the right to expect it will eventually be voted on and determined by the House. That is what we are asking in this motion.

The Opposition talk about a mandate. They say we do not have 50 per cent of the votes cast so we do not have a mandate. Obviously if that were so this Party would not have a mandate after the 1988 election. What about 1984? Then with the largest majority in the history of Canada, our Party did not have in a technical sense a mandate. It had 49.9 per cent of the popular votes cast. In fact, we have to go back to 1940 to find a Party which formed the government and which had more than 50 per cent of the votes cast. I guess it was only in 1940 that that government had a mandate to do anything.

● (0050)

Let us take a look at what happened in 1972. In 1972, a number of us came into the House. It was a minority government. There was a difference of two seats. What happened? The NDP with the smallest number of Members in the House every day was demanding another deal behind the curtain. They had no mandate.

They had no position. In fact, it was an incestuous relationship.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: In fact, the symbiotic relationship was so close that under any other terms it would have been covered by the pornography laws.

Liberals did not have a mandate. Yet what did they do? During that period of time they brought in the National Energy Program. They brought in price and wage controls. They repatriated the Constitution. They changed the Constitution. They did all those things. And not at one time did they have above 50 per cent of the votes cast. What kind of poppycock are they trying to throw out on the floor of the House of Commons?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Let us take a look at another point. It is rather interesting. I know that I cannot put hold up displays in the House so I will not do it.

What is interesting to note is what happened to the individual Members in terms of the number of votes cast in the last election. Did they have 50 per cent of the votes cast? Do they have a personal mandate? Let us take a look at the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner). Let us look at the riding of Vancouver Quadra in British Columbia. The numbers might not be totally accurate after an official count but they are so close that they still make my point very valid.

John Turner had 20,704 votes. Bill Clarke received 14,235 votes. Gerry Scott received 10,304. I could go on. There were over 24,000 votes for the last two. Mr. Turner received less than 50 per cent. Does he have a mandate?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Epp: What kind of mandate does he have? That has been the argument of Members opposite. The point is very clear. On the one hand they argue that if one does not have 50 per cent of the votes cast then one does not have a mandate. But on the other hand they are saying that the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) does have a mandate. They should get their act together.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Let us take a look at the Leader—

Mr. Keyes: Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of order. As a new Member I am not too clear on this point. I thought that we were not supposed to refer to Members by their first names. Is that not so?

Extension of Sittings

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): It is not a common practice for Hon. Members to refer to other Members by their names. They are normally referred to by title or by the name of their riding. Even though the Hon. Minister was quoting he should have found a way to express himself differently. I think that he knows that. I thank the Hon. Member. The Hon. Minister has the floor.

Mr. Epp: Madam Speaker, if Members opposite do not want me to use the name of their Leader then I will not.

What about the Leader of the NDP (Mr. Broadbent)? Let us take a look at that person. I will not use that Leader's name.

The Leader of the NDP won the vote in Oshawa—and, no, it was not Bob White. Nor was it Shirley Carr. This unnamed Member received 18,410 votes. Nancy McLean received 14,040 votes.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Epp: Ed White, the Liberal candidate, received 8,379 votes. The Leader of the NDP does not have a majority either. He has no mandate to speak.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Let us take a look at the great riding of Charlevoix.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!!

Mr. Epp: I am sorry that I cannot name the Leader of the Government, my Leader and the Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party (Mr. Mulroney). We all know who he is.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: It says on what I have in my hand that Brian Mulroney received 33,729 votes. The Liberal candidate received 5,983 votes.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Epp: The NDP candidate received 1,829 votes.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Epp: The Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party has a mandate.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: He received 81 per cent of the votes cast—now that is a mandate!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Thus the Leader of the Government decided to let the people decide. That is what the Leader of the Opposition said. How many times before the election was called on October 1, did he say: "Let the people decide"? He would stand and say passionately: "Let the

people decide". Would somebody please tell that slow learner that the people have decided?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Madam Speaker, I must tell you this. During the election campaign from time to time I had to go to various places. Twice I met the Leader—no, she is not the Leader of the NDP yet, she is just working on it—Shirley Carr. It was interesting to watch her. She went across the country wearing a huge orange button. It stated: "This time, Ed". Every time I would see her she would be wearing this button. I saw her the other day. She is not wearing the button any more. There might be a reason for it. The reason I take it is that Bob White said to Shirley: "This time, Bob". Probably Shirley has said: "No, this time, Shirley".

I ask members of the NDP what has happened to your campaign? What happened when they said that there should only be two Parties? Does that mean that they are going to leave after this day? Does it mean that they have no mandate whatsoever, or now because they are number three they will not only have to try harder, they will have to look first to see whether or not they have any credibility?

What is the position of those Hon. Members? Where is their power? They went across the country making all types of statements and yet the people did not sustain them. That is why the Member from Selkirk (Mr. Bjornson) is here. He defeated Howard Pawley. That is why long-standing Members who were in the House are not opposite any more. It is because the people did not give them the mandate; they gave the mandate to the Leader of this Government.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: Madam Speaker, if you really get down to the bottom line tonight we see that there is another problem that they have. From time to time I must admit, although I am not very pleased to do it, that sometimes we ran into a similar problem in opposition. Members opposite have become prisoners of their own rhetoric. On the one hand they said: "Let the people decide", and when the people decided, they did not like that. On the other hand they said: "We will fight them in the House of Commons. We will fight them on Main Street. We will fight them on the beaches". That is where they all want to go—to the beaches. I say to them, what you really want is for the Government to pass this motion. You want the Government to pass free trade so that you can go home and whine and cry, saying that you could not do anything about it but you sure put up a good fight. That is what you really want to do.

Extension of Sittings

● (0100)

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Epp: It is time to put forward the rules so this House can in fact pass the legislation for which the people have given the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) a mandate. It is time to get on with that deal and time to pass the Free Trade Agreement. We have done that once before in the House. We will do it again. We will do it, starting now.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Pursuant to Standing Order 57, it is my duty to interrupt proceedings and to put to a vote forthwith all questions necessary to dispose of the amendment and the main motion now before the House.

[*English*]

The question is on the amendment standing in the name of the Hon. Member for Calgary West (Mr. Hawkes). Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the amendment?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): All those in favour of the amendment will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five members having risen:

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Call in the Members.

The House divided on the amendment (Mr. Hawkes), which was agreed to on the following division:

● (0110)

(*Division No. 8*)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Fretz	Mitges
Andre	Friesen	Monteith
Atkinson	Gibeau	Moore
Attewell	Gray	Mulroney
Beatty	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Nicholson
Belsher	la-Madeleine)	Oberle
Bernier	Greene	O'Brien
Bird	Guilbault	Plamondon
Bjornson	Gustafson	Plourde
Blackburn	Halliday	Porter
(Jonquière)	Harvey	Pronovost
Blais	(Chicoutimi)	Redway
Bouchard	Hawkes	Reid
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Hicks	Reimer
Bourgault	Hockin	Ricard
Boyer	Hogue	Richardson
Brightwell	Horner	Robitaille
Browes	Horning	Roy-Arcelin
Campbell	Hudon	Schneider
(Vancouver Centre)	Hughes	Scott
Cardiff	Jacques	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Casey	James	Shields
Chadwick	Jelinek	Sobeski
Champagne	Johnson	Sparrow
(Champlain)	Joncas	St-Julien
Chartrand	Jourdenais	Stevenson
Clark	Kempling	Tardif
(Yellowhead)	Kindy	Tétreault
Clark	Koury	Thacker
(Brandon—Souris)	Landry	Thompson
Clifford	Langlois	Tremblay
Cole	Larivière	(Rosemont)
Collins	Layton	Tremblay
Cook	Leblanc	(Québec-Est)
Cooper	(Longueuil)	Turner
Corbeil	Lewis	(Halton—Peel)
Corbett	Littlechild	Valcourt
Côté	Loiselle	Van de Walle
Couture	Lopez	Vankoughnet
Crosby	MacDonald	Venne
(Halifax West)	(Rosedale)	Vien
Darling	MacDougall	Vincent
DeBlois	(Timiskaming)	Weiner
de Cotret	MacKay	White
Della Noce	Malone	Wilbee
Desjardins	Marin	Wilson
Dick	Martin	(Swift Current—Maple
Dobbie	(Lincoln)	Creek)
Domm	Masse	Wilson
Dorin	Mayer	(Etobicoke Centre)
Duplessis	Mazankowski	Winegard
Edwards	McCreath	Worthy—144
Epp	McDermid	
Fee	McDougall	
Feltham	(St. Paul's)	
Ferland	McKnight	
Fontaine	McLean	

NAYS

Members

Althouse	Gauthier	McLaughlin
Anawak	Gray	Mifflin
Angus	(Windsor West)	Milliken
Assad	Guarnieri	Mitchell
Barrett	Harvey	Nault
Bellemare	(Edmonton East)	Prud'homme
Benjamin	Karpoff	Riis
Black	Keys	Skelly
Blondin	Kilger	(Comox—Alberni)
Boudria	(Stormont—Dundas)	Stewart
Brewin	Kristiansen	Stupich—36
Catterall	LeBlanc	
Copps	(Cape Breton High-	
Duhamel	lands—	
Fulton	Canso)	
Gardiner	Manley	

● (0120)

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I declare the amendment carried.

The next question is on the main motion, as amended. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion as amended?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Riis: Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I wonder if, in the spirit of this Christmas season, we could apply the last vote to the main motion. I ask that you seek unanimous consent in order to do that.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Do I understand there is unanimous consent that the last vote be applied to the main motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

The House divided on the motion, (Mr. Lewis), as amended, which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 9)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Blackburn	Campbell	Althouse	Gauthier	McLaughlin
Andre	(Jonquière)	(Vancouver Centre)	Anawak	Gray	Mifflin
Atkinson	Blais	Cardiff	Angus	(Windsor West)	Milliken
Attewell	Bouchard	Casey	Assad	Guarnieri	Mitchell
Beatty	(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Chadwick	Barrett	Harvey	Nault
Belsher	Bourgault	Champagne	Bellemare	(Edmonton East)	Prud'homme
Bernier	Boyer	(Champlain)	Benjamin	Karpoff	Riis
Bird	Brightwell	Chartrand	Black	Keys	Skelly
Bjornson	Browes		Blondin	Kilger	(Comox—Alberni)
			Boudria	(Stormont—Dundas)	Stewart
			Brewin	Kristiansen	Stupich—36
			Catterall	LeBlanc	
			Copps	(Cape Breton High-	
			Duhamel	lands—	
			Fulton	Canso)	
			Gardiner	Manley	

Extension of Sittings

Clark (Yellowhead)	Horning	Plourde
Clark (Brandon—Souris)	Hudon	Porter
Clifford	Hughes	Pronovost
Cole	Jacques	Redway
Collins	James	Reid
Cook	Jelinek	Reimer
Cooper	Johnson	Ricard
Corbeil	Joncas	Richardson
Corbett	Jourdenais	Robitaille
Côté	Kempling	Roy-Arcelin
Couture	Kindy	Schneider
Crosby	Koury	Scott
(Halifax West)	Landry	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Darling	Langlois	Shields
DeBlois	Larivière	Sobeski
de Cotret	Layton	Sparrow
Della Noce	Leblanc	St-Julien
Desjardins	(Longueuil)	Stevenson
Dick	Lewis	Tardif
Dobbie	Littlechild	Tétreault
Domme	Loiselle	Thacker
Dorin	Lopez	Thompson
Duplessis	MacDonald	Tremblay
Edwards	(Rosedale)	(Rosemont)
Epp	MacDougall	Tremblay
Fee	(Timiskaming)	(Québec-Est)
Feltham	MacKay	Turner
Ferland	Malone	(Halton—Peel)
Fontaine	Marin	Valcourt
Fretz	Martin	Van de Walle
Friesen	(Lincoln)	Vankoughnet
Gibeau	Masse	Venne
Gray	Mayer	Vien
(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Mazankowski	Vincent
la-Madeleine)	McCreath	Weiner
Greene	McDermid	White
Guilbault	McDougall	Wilbee
Gustafson	(St. Paul's)	Wilson
Halliday	McKnight	(Swift Current—Maple
Harvey	McLean	Creek)
(Chicoutimi)	Mitges	Wilson
Hawkes	Monteith	(Etobicoke Centre)
Hicks	Moore	Winegard
Hockin	Mulroney	Worthy—144
Hogue	Nicholson	
Horner	Oberle	
	O'Brien	
	Plamondon	

NAYS

Members

Extension of Sittings

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I declare the motion, as amended, carried.

Monday next at 11 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

It being 1.27 a.m., this House stands adjourned until

The House adjourned at 1.27 a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Monday, December 19, 1988

The House met at 11 a.m.

Prayers

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[*English*]

FOOD AND DRUGS ACT

MEASURE TO AMEND

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops) moved for leave to introduce a Bill C-205, an Act to amend the Food and Drugs Act, cautionary label on alcoholic beverage containers.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to introduce this Bill. This is the season when there tends, unfortunately, to be an excessive amount of drinking and associated driving. This Bill would simply require that any alcoholic beverage in Canada or imported into Canada would be required to have a cautionary label that would say: "Excessive drinking impairs one's driving ability".

There might be further amendments to indicate perhaps the contents, whether wine, beer or spirits, because of growing interest and also a warning that excessive drinking is injurious to one's health.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF MARKHAM

MEASURE TO CHANGE NAME OF CONSTITUENCY

Mr. Bill Attewell (Markham) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-206, an Act to change the name of the electoral district of Markham to Markham-Whitchurch-Stouffville.

Mr. Speaker: Shall the Hon. Member have leave to introduce the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Attewell: Mr. Speaker, I rise to introduce my Private Members' Bill, which is an Act to change the name of the electoral district of Markham to Markham-Whitchurch-Stouffville. The new federal riding of Markham came into being in the summer of 1987 when redistribution created 13 new ridings in Canada.

The Markham riding is comprised of the entire areas of two towns, the Town of Markham and the Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville. Their new boundaries came into effect on January 1, 1971, following the passage of the Region of York Act which was enacted in May, 1970.

I believe the name change will be welcome news to the residents of both Whitchurch-Stouffville and to Markham as it will not only create a unique new riding distinct from the provincial riding named Markham but it more appropriately recognizes the residents of Whitchurch-Stouffville.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first time and ordered to be printed.

* * *

POINT OF ORDER

APPOINTMENT OF STRIKING COMMITTEE

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I rise not in any way trying to delay proceedings, but I would like some

Questions on the Order Paper

information from the Government. Standing Order 104(1)(a) reads:

At the commencement of the first session of each Parliament, a Striking Committee of seven Members, the membership of which shall continue from session to session, shall be appointed—

I want from the Government some assurance that, indeed, within the next few days this committee will be struck. We have had a series of Estimates that were referred to standing committees, but the committees cannot sit if they are not struck. I ask the Government if it could see fit this week to have this striking committee meet and proceed.

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I submit that the operative words are “within the first 10 sitting days after its appointment”.

Mr. Gauthier: That is to report.

Mr. Lewis: That is to report. I would assure my hon. friend that there is no intention to delay this particular matter and we will get on with it as soon as possible.

* * *

• (1110)

QUESTIONS ON THE ORDER PAPER

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I suggest that all questions on the Order Paper be allowed to stand.

Mr. Speaker: Shall all questions be allowed to stand?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA—UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MOTION THAT DEBATE BE NOT FURTHER ADJOURNED

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That the debate on the motion for second reading and reference to a Committee of the Whole of Bill C-2 and on any amendment or sub-amendment thereto shall not be further adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed to the motion will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 10)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Clark	Fretz
Andre	(Yellowhead)	Friesen
Atkinson	Clark	Gibeau
Attewell	(Brandon—Souris)	Gray
Beatty	Clifford	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-Madeleine)
Belsher	Cole	Greene
Bertrand	Collins	Guilbault
Bird	Cook	Gustafson
Bjornson	Cooper	Halliday
Blackburn	Corbeil	Harvey
(Jonquière)	Corbett	(Chicoutimi)
Blais	Côté	Hawkes
Blenkarn	Couture	Hockin
Bosley	Crosbie	Hogue
Bouchard	(St. John's West)	Holtmann
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Crosby	Horner
Bourgault	(Halifax West)	Horning
Boyer	Darling	Hudon
Brightwell	DeBlois	Hughes
Browes	de Cotret	Jacques
Cadieux	Della Noce	James
Campbell	Desjardins	Jelinek
(Vancouver Centre)	Dick	Johnson
Cardiff	Dobbie	Joncas
Casey	Domme	Kempling
Chadwick	Dorin	Kilgour
Champagne	Duplessis	(Edmonton Southeast)
(Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot)	Edwards	Kindy
Champagne	Epp	Koury
(Champlain)	Fee	Landry
Chartrand	Feltham	Langlois
	Ferland	Larrivée
	Fontaine	

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Layton
Leblanc
(Longueuil)
Lewis
Littlechild
Loiselle
Lopez
MacDonald
(Rosedale)
MacDougall
(Timiskaming)
MacKay
Malone
Marin
Martin
(Lincoln)
Masse
Mayer
Mazankowski
McCreath
McDermid
MacDougall
(St. Paul's)
McKnight
Merrithew
Mitges
Monteith
Moore
Nicholson

Nowlan
Oberle
O'Brien
O'Kurlley
Paproski
Plamondon
Plourde
Porter
Pronovost
Redway
Reid
Reimer
Ricard
Richardson
Robitaille
Roy-Arcelin
Schneider
Scott
(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Siddon
Sobeski
Soetens
Sparrow
St-Julien
Stevenson
Tardif
Tétreault
Thacker
Thompson

Thorkelson
Tremblay
(Rosemont)
Tremblay
(Québec-Est)
Tremblay
(Lotbinière)
Turner
(Halton—Peel)
Valcourt
Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne
Vien
Weiner
Wenman
White
Wilbee
Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek)
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard
Worthy—154

[Translation]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed from December 15, 1988, consideration of the motion of Mr. Crosbie (Saint John's West) that Bill C-2, An Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, be read the second time and referred to a Committee of the Whole House; and of the amendment of Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra) (p. 127).

Hon. Pierre H. Cadieux (Minister of Labour): Mr. Speaker, as I said on the evening of November 21, "How sweet it is!". On November 21 of this year, the Progressive Conservative Party once again won the confidence of the Canadian people, and was re-elected with another majority. The choice of government that we offered the electorate was a clear one: The best team of men and women to run the country as the 1990s dawn, and the cornerstone of the program we offered them was of course the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to rise once more and say to all Canadians, and especially to the voters in my riding of Vaudreuil, how proud I feel to be able once again to serve my country.

[English]

—proud but also privileged to take part in this historic debate, for a second time I might say, and to witness the implementation of what I would describe as the most comprehensive Bill ever presented to this House in terms of the future well-being of this country, namely the Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement.

[Translation]

I have often said, Mr. Speaker, that the Free Trade Agreement crowns the many efforts made by Canadians and Americans for over a century to improve the framework within which their trade and economic relations are administered, to administer in a special way the trading partnership that our two countries have for a long time had with each other, without hampering the process of liberalizing international trade that we are pursuing under the GATT. This is what we call a "two-track" trade policy.

A short time ago, Montreal hosted a ministerial conference as part of the eight round of GATT negotiations, known as the Uruguay Round, which was

NAYS

Members

Allmand
Althouse
Anawak
Angus
Arseneault
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's
Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South
Centre)
Barrett
Bélair
Bellemare
Benjamin
Black
Blackburn
(Brant)
Brewin
Broadbent
Butland
Caccia
Callbeck
Campbell
(South West Nova)
Catterall
Clancy
Comuzzi
Copps
Crawford
de Jong
Dingwall
Duhamel
Ferguson
Finestone

Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gaffney
Gardiner
Gauthier
Gray
(Windsor West)
Guarnieri
Harb
Harvey
(Edmonton East)
Heap
Hovdebo
Hunter
Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Keyes
Kristiansen
Langan
Langdon
Laporte
LeBlanc
(Cape Breton High-
lands—
Canso)
MacAulay
MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
Maheu
Manley

Marchi
Marleau
Martin
(Lasalle—Émar)
McCurdy
McLaughlin
Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nystrom
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Riis
Rodriguez
Rompkey
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller
Stupich
Tobin
Vanclief
Volpe
Wappel
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)—87

• (1150)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

launched in 1986 and is scheduled to conclude in 1990. Canada is taking part in these negotiations in a spirit of openness and a real desire to improve the flow of international trade.

As we could see during that week, these negotiations have been slow and wearisome. They have been going on in the broad context of 96 member countries defending interests that are too often divergent, with the result that reaching a consensus has sometimes been difficult. We only need to think of agriculture, Mr. Speaker, to realize that.

The point I particularly want to make, Mr. Speaker, is that the forum for negotiations that the GATT provides does not entirely reflect the dynamic of our trade with the United States. It would have been hard for Canada to derive the same benefits that this bilateral Free Trade Agreement is giving us, from the multilateral GATT.

• (1200)

[English]

Our first commitment as a responsible Government entering difficult negotiations was to protect and enhance Canada's access to its largest export market, keeping in mind the growing trend toward world trade. We have done so and achieved major economic benefits for Canada without jeopardizing our distinctiveness and our sovereignty.

[Translation]

It was not by chance, Mr. Speaker, that we initiated this Agreement with the United States. Nor did our government invent this mechanism for establishing better trade relations between our two countries. No, Mr. Speaker, history showed us the way and we have chosen to follow it. We wanted to provide a more logical framework for the biggest trading partnership in the world.

For Canada and for the United States, the Free Trade Agreement is a giant step into the spirit of freer trade that is gaining ground in the international economic community. Trade is not something you carry out on a small scale, Mr. Speaker. Just think of the European Economic Community, of COMECON, of the free-trade zones between New Zealand and Australia and between Israel and the United States. Canada was the only large industrialized country not to have access to a market of more than 100 million people. With the Free Trade Agreement we have remedied that. What is more, we are not only giving our firms and businesses an

opportunity to excel at the international level, we are also ensuring that we have the financial means to maintain all our social programs and regional assistance programs, just as we are protecting the range of policies that make us distinctive and envied, both as a people and as a country.

But we are aware that during the recent election campaign there were people who expressed fears about the effect the Free Trade Agreement would have on certain of our programs. I am sure you will allow me, Mr. Speaker, to discuss some of these areas, so that the facts, which were all too often twisted by campaign oratory, can be re-established, and so that people with concerns about the future of our programs can be reassured. First of all, a reality that is too often silently glossed over is that, on the one hand, the negotiations that led to this Agreement were carried on in accordance with the rules provided under the GATT for bilateral agreements of this kind, and, on the other, this Agreement will operate within the framework of the GATT's rules and regulations.

But I have to go into this matter in some detail, because it was unfortunately presented in a manner that I would describe as warped. Let's start with social programs. As the "father of medicare" in Quebec, Mr. Claude Castonguay, stated during an interview, only a strong country can bear the costs arising from its social policies. Not coincidentally, we have developed a range of social care programs, Mr. Speaker, while at the same time increasing our trade with the U.S. And the reason for this is that our prosperity is closely tied to our ability to export to the U.S. We have staunchly maintained that there is nothing in the Agreement that threatens the viability of these measures and we have consistently refused to discuss them at the negotiating table. That's the truth, Mr. Speaker.

Furthermore, the laws of all trading countries recognize, as do the GATT regulations, that universally accessible social programs such as medicare and old age pensions are legitimate government activities that do not impede international trade. That's one of the reasons why the U.S. government rejected its own fishing industry's demand to consider the unemployment insurance benefits paid to Canadian fishermen as a program subject to trade reprisals.

Mr. Speaker, such eminent people as Justice Emmett Hall, one of the pioneers of medicare in Canada, Claude Castonguay, whom I mentioned earlier, Pierre-Marc Johnson, Quebec's former Minister of Health and Social Services, Thérèse Lavoie-Roux, Bernard Landry and

even Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, along with scores of others, Mr. Speaker, have categorically stated that there is nothing in this Agreement that poses a threat to our social programs.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote Claude Castonguay:

I disagree completely with those who say that free trade threatens our social programs. On the contrary, with the Canada-U.S. Agreement, our social programs have a better chance of being maintained, and possibly even improved.

[*English*]

Mr. Castonguay was not the only distinguished Canadian once involved in the establishment of our medicare system to echo those remarks. I mentioned Mr. Justice Emmett Hall, the one man who can claim to be the father of medicare in Canada. Mr. Hall was straightforward when he stated:

I got the document, and I can tell you this, that if I had found . . . provisions which would damage medicare, or certainly destroy it . . . I would have opposed the agreement.

[*Translation*]

These people, Mr. Speaker, have all worked to build this country. They have devoted their time, energy and intelligence to the service of this nation. They are great Canadians who value the integrity of that which they helped to build and no one can question their judgment and good faith; the residents of this country have faith in them, in us and in the future of Canada. Last November 21, they endorsed what they believed to be fair and right for them.

Some people have expressed concern about the quality of health care in Canada once the Agreement is implemented. Let me say again to them, Mr. Speaker, that as with social programs, the provisions of the Free Trade Agreement do not extend to health care services. This means that provincial governments remain completely free to operate their health care systems as they wish, regardless of the Agreement's implementation.

However, for the benefit of detractors, I have to say that mention is made in the Free Trade Agreement of management services dispensed in the normal course of hospital administrators' duties. However, there are no specific provisions pertaining to bookkeeping, computer systems, pay systems or hospital services.

These management services, Mr. Speaker, are administrative services and they in no way reflect the quality of the health care provided by an institution.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

However, if certain provincial governments were to decide to privatize some of these services, again, there is nothing in the Agreement that would force them to deal with U.S. companies. Therefore, there is no need to be afraid that the American style of management will be forced upon us with the implementation of the Agreement, or that the quality of our health care services is threatened.

Another issue that was raised, Mr. Speaker, was the environment. However, once again, we did not often hear throughout the course of the campaign that environmental programs are clearly exempted from the Agreement's provisions. This exemption is made possible by the inclusion in Article 1201 of a GATT provision stipulating that nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the adoption or enforcement of measures, and I quote:

. . . necessary to protect human, animal or plant life or health.

Moreover, the Agreement specifically provides for the establishment of environmental standards, even if these standards result in a trade slowdown.

Let us now move on to regional development, Mr. Speaker. Alleviating regional disparities has always been a government priority, regardless of that government's political affiliation. I would even remind you, Mr. Speaker, that this is one of the fundamental goals recognized in our Canadian Constitution. Despite this de facto recognition and despite the very positive record of this Government during its last mandate, some people have intimated that the Agreement threatens everything we have done for Canadians living outside central Canada.

In fact, Mr. Speaker, they contend that our desire to seek out clearer and fairer trade regulations by discussing business subsidies with our U.S. partner is tantamount to abandoning our regional development policies.

Such a conclusion is totally baseless. It's true, Mr. Speaker, that we were unable to agree on the definition of subsidies that impede smooth trade between our two countries. However, negotiations on this matter are planned under the terms of the Free Trade Agreement and within the framework of the GATT talks.

And as our Prime Minister emphatically stated on several occasions, the Canadian Government would never sign an agreement which could jeopardize our ability to promote regional development policies, and that, Mr. Speaker, is a very firm commitment.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Without such an agreement with the United States, however, we would still preserve the possibility of referring our trade disagreements to the settlement mechanism provided for in the agreement, in order to protect us from decisions motivated as a response to political pressure.

• (1210)

[*English*]

We all know indeed that we have not necessarily chosen the easy way to prosperity, as there is no way such way, Mr. Speaker. We have to work hard and perhaps harder. This country was built on the relentless efforts of our ancestors who always had the full knowledge of their responsibility toward their peers.

[*Translation*]

And as builders, Mr. Speaker, we did not shy away from our responsibilities through a lack of knowledge and information, as some have claimed. We are prepared to help the people who will have to face changes of a vocational nature or who will need help to adapt to a changing labour force, as we have always done.

Mr. Speaker, some of my colleagues will provide you with an opportunity later on during this debate to conclude with me that we have already implemented programs to meet the needs of the workers who will be affected by these changes.

It is important to realize that our Government is already equipped with a sound structure in the area of manpower and industry adaptation, and that this structure is very effective indeed because it already meets the needs of some 5 million workers who are transferred each year by offering training programs and real adaptation possibilities.

But to be really sure, Mr. Speaker, we have created the advisory council on adaptation, chaired by Mr. Jean De Grandpré, whose purpose is to help the Government ensure that Canadian men and women will benefit fully from the new opportunities resulting from the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement. Job losses or manpower transfers are not the only indicators of a society's mobility. There is another factor that is just as real but too often neglected, Mr. Speaker, and that is job creation. And in the area, of job creation this Government has a proud record.

This is another highly significant factor that determines a government's ability to adapt to economic change in the country it is governing, and to date this Government, has been able, Mr. Speaker, to adapt in a

quite conclusive manner. That is the hallmark of a responsible government.

And on the matter of responsibility, Mr. Speaker, what about the responsibility of the Leader of the Opposition who liked to suggest before the elections were called he was ready to accept the people's verdict, he was ready for "speedy passage", to use his own terms, of the Free Trade Bill. He even repeated the same comments the day after the election, when he recognized the electorate had decided and the Government had received a clear mandate to proceed with its proposal.

[*English*]

Wasn't he the same one who was saying before the election to let the people decide?

Let me remind him as he is probably suffering from amnesia about his own words of November 22 when he said:

You know, we let the people decide. The people have decided, so that having stated our case, well then, let matters proceed.

[*Translation*]

What about the responsibility of the Member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Turner) who appears to have suffered from a sudden stroke of amnesia, Mr. Speaker, because he is suggesting the Government received the right to re-introduce the Bill, but not to expect speedy passage through this House. For what reasons, Mr. Speaker, did the Opposition Leader change his mind?

I would not try and find an answer to that puzzling question because something more important really is this Government's responsibility to meet its treaty commitments. We must honour our commitments if we want our partners to be able to reciprocate.

And we also have a responsibility to those Canadians who already are planning their operations in anticipation of the benefits of free trade. They must be in a position to do so in full knowledge, Mr. Speaker, and I see you are signaling that my time is almost up.

I would have liked to remind Hon. Members of the comments of the NDP Leader, but for want of time this will have to wait for another occasion, Mr. Speaker.

[*English*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments. The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy).

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I have some questions for the Hon. Minister.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is my mistake. There are no questions or comments. On debate, the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre.

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for recognizing me either by way of comment, question or debate. As the Minister has just said, this is an historic debate, but it is too bad the Government itself has not recognized that fact. It has introduced closure and is restricting debate to a 24 hour period of second reading.

It was only a short while ago in this House when we were debating a motion brought forward by, I think it was, the junior Minister of Finance to raise the tax revenue on dog food that we had seven or eight debates on second reading on that important issue. Yet the Government cannot quite find the same amount of time to debate this issue dealing with the most important document facing Canada in a century.

I agree, we are not going to fight the election again but what we do have to debate in this House in the short time remaining to us is what is happening in Canada today. What is happening as a consequence of the election? What are the results, not just in terms of the raw power of a parliamentary majority which the Government happened to achieve, at least in two provinces, but what about the millions of Canadians, literally millions, who are seized with a sense of anxiety or who are distraught and feel alienated by this Government and who feel they have been abandoned in terms of a trust or a sense of a trusteeship?

I should say that I have more mail on this issue since the election than I had before from Canadians who feel that this agreement will be a disaster for Canada.

Let me just read a letter from a young woman in Edmonton. Edmonton is not known as a hotbed against free trade, but let me read what she wrote:

Dear Mr. Axworthy:

There are only a few days until Christmas. I should be out shopping for presents for my children; I should be cleaning the house and decorating; I should be baking and preparing for friends and relatives to visit; I should be singing carols with others at hospitals and nursing homes; I should be writing cards to friends and relatives; I should be but I can't.

I can't stop writing letters to parliamentarians because I cannot stop thinking about the disastrous free trade agreement; I cannot stop thinking about 600 workers laid off by the Gillette company;

I cannot stop thinking about the 800,000 workers which the Canadian Labour Congress predicts will lose their jobs when the Free Trade Agreement comes into effect; I cannot stop thinking about the one to six children in Canada who live below the poverty line and whose numbers are soon to increase; I cannot stop thinking

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

about Mr. Wilson's regressive federal sales tax; I cannot stop thinking about how Mulroney and Co. won the last election by lying and cheating and propaganda and a host of other dishonest tactics.

We should be charitable towards everyone at this time of year, but the kindest thing I can say about Mr. Mulroney is that he is an unrepentant Scrooge who has ruined Christmas.

I believe that the only exception I take is that I have always thought that Mr. Mulroney was more of a Grinch than a Scrooge.

That letter represents the deep set feelings of people right across this country. It is up to the Government to respond to it.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) on election night took what I thought was the proper stand when he said it was time to heal the nation. I think he was right. He has the responsibility to undertake the procedure. Is this Bill before the House the way to do it when the Government totally ignores all those concerns, when the Government is totally indifferent to the kinds of commitments which were made during the election to protect social programs, regional development and to provide guarantees against the kinds of encouragement and transgression of these rights, when it has been totally and completely blind to the interest of thousands of workers already affected by this agreement? Is that the manner in which to heal an issue?

• (1220)

Is there anything in this Bill which would give any sense of support, any sense of comfort, or any sense that at least the Government is reaching out to the 54 per cent of Canadians who voted against it to say that it wants to attempt to understand their concerns, bridge the gap, and bring those Canadians in as part of the country? Is there anything at all in this legislation that makes the slightest gesture toward those millions of Canadians?

An Hon. Member: Absolutely nothing.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): My colleague just answered. I went through the Bill with a fine tooth comb. I had the distinct displeasure of having to read Bill C-130 last summer. I said: "Surely, now that we have been through an election, some lessons have been learned". Surely the Government would have understood how deeply felt this issue is, and that there would have been things contained in Bill C-2 that were not in Bill C-130. There was only one change, and that was to cancel the date of January 1 as an implementation date. That was the only change that could be found between the previous Bill and this Bill. Is that what one

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

would consider to be a form of attempting to broaden, heal, and bring together?

In his remarks, the Minister of Labour (Mr. Cadieux) showed that same indifference. He demonstrated the fact that he has not learned a lesson, nor did his colleagues, the Minister of International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), and the Prime Minister. They have learned no lessons at all from that very difficult period.

Is there a Member of Parliament in the House who, when going door to door or standing on a street corner, did not hear from the citizens of this country about their concerns? Is there one Tory Member of Parliament who can honestly state that when he or she went to knock on a door someone did not say to them: "What about unemployment insurance? What about adjustment programs? What about regional development programs?" Did they not learn a lesson from that experience? Did they not learn anything from dealing directly with their own constituents who raised those types of questions?

They obviously have not, Mr. Speaker. It would have been easy to respond to those questions in this legislation. It would have been very simple to bring in an amendment to Bill C-2 that stated: "For greater certainty there will be nothing in this agreement that will endanger present or future social programs". Why would that have been important? It would have been important because the Americans, in passing their legislation, have already written into the agreement that they intend to tackle those programs. They have already given instructions to the President of the United States to challenge regional development, investment programs, and a whole range of subsidies. It would have made good sense, and it would have been an honest effort to have at least written into our own law a statement of principle and a statement of commitment on behalf of our own Government to say that nothing in this agreement shall touch future social programs. I looked carefully, and it was not included.

Yet a number of distinguished Canadians have raised those questions. The Minister of Labour cited Mr. Justice Emmett Hall and Claude Castonguay. I cite the Canadian Council on Social Development, which represents every major social and health organization in the country. What did it state in its latest bulletin? "Canadians should be concerned about the issue, if for no other reason than because the statements of the Government have been contradictory, even misleading".

It discusses the inclusion of the health management services as part of the national treatment programs of its services, which raises a whole series of questions about the delivery of our health and social programs. It raises the major problem that will be caused by harmonization, and problems caused by the requirement that there be a standardization of technical standards and in programming. Those are legitimate concerns raised by a council that speaks for many Canadians. What does the Government do? *Il s ne font rien*. Nothing at all.

In a valuable piece of work examining the trade agreement, Derek Hum, an economist at the University of Manitoba, wrote compellingly. He stated that the major problem being faced is in programs that are directed to individuals. Mr. Hum stated:

The most troublesome policy area is likely to be that of individual income maintenance programs, especially those designed with the working poor in mind.

He points out that, under their own trade law, the Americans have established the right to challenge any trade program or any domestic program in Canada that delivers a program specifically to individuals. He enunciated how that would have a major effect on those special programs under unemployment insurance that are directed especially to fishermen in the Atlantic area, and to pregnant women. He points out that those could be interpreted under countervail U.S. law as being a direct subsidy to workers.

Let us say that at some point a more liberal and progressive-minded government than the present one decided to bring in a guaranteed annual income whose primary purpose would be to deal with a problem of the working poor, but would be interpreted under U.S. trade law as a subsidy to workers and could therefore be challengeable.

One way to offset that question would have been to write into our legislation a statement, commitment, or guarantee from the Canadian Government in law that the trade agreement does not affect such opportunities or initiatives for Canadians. At least when it came up for dispute settlement arbitration, or for examination, a future Canadian Government could state that that was written into the law that was passed back in 1988 showing the will of the Canadian parliamentarians at the time. However, without that type of statement in the legislation all we have to go on is the rhetoric used by the Prime Minister during the election when he stated that no social programs will be touched, and the Americans who are pretty smart will say: "Show us that in writing". It is not in writing in the Bill.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Government has the opportunity to change that. We will bring in amendments to respond to that particular concern. All the Government has to do is to agree to them. It will not change the basic content of the agreement. It will not do damage to the agreement. But it will give an insurance policy to Canadians.

One can say the same thing about the adjustment programs. Here is an interesting observation, what I call watching the pinball theory of the Tories trying to pass the buck. When we talked about adjustment for workers the Prime Minister said: "Talk to the Minister of Trade and the Minister of Employment". The Minister of Trade and the Minister of Employment have said: "Well, you are going to be hearing from the Minister of Labour". We just heard from the Minister of Labour, who spent the sum total of 78 seconds dealing with the question of adjustment. That shows how deep set their concerns are for Canadian workers that the Minister managed 78 seconds of his total treatment of the subject on the record. The sum total of the Minister's remarks were: "Wait for my colleagues to talk about it somewhere further in the debate". They are just bouncing the ball around.

One reason that they have not yet 'fessed up to why the Government is not bringing in any new adjustment programs, and one of the reasons that the de Grandpré commission is in deep freeze is that they know that under this agreement adjustment programs will be challengeable by the United States Government. They are not prepared to admit to that.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Fortunately, we have on the record the statement of a more honest interpreter of the agreement, Mr. Gordon Ritchie, the former deputy trade negotiator. In committee hearings last summer he admitted that adjustment programs are vulnerable and challengeable under the new U.S. trade law. That is the reason that the Government is dancing on its Gucci shoes all of a sudden. It knows that it does not have the power.

I say to the Minister of the homeless, who is responsible for keeping people freezing on the streets in downtown areas of Canada, if he has such a big mouth then let him put his money where his mouth is and put something in the legislation. Is he afraid? I challenge those two Ministers today, if they have any sense of honour or dignity then they have a way to live up to their word. Let them put something in the Bill.

We know what the answer will be on that one. We know that once again they are providing a smoke screen. It is a subterfuge. They will be passing the buck around from the de Grandpré commission, to the Ministers, to the private sector, all because they are once again showing their fear and trepidation of doing anything in this agreement that will raise the ire of our new American partners.

The same thing holds true for questions of the environment. The Minister cited Section 603 of the agreement which states that nothing will touch it. That section only talks about technical standards. It does not mention the environment at all. During the campaign, 93 environmental groups stated that this agreement represents the greatest threat to Canadian environmental standards. And is the Government responding in any fashion in terms of this legislation? Once again, for greater certainty, the reasonable approach to take would be to introduce an amendment stating that nothing in the agreement would affect the ability of the Canadian Government to provide for new laws in relation to the protection of the environment.

● (1230)

Is there any such clause in the legislation? No.

And, of course, we all know why none of the important guarantees of which I have spoken were included in the legislation. The fact is that this Government had the election bought for it by its friends in the business community, who realize that this trade agenda is only one small part of a much, much broader agenda, that being to put a strait-jacket on the Parliament of Canada, to put handcuffs on the Government of Canada to operate and effectively govern with the interests of ordinary Canadians in mind. This agreement results in a transfer of power out of the hands of the Parliament of Canada. That is the real agenda!

The real agenda of the Free Trade Agreement is part and parcel of a much larger movement aimed at restricting and eviscerating the ability of the federal Government to provide for responses to the concerns of ordinary Canadians, those who do not sit in the boardrooms of the country and who do not have available to them millions of dollars for high-priced, high-powered advertising programs. Ordinary Canadians can only rely upon the Parliament of Canada, rely upon their elected representatives, to reflect their concerns.

But, Mr. Speaker, we know that this Government is one that is not very much interested in the concerns or interests of ordinary Canadians. The Free Trade

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement is a major part of the right-wing agenda of this Government, this North American continental market-place agenda, an agenda which states that the Government of Canada has no obligation or responsibility to all of its citizens; that it is responsible only to the wealthy and the powerful, to those who have status and rank. "Oh, we will respond to those; but we are certainly not going to respond to the concerns of ordinary Canadians." And it is the ordinary Canadians who rely upon the political system to provide them with the answers that they need.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, we as Liberals consider this debate to be not merely a debate about Bill C-2 and the Free Trade Agreement but a debate about the much broader agenda of this Government. Flowing out of the Free Trade Agreement, we will see not just the direct consequences for trade but the largest generational tidal wave of takeovers, of mergers, of business acquisitions—and this in a country that is already too much concentrated in terms of economic power. We are going to see it multiply multi-fold times over the next several years. The rules are no longer in place. The investment rules have been taken off. The competition legislation put into place by the last Parliament is now a weak and ineffectual instrument. As a result of the changes brought about by the FTA, we are going to see a major concentration of economic power in this country, far more than we see today. We are going to see a tremendous change in the whole ability of Government to be able to re-allocate resources from one region to another. It will be the market-place that dictates and determines the flow of goods and services in Canada.

We will not be able to provide the kind of counterbalance that Canadian Governments have historically been able to provide. That ability, under the new trade regime, will be limited. That, again, is a part of the larger agenda.

In terms of our foreign policy, our representation abroad, we will no longer have the kind of independence we have had to date. One needs only to look at what happened at the GATT meetings held in Montreal two weeks ago for the proof of that. It was absolutely crucial for this country to try to work out a deal on agricultural subsidies. And what did we see? We saw the Minister for International Trade and the Minister responsible for the Wheat Board simply aping and echoing the statements of the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, whose standard was that of clobbering the Europeans. As a result, Canada's ability to play the broker's role, the

honest middleman role in bringing about agreements, was lost.

We lost our ability to build bridges into the Third World, into South America, into Asia. We lost the ability to play the kind of conciliator role that Canada has played in international trade fora since 1948, a role offering to all of the parties an alternative, a different way of doing things.

Within a week of the November 21 election, this Government had abandoned that historic role.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): As a result, Canadian farmers, to say nothing of people generally around the world, lost an important voice in international trade fora. We have lost the ability to engage in that kind of exercise at international trade fora; we have lost that "middleman" role, a role we played so effectively for over 40 years.

The consequences of this Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Speaker, are long range and long-term, and certainly they are much broader than simply the commercial trade pronouncements.

Let us look for a moment at our service industries. One of the great disappointments for me during the campaign is the fact that the Government was never able to describe to Canadians precisely what the FTA meant for our service industries. If one looks at the agreement, one will see that it now provides open opportunity for private American educational firms to challenge the educational role of our community colleges and universities, and our other educational institutions. We are going to undermine the whole capacity, through the Canadian educational system, to provide our own distinctive way of supplying educational services—and this at a time when it is absolutely essential that we have control over the whole worker retraining process.

One of the things that we can all agree on is that we have lost, or are going to lose, in terms of world-wide competition because of a lack of skills, and one of the primary vacuums that exist in Canada today is the lack of an effective strategy to deal with the upgrading and the improvement of the skills of Canadians.

The Minister of Employment (Mrs. McDougall) stands in her place and speaks of the Canadian Jobs Strategy. What she does not tell Canadians is that every year expenditures under that agreement have been

reduced by \$200 million. We are spending close to \$500 million less today than was spent in 1984.

An Hon. Member: There are more people working today.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Community colleges are being closed down; classrooms are being shut down as a result. And there has been no initiative to try to provide a new formulation.

And in the future, our ability to provide direction and initiative in that area will again be hamstrung and limited. Why? Because we have signed an agreement which, as it relates to the service sector, gives away the power of the provincial government to set those kinds of standards.

Ms. Copps: A "Made-in-Washington" policy.

An Hon. Member: That line didn't work during the campaign.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, every time one turns around, one bumps into the hard reality that the ability of Canadians to make decisions relating to their own interests, their own priorities, their own judgments is completely hamstrung. We find ourselves handcuffed. We find that we no longer have the same range of opportunities.

And that, Mr. Speaker, is why we as a caucus believe that this debate today is important. Future generations will be looking at this agreement and this debate. They will be trying to understand the kind of lunacy that took hold of the Government of the day to sign the agreement. But they will also be looking for an alternative, for another judgment—which is one of the reasons why we think that an appropriate amendment, an amendment which we hope this Government would have the sense to accept, is that which would require a three-year review, a sunset clause.

If Hon. Members opposite think the agreement is so good, I invite them to put it to the test. Accept an amendment calling for a three-year parliamentary review of the agreement. And if it does work to the benefit of Canada and Canadians, they get the applause; and if it does not, then the people, in the subsequent election, will have the opportunity to reject it.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that that is a fair deal.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Do the Hon. Members opposite have the courage to put their agreement to the test of open parliamentary scrutiny?

In that way, during the next election campaign, the people of Canada will be able to decide based upon the full information.

I ask the Hon. Members opposite to accept the challenge, to put the agreement to that type of test. Accept the amendment.

We on this side of the House, Mr. Speaker, believe that our trusteeship is on behalf of the millions of Canadians who voted against the agreement—and not just to those who voted against it today but to their children and subsequent generations. We want those people to know that there is an alternative, that there is a different way of governing this country, that there is a way of using government in a constructive and positive way to bring about a civil society, a compassionate and caring society. We recognize that the public sector must be heavily involved and deeply involved in caring for its citizens.

That is the choice that Canadians will have to make four years from now.

I say to you, Mr. Speaker, as our Leader said during the course of his remarks on the motion for the second reading of Bill C-2, this debate is not the end of the matter; it is just the beginning. I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that we Liberals have just begun to fight.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1240)

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, I want to say at the outset that I feel compelled to take a few moments in my maiden speech to make a number of very personal comments which I think are appropriate considering my own history.

I want to put on the record my deep appreciation to the voters of Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca who were so willing to put their trust and confidence in my hands. I hope I will be able to serve them well in this Chamber, although I think I would have been able to serve them a lot better if I was closer to the Chair or, preferably, on that side of the House.

Mr. McDermid: We do not want you.

Mr. Barrett: Nonetheless, as always in politics, looking to the next time, we will leave that to the next election.

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

On a personal note, I want to express on the record the fact that my achievements are essentially those of my parents and my wife's parents. They went through the Depression and struggled to provide their children with a better life. In that sense, my father, who served in the Manitoba 44th and was wounded at Vimy, dreamed that some day his family would be a more equal and more obvious participant in Canadian society. It took a long time but many of the restrictions on the basis of race, creed and culture were finally somewhat diminished and I am happy to take my place, in that regard, in this House.

I now want to turn to the free trade debate. I must say I was impressed with the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy).

Mr. McDermid: You are easily impressed.

Mr. Barrett: My father was born in Winnipeg but it was Winnipeg North, as you will understand.

I was impressed by the logic of his arguments and the persuasiveness of the examples he gave. I was also impressed by the position taken by the Leader of the federal Liberal Party who apparently may not be long for this Chamber. I want to say in all sincerity that he and I have been personal friends for some time. Although we disagree politically, he is one of the finest people I have met in the years I have been involved in public life.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Barrett: The Leader of the Liberal Party was the Minister of Finance during that brief period of time we had power in British Columbia. He was a man of his word. He was a man of principle and conviction, and I am sorry we may be losing him from public life.

I want to comment on the way he was treated during the election campaign. It is important to understand the forces at work in this country supporting the Free Trade Agreement.

The Leader of the Liberal Party took a position, against his own philosophical background, as a vociferous opponent of the Free Trade Agreement. He did it on the basis of logic, reason and principle, and the immediate response was abuse from the establishment media on the editorial pages.

Mr. Tobin: And from Ed Broadbent.

Mr. Barrett: We will come to that in a moment.

Ms. Copps: Please do. I thought it was Ed who was dead.

Mr. Barrett: Even though his own Party was divided and a group were meeting behind his back to cut him to pieces, he still stood his ground and as a matter of principle fought through to the point in the campaign where his own Party recognized his position.

He was vilified in the editorial pages of newspapers in every part of this country. He was vilified in the backrooms by his own Liberal colleagues in every part of this country.

Mr. Rodriguez: Including Sheila.

Mr. Barrett: I want to deal with that because it is important to understand exactly where the Official Opposition stands. They stand right on the fence. We have seen the Liberal Party play both sides against the middle for their own purposes time after time after time. They are now going to lose the best spokesperson they have against the free trade deal as he goes down into history.

Why is that happening? Because the Liberals understand, as stated by Michel Robert, President of the Liberal Party of Canada, who said, "Unless we change our position on free trade we will never win another seat in Quebec". It will be interesting to watch as the debate goes on—

Ms. Copps: Ed is dead.

Mr. Barrett: —and those with a philosophy, attachment and commitment to opposing the free trade agreement will stand up—

Ms. Copps: Ed is dead. Ed is dead.

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, is there a screeching crow in here?

Mr. Rodriguez: No, it is just Sheila.

Mr. Barrett: Oh, well, we will watch how the Liberal Party divides on this issue and find out who really calls the tune as the Party is split right down the middle on supporting or opposing the Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Nystrom: Shrieking Sheila.

Ms. Copps: Point of order, Mr. Speaker. The news of my Leader's demise is greatly exaggerated. I am very disappointed that the NDP, instead of dealing with the trade issue, is doing the same thing it did in the election, cutting up the Liberal Party. No class at all.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That is not a point of order.

Mr. Barrett: Mr. Speaker, even that Member knows that that is not a point of order. However, I had to get that on the record because as events unfold we will watch the Liberal Party abandon the position taken by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, abandon the position taken by its current Leader, and shift to the big business orientation it temporarily left during this campaign.

Who will lead that shift? Other Liberals. Mr. Bourassa, Premier of the Province of Quebec and a Liberal, is a strong supporter of free trade. Other Liberal Premiers are supporters of free trade.

Ms. Copps: Why don't you stick to the free trade deal if you really care about it?

Mr. Barrett: Have we heard one word of condemnation of those Liberal leaders from the Liberal Party? Not a peep. Not a sound. Not a whimper. Nothing except constant chatter from a bird in the background who is obviously distraught by this analysis.

Ms. Copps: Fight the real fight.

Mr. Barrett: In spite of that chatter, the Liberal Party is playing politics on this issue at the provincial level on one stage, and at the federal level on another stage. I find that more hypocritical than what the Government is doing.

Having said that, I want to go on to a continuing story of hypocrisy. Let us deal with the hard, tough words of the Government when it comes to the Free Trade Agreement and let us focus on the history of the shakes and shingles countervailing duty issue.

Earlier this spring, when the countervailing duty was imposed on shakes and shingles, we were going to have a demonstration of how tough and how aggressive the Government would be when that great big American colossus would stamp its foot down on poor little Canada. Do not worry, folks, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his Cabinet would fight back. I refer you to page 13559 of *Hansard*, May 23, 1986:

EDWARD BROADBENT (OSHAWA): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. It goes back to the incredible decision made by President Reagan himself to sacrifice some 4000 jobs in British Columbia as a result of an unfair duty imposed by the President himself. Considering that the du-

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

ty had nothing to do with unfair trade practices and that it was imposed by the President himself, and having nothing to do with Congress, is the President not sending a clear message to the Prime Minister, namely, where Americans cannot compete with Canadians, then Canadians will not be allowed by the Americans to have access to their market?

This is the reply of the Prime Minister.

RIGHT HON. BRIAN MULRONEY (PRIME MINISTER): Mr. Speaker, I would not disagree with that construction.

That was an admission by the Prime Minister that in the case of shakes and shingles, where Canadians could compete and beat the Americans, the Americans moved in with a countervailing duty and said, "If you beat us that way, we are going to hammer you with a countervailing duty".

The questioning went on. There was a question as to whether or not the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) phoned the President or Mr. Shultz, the Secretary of State. There appeared to be some ambiguity about whether or not anyone had been phoned, but nonetheless, as reported on page 13560, the Prime Minister said:

The Secretary of State for External Affairs spoke directly with Secretary Shultz. We have conveyed our views, and we will be doing so again. We hope that we will be able to take some actions ourselves.

What action? Was it a sneeze? Was it a whimper? Was it a letter saying: "Naughty, naughty"?

• (1250)

I will quote further from the same page, Mr. Speaker, to make the point. The Prime Minister went on to say:

We believe that freer trade will bring about greater economic opportunities, which is why we will resist this type of protectionism. We will try to prepare an appropriate response for the American administration which will convince them of the folly of this kind of action directed either against a great friend such as Canada or anyone else. This kind of thing is bad news.

That was said in May of 1988.

Within the last month the United States, through its President, continued its countervail on shakes and shingles. But it was after the election. There has been no comment from the Secretary of State for External Affairs. There has been no comment from the Prime Minister. They did not phone Mr. Shultz. They did not phone the President. They did not phone the water boy. They just rolled over and played dead.

Once the election was over and the Prime Minister was confronted with the very thing he said his campaign

Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement

on free trade would eliminate, it was rammed down Canada's throat. No one in the Government stood up for Canada and told the Americans, as the Prime Minister said, that this is totally unacceptable.

We have an illustration, Mr. Speaker, of exactly the point made by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre. A political agenda is being met here. That political agenda cynically started to lock in publicly as soon as the election was over. If this Government had one whit of commitment to the people of my Province of British Columbia, if this Government had one whit of commitment to the word of the Prime Minister, why was there not a telephone call to Reagan saying: "This deal is off unless you lift the countervail on shakes and shingles"? Instead, the signal was: "It is okay, U.S. President, you can do anything you want. The election is over and we will not put up a squawk."

I challenge any of the Tory Ministers to come out to British Columbia and explain to the public of British Columbia why the Prime Minister said in May that he would phone the President, but after the election there was not a peep, not a murmur, not a whimper. I know that it is just British Columbia and one can write off British Columbia because the Tories did not win a majority of seats, if that is the level of the cynicism. But when will they move when it hits Ontario? When will they move when it hits Quebec?

I warn the people of Quebec that this is the first step in the balkanization of Canada to fit into a political and economic agenda of international forces as described by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre. I also make this observation. The greatest danger to the culture and national identity of the people of Quebec is not in language; it is in this Free Trade Agreement that will ultimately homogenize the culture of Québec into one greater Cajun remembrance of some history in North American continentalism. The people of Quebec will be subject to the same forces of continentalism that will sweep right across the country. A greater danger to their culture and to their identity than the language issue is the economic integration that will be the consequence of this Bill.

It is no mistake that the Government and its members were financed by big business throughout the whole campaign and had massive support in overwhelming third person intervention in the campaign. I found it interesting that they used that in their campaign editorial comments from newspapers which are essentially in non-competitive ownership in this country. There is no longer a free competitive press on the

editorial pages. The press on the editorial pages responds to a centralized ownership that was first identified by the Kent Royal Commission set up by a former Liberal administration.

We are moving toward a gradual absorption by the United States. It is a titillating thing to some American politicians, so much so that they say and suggest: "Just leave them alone and they will fall like ripe fruit off a tree into our hands". The deal on energy alone is a submissive deal to another sovereign nation of our own sovereign resources here in this country. If the Government thinks that this debate will be over with the passage of this Bill, it is wrong. As the consequences of how this deal has affected their lives sinks into the regions, the municipalities and the people's minds they will not stand still and allow this country to be destroyed as they know it and as they want it to be.

I will make another prediction. In the past I have been wrong with my predictions, but sometimes I am right. I predict that within four years this will be the most hated Government in the history of Canada. In four years this Government will be thoroughly disliked as the consequences of the Free Trade Agreement sink in those regions. It will be the most distasteful and unacceptable part of our political history. I may be wrong, but every indicator tells me that this Government will be distrusted and hated before its four-year term is up, in a way that no other previous Government was.

As we move toward this Orwellian picture of an integrated social and economic order in North American continentalism we will indeed lose the option we have of being an honest broker that was erstwhile and fostered by previous administrations of this country with the tacit, if not the obvious, support of other political Parties under previous administrations. We are going to be laughed at now when we start talking about Third World needs and options concerning their economies. We are going to be ridiculed if we suggest that there is a role for Canada in allowing those sovereign nations to develop. Our friends and our hope in Central America and South America will be abandoned by this agreement because we will be viewed as the same people who agree with the day labour coming in from Mexico, working for starvation wages and then returning home.

Canada will be the supplier of the Braceros of the north. We will be reduced to emulating the same competition that Mexico is reduced to on the border levels. It was Mr. Campeau, a former Liberal supporter, who rubbed his hands in glee and said: "With the Free Trade Agreement we can have the best of all possible

worlds. With Canada's resources, the United States' money and Mexico's labour we can create a whole new economic scene in North America." Do you know the chaos that that will bring, Mr. Speaker, as workers are displaced right across the country? Now the Government says: "We are going to fight back".

I repeat, there was no phone call made to the President about shakes and shingles. There was no protest made by the Minister other than a "tut-tut, I am sorry they did it." If this Government had any guts at all it would stop the debate right now, get on the phone to the United States and say clearly as an example: "If you continue this countervail on shakes and shingles we will cancel all negotiations on the Free Trade Agreement". By not doing it the Government is saying clearly that the U.S. can do anything it wants as it goes along in this agreement.

I know my time is up, but just temporarily. I intend, I hope, to participate in future debates in this House. But I will say this. Probably this debate is one of the more important debates that this House has heard in 50 years. It will not be over today because my Leader and the Party that I belong to intend, as a united force not split by anything else, to fight this deal right down the line to defend the interests of Canadians in every walk of life.

• (1300)

I want to say clearly in my wind-up remarks that those Liberals who find that they will be abandoned by the power brokers in their Party as this debate takes place, as they move toward new leadership, can, with some washing, join the New Democrats and continue the fight in principle.

As for the right-wing Liberals, let them join the Tories with whom they belong. But let us not have the Liberals playing both ends against the middle.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I say this seriously and soberly, I want to point out, I am sure on behalf of all Members, that it was a huge disappointment coming from a former Premier.

Mr. Barrett: I was not disappointed, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That is not a point of order.

It being one o'clock, I do now leave the chair until two o'clock this day.

At 1.02 p.m., the House took recess.

S. O. 31

AFTER RECESS

The House resumed at 2 p.m.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[English]

SENATE REFORM

ELECTION ADVOCATED TO FILL VACANT ALBERTA SEAT

Mr. Scott Thorkelson (Edmonton—Strathcona): Mr. Speaker, Meech Lake is an historic achievement. It brings Quebec into the Constitution and allows us to reform the Senate.

I urge the Premier of Alberta, the Hon. Don Getty, a great Canadian, to hold an election to fill Alberta's vacant Senate seat. I also urge him to require that the nominee submit a letter of resignation effective six years from the date of appointment.

A Senate election would focus attention on the Senate and add impetus to the movement toward Senate reform. An elected Senator would give the Senate a degree of legitimacy. From there, we could move toward making the Senate equal in representation and effective in power.

After Albertans elect a nominee, I urge the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), a great nation builder, to accept the people's recommendation in the spirit of Meech Lake.

* * *

TRANSPORT

PROPOSED FIXED LINK CROSSING BETWEEN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND MAINLAND

Mr. George Proud (Hillsborough): Mr. Speaker, I rise today on behalf of my constituents of the riding of Hillsborough, Prince Edward Island, a province that voted overwhelmingly in support of the Liberal Party in the recent federal election.

On January 17, 1988, Prince Edward Islanders voted in support of a fixed link crossing between our province and the Province of New Brunswick. Now Prince Edward Islanders are waiting with bated breath for information from the federal Government on the status of the environmental review and federal government initiatives in the area of compensation programs for

S. O. 31

Marine Atlantic employees should the fixed link become a reality.

Given that the fixed link would have a major impact on the Island economy, Prince Edward Island would like an update from the federal Government.

With the unanimous support of Prince Edward Islanders, my Liberal colleagues and I are determined to "fix" the missing "link" of federal representation in Ottawa, representation that is active, forceful and effective, to reflect the concerns of our constituents, of which the fixed link is one.

* * *

[*Translation*]

THE ENVIRONMENT

REQUEST THAT GOVERNMENT REGULATE IMPORTATION OF ALLEGED NON-TOXIC WASTES

Mr. Yvon Côté (Richmond—Wolfe): Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Parliament for the constituency of Richmond—Wolfe, I would like to apprise Hon. Members of a new development that is both a concern and a matter of indignation to my constituents.

This is the open, free and therefore legal import of solid wastes, mainly in the form of building materials. Because those wastes are presumed to be non-toxic, no federal Act unfortunately can regulate or forbid their trade between American and Canadian business people.

Under its previous mandate to try and improve the quality of the environment, the Canadian Government should regulate that so-called "commercial" activity, which is now creating an unacceptable situation to the residents of Richmond—Wolfe and the whole Eastern Townships area.

I therefore propose to call upon Members in this House to enact specific regulations governing the import of such wastes.

I would like in conclusion to thank the Minister of State (Youth) and Minister of State (Fitness and Amateur Sport) (Mr. Charest), the Secretary of State of Canada and Acting Minister of Environment (Mr. Bouchard) and the Minister of State (Agriculture) (Mr. Blais) who already are giving the matter favourable consideration.

[*English*]

FORESTRY

SCHEDULED EXPIRATION OF FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL AGREEMENTS

Mr. Steve Butland (Sault-Ste-Marie): Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of the House a situation which bears immediate attention by the Minister responsible for forestry. Six provincial federal agreements will expire in March of 1989. These cost-sharing agreements are essential to all aspects of our forestry industry including research, reforestation, and site preparation. I am most familiar with the Ontario-Canada Agreement which was for \$150 million over a five-year period.

Informal negotiations have gone on for nine months but, to the despair of provincial negotiators, the federal negotiators have no mandate to consummate any deal. This lack of mandate has been verified in discussions with staff of the Minister. This has already detracted from research initiatives. It also seems to reinforce some of the critical attention given forestry by the Auditor General.

I would ask that the Minister endorse immediately, at the very least, an extension of these agreements and send out a positive signal to the six provinces presently in limbo with regard to these agreements.

* * *

BANKS AND BANKING

FINANCING PRACTICES AFFECTING WOMEN BUSINESS OWNERS

Mrs. Mary Collins (Capilano—Howe Sound): Mr. Speaker, it is well known that women start up small businesses at five times the rate of men and are more successful. Thus, it was very disturbing to read in a recent report made by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business that banks may be providing less favourable financing to women business owners than to men. Particularly highlighted in this report was that the requirements for collateral for lines of credit were much higher for women, security of up to 300 per cent often being demanded from women business owners.

I would urge my cabinet colleagues, the members of the Finance Committee, and the banking community to undertake further investigations into the reasons these differences exist and to implement measures to ensure

that such discrimination does not continue. Otherwise, significant business opportunities may be missed and the rapid growth of female-owned businesses slowed. Neither would be in the interests of the pursuit of equality or economic prosperity.

* * *

LEEDS—GRENVILLE

CONCERNS OF CONSTITUENTS

Mr. Jim Jordan (Leeds—Grenville): Mr. Speaker, I want to use this brief occasion to thank the constituents of Leeds—Grenville for the confidence that they expressed in me on November 21. It is normal to have a Member of Parliament from Leeds—Grenville but what is not normal is to have one sitting in my caucus.

The last Liberal MP from Leeds-Grenville was John Matheson. Senior members here may remember Mr. Matheson who was largely responsible for the Canadian flag which flies so proudly wherever there is a Canadian presence in the world.

During the election campaign I got a good deal of support from the dairy farmers of my riding who have very strong reservations about the free trade deal and how it will impact on their livelihoods. I hope to address that concern in this Parliament.

Of equally important concern to the citizens of my riding, which is contained largely by the Rideau and St. Lawrence system, is the matter of the environment. I hope to address these concerns and others during the life of this Parliament.

* * *

[Translation]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

VOTING STATISTICS

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, during Votes Nos. 8 and 9 at 1 a.m. Saturday, December 17, 1988, 144 Conservative Members were here with their Leader, the Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney). On the Opposition side, there were only 20 Liberal Members present out of 82 and 16 Socialist Members out of 43.

S. O. 31

Mr. Speaker, where were those 89 Opposition Members and their Leaders who were conspicuous by their absence?

* * *

[English]

HOUSING

METROPOLITAN TORONTO—CONSTRUCTION OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Mr. Neil Young (Beaches—Woodbine): Mr. Speaker, Canada's present housing Minister is the Marie Antoinette of Canadian politics. During the election campaign when he was asked about Toronto's homeless, he denied that they existed. The Housing Minister (Mr. McDermid) is now going further. He is setting out to gut federal help in the city.

The former Housing Minister promised 7,000 non-profit units for Toronto. Now federal spending ceilings mean that we will lose 1,300 of those units. I call on the Minister to meet his predecessor's commitment to 7,000 units to be completed this year. Anything less will be a heartless betrayal of Canada's most desperate people.

The Government should be adopting a housing first policy for surplus Crown lands and it should be stating clearly what its intentions are for the development of affordable housing at the Downsview Airport site. The Minister says he has to do more studies. Canada's homeless do not need more studies. They want housing they can afford, and the Government should get on with the job of providing that housing.

* * *

ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

PRESERVATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA GIANT SITKA SPRUCE

Mr. Robert Wenman (Fraser Valley West): Mr. Speaker, the former Minister of the Environment, the Hon. Tom. McMillan, is no longer with us in the House of Commons but he—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Wenman: The new Member has big shoes that I doubt he will be able to fill.

S. O. 31

The former Minister left a living legacy in British Columbia in the form of Moresby Island Park and the Pacific Rim National Park. His legacy will continue to grow when the Government keeps his commitment to negotiate a Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia to preserve the tallest trees in Canada, the tallest Sitka spruce in the world, to the benefit of both this and future generations.

These trees stand in a silent, pristine wilderness, cathedral-like giant pillars holding up the sky. The Government must respond to national and international calls to preserve this magnificent forest.

There is a void in our current law that makes wilderness preservation difficult, and I am therefore announcing to the House today that it is my intention to introduce in the near future a Private Member's Bill entitled the Canadian Wilderness Act. The Act, now in draft form, will assist the provinces in protecting and preserving Canada's wilderness heritage. I look forward to winning the support of all Members in all Parties in this House for the Wilderness Preservation Act during the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

* * *

PUBLIC SERVICE

WAGES OF FEDERAL DOCKYARD WORKERS IN HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH AREA

Mr. Ron MacDonald (Dartmouth): Mr. Speaker, one of the major issues in Nova Scotia during the recent federal election campaign was the discriminatory wage rates paid by the Government of Canada to federal dockyard workers in the Halifax-Dartmouth area. Under this practice, these workers in Nova Scotia are receiving lower wages than their counterparts in British Columbia for doing exactly the same work. The only difference is the location of their place of residence. This is outright discrimination. It is no less abhorrent than wage discrimination based on race, the creed or the sex of a worker.

• (1410)

While the federal Government has made a commitment to the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, it is still paying wages based solely on the region in which a worker lives. The Government cannot have it both ways, Mr. Speaker.

I call upon the federal Government to alter this policy immediately which is deeply offensive and unfair to federal dockyard workers and other federal employees in my riding. The time for action is now.

* * *

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

ELECTION OF FIRST CANADIAN MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT BORN IN GREECE

Hon. John Bosley (Don Valley West): Mr. Speaker, all of us have strong memories of our first election to this place and of our first few days here, so the extensive article this weekend in *The Toronto Star* about the new Member, the Hon. Member for Scarborough—Agin-court (Mr. Karygiannis), I am sure, had special meaning for all of us.

In addition, Sir, as I represent the riding wherein is located the Greek cultural centre I am aware of the special significance of that particular Hon. Member's election. The only flaw in the article of consequence, and I mean this with no disrespect to the Hon. Member, is that he is not the first Canadian born in Greece to be elected to this House.

I hope it is only oversight that *The Toronto Star* would fail to remind Canadians that the first Canadian elected to this House of Commons born in Greece was elected to this House in 1972 and still sits here, the Hon. Member for Bruce—Grey (Mr. Mitges).

* * *

UNITY

TIME FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

Mr. Ken G. Hughes (MacLeod): Mr. Speaker, in the spirit of the season I would like to extend to my colleagues my warmest sincere best wishes for the weeks ahead.

We should all reflect on the gifts which Canadians share, peace, health, goodwill, democratic and open government, and a wealth to be envied by many peoples around the world. Let us set aside our differences and be thankful for those aspects of the nation we have already built together. Let us also look forward.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), in the wake of the recent election, has suggested that this should be a

time of national reconciliation and a time for healing. It is also in that spirit that I call on all Members, on behalf of the people of MacLeod, to set aside differences and focus on working together.

* * *

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

MEETING NEEDS OF THE HUNGRY—TRIBUTE TO NORTHUMBERLAND VOLUNTEERS

Ms. Christine Stewart (Northumberland): Mr. Speaker, I would like to highlight Article 25 of the United Nations Declaration to which Canada is a signatory. It states:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate to the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing.

Today and throughout this week in Canada there are thousands of Canadians, the majority being children, who are experiencing hunger. Across Canada, food bank volunteers and concerned supporters are struggling to meet the needs of hungry Canadians.

In my own riding of Northumberland, I am grateful to the many volunteers who, for over two years, have given devoted service to providing support to our hungry through such organizations as Fare Share, the Northumberland food banks project.

However, we know the food bank recipients need and want decent job opportunities and adequate affordable housing. They need and want dignity, the opportunity to shop like you and I, for their own basic food needs. Food banks should only be an emergency service.

Policies and programs targeted specifically to providing decent jobs and affordable housing are required. On behalf of the hungry in my riding of Northumberland and throughout Canada, I implore the Government to make a concerted effort to provide all families and individuals their basic right to food, clothing, and housing in 1989.

* * *

NATIONAL DEFENCE

MINESWEEPERS—PORT OF SHELBURNE SUGGESTED AS BASE

Mr. Peter L. McCreath (South Shore): Mr. Speaker, last week the Government announced the purchase of

Oral Questions

two auxiliary minesweepers to be put into service during the spring of 1989 by the Canadian Naval Reserve. By 1993 there ought to be 12 such coastal defence vessels, eight assigned to the East Coast. A permanent base must be established for this fleet, and crowded conditions would suggest that the dockyard in Halifax is not an appropriate site.

The Port of Shelburne offers a large harbour, convenient to all East Coast areas. There is a large ship repair facility, space for expansion, and existing military infrastructure.

The town of Shelburne, on Nova Scotia's climatically moderate South Shore, offers pleasant living year-round and a variety of necessary living services. The whole of Shelburne County would benefit significantly from the jobs and economic impact of the reserve and minesweeper bases.

The determination of Shelburne as the site of this unit would serve well both the interests and needs of Canada's naval forces and a region of Nova Scotia in need of a more diversified economy.

Accordingly, I strongly urge the Government to consider this proposal seriously and to locate Canada's new East Coast mine countermeasure fleet in the Port and County of Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON LANGUAGE PROHIBITION IN QUEBEC

Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce): Mr. Speaker, I have a question for the Prime Minister or, if he is not here, the Acting Prime Minister, whomever that may be.

Considering that Premier Bourassa intends to move quickly to override the Supreme Court decision on signs in Quebec, and since in the past the Prime Minister said he dislikes the use of the notwithstanding clause, I would like to know if the Prime Minister, or whoever is acting in his place, will call Mr. Bourassa today and ask him to reconsider his position and to respect the federal Charter, the Quebec Charter, and the Supreme Court decision.

As the Prime Minister or the Acting Prime Minister knows, the Supreme Court said it would accept the

Oral Questions

priority of French in Quebec but not the prohibition of another language. Will the Government do that today?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the question, and the House knows that this is a matter of very real importance to all Members of the House. The House would expect the Government of Canada to consider very carefully any response that we would want to make.

As I think the Hon. Member may know, while it was planned this morning to table the legislation in the Quebec National Assembly that had not occurred as of a couple of minutes ago. I think the Government of Canada would want to reserve any action or comment on the question until we have the opportunity to see the legislation actually tabled in the Quebec National Assembly.

Mr. Allmand: Mr. Speaker, as the Hon. Minister knows, the Premier of Quebec made his intentions known yesterday although he had not tabled the legislation.

[*Translation*]

PROTECTION OF LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—
GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—Lachine East): Mr. Speaker, we must remember that Section 2 of the Meech Lake Agreement stipulates that linguistic minorities must be protected. And Section 42 of Bill C-72 stipulates that the federal Government, with the provinces, must support the protection of linguistic minorities in Canada. Under these circumstances, is it not true that the federal Government has the responsibility to communicate with the Government of Quebec concerning the measures proposed by Mr. Bourassa yesterday?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Indeed, Mr. Speaker—and I apologize for being away for the first question—I already communicated with Mr. Bourassa yesterday and I told him the position of my Government and of this House on such a matter. I expressed the desire, the wish, that the Government of Quebec could find a formula, as the Supreme Court suggested, whereby the preponderance of French at all times in Quebec would be assured together with the respect of minorities and their freedom of expression, as the Supreme Court wanted and the Quebec Charter states. That was the wish and the desire that I expressed

to Mr. Bourassa yesterday, no doubt on behalf of all Hon. Members. I have not yet seen the Bill that will be brought forward, but we will no doubt see one in the coming days.

[*English*]

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce): Mr. Speaker, if I understand correctly, the Prime Minister has done what I asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs to do. I want to make sure that I understand correctly. He seems to have said that he did ask the Prime Minister of Québec to consider implementing legislation that would respect the judgment of the Supreme Court.

I want to bring to the attention of the Prime Minister that nine days ago we celebrated the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which, in Article 19, declares “freedom of expression” as a basic fundamental freedom. As I just said in my previous question, the Canadian Charter, the Meech Accord, and Bill C-72 all provide for the protection of language minorities.

If these documents mean anything to the federal Government, then surely it should approach the Québec Government to have them respected.

[*Translation*]

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the long and noble tradition of the fairness of Quebec to its English-speaking minority is well known. I think that the situation of anglophones in Quebec could in many respects serve as a model for the other provinces in the treatment of their French-speaking minority.

That being said, we showed leadership with Bill C-72 and the Meech Lake Accord, which protect the rights of minorities wherever they are, and I conveyed this feeling to Mr. Bourassa. The Hon. Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce knows very well that Mr. Bourassa has been deeply troubled by the conflicts which he went through. I told him that I hoped his Government would find a way to respect the two elements or parts of the Supreme Court decision. That was our position and I think it remains the position of this Parliament. We shall see what comes out of the Bill that will be presented. But it is important to stress that Quebec has no lessons to learn from anyone about how it treats its linguistic minorities.

We always hope for even more generous treatment for all minorities throughout Canada, but I think that

Oral Questions

Quebec is still the leader in this field. We shall see what the Government of Quebec does with the Supreme Court decision.

• (1420)

PRIME MINISTER'S RECOMMENDATION

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, in answer to my colleague the Prime Minister said that last night he conveyed the position of his Government to Premier Bourassa. I want to be clear. The Prime Minister said that he expects the Quebec Government to abide by the provisions of the Supreme Court ruling. In his conclusions, did the Prime Minister recommend resorting to the notwithstanding clause, or did he ask that only public signs and primacy of the French language be considered?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Personally, Mr. Speaker, I have always thought that the notwithstanding clause is inconsistent with a charter of rights. This is why I was adamantly opposed when the previous Government included that clause in the 1981-82 Canadian Constitution. It matters little at whose request this was done. The fact is that the clause was made part of the Canadian Constitution. Personally, as a citizen, I think the two are incompatible and I did not urge Mr. Bourassa or any other Premier to use it. I was expressing the hope that, despite his difficulties, Mr. Bourassa might come up with a formula which would respect the two basic options of the Supreme Court ruling.

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): I should like to give the Prime Minister an opportunity to say more about these two options. Does the Prime Minister agree with the Supreme Court position concerning the primacy of French inside and outside, or does he favour the other position, French outside and bilingualism with French primacy inside? What is the position of the Government of Canada . . . I want to know . . .

An Hon. Member: Ask Bourassa!

Mr. Lapierre: The Minister might refrain from commenting on such a basic issue.

I am asking his leader the Prime Minister who conveyed the position of the Government of Canada: Does the Government of Canada agree with full implementation of French primacy inside and outside, or does

it agree with the position of the Quebec Government? Just what is the position of the Government of Canada?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): First and foremost, Mr. Speaker, I should think we ought to wait to know the position of the Quebec Government. I have been told that the Bill has not yet been introduced. We will see, it looks as though they are arguing over procedure. We will see. The Hon. Member would want us to act prudently. Still we will have to wait until the Bill is tabled. Now, as far as I know the Supreme Court did refer to promoting the use of French and Quebec's French character. Of course we approve! And we are asking Quebec lawmakers to respect this French character while taking into account the reality of Quebec's Charter of Rights. Such is the challenge facing Quebec lawmakers as a result of the ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada. The Bill will indicate how the Quebec Government responds. I expressed the wish—on behalf of all parliamentarians, I think—that both would be reconciled in a Bill whose effect would be to respect fully the French dimension of this Quebec reality, while at the same time respecting the basic values in the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

* * *

[English]

CHILD CARE

FEDERAL STRATEGY—NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE REPORT

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Health and Welfare, and it concerns the very important question of child care in Canada.

Today the National Council of Welfare, which the Minister knows is a government appointed non-partisan body, issued a report on child care in which it urged the Government to make major improvements in the federal child care strategy, including a phase-out of tax breaks which would allow at least another \$2 billion to be invested in child care services.

In view of this study and many other studies that have been done with adequate research, will the Minister assure the House today that he will redraft the child care legislation, and that this will be better legislation that will meet the needs of Canada's children today and in the future?

Oral Questions

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, in response to the Hon. Member's question, I have looked at the report that was made available to me by the National Council of Welfare. There are a number of issues that I am examining.

In direct answer to the question of the Hon. Member, the Government's child care plan was quite clear. We presented it in the last Parliament. It was only blocked by the Liberal-dominated Senate in the last moments of that Parliament, and we intend to reintroduce it.

COUNCIL'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, surely the Minister, who I know has some feeling for children and families in Canada, will not be so pigheaded as not to reconsider that legislation.

The past is the past and the Minister now has a golden opportunity to bring in more progressive legislation that will go beyond seven years, and which will help to meet the real needs of children.

Since the National Council of Welfare advocates the creation of 750,000 new spaces over the next seven years with no fixed ceiling on funds, and also a system of affordable fees which will make child care available and accessible to families regardless of income, does the Minister agree with these principles? If he does, will he take a look at the legislation, consult with the council and other groups, and with provincial people, if necessary, and come in with a program of which we can be proud in Canada?

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I want to re-emphasize the underpinning of the Government's child care strategy, and that was choice. There was going to be choice for those parents who wanted their children in child care, choice for those parents who wanted their children in child care spaces related to the industry where those parents worked, and choice for those parents who decided that they wanted to stay at home with their children. That is the manner in which we approached the child care issue.

I say to the Hon. Member that, just as I am analyzing the report a little more fully, possibly the Hon. Member would also want to do that. The Hon. Member will discover that the recommendations assume a number of things, not least of which is that some of the greatest

benefits go to families in the higher income brackets. Possibly the Hon. Member has not looked at that quite as carefully as she might want to do now.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT—REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF PARENTAL LEAVE

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, if the Minister would look at it carefully he would see that that is exactly why we want those very regressive tax measures removed.

I would like to ask the Minister and his colleague, the Minister of Employment, in view of the importance of parents having choice to remain at home with young infants, will they now convince the Cabinet that it is extremely important to introduce parental leave of 15 weeks, and also that the Government not contravene the Charter of Rights by refusing to change the law, as was required by the courts of this land? That extension is needed and it is a right under the Charter that there be 15 more weeks of parental leave under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

• (1430)

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, in answer to the Hon. Member's question, the Government will make a decision in respect of parental leave. As the Hon. Member points out, there has been a court decision. The Minister of Employment and Immigration has chief responsibility in that regard, and she is working on that aspect of it.

A point that I would make to the Hon. Member is that, in all of the discussion on child care, she and her Party have taken a very singular role, that being that it should be a system dominated and run by government—

Ms. Mitchell: Not true.

Mr. Epp: In the Canadian context, that would mean a system operated by the provincial Governments.

That is not a system that this Government has adopted, nor is it a system that Canadian parents accept. In fact, it is not a system which has favourable support among the Canadian public generally.

If anyone should be rethinking their policy on child care, it is those who sit on the opposite side of this House.

DISASTERS

SINKING OF *ROWAN GORILLA* OIL RIG—SEAWORTHINESS INSPECTION QUERY

Mr. Brian Tobin (Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte): Mr. Speaker, my question, which I shall come to in a moment, is for the Minister of Energy.

I know that all Members of the House breathed a sigh of relief and offered a prayer of thanks when the 27 crew members of the oil rig *Rowan Gorilla* were brought home, after spending 24 hours in a survival capsule at sea. I know, as well, that my colleagues in this place will join me in wishing those crew members and their families a very special Christmas this year.

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Tobin: I should like to ask the Minister of Energy whether he can confirm today that, notwithstanding the fact that over 90 per cent of the crew aboard that U.S.-flagged rig were Canadians, no Canadian seaworthiness inspection or permission was required before the *Rowan Gorilla* left Halifax Harbour in an attempt to make a 30-day crossing of the Atlantic, under tow, in severe winter conditions.

[Translation]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, I think the Hon. Member has expressed the feelings of all of us in the House toward the people who went through great hardship a few days ago. But I want to tell the Hon. Member that as far as the Energy Department is concerned and particularly COGLA, the regulatory body that is responsible for those matters, according to the information I was given, the Government's responsibilities end the moment the platform leaves the drilling area where it was operating.

Inspections were made, as was reported in the newspapers, especially by the Coast Guard. Since they were not made in a regulatory context, the Government could not legally intervene because it has no authority in that matter.

[English]

REQUEST FOR REVIEW OF REGULATIONS APPLICABLE TO OIL RIGS

Mr. Brian Tobin (Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte): Mr. Speaker, in February of 1982, 84 people lost their lives when the *Ocean Ranger* went down while operating under winter drilling conditions. The Royal Commission on the *Ocean Ranger* disaster recommended that all aspects of the operation and movement of drilling rigs be

Oral Questions

covered under the Canada Shipping Act. The Government rejected that advice. The fact remains that this rig required no seaworthiness inspection by Canadian authorities, nor any permission whatsoever to leave Canadians waters in its attempt to make a 30-day crossing of the Atlantic.

The only consultation was that as between the rig owners and its insurers.

That is not good enough, Mr. Speaker, given the experience of February of 1982 and the loss of 84 lives.

I should like to ask the Minister of Energy whether he is, today, prepared to undertake a review of the current regulations covering both the operation and movement of oil rigs, and whether he will see that all vessels, including foreign-flagged vessels, are covered by the strict safety standards of the Canada Shipping Act, and whether he will initiate, in light of this near disaster, that review immediately.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, it should be very clear. The platform belongs to an American corporation. The incident occurred outside Canadian territorial waters and safety control is the responsibility of my colleague the Minister of Transport, who would like to give additional information.

* * *

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

EFFECT OF COMPANY SHUT-DOWNS

Mr. Jesse Flis (Parkdale—High Park): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade.

The closing of Gillette Canada has already resulted in a ripple effect on Hamida Textiles Inc., a company located in my riding of Parkdale—High Park.

With the possible passage of the Free Trade Agreement, better known as the Sale of Canada Act, small and medium-sized companies will be the first casualties in so far as production and employment levels are concerned.

Oral Questions

What studies has the Government undertaken or completed to monitor the chain reaction, or the ripple effect—and I stress, Mr. Speaker, the ripple effect—of large company shut-downs on small manufacturing companies as a result of the passage of Bill C-2, the Free Trade Agreement?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, there is no valid suggestion of which I am aware that any reduction in employment on the part of Gillette Canada is due to the Free Trade Agreement.

I can pick out of the air, as the Hon. Member opposite seems to what to do in respect of job losses, companies that are expanding their operations as a result of the Free Trade Agreement.

I have in my hand a statement by the President of Novacor Chemicals Ltd., a statement to the effect that the company stands to save \$30 million a year in tariffs on its exports of polyethylene and methanol. That will ensure that the company will invest in a third ethanol plant near the central Alberta community of Joffre.

Another plant means more jobs. Mr. Feick, the President, estimates that it will create 200 permanent positions.

So, for every alleged example the Hon. Member wishes to bring forward of some company closure or lay-off flowing out of the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S., an agreement which is not yet in effect, I can produce two, three, four, five, ten examples of expansions and job creation throughout this country as a result of the possibilities presented by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Flis: Mr. Speaker, that was the attitude of my predecessor, and I ask the Minister to note where he is now.

Mr. Crosbie: It is where you were four years ago.

TEXTILE COMPANY WORKERS

Mr. Jesse Flis (Parkdale—High Park): Mr. Speaker, Hamida Textiles Inc., which employs 36 people, mostly immigrant women, has already lost a contract because of the Gillette Canada plant closing.

The owner told me just this weekend that there is no way that his company, a company which pays its workers \$6.50 to \$8 per hour, can compete with a South

Carolina textile company which pays its workers \$3.50 per hour.

My question, Mr. Speaker, for the Hon. Minister is this. What kind of assistance or adjustment programs does the Government have for the Hamida Textile workers who will be unemployed if this Free Trade Agreement goes through?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, this is a pointless exercise. Just let me give the Hon. Member opposite this statistic. In 1986, 381 plants of over 100 employees each closed down, putting some 49,000 people out of work.

Within that same year, many more jobs were created, both by the opening of 326 new plants and through the expansion and modernization of existing plants.

We anticipate, Mr. Speaker, over \$150 billion of new investment by firms in Canada over the next year. Now, while we do not claim that all of this good news in terms of investment in Canada is caused by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, much of it is.

It is just sterile to have these silly suggestions made across the House in Question Period every day, in the light of the economic facts.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Copps: You've got a fertile imagination, John.

* * *

● (1440)

INDUSTRY

NORTHERN TELECOM—POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF JOBS TO GEORGIA

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, the Minister persists in seeing nothing but rosy skies ahead. He fails to see, for example, the reality of almost 900 people who have lost their jobs at Northern Telecom because of this shift for which he is responsible.

In view of the fact there are only two parts of the Northern Telecom empire producing DMSU-IU equipment, one in Aylmer and one in Georgia, and the one in Aylmer is being shut down, how can he possibly justify any suggestion this is not a transfer of jobs to Georgia which is taking place?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman says I see

things as rosy in the future. Yes, we see things much rosier in the future with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. All the hon. gentleman can see is the rosy crucifixion. We see the rosy future.

Northern Telecom is one of the foremost companies in the technological future of Canada and it has had to make some adjustments. That has no connection whatsoever with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The facts are that American Telephone and Telegraph, the largest company in the world in that business, is making the same kinds of adjustments. It is laying off more people in the U.S., double the number, than they are laying off here in Canada. It has no connection with the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement whatsoever.

MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Mr. Speaker, the very plant which the Minister suggested last week, as an answer to this problem, was expanding, has in fact given pre-notice of lay-offs to 757 of its 4,500 person workforce.

Given that, does the Minister not finally realize it is important, necessary, even crucial that he get up and give a signal to Canadian workers that they are going to be protected and defended by his otherwise weak-kneed Government?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member can get on with his fictitious cries of gloom and doom every day but the facts are here. I will give this estimate of the Economic Council of Canada again. It says over ten years the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement is likely to create 439,000 jobs and there may be 187,000 jobs lost over the ten-year period, for a net gain of 251,000 jobs.

The hon. gentleman, getting up in the House and pretending that every close-down and lay-off in this country over the following months is due to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, is making an attempt to fool and cod the Canadian people, and they will not be fooled and coddled, as they showed on November 21.

Oral Questions

TOURISM

EXTENT OF CANADA'S ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN

Mr. Ken James (Sarnia—Lambton): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of State for Small Business and Tourism. My constituency of Sarnia—Lambton is diligently working to promote our area as an attractive tourist destination. As well, the Minister knows I have a great interest in tourism nationally.

As the Minister also knows, concern has been voiced by the industry that our Government's commitment and the direction provided to Tourism Canada's advertising campaign may be insufficient to allow effective competition with other countries such as Australia.

Could the Minister offer his assurance that this situation will be closely examined by his Department and every effort will be made to examine the many fine suggestions put forward by TIAC just this last month?

Hon. Bernard Valcourt (Minister of State (Small Businesses and Tourism) and Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)): Mr. Speaker, this is the first Government to have undertaken a strategic marketing campaign of Canadian tourism products in the U.S. and abroad. Since 1985 we have increased and enhanced our budget for marketing Canada overseas and in the U.S., with impressive results. We intend to continue that thrust.

* * *

TRADE

SOFTWOOD LUMBER EXPORT TAX—CANADA-UNITED STATES MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Mr. Joe Comuzzi (Thunder Bay—Nipigon): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. This House was advised last week of the disastrous effect the 15 per cent export tax is having on sawmills and sawmill workers, not only in northern Ontario but in other lumber producing provinces. Article 9 of the Memorandum of Understanding which imposes the 15 per cent tax states that either Government may terminate the Understanding at any time upon 30 days written notice.

Is the Prime Minister prepared to take the necessary steps to save the jobs of the Canadian lumber industry, and make a commitment to meet with representatives of

Oral Questions

the industry to develop a strategy to terminate this Memorandum of Agreement pursuant to Article 9?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, we have had no requests, at least none I am familiar with, from the provinces for a change in or termination of the agreement on softwood lumber. The Memorandum of Understanding is grandfathered in the FTA. If the FTA had been in effect in 1986 we would not have been in the position we found ourselves in. We were left in that position by the negligence of the Government that preceded us.

REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRY MEETING

Mr. Joe Comuzzi (Thunder Bay—Nipigon): Mr. Speaker, the Minister is correct. This item is grandfathered under the Free Trade Agreement. It is imperative, however, that the tax be phased out before the deal becomes law.

I repeat my question. Is the Prime Minister prepared to meet with members of the softwood lumber industry to eliminate the tax and give this vital industry a chance to operate on a level field?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, we are always prepared to meet with the leadership of any industry in Canada that requests a meeting. If the softwood lumber industry requests a meeting, of course either the Minister responsible for Forestry or the Minister for International Trade, or whoever, will meet with them. We will do whatever we can to assist them, just as we did in working out this Memorandum of Understanding which was far better for the industry and the Government than the situation would have been had it been left alone.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT

DEFINITION OF SUBSIDY

Mr. Dave Dingwall (Cape Breton—East Richmond): Mr. Speaker, the Minister will know there are millions of Canadians who have deep and genuine concern about those negotiations yet to come on resolving the subsidy issue under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Will the Minister avail himself of this opportunity to indicate to the House and those millions of Canadians the position of the Government of Canada on this

particular issue, when it instructed its trade negotiating team on that position, and whether it will now table that particular memorandum on the floor of the House of Commons for Canadians to examine and consider?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I can confirm once again, as we have done repeatedly, that there is absolutely nothing in the agreement that places any new constraints on the ability of the Government to promote regional economic development.

When the negotiations commence in the subsidies committee on the question of what are trade distorting subsidies to see whether we can get a commonly agreed definition, Canada will not agree to any definition that would place in jeopardy our ability to continue what is already in the Constitution. One of the prime objectives of the Government of Canada, the overcoming of regional inequalities, will remain our objective and nothing in any definition we ever agree to will interfere with that ability. That is our position.

• (1450)

CANADA-UNITED STATES NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Dave Dingwall (Cape Breton—East Richmond): My supplementary question is addressed to the same Minister. Canadians know that the Government gave away the store on pharmaceuticals, disregarded the limitations on foreign investment, and gutted the National Energy Program, all in the name of assisting their dear corporate friends south of the border.

Canadians wish to know from the Government what programs of the Government of Canada are on the table with regard to the definition of subsidy? What is in? What is out? Tell the Canadian people.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, for seven weeks the hon. gentleman opposite and another several hundred candidates with him attempted to put this crass suggestion across to the Canadian people, who did not believe it. They did not believe it then. They do not believe it now. It is not going to happen. It did not happen. It is not going to happen. That is the position.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, ever since 1947—

Mr. Dingwall: What about water?

Oral Questions

Mr. Crosbie: Does the hon. gentleman want to listen? I know that he will learn nothing, but ever since 1947 there has been a subsidies code and a subsidies negotiation in the GATT. Why did he not spend the last 40 years going around trying to frighten the Canadian people while those negotiations were going on?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

* * *

HEALTH**POLLUTANTS IN ARCTIC FOOD SUPPLY**

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of National Health and Welfare. In yet another example of the consequences of the lack of consultation and involvement of northerners in scientific research that goes on in the North, the Inuit learned last week that their staple food supply is in jeopardy owing not to a one-time environmental event but to the accumulation of deadly toxins over a long period of time, an accumulation that could have benefited from the ongoing monitoring that we know needs to be done in the Arctic.

What is the Minister intending to communicate with the Inuit about the research that has been done and is now showing up pollutants in their food supply? What will he do to establish a comprehensive testing of food supplies in the Arctic?

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, first, the Hon. Member is not correct when she alleges that the Government has not done anything. In fact, I point out to her that it was three years ago that the Government began to assess the extent of organic pollutant contamination in Arctic food sources. In fact, it is that interim response that forms part of the body of information that has now been made public.

In my discussions with the Secretary of State for External Affairs there has also been a suggestion for consideration of a circumpolar conference on Arctic pollution. Obviously, if that request comes forward we would consider it very positively.

PROVISION OF INFORMATION TO INUIT

Ms. Audrey McLaughlin (Yukon): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is this. The Minister of Health, I believe, misunderstands what I said. I did not say

“none” has been done. I said that there has been no consultation with the Inuit who are obviously anticipating a lot of anxiety and confusion over reports they get to read in the paper—not from the Department but in the paper—because they have not been involved in the research.

What specifically is the Minister prepared to do to let the Inuit people know about their health? It is their food supply that is in jeopardy here.

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I point out again that the survey was specifically pin-pointed to Broughton Island. The survey has been co-ordinated not only by a number of federal Departments, including the Departments of Indian Affairs, Environment, Fisheries and Oceans, and my own Department, but with the Government of the Northwest Territories.

I point out to the Hon. Member as well that the Government of the Northwest Territories has certain responsibilities in particular since the April last transfer of health care to its jurisdiction. Notwithstanding that, we will use whatever consultation methods we have, along with other Departments, principally the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to make this information available.

I think that what all of us in this House should be careful of is this. While we want the best information and want to see how we can correct that which now exists, we should also not over-emphasize some possibilities because at this moment they are not yet confirmed.

* * *

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**OTTAWA—STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO MEMBER FOR MISSISSAUGA SOUTH**

Mr. John Manley (Ottawa South): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister. Two days after the election the Conservative Member for Mississauga South was quoted as saying: “Ottawa voters will be punished for not having elected Conservatives to Parliament on November 21.” He later said that other regions would also suffer for having voted Liberal. Canadians of all Parties are appalled at this horribly cynical attitude and approach to government.

Will the Prime Minister do the honourable thing and stand in this House, denounce the Member’s remarks,

Oral Questions

and dissociate the Government from them? Will he suggest to the Members of his Party that this Member should not be elected Chairman of the House Finance Committee in this Parliament?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I will be happy to confirm to my hon. friend that all regions of Canada, irrespective of how the citizens may have voted, will be treated with the same degree of justice and equality as any other.

The fact that the citizens of the general region of Ottawa returned more opposition Members than government Members matters not at all in terms of the fairness and consideration that we will continue to bring to the matters that affect the well-being of the citizens of Ottawa.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

STATEMENTS BY MEMBER FOR MISSISSAUGA SOUTH—
GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. John Manley (Ottawa South): Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask a supplementary question. When he threatened Ottawa, the Member for Mississauga South also said that jobs would be cut in the Public Service. He added:

Who will care about civil servants in Ottawa who lose their jobs?

Can the Prime Minister tell us what the intentions of his Government for the Public Service are? How many other public servants will lose their jobs, and in what departments?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the answer, obviously, is the same in English as in French. We will treat all citizens of Ottawa, including of course members of the Public Service, justly and fairly. That was the situation in the past. Whether public servants live in Ottawa, Vancouver or St. John's, Newfoundland, they are entitled to first-class treatment and that is what they will receive from the Government that I have the honour to lead.

[English]

AIRPORTS

PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT—SAFETY CONCERNS

Ms. Albina Guarnieri (Mississauga East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister and concerns safety at Pearson International Airport. To date, the Government has not adequately addressed the lack of comprehensive funding for this facility which has led to such serious problems as a shortage of air traffic controllers, inadequate fire-fighting equipment at the airport, and the continued use of a dated back-up generator system for the radar control tower. Instead, it has introduced temporary stop-gap measures which sadly do not inspire a great deal of confidence.

When is the Government going to address the long-time concerns about safety and underfunding at Pearson International Airport?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, the concerns about Pearson International Airport are being looked at, as was stated in this House earlier last week. The long-term planning and medium-term planning are taking place early in the new year. The temporary measures have been working at Pearson International, and the planes are flying with limited delay.

Ms. Guarnieri: The air transportation policy of this Government could best be described as flying on a wing and a prayer.

• (1500)

BACK-UP POWER SYSTEM

Ms. Albina Guarnieri (Mississauga East): Mr. Speaker, two weeks ago the back-up generator at Pearson failed. Last Thursday the Mississauga-Brampton area, which includes the airport region, suffered an eight and one-half hour power black-out. If that broken down, old back-up generator at Pearson had failed at the same time, radar and computer systems could have crashed without warning, leaving the airport without guidance. Will the Government give a commitment right here and now to the much needed funding to ensure the safety and security of air travellers?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, the security and safety of air travellers in Canada have long been the No. 1 issue as far as the

Department of Transport is concerned. The needs of the airport are being looked at closely. The generator problem that was brought forward by the Hon. Member is certainly part of that program.

Mr. Speaker: A single question, the Hon. Member for Thunder Bay—Atikokan.

* * *

EMPLOYMENT

THUNDER BAY LAY-OFFS—ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Mr. Iain Angus (Thunder Bay—Atikokan): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister responsible for Employment and Immigration. This past summer, in anticipation of the massive lay-offs in Thunder Bay in the grain industry, the Minister indicated in the House that adjustment programs would be put in place. The lay-offs have now occurred. A thousand people are out of work. More are to be laid off within weeks. Will the Minister indicate what adjustment programs she has been able to provide?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his question and his interest in this ongoing difficulty. It is something that my Department will be working on. We will be looking at the industrial adjustment service and some other services that may be provided. I will be happy to keep the Hon. Member informed.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

CLARIFICATION OF REMARK

Mr. Don Blenkarn (Mississauga South): Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege. Earlier in the Question Period the Hon. Member for Ottawa South (Mr. Manley) alleged that I made certain remarks that must have caused him great embarrassment, suggesting that I somehow was going to punish all of the citizens of Ottawa.

I do not know whether he had in mind that I was going to use whips or truncheons or something of that nature.

If he is the kind of Member that believes in the press then he is totally wrong. I have not got a copy of the

Privilege—Ms. Copps

“blues” yet to go over exactly what he said, but I want to say to the House that at no time did I ever suggest that Ottawa would be punished. But I did suggest that Ottawa was awfully well served by Messrs. Tupper, Daubney and Turner. They did a fine job in representing the interests of Ottawa and the citizens of Ottawa, better than the citizens of Ottawa have ever been represented before. I suggest to him that unless he works awfully hard and gives the citizens of Ottawa the same kind of representation they had before, he may not be back after the next election.

Mr. John Manley (Ottawa South): Mr. Speaker, I am happy to afford the Hon. Member the opportunity of reviewing the press clippings of his comments which I have in my office. He will note in the wording of my question that I did say he was quoted as saying what he said.

He has had much opportunity in the time that has passed between November 23 and now to seek a withdrawal of the quotations by the newspapers. I also suggest that he was heard on radio in the Ottawa area making similar statements.

Mr. Speaker: It may well be that the Hon. Member for Mississauga South (Mr. Blenkarn), having seen the “blues”, will want to return on this matter. For the moment, I think we will leave it in abeyance.

ALLEGED OBJECTIONABLE REMARK

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, in the course of Question Period the Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie)—I use the word “honourable” advisedly—caused a slur on the crucifix by making a statement about the “rosy crucifixion”. I think the Minister may seek to review and withdraw his comments because they certainly do not enhance the flavour of this House.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, one gets used to this kind of intervention by the Hon. Member. *The Rosy Crucifixion* happens to be the name of a book by Henry Miller, sold around the world. *The Rosy Crucifixion*. Nobody has brought Henry Miller before the bar of any parliament to ask him to apologize for calling his book *The Rosy Crucifixion*.

Ms. Copps: That is not the name of the book.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: Send her a copy.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

An Hon. Member: Let's hear it, Sheila.

Mr. Speaker: I wonder if Hon. Members would stop to consider for just a moment. A complaint was raised. It may or may not have been a matter about which the Hon. Member is complaining. The reference may have been to something else. But the Hon. Member felt that it was a reference to something which is sacred to many of us, and I think that I dealt with it as it should be. I would ask other Hon. Members, especially in this week, to let the matter go.

Orders of the Day.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed consideration of the motion of Mr. Crosbie that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be now read the second time and referred to a Committee of the Whole; and the amendment of Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra) (p. 127).

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to participate in this very important debate. At the outset I want to extend to you, Sir, my personal congratulations and the congratulations of the electorate of the constituency of Vegreville for your re-elevation to the high office of Speaker of the House. You have distinguished yourself in a very exemplary way and I know that you will do equally well in the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

I also want to add my congratulations and best wishes to the Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees who joins you in the affairs of the House.

I want to deal with four issues in the course of my speech today. First, I want to deal with the mandate and whether in fact the Government has a clear mandate to proceed with this legislation. I want to refer briefly to the opposition tactics. Then I want to talk about the impact and the benefits that this deal will have for western Canada, particularly agriculture.

First let us deal with the issue of the mandate. I find it strange that the Opposition is putting a peculiar interpretation on the outcome of this election. It seems to me that when a Party gets a majority of seats it indeed has the right to govern the country and put in place its legislative program.

I was drawn to the December 5 editorial in the *Winnipeg Free Press* which I think puts this into a very clear context. It said:

The purpose of an election is to provide the winning party with a mandate to govern the country for a limited period of time.

The Mulroney government won that mandate on November 21. So long as it continues to enjoy the support of a majority of members of the House of Commons, it has a legal and moral right to exercise that mandate—to legislate, to raise and lower taxes, to administer the country and to enter into treaties.

I believe that this pretty well summarizes and puts the issue into context. What the Opposition is injecting into this debate is the 50 per cent rule. If we applied the 50 per cent rule we would have some 80 Conservative Members elected to the House, 30 or 32 Liberals and 10 or 12 New Democrats. As the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) pointed out the other night, we probably would not have the Leader of the Opposition or the Leader of the New Democratic Party in the House.

What kind of convoluted interpretation is that? We should get off it. If we go back to 1965, the Liberal Party which was the governing Party of the day garnered 40 per cent of the vote. In 1968, it had 45.5 per cent and that was considered to be a landslide. In 1972, it garnered 38.5 per cent of the vote. I do not know if the Liberal Government had a mandate to proceed with the establishment of Petro-Canada. Liberal Members certainly did not talk about that during the election campaign. Notwithstanding that fact, they brought in Petro-Canada and a great deal of legislation that was repugnant to western Canada and to other regions of Canada.

• (1510)

In 1974 the Liberals got 43.2 per cent of the vote, and then in 1979 they lost the election. In 1980 they got 43.9 per cent of the vote, at which time we changed the face of Canada. There was no talk about constitutional reform during that election campaign. The issue was 18 cents a gallon. The Liberals said they would not bring in an 18 cent a gallon tax. I suppose they were quite right. It was closer to 70 cents or 80 cents a gallon. However, they did not talk about a national energy program that would devastate the West, they did not talk about a

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Charter of Rights and they did not talk about constitutional reform.

In 1974, the Liberals clearly did not have a mandate to bring in wage and price controls. They had campaigned against it. Remember that vicious election campaign in which they engaged? This is absolute nonsense, and I am sure that all they are trying to do is to mislead the Canadian people. It is quite consistent with the tactics that they used during the course of the election campaign.

The Opposition has an obligation to live up to its word. These quotes have been put on the record before, but I think they bear repeating. The Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) had indicated the following, back in June and then in July, as reported in *Hansard* at page 17792 and 17793:

The issue is a simple one for the Prime Minister. Let the people decide. Why does he not call an election on this trade matter and let the people decide?

He went on to say on July 21:

I am ready to stand by the judgment of the people.

In the July 21 issue of *La Presse*, he was reported as saying:

"If a majority of the elected Members of the new Parliament want the trade deal to be implemented, the Senate should pass the Bill quickly", the Liberal leader said.

On August 20, this was reported:

"Indeed, unless Mr. Mulroney wins a majority, the (trade) deal will not go through".

He said on August 30:

I am asking for an opportunity to decide. If the Prime Minister wins he can still meet the deadline imposed upon him by the United States of January 1, 1989.

That is exactly what we are trying to do. He said:

I think that this is a pretty straightforward proposition. Call an election now. If Canadians vote for the Prime Minister, then he has his trade deal. If Canadians vote for me, then there is no trade deal. All I am saying again is: Let the people decide.

He said that on August 30, 1988.

What did we find out after it was all over? He challenged the Opposition to use all the procedural weapons at its disposal. As reported in *The Globe and Mail* of December 8, he said that the Government has all the weapons it can call upon, and we are doing that. The Liberal Leader told a news conference that although they may have lost the first battle, the war is far from over. He then went on to say that just as the Tories won a mandate in an election to introduce the

free trade legislation, the Liberal Party won a mandate to oppose it. It was then reported that the Leader of the Opposition, tanned and looking fit after a week's vacation, hinted that the Government might have to use closure. Members of the Opposition are inviting us to use closure. They are talking about jackboot democracy and about parliamentary assassination. They have simply said, "You have the procedural tools to do the job, get on with it", and that is precisely what we are doing.

Members of the New Democratic Party are much the same. As a matter of fact, they use the same line. They say one thing before the election, another thing during the course of the election campaign and then still another thing after the election. They asked the people to decide but then they did not like the decision. That is what is troubling them now.

Members of the Opposition are putting a convoluted interpretation on the election. They want to abandon the traditions, precedents and practices of this House and engage in nothing but procedural delay and nonsense. They are bleating and complaining about the tactics that are being used.

What I find so contemptuous is the fact that members of the Opposition are treating the decision of the people with such contempt. I think that is really sad. Quite frankly, I think the people who are watching these proceedings are wondering what is going on.

We have tried to work with the opposition Parties to find a way to extend hours, to put limits on speeches so more Members may speak. We offered to sit on weekends and we offered to do a whole host of things. However, they will not sit down and negotiate. We had no choice. One really wonders whether they are sincere.

I know it is somewhat inappropriate to comment on votes, but opposition Members are in the fight of their lives. Yet on Friday night, they could only muster 20 Liberals and 16 NDPers. They bleated all over the airwaves and said to their constituents "Oh, isn't it awful, legislation by exhaustion," and they put up speaker after speaker. It is also interesting that the two Leaders who are engaged in the fight of their lives, fighting to save Canada, were not here for the vote on Friday. Where were they? They were probably doing their Christmas shopping. Some of us will have to forgo Christmas shopping this year because we are here working, trying to get this Bill through.

We all know that there is internal Party strife. The NDP is having its problems and the Liberal Party is

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

having its problems. The Canadian people are being dished up a plate of hypocrisy and duplicity.

We debated this issue fully in the Thirty-third Parliament. I picked up a copy of an article from Vancouver's *The Province* which said:

The people want and need substantive debate. Instead they got senseless procedural wrangling from the opposition, with two recorded votes needed before leave to introduce the bill was approved.

Do you know what date that was published, Mr. Speaker? That was published on May 25, 1988. What is new? What happened this time? Members of the Opposition called for a vote on leave to introduce the Bill and they called for a vote on first reading, things which are normally done in a perfunctory way. That is what we are up against.

This issue has been debated for 64 days, 331.5 hours. Let me go through the chronology of it dating back to March 24, 1982, when the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs issued the third volume of its report entitled *Canada's Trade Relations with the United States*. Then in November of 1982, the Hon. Donald Macdonald was appointed to head a royal commission, and a lot of people overlooked that. It was a \$24 million, three-year study about economic prospects for Canada, and the commission came up with a clear conclusion. This royal commission travelled back and forth across Canada. It was made up of participants from every walk of life and every political affiliation. The participants looked at this matter in a very objective and analytical way and came up with a recommendation.

On August 13, 1983, the then International Trade Minister, Gerald Regan, responded with a document entitled *Canadian Trade Policy for the 80s*. In March of 1985 in Québec City, a meeting between the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and President Reagan resulted in a declaration on trade to seek to resolve irritants and explore possibilities for enhanced trade. In August, 1985, a special joint committee on international trade released an interim report. In August of 1985, the report of the royal commission was introduced. Since then, there has been committee study, various debates in the House, Senate debates and Senate study. Throughout it all, all we have seen from the Opposition is inconsistency, from both Liberals and New Democrats.

Even last week on December 7, the Hon. Member for York West (Mr. Marchi) and the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) said they thought it was unlikely that the Party would attempt to delay the Christmas recess. The people have spoken, they said,

and whether they like it or not, to debate it between Christmas and New Year's would be folly.

• (1520)

I am glad to see my good friend from LaSalle—Émard in the House. He is a free trader. He is quoted as saying that he is a free trader. He said:

Well, Liberals are conceptually in favour of free trade. I certainly am.

I am glad he is here and I hope he might talk some sense into some people who are opposed to it.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Martin: This is in free trade. This is a garbage deal and badly negotiated.

Mr. Mazankowski: I will quote another Liberal, Mr. McKenna who said:

We took the position in a calmer atmosphere with a great deal of reflection. It is not easy bucking everyone else, but we did it for the right reasons.

That is supporting the free trade deal.

Mr. Martin: If he were here he too would tell you it was a garbage deal.

Mr. Mazankowski: Senator George Van Roggen is a very distinguished Senator. He has put his money where his mouth is and called a spade a spade. He resigned and he said:

I wish to resign because I want to speak in favour of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

There is a person who has studied this thing and made it his life. In the last 10 years he has probably devoted more attention to this issue than any other single issue.

Then we have Mr. Don Johnston. If he had anything to do with the deal he would negotiate a broad free trade agreement with the United States.

What about Mr. Gerry Regan, former Minister of Trade who said:

It is economic weakness rather than strength which would undermine our future sovereignty.

My experience as Minister of Trade convinced me of two facts. The first is that given all fair conditions, able Canadian exporters can compete against anyone, anywhere.

He talked about the need for a comprehensive free trade agreement rather than the sectoral approach that was taken by the previous Government.

Then we have another Liberal, a prominent Manitoba Liberal who supports the free trade group. His name is Mr. Rose, the MLA for St. Vital. He is reported:

I am for free trade. I guess we Liberals are free traders, Rose said, adding that he didn't campaign for any federal candidates because of his support for the deal.

Let me go to the New Democratic Party now, Mr. Speaker. I have a very interesting book here called *Free Trade—It's a Good Deal for Canada* written by William Gearing who, I understand, is a founding member of the New Democratic Party. He had some interesting things to say. The first chapter of his book is entitled "We All Love Canada. Why am I writing this book? Because I care about Canada." Let me quote a couple of passages, Mr. Speaker. He is a life-long NDPer: He writes:

Opponents of the Agreement are predicting a lot of disastrous consequences without any solid, supporting evidence and some of them have been playing fast and loose with the truth.

He is certainly right there. He goes on to say:

I believe many Canadians are being misled by these unscrupulous propagandists.

And so I decided to speak out. I am one those "ordinary Canadians" that Broadbent talks about. Except that I don't think Ed has been representing us ordinary Canadians as well as he and some friends in the media like to pretend. Especially on the free trade issue.

It's about time someone challenged the absurdities, the insults, and the untruths spread by the anti-free trade camp, and if exposing them means making some cutting remarks in return so be it.

I say Amen. Thank goodness for some honest reflection. Quite frankly I think this little document did not get the kind of attention that some of the other ones did, which is rather strange. I guess in this particular campaign there were certain types of books that got some recognition and others did not. Mr. Gearing goes on to say:

Our cultural and political strength is not at stake. We will continue to be masters in our own house, forever Canadian. The dynamic efficiency of free enterprise can be reconciled with the Canadian social philosophy. Indeed our social goals will be better served by the prosperity generated by free trade with the United States.

He goes on and on and on, Mr. Speaker. It really is refreshing. We have another renegade NDP Member backing the Mulroney free trade deal, Mr. John Richards, now a professor at Simon Fraser University. He is a member of the British Columbia NDP. He said:

—He hopes the trade agreement is put in place so that the "left" in Canadian politics turns its attention to more critical matters than the NDP needs to address.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In terms of union workers, for example, Denis Abernot, President of Local 2251, one of the United Steelworkers of America, said that he:

—is disappointed that the annual conference of the Canadian Steel and Trade Employment Congress has failed to address the single most important issue facing its members.

Local 2251 welcomed the federal Government's initiative on free trade—

Mr. Jim McCambly has come out solidly in support of the agreement because it is good for industry. It is good for all regions of Canada. It is good for workers and it is good for creating a much stronger and vibrant economy in our country. I say to the Opposition, "Stop the shenanigans. Get your act together and let's get on with the job. Stop hijacking Parliament. Let us get working. Let us stop fooling around." As far as western Canada is concerned this is the most important initiative brought forth and considered by this Parliament in my lifetime. There is no question in my mind.

I want to go back to 1973 to the Western Economic Opportunities Conference. This conference was held as a result of the recognition of western Canada which needed some initiatives and policies to allow it to expand, prosper and develop like all other regions of the country. A submission was presented at that time which reads as follows:

The most obvious and most important market for Western Canada is the United States. The lowering of the United States tariff walls could provide the breakthrough for western Canadian industries to become important both nationally and internationally. While general tariff reductions such as those associated with the GATT negotiations are important, their impact on Western Canada would likely not be sufficient to provide our industries with an easy entry to United States markets.

It goes on to say:

Western Canada could support a world scale petrochemical industry if we had better access to the United States. If the tariffs between the U.S. and Canada were equal then western Canadian plants would enjoy a large export market in the United States.

It goes on to outline the discrimination that occurs because of the high tariff walls that have been put there affecting our manufacturing and our value-added industry.

That quotation was read from a document which was presented to the WEO conference by the following people: The Hon. Peter Lougheed, Premier of Alberta; the Hon. Allan Blakeney, Premier of Saskatchewan; the Hon. Dave Barrett, Premier of British Columbia, and the Hon. Edward Schreyer, Premier of Manitoba. What is significant about that, Mr. Speaker? Three of those Premiers were NDPers. We have one of them sitting in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the House now taking a completely different position from the one he took in 1973, only because it is politically advantageous for him to do so. That is all. Let him start being a little consistent. He was challenging the Prime Minister for being inconsistent the other day. I ask him to be consistent. That is the most he can do in this House of Commons and thereby be an honourable Member.

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have a chance to speak on second reading of Bill C-2. Clearly, 57 per cent of Canadians are opposed to this Bill and they said so in the general election of November 21. This is why we hear the ho, ho, ho's on the other side. They are like little Santa Clauses who want to sweep under the carpet that which the vast majority of Canadians opposed in this general election. Even the Gallup polls which took place during the election showed that people opposed the deal.

In fact, most Canadians want liberalization of trade. A lot of Canadians did not know what the deal had in it. If they had known, even fewer people would have supported it. It is very interesting to listen to the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski). He certainly does have a vast, extensive clipping service. I did not hear many new ideas, just a lot of quotes from newspapers. He certainly was pleased to gloss over the fact that the vast majority of Canadians were opposed to the Government in the general election. The Government has a legal right to implement the legislation. We have never said otherwise. However, I do not think it has a right to limit discussion at second reading of the Bill to less than one day. That is what is happening in the 24-hour period that we are in right now.

● (1530)

The Deputy Prime Minister talked about opposition tactics. If there ever was a Government that deliberately tried not to tell Canadians what was in the most important economic document to come before this Parliament in many years, that was the strategy in this case. It was set out very plainly and clearly in the communications outline that the Government would spend millions of dollars trying to sell the document, but not attempt to explain it to Canadians. If we heard once, we heard hundreds of times during the course of the election campaign: "I do not know what is in it. I do not know what it is about". In spite of the Government spending some \$30 million attempting to sell the deal, it did not attempt to explain it.

This morning when I listened to the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett), about whom the Deputy Prime Minister said a few moments ago that he was one of the former Premiers of British Columbia, I could hardly believe the words, because he was talking about what a great Party of principle they were, and how determined they were to oppose to the free trade deal. Yet, during the election campaign, one would think that the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) was the one who was promoting the free trade deal because during the last three weeks the Government was being supported by some \$5 or \$6 million from the private sector, none of it going through the Election Expenses Act, while the Leader of the NDP (Mr. Broadbent) was hammering away at the Leader of the Opposition as if he were selling the free trade deal. It was very interesting to listen to the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca talking about that this morning. I was very confused as to what he was talking about. I do not think he really knew, because clearly during the election campaign his Leader was fighting those in the Liberal Party, and its Leader, who were opposing this legislation.

This afternoon the Deputy Prime Minister said that he was going to talk about the benefits of the free trade deal to western Canada. For his benefit I would like to put on the record some of the problems of the free trade deal, since as well as being the Deputy Prime Minister, he is also the Minister of Agriculture. Agriculture was singled out as an area that was going to be exempt from the free trade deal, at least that is what we heard from the former Minister of Agriculture. Clearly they are implicated up to their ears in this deal. Even the MacDonald Commission recommended that agriculture not be included in the deal.

This afternoon I would like to talk about the impacts of the free trade deal, Bill C-2, on agriculture. I believe that, in the long haul, agriculture will be hurt very badly by the deal. The grape and wine industry has been almost decimated before the deal was anywhere near implemented by legislation in the House. Grape growers in British Columbia and in Ontario were not able to get lines of credit last April, which is at least nine months before the deal was implemented.

During the past week we have seen announcements that some 2,000 industrial workers have been laid off. The wine and grape industry was affected far sooner than that. Now it is supposedly being assisted through a very inadequate program. I believe that in the Niagara

area the program's net benefit to the industry is something around \$80 million, while actual costs and losses are estimated, if only half of the industry is lost, at \$154 million. It is clear that that program will be inadequate.

The same types of problems are heard in B.C. regarding an industry being sold out by a Prime Minister who is totally committed to making a deal at any cost. That seems to be the hallmark of the Prime Minister. He sets out to make a deal, he makes a deal at any cost, and then gets busy spending taxpayers' money to try to sell the deal after he has made a bad deal. That industry is left with loss of markets, reduced income, and in serious difficulty. The alternatives are very few. For example, the fruit and vegetable industry, which is almost in as rough a shape as the grape industry as a result of the free trade deal, is not a viable alternative.

The key move in the fruit and vegetable industry is the removal of the tariff over a ten-year period. More important than that is the removal of the seasonal tariff of approximately 12 per cent that comes on during the peak season for fresh fruits and vegetables. That tariff has been changed to something called the snap-back provision. If the industry can show a loss of price of 90 per cent over a five-day period, giving a couple of days more for implementation, the seasonal tariff which runs down over a ten-year period can be snapped back to position.

It does not take much imagination for a person who shops at the grocery store to know that, if the price breaks on fresh fruits and vegetables over even a 48-hour period, it cannot be snapped back with a seasonal tariff or anything else. If the price breaks, the price is gone. Certainly, it is gone after seven days.

Last March I had the opportunity to attend a horticultural meeting in Ottawa. I heard nothing but doom and gloom. The industry is constantly hit by the difficulties of the competition with American imports which come in earlier in the season and have a devastating impact on price because they hit the market three or four weeks sooner. In this legislation we would like to see action taken at the committee stage to put in place amendments which would overcome those difficulties, if we find that the snap-back provision does not work. We do not believe that it will. I do not know of anyone in the industry who believes that it will work effectively.

I was hoping that the Deputy Prime Minister would get to the section in his speech where he is going to tell us about the benefits of free trade for western Canada.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

All he was able to quote from was the Western Economic Opportunities Conference of a few years ago. I would like to quote from a statement made by the Advisory Board to the Canadian Wheat Board. The Advisory Board to the Canadian Wheat Board is very concerned about the free trade deal. It is concerned that, in the long haul, the Americans are bound, bent, and determined, as soon as this Bill is passed by Parliament, to destroy the Canadian Wheat Board. If they do that, they will do it to the Ontario Wheat Marketing Board and to all the wheat marketing boards in eastern Canada.

The industry has lost some \$280 million right off the top on the two-price wheat system. In statements made by the American administration it is obvious that it is determined to reveal the selling price by the Canadian Wheat Board. It is setting in place an investigation of the Canadian Wheat Board with the idea of destroying it. It is interesting to reflect upon what the Advisory Board to the Canadian Wheat Board had to say. This board is made up of a group of farmers who are not Tories, Liberals, or New Democrats. They are people elected from the various Wheat Board areas throughout Canada to advise the Canadian Wheat Board. The following is a resolution that they passed at a meeting on July 28, 1988. The resolution states, in part:

After careful review of the proposed Bilateral Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement including Chapter 7 of the United States Statement of Administration Action, The Canadian Wheat Board Advisory Committee considers the proposed Free Trade Agreement will:

1. undermine the ability of The Canadian Wheat Board to be an effective marketing agent on behalf of Canadian grain producers.
2. create an environment in which it will be increasingly difficult to maintain the quality and uniformity of Canadian grains.
3. not provide enhanced and secure access to the U.S. market.

I did not hear the Deputy Prime Minister talk about that resolution, Mr. Speaker, a resolution passed by the Canadian Wheat Board Advisory Committee. But clearly that body is not happy with this agreement.

● (1540)

Mr. Simon Reisman, that great negotiator, said that we Canadians showed the Americans how to negotiate. He said that the Americans negotiated like a Third World country. Yet, just look at the deal that he struck in respect of Canadian oil-seeds and canola going to the Pacific northwest markets. Under that deal, a tariff of 7 per cent is removed over a 10-year period, with the western grains transportation assistance removed immediately. As a result, canola and canola meal are cut out of the Pacific northwest market.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The removal of the tariff over a 10-year period provides the industry with a \$22 million benefit in terms of market access but takes from it \$44 million in transportation assistance for that same Pacific north-west market.

Under the agreement, we essentially lose the Pacific northwest market. We give it away. And that is so because the tariff is phased out over a 10-year period, whereas the transportation assistance is lost immediately as of January 1, 1989.

That is the kind of great negotiation we got from Mr. Reisman and his team!

The whole strategy of this Prime Minister is to make a deal at any cost. One has to recall that, when he entered into this deal with the President of the United States, his Party was at 23 per cent in the Gallup poll. He had to have a deal, regardless of the fact that he was giving away our energy, our financial markets, our water. He was willing to give away anything to make a deal, and then he turned around and spent the taxpayers' money to prove what a great deal he made.

That is essentially what happened in respect of canola and oil-seeds. That is exactly what happened in terms of the weakening of the Canadian Wheat Board and other agricultural boards. The concern in respect of the Canadian Wheat Board is very great throughout the West, and in fact is reflected in the election results coming out of western Canada.

There is no area that is going to be more hurt, in the long haul, Mr. Speaker, than the Canadian farm products marketing system.

I was a Member of Parliament in 1969 when we put into place the National Farm Products Marketing Board legislation, legislation which allowed Canadian farmers to put in place a marketing system which ensured that they received an adequate return on their investment, on their labour, on their input costs, on their management skill, on their entrepreneurship, and so forth. And I believe that it has been a remarkable success. It enjoys broad support within the industry.

While it is not without its difficulties, it is a model, compared to what they have in the U.S.

By way of example, if there is overproduction in the U.S. dairy sector, the U.S. Government spends a couple of million dollars over a couple of years to kill off a portion of the dairy herds so as to reduce production. And, of course, it is a system that is unsuccessful, to say the least.

In any event, our National Farm Products Marketing Board has been most beneficial to our agricultural industries, and we on this side of the House believe—and those on the opposite side of the House who are knowledgeable in this area know it is true as well—that, in the long haul, our farm products marketing system will be destroyed by the free trade deal.

One need only look to the election results in southern Ontario, eastern Ontario, southwestern Ontario, and other parts of the country, to appreciate how the electorate feels about this. Many ridings, for the first time in their history, voted other than Tory, and the reason is that the farmers in those areas believe that their marketing boards, their supply-managed system of marketing, will be destroyed should the Free Trade Agreement be implemented.

Mr. Blais: That is false; that is untrue.

Mr. Foster: There are two methods by which the marketing system is being undermined—it has been very skillfully done. The Tories do not want to take political responsibility for destroying the farm products marketing system, although many of the Tory candidates in the last election were held responsible for it and paid the price of electoral defeat.

What the Tories are doing is they are taking the tariffs off processed foods; and as those tariffs, which range from 7 to 16 per cent, come off it will not be possible to compete with the processed foods coming in from the United States which have supply-managed products as an ingredient—eggs, butter and poultry meat.

One does not have to be a genius to understand that. If one can buy U.S. poultry meat at one-half or two-thirds of the price that one has to pay for Canadian poultry meat, it becomes apparent that Canadian food processors cannot compete with their U.S. counterparts.

The Special Advisory Group on International Trade said to the Government “Look, if you are going to do this, the way to save this industry is to put all of the processed foods involving supply-managed products on the import control list.”

The Government didn't do that and the Government, I predict, won't do it.

The recommendation in respect of processed foods was that anything that had 10 per cent or more by dry weight of a supply-managed product in it be put on the import control list. That was not done. When it was

attempted in respect of yoghurt and ice-cream, about which there was such a hullabaloo in the UPA and by Mr. Page in Quebec, the Americans immediately objected and instituted an action against Canada before the GATT.

The Government has now agreed to join in an application before the GATT to remove all farm subsidies.

To the Americans, supply management and marketing boards constitute subsidies. As a result, even in respect of those products which pass between the two countries freely now, beef and pork, problems abound.

The Americans, under their omnibus Trade Bill, moved to provide a countervail mechanism that will apply to pork as well as to live hogs, in total contravention of any understanding, any interpretation that one could put on the free trade arrangement.

I believe that we are facing a terrible situation in the agricultural sector as a result of the Free Trade Agreement. I believe that any Government that gives up its ability to be self-sufficient in terms of the country's food supply, to the extent that that is possible—admittedly, northern countries such as Canada cannot be totally independent—follows a foolish course of action. To embark upon a course that would lead to the dismantling of the Canadian Wheat Board and the farm products marketing system is foolish indeed. To sacrifice these bodies for the sake of a free trade deal with the U.S. is total folly.

I believe that the Canadian Government, in the long haul, will have to withdraw from the arrangements now in place in Canada in respect of food production, leading to a devastating impact on our agriculture industries.

I thank Hon. Members for their attention.

• (1550)

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, we have come through an election, a unique democratic exercise, which saw a stimulating, free-flowing exchange about free trade and its impact on Canadians in the future. What has been communicated, in my opinion, is a national expression of our commitment to preserve the essential elements of our life in Canada, with a determination to embrace new challenges to enhance that standard, which I believe is second to none.

It is encouraging to contrast today's spirit of co-operation and growth with the insular pessimism of the 1930s when international trade barriers closed markets,

reduced production and slashed employment. That is a terrible memory for many Canadians, and in the intervening years we have gone back to our roots as traders, the reason for the founding of our country, to look outward rather than inward, and to seek markets beyond our border for the benefit of all Canada.

[*Translation*]

The closer we get to the turn of the century, the more our prosperity will depend on international trade. Right now in Canada one job out of three and close to 30 per cent of our gross domestic product are tied in with our foreign trade, and these figures can only go up. As trade exchanges have grown more dynamic, adjustment in one form or another has become ever more a way of life for Canadians. Both small and large companies constantly renew their products and their production systems to remain competitive. Workers as well understand that they will be trailing behind if they fail to recycle themselves.

[*English*]

Change is intimidating to many Canadians. Most people like to see the status quo and they like to know that at the end of the day the world is the same as it was at the beginning. However, the world is not like that. It changes imperceptibly every single day. While change can be intimidating, it is clearly an opportunity. I do not know that I would be in this House today if I buried myself away from the unmistakable realities of the world we live in, and the change and turmoil that creates opportunities.

A lot has been said and written about "adjustment" over the past few months, as though it were something new. It is not. "Adjustment" is not a mystery, neither is it something to fear. Trade adjustments cannot be exclusively isolated from other adjustments in our labour market or any other. Technological change, the growing importance of women in the workforce, labour-management relations, new environmental standards, these factors and many others affect the workplace and they all involve and require some adjustment.

Our labour market is clearly in a state of constant change. Individual Canadians understand this. They understand that work patterns, skill demands and training needs are radically different from those a few years ago. There are some 5.2 million job changes every year in Canada. Given that environment, it is essential that the federal Government respond to and anticipate changing demands, including but not confined to those generated by free trade.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Contrary to much what has been said by opponents of free trade, we do have in place already a number of mechanisms which can meet the new challenges presented by this agreement or other changes in the future, and the good news is that they work. Our Canadian Jobs Strategy is proving to be an effective instrument for meeting the challenges presented by labour market adjustment.

I think it is important, particularly for new Members, that I outline the principles and objectives and how the Canadian Jobs Strategy works. First, there are two important underlying objectives. One is to provide assistance where it is most needed at the local or industry level. The second is to provide assistance to individuals so their skills meet real and current labour market needs.

In 1985, when we introduced the Canadian Jobs Strategy, we knew we needed a flexible approach that could address change in the labour market, change in the future. This strategy is the very antithesis of the short-term, piecemeal, so-called "make-work" philosophy which for so long dominated the federal response to human resource management and adjustment.

An important aspect of our approach is flexibility, which allows us to meet the emerging labour market requirements of women, aboriginal peoples, visible minorities, the disabled, and social assistance recipients because our society is full of groups which are unique, have particular problems, and are therefore not the same as other groups.

In the Canadian Jobs Strategy we established fair and realistic target levels for participation of those groups within the strategy's component parts, as opposed to creating separate, isolated programs which do not work together to help our labour force and individuals within it to deal with changing conditions.

The component programs of the Canadian Jobs Strategy are well designed to plan for the future and provide flexibility. The six component parts are, first, the skill shortages program which helps train Canadians in skills that are in short supply and provides mobility assistance. Second, skill investment allows employers to train workers in new technologies. Third, the Community Futures Program helps create business and training opportunities in communities across Canada suffering from chronic unemployment or economic dislocation. Fourth, job entry provides integrated training and work experience to help young people and women make the transition to the labour market. For some that is a very

difficult transition. Fifth, job development is designed to enhance the employability of the long-term unemployed of any age, young or old, if they have been unemployed for a considerable period of time. They, too, have particular needs. Sixth, and finally, the innovations program encourages the testing of new projects and ideas that will improve the functioning of Canada's labour market.

[Translation]

Last year more than 400,000 Canadians benefitted from these six programs and nearly 90 per cent of them feel that their participation in Jobs Strategy programs did enhance their long-term employment prospects.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, flexibility is what makes Jobs Strategy different from any other program. Special programs for the young unemployed, language courses for immigrants, and other assistance measures for older workers are just a few of the adjustment assistance measures featured under Jobs Strategy programs.

If courses in a community college enable us to meet the needs of certain workers, we can make them available thanks to employment planning. If on-the-job training is what is needed, we can offer it with the co-operation of private sector employers.

[English]

Co-operation is truly another key to the Canadian Jobs Strategy since it involves in varying degrees the provinces, the private sector, community groups, labour organizations and educational institutions. However, let me cite some specific Canadian Jobs Strategy projects to demonstrate that not only is our approach working, it is working well. Manitoba Rolling Mills in Selkirk, Manitoba is one of North America's foremost mini steel mills. Quality control and technological adjustment are fundamental to its success. To maintain its competitive edge, it built a training centre, purchased \$18 million in new equipment, and developed a training regime for 650 employees. The company did that itself. With the help of the steel investment program a training trust fund has been established which allows workers and employers to select and monitor training packages designed to address changing industry conditions.

The skill investment program allows management and labour to set their own agenda for training. In this project, the company contributed \$1.1 million over three years, while Employment and Immigration added another \$400,000 in funding.

*Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement**[Translation]*

Free trade will offer new opportunities to the industry. In some cases the only factor preventing a company from expanding is a shortage of skilled workers. Thanks to the employment planning skilled labour shortage program, Quebec's Bécancour aluminum plant has so far trained 97 employees in computer assisted design.

The skilled labour shortage program provides financial assistance for employers seeking to train workers in trades where skilled labour is not readily available and for which demand is stronger. It was under this program that the aluminum plant could apply for a full repayment of all training expenditures and 50 per cent of the wages of workers.

● (1600)

[English]

Another traditional area of concern in labour market adjustment is single industry or resource-based communities experiencing hard times. In Revelstoke, B.C. the unemployment rate currently stands at 10.3 per cent, which is still too high, but it is down from 15 per cent a year ago, and from 20 per cent two years ago when that area was selected under the Community Futures Program. Since then this labour market has mobilized itself for a come-back.

Community Futures Options build on the existing strengths of the community by emphasizing entrepreneurship and worker adjustment. The Business Development Centre Option, for example, has offered potential small businesses, technical and marketing advice, as well as start-up capital. Although the Business Development Centre has been operating for less than one year, some 46 new full-time jobs in this city have been created, and 55 more jobs are anticipated in the coming year. Now, that is success.

Increasingly, we are finding in areas of high unemployment that it makes sense to help people to come up with their own job opportunities. Helping people on unemployment insurance or social assistance move into self-employment is another element of Community Futures' support. As well, Community Futures offers relocation assistance and training through community colleges.

Across Canada we have approved \$300 million under this program for some 200 community areas. In total, we are committing \$1.7 billion this year to facilitate adjustment from coast to coast under all Canadian Jobs Strategy programs. It is no surprise to us—and we are

very proud of the fact—that the OECD in 1988 singled out our Canadian Jobs Strategy, the Canadian Jobs Strategy of our country, of this Government, as a good example of an initiative that seeks local solutions to local problems by tailoring measures to local and individual needs.

Just as the Canadian Jobs Strategy helps individuals and communities cope with change in the labour market, the Industrial Adjustment Service assists Canadian companies in need of support. As a co-operative model for helping workers and management deal with technological and market change, the Industrial Adjustments Service's reputation is second to none.

Under IAS, labour and management set up joint committees to work with an outside labour market consultant. Together, they establish an action plan to resolve particular human resource problems, problems that may be unique to their company but where other experience can help them. To cite an example of its effectiveness, IAS recently helped focus the energies of 1,300 employees at the Firestone Tire Company in Hamilton after permanent closure had been announced. You remember how we were harangued in this House, Mr. Speaker, about this closure? The joint committees set a goal finding comparable jobs for every worker. Firestone paid the salaries of 10 full-time people on the adjustment committees. These committees surveyed thousands of employers, placed resumés on cable TV and worked closely with the local Canada Employment Centre. The result was a placement rate of 85 per cent with continuing efforts to find jobs and training for the remainder. Just in this week's paper there was an interview with some of the employees saying how well that system had worked.

The IAS solution, it must also be emphasized, applies as well to companies that are experiencing rapid expansion, not just those that are experiencing lay-offs. Mohawk Oil in Burnaby, British Columbia, used an adjustment committee to help it establish a human resource plan to complement its aggressive expansion plan.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, it must be pointed out that for some time now the Industrial Adjustment Service and its advantages have been known in international circles. A number of American states and spokesmen for the European Community have sent senior officials to Canada where they will attempt to determine how IAS principles could apply in their respective countries.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Such services attest to the spirit of co-operation we have been able to create in trade union circles, industry, education as well as at other Government levels.

[English]

Members of the House are well aware that structural problems exist in our labour market that have to be addressed. Our level of unemployment is still too high in the regions. We are still producing skills that do not match demand. The relationship between the productivity of workers and their education is a question that continually preoccupies policy makers, and particularly this Government.

We must continue to take advantage of our resources and apply Canadian know-how and expertise so that our educated workforce will be tuned in to the realities of today's labour market. It will call on the involvement and co-operation of Canadians from every sector to participate and accept some responsibility in that. This Government is totally committed to ensuring that Canadians have the best possible labour market programs. We have programs already in place that are working. We anticipate whatever advice Mr. de Grandpre and his committee will present. We are prepared to act on their recommendations.

Adjustment means change, but it also means opportunity. What Canadian workers must know is that we will draw on the resources not just of the Government but of all the communities of Canada to help Canadian workers take advantage of opportunity, to help them when they are in need of change after a lay-off and in need of assistance. All of us must be there for our workers to ensure that they can take advantage of opportunities, to ensure that, in troubled times, we are there to help them. Adjustment does mean change, but the Government must help with the opportunities that are. We intend to ensure that we will be there for Canadian workers, rather than waste time trying to decide whether an opportunity or a problem comes from free trade, comes from technological change, or comes from labour-management relations. What is important for Canadian workers to know is that whatever the circumstances, whatever their region, whatever the product their company makes, whatever future they want for themselves, this Government is there hand-in-hand with the company, with management, with the unions, with the provinces, for Canadian workers. We will continue to be there for them.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

Mr. Paul Martin (LaSalle—Émard): Mr. Speaker, on June 18, 1936, the new Member for Essex East spoke in this House for the first time. His name was Paul Martin.

I can do no better than to begin here with his words, and I quote, "I feel conscious of my responsibility and trust that my remarks will meet with the approval of my constituents."

[English]

My father had been in the House a year before he spoke that I have been here less than two weeks. Times have certainly changed. But as that young Member did 52 years ago, I would like first and foremost to thank the voters of my riding for their trust without which I would not be here.

[Translation]

The riding of LaSalle—Émard has two waterways of historic importance for our country. They are the Lachine Rapids, a unique ecological entity, from which the exploration of the North American continent began, and the Lachine Canal, which has contributed so much to the economic development of Quebec.

Together, my constituents are a microcosm of the Canadian mosaic, an enthusiastic and dynamic community. I would like to say here that I am proud to be their representative.

[English]

I cannot count the number of times as a young boy I sat in the galleries above and watched the debates below. In recent years I have had the occasion to visit the legislative chambers of a great number of the world's democracies. Some are older than ours; some are more famous; and many are larger. But I remain convinced that none is more representative and more true to the character of its people than this House.

• (1610)

I have worked in the corporate world where members often believe the real power over the country's destiny resides with them. I have visited the offices of the Ministers and great bureaucrats who dwell in this city. There, too, I have been told that it is there and not here that the real power lies. In both cases I have never believed it.

For me, elected office is one of the highest callings a citizen can have. As such, I deeply believe in the traditions and dignity of this House of Commons, although I sometimes wonder whether that view is as

deeply held today as it was once. I hope so, for it is here over the next four years that the future of Canada for generations to come will be determined.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, we have just been through an election campaign during which, thanks to the leadership of the Leader of the Opposition, Canadians at last began the necessary process of thinking together about their economic future and therefore about the kind of country in which they wanted to live. This process is far from over.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be part of the new wave of Quebec entrepreneurs. This Government has nothing to teach me about the benefits of freer trade, but I tell you—

[*English*]

You want a job? Is the Minister of homelessness still talking? The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski) referred to me as a free trader. I am a free trader. But we are not debating free trade here; we are debating trade disarmament.

[*Translation*]

What was the purpose of the negotiations, if not secure access to the American market? Did we get it? No. The Government's strategy failed and the results of this failure will be felt by generations to come. The resulting agreement is neither fish nor fowl, a sectorial agreement with all the advantages of a comprehensive agreement, one in which the Government has almost set aside its role in the economy for years to come. Our problem was and is that the Americans refuse to accept our subsidizing our industries, while they refuse to admit that they subsidize theirs.

[*English*]

The Government sought greater access to the American market, but in fact by failing to come to an agreement on the definition of subsidies before signing, it lost ground. By putting off that decision, the Tories have jeopardized whatever possibilities of success might have existed. Second, they have effectively negated the ability of the Canadian private sector to work with its Government as does the private sector of virtually every other modern state in the world.

Mr. McDermid: Why is the private sector supporting us?

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): Why do you not try to listen, you might learn something.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: Why is the private sector supporting us? What a silly statement.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): Are you telling me? I have been in the business world for four years while you have been—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order. I would like Members to address their remarks through the Chair.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): I am sorry, Mr. Speaker. It is hard when faced with ignorance.

[*Translation*]

The problem is that the Conservatives do not understand the mechanisms of the world economy as we near the end of the century and that is why the next four years will be decisive. That is why the Liberal Party will play a key role. That is why we will be there to see how subsidies are defined.

[*English*]

We will be watching to see if the Government fights for a definition of subsidy that simply does not protect existing programs but provides for new ones so that new opportunities can be created in Atlantic Canada and so that the western base can be diversified.

[*Translation*]

Yes, we will be there to minimize the harmful effects of this Agreement on our social programs, our agricultural sector, our cultural industries and our environment. We will watch the American takeover of our small and medium-sized businesses, because without these companies, we would lose any possibility of creating our own multinationals. We will be there to see whether the Government allows the Americans to say that our subsidies are unfair, while their billions for Star Wars, as part of their industrial policy, are not.

[*English*]

We will be watching to see if the Government allows the Americans to continue to restructure their economy by using the unique Chapter Eleven bankruptcy provisions and claim that that is not a subsidy while claiming that our modernization grants are a subsidy.

We will be watching to see if the Government allows our export subsidies to be restricted while the Americans use massive domestic subsidies to prevent our exporters from gaining a foothold in their market.

We will be watching to see if the Government adopts the American model of industrial development which works for them but which cannot work for us if we are

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

to have any ambition beyond being enveloped in the American cocoon.

We will be watching to see if the Government has a trade agenda for Canadian entrepreneurs who want to go not just to Pittsburgh but to Panang, who want to go not just to San Diego, but to Sao Paolo.

We will be watching to see what new steps the Government is prepared to take in terms of R and D and procurement policy to ensure that Canada's manufacturing base is not hollowed out and given away.

We will be watching the dispute settlement mechanism to see if it evolves beyond the Congress' rubber stamp into a truly bi-national body that serves the interests of both countries.

We will ask that the Government not allow the Americans to simply apply American law and American practice to our exports. When Congress refuses, we will ask of the Government why it signed the deal in the first place.

Finally, we will ask about plant closings. Every day the Government denies any linkage with the Free Trade Agreement. Does it not understand that due to the rationalization of industry in the United States the burden of change will be and is being felt primarily by the Canadian subsidiaries of American companies and that this agreement has eliminated much of the protection we previously had?

During the debate the Government kept pointing to the agreement and saying nothing in it touched our social programs when the problem was that there was nothing in it to protect them. The fact is that there is nothing in this agreement that allows us to prevent closings such as Gillette's. There is nothing in this agreement that would allow us to do as the French Government did when Gillette sought to close their plant in Ance. That is the problem. Canadians have been misled in this agreement and anyone who has been in the business world more than five minutes understands it. That is why—

Mr. McDermid: Oh, come on.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): Within two days of the signing of this agreement, chief executive officer after chief executive officer admitted that our social programs are in jeopardy—

Some Hon. Members: False.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): —because of the need to harmonize with the United States. If Members opposite deny it then they are simply demonstrating that they may well have been clerks in the business world but never had to make a decision in their lives.

Mr. McDermid: Be careful. You are not the only businessman in the House.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): I ask Members opposite: Why do they deny facts that the whole business world knows are true?

An Hon. Member: Get serious.

Mr. McDermid: There are a lot of business people in this House. You are not the only one.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): I have not seen very many. I spent a long time in the business world. Let me say that I have not seen any of the Members opposite anywhere.

You do not have to be a businessman and have a lack of compassion. The business community has it and understands it. It may well be that the businessmen who do not have compassion become Tory Members of Parliament.

Where are the worker adjustment programs? Where are the policies and strategies to deal with the thousands of Canadians who have lost their jobs? The answer is that there are no such programs. If Members opposite think there are, they ought to go to the streets where the Minister of homelessness has put the people who have lost their homes to find out.

[*Translation*]

The problem will not disappear simply because the Minister or the Conservatives refuse to admit it exists. If the Conservatives think that existing programs are adequate with or without free trade, they should go to my constituency and tell it to the 2,000 people who have lost their jobs since 1984.

An Hon. Member: The employees of Voyageur!

• (1620)

[*English*]

Would you like a bus pass?

Mr. Blais: No, no.

Mr. Martin (Lasalle—Émard): Well, we wouldn't allow certain people on. We really do have standards.

Canada is not a delicate and fragile plant needing to be kept in a hothouse, but no country can survive in a globally competitive world without business and government co-operating to invest in people and in their futures.

We are entering into a new era in the international economy. Our country will not prosper in the global market-place simply because it has a captive market. It will prosper because its workers are prepared to accept change, and they will not if the rewards of change are to be enjoyed elsewhere and they are compelled to shoulder alone the burden of sacrifice.

[Translation]

Where does the road to our future lie, Mr. Speaker? We must, of course, continue to sell to the United States, but we must also be able to sell our environment protection technology to Japan, penetrate the European market by 1992 and sell our management techniques to the Third World.

In order to achieve these future goals, the public and private sectors will have to co-ordinate their actions. But that co-ordination requires that the Government determine the definition of the term "subsidy", thereby setting the boundaries for co-operation between the state and industry.

Mr. Speaker, this debate is about more than free trade. Indeed, in this House, there are deep philosophical differences that run deeper than the wording of any bill, even deeper than partisanship.

To my left are the NDP, who think that Canada should keep to itself, disregard major world trends and shy away from international involvement.

The Conservatives, on the other hand, Mr. Speaker, still firmly believe in an obsolete free market theory and a timid hands-off approach to the future.

The Liberal Party sees the future in another light.

[English]

I simply ask you in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, what would Canada have looked like if, over the last 50 years, we had had a federal Government as crippled by its own lack of will, vision and purpose, and I must say common decency, as this one? I simply ask you, Mr. Speaker, what sort of a country will we have in the future if the industrial governance of Canada is left to 10 aggressive provinces confronting a do-nothing centre with our economic policy being cabled to us from Washington?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We are at an important crossroads. We can either become an economic force with which to be reckoned, with our private sector working in concert with a strong national government, or we will die a slow death as a branch-plant economy with a central government to match. That is what this election was all about. That is why the next election will be fought on the ashes of this agreement. However, the next time, the Canadian people will not buy an illusion and a snare.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise today to briefly describe the benefits of the proposed Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement and the Canadian business reality.

I think all Hon. Members will realize as well as I do the exceptional growth of the Canadian economy over these last few years, a kind of growth that brought employment to a record level, with job creation that surpassed that of any of the various countries of the European Economic Community, and which in percentage terms has been higher than in any industrialized nation, the 1.3 million new jobs created having led to a rapid decline in the unemployment rate which had become unacceptable. Also over the period Canada experienced a reasonable and above all a stable inflation rate, and in real terms growth surpassed not only that in European countries and the United States but also in Japan, which gave this country the highest real economic growth rate in the world. That is the Canadian economic reality! A reality created by the excellence, expertise and productivity of our human resources and by the abundance of and demand for our natural resources on the international markets.

Mr. Speaker, despite our achievements over these last few years, the Canadian Government cannot afford to become complacent. More and more we are dealing with a strong international market, an international market where there is daily evidence of the impact of rapid technological change on the flow of goods and even services between businesses and individuals of various countries. An international market that is constantly changing, a market that is becoming increasingly global, a market that results in the creation of larger and larger, stronger and stronger trading blocks.

And therein lies one of the basic reasons for the Canadian Government and for Canadians as they did on

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

November 21st to enter into a Free Trade Agreement with our most important trading partner, the United States of America.

This is in order to gain access to a market that compares to the European market or the Asian market. It is in order to gain secure access to that market that is so important, and also to gain the ability to solve our differences on a bilateral basis, on a final basis, so as to minimize the negative impact of disputes that can arise in day-to-day trade.

Mr. Speaker, naturally the free trade deal applies to the big companies. But the provisions of the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States also apply to the small businesses, and, I should add, to the very small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, growth for all these businesses is what the Canadian Government, along with the people of Canada, wants to ensure by signing this historical free trade deal with the United States. We also want, Mr. Speaker, to ensure our future, and the future of our children, within a constantly changing global economic environment.

Today, I would particularly like to address four major issues. I shall speak first about industrial development, second about regional development, third about the impact of the free trade deal on the development of the science and technology industries, and finally about the adjustment process, an issue the Opposition has raised several times.

Let me start by responding to some of the comments heard from the Opposition. They have claimed that the Free Trade Agreement meant the sellout of the Canadian economy, that the Americans could, at any given time, buy any company they wanted and americanize it. Mr. Speaker, people realize that during the past century Canada has been blessed with economic growth precisely because a lot of men and women from abroad came to invest in a country with a promising and challenging future, a country with opportunities to create jobs and wealth, in short a country which had a lot more to offer than they could ever hope to find in their countries of origin.

The free trade deal does not change anything to that fact. It will certainly make it easier to attract the capital investment we need to create jobs in the immediate future, as we have been doing over the past four years.

But more particularly we realize that these investments from abroad contribute to our own expansion.

They come not only from the United States but also from many other countries which will follow in our footsteps towards freer trade.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, some people say that is all very nice, but by doing that we are selling off our sovereignty, we are selling off our economy, we are selling off our very identity. Mr. Speaker, I can tell you that history indicates that this kind of investment does not threaten anything we have in Canada. Canada's trade practices, Canada's standards and Canada's criteria will be fully respected as our country continues to face up to the economic challenge of the coming century. The quality of life and the working conditions of the Canadian industrial labour force is not threatened, and the very survival of Canada's industrial sector is no longer in doubt.

In terms of investment, Mr. Speaker, that is what the free trade deal means. The deal tells our American colleagues that they are welcome to share in Canada's economic development and economic future as long as they are prepared to abide by our laws and respect our standards.

Now a few words about industrial development.

• (1630)

[*English*]

The Free Trade Agreement with the United States will benefit small businesses as well as big businesses in this country. As for the 1986 census, over 4 million Canadians were employed in businesses employing fewer than 100 persons. This represented approximately 41 per cent of total private sector employment in Canada. As we all know, it has been the small business sector which has shown the greatest rate of job creation over the past few years.

In a recent Canadian Federation of Independent Business survey released in September, 1988, which sought to elicit the opinions of small businesses on the impact of the FTA, a full 40 per cent of the survey respondents expect the impact to be beneficial to their businesses. Only 7 per cent of member firms indicated they might be adversely affected by the FTA. I believe that speaks eloquently for the projection that the small business community in this country and, as I mentioned earlier on, the small, small business community in this country, will benefit from the Free Trade Agreement.

We now turn to regional development. We have heard a lot of stories about regional development over the last few months on the campaign trail and even before.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In regard to regional development in the FTA, arguments have been put forward in the House, and on the campaign trail to the effect that through the Free Trade Agreement we have somehow given up our right to utilize regional development programs. Now, no responsible government, especially not this one of which I am proud to be a part, is going to give up or jeopardize its ability to promote and sustain regional development in any way, shape or form.

Quite the contrary, Mr. Speaker, this Government has put in place regionally based economic development and diversification agencies, backed them with a budgetary clout and resources to deliver effective programs and services. They are working, and they are working very well, so well that the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) said during the campaign that he would retain them, albeit in a somewhat altered state. He recognized the potential of the Western Diversification Agency of FEDNOR, of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and of the Canada—Quebec Economic Regional Entente. Perhaps he also recognized that given the problematic history of regional development in Canada such program initiatives must be sustained over a prolonged period in order to be effective. Short-term fixes do not work in this game. We believe the answer lies in sustained regionally based and delivered programming within the regions.

There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement, nothing, that limits our abilities in this regard. The FTA does not limit Canada's rights to use subsidies in the promotion of regional development.

As we have explained so many times in this place and elsewhere, regional development programs are not mentioned in the agreement and do not come under the rules of the GATT. It is in accordance with GATT that both we and the U.S. retain the ability to take action against unfair subsidies of another nation if such subsidies arm competing industries in the other nation. That is how it was before the FTA. That is how it will be during the FTA and that is how it would have been had the deal not proceeded. So nothing has changed. We will continue to be able to put forth responsible regional economic development programs. None of this prevents us from making available to our businesses both big and small regional development programs, regional tax breaks, and industry-specific initiatives so long as they are generally available and consistently applied.

I would now like to say a few words about another topic that has come up time and time again, that of adjustment. I wish to start off on the question of

adjustment by making a very fundamental point, a point that is often overlooked in this House and certainly more often than not overlooked by our colleagues opposite when they are out of this House.

There are two sides to the adjustment coin. Obviously there may be some downside adjustments, and there are downside adjustments in this economy every year and have been for decades. There are programs to deal with those. Those programs have generally proven to be quite efficient. But as we look beyond the end of this decade, as we look to the next decade and into the next century, as we look to the Free Trade Agreement, what we must look at without forgetting the potential for downward adjustment, is the potential for upward adjustment. We have opened a very wide door. We have opened for ourselves a door to a market of 250 million people. We have opened for our people, our young people, for our business people, small and big, opportunities that have never existed before. We have given them the chance to become more productive, more competitive, more globally oriented, and to participate fully in a rapidly expanding world economy.

• (1640)

What are we going to do to help them cross that door? I would like to quote very briefly from the terms of reference of the Advisory Council on Adjustment, the de Grandpré Commission. Its terms of reference were to point out the extent to which we believe Government can play a role in upward adjustment as well as in all other adjustments that may be required. The first item in the terms of reference reads as follows: "The Council's terms of reference include the following: one, examining the possibilities for Canadian businesses and workers to position themselves to benefit from the agreement".

That is a very positive statement which clearly indicates the will of the Government to assist Canadians from coast to coast to seize this opportunity to cross that door and become the type of world citizens they really are, and to benefit fully from the opportunities that lie in a market-place of 250 million to 275 million people.

[*Translation*]

On the topic of adjustments, Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk about another adjustment mechanism that the current Government has set up to prepare employers and employees and enable them to benefit fully from the many opportunities that will be provided by the new Free Trade Agreement with the United States. I refer here to the new Department of Industry, Science and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Technology, whose mandate is to ensure the international competitiveness of Canadian industry and promote a high standard of business excellence.

Why such a mandate? Because we need to feel secure in Canada and because we must be assured of our role as a leading industrialized nation on the international market. More and more, we must turn to research and development and new technological applications, as well as maintain our traditional strengths in the areas of investment, management, human resources and marketing.

The Government, industry and the academic and research sectors will have to work more closely together, Mr. Speaker. The new Department of Industry, Science and Technology has begun work in three key areas which will form the very basis of all its activities and enable Canadian businesses to become more competitive on world markets.

They include the provision of aid to strategic technologies and to initiatives to improve the competitiveness of industry, and the provision of information and development services to businesses.

Strategic technologies are particularly important to the new Department because they affect a wide range of industries and businesses. In addition, the Department has set aside significant funds for the creation of alliances between businesses, business groups, research institutions and Canadian business groups and their foreign partners. Such alliances, Mr. Speaker, can help to plan and carry out precompetitive research and development work or develop state-of-the-art technological applications.

[*English*]

These initiatives already under way seek to put our industries on a competitive footing with our major trading partners. We in this country have the brains and resources to enable us to compete with anyone and everyone in the world. This Government is committed to putting into action the best of what we have in terms of technology to meet the challenges ahead. I can only tell you, Mr. Speaker, with the commitment of our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), with the commitment of this Government, with the brains, the know-how, the willingness, the productivity of Canadians, and particularly with their hope for the future, we shall succeed.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Rod Laporte (Moose Jaw—Lake Centre): Mr. Speaker, I feel privileged to have the opportunity to rise

in the House today and participate in my own small way in one of the most, if not the most, significant debates the country has faced this century. Bill C-2, the free trade Bill, will set the country on a different path which in the long run, I am afraid, will be detrimental to this great country.

I wish to make one point clear at the start. It is a point which has been made many times before, but because of the Conservatives, it must be made again. During the campaign and since, certain members of the Conservative Party have misled Canadians by stating that it is the only Party in favour of free trade. That is simply false. We in the New Democratic Party are not opposed to free trade. We believe in free trade as much as anyone else. Free trade is a motherhood issue, and we take no dispute with the concept of free trade. It was a conscious effort on the part of the Conservative Party to mislead Canadians to believe that if Canadians did not vote Conservative, trade with the United States would collapse.

In the Province of Saskatchewan, the Conservatives collaborated with Premier Devine, who indicated that if Canadians did not elect a Progressive Conservative majority government, the doors to trade with the United States would be slammed shut. They were very strong words. The Conservatives, including Premier Devine, were quick to accuse New Democrats of scare tactics. The rhetoric carried on by Mr. Devine, especially in his capacity as Premier of Saskatchewan, was not only unfortunate but outrageous, and a disgrace to the office he holds.

We heard more of the unfortunate rhetoric that has been taking place from the Hon. Member for Vegreville (Mr. Mazankowski). A few moments ago the Deputy Prime Minister indicated in the House that the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett), the former Premier of British Columbia and now a member of the New Democratic caucus, had changed his views on free trade. The Deputy Prime Minister pointed to an agreement in 1973 whereby the four western Premiers had supported free trade.

The Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca has not changed his position on free trade. He is for free trade, as is every other member in the New Democratic caucus. We are not opposed to free trade. We are opposed to this Bill, the Prime Minister's trade Bill. In fact, if anyone has changed his or her opinion, it has been the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). In the past he indicated that he was opposed to free trade. Every major cabinet Minister in the Government was opposed to free

trade except the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie).

Members of the Government entered into personal attacks during the campaign. They brought politics to the base and disgustingly low levels that American politics have reached in the recent past. They have attempted to Americanize Canadian politics, and they are attempting to Americanize Canadian society. They have done a disservice to Canada on both counts.

● (1650)

Since the end of World War II we have been moving progressively toward free trade. In fact, 80 per cent of Canada-U.S. trade is tariff-free. Since its formation in the late 1940s, GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, has succeeded in moving closer and closer to free trade. We in the New Democratic Party are not opposed to GATT. GATT, with its membership of over 90 nations, is supported by the New Democratic Party as a means of moving toward freer trade.

Why are we opposed to Mr. Mulroney's trade deal? We are opposed to it because it is not in the best interests of Canada, and particularly of western Canada, which is where my concern lies. And it is not in the best interests of western Canada as it will severely restrict regional development programs.

We are opposed to the deal because of the possible detrimental effects it will have on the Canadian Wheat Board. We are opposed to it because it fails to achieve guaranteed access for Canadians to the American market, something which the Progressive Conservative Party said was essential if we were to sign a free trade deal. We are opposed to this deal because it establishes a disputes settlement mechanism which is nothing more than a toothless tiger.

Western Canadians, Mr. Speaker, have always been concerned with the lack of influence that we have had in this country, given the power and dominance of central Canada. Under the Free Trade Agreement, we will have even less influence, given that the decisions will be made less and less in Toronto and Ottawa and more and more in New York and Washington. It is for those reasons, Mr. Speaker, that the free trade deal is not good for western Canada, and that is why we in the New Democratic Party stand opposed to it.

I should like to focus on a couple of areas that are of particular concern to the riding of Moose Jaw—Lake Centre. Agriculture is a primary industry for the riding, and one of the key elements in the agricultural sector in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

western Canada is the Canadian Wheat Board, as it has been since its establishment in the 1930s. Contrary to what many believe, the Canadian Wheat Board was originally established by the Progressive Conservative Party—and today we have a Progressive Conservative Government that is putting the future of that board in jeopardy.

It is well known that, for a long time, the Americans have been desirous of seeing the Canadian Wheat Board eliminated. Regardless of whether Bill C-2 is passed, the Americans are out to dismantle or at least shackle the ability of the Canadian Wheat Board to effectively operate.

Bill C-2, the Free Trade Bill, simply gives the Americans one more opportunity to attack the Canadian Wheat Board. The actions of the United States very much place in doubt that country's commitment to the spirit of the agreement, as is evidenced by the U.S. Omnibus Trade Bill and the recent decision by the U.S. to retain the tariff on shakes and shingles.

One issue of concern in respect of the Canadian Wheat Board has to do with whether or not that board will be seen as a subsidy. The Americans do not like the fact that a farmer is given an initial price and then later, depending upon what the grain is ultimately sold for, a final payment. The Americans consider that to be unfair. They do not like it. They will be pressing to have the Canadian Wheat Board operated in the same way that any private grain marketing company would be operated.

If the Americans have their way, the Canadian Wheat Board will be forced to offer a single price to the farmer, and it will be the farmer's choice to take it or leave it. Such a policy will restrict the ability of the Canadian Wheat Board to market grains abroad.

A second concern in respect of the Canadian Wheat Board relates to loss over quality control. Once subsidy levels in both countries are harmonized, Canadian import restrictions on wheat, oats and barley must be removed.

Canadians have a world-wide reputation for high quality grains, a reputation much better than that of the U.S., and it is inevitable that some inferior American grains entering Canada will end up in Canadian export markets. Once the Canadian Wheat Board restrictions are removed, it will be difficult to have them re-imposed.

The provisions dealing with end use certificates in respect of grains imported into Canada are designed to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

protect Canada in that respect. However, the Free Trade Agreement does not make end use certificates mandatory; it simply states that end use certificates may be employed. If it is not a requirement that end use certificates be employed, American grains coming into Canada will end up in Canadian export markets.

I want to make it clear to the Prime Minister and to the Progressive Conservative Party that I and my colleagues in the New Democratic Party are not about to sit idly by while this Government allows Americans to remove the Canadian Wheat Board as an effective marketing tool for western Canadian grain producers. We shall continue to speak out on this subject, both in this House and elsewhere in the country.

I should like to now focus on a specific industry in Moose Jaw, Mr. Speaker, an industry for whose future I greatly fear. The company I have in mind is CanaDay's, which is one of only two dress slack manufacturers in western Canada.

Located in Moose Jaw, CanaDay's was originally owned by an American conglomerate which, a few years ago, decided to close its Moose Jaw operations. Some local residents invested their own capital and took a risk when the American company left Moose Jaw high and dry. The CanaDay's plant, Mr. Speaker, employs approximately 150 workers, many of whom are single parent women. A plant of that size is significant in terms of a city of less than 36,000 people. I am afraid that, with the passage of Bill C-2, the Progressive Conservative Government, like the American conglomerate before it, will be leaving Moose Jaw high and dry.

CanaDay's now has two advantages: A Canadian tariff that is imposed upon similar American-made products coming into Canada and the lower Canadian dollar *vis-à-vis* the U.S. dollar. Under Bill C-2, that tariff will be eliminated; and it is a very good bet that, as the so-called level playing field takes shape, the value of the Canadian dollar will rise to parity with the American dollar.

When that happens, CanaDay's very likely will be unable to compete with American products. And this is not because Canadian workers are inefficient *vis-à-vis* U.S. workers or that the CanaDay's plant is inefficient; rather, it is because American plants located in close proximity to cotton fields will have a distinct economic advantage. As well, working conditions and wages are far superior in Moose Jaw to what they are in the southern United States, where many of the states have no minimum wage whatsoever.

The potential loss of 150 jobs in a city the size of Moose Jaw is very serious indeed. As for the investors, they will simply be out of luck. This is what the Conservatives call free enterprise.

What about the workers? For months now the Prime Minister has been bragging about what he calls his blue ribbon committee, a committee with a mandate to provide assistance for workers adversely affected by the Free Trade Agreement. The Prime Minister has stated that his Government will provide some of the finest programs anywhere. He further stated that this blue ribbon committee would table an interim report on December 16, 1988.

As it turned out, that report was not forthcoming. In fact, it has now become clear that this blue ribbon committee has done little since it was first appointed over 11 months ago.

When Gordon Cummings, the Chief Executive of National Sea Products Ltd. and one of the members of this blue ribbon panel, was asked how that panel was going to help workers get off their feet, he said that Canadians "should get off their butts". That, Mr. Speaker, will be of little comfort to the workers of CanaDay's, many of whom are single parent women, women who are doing what they can to hold on to their families, to hold them together, while at the same time bringing home a pay cheque.

Quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cummings' remarks constitute an insult to hard working Canadians right across this nation.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Laporte: These women and other workers at CanaDay's are not sitting on their butts. They are working hard and hoping that their jobs do not disappear.

The attitude of this blue ribbon panel, and that of the Prime Minister, is indicative of the lack of concern that this Government has shown, not only toward the workers in CanaDay's, but for people throughout the Province of Saskatchewan and the entire country.

• (1700)

It is not the workers at CanaDay's who should get off their butts. It is the Government that should get off its butt. It is the so-called blue ribbon committee that should get off its butt. They should be providing proper assistance for these and other workers. If the Conservatives, both federally and provincially, got off their butts,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the economies of Moose Jaw and other communities in Saskatchewan would not be in the sorry state they are in today. The lack of concern the Government has shown toward Saskatchewan has been noticed by Saskatchewan residents. They made that very clear on November 21 when 10 of the 14 Members of Parliament elected from Saskatchewan to this House were New Democrats. I think that speaks volumes about the record of the Government.

I would like to conclude by saying that, as with the Canadian Wheat Board, my colleagues and I in the NDP will be doing whatever we can to ensure that neither the workers nor the investors in CanaDay's are unjustly or unfairly dealt with. The Government may refuse to listen to the Opposition. It may refuse to entertain amendments to provide greater security for western Canada. However, we in the NDP will be monitoring this Bill and doing whatever we can to limit as much as possible the unfortunate effects we know it will have on many Canadians. We will suggest and promote measures where appropriate. In that light I move:

That the amendment be amended by adding immediately after the words "industries and communities" the following:

"and because events since November 21st, including unilateral U.S. decision on shakes and shingles, and the many announced plant shutdowns, have demonstrated these serious political and economic losses,"

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Chair will take the amendment under advisement for now and we will proceed with debate with the Hon. Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to return to the House of Commons, having been re-elected by one's fellow citizens in one's riding. I want to commend you and your associates in the chair for the high honour bestowed upon you, and I wish you well.

I want to continue the dialogue on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, a dialogue which has been going on in Canada for some period of time. This dialogue was taken up by Canadians from coast to coast in the last federal election. The vigour and passion of this national debate gave Canadians the opportunity to explore some of the important issues we as parliamentarians must deal with as we approach the next century.

Front and centre in the debate has been Canada's social programs and our ability to introduce new ones while maintaining the integrity of those we already have

in place. I feel it is important to address these issues even though Canadians have clearly indicated what vision of the country they prefer. Through the tradition of parliamentary democracy, Canadians have considered the options and given a historic second mandate to this Government. Nevertheless, as a responsible Government, it is incumbent upon us to respond to the concerns which motivate the Canadian public.

The immediate answer for those concerned about our social programs is that the Free Trade Agreement leaves Canadians free to follow the same independent path they have always chosen on this key policy matter. However, such an answer, while factually correct, does not recognize the legitimate motivation behind the concerns expressed. This is a legitimacy not necessarily arising out of an intimate familiarity with the provisions of the FTA, but a legitimacy founded on concern for the fundamental values which have helped distinguish the character of our country.

Canadians are proud of their unique heritage and the sovereign choices Canada has made over the past century. This heritage is built upon certain basic principles. If one of these principles is exclusively pursued at the expense of other equally important issues, then we start to unravel the fabric of our society rather than strengthening it. So our reputation as world class traders and, equally, as a compassionate and caring society, are basic components of our national character. To pursue one of these at the expense of the other is to weaken our national identity. We trade and become wealthy for it. However, if we pursue this goal while sacrificing our social policy, then we forfeit an essential aspect of our identity.

Therefore, I would like to set the record straight today and fully air those concerns expressed over our sovereign ability to follow any social policy deemed best for Canada by Canadians.

Canadians have built one of the most compassionate societies anywhere. Our system of social programs is something we are rightly proud of and naturally anxious to protect. Certainly no Canadian politician could advocate the weakening of these programs for the sake of a trade deal and still entertain the reasonable hope of attaining the right to govern in this country.

The reason we must pursue a fair trade policy is because Canada is a trading nation. The purpose behind trade negotiations is to create a stable environment for investment decisions. That is the express purpose of GATT and the central purpose of the Free Trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement. GATT rules, which form the basic premise of the FTA, are not only concerned with the role trade barriers play in determining the level of imports and exports, but how the rules of trade allow the business community to plan for the future.

The effect of subsidies on trade and the application of countervailing duties by national Governments often hinder these plans and are among the most controversial trade issues of the 1980s. That fact has been marked in this House in the past year as I am sure it will be in this Parliament as well.

During the course of the FTA negotiations, Canada and the U.S. attempted to establish a subsidies code but an agreement has not yet been reached. However, under Article 1907 of the agreement we will seek to develop more effective rules and disciplines concerning the use of government subsidies over the next five to seven years. Such rules would go a long way in settling the shifting sands of what can or cannot be countervailed as an unfair subsidy. Nevertheless, the ground upon which these negotiations will be built already has an undeniable degree of stability.

Many Canadians have expressed concern that in the negotiating of this list Canada will be forced to do away with some social programs because they would be earmarked as unfair subsidies. A review of the facts surrounding the nature of the subsidy then goes a long way in reassuring Canadians that social programs are safe from receiving the label of unfair subsidy.

Under the subsidies code in the GATT, Canada, the United States, and other members of the international trading community have agreed that domestic subsidies are permissible if they are not specific to a given industry or company. That is, if those programs, in the words of the GATT, are generally available to the citizens of the country. Therefore, programs generally available to individuals are not countervailable because they are not targeted to a specific industry or enterprise. That means the U.S. Department of Commerce and Revenue Canada equally can legitimately countervail only those subsidies specific to an industry or group of industries. That has been the case under GATT since 1947. Canada's social programs are generally available to individuals in Canada. They are, therefore, both historically and presently, not countervailable.

In the bilateral context this issue was examined in 1985. A countervail action was brought against Canadian groundfish because unemployment insurance payments to Canadian fishermen were considered an unfair

subsidy by some Americans. The U.S. Department of Commerce ruled against the American complaint and held that because unemployment insurance was generally available to fisherman, it could not be considered an unfair subsidy. Judy Bello, chief legal adviser to U.S. trade representative Clayton Yeutter has recently confirmed the very basis for this decision and it is important that we take note of it.

Obviously, medicare, like all social programs, such as unemployment insurance, education, child care, old age pensions, workmen's compensation, and family allowances, just to name a few, are not industry specific but are generally available. Therefore it follows that under the GATT, or under the FTA, these services cannot be considered unfair subsidies.

• (1710)

Given the fact that social programs are not prohibited subsidies, Canada refused to discuss them during the negotiation of the Free Trade Agreement. Canada does not expect the U.S. to raise social programs during the next five to seven years when we sit down to attempt to define better trading rules. If, however, the Americans should attempt to argue that social programs should be the subject of negotiations, Canada will take the same position we have in the past—we will say no. That no is based very clearly both on the GATT and on historical and legal precedents.

Canadians can rest assured that when the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) signed this historic agreement he was fully satisfied, as were his Ministers, in particular the Minister of National Health and Welfare, that nothing in the agreement could be a threat to our sovereignty in the area of social policy.

Beside the future negotiations on subsidies, some Canadians have expressed concern about the actual agreement. They have seen certain individuals point to passages of the text of the Free Trade Agreement as "proof" that the agreement threatens Canada's social programs. Of course, on reflection, these individuals were simply seeking justification for their own opposition to the agreement and not relying on careful analysis or credible policy advice.

One person who has the ability to give both credible policy advice on health care and understand the text of the agreement is the former Supreme Court Justice who headed the task force that recommended medicare, Justice Emmett Hall. When Justice Hall called a press conference to explain why nothing in the agreement endangers medicare he stated: "I can tell you this, if I

found that there was in the Free Trade Agreement provisions which would damage medicare or destroy it as is being argued I would have opposed the agreement”.

This conclusion is also supported by the members of the Canadian College of Health Service executives who sponsored a working session on the impact of free trade on Canada's health care system. In a national survey, those executives revealed that the only effects that could be anticipated from the Free Trade Agreement were indirect at best, and favourable.

I remind my hon. friends opposite that in 1983 their Government and my immediate predecessor in this portfolio put forward exactly such a plan in the Hawkesbury model. I find it passing strange that in 1983 it was no threat to social programs or our health care delivery system but suddenly in 1988 it is.

Most of the detractors of the agreement have stopped waving copies of it around and now concede that there is nothing in the text of the agreement that endangers social programs. It was interesting to watch that shift during the election. The part of the text that originally caused so much excitement is the reference in Chapter 14 to “health care facilities and management services”. These include services such as laundry, cleaning, food service, payroll and inventory to name a few.

Those who are still concerned over the provisions of Chapter 14 should take the time to look at Chapter 13. This chapter excludes provincial procurement from the trade agreement so that the national treatment requirements do not apply to the provincial procurement of health care management services. These services are mentioned in the agreement because Canadian negotiators wanted them included because our high level of expertise in this area gives us an advantage in the open American market. American hospitals tend to be privately run and tender for private sector management. Canadian hospitals are generally not private and will not tender for private management services unless—and this is the key phrase—provincial authorities first approve such a move. That is on the basis of any reading of our Constitution.

Moreover, in the event that a Canadian hospital was authorized to grant service contracts to private management, medicare as a policy and medical care as a service would not be affected in any way. Furthermore, there is nothing in the agreement that could force any provincial Government to privatize any part of its health care system, again, unless it chose to do so. Even then it

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

would have to conform to the Canada Health Act in relation to public administration.

Even if a provincial Government decides to permit the private sector to perform a health care management service, that province has the right to allow only Canadian firms to bid on the contract. Clearly, if one reads the document one is forced to conclude that there is simply no basis for the allegations that medicare will be eroded by the Free Trade Agreement. The Canada Health Act, which reaffirms the principles of medicare, such as universality and accessibility, is in no way compromised by the Free Trade Agreement.

Finally, when all else fails detractors of free trade attempt to stir up concern among Canadians by pointing to some vague, unseen force, a political poltergeist which will force Canadians to abandon the foundations and institutions of our compassionate society in favour of a nebulous common denominator rising across the 49th parallel. However, any examination of Canadian history leads us to a different conclusion.

During the last 50 years Canada has been lowering its trade barriers with the United States. Today, 80 per cent of our trade with the United States is already duty free. Yet Canada has not been forced to cut back on its social programs. In fact, quite the opposite has happened. During the last half century while we have been moving toward free trade with the U.S. our economy has flourished. A strong economy has enabled Canada to establish a caring society with social programs such as medicare and old age pensions.

What is the bottom line? The bottom line is that the Free Trade Agreement does not oblige us in any way to harmonize existing policies with the United States. Any such attempts would be unacceptable to the Canadian people and unacceptable to this Government. Nor does free trade threaten those institutions which have served the Canadian health care system so well.

During the heated debate concerning the agreement, many allegations were made. A characteristic allegation concerns how free trade will affect Canada's system of blood supply. It is quite remarkable that some individuals believe that the Government would sacrifice an institution like the Canadian Red Cross for a concession in international commerce. As I said at the outset, it is my responsibility to lay to rest those concerns which Canadians have expressed.

Let me state quite unequivocally that Canada's non-profit system of blood collection and supply is not at any risk under free trade. In Canada in fact the current

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

system of blood collection and supply administered through the Red Cross is not for profit. This system can be maintained and enhanced. There is nothing in the agreement that places any obligations on the Government with respect to not for profit activities. But what I must remind Hon. Members of is that we buy approximately 70 per cent of our blood product supply right now. In order to be able to do that, obviously, there has to be the protection between the two countries from where most of the supply comes.

Perhaps some confusion has arisen because the commercial operation of private blood banks is covered by the services chapter of the FTA. This is not particularly surprising as private blood banks are currently allowed to operate in Canada. One has been operating in Montreal since last January, and an Australian blood bank firm has incorporated in Canada. But the role of these commercial enterprises is distinct from the role of a not for profit institution such as the Red Cross. Private banks are used by individuals who wish to store their own blood over longer periods of time than the Red Cross can accommodate. So the Government is free to regulate privately run for profit blood banks in any manner Canadians desire, as long as it does not discriminate against American service providers.

This means that if for some reasons Canadians decided that for profit blood banks were undesirable, the Government could prohibit them as long as the prohibition affects both Canadian and U.S. enterprises equally. This is not only fair, but it does not in any way threaten Canada's not-for-profit system of blood banks. The agreement imposes no obligations on provincial governments in terms of the purchase of blood products. Therefore the Red Cross may continue as the sole supplier to provincial governments in Canada's health care system.

As Minister of National Health and Welfare, it has been a privilege to see how strongly Canadians feel about our system of social programs. Concern over the system's integrity is natural when considering their importance to our society. The Free Trade Agreement was negotiated with this importance clearly in mind. Nothing was allowed on to the negotiating table that might diminish the role social programs play in Canada.

The agreement is about commerce. It was negotiated out of a belief that Canada can compete. I know that in my province Manitobans are looking forward to the opportunities this agreement will bring. Free trade will not come as a surprise to Manitobans. As a province of entrepreneurs, manufacturers, farmers who know the

benefits of international trade and what it can bring, we are experiencing and adjusting to new situations and evolving international economy. We have to keep in mind that we are only approximately one million people.

• (1720)

Obviously it goes without saying that our domestic market is too small to in any way absorb the kind of production we are capable of in Manitoba. I think that would apply in most provinces across our country.

This agreement will be phased in gradually over a 10-year period, allowing sufficient time for Manitobans and Canadians to adapt to changing market conditions. Canada already has adjustment programs in place with a proven capacity to meet the adjustment requirements free trade may bring. These programs demonstrate the Government's commitment to assist in economic adjustment as Canada continues along the path of trade liberalization.

We are keen to continue down this path in Manitoba. Our trading heritage is evident in the fact that 56 per cent of all that Manitoba exports goes to the United States. The Canada West Foundation has concluded that over 48,000 jobs in Manitoba are in industries which will directly benefit from secure enhanced access to the U.S. market.

During Question Period Members said that only 250,000 net jobs would result according to the Economic Council of Canada, and that this is not significant. It is approximately the same number of jobs as exist in the entire City of Winnipeg. When we put it in those kinds of practical terms, I do not think anyone would suggest the elimination of those jobs or say that they are not significant.

Under free trade, not only will jobs be secured and enhanced, they will be created. This means more jobs in the key sectors of Manitoba's economy.

For example, I opened a curling rink just the other day. That may not be very important to some people in the House but in rural Manitoba curling is important. The gentleman told me that his business was building strand steel types of buildings. He said that during the election campaign he had a cancellation of one of his buildings. After the election campaign and the result, the commitment was renewed. The gentleman clearly said that the Free Trade Agreement is essential to his expansion.

I know what is needed in Manitoba to enhance free trade. It is, for example, the completion of a highway to

combine us with the United States highway system in order to have a transportation system that will take advantage of the opportunities that exist. Those are the practical matters we must address in a free trade agreement.

I am talking about sectors such as mining in northern Manitoba and communities such as Thompson, Flin Flon and Lynn Lake, forestry in The Pas or Swan River, or hydroelectric power throughout the North. In the City of Winnipeg the FTA will benefit workers employed in the transportation, equipment, machinery, communications and computer equipment industries.

I had a study done by our counsel in Minneapolis in order to have a practical demonstration of what it might mean to be living right next to the U.S.-Canadian border. What will free trade mean for us? The advantage was a 15 to one ratio. Do Members opposite think that any of us would be responsible as Members from Manitoba if we do not pursue that kind of free trade agreement with such advantages?

The Free Trade Agreement is good. It is good from a commercial point of view. Equally important, it is good for us from a social policy point of view. As I meet with my counterparts throughout the world, especially in the Commonwealth, I see that countries which do not have the social programs are the countries not generating enough economic growth and enough economic wealth. There is no secret to it: The greatest threat to social programs is the inability of a society to develop the economic growth and wealth in order to have the kind of social programs we have in place now.

The real issue is whether the Free Trade Agreement affects social programs. The answer is yes, in a positive way. It gives us economic growth and the stability not only to maintain present programs but to expand them. That is why, as Minister of National Health and Welfare, I am proud to support this agreement.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Earlier this afternoon, the Chair received an amendment moved by the Hon. Member for Moose Jaw—Lake Centre (Mr. Laporte). The Chair finds the amendment to be in order. Resuming debate on the amendment.

Mr. Brian Tobin (Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte): Mr. Speaker, first I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your re-appointment to the chair. Indeed, I want to extend my congratulations to the Speaker who was re-elected a few days ago in the

House. I want to offer my congratulations to all Members of the House, particularly those who are coming to Parliament for the first time.

I listened with a great deal of interest to the speech by the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp). The Minister gave his usual speech to this Chamber. He addressed himself, as he always does, directly to the people of Manitoba. He assured the people of Manitoba, this House and through it all Canadians that now that the election is over they ought to relax and breathe easy. They ought to be content as we move into Christmas, knowing that no grinch will steal their Christmas and, indeed, their country, and that free trade is all the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) promised it to be and more.

I thought the Minister delivered those remarks with a great deal of passion and sincerity. I sat in my chair and found myself almost wanting to applaud. Then I had a great sense of *déjà vu*. I remembered when he assured us this was free and fair trade. I remember the day he stood in the House and said: "You can count on a free and fair bidding system".

I am sure many in the Province of Manitoba hear the Minister, as chief spokesman for the Tory Government tell them during the election that they should trust the Tories, they had a sense of *déjà vu* as well. They remember the Government saying: "Trust us on the CF-18". The people of Manitoba know what happened to the Province of Manitoba and the CF-18. They were shafted by the Government. They heard the same pious remarks by the Minister. That is why the people in the Province of Manitoba spoke. They spoke by sending the new Member for Winnipeg—St. James (Mr. Harvard). They spoke by sending a Liberal Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy), the Liberal Member for Winnipeg North Centre (Mr. Walker), the Member for Winnipeg North (Mr. Pagtakhan) and the Member for St. Boniface (Mr. Duhamel). Five Liberals in the House of Commons. The people of Manitoba have heard the syrupy, soothing words of the Minister of National Health and Welfare before. They have spit them back and delivered unto the House of Commons five righteous Liberals, here to serve the cause of Canada and reject this free trade deal.

I would be remiss if I did not take this opportunity to thank my constituents in the riding of Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte for the confidence they showed in me. It was a tough campaign.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Just as in Manitoba where the Minister of National Health and Welfare was providing the people of Manitoba with the virtues of free trade, we had in Newfoundland the Government's chief salesman on free trade. The Member for St. John's West (Mr. Crosbie) led the charge for the Government in the Province of Newfoundland. He told Newfoundlanders they could burn their boats and go home, for the new industrial factories would be built in the morn and never again would Newfoundlanders have to struggle, clinging on with their fingers to the rocks on the edge of the salt water to earn a living from the fishery. New industrial factories were being built everywhere because, God bless us, we have free trade.

As usual, Newfoundlanders demonstrated common sense. In Newfoundland they elected five Liberals out of seven.

It is time to set the record straight. Minister after Minister and Member after Member on the Conservative side of the House stood in their place, straightened their backbone, puffed out their chest and said "We want". It is as simple as that, and on we go with free trade.

The reality is that in the election just fought in this country the Government won a mandate under the British parliamentary system. They won the most seats in the House and under the British parliamentary system it no doubt gives the Government not only the right, but the power by virtue of its majority. When they pull off the silk glove, when they close their eyes to the silky carpet and the posh surroundings and do away with the notion of tradition, it is power that the Government won, parliamentary power, to proceed with free trade. However, it did not win the hearts, minds and souls of Canadians. Fifty-seven per cent of Canadians said no to the trade deal.

• (1730)

My arithmetic is very good. We on this side of the House are here to speak for a majority of Canadians who have rejected the sell-out of this country and want to go on sailing our own ship in the international sea, masters of our own fate, captain of our own vessel, fastening our sail, and not becoming a tugboat tied on to the American vessel being chartered around the world.

Canadians have said no to the trade deal. In eight of ten provinces, including the province of the Minister of National Health and Welfare, a majority of Canadians said no to the trade deal. This country has not given the Government a mandate to sell out the nation.

Had we had a referendum, we would be saying today that the Government's vision for the future of this nation had been decisively defeated. The last time we saw a great referendum in this nation was in 1980, and in that referendum, 60 per cent of Quebecers decided. That was considered to be a decisive vote about the future of Quebec.

Fifty-seven per cent of Canadians have voted against the trade deal. Yet the Government is using closure, announcing in advance that it will not consider any amendments, announcing in advance it will not hear at all the views of those 57 per cent of Canadians who have properly participated in a democracy, who have sent their representatives and who have asked that their voices be heard and their amendments be considered. The Government has said, even in advance of seeing the amendments, that it will not listen. It will shut down debate. How much longer is it before we hear the sound of jackboots in the distance, coming to close down any semblance of democracy in this place? The Minister of National Health and Welfare laughs.

Mr. Epp: At you.

M. Tobin: He chuckles, he thinks this is funny. Yes, indeed, this is the same Minister who, though he found today the courage to stand after the election to defend this deal, could find neither the breath, the backbone nor the spine to stand in his place when his province was subjected to the most blatant act of political opportunism, when the people of Manitoba were denied the air contract, a contract they had won fair and square.

I was amused today by the Hon. Member for Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca (Mr. Barrett) a former Leader of the NDP in the Province of British Columbia, a former premier, making his maiden speech. I expected that a former premier might want to share with us his views about the trade deal, and in particular, how the trade deal supersedes any Act not only of the Parliament of Canada but any Act of any provincial legislature. In other words, once this deal is passed and is law, this Chamber will be nothing but a pale echo of the real view of Canadians while those views are held subservient to the terms and conditions of the trade deal. The same applies to any provincial legislature, but we heard not a word from the new Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca, not a word about the substance of the trade deal, not a word about how sovereignty, both in provincial legislatures and in the House of Commons will be lost. Instead, we heard what I thought was a ridiculous speech. We heard from a Member of the NDP who

lamented the Liberal Party's position on the trade deal during the election campaign.

It was not the Liberal Party that opened up the general election with a press conference and said not a word about the trade deal. That was the Leader of the NDP. It was not the Liberal Party that tried to pretend that the election was not about the trade deal. That was the Prime Minister in the first few weeks of the campaign and the Leader of the NDP. It was not the Liberal Party that had a meeting last weekend to try to figure out why our Party was more interested in personal power than in the future of this country. That was the NDP. If Hon. Members do not believe me, they should read Mr. White's letter.

While the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada was standing up for Canada, was standing up to be counted, saying where he stood on the trade deal, the Leader of the NDP was having night-time fantasies about being Leader of the Opposition. Members of the NDP do not need two special task forces to find out why they failed. They failed because Canadians recognized that this was a Party more seized with the lust for power than with the love of country. Shame on you.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Tobin: There is another cynical player in this whole piece. It is not just Members of the NDP who forgot their *raison d'être*. There is a third party that needs to be addressed here and that is the Canadian business community.

I belong to a free-enterprise Party. We support the free-enterprise system. We believe in rewarding individual success. We believe that the free enterprise system generates the most wealthy society and we also believe that government ought to be prepared to move in to redistribute some of that wealth so that we all get a fair share. However, the Canadian business community took advantage of a court decision affecting the Canada Elections Act to move in this election in an incredibly cynical manner. This is a loophole that this Parliament, if it has courage, integrity and guts, will close before there is another election.

The Conservative Party did not win this election in the normal sense of the word. No, the Canada Elections Act was brought in for one reason. It was brought in to ensure that any Member who wanted to come into this House would come because of the power of his or her ideas and the conviction and courage with which he or she were prepared to apply those ideas. It was meant to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

ensure that Parliament would not be the preserve of the powerful few but would be the voice representative of the many in society, that whether you came from Newfoundland and were a fisherman's son or whether you came from a privileged background, Canada's north or an ethnic minority group, you would have at least an equal opportunity to sit in this place and make your voice on behalf of constituents heard. That is what the Canada Elections Act is all about. Its purpose was to prevent this from being a posh private club belonging to a trendy and wealthy few.

What happened during this election campaign? The Act was perverted because the business community entered this campaign with a \$3 million advertising campaign in the last 10 days of the election campaign. With \$3 million, it bought this election for the Conservative Party. We had better have the courage to say it and we had better make up our minds now that we will close that loophole so that that kind of abuse, that kind of chicanery, that kind of hijacking of democracy, can never, ever happen again in this country.

Mr. Andre: No confidence in the people.

Mr. Tobin: I have every confidence in the people when the people are left to make their decisions.

Mr. McDermid: You just accused them of being bought. You don't have confidence in them at all.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, we have across the way a gentleman who has so much empathy, understanding and compassion for the ordinary person that he actually claimed during the course of the election campaign that those who live on our cities' sidewalks, those who live under bridges, those who have neither roofs over their heads nor food for their bellies are there because it is a lifestyle and they like it. What the hell do you know about ordinary Canadians, the Minister of homelessness?

Mr. McDermid: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I think the Hon. Member would probably want to retract those statements because they are totally untrue. If the Hon. Member is using as his source the *Toronto Star*, then I would suggest he get a better research department.

• (1740)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I think we should close that part of the debate and let the Hon. Member continue.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Tobin: I am sorry to get so excited and use such strong language. But those people who are sitting out there trying to find heating vents to stay warm on December 19 when we sit here in this splendid House are not here to speak for themselves. If the Canada Elections Act is not fixed, they will never be here or have a representative to speak for them. I want to advise the Minister for homelessness that they are out there, and not by choice.

In Newfoundland 40 years ago we had an opportunity to fight this kind of an election campaign or at least participate in this kind of a democratic process.

An Hon. Member: You were not born then.

Mr. Tobin: That is right, I was not born. But it is important, it is relevant, it is history. The whole world is not made up of just what is in today's newspaper, I advise the Minister of homelessness. History is a very important teacher. We should pay attention to it.

Newfoundlanders made a fundamental choice 40 years ago. The Hon. Member for St. John's West cast his first vote 40 years ago as a young Newfoundland. He cast a vote for economic union between Newfoundland and the United States. There were two forces, one led by the father of the Hon. Member for St. John's West.

Mr. Cooper: And Don Jamieson.

Mr. Tobin: And Don Jamieson, that is correct. And one led by Joey Smallwood.

One group said that Newfoundland's future interests will be served by having economic union between Newfoundland and the United States. That group was funded and supported by a clique of Water and Duckworth Street merchants who wanted to keep things the way they always were. Fishermen brought in their fish. They were given a bit of molasses and flour, which fed them for the winter. They drove up their bills and, by God, they had to sell us their fish again next year because we had them in something we called "in collar" in Newfoundland. It was wrapped right around their necks. As long as we kept feeding their families, they would have to keep selling us their fish. That was the system and it was a cosy system.

The Water Street merchants looked at Confederation and said: "Well, that is a different system up there. I do not think our feudal system can survive the niceties of Confederation. So we will opt, finance and support a campaign for economic union with the United States".

The Member from St. John's West is proud to say that he cast his first vote for economic union with the United States.

It was an incredible campaign. It is referred to now as the battle for Canada, as we look back. Joey Smallwood, with the seat out of his pants, with nothing but the raggedly you-know-what artillery behind him went out and he took on those forces and he won the battle for Confederation. A referendum turned in a result that said Newfoundlanders would choose Canada. So we fought that battle 40 years ago and those who believed in Canada and the values of a tolerant, caring, and sharing nation won that battle.

Near 40 years later, last month, the battle was refought in Newfoundland and I am pleased to say refought with the same result. Newfoundlanders again said no to economic union between their country, Canada, and the United States.

Some Hon. Members. Hear, hear!

Mr. Tobin: They said yes to a strong independent nation. Why did they do that, Mr. Speaker? Because they know that when we talk about nationhood and when we talk about country, we cannot look at just the boundary lines and say that defines us as being different from them. We cannot just look at our flag and say we have a different flag than theirs and so that makes us different. We cannot just sing our national anthem and say we have a different song so that makes us different.

Newfoundlanders instinctively know that what defines us are not symbols of nationhood but the way we govern ourselves, the ability to be independent and not have to seek permission from anybody else when we make decisions for ourselves. Newfoundlanders opted again for a compassionate society, a free enterprise system—yes, we subscribe to that—but a government that is prepared to intervene to equalize opportunity across this land. That is the kind of Canada we believe in, a Canada that can reward success by one individual and celebrate it but yet would never hesitate to stoop down to help those who fall between the cracks and without whom this nation would not realize its full potential because they too should have their opportunity in this society.

Newfoundlanders believe that nationhood is defined when you have the ability to chart your own course, when you are truly masters in your own house, if I can equate the nation to the ship of state, and when you can

fasten your own sail and move in whatever direction is appropriate for your land.

This Bill may pass this House in the days ahead but it does not represent the end of the debate. It represents the beginning of the debate about what kind of Canada we are going to have. As long as 57 per cent of Canadians say no to the Prime Minister's subsidiary vision of Canada—he was president of IOCC an American subsidiary now he wants to be Prime Minister of an American subsidiary—as long as Canadians say no to that, I tell the Government the battle is not over. The battle has only begun. When the battle roars we in this party, the Liberal Party, will be on the front lines fighting for a strong, independent, proud Canada and we will continue that fight until we win.

• (1750)

[*Translation*]

Hon. Lucien Bouchard (Secretary of State and Acting Minister of the Environment): Mr. Speaker, we find ourselves again in this Chamber after Canadians have unequivocally renewed their support for this Government. Of course, this support was first and foremost given to the Right Hon. Prime Minister and the policies put forward by his Government and to the vision we proposed to Canadians.

The election campaign that we have just been through was based mainly on one issue that gave rise to heated exchanges. This debate also gave Canadians the opportunity to consider two options for the future, to look at themselves in terms of their true identity and to choose the one that they considered most promising for the development of the country. The electorate showed that developing the national identity was not incompatible with openness to the world—far from it. Now that the people's verdict has democratically decided the question of free trade with the United States, it is up to us legislators to carry out the will of the people. On this side of the House, we want to do so calmly and respectfully, by once again explaining our choices, the underlying principles and the reasons why we believe that this treaty is an act of maturity, far-sightedness and deep faith in the future of Canada.

Our country's economy, whether in metropolitan areas, towns or outlying regions, is heavily dependent on exports. We are 25 million people on a vast territory, and most of us live on a narrow strip along the American border. Throughout our history, this geographic and demographic reality has forced us to be competitive, to be better than the rest if we hoped to succeed. We still

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

want to meet this challenge that we face every day, which we have always faced until now, so much so that our people do not just sell raw materials in the United States, Mr. Speaker. They invest, they create jobs and make profits there; they go after their share of this huge consumer market.

Furthermore, we live in an era when the economies of the whole world are tending to band together in increasingly close-knit and powerful blocs. This is true of the twelve European countries that in 1992 will constitute a unified body of 350 million people. It is true of the Asian countries that are beginning the same kind of process, while respecting the national independence of individual countries. Confronted with the rise of these major economic powers and the liberalization of international trade, Canadians have to choose between a weak-kneed and so illusory recourse to protectionism, on one hand, and the challenge of openness and confidence in our abilities and talents, on the other.

We never claimed, Mr. Speaker, that free trade with the United States would be a rose garden. But we said, and we continue to believe firmly, that Canada's best development opportunities are in that direction. This message that we have been conveying to Canadians for many months was understood, as the results of November 21 attest. When the benefits of free trade will begin to be felt, more and more Canadians will realize that the Agreement is the road to our future. Not only will we provide guaranteed and stable access to U.S. markets, and, in the process, maintain and create hundreds of thousands of jobs over the next few years, but we will have done so at no cost to Canada's identity.

Canada is a country of great resources, a trading nation whose people enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world. It is also a country which has, over the years, developed one of the best social systems. We are a caring society and we believe that government will and must have a role to play in reducing the disparities between the rich and the poor, men and women, regions rich in natural resources and regions with few natural resources.

In the last few months, and especially in the weeks before the election, defeatists cropped up everywhere and predicted nothing less than a national catastrophe if Canadians said yes to the Free Trade Agreement. Some people believed these prophets of doom and gloom. As we review this Agreement which is again before us, our role is to provide reassurance and information to stay any fears that may still remain about free trade.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We said it before the election and again after the election: Canada's social programs are here to stay. If we had had the least doubt in that regard, we would not have signed the Free Trade Agreement.

Besides, why would our social programs be threatened? Starting in 1935, trade tariffs were gradually removed and now 80 per cent of our trade with the United States is tariff-free. During that period, Canadian trade with the United States continued to grow. Nevertheless, it is in the last 53 years that the bulk of our social programs has been established. That never affected in any way our capacity to compete. Why should things be any different today? Why should continuity in our trade relationships bring about a break in our social and cultural traditions?

The villifiers of free trade are especially worried about those five to seven years during which we will define with our American partners what is a subsidy and which subsidies will come under the new rules developed by the task force.

According to them, that period of negotiation will result in the abolition of almost all our social programs, from old age security to unemployment insurance benefits through regional development assistance. They either ignore or forget to mention that we already have sure indications of the way those negotiations will go. Already, under the auspices of GATT, Canada and the United States recognize that internal subsidies are legitimate means to promote, for instance, economic and regional development. GATT does not limit the right of its members to use internal subsidies to reach such goals. What that clearly confirms is the capacity of Canada, within the free trade framework, to keep on fighting against regional disparities and allocating as many billions of dollars as we are putting into it now.

On the other hand, in 1985, the American Trade Department had rejected the claim of East Coast American fishermen that unemployment insurance benefits paid to Canadian fishermen were subsidies liable to countervailing duties.

Invoking more or less the same arguments, and taking advantage, it ought to be pointed out, of the Canadian people's interest in the issue, the opponents of free trade have tried to make us believe that the agreement would be a disaster for our environment. As the Prime Minister has entrusted me temporarily with the environment portfolio, it behooves me today to respond to the assertions made by certain groups opposed to the Free Trade Agreement. By signing the agreement, we have not

given up an iota of our sovereignty either in the field of social programs or with respect to our ability to maintain strict environmental protection programs.

During our first mandate, we passed environmental protection legislation which ranks among the most exacting in the world. We took vigorous measures to reduce chemical pollution. We invested millions of dollars for cleaning up our waterways, whether it be the Great Lakes, the Saint-Lawrence or the port of Halifax, to name only a few initiatives.

Canada has adhered to the concept of "sustainable development", which entails that economic development must be subordinated to environmental considerations. We set up a task force on environment and the economy, further to the suggestion made by the United Nations Commission on Environment, whose Chairperson Mrs. Brundtland, Premier of Norway, underlined Canada's contribution as a world leader in the fight for the protection of the environment.

All those actions were actions by a sovereign nation aware of the gigantic steps that remain to be taken for its citizens to have purer air and cleaner water.

To suggest that the Free Trade Agreement with the United States will affect our ability to do that is sheer speculation and, as much as I regret to say, demagoguery.

Some groups also stated the Agreement would force Canada to harmonize its environmental standards with those of the United States. Nothing could be farther from the truth! Quite the opposite, the Agreement recognizes our right to maintain and create environmental conservation policies. As a matter of fact, the Agreement includes no requirement of any kind for the harmonization of standards.

Others further submitted that under the Free Trade Agreement, Canada could no longer provide financial assistance to industries wishing to reduce their emissions of pollutants. That is false! Because the GATT, Mr. Speaker, recognizes environmental protection as a legitimate goal governments may promote through subsidies. Therefore governments, both federal and provincial, will continue to financially support industries undertaking clean-up measures.

One of the most evident signs of ignorance and bad faith exhibited by some critics of Free Trade, Mr. Speaker, deals with that alleged treaty obligation for Canada to export our water to the United States.

Those absolute lies are still being propagated even after the Minister of International Trade had an

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

amendment passed to Bill C-130 to specify the Free Trade Agreement did not apply to water.

In that area also, the Agreement is in line with provisions under the GATT that allow a country to take necessary steps to protect the environment. Section 1201 of the Agreement is clear on that.

In fact, the only provision in the Agreement that deals with the matter of water concerns the elimination of tariff on water which we import from the United States.

Our lakes and rivers are not for sale, and Canadians know it. That type of export on the other hand is specifically excluded both by the federal water policy and the Canadian Water Preservation Act.

Canadian sovereignty in that crucial sector—as in all others—is altogether unassailable.

Mr. Speaker, the environmental question underlies the notion of sovereignty. Had the Free Trade Agreement in any way restricted our freedom to act in this field we would not have signed for any consideration whatever.

Over the next few years there will be an unprecedented number of new measures to protect our environment. This happens to be one of the basic commitments we made to Canadian men and women during the election campaign. You may rest assured that this Government will live up to them.

Whether we are talking about cleaning up our rivers or fighting against the depletion of the ozone layer and against every type of toxic emissions, free trade or no free trade, the Canadian Government can take action in all fields related to environmental protection.

During the election campaign the Prime Minister also promised that before the expiry of his second mandate he would sit down with the United States and negotiate a comprehensive agreement for a common effort in fighting acid rain. The new American administration has already indicated it is prepared to undertake such negotiations. Canadians can be assured that, as in the case of the free trade deal, this agreement will be negotiated in the best interests of this country and its citizens.

In our societies, never has so much concern been expressed over our environmental heritage. The United States has responsibilities in that respect, we have ours. And we share common responsibilities. And Canadians can rest assured that we will live up to them competently and energetically, while asserting our full sovereignty.

• (1800)

[English]

Mr. John Harvard (Winnipeg—St. James): Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to rise in this House for my first address. It is with a great sense of pride that I stand in this place as the representative of the people of Winnipeg—St. James.

At the outset, I wish to thank the people of Winnipeg—St. James for the trust they have placed in me in choosing to have me represent them in this the Thirty-fourth Parliament. I shall endeavour to be worthy of that trust, and I promise to serve them to the best of my ability.

Might I also take this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to congratulate you on your re-election to the chair of this House. I am certain that Members may rely upon you to continue to preserve and safeguard the great traditions of this House.

The constituency of Winnipeg—St. James comprises the western-most portion of the City of Winnipeg, north of the Assiniboine River, and is predominantly urban.

If one travels to Winnipeg by air, one lands at the Winnipeg Airport, which is located within the boundaries of the riding. The Winnipeg Blue Bombers, the Grey Cup champions, play their games in the Winnipeg Stadium, which is located within the boundaries of the riding of Winnipeg—St. James. As well, the Winnipeg Jets—who I am confident will one day, in the near future, win the Stanley Cup—play their home games at the Winnipeg Arena, which again, is located within the boundaries of Winnipeg—St. James.

Like the Prairie people in general, the people of Winnipeg—St. James have a strong belief in fairness, a strong belief in what is right. They are willing to place their trust in others. However, when that trust is betrayed, when that trust is violated, when that trust is left in tatters, they do not forget. While they may not show anger, they will get even. This Government learned that lesson on November 21 last when its shafting of the people of Winnipeg—St. James in respect of the CF-18 maintenance contract came back to haunt them.

The theft of the CF-18 contract was a gross injustice. It was an attack on the voters of Winnipeg—St. James; an attack on their integrity. In fact, it was an attack on the integrity of the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba.

I note that when the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) spoke a few moments ago, a man

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

from my home Province of Manitoba, he did not say one word about that act of grand larceny, the theft of the CF-18 contract—and that is exactly what it was. And it was done for cynical political purposes.

The people of Winnipeg—St. James can rest assured that I shall never betray their trust, as this Government did in respect of the CF-18 maintenance contract. And that is why, Mr. Speaker, I rise today in this House to oppose the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Harvard: The people of Winnipeg—St. James have entrusted me with the task of fighting this deal, and to fight it every inch of the way. I cannot betray that trust, and I will not. I know that Hon. Members opposite would like us to come into this Chamber and simply roll over and play dead.

Well, Mr. Speaker, we know too much of what has happened in the past. Where I come from, they say: "I did not come down the river on a bale of hay." In other words, one is not naive.

We do not trust this Government, Mr. Speaker; we do not trust this Government any farther than we could spit upwind. That will not change. There is simply too much at stake. The future of this country is at stake. We are going to watch this Government. We are going to watch every move it makes; we are going to listen to every word it speaks. That is our responsibility, and it is a responsibility that we will live up to.

My quarrel with the Free Trade Agreement, as it was throughout the entire election campaign, is based on the fact the vast majority of trade between Canada and the United States is free of tariffs, free of duty, without this agreement. We on this side of the House believe in freer trade among all nations. It is for that reason, Mr. Speaker, that successive Liberal Governments consistently worked toward the reduction of tariffs.

I know that during the last election campaign Members opposite endeavoured to spread falsehoods about the position of the Liberal Party with respect to trade. We are not against freer trade; we are not against lower tariffs. We have worked toward that goal for many years. What we are against, and remain against, is this rotten, abominable deal.

While we desire freer trade with the U.S., we also desire freer trade with other countries. We are concerned that in getting the tariffs and duties removed on the remaining 20 per cent of trade with the U.S., we

have given up the ability to run our own country in the way that we want to run it. In other words, this trade agreement jeopardizes our sovereignty, undercuts our sovereignty.

We know all about the supposed special relationship between the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and Mr. Reagan, the outgoing President of the United States. That special relationship got us nothing in a period of four years but photo ops and a silly sing-song in Québec City.

The Prime Minister was desperate for something to show for this special relationship, and perhaps that is the reason for his conversion to free trade. After all, it was in 1983 that the Prime Minister said: "Don't talk to me about free trade during the leadership campaign, or at any time in the future." Why did he change his mind? Why at this point does Canada wish to become tied more closely to the economy of the U.S.?

We should stand back for a moment and consider whether it is not more prudent, while seeking freer trade with the U.S., to continue to pursue the policy of tariff reduction through multilateral means such as the GATT. Instead, this Government has chosen to put all of its eggs into the American basket. It has abandoned the policy of a multilateral focus to trade policy. We are now faced with the uphill struggle of further negotiation and dispute settlement on a bilateral basis with an opposing party that is 10 times our size, with 10 times the economic strength. Hardly an even match.

Let me turn now to the question of subsidies.

Under the terms of the Free Trade Agreement, what constitutes an allowable subsidy will be negotiated over the next five to seven years. This phase of the negotiation is of greatest concern to me. Canada enters the negotiation without any parameters in place in respect of the definition of a subsidy. In the past, the Americans have claimed that our regional development programs and social programs constitute unfair subsidies. I repeat: unfair subsidies. We have no indication that they have changed their minds on that score.

When these programs are raised in the negotiations, will this Government defend them? Or will they buckle under to U.S. pressure, as they have done so frequently in the past? Do not hold your breath, Mr. Speaker.

Here is the danger, as I see it: The Americans will claim that goods and services being imported from Canada enjoy the benefit of unfair subsidies such as unemployment insurance and pensions. As a result,

under the threat of countervailing duties, Canada's social and regional development programs will come under pressure.

We on this side of the House believe that this will lead to a gradual erosion of these programs. That is the greatest threat of all under this agreement. If the Tories had any brains at all, they would have sought a specific exemption to make it absolutely clear that social and regional development programs were exempt under the agreement, especially when we look at historical claims by the Americans that these programs amount to subsidies.

• (1810)

Looking at this agreement from a Winnipegger's perspective, perhaps one should not be surprised that the Tories would sleep while regional development programs are eroded. After all, regional development in the Government's eyes is just another cynical means to buy votes. We in Winnipeg know about the Government's lack of commitment to regional development. Again I refer to the CF-18 maintenance contract. We in the Province of Manitoba, particularly in the City of Winnipeg, had the opportunity to strengthen the aviation industry on the Prairies, to develop a diversified industrial base in a part of the country which suffers the effects of the boom and bust cycle inherent in a resource and agricultural based economy. The Government turned a blind eye to that opportunity. That was the case even though the Winnipeg contractor concerned won the contract on an equal footing with its competitors. With the lack of commitment to regional development shown in the CF-18 contract, little wonder regional development was not specifically exempted under the trade agreement.

On the question of social programs, we know all too well the Government's lack of commitment to pensions, unemployment insurance and medicare. As you know, we watched the Government try to deindex pensions during its first term. That reflects its commitment to social programs. Those who fear the erosion of these programs may rest assured that we will defend them at every turn. We will watch over the negotiations on the subsidy definition very, very closely.

We should also ask ourselves why the Government did not get specific exemptions for social and regional development programs. Maybe we should not be surprised that the Tories would place the fortunes of the brewing industry above those of seniors struggling to make ends meet. Not that I was unhappy to see the

brewing industry exempted, but I think seniors deserve a better break from the Government.

We on this side of the House insist on a specific exemption for social and regional development programs. It is our duty to do so, placed upon us by the millions of people who supported us and oppose this deal. We cannot stand by while the Government endangers the social safety net which we on this side of the House have worked so hard to construct. We do not wish to see the erosion of social programs as we have witnessed in the fiefdom of the Prime Minister's ideological mentor, Mrs. Thatcher, who so eagerly rushed to his assistance during the last election campaign. In fact, it was interference in Canadian affairs.

Is this agreement another step by Canada away from the caring society that we on this side of the House built toward a Thatcher Britain where two countries now exist? On the one hand you have the wealthy region surrounding its largest city in the prosperous south, and on the other the impoverished north. Is this our model of the future, regional disparity and a growing gap between rich and poor? We on this side see the warning signs. We do not like them and we are going to fight on.

Again on subsidies, what will be the fate of such programs as PFRA, ERDA and the Agricultural Assistance Act as well as the Western Grain Stabilization Act? Those programs are of specific concern to westerners whose economy is still to a large extent reliant on agriculture. All those programs are in the annex to the agreement. All will be negotiated over the next five to seven years. Our support systems will be brought into line with theirs. Our supply management system will be endangered.

From a westerner's perspective, we are concerned about the question of resources in general, including the question of energy. Producing provinces have always held dearly control over their resources as a means to enhance development of their economies. Indeed, the transfer of control over resources to the western provinces was one of this country's first regional development programs. We in the West are certainly not keen on guaranteeing the supply of our resources to the Americans. Indeed, it is surprising that the Americans were given secure supply over energy without anything in return. The United States of America will merely take all the oil and gas Canada can supply, provided it cannot get it cheaper elsewhere. Furthermore, we have virtually abandoned the goal of energy self-sufficiency by committing ourselves to share our oil and natural gas even as our supplies become depleted, this with no

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

obligation to buy from Canada should cheaper supplies be available elsewhere. The bottom line on energy under this agreement is that we have become an energy reservoir of the United States.

Time does not allow me to touch upon all the concerns flowing from this trade agreement. However, I would like to briefly repeat my concerns. We have not gained secure access to the U.S. market, as my colleagues have outlined in some detail. Our social and regional development programs are indeed threatened. People who do not believe that, particularly Members opposite, might as well believe in the tooth fairy. In fact, I have several bridges that I could sell them right now if they do not believe that. Have they not heard of harmonization? Have they not heard of the integration of the two economies?

I said it during the election campaign and I will say it now. What is the point in consummating this agreement if things are just going to be the same afterwards? The fact of the matter is that things are not going to be the same. We are going to have a continental economy. We are going to have a continental energy regime. There will be harmonization, and I can assure you that they will not be harmonizing with us. We will be harmonizing with them because it comes down to a matter of power and size.

The Americans are aggressive. I can assure you that in the tough days that lie ahead it will be Winnipeg bending toward Minneapolis. It will be Toronto bending toward Washington. It will be Vancouver bending toward New York. That is the lesson we have to learn from the trade agreement. It is a lesson that has been learned on this side of the House, but it has yet to be learned on that side of the House. Will they ever wake up?

I also would like to point out, as I have already said in some detail, that our agriculture sector is threatened as well. We have given up the ability to conduct an independent energy policy. It is for those reasons and many, many more that when the time comes I will stand up and vote against this trade agreement.

Mr. Ross Reid (St. John's East): Mr. Speaker, if I may, I would like to first congratulate you and your colleagues on your election to this House. It is indeed a great honour and I think you and your colleagues, as you have shown in the past, will show in the future that you justly deserve it.

I rise today to speak on the great and historic free trade agreement before us. With your permission,

however, I would like first to speak of my constituents in St. John's East. I would like to thank them for the confidence they have placed in me by electing me to this place and assure them that I will serve them with dignity and distinction.

• (1820)

In this election campaign my constituents were asked to consider many things. I believe in the end they made the decision based on those that were important to them, things that mattered to them, to their children. It ultimately was a decision that involved the future, a decision based on opportunities, employment and leadership, a better tomorrow for all Newfoundlanders and, indeed, all Canadians.

I am well aware of the honour bestowed upon me to stand in my place in this House. With your leave, Mr. Speaker, I would like to mention four others who have gone before me representing my province, the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, in this place. First I mention the Hon. W. J. Browne who was a Member of Parliament here many years ago, known variously as Judge Browne or Billy Browne. Today, at 92, as the dean of my Party in Newfoundland and Labrador, he remains active and involved. I would like to mention the Hon. James A. McGrath, a man known to many Hon. Members, a distinguished parliamentarian, a great reformer in this House, a great representative of his constituents, and today the Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador. I mention the Hon. Don Jamieson, a renowned broadcaster, parliamentarian, and diplomat who to many of my age is remembered particularly at this time of year. Also, if I may, Mr. Speaker, I would like to mention the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) with whom I came to this place some 12 years ago and with whom I served for five years. I would like to say it is indeed an honour to serve in this House with him today.

My constituency stretches from the Town of Cupids on one end around Cape St. Francis to St. John's. Cupids is the oldest English speaking community in North America. Georgetown and Brigus, the home of one of the world's greatest explorers, Bob Bartlett, are new to the constituency in the riding of St. John's East. I would like to welcome them and pay tribute to them.

Mine is a district of fishermen and of fish plant workers, a district of ironworkers, boiler makers, and other skilled tradesmen who have worked on every major project in North America and built most of the major buildings in Canada and the United States. Mine

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

is a constituency of entrepreneurs, owners, and operators of small business, people who create jobs and who lead others to create jobs with them. Mine is a constituency of people who serve through the Government, through the utilities, and through the service sector in a vibrant capital city. These are the people to whom free trade matters. These are the people who said to me: "Go to Ottawa and speak on our behalf for free trade".

Many in the district of St. John's East continue to struggle with unemployment, continue to struggle to create the opportunities that they need for work, to be able to live in Newfoundland with their families. I mention particularly the people of Bell Island where, 25 years ago, the iron ore mines were closed. Since then they have struggled with minor success to find the real opportunity which will provide them with the employment that is so important to them.

Mine is a district of communities faced by the tremendous burden of debt but also challenged by the increasing cost to provide the very basic services that the residents demand.

Despite hardship and adversity, the constituents of St. John's East are focused on the future. The constituents of St. John's East are most concerned about the opportunities that will give the jobs that they need. They are most concerned about the opportunities that are provided under the Free Trade Agreement.

We have a growing but small high-tech industry, a high-tech industry that knows the opportunities provided by free trade.

In the district of St. John's East and in the City of St. John's we have three post-secondary education institutions. Memorial University and the Marine Institute are world-class centres for research, centres that focus on the opportunities provided by the sea, the sea that we have lived by and from for so many years. We also continue to await the benefits of the offshore oil and gas resources below our shores.

Those are the opportunities that face us in the future, but we have had a history of ups and downs in the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador—minor successes and major failures. What we as Newfoundlanders have always asked, the only thing that we have demanded, is for the opportunity to create for ourselves, our families, and our communities the opportunities that will allow us to build a better tomorrow so that we can live and work in our homes, the opportunity that we have not been provided in the past.

My hon. friend talked earlier about what we as Newfoundlanders want as the ability to control our own destiny, but without the opportunities to do that we have not the chance. He talked of ships of state and charting our own course. What we have with the Free Trade Agreement, what we have with the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, what we have with the Hibernia understanding is the ship that he wants to get into and chart his own course. Without those opportunities there is no ship. The Free Trade Agreement is a part of an attempt for the first time to develop an economic program that allows Atlantic Canadians generally, and Newfoundlanders in particular, to make decisions for themselves, to create the opportunities for themselves, to say that we can and will have the tools that we need in our hands to do exactly that.

Too long we have been forced to take what we can get. We have been forced to have our resources exported from our shores with the minimum of production, with the minimum of value added to them. Too long we have been exporting cod blocks and frozen fillets. But why? Because of tariffs. We have been unable to get to our natural market in the United States, except with the barest of resources, because of the burden of tariffs. If we want to take a piece of fish and for some unknown reason we want to add a few corn flakes to it, or we want to put a little cheese on it—I cannot imagine why we would but people in this part of the world like to do that—we could not do that because there is a tariff on it. Our exports are of raw product, fine, there is no tariff on it. But on anything else there is a tariff. We are in an immediate disadvantage.

With the Free Trade Agreement that burden is removed. The same applies to our forest industries. The same applies to our minerals. Instead of exporting the bare bones, now, with the tariffs gone under this agreement, we have the ability to create the jobs in Newfoundland and in the Atlantic Provinces so that it is our people who are putting bread crumbs on fish and not people in Massachusetts who are putting bread crumbs on fish. It is our people who are taking wood products from wood and turning them into windows and doors, not people in the United States.

Those are the opportunities of free trade. Those are the things that will be our future. Those are the things that we have wanted for so long, that chance to create the jobs and the opportunities for ourselves.

I would like to talk briefly about social programs. Medicare will not be threatened by this deal. Pensions will not be threatened by this deal. Unemployment

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

insurance will not be threatened by this deal. Despite what others have said in the last couple of months, it will not cost women between \$5,000 and \$15,000 to have a baby under the Free Trade Agreement. Despite what has been said in the past about whom to vote for and whom not to vote for, not voting for the Government will not cost you your old age pension. The unemployment insurance for Atlantic fishermen has been challenged before. It was rejected by the United States Department of Commerce. We have been through that.

Unfortunately, what many people in Newfoundland voted against—and I regret that my hon. friend from Humber is not here, he did his own analysis of the election results—was a Cronenberg horror fiction that had been created by the Liberal opposition during this election campaign.

● (1830)

They did not vote against free trade because, unfortunately, they were not given the full opportunity to vote against free trade because the whole issue was clouded by doom and gloom, horror fiction, and negative views of a situation that will not exist in this country.

The ultimate difference between the Government and the Opposition is a difference of attitude. The federal Government will not roll over and die when the Free Trade Agreement is in place. The provinces will not roll over and die when the Free Trade Agreement is in place. GATT does not cease to exist when the Free Trade Agreement is in place. If we continue to focus absolutely on the negatives we will not see the positives.

Our Government and our Party chose to maximize the benefits of this agreement and to ensure that the negative effects are minimalized. We are told that we cannot compete. We are told that under the Free Trade Agreement we will be swamped because of lower wage rates and economies of scale. My constituents do not believe that we cannot compete. All my constituents want is the opportunity to compete.

I suggest to the House that if we cannot compete with the barriers down we will never be able to compete with the barriers up. I know that Canadians, with the imagination, entrepreneurship and ability to be productive and compete, can take on any American company and any American product and do well, can increase their ability to do more and the opportunities that go with that.

We can do better. We will do better. We are faced with a world that is changing very quickly. We are faced

with a world that is not strictly focused on the United States, but a world that is becoming more technically adept, that is trading 24 hours a day, and that tells Canada to keep up or be left behind.

What I resent most about those who are against the Free Trade Agreement is that they speak of the *status quo*. As a Newfoundlander, and I am sure all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians will agree, the *status quo* is not something that has served us particularly well. I fear in this world that *status quo* is in a sense a fallacy. If we do not move ahead we will fall behind.

Canadians have a certain standard of living and quality of life. We expect the level of services provided by our Government to be of such high quality that we must keep up, we must continue to move ahead. It is with the Free Trade Agreement, with progressive and imaginative economic policies of this Government which we have seen in the last four years that we will be able to keep up.

The *status quo* was something that has hurt many of us. The *status quo* is something that we cannot accept. The Free Trade Agreement is an opportunity for us to enter a market under conditions that are predictable and secure, to enter a market ten times our size, knowing that if we run into difficulty we have a mechanism we can participate in for the first time to solve our problems and deal with our conflicts, under a code that is predictable.

I certainly speak for my constituents. I suspect that at the end of the day I speak for all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. The Free Trade Agreement is something we must have. When we consider the nature of our resource based economy and the nature of the opportunities before us, if we are denied the opportunities under the Free Trade Agreement, we may never see them again. Canada will fall behind and I suggest the country will have missed an opportunity that we can never replace. I think we can all stand in shame if opportunity is not taken now. We should move ahead to ensure the benefit for all Canadians.

Mr. Cid Samson (Timmins—Chapleau): Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I make my first speech to this honourable Chamber as the Member for Timmins—Chapleau. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the Speaker on his re-election as Speaker of the House of Commons. I also want to thank the people from my riding who supported me. I express to them my total commitment to work on their behalf for this term and many terms to follow.

It is very fitting that the subject of this speech be the Mulroney trade deal, as it is the voters in Timmins—Chapleau who sent me here to oppose this deal, which was the primary reason for my victory and the Conservative loss on November 21.

Timmins—Chapleau is the third largest riding in Ontario by area. It stretches from Iroquois Falls in the east to White River in the west, from Timmins in the north to Gogama in the south. It is a riding of miners, trappers, loggers, railway workers, and many others. It is also a riding of hard-working, honest families who love their country.

The communities which make up our riding are resource-based communities. When the mine closes or when the mill lays off workers, when the railway becomes automated, or there is a slump in demand for our forest products, the economic heart of our communities die. Resource-based economies are the ones which suffer first during an economic downturn. They are the ones which are the last to recover, if they recover at all.

That kind of area needs the support of the federal Government through regional development programs. However, over the long run we need to diversify the economies of these communities to offset the boom or bust cycles which have devastated all northern areas of our country during bad economic times.

In order for this to happen, the federal Government must have the ability to direct public support to these areas. It must have both the political will and the required legislative tools to give support to the North. This deal takes those powers away.

With the FTA in effect, over the next decade the Government will have to find levers of economic power but will not be able to use them. Under the Free Trade Agreement, if the mill in Iroquois Falls were to close, the Government would not be able to bail it out, keep the workers working and the families prospering. The Government would be bound by this deal under which regional development is likely to be considered an unfair subsidy. Those workers in Iroquois Falls would be sacrificed to the Conservative ideology of keeping the Americans happy at all costs.

This deal will not produce a high-tech manufacturing boom in my part of this great country. The deal does not have a lot of winners in Timmins.

The Free Trade Agreement is already causing victims. Late last week Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie announced lay-offs. I believe these lay-offs, like the lay-

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

offs at Gillette, Northern Telecom, and Pittsburgh Paints, are a direct result of the corporate plans to streamline operations in preparation for the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement.

The iron ore for the specialty steel produced for Algoma is mined in Wawa, Ontario and railed or shipped down to Sault Ste. Marie. As Algoma lays off workers, lay-offs can follow in Wawa. This deal will mean further lay-offs in Timmins—Chapleau when the current subsidy for the Algoma Central Railway is also terminated as an unfair subsidy. Rail lay-offs will inevitably follow in Wawa and Hawk Junction.

All that this deal does for the North is make victims. The Government likes to use fancy words like “streamlining” or “downsizing” or “winners and losers”, as the Liberals first said under Pierre Trudeau. These are all statistics for the economists in the Department of Finance or the bureaucrats in External Affairs. However, they are all people who are losing their jobs, and their families cannot be fed on fancy words of reassurance from the Conservatives about adjustment programs or the unemployment insurance program.

The victims have received a very cruel present from Prime Minister Scrooge. They have lost their jobs, only to be given vague promises about how they will benefit under free trade. I would never put vague promises under a Christmas tree for my kids.

• (1840)

Another aspect of this deal which I find unbelievable is this notion of an unfair subsidy. I do not need to have some American bureaucrat tell me what he or she thinks is fair and unfair. I know what is fair and what is not. Creating jobs in my riding is fair, and this deal, costing the good people in my riding their jobs is unfair. One does not have to be a lawyer or a high-priced consultant to figure that out.

The Americans want to keep their jobs and capture our markets. With this deal, we walked into a trap, and I fear that it will be working people in Timmins—Chapleau who will suffer from the Government's misguided policy.

Our Government has been manipulated by the Americans into walking into an ill-advised negotiation with a list of concessions, not a list of bottom line protections. I cannot imagine going to buy a car with a list of options that I am prepared to give up drawn up before I go into the showroom to see if the car is safe and comfortable. This deal is like a car with no engine

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

or brakes. The strangest thing of all is that this Government has bought that car.

During the election campaign, I knocked on thousands of doors in my riding. The overwhelming message that I kept receiving from the people to whom I talked was that this deal has got to go, we do not trust this Government with our future, we love our country, and we do not want to see Canada Americanized.

The people in northern Ontario are a tough bunch. The climate is not the most hospitable. As a matter of fact, White River has had the coldest temperature in Canada, and that was -72F. We have come there to work and we are good workers. We have stayed and we have built ourselves strong communities of which we are proud. We are proud to raise our children in the North. We are proud to raise them as Canadians. We have fine traditions and community spirit and are tolerant of others.

These values are valuable, but for our communities to survive and flourish, we have to keep our economic base strong. We cannot survive government policies which throw us into the deep end just to see if we will sink or swim. In this deal, we as a country have given up far too much and have received far too little in return.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gabriel Fontaine (Lévis): Mr. Speaker, first of all, I too would like to take the opportunity to thank my constituents who voted for me on November 21, 1988 and also to thank all my colleagues who were elected. Now we Conservatives are the only party in Canada to represent all parts of this great country. The other parties have become much more regional. So congratulations to all our colleagues who were elected. Thanks to those who put their trust in us and who appreciated our management over the last four years.

I now want to stick to today's subject, namely the new debate on free trade that has been made necessary because the Liberal and socialist politicians have not kept their word. We are forced to start over what we spent months on. We discussed free trade here for 350 hours, but we have to start again, Mr. Speaker, because they do not keep their word.

So, once and for all, what does free trade mean, so that Canadians can understand it exactly? Where does free trade fit in? What does it mean for the 27 million Canadians who live here? What does it mean for the 12 million Canadians between 30 and 65 who are in the labour force, who work, compared to younger Canadians, to older Canadians on pension, to Canadians who

cannot work because of certain circumstances like illness or injury?

Twelve million Canadians work and what they produce every year is called the Gross National Product. In 1987, it was \$500 billion. That is the sum total of Canadian products. It includes a pencil, a piece of paper, an automobile and an airplane. It includes medical services which are provided each time a health insurance card is used. All that amounts to \$500 billion. And Canadians export one-quarter of that—that is \$125 billion of Canadian goods and services. That means that 3 million jobs out of 12 million, one out of four, are linked to exports. But it goes further than that—84 per cent of Canadian exports go to the United States, in other words \$95 billion of our exports go to the United States. This means that in Canada one Canadian out of five has a job because we are able to sell in the United States. This is what the Free Trade Agreement is all about. It means work for one out of five Canadians who are now employed, because we sell to the United States.

• (1850)

What parts of Canada do those goods originate from? There are \$60 billion out of \$95 billion—a significant proportion—\$60 billion that come from Ontario, a province that fought free trade, especially the Liberals—Ontario Liberals opposed free trade. Well, their share of our total \$95 billion worth of exports to the United States is \$60 billion.

The second largest exporting province is Quebec, with \$16 billion. You see the difference—\$60 billion's worth of exports to the United States come from Ontario, as against \$16 billion's worth coming from Quebec, and another \$19 billion from all the other provinces together.

What province fought free trade? Ontario. Ontario Liberals, who paid for part of the Liberal Party of Canada's election campaign.

And why was that Agreement needed? It was needed because since 1985 the Americans, faced with an enormous trade deficit, were becoming very protectionist—they were blocking, restricting their purchases from other countries. And as suppliers to the United States, we were affected. Then there were some disputes. For instance, all Canadians heard of the difficulties encountered by a number of producers—hog, hog carcasses, fish, shingles and shakes producers. In each and every case the Americans said: Now, let us restrict those Canadian exports. Let us put up barriers, temporary tariffs, temporary taxes, red tape hassles.

The Americans could tell us, for example, that the pork and the hog carcasses we sell them must no longer contain growth hormones.

That was a way of stopping our pork exports to the United States. The Americans were then taking all kinds of measures to reduce our exports, thus jeopardizing our industry.

It must therefore be stressed that the Free Trade Agreement aims at stopping the Americans from taking protectionist measures which were reducing or would have reduced Canadian exports to the United States.

The other advantage of the Free Trade Agreement is of lesser consequence because 80 per cent of the 95 billion dollars worth of Canadian exports to the United States is presently free of tariffs. There are tariffs on 20 per cent of our exports.

The Agreement therefore provides for the phasing-out of all these tariffs over a 10-year period. For about a third of these products, the tariff will drop to zero starting on January 1 1988. For another third of these products, those of industries which need a little more time to adapt to the competitive situation created by free trade, the tariffs will be phased out over a five-year period and, in all other cases, they will be phased out over a 10-year period. The second advantage of free trade is therefore elimination of tariffs.

The first advantage of the Free Trade Agreement, I repeat, is the protection it affords us against American protectionist measures. The second advantage is the phasing-out of tariffs on approximately 20 billion dollars of our exports to the United States.

Another major benefit will be the dispute settlement panel. That is one of the most important elements of the Agreement. What will this dispute settlement panel mean? Let us take the situation which existed for our lumber exports to the United States in 1986, where the Americans claimed that we, as Canadians, were unfairly subsidizing lumber producers through stumpage fees which were insufficiently high, where the Americans claimed that we were subsidizing them. So they said: "You are subsidizing them; that is why we are going to impose a tax on your imports". They called them compensatory duties against our lumber exports or other items. "From now on, we are going to charge a 35 per cent duty on your exports. We are doing that because we feel that you are involved in unfair competition. You are subsidizing these corporations". In the case of softwood lumber, it was a 35 per cent duty.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

What could Canadians do when Americans decided to impose such a duty? The remedy which was available to Canadians was to appeal to the United States Trade Tribunal. It meant that a Canadian firm with its head office in Toronto, Montreal, Québec City or Lévis, had to call in its lawyers and tell them to go to the American Trade Tribunal to defend its position and demonstrate to the judges that the American Government was wrong to impose an "x" per cent duty on its products. So its lawyers had to go to the United States to appear before an American tribunal and defend its position on the basis of American legislation. The burden of proof was enormous, the more so because the judges on this American trade tribunal were themselves American.

Whenever the courts are called upon to rule, it is because something is questionable and unclear. There is a gray area. So whenever they appeared before the tribunal, each party had to make representations, but the ruling belonged to the American judges who, even when they wanted to be absolutely fair and objective, used to rule more often than not against our Canadian firms.

What is the nature of the change? Now, Canadians no longer have to deal with the American Trade Tribunal when a dispute occurs. There is a new dispute settlement panel which is now made up of five individuals, including two Canadians, two Americans, and a fifth individual accepted by both parties. That is the main difference. Essentially, the other procedures remain the same, but those who disagree with an American decision aimed at blocking our exports would no longer be required to appeal to an American tribunal, but to a binational panel made up of two Canadians, two Americans and a fifth individual acceptable to both. Which means that the ruling would not be at the mercy of five American judges. Under these conditions, the fact you are American or Canadian will be less significant, and that really is the big difference in the dispute settlement body: This binational panel will be there to ensure a better interpretation of the applicable legislation, both in the case of Canadian exports to the United States and American exports to Canada.

In short, the Free Trade Agreement will reduce American protectionism, eliminates the remaining duties and taxes, and ensure a much more secure access to the American market. During the election campaign, representatives of the Opposition parties did not provide this information to the Canadian public. They went from door to door, visited Golden Agers' clubs, one after the other, wherever they could find people who might be

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

receptive to a message of fear. The Liberals and Socialists were there to tell pensioners in all the homes for the Aged: "If free trade passes, you are going to lose your pension."

We saw former Ministers from the Trudeau era say the same thing and meddle in that scare campaign. Fortunately, we got the best of them because we told people the truth and proved to them that we were right. We told them: "It is your children or your parents between 30 and 65, the people who work and pay taxes in Canada, the industry, trade or business people who are aware of the need for access to the American market. It is those people who want free trade and you, who are older, younger or weaker, do not trust them. It is those people who pay taxes and give the country the money it needs to pay for your pensions." How do you think we can keep telling the needy that the country can pay for their pensions? A nation can pay for pensions in two ways. Together with the Socialists, the Liberals have found an original way to do it.

Their original solution was to borrow money and today our country owes \$335 billion because of the Liberals' mismanagement and their co-operation with the Socialists. So in order to pay out benefits, they took out loans. It is not politically dangerous to borrow money because those who are going to pay won't be voting on election day. Those who are going to pay are our children, grandchildren and even great-grandchildren. Because the Liberals have always understood that principle, they were able to get elected. They understood that if you can make others, but not voters, pay for your mistakes, you can get re-elected and continue to spend.

But our message appealed to reason. We proved to Canadians that, together with members of the workforce, we could and should continue paying for our pension systems because sooner or later we must set a limit on collective debt. It was necessary that our businesses made money. And we told people: Those who are employed must make money. It is not a sin to make money. It is important. When you make money, you pay taxes, with money earned not money borrowed. People understood, they got our message. They understood also the message of the men and women who supported us during the campaign, because free trade is a collective issue that concerns Canadians and not the issue of the Conservative Party only. It is the issue of Canadians. It is, for instance, the issue of the Prime Minister of Quebec, Robert Bourassa, and his team who say that

free trade is crucial for Quebec. The Quebec Government took position in an official manifesto in favour of free trade in all its aspects.

We also could count on the support of the Desjardins co-operative movement. And I am proud to talk about those things specifically, because the Desjardins movement was born in my riding 88 years ago. It is not a capitalist movement. It is a co-operative movement that today manages \$35 billion in assets. Two Quebecers out of every three, for million out of six million Quebecers are members of that movement. In a March 1988 manifesto, it formally took position for free trade and declared the signed agreement in particular a good one for jobs, for Quebec, for businesses, for social programs.

We also received, on the free-trade issue, the support of the Chambers of commerce of Canada and their 170,000 members, business people who sign pay cheques.

We also got for free trade the support and endorsement of a reliable body par excellence, the Economic Council of Canada. Closer to home, in the province of Quebec, we have received the support of the Dutil family and CanamManac in Beauce County, of Laurent Beaudoin and Bombardier and of former ministers from another political party. There are two political parties in Quebec. We have received the support of Bernard Landry and Rodrigue Tremblay, former ministers in the Quebec Government. We have received the support of Hervé Pomerleau, an extraordinary entrepreneur in Saint-Georges-de-Beauce, and Bernard Lamarre, who manages businesses worldwide and who is glad to be exporting to the United States. There are those who talk about small and medium-sized businesses. There are 80,000 small and medium-sized businesses that belong to the Canadian Federal of Independent Business.

In June 1988, the CFIB surveyed a number of small and medium-sized businesses—the corner confectionery, local gas station and small manufacturer—to identify their position on free trade. Because the Liberals and the socialists will say that small businesses are penalized.

In June, 80,000 questionnaires were sent out and 18,000 replies received. This is an extraordinarily large sample, considering that Gallup polls in Canada are based on a sample of 1,200 Canadians out of 27 million. We obtained 18,000 replies out of 80,000, and of these 18,000, 4.7 per cent were against free trade.

So I will tell those who say to us that small business is against free trade that they are wrong!

Mr. Speaker, I conclude, because time is flying. I would like to appeal to the intelligence—

An Hon. Member: That's impossible!

Mr. Fontaine: Right you are. That's impossible. Thank you. I would like to appeal to the Liberals' and the socialists' intelligence to tell them that this Bill must pass because our businesses need to make money. I appeal to their intelligence, but also perhaps to their credibility, in a way, because the two leaders said before the campaign, "Call an election and we'll see!" We held the election and we won. The next day, they said, "All right. You won your free trade, we'll vote for it."

But there's a little guy, namely the president of the Ontario auto workers' union, Bob White, who sent a little letter to the leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) saying that the NDP leader had not fought hard enough against free trade and that they were mad at him for it. They forced the NDP leader and his team, who are the unions' lackeys, who grovel before organized labour . . . and they came back on the attack against free trade. This is costing Canadians dearly and you will have to answer to them. Besides, you are still in the Opposition, that is how you answer for it, and I hope you stay there forever.

Mr. Speaker, free trade is important and we will pass it despite the positions of the two Opposition parties. We will take the time we have to. We will spend night after night here. You can leave at 11 o'clock, but we will go on and pass free trade.

• (1900)

[*English*]

Ms. Christine Stewart (Northumberland): Mr. Speaker, before I begin to address this urgent matter of the so-called free trade agreement, a deal that will cause hardship, loss of livelihood, and a way of life to thousands of Canadians in different sectors of our economy, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people of Northumberland for having put their faith in me to be their representative. I am honoured and proud to serve as the Member of Parliament for the riding of Northumberland. I will do all that is within my power to fulfil the mandate with which I have been charged. It brings me here today to participate in the debate on the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

I am very concerned about the effect that the Mulroney trade deal will have on the rural life across

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada, and especially on the riding of Northumberland on the shores of Lake Ontario, which I have the honour to represent. If this trade deal is approved in its present form, the effects will prove devastating for many of my constituents and thousands of others across Canada.

One of the hardest hit areas will be the agricultural sector. This Mulroney trade deal has not given sufficient consideration to the dangers posed to the Canadian farmer. I propose to discuss some of those dangers, in the hopes that Hon. Members of the House will realize the great harm that will be done to family farms and food processors in Canada if this agreement is implemented without the necessary amendments.

We in the Liberal Party are not, nor have we ever been, opposed to freer trade with the United States and other countries. However, we are opposed to the Mulroney trade deal because of the adverse effects it will have on our Canadian way of life, not only in the agricultural industry, but in energy, resources, health and social programs, and the environment. As my time is limited I will be addressing the profound ill effects this deal will have on agriculture, and I must leave those other issues to be debated by my able colleagues. However, whenever the occasion arises, I will want to speak to the other issues as well.

We all know that trade in agricultural products between Canada and the United States is quite substantial. The United States is a major market for Canadian producers of live animals, beef and pork, while Canada is an important market for American producers of fruits, vegetables, and oilseeds.

Both Canada and the United States have a long tradition of protection and support for agriculture but have done so by completely different means. Canada has relied heavily on the marketing board system, while the United States depends more on direct financial aid to producers. It should be noted that American farm income supports are among the highest in the world. The differences among government programs in both countries, the intractable problems farmers must face, and the fact that, to a large degree, agricultural problems are international, point against putting agriculture on the table. Yet, the Mulroney Government did so, buffet style.

I would like to emphasize that Canada, in my opinion, should never be dependent upon other nations to provide its essential food needs. European nations know this only too well. Here in Canada, despite some national and geographic disadvantages, we are able to feed ourselves.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We must not forfeit our agricultural independence in the false pursuit of illusory lower American prices.

Food prices will sky-rocket out of control once the American vertically integrated megacorporations put our family farmers out of business. With our farmers will go many of our rural communities and a respected way of life with its particular values and social and economic structures.

The United States has a major balance of payments deficit which the Reagan administration has been under tremendous pressure to reduce. The decline of American exports in the agricultural sector has been a serious domestic problem. Between 1980 and 1985, U.S. exports fell from \$47 billion to \$31 billion. By expanding opportunities for increasing food and agricultural exports to Canada, the American Government hopes to help solve both its balance of payments deficit and redress the problems of its agricultural sector.

The goals of the American Government in the bilateral trade talks are well known. First, it wishes to remove all tariffs in the food and agricultural area. The Americans are anxious to see a removal of duties on potatoes and onions, and seasonal tariffs on fresh fruits and vegetables.

A second major goal is to remove non-tariff barriers to trade, both federal and provincial. This includes protections for the wine and brewing industries, provincial procurement policies, and provincial marketing boards for agricultural products. The Americans placed a high priority on the removal of import quotas from the Canadian supply management boards, the Canadian Wheat Board, the Canadian Dairy Commission, and the Poultry and Egg Marketing Boards.

The American Government demanded an end to various federal and provincial subsidies for agriculture and processed foods. These include provincial farm subsidy programs, assistance to food processing plants, and freight subsidies under the Western Grain Transportation Act and the Feed Freight Assistance Act.

The over-all aim of the negotiations in the agricultural area was to create a level playing field, eliminating or harmonizing government programs and income support systems. However, agriculture and the food industry in Canada cannot compete on an equal footing with American counterparts because of a shorter growing season, lower levels of population density, greater distances for transportation, and higher construction and energy costs.

Unfortunately, it seems that the Americans are having their way with our agricultural sector. Under this agreement, the Mulroney Government did not secure the supply management or quota system under which milk, egg, poultry, and other agricultural commodity productions are regulated in Canada. The supply management system guarantees fairer incomes through price stabilization. Removal of these and other protective tariffs applied to grain, fruit, and vegetable crops, will threaten the survival of many family farms, not only in the riding of Northumberland but in every riding across Canada.

• (1910)

If the Mulroney trade deal is passed without amendment, the agricultural sector in Canada will have to compete on a very uneven playing field, given the importation of lower priced U.S. farm products.

Further, in a recent Bush-Dukakis debate, Mr. Bush adamantly declared his opposition to any form of supply management programs in agriculture.

In Canada, the stable areas in farming remain those which have orderly marketing programs, with fair prices established on a cost of production basis, and that includes such sectors as poultry, broiler chickens, eggs, and turkeys.

Fair priced regulators are seriously threatened by this trade deal and may very well be wiped out.

In Canada, there are 2,000 egg producers. In the U.S., just two companies can out-produce the combined efforts of all their Canadian counterparts.

Dairy farmers want assurances that the milk industry will be protected from U.S. competition under the Free Trade Agreement. They want to see, in black and white, an agreement that allows them to have a supply management system in place controlled by marketing boards.

Quotas constitute a significant benefit for family farmers and they cannot be allowed to disappear.

I have met with dairy farmers from my riding of Northumberland, who have expressed their fears to me about the devastating impact that the Mulroney trade deal will have on their family farms.

Mr. Mulroney, on behalf of farmers like Glen Cole and his family, and Jim Tunney—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I would ask the Hon. Member to refer to Hon. Members by their riding

and not by name. If you are referring to the Prime Minister, he may be referred to as "the Right Hon. the Prime Minister"; or, in the case of the Hon. Member for Kamloops, as the House Leader of the New Democratic Party, and so forth.

Ms. Stewart: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Prime Minister, on behalf of farmers like Glen Cole and his family, and Jim Tunney, who are representative of the countless other dairy farmers in Canada, I implore you to put in place the necessary safeguards in this deal so that these farmers may continue contributing to our marvellous country by maintaining their way of life.

As well, fruit growers associations have expressed their concerns about the fact that, without a doubt, a part of the soft food industry is definitely going to be hurt. Fresh B.C. peaches and cherries will become a rarity. They will be supplanted by imports. Soft fruit such as cherries, peaches, apricots, and pears are covered by a 10 per cent seasonal tariff that protects production from less expensive U.S. imports. Seasonal import tariffs have protected producers from being swamped by cheaper U.S. products during the short Canadian growing season.

Canada's shorter growing season limits our ability to grow fruit and vegetables relative to the United States. Consequently, fruit and vegetables are generally in larger supply and can be obtained at lower prices in the United States than in Canada.

In horticulture, the southern farmers have a major competitive advantage. Because of the warmer climate and longer growing season, they can often get two crops per year, and up to a 40 per cent heavier yield per crop than can farmers in Ontario, thus cutting their cost of production below that of the Canadian grower.

An acre in southwestern Ontario can grow 19 tonnes of tomatoes in one year; in Quebec, it grows only 10 tonnes.

In California, the same amount of land will produce 31 tonnes. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island yield 11 to 13 tonnes of potatoes per year per acre; Quebec, 9 tonnes; and Manitoba, 6 to 7 tonnes.

In the State of Washington, the average yield is 26 tonnes per acre.

One does not have to be a mathematical genius to figure out that American tomatoes and potatoes are a lot cheap in the market than are ours.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The fact of the matter is that Canadians farm in the top half of the continent, the cold half. The Free Trade Agreement, left in its present form, will penalize the Canadian farmer.

A big loser in the trade deal is the horticultural industry. According to Article 702, the removal of all tariffs in agriculture and food products includes the 10 per cent seasonal tariff on fruit and vegetables.

It has been stressed that under this agreement, Article 702.1, for the next 20 years the Government may reinstate the 10 per cent seasonal tariff should prices fall below 90 per cent of the average monthly import price as calculated over the preceding three years, provided that there had been no increase in total acreage planted to the specific crop in question.

Surplus fruit and vegetables that are grown in the southern United States can be shipped to Canadian markets at far less cost than Canadian farmers can even produce them. Yet, experience has demonstrated that the lower cost of production for these products is not always passed on to the consumer. Moreover, because Canadian food processors pay higher prices for Canadian than for U.S. fruit and vegetables, by eliminating the tariffs on fruit and vegetables the free trade deal will put pressure on processors to relocate their operations in the United States, closer to the source of cheaper supplies.

The Canadian food processor associations have also voiced their concerns about the free trade deal. They have said that the "current free trade contract will negatively affect three-quarters of a million Canadians who earn their living in farm production and the food processing industry". They anticipate that over 150,000 jobs will be lost.

After surveying the member companies on the impact of the Free Trade Agreement, the vast majority fear that they cannot compete because of higher labour costs and the higher cost of Canadian farm products. They predict that under the Free Trade Agreement there will be a net loss of jobs in Canada, with many American branch plants pulling back across the border. Moreover, they indicate that future expansion by Canadian based food corporations would most likely be in the U.S.

Hence, the plants that are most vulnerable to the threat of increased American competition will be the smaller Canadian-owned plants. The larger conglomerate food companies have the best chance of survival, and the majority of these are American.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The President of Quaker Oats of Canada, Jon Grant, has also pointed out that "there will be tremendous pressure on the Canadian agricultural community to reduce prices to compete against American products".

The free trade deal pits farmers against food processors. As tariffs come down, farmers will lose control over sales to the food industry, with marketing boards inevitably losing their ability to set prices as cheaper American imports move into Canada.

At this point, with the income supports from the boards in danger, the viability of the Canadian farming community will be compromised.

Indeed, this explains why the American Farming Bureau, the largest American farm organization, strongly supports this Free Trade Agreement. When Canadian tariffs are eliminated on processed goods, then baked goods, chicken, turkey, eggs and milk-based products can enter Canada more freely from the U.S., and Canadian supply management will be effectively undermined, leaving the Canadian farmer to rely upon the mercy of market forces.

It is interesting to note that while the U.S. can limit the imports of further processed products containing sugar from Canada, we cannot limit the import of most further processed products containing grain, poultry, eggs, horticultural and dairy products from the U.S. This is particularly difficult to understand when the export of U.S. sugar and sugar-bearing products to Canada has increased 500 per cent since 1983.

The Progressive Conservatives maintain that the Canadian supply management policy is left intact in the agreement with the U.S. They fail to admit to the realities of our supply management policy, which results in moderately higher prices for basic dairy and poultry commodities in Canada than in the U.S. As a result, Canadian food processors have stated that they will move to the U.S. in order to take advantage of lower basic commodity prices should this agreement be implemented.

It is extremely important to address the fact that not only do Americans produce chickens more cheaply but they have no government imposed cleanliness standards. Consequently, U.S. chickens are more prone to disease so antibiotics are routinely administered. They also use dangerous growth hormones which can have very harmful side effects, especially affecting our children. Under this deal product standards in both countries will be made the same, and I doubt very much that U.S. standards will be brought up to the Canadian level.

• (1920)

This trade deal will pit Canadian and American farmers against each other. They will be forced to undercut each other's prices and thereby lower farm incomes. The level playing field, as I earlier stated, is simply not possible in agriculture because of the unequal primary conditions between the two countries.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) admits that his trade deal will cause some disruption and says new programs will have to be found to retrain displaced workers. The family farm is in great danger of being part of that disruption if the trade deal is approved in its present form. I say to the Prime Minister: Canadians do not want mere reassurances. They want guarantees in writing.

Finally, I would like to address the fact that the Government's attitude has been that we do not need a plan; let the market solve all the problems. However, we need an over-all vision with strong policies if the farming community is to survive. It is obvious that the Prime Minister has been mesmerized by the U.S. free enterprise economic development theory. Well, Mr. Prime Minister, if you have not noticed, Canada has never been exclusively a nation of private enterprise. The Canadian experience has balanced public policies and private enterprise, keeping to the tradition of serving the interests of the national community and the individual. Public policies and enterprise are in part a product of Canadian nationalism. In order for Canada to survive as a nation there was a need for large public investment, hence economic activity in Canada has taken place in a comprehensive social context rather than as a pursuit for gaining individual profit.

This country was not built on the motto of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but on peace, order and good government. I put it to you that the Conservative Government is not living up to these responsibilities, not demonstrating good government, and is turning its back on the fundamental values which built this nation.

Mr. J. W. Bird (Fredericton): Mr. Speaker, as all Hon. Members will understand, I feel a tremendous sense of honour, privilege and responsibility in standing to address this House of Commons for the first time. While I have had the good fortune on previous occasions to speak in other legislative forums, such as the city council of Fredericton as councillor and mayor, and the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick as a Member and Minister of Natural Resources, both experiences which I cherish with pride and satisfaction, at no other

time in my life have I been seized with such profound and mixed feelings of humility, potential, and fulfilment in being a Canadian citizen as I do today.

For the reality of being here I must again express my appreciation to the citizens in Fredericton and the surrounding area of York—Sunbury for their confidence and support in the recent election. I want them to know, each one, that I come to this House on their behalf with keen awareness of the responsibilities and opportunities which exist to be of service to them and to all Canadians. To the best of my ability I shall seek so to serve, to discharge those responsibilities, and to seize those opportunities as fully as possible at all times.

It is a special pleasure for me to have participated in the re-election of Mr. Speaker to the chair. He is not here this evening and I hope the Chair will convey these sentiments to him. I want to express my congratulations to him upon the well deserved honour and respect which he has been accorded by all Hon. Members. Hopefully he may recall another occasion, in New Brunswick, when I was privileged to participate in an event which honoured him. In that case it was for his contribution to management and conservation of Atlantic salmon. I want him and this House to know that he remains held in high esteem by New Brunswickers, as by all Canadians, for his long history of service to our country in so many ways.

Had he been here I was going to say directly to him that he would know from his own visits to the rivers of New Brunswick that our province is a land of beauty and serenity, containing a special quality of life which is becoming increasingly rare throughout the world and not easily found even in many parts of Canada any more. In my view it is that quality of life in New Brunswick, in fact throughout Atlantic Canada and abundant in my own riding of Fredericton, which is our most undervalued and underrated asset. I believe it constitutes a key resource for development and realization of our unique future potential.

Let me be clear. New Brunswick's quality of life is not just comprised of such features as its beautiful landscape and superb salmon fishing. It is much more than that. Indeed, first of all, the quality of life in New Brunswick springs from its human resources, its people.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, as all Hon. Members will recognize, New Brunswick is the best concrete example in Canada of an officially bilingual society living and working in harmony. Men and women of this province clearly

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

demonstrated that tolerance of and respect for one another can contribute towards the enrichment of the Canadian mosaic. The same qualities are reflected in our appreciation of the ethnic and cultural diversity enjoyed in New Brunswick.

With the new legislation on Canadian multiculturalism, there now exists in New Brunswick a dynamic trend recognizing the richness of the various cultures found in our province. Furthermore, numerous discussions have taken place regarding the implementation of multicultural programs as proposed in the new legislation.

[*English*]

Those rich human resources of New Brunswick, coupled with its abundance of natural features, are the essence of our attractive way of life which is so well exemplified within the boundaries of my own riding of Fredericton, the capital city area of our province.

I want to emphasize that in New Brunswick, indeed the entire Atlantic region, there is an important correlation between our quality of life and our economic potential; between the attraction of living in our region and the prospects for prospering offered by free trade; between the desire of so many of our young citizens to make their lives in the Maritimes; and the increased opportunities which the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement will bring to them to find productive carriers in their home area of Canada.

There is no region in Canada which has more potential to benefit from free trade than Atlantic Canada. While we have always possessed the human and natural resources to prosper, and in fact prior to Confederation the Maritimes was arguably the most prosperous area of Canada, during the subsequent economic evolution of our country, however, markets became centralized in Quebec and Ontario to the unfortunate disadvantage of Canada's extremities, particularly the Maritimes. In fact, Confederation itself helped to extinguish the flow and pattern of north-south trade on which the Maritimes had built its early prosperity.

Therefore, the Free Trade Agreement is an opportunity to rectify, or at least moderate, a major adverse side effect of Confederation, a side effect which has become an unfortunate and lasting phrase of frustration in Canada's economic language, "regional economic disparity".

At long last we have before us on the economic horizon virtually a new frontier, one which holds real promise for an eventual and lasting solution to regional

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

economic disparity in Canada. That new frontier is to be found in the Free Trade Agreement, as will gradually be expressed in the removal of tariffs, elimination of quotas, phasing out of countervailing duties, anti-dumping laws and discriminatory regulations, and the improved process for settlement of disputes. In Atlantic Canada these will encourage and should lead to restoration of original north-south trading patterns and dramatically increased trade with the vast markets of the United States eastern seaboard.

• (1930)

Just imagine, Mr. Speaker, the opportunities to be contemplated in a market which is more than 20 times as large as the immediate domestic markets of the Maritimes themselves and which is less than 24 hours trucking distance away from any point in the Maritimes. For example, the population of Atlantic Canada is approximately 2.3 million people while the combined population of the northeastern United States, including the New York and Pennsylvania markets, amounts to 50 million people. These market population statistics are important to emphasize for the regions away from the centre of Canada, perhaps particularly for the Atlantic region.

While the U.S. market in total is 10 times larger than the Canadian domestic market, that differential is greatly magnified. In fact, it is doubled when applied to the U.S. markets which are reasonably accessible to the Atlantic region. Similar differentials exist with regard to the percentages of trade which are presently duty-free, and potentially duty-free.

While the amount of 80 per cent is frequently quoted as the proportion of all present trade between Canada and the U.S. now duty-free, and some people insist that that figure is really less than 75 per cent, it must be recognized that the percentage of duty-free trade in the Atlantic region is substantially less, perhaps no more than 60 per cent. Therefore the potential for growth by removing tariffs is proportionately much greater for the Atlantic region than is expressed by the Canadian average. In fact, these statistics of existing duty-free trade can be very misleading even on the national average. They tend to understate and underestimate the potential for increased trade which should result from the removal of existing duties over the next 10 years.

A recent special report from *The Financial Post* states that the amount of trade that is already tariff-free as a proportion of the trade we could have once all tariffs are gone is probably closer to 50 per cent or 60

per cent. That report suggests that the free trade deal gives us the potential for double the amount of tariff free trade than we have now—not merely 20 per cent more.

If that is the case for Canada on average then, again, just imagine, Mr. Speaker, the size of the potential for Atlantic Canada in terms of increased trade opportunities from our present base levels. Surely, I am not overstating the case to call free trade a new frontier on the economic horizon of Atlantic Canada.

Surely, also, it is not an overstatement to suggest that free trade truly offers a chance at long last to address creatively the chronic case of regional economic disparity in our country. For too long I believe we have reluctantly yet habitually accepted regional disparity in parts of Canada as a characteristic illness about which precious little could be done. To be sure, we have tried our best with special development programs to create economic growth in the Maritimes, for example, and we have met with both success and failure. However, we have not been able to do much more than moderate disparity, and up until now we have not been able to find a direction which might eventually eliminate disparity.

There are many reasons for this, but mainly we have never had adequate access to markets readily available for the products that we do manufacture, nor, more important, for the products we could manufacture from locations within Atlantic Canada. We have generally never been able really to contemplate a prospectus for economic equality because we have never been able to contemplate the reality of a market potential.

One of our most prominent and most successful New Brunswick industrialists has expressed the frustration for many Maritimers when he said recently, and I quote:

For as long as I have lived and for as long as any of us can remember, free trade with the United States has been a dream unfulfilled, an opportunity lost. It has cost Canadians dearly. It has cost us countless billions of dollars, it has cost us untold numbers of jobs, and it has cost us the chance to grow as a country—all because we have been denied access to that huge consumer market to the south. We have been cut off by unnatural trade barriers that have prevented us from even approaching our potential as a trading nation. We have been sent into a viciously competitive ring of international trade with one hand tied behind our back. And because of all this we have taken a beating.

For the first time in my own life there truly will be light at the end of the economic tunnel for Atlantic Canada. Now, for the first time since Confederation, a location for manufacture in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia could well be a market advantage and not a disadvantage as historically has been the case. The free

trade deal opens the opportunities for dramatically improved access to 50 million people living in the north-east area of the United States, the largest single regional market in the world, and located only one full day of trucking from the Maritimes, a market that is larger, richer and closer. Now, with free trade, it is more readily accessible than any other domestic or foreign market ever has been to the Maritimes.

To quote again the words of that New Brunswick industrialist:

Now, the Government of Canada is about to knock down those trade barriers with a bold move that will change the economic face of Canada forever. In the process, some Canadians and some Canadian companies will be hurt in the short term. Some of our firms will face new and difficult challenges. But at least we will be unshackled—and for the first time in modern history we will have a run at markets where millions upon millions of consumers will be ready to buy our goods.

He concluded by saying that these are indeed exciting times, and we have unprecedented opportunities to make them even better. "Soon," he said, "we will see the borders opening up to trade that we have been denied for generations". While it may not be an apt analogy in a technical sense, I do instinctively believe that free trade for Atlantic Canada will eventually equate to the beneficial impact which the Auto Pact has had for Ontario.

That may sound like a great leap of faith, but free trade truly does represent finally a prospectus for success in our region of Canada. I am genuinely confident that over the next decade and beyond we shall see economic self-sufficiency emerge within the Atlantic region, and free trade will be the vehicle for such dramatic development.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, do not think that I am not taking any interest in my region. On the contrary, I take Atlantic Canada as an example because I want to show you that free trade could provide vast opportunities for all of Canada. If my wishes come true for New Brunswick and neighbouring provinces, just imagine what benefits the rest of the country could rake from free trade. For instance, if we succeed in stabilizing the Western economy by stimulating exchanges with the huge markets of the American Sun Belt and the Pacific States, just imagine the renewed balance the Canadian economy would gain.

[*English*]

It would be a sweet irony, I realize, if regional economic subsidies might eventually become reduced in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada, not as expressed by the fears of free trade in a negative context but because the fruits of free trade have helped to eliminate regional disparity in Canada and consequently the need for such subsidies. That may sound like a dream, but Canada has been built on great dreams by people who had the courage and conviction to believe they could be attained. I want to say that I believe that our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) has expressed such a dream and is such a man.

To balance Canada's prosperity across this country eventually, and to bring an end to regional economic disparity ultimately, is really more than a dream. It is a vision, one which was placed before the Canadian people in the recent election. It is a vision which the Canadian people have strongly endorsed by returning the Prime Minister and this Government with a solid majority. Now, Mr. Speaker, our challenge and that of succeeding Governments in Parliament is: It will take time over more than one or two terms to fulfil that vision working together for and with Canadians.

• (1940)

Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce): Mr. Speaker, as you know this is not my first intervention into this discussion in the House. I had the opportunity to make several speeches on the subject before the House was dissolved for the election.

This afternoon, when the Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) rose to answer a question, he once again reminded us and other Canadians that because the Conservatives won the election they could do just about whatever they pleased with respect to this Free Trade Agreement. His attitude was one that they won the election, never mind our positive proposals and suggestions, because they will do what they want.

Others have reminded the Government and the Minister, but I will remind them again that although his Party won the largest number of seats in this election they did not win the popular vote of Canadians. Some 52 per cent of Canadians rejected this Free Trade Agreement, while only 43 per cent supported it. I wanted to remind government Members of that because they have a tendency to forget it.

We know that the Government will ram this Bill through by using closure every day, but it would be worthwhile for it to be a little more sensitive to the concerns of the majority of Canadians. Not only did the Government not win the popular vote throughout the country, the Conservatives lost the popular vote in eight out of ten provinces. They got more than 50 per cent of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the vote only in the Provinces of Quebec and Alberta. They got less than 50 per cent of the vote in Ontario, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and all the Atlantic Provinces, while there was a tie in Manitoba.

The Government has become an expert at using closure, as it will do to ram this Bill through. While it has used closure more than any other Government since the Second World War, and will do so again to ram this Bill through much to our displeasure, I ask it to be more sensitive to the concerns of Canadians as expressed in this recent election. During the election campaign there was almost unanimous support, even among those who supported this Free Trade Agreement, to have special adjustment programs for workers and firms that will be hurt by this agreement. Yet, the Government is refusing to give us any special adjustment programs.

Not only was the electorate, including those who voted for the Government and the agreement in favour of that proposal, all 10 provinces during a federal-provincial conference last spring in the West requested special adjustment programs. There was somewhat of a dispute within the Conservative family between the Premier of Nova Scotia and the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), a western premier and the Prime Minister, and the Premier of Quebec and the Prime Minister because he simply rejected any special adjustment programs for those to be hurt by this agreement.

Not only did all 10 provinces request special adjustment programs, the Macdonald Commission which started this whole thing, unfortunately, and asked us to make a leap of faith—

Mr. Winegard: A good Liberal.

Mr. Allmand: It was a royal commission made up of Liberals, Tories, and maybe even a New Democrat. I know the former Member of Parliament from my riding, who was a Conservative Minister under Diefenbaker, was also on that royal commission chaired by Mr. Macdonald. They recommended not to proceed with free trade negotiations unless special adjustment programs were provided. They had an entire chapter setting out special adjustment programs. They referred to the common market and other free trade zones which had these programs and suggested they should be in effect here.

However, the Government ignored that advice. It plowed ahead, negotiated this agreement, and did not provide for any special adjustment programs.

The Economic Council suggested special adjustment programs, as did the C.D. Howe Institute. Nearly everyone who examined this subject with some sincerity and objectivity recommended special adjustment programs. Yet, the Government continues to reject any suggestion put to it for special adjustment programs.

Liberal Members of the House have been recommending these programs since we started these sittings. We have seen the example of Gillette and Northern Telecom. I believe those companies have closed their doors principally because of the agreement.

Members on this side have been asking the Minister for International Trade, the Minister for Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall), the Prime Minister, and others for special adjustment programs. They continue to refuse. They continue to be insensitive to the great majority of Canadians who voted against the agreement; even though those who voted for it but who wanted special adjustment programs.

Initially the Government said that special adjustment programs were unnecessary because of the Canadian Jobs Strategy which will be able to handle all the dislocation caused by the Free Trade Agreement. Already there are many examples where the Canadian Jobs Strategy cannot even retrain those who want to be retrained now. It cannot even provide training for those who now want to get into training programs.

During the election campaign there was television footage at an institution in Hamilton, where there was a long line of people attempting to get into retraining and upgrading, but could not do so because of a lack of resources. That was what was happening before the Free Trade Agreement.

The Canadian Jobs Strategy will not be effective. The Government cut employment and training programs by 32 per cent since it came to power in 1984. Before we left office in 1984 we had a budget of \$2.2 billion for training and employment programs. This year the budget is \$1.5 billion, a cut of 32 per cent since 1984. Yet, the Government is asking us to rely on such a program for the readjustment of workers hurt by this Free Trade Agreement.

The other answer given to us is that a blue ribbon committee has been set up under Mr. de Grandpré of Montreal. The Government tells us that this blue ribbon committee is studying the adjustment needs that will be required under the Free Trade Agreement. It will report to the Government and the House some time next summer, and then we will have some action.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

That is too late. It will not help the people who have been put out of work at Gillette or Northern Telecom or other firms that are closing their doors. It is a bit sickening to listen to members of the Government telling us that new jobs are being created here and there in the country. That does not help those who are losing their jobs. Jobs will always be created, whether or not we have free trade. We need adjustment programs to help those being put out of work specifically because of this agreement. There will be many of these workers and the Canadian Jobs Strategy will not be effective.

The de Grandpré Commission is too late. We need something now, and I ask the Government, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Employment and Immigration, and the Minister for International Trade to begin to have some sensitivity for those people who voted against this agreement and those who want special adjustment programs.

We in the Liberal Party also propose that there be an ongoing committee of the House to survey the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement, to watch on a day-to-day basis what is happening in the implementation of the agreement. It could check alleged failures and alleged benefits.

For example, such a committee could call the union and workers from Gillette, as well as the management, to find out what really took place. The same thing would apply to Northern Telecom. We could also call some firms which say they are gearing up because of free trade.

We want a special committee that will survey the implementation of this agreement, in order to make sure it lives up to the promises made by the Prime Minister and other Ministers during the election campaign. They certainly made many promises with respect to this agreement. According to them, this agreement will give us heaven on earth. We have already seen the results, and they are not too pleasing.

When we predicted that the agreement would hurt regional development, the Government denied it. We said this agreement would hurt our environmental programs because there are subsidies involved in environmental programs. The Government said that the agreement would not hurt environmental programs. When we said that it would hurt our labour standards and unemployment insurance, the Government said that it would not. When we said that it would hurt our social programs, the Government said that it would not. We want them to put in writing what they said on the

hustings during the last election campaign. We know that the words of the Prime Minister are not enough.

• (1950)

During the election campaign of 1984, the Prime Minister said that social programs and pensions were a sacred trust, but within one year his Government was deindexing the old age pensions of senior citizens. I thought it was rather farcical during the election campaign when the Prime Minister had his mother with him at one of the meetings in Quebec and he said: "Would I ever do anything that would hurt my poor old mother and her pension?" He said the same thing during the election campaign of 1984. He said, with his hand on his chest, that social programs were a special trust and he would never touch social programs.

This election campaign was a replay. It was like a replay of a football game, something with which you are familiar, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member Notre-Dame-de-Grâce has the floor.

Mr. Allmand: The Prime Minister was doing a replay of 1984, saying that he would never do anything to hurt his poor old mother. He said the same thing in 1984 and then went about deindexing old age pensions. It was only because a mass of senior citizens came to Parliament Hill and accused him of breaking his word that he finally backed down and did not deindex pensions. Of course, we in the Opposition led an attack day after day, but when the senior citizens reminded him of his promises, he backed down.

We want the promises that the Prime Minister made during this election campaign, promises that the agreement would not hurt regional development, environmental programs, labour standards, unemployment insurance, social programs, and hospitalization, written in the agreement. We want the exact words of the Prime Minister in the agreement. He said them, let him live up to those words and agree to having them put in the agreement. If he really believed in them, he should not object to that.

I remember when we debated the earlier Bill on this matter last summer. For two weeks, we said that water was touched by the agreement and we asked the Government please to put a clause in the Bill and in the agreement which would exclude water. Day after day, the Prime Minister and the Minister for International

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Trade said that water was not touched by the agreement and that they did not have to put anything about it in the agreement. When the hearings started, more and more expert evidence was heard to back up our point of view. Finally they did put a clause in the agreement. However, it took weeks of debate.

It was bad enough last summer when the Government put on time allocation and rammed the Bill through. However, it did not do it as quickly then as it is doing it now. The point is that to make this impact in the House of Commons, it often requires days and weeks of debate to get through to these people and to impact on the public opinion which develops outside the House.

Just as we were successful to a certain extent in getting the Government to agree to exclude water from the Bill and, through the Bill from the agreement, though we would like to see it excluded in the agreement itself, we want the Government to live up to the statements it made during the election campaign and exclude regional development, the environment, labour standards, unemployment insurance, social programs, and hospitalization. Government Members say that these things will not be hurt by the agreement. Fine, let them put that in the agreement.

As I said, the Government will ram this Bill through in any event. We will vote on second reading tonight at 1 a.m. I suppose tomorrow we will go into Committee of the Whole, another closure motion will be put on that stage and government Members will ram it through in a day or two. Then we will get to third reading, and they will ram that through. This is from the gang that gave us parliamentary reform. They are the ones who said that one of their great achievements was parliamentary reform. As a matter of fact, it was hard to keep from being sick while watching the Prime Minister on television during that great debate claim parliamentary reform as one of his great accomplishments, while they had suspended all the rules of the House last summer to ram through all the Bills they wanted to ram through. They have done so again in this particular debate.

Whenever the Government cannot put through something it wants to put through, when it cannot play the game under the ordinary rules, it simply suspends those rules. It is too bad that the Toronto Maple Leafs could not do the same thing. They might win the Stanley Cup. They could change the rules to suit their own team and their own purposes. They should follow the example of the Government.

This is going to be rammed through in any event, but if we are to have it, let us at least have some wording in the legislation that will exclude the matters to which I have referred. Let the Government announce, before we have a final vote on this Bill, that it will set up special adjustment programs.

On the night of the election, the Prime Minister said that he had won the election, he had won a majority Government, and he was now going to work on reconciliation because the election had been a very divisive one. We have been waiting for the programs that would bring about this reconciliation. The Prime Minister can start by showing us a special adjustment program for the workers and the firms that will be hurt by this agreement.

• (2000)

[*Translation*]

Hon. Pierre Blais (Minister of State (Agriculture)): Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have the opportunity to take part in this debate on the historical Free Trade Agreement with the United States. I am almost tempted to tell my colleague, the Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (Mr. Allmand) that the most obvious benefits we got from the parliamentary reform is the election of two Progressive conservative governments in a row, an event unheard of in the last hundred years, and which has been most beneficial to Canada. This is probably why the people of Canada has given us a second mandate. By giving us a vote of confidence on November 21, the population in general, and the farming community in particular, have undeniably shown their support for the decisions we have taken in recent years, all in the interests of Canadian farmers.

Our commitment to these people is very clear, and I am glad that it was recognized.

I would like to say, Mr. Speaker, how happy I was on November 21, the night of the election, to realize that the farming population of Quebec, with whom I have worked more closely in the last 15 months, understood and accepted our message. We won in all the rural constituencies of Quebec, except one, but I haven't lost hope there, Mr. Speaker! In some next election, we will get all 45 seats, and that would make me very happy.

In the last few days, the Opposition has often mentioned that the Government has not received the mandate to go ahead with the free trade deal. I thought that was a bit cranky, so I looked at some of the figures,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

mainly those for Quebec. Mr. Speaker, I simply examined my riding where the president—everyone knows that the leaders of Quebec's farm community were not in favour—and I did say the leaders—the leaders of Quebec's farm unions were not in favour of this free trade deal and they urged their members to follow them and not vote in favour of free trade. However, we could rely on a real army of candidates and Members who for weeks and months met with farm producers to tell them all about the economic benefits that would flow from the trade agreement. It was not easy!

I would like to pay tribute to my colleagues who toured the various provinces, particularly Quebec where I saw them meet farm producers at home and explain to them what it was all about. It stands to reason that farm producers were somewhat concerned because fears had been raised for over a year. Well, Mr. Speaker, I represent Bellechasse and was given a mandate by my constituents. My majority was 10,000 in 1984, but this time around it is in excess of 17,000 votes, which represent 65 per cent of the people. I am talking about 2,300 farms, the second riding in Quebec in terms of number of farms. The first is the riding of Beauce where the 5,000 majority in 1984 swelled to 22,000. Does the Hon. Member for Beauce (Mr. Bernier) have a clear mandate? Does the Hon. Member for Bellechasse have a clear mandate? I can mention others. The region of Saint-Hyacinthe with its 1,900 farms had a 1,200 majority in 1984 and it is now up to 9,000. Does the Hon. Member for Saint-Hyacinthe have a mandate? They will have to stop distorting the facts. I could list them all, Mr. Speaker. Those were just a few examples to show that Quebec and Canadian farm producers have just given a clear and strong mandate to our Government.

As my colleague the Minister of Agriculture said, Mr. Speaker, agriculture is a major aspect of the free trade deal, which goes to show that the federal Government is quite aware of the importance of agriculture in terms of the Canadian economy, not to mention our external trade. Canada's agriculture produces in excess of \$20 billion in annual income and, this bears repeating often, it accounts for one out of seven jobs in Quebec. I do not have the statistics for all of Canada, but in Quebec, one out of every seven workers is employed in the agri-food industry. This key industry is absolutely vital to all constituencies, both urban and rural.

Quebec farmers and farmers across Canada will reap profits from the Free Trade Agreement through wider markets. If I may, Mr. Speaker, I would like to pass on a few comments that were made to me. Some people might accuse me and other members of my party of

talking at length about our respective constituencies, so I will only pass on a few comments made to me by people working in the agri-food industry. At the outset, we made firm commitments to maintain marketing boards. And we have honoured those commitments. Marketing boards will be maintained to enable milk, egg and poultry producers to remain competitive and to protect their domestic markets.

I have a few examples of this, Mr. Speaker. First, there is the Quebec Federated Co-operative. As you know, Quebec farmers have banded together in producers' associations and co-operatives. On February 26, 1988, the director of the Quebec Federated Co-operative said, "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's." The Federal Government has already taken major steps to make sure that the Free Trade Agreement enures to the benefit of the agri-food industry in Quebec. The final wording of the Agreement contains an explicit reference to Section 11 of the GATT. As requested, yogurt, ice cream and certain other dairy products have been put on the list of controlled imports. We made a commitment, Mr. Speaker, and we honoured that commitment. We kept our word.

Also Agrinove, an important dairy co-op in Quebec, just as Agropur is, and its General Manager said: "Although UPA suggests the agreement threatens our farming industry, Mr. Forcier, General Manager, stated during a press conference that free trade is good for our dairy industry. There is nothing in the agreement that threatens the major Canadian and Quebec policies and programs, including milk supply management."

These are dairy people speaking, Mr. Speaker, not politicians! These are people who are engaged in the day to day sale, production and marketing of agri-food products. I think we can trust them.

Also, Quebec's Minister of Agriculture and Quebec's Premier went on record as totally supporting the Free Trade Agreement. As often happens at the provincial level, sometimes there are dichotomies or opposition between major partners . . . and also opposition parties in Quebec, including Mr. Jacques Parizeau who is still President of the *Parti québécois*. I am quoting him on agriculture matters. Former Minister Jacques Parizeau "felt that the farming sector exaggerates the impact of the agreement doing away with farm tariffs. Stating he agrees with Mr. Bourassa on that matter, he pointed out that all support programs dealing with that sector remain unchanged."

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Therefore, provincial support is of real significance when both parties within one legislature are in agreement, Mr. Speaker and this indeed should make the farming industry feel secure.

I have here a whole list of people from various sectors. I felt it would be useful to quote them, so as to avoid the accusation that we politicians are reveling in our own rhetoric.

Yves Saint-Vincent, Chairman of the Quebec Joint Committee on Slaughter Breeds, expressed support, Mr. Speaker. And I am quoting a Holstein producer, Mr. Louis Desaulniers from Saint-Boniface, who said something I remembered; I will quote his words because they come quite directly from the bottom of his heart: free trade is something that motivates me! Competition makes our product better, and when we have a superior product it becomes easy to compete with our American neighbors. When you play hockey in your own backyard, you feel you are good. If you compete with the big leagues, then you learn something. It is motivating. That is what free trade is all about, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Fortin, an economics professor at the *Université du Québec* in Montreal, on another aspect also said: "It's crazy to say that social programs are threatened. Just look at Sweden. That country is the most pro-free trade of all industrialized nations and it is also the most advanced in terms of social programs. The two are not contradictory; they go together." Mr. Speaker, that is yet another example from the academic community.

Another sector, Mr. Speaker, is very important. In many ways, it is considered a leader of Quebec's economy, namely the *Caisses populaires Desjardins*. The president of the *Mouvement des Caisses populaires Desjardins*, which has billions in assets, said this fall that the future of Quebec's agriculture was fundamental to the economic health of the province and that the Agreement in its present form would allow it to continue to grow.

The president said that after requesting a full report on the whole agri-food sector.

Mr. Speaker, I could give some more quotes, but what I want to stress above all is attitude. Yes, the attitude that our Government wanted to instill in Quebecers and Canadians, Mr. Speaker!

I listened to the new Member for LaSalle—Énard (Mr. Martin), who probably had to read a speech prepared some thirty years ago instead of another one—perhaps he searched through some old records. I was

horrified by what he said. He dared to say that our Party had no vision. That is the most awful thing! I jumped in my seat! We know that for the past year and a half Members opposite have been taking a negative approach. Not satisfied with fighting among themselves, their most original recommendation to Canadians was to tear up the trade deal. But in our case, Mr. Speaker, we threw a challenge to young people, to women, and to agricultural producers who are not people who feel sorry for themselves and mope all day long, unable to face competition. No, Sir, over the years these people have turned their industry into a prosperous growth-oriented undertaking which is not afraid to tackle any market in the world. That is what we needed, Mr. Speaker, a Party with a leader, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who did not fail to instill in the nation a vision of the future and pave the way towards the 20th century. He did not look in the rear-view mirror, scared of his own shadow like Members opposite who would drag us back 50 years into the past.

I think we were able to... and Canadians did understand that last November 21. They gave us a fresh mandate. They gave a fresh mandate to Canadians who know where they are going. That is what we needed, that is what Canadians needed so badly. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that we will reach our objective and do so with the Canadian people. They are with us, Mr. Speaker. That is what we need and I am sure that we will be able to get where we are going and that Canada's farm community, like Canada generally, can look forward to the prosperous future it deserves.

• (2010)

[English]

Ms. Lynn Hunter (Saanich—Gulf Islands): Mr. Speaker, I wish to begin by thanking the people of Saanich—Gulf Islands for the trust that they have placed in me by electing me as their Member of Parliament. I am proud to be the representative of Saanich—Gulf Islands, a riding blessed with breath-taking beauty and a gentle climate. The riding is bracketed by the campus of the University of Victoria at one end and by the Gulf Islands at the other. In between, the riding is comprised of wonderfully distinctive neighbourhoods and rolling farmland reaching down to the ocean.

All of the people of Saanich—Gulf Islands care deeply about the character of their communities, whether they are families who have lived there for generations, or those who have moved there because of the area's beauty and gentle climate.

The trade deal that we are debating tonight threatens the character of Saanich—Gulf Islands. This deal tells the farmers of my riding that they are expendable. How can the family farms of Saanich—Gulf Islands compete against the U.S. agri-business of Washington, Oregon, and California, agri-business which is backed by multinationals such as Exxon? The farmers of my riding are up against all that capital clout that such multinationals can wield against their competition, as well as by the year round growing season of California.

The Government states that there will be some dislocation by the Free Trade Agreement. That is Tory talk which means that those farms will be out of business, that the people of Saanich—Gulf Islands will be buying their fruits, vegetables, and dairy products from California and not from farms in their own communities.

In my work in international development I have seen what happens when a country becomes dependent upon a foreign power for its food supply. It leads to increased vulnerability. That is what the Government is inviting with this trade deal.

When the farmers of Saanich—Gulf Islands go out of business, the semi-rural character of our communities will be lost. It will not be cabbages and cauliflowers which will be growing on the Saanich peninsula, it will be condominiums.

This deal is more than a trade deal. It is more than about jobs, although I have already seen the detrimental effect that this deal will have on Canadian jobs.

In Saanich we are faced with American competition for computer contracts at the University of Victoria library. With this deal we are buying into a system that many of us find abhorrent.

In the recent election the issue of the environment was second only to the trade deal in importance. The two issues are intimately connected.

This trade deal is far more than a trade deal. It is an enormous step to the right to a more market-driven economy, away from the mixed economy that Canada has historically enjoyed. We have seen what the market has done to the environment in the United States, the market where the bottom line determines how the nation proceeds, where cost effectiveness is the primary criteria for a course of action.

We have seen the same mind-set in operation in British Columbia where clear cut logging the cost effective way is the way of doing things. We can no

longer afford this type of cost effectiveness. This Bill demonstrates the Government's naivety over confidence in market forces to cure all our ills.

Government Members assure us that this Bill is only a commercial arrangement. Do they consider that we are as naive as they? Do they not understand that a closer economic relationship leads to a closer political relationship; that adopting a market view of the world will lead to a fundamental shift in our values; that it will see the withering away of the independence of our foreign policy and the increased militarization of our country? I do not see this agreement in isolation from other policies introduced by the Government. It is dangerous to see this Bill in isolation. It is part of an agenda.

I want to assure the House and the people of Saanich—Gulf Islands that I will work strenuously to ameliorate the worst effects of this trade deal, to protect the farms, the environment, and the jobs in Saanich—Gulf Islands, and elsewhere in Canada, and to bring the Government the type of amendments that will make sense for all the people of Canada.

Hon. Michael Wilson (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have this opportunity to participate in what I think is a very historic debate on the free trade agreement. I view this agreement as both a culmination and a new beginning.

It is a culmination by the fact that we have been working in this country for the last 40 or 50 years on the elimination of trade barriers between Canada and the United States, our major trading partner. Starting from the original bilateral agreement in the 1930s and the formation of the GATT, through the GATT, and in other ways such as the Auto Pact, we have been developing ways in which we can trade more securely and in a more open way with the United States over the course of the past 40 years.

It is also a new beginning because it will give us an opportunity to take advantage of being a part of the largest, most prosperous, and most advanced market in the world today. I have talked to a number of people in different parts of the world at meetings of finance Ministers, and at other international meetings. The one thing that comes through clearly and positively is that people are saying that this is an opportunity of a lifetime for Canada. People see this as an opportunity for which they and other countries in the world would give their eye teeth.

I listened to the previous speaker, the Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands (Ms. Hunter), demonstrating

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the lack of confidence in our country, and the fear that she and others have been spreading during the course of the past election campaign.

This runs counter to the history of many countries that have been involved and are now involved in free trade agreements. I wish to remind the House that today 71 countries are part of a free trade arrangement of one sort or another. It also runs counter to our experience over the past 40 years, during which time we have seen a progressive breaking down of the trade barriers between the U.S. and Canada.

● (2020)

Had Canadians, in 1946, 1947 and 1948, the time we started moving toward multilateral reductions in tariffs, been told what in fact was going to happen in terms of the reduction of trade barriers, they would have been frightened. But we can look back now and appreciate what that policy of working toward the reduction of trade barriers has meant to the Canadian economy. We can see today what it has meant in terms of the prosperity of Canadians, a prosperity that we can, in many ways, link directly to the trade liberalization policies that have been in place since World War II.

Gerald Regan, the Minister for International Trade in the Trudeau Government, a former Liberal Premier of the Province of Nova Scotia, made the following statement in respect of free trade: "In the trading history of the world, it is hard to find any case where free trade has led to disaster or where either of the parties repudiated an arrangement because of adverse economic results flowing from such an agreement."

Mr. Crosbie: Right on.

Mr. Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): It is that type of experience that we should reflect upon as we stand before our constituents, as we stand here in the House of Commons today addressing the Free Trade Agreement.

We need to be able to look ahead to appreciate the benefits that will flow to Canada from the Free Trade Agreement. If we do that, Canadians from coast to coast will accept the Free Trade Agreement with enthusiasm.

That is precisely what we saw during the latter part of the election campaign. As people got over the fears, over the myths, over the distortions and the half truths about the Free Trade Agreement and came to understand the benefits that would flow to their communities, to their businesses, they voted in favour of it.

I listened very carefully to what the small business community has to say. Listening to what Bell Canada or the Steel Company of Canada have to say is all well and good, but I can tell you that I listen with particular care to the small business community, to those individuals who employ anywhere from 10 to 100 people. These are the people who risk their own money, their own livelihood on how the economy performs, and as such they are going to reflect very carefully on what the Free Trade Agreement will do for them or to them. If they make a mistake and support an agreement that is going to hurt their businesses, it is not only their jobs that are at stake but their bank accounts and their homes.

It is for that reason that I listen carefully to John Bulloch, the representative of the small business sector in Canada. Mr. Bulloch tells me that the small business sector supports the Free Trade Agreement by a margin of six to one. Given that Mr. Bulloch's group represents people at the grass roots level right across Canada, I consider that to be a significant statistic indeed.

A number of points have been raised during the course of this debate in relation to the Free Trade Agreement. I should like to reflect for a moment on some of the broad economic results that we expect. And when I say "we", I refer not just to the Government of Canada but to the major think tanks in this country, all of which have come to the conclusion that the Free Trade Agreement will improve our competitive position, it will increase our standard of living. We are told that the Free Trade Agreement will result in an increase in the income of the average family of four in this country in the amount of \$1,800. We are also going to see an increase in manufacturing output in this country of 11 per cent.

These are not temporary blips. We are talking now about a permanent increase in the over-all standard of living of Canadians.

As we increase our standard of living, as we increase our economic strength, as we increase our competitive position, we are going to be able to support more effectively such social programs as unemployment insurance, medicare, old age pensions, and so forth. Not only will those programs not be destroyed by this Free Trade Agreement, our capability to support them will be enhanced.

I cite by way of example the increased support we already see for Canadian culture. Over the past 20, 30, 40 years we have seen a real surge in the strength of culture in Canada, a surge that has been brought about

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

as a result of private sector as well as public sector support. In addition to taxpayer support, such organizations as the National Ballet of Canada, the National Gallery of Canada, the opera companies find great support from the private sector, from individuals and corporations, all because there is more money in the pockets of Canadians. With the increase in disposable income, Canadians, both individually and corporately, gladly lend their support to the cultural sector, and we will see more of that type of thing as a result of the benefits that will flow from the Free Trade Agreement.

Looking forward, we can see a very exciting future for Canada. It is a future that is going to bring Canada further along in terms of its strength and influence in the world, just as we have seen over the last 40 years the increased influence that Canada has experienced in such fora as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the *Francophonie*, the G-7. In all of these fora we have been able to improve our position, and we have been able to do so because of our increased economic strength.

I remind Hon. Members again that this is the view of all of the major think tanks; this is the view of all of the major business organizations. That is precisely what the small business, medium sized and large businesses are saying. All can see opportunities as a result of the Free Trade Agreement that are not available today.

It is that type of thinking, that type of opportunity that will increase the economic strength of Canada, making us into a more outward-looking, more exciting, more prosperous nation.

I have no problem in standing before my constituents, as I did during the course of the election campaign, and saying to them that, based upon the studies conducted by this Government, based upon the studies done by non-governmental organizations, and looking at the real life experience of other countries, the Free Trade Agreement will be good for Canada.

Let me discuss for a moment the situation of Australia and New Zealand. In 1983, those two countries entered into a Free Trade Agreement, and the results have been very exciting. But what is of real interest to us as Canadians is the fact that this past summer the Trade Ministers of New Zealand and Australia agreed to accelerate the transition toward a free trade environment by five years. And which country was pushing the hardest? Not great big Australia, but little old New Zealand. And why? Because they have seen the opportunities that have been opened up to them. New Zealanders saw their economy being transformed in a very

exciting way, such that they could compete with Australia, and they were anxious to expedite the whole process.

In May of this past year I had occasion to meet with the Minister of Finance for New Zealand. I asked him what was being discussed in 1983 in New Zealand in relation to the proposed New Zealand-Australia agreement. His reply was: "Exactly the same sorts of things as you are hearing in the debate that is going on in Canada."

The citizens of New Zealand were scared. They saw great big Australia over there just waiting to come in and roll over their economy and change things in New Zealand in a way that they would not like. What has happened in real life is that New Zealand has risen to the challenge. Its citizens have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the Free Trade Agreement, and they now feel confident enough in their own capability to move into the Australian market in a more aggressive way and they have accelerated the transition to full liberalized trade by five years. Five years is not an insignificant time in terms of such agreements.

We can take a good deal of comfort from the New Zealand-Australia experience, as we can from other free trade arrangements around the world. Almost invariably, the smaller country of the two benefits the most from liberalized trade. That is the message we are getting when we see such countries as Portugal, Spain and Greece agreeing to join the European Economic Community.

Why should the smaller countries not feel somewhat overpowered by the Germans, the French, the English, and the Italians? It is because they have seen countries like Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg also benefit greatly from being part of a broader marketplace.

● (2030)

This is the wave of the future. This is the reason why so many people came around to our way of thinking during the election campaign. They said if there are 71 countries out there which are part of a free trade arrangement, why should Canada not be? Canada is the seventh largest country in the industrialized world. We have a strong economy. We are not one of these smaller countries which are part of a free trade arrangement. We are one of the strongest economies in the world today.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

That is why I have a hard time understanding why Members opposite cannot grasp this and understand its significance. Why can they not see the benefits that can come to our country by taking advantage of what has happened in many, many other countries of the world today? We are not pioneers here. We are not doing something other people have not done. That is why I think it is important that Canadians understand that the benefits are there if we have confidence in ourselves. I believe this is a challenge we are facing and if we prove to ourselves that we can take advantage of it and succeed, when we look back in five or ten years and understand the benefits it has brought to our country, what it will do is give us greater confidence to take on more challenges.

Canadians have risen to challenges. We have seen this over the past four years when we changed the direction of our country. Yes, we did make it a more market oriented economy. The results are there, they speak for themselves. During this period of time when we became a more market oriented country, we led the major industrialized countries in economic growth and job-creation. We should not shrink from these challenges because we know we can win when we take advantage of the opportunities that are there. This is what we will see when we look back in 5, 10 or 15 years time. We rose to the challenge and we showed ourselves that we can win.

We are going to take on greater challenges after that and the only thing that will happen to us is that we are going to become better people for it. We are going to become a stronger country. We are going to be able to do more of the things we want to do as individual Canadians. That is the excitement I gain from being a part of this tremendous surge into the future as our country takes advantage of the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Dave Dingwall (Cape Breton—East Richmond): Mr. Speaker, I will begin my remarks this evening with the traditional congratulations to you, Sir, on your re-election to the Parliament of Canada, as well as to the Speaker of the House of Commons on his re-election to Parliament and his re-election as Speaker of this great chamber.

I want to take this opportunity in this my first speech of the Thirty-fourth Parliament to convey my sincerest wishes and best regards to the electors of Cape Breton—East Richmond for returning me to Parliament as their representative for the third consecutive time. I thank them most sincerely.

Mr. Crosbie: You fooled them again, did you, Dingwall?

Mr. Boudria: Wise voters.

Mr. Dingwall: Mr. Speaker, I also want to thank the Hon. Member for St. John's West (Mr. Crosbie) who really made it possible for me to achieve one of the largest majorities any Liberal received in this election. I thank him personally for that.

I begin my remarks in this historic debate on free trade by recalling for those Members of Parliament on all sides of the House a view of this concept of free trade which has been shared by many Nova Scotians, indeed many other Canadians across this great country. I am not opposed in any way to the concept of free trade. In fact, I recall the words of the great former Liberal Premier of Nova Scotia, one of the longest reigning premiers in Canadian history, the late Angus L. Macdonald. In 1932-33 he commissioned a study on the tariff policies of Sir John A. Macdonald. He appointed an individual who served Canada well not only in that particular capacity but indeed when he later went on to become the Deputy Minister of National Defence, Mr. Rogers.

That commission clearly spelled out that the tariff policies of Macdonald were a hindrance to the economy of Nova Scotia, indeed the other Maritime economies. He talked about our natural resources and the difficulties we have had as a region, not only in exploring and developing our resources, but with respect to the difficulty in finding domestic as well as international markets for those resources.

A long time has passed since 1932-33. A great deal of good things have happened to Canadians because of successive Governments of different political persuasions. Today we as Canadians enjoy perhaps the best social safety net in the world. I speak about unemployment insurance, old age security and medicare. These programs affect the lives of real Canadians, whether they live on Bay Street, Main Street or in the great riding from which Mr. Speaker comes. Those programs are needed and they are appreciated by Canadians in those areas of the country.

However, when one looks at the concept of free trade, we have to be able to distinguish between the intellectual arguments and what we have in front of us. We are not dealing with a thesis prepared by some student in a graduate program. We are dealing with a legally binding contract which will affect the lives of average

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canadians in every corner of this country. It is not an abstract intellectual idea being discussed by academics in post-secondary institutions. We are dealing with a specific contract which I suggest imposes certain obligations upon Canada and certain obligations upon the U.S.

In examining that contract we have to be mindful of what the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) alluded to not only in this chamber but across the country. It was he, not I, who said on national television that when anyone enters an agreement with a sovereign nation such as the U.S., yes, it is very obvious that you must give something in order to get something back. The question Canadians have asked is: How much have we given and what have we received? Those are the issues.

In my region of the country we have overwhelmingly, 20 out of 32 ridings, rejected the government line that this is the panacea that will enhance economic opportunities in Atlantic Canada.

Mr. McDermid: Oh!

Mr. Dingwall: I know there are some Members opposite who do not share that particular view.

Mr. McDermid: You were going around saying they would lose their unemployment insurance.

Mr. Dingwall: Even the Minister of the homeless has to recognize the real facts in Atlantic Canada. In community after community, city after city, town after town, in all four provinces, we as a region said no to the Mulroney trade deal, and with justification. It was the Prime Minister who said repeatedly in this Chamber, but more importantly he stated it outside as well, that the major thrust of this particular agreement was to have secure access to the United States market of 225 million to 235 million people.

• (2040)

On April 1, 1987, he told *The Wall Street Journal*, and I quote: "Unless we get secure access there will be no deal". That was the *raison d'être* of the Prime Minister. That was the *raison d'être* of the Government. By anyone's calculations they have failed, and failed miserably.

Prior to entering the negotiations for the purposes of this comprehensive trade deal, the United States enjoyed the right of countervail and the provisions of anti-dumping as it affected the Canadian economy. One would have thought in view of the objective of the

Government of Canada as enunciated by the First Minister that that objective of having access to the U.S. market would be achieved. But the provisions of countervail and of anti-dumping which prevailed prior to the consummation of the process of this particular agreement are still now in effect.

So much for the major economic objective of the Government of Canada as it tells corporate Canada, small business and the regions of the country. It has failed to achieve that major objective.

What is happening? We have in our midst the Bethlehem Steel Company, as an example, which has initiated some 15 claims against Algoma Steel and the Sydney Steel Corporation in Nova Scotia. But this was the law, the deal that would stop that kind of action.

Mr. Crosbie: Nobody said that.

Mr. Dingwall: Now we hear a voice from the past, a voice of a Minister, I might add, who assisted every Member of Parliament in Atlantic Canada in adding anywhere between 5,000 and 7,000 votes to their particular majorities. Again I thank him.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Dingwall: In Atlantic Canada they do not believe this Minister or the Prime Minister when they talk about this comprehensive Free Trade Agreement. This is an agreement which even a former Deputy Minister of Finance and a former Deputy Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources said would force us to cut regional development programs, and that we have to say to Atlantic Canada that they are on their own and to northern Ontario that they are on their own.

It is obvious that on the major objective of this agreement the Government has failed. We cite the example more recently in November of Bethlehem Steel which under the provisions of countervail issued 15 claims against two Canadian companies to wipe out income tax credits, regional development incentive programs and industrial regional development programs, programs for export market development, federal expansion and development for northern Ontario. All those programs are to be given away if the Americans have their way. With regard to secure access, we have failed.

What about social programs? This is a Government which in the dying days of the campaign said to Canadians: "Social programs are not affected by this particular deal". I guess we were supposed to ignore the provisions

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

of Chapter 5 when it talks about national treatment in terms of the level playing field. I suppose we are supposed to ignore that there are provisions within the agreement today as it now exists to exempt certain other items. But it could not exempt the social programs.

There is one part of this particular deal, Article 1204, which exempts what the Government believes to be the most important aspect of this comprehensive trade deal.

Do you know what it exempts, Mr. Speaker? It exempts beer. Why did the Government not have the intestinal fortitude to say to our counterparts in the United States or have the foresight to write into this agreement that social programs are exempt? Why did it not do that? It exempted, of all things, beer.

A businessman has certain additional costs that are not enjoyed in the United States.

Mr. Crosbie: Nonsense.

Mr. Dingwall: They do, Mr. Speaker. Canada has a better minimum wage than does the United States. Every Canadian province has a minimum wage while nine states of the United States have no minimum wage. Even the Hon. Minister could comprehend that. Twelve other states have minimum wages of less than \$2 an hour. How does one compete in Restigouche, New Brunswick, by paying \$4 minimum wage when, in the United States, in some instances they pay less than \$3 per hour?

Canada has a better health care system than does the United States. Ninety-two per cent of Canadians have their hospital bills paid by public funds while only 55 per cent of Americans do. Such costs are less expensive under our system. For an open-heart surgery bypass in the United States one would pay \$4,000 while in Canada one would pay \$1,200.

Our unemployment insurance system is better. The average unemployment benefit as a percentage of the average wage is 8 per cent in the United States and 40 per cent in Canada.

Our pension system is superior to that of the United States. A Canadian earning \$20,000 receives 30 per cent more pension than an American making \$20,000. Supporting these programs means high costs for business operating in Canada.

The minimum wage is \$1.40 in Texas. I guess that is what the Conservatives believe when they talk about the new era, the new frontier, the new economic Canada, that we here somehow want to revert to what is being

done in the United States by lowering our minimum wage to \$1.40. Is that what the Hon. Member has talked about? That is precisely what Members opposite want. I suggest that is not the objective of this Party, nor is it an objective which the Canadian people would want to endorse at all.

Social programs under the provisions of Chapter 5 over a period of time will receive undue pressure from the United States from Canadian business.

Mr. Crosbie: Why don't you put on your Frankenstein mask, Dingwall, or is that a mask you have on now? You could really frighten the public.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I do not know what has happened but in the last five minutes it has become a little noisy. I would like to hear the Hon. Member for Cape Breton—East Richmond.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (2050)

Mr. Dingwall: Mr. Speaker, you can understand the difficulties of the Hon. Minister. He is the only one who preaches the benefits of the Free Trade Agreement without having read the document. When he hears an Hon. Member opposite giving him the true picture, he cannot take the heat. That is the problem with the Hon. Minister.

In essence, this document lacks many items. The Government has referred to the Macdonald Royal Commission as the so-called authority for entering into this particular comprehensive agreement. The Macdonald Royal Commission recommended to the Government that a major adjustment program be put in place before entering into that comprehensive agreement.

Let me quote from the Macdonald Royal Commission:

Commissioners are certain that an extensive adjustment assistance program will be needed as an integral part of any free trade arrangement both to assist factors of production leaving declining industries and to promote their rapid absorption into expanding sectors. Since investors, workers and managers will begin to plan their strategies for adjustment even before a final agreement is reached, it is essential that both nations accept an over-all adjustment-assistance framework well in advance of concluding a formal treaty.

This agreement is void of any major adjustment programs for Canadian workers, Canadian business and Canadian communities.

How in good conscience can Canadians and Members of Parliament stand in their place to vote in support of this particular agreement without that major provision?

Even the negotiator, Simon Reisman—

Mr. Crosbie: Let us hear it for Simon Reisman.

Mr. Dingwall: —said in 1984 to the Brookings Institution that a trade disruption insurance program would go a long way to removing fears about commercial policy instability that inhibit investment and trade.

Where is the adjustment program? There is none. This agreement has a major flaw and individuals to whom Members opposite point as authorities on a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement say there is a major omission, yet Members opposite refuse to take action. It is irresponsible behaviour on the part of the Government.

An Hon. Member: You are full of wind.

Mr. Dingwall: We are supposed to allow the Government to take our concerns to Washington and debate with the United States the limitations and definition of subsidy. When I asked the Minister today for the position paper of the Government of Canada with regard to the parameters of its position on the definition of subsidy, all we heard was a huff and blow scenario from the Minister. There was no substance or detail. There was absolutely nothing.

However, Canadians somehow are to trust the Prime Minister and the Government opposite. They are the same ones who told Canadians to pass Bill C-22 and drug prices would not rise one cent. There is conclusive evidence throughout the country that drug prices have gone up substantially. It is the same Government we are supposed to trust which said it would privatize Canada Post. Yet, it is privatizing Canada Post. It is the same Government and Prime Minister who said in 1987 that we need secure access to the American market. Yet we do not have secure access in 1988. They talk about adjustment programs one day but the agreement is devoid of any adjustment programs. It is no wonder—

An Hon. Member: What are you going to do?

Mr. Dingwall: It is no wonder that Canadians, including people from Atlantic Canada, rejected the major economic thrust of the Canadian Government with regard to free trade. I call upon the House to reject this agreement outright. It is bad for Canada and bad for the Atlantic region.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Dionne: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I thought it has always been a principle of the House that one had to be in the House in order to speak. I suggest that those who are making a racket from behind the corner cease and desist or go out in the lobby.

Mr. McDermid: That is the first speech he has made in 10 years.

Mr. Crosbie: That Hon. Member was outside the lobby for four years. He better watch it or he will be out another four.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I do not know what has happened. The debate has proceeded quite well in the last 20 minutes. There is still four hours to go. I can see that some have caught a second wind. I will recognize the Hon. Member for Capilano—Howe Sound.

Mrs. Mary Collins (Capilano—Howe Sound): Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to participate in the debate. First I want to compliment you and the others as our Speakers of the House. You have an onerous job as we get into these late night debates. We know you will be successful.

It is also my first opportunity to thank the voters of Capilano—Howe Sound for their confidence in me and for their reaffirmation.

Tonight feels somewhat like *déjà vu*. It is the same old voices singing the same old songs of doom and gloom rather than the songs of joy and prosperity and the songs of Christmas we should be singing tonight. Hopefully we will sing those Christmas carols before too long.

It was only a few months ago that I rose in this Chamber to speak on second reading debate of the Bill. I recall going through that second reading debate and sitting with my colleagues during the summer listening to all the witnesses on the free trade Bill before coming back here for third reading debate.

The House will recall that there has been something in the order of 331 hours of debate on free trade, which is 64 days during which we have heard the arguments over and over again. I hope we can now get on with the job of assuring that free trade is brought to fruition so Canadians will know they have these new rules in place to ensure our future prosperity.

In addition to those weeks spent debating the free trade legislation, my colleagues and I have spent seven weeks on the campaign trail knocking on doors, speaking on the telephone and debating the issue. It was different

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

from the 1984 campaign because people really wanted to know. Canadians wanted to know about free trade and how it would affect their futures and their lives. I found the campaign exhilarating and a tremendous opportunity to explain both the rationale and the opportunities the Government's initiatives would provide our young people as they head into the 21st century.

Let me return to why we brought forward this proposal for a free trade agreement with the United States. Being from British Columbia, I look at it from a West Coast perspective. I look back to the history of my province and my forefathers who came from the Maritimes as traders. They came to the West Coast to enter into trade. My father was a trader with the Pacific Rim. That has been our history in Canada and British Columbia. We have developed tremendous capabilities in the field of trade with our resources, and central Canada has been able to turn many of its resources into manufactured goods.

• (2100)

One of the problems on the West Coast has been that we got left out somewhere along the way. We have tremendous resources including oil and gas, forests, fish and coal, but because of the rules that had been in place, we never got much of an opportunity to change those resources from their raw form into a processed form by adding value, thereby adding jobs, to those resources. Just about the time when British Columbia as a society had matured and would have thought about getting into the manufacturing and processing industries, we were faced with horrendous trade barriers through tariffs.

My colleague from Vancouver Centre who so eloquently spoke on the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne last week talked about the fact that Cominco in Trail, British Columbia exports raw zinc which is subject to a 1 per cent tariff rather than processing it by turning it into an alloy because alloys are subject to 19 per cent tariffs. It has not made economic sense to bring that kind of processing into B.C.

Tariffs that were developed to protect the industries of central Canada work to the disadvantage of the growth of processing and manufacturing industries in B.C. I think that is why many people in B.C. view the Free Trade Agreement as being an opportunity finally to grow up.

Let me use an analogy which I find really rather appropriate as a woman and a mother. We protect our children when they are young and vulnerable and need

that protection. In our history as a country, perhaps we needed that kind of protection 100 or even 50 years ago, but as our children mature and reach adolescence, we let go of those barriers. Finally, when they come to maturity, we expect them to be able to stand on their own and make their own decisions, to be able to compete in the world at large. I would like to think that as Canadian business people, we have reached that stage of maturity. We do not need artificial protection. We can compete with the best of them.

We in British Columbia have shown that we can compete. We have shown that in the lumber industry. In 1981, we were faced with a very serious economic downturn in the lumber industry. We made changes and we become a highly competitive industry. We can compete anywhere in the world.

Let me bring this even closer to home, to my own riding. I would like to share a story with Hon. Members. When I was in my riding two weeks ago, I had the opportunity to participate in the dedication of the new Whistler Express. My colleagues will have to get used to me talking about Whistler a lot in the House because it has come into my riding. It is the best place in Canada to go downhill skiing. We now have the Blackcomb Wizard and now the Whistler Express, the fastest and longest gondola in North America.

The Whistler Express has been built over the past season in half the time it has taken to build a similar gondola anywhere in the world. The company that builds the gondola cars, which hold ten people and are very comfortable, contracted out to a company in Squamish which is also in my constituency. This company built the cars there. What took people in France 150 hours to do, to make one car, took 50 hours for those in Squamish to do one-third of the time.

Mr. McDermid: But we can't compete, Mary.

Mrs. Collins: No, we can compete. We showed that our workers can compete. In fact, representatives of the parent company was so astonished by this that they thought something was wrong, that perhaps there was no quality control. They came here and investigated and found that it took so little time because of the productivity of the workers in Squamish and their commitment to getting the job done. I think that is a commitment which exists not only in Squamish but right across the country. We have the best workers in the world, workers who can compete with anyone in the world, and we do not need artificial trade barriers.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Collins: Why do we need free trade? Again, I think we have to look at the global perspective. Where is the world going? We can no longer afford trade barriers.

I had the opportunity, thanks to our very kind Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), to be an observer at the GATT meetings in Montreal recently. Those were very, very difficult meetings. Perhaps we were not able to get everything we wanted, but as I talked to my colleagues from the American Senate and Congress, from the Japanese Diet, and from the European Economic Community, I found that there was a recognition that things had to change, slowly in some areas, perhaps, but with the increasing globalization of the economy we cannot have artificial trade barriers.

Obviously GATT is one mechanism through which we can reduce artificial trade barriers, but as we all know, it is a very slow and ponderous mechanism involving 100 countries. To try to get consensus among 100 countries is extremely difficult.

The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement is an example of how two countries together can do away with artificial trade barriers and each country can win. I see this agreement as being a win-win situation for both countries. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) spoke a little while ago about the Australia-New Zealand trade agreement. We know what has happened with that agreement. My colleague, the former chairman of the finance committee, was in New Zealand earlier this year. New Zealand is growing and prospering and in fact is accelerating the reduction in tariffs and trade barriers between the two countries. We know that this will be an example for the future. If we are not a part of that change, we might as well go back and be like the Opposition, the Luddites who tore up the looms at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and were afraid of change.

We are now at the brink of a transformation in our own society, a more global society, and we have to be leaders in that new kind of society. Of course this means adjustments, of course it means some will fail and some will prosper. However, those are adjustments that we have to make as a society if we are to grow ahead rather than creep behind the curtains of protectionism.

In my own riding my people are getting ready for this. That is what we should all be doing. We should be helping the industries and the entrepreneurs to get ready for the FTA. I saw an advertisement on television

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

recently about the new common market of 1992, preparing the business people of France and Germany for that. We need to do that. There are some changes in thinking which business people will have to make to be prepared for this.

When I have spoken to some of the business people in Vancouver, I have found that they are very excited about the prospects of free trade. Not too long ago, during the election campaign, I had dinner with a gentleman who is the president of a cheese company. I thought that he might have a problem, that cheese might be a little difficult. This man makes the finest quality Italian cheeses and sells them under a variety of labels. He is so excited about the prospects of selling in the United States. As those import quotas come down, he knows that he will have a market for his cheeses. He has written to me and sent me all this information and he is gung ho about it.

Hon. Members may notice that the women in this House are extremely fashionably dressed these days. We all like to wear Canadian designer clothes. One of the best Canadian designers, Mr. Jax, is in Vancouver. We are all familiar with Mr. Jax clothing. It is high quality women's clothing. Mr. Jax has not had access to the California market because of high tariffs. He too is excited because as those tariffs come down, he knows that he has a quality product that he can sell in the United States.

• (2110)

The list goes on. The people in the electronic industries and the computer industries and the business people in my community will not have all those hassles at the border, pretending they are carrying golf-bags instead of business documents when they go to do business in the States. We are excited about those prospects. We just want January 1 to come so we can see the reductions in those tariffs on both sides or the border. Skis and skates being one of the first items on which tariffs come off.

It was really frustrating. Actually it was much more than that. It was dishonest when my colleagues scared the elderly people in my riding and in ridings across the country. They told the elderly that free trade was going in some way to hurt them, hurt their social security and their medicare. I have never seen such a shameful thing in my life.

We all know when you instil fear in people it is very hard to change, particularly in older people. As you get older you become more concerned. You are not perhaps

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

as independent. You do not have as many opportunities, and you are more reliant upon security and the social security which this country provides. To perpetrate those kinds of falsehoods to the people of this country was shameful.

We know members of the Opposition have paid for it. They lost the election. Canadians finally realized the Opposition was wrong, and they were being sold a bill of goods which was a bill of dishonesties. I want to say once again to the elderly people in my constituency and in constituencies across the nation that the Free Trade Agreement does not affect pensions. It does not affect medicare or future security. Instead, it creates a new prosperity which will ensure that this Government and future Governments can afford those programs, that we can afford to improve them and have our security assured in the future.

Then we heard about water. I was always hearing about how the United States was going to drain us dry. During the election campaign in British Columbia it rained non-stop. There were days when I felt like saying "Come and take the water, we don't want it any more". But as I was out at the bus stops in the mornings with my umbrella, I told my people that the Americans were not going to take our water. I have a few companies that are selling drinking water and that is fine. But to perpetrate falsehoods and myths that the Free Trade Agreement would result in the raping of our resources, our water and energy, was totally improper, incorrect, and we all know that the opposition Parties will pay for that for years to come.

What does the Free Trade Agreement finally come down to for all of us?

Mr. Foster: It is a sell-out.

Mrs. Collins: No, it is not a sell-out. It is about opportunities and confidence. That is what is so exciting, after so many years of rejection. During the campaign, I had an elderly gentleman who had been through the 1911 election come into my office and say "It is like *déjà vu* again". But this time Canadians did say: "Yes, we are confident. We know we can compete. We know there are opportunities out there that we will take advantage of as a result of the Free Trade Agreement". Canadians said yes to tomorrow, yes to our own capabilities, and yes to free trade.

Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic): Mr. Speaker, I want to commence by congratulating Mr. Speaker on

his re-election to this House and to thank my electorate for their support.

I will be addressing the House partly in my aboriginal language, Slavey, which is one of the Dene languages of the Northwest Territories. This is with the assistance of an interpreter, Mrs. Eleanor Bran, from the Language Bureau, Government of the Northwest Territories in Yellowknife. Before addressing the House, Mr. Speaker, I have some background information in order to put my remarks into perspective.

The Northwest Territories has a population of approximately 52,000 people. The Northwest Territories constitutes 36 per cent of the Canadian land mass, a resource rich land mass at that. Now I will go into my aboriginal language.

Native people, Dene, Métis, and Inuit total slightly over half of the population, most of whom live in small communities. Fifty per cent of the population is located in major regional centres. A small dispersed population and a relatively underdeveloped transportation system result in high shipping costs and limited access to market. It also means that we have the highest cost of living in Canada. Yellowknife, our capital city, is linked to southern Canada by roads, but the cost of living is still 50 per cent higher than in Edmonton.

At first glance we can say the Northwest Territories economy is doing well. The average growth of the territorial economy over the past five years has exceeded 20 per cent, but this figure is misleading. Seventy-five per cent of territorial income in 1986 was received by people in the seven largest communities. There are, in fact, over 50 communities in the Northwest Territories. Income and employment problems persist in small communities. Unemployment in Yellowknife has remained around 5 per cent, and the per capita income is \$18,100. In Rae-Edzo, which is only 70 miles from Yellowknife, unemployment is 30 per cent and the per capita income is \$4,600. Proximity to larger centres does not guarantee prosperity. In the smaller communities there is a greater need for and dependence on government transfer payments. The distribution of wealth is a problem. The Government of the Northwest Territories is to be commended for its efforts in this area.

I now go back into Slavey.

Our population is the fastest growing in Canada. There is also an increasing preference for wage employment in the communities. Job opportunities are very limited and the population is not as mobile as that in the larger centres or in southern Canada.

We are not in an area that is highly industrialized, booming with branch plants, factories, and so on. Therefore, we do not experience a massive influx of people nor do we attract foreign investment which might greatly boost the service industry of the North. Like all developing areas we export raw materials such as minerals and fur. We also import finished goods.

On the question of what the Free Trade Agreement will do for northern Canada, as I walk through the stores at home I notice that most products come from Canada or the Far East so I do not anticipate a great reduction in the cost of living as a result of lower tariffs.

Free trade may reduce the cost of imported mining machinery and oil field equipment which will reduce exploration and production costs. However, when the U.S. is getting our oil and gas at Canadian domestic prices where, may I ask, is the advantage for Canada? After all, we all know this has been the primary goal of the U.S. for a long time. The Americans have clearly achieved both goals in terms of price and guaranteed access.

My second point on this matter is that our principal export is production from mining. Having a so-called secure market for our minerals does not guarantee any benefits. Commodity prices not accessed to markets is what determines how well our mining industry does. Over all it appears that there will be little direct benefit to northerners from this deal. From my perspective this deal jumps the gun. It is a presumptuous, insensitive and uncaring deal.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Blondin: I say this because this deal was signed before negotiations were finalized. Canada and the U.S. will still have to determine what constitutes a trade distorting subsidy. Even as a political neophyte I can see that this represents a leap into the dark. Is it not foolhardy in the extreme to leap into the dark? This cavalier attitude has many Canadians, including northerners, concerned.

• (2120)

In the North we are truly at a critical political and economic crossroads. Understanding, co-operation, and a firm commitment will assist us in going the whole distance, not the domination of our economy by third party interests especially by the highly market-driven forces of the United States.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Evidence in the North clearly shows that the private sector alone cannot develop our economy. An active government role by way of federal investment in the North is needed.

In the Northwest Territories the private sector creation of 3,000 jobs over the last five years has been impressive. Most of the growth has been in the larger centres.

We are fearful in the North that much needed regional development programs are at risk. We do not have the numerical strength to influence government or to affect an election in regard to the direction in which this country is headed. We know that we are vulnerable and susceptible to the will of government.

During the campaign the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) stated that regional development programs were not at risk. His attitude was one of "trust me". Many people in the North believe that they were forced to trust the Prime Minister, our federal political representative, when he met in secret in the middle of the night with ten Premiers to finalize the Meech Lake Accord. Many of my constituents believe that the Accord makes northerners second-class citizens in this country. They also state that the provincial Premiers protected their constituents, but that the Prime Minister, our sole representative, did not do the same for us.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Blondin: The people whom I represent ask: "How can we consciously subscribe to this 'trust me' attitude when our fundamental rights as Canadians have been ignored on more than one occasion?" People in my riding do not understand why the Prime Minister voted against perfectly reasonable amendments to Meech Lake put forward by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), amendments which would protect the rights of northern Canadians.

I hope that the Prime Minister will not let us down a second time by voting against any Liberal amendments to the free trade deal which would protect Canada's regional development program.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Blondin: During the election the Prime Minister promised that regional development would not be affected by free trade. All I am asking him to do is to put that in writing as part of the free trade legislation.

In the North we are not equipped to compete with the American business sector and are clearly no match for

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

its keen, sophisticated, predatory, and economic sense in business tactics. The Government of the Northwest Territories gives northern suppliers and contractors a preference to encourage the development of business and to create a level playing field for northerners.

Will this be able to continue, I ask? Will northerners still be given an edge until they are truly in a position to be competitive? With the push for provincial jurisdictions to conform to the Free Trade Agreement, will this preference policy be viewed as a non-tariff barrier?

I would like to give an example of where new regional development initiatives are required in the North. Last year 2,000 trappers, most of whom were not full-time trappers, shipped \$5.6 million worth of raw furs outside the Northwest Territories. When the fur is sent out nothing more is added to the local economy.

We need to build a secondary industry around this traditional economy of hunting and trapping that will allow for the extensive training of personnel to process hides and to design, manufacture, market, and distribute products derived from local resources. This will create employment and boost the service industry. Given the time, resources, and opportunity, northern Canadians can achieve that goal and not let it fall into the hands of shrewd entrepreneurs to the south.

Northerners are also concerned about the indirect effects of the Free Trade Agreement on the environment. Environmental standards are higher in this country. Consequently, regulations are more stringent. Our clean environment is a result of an exacting environmental management regime. In the North we understand the fragility of our ecosystem. We know that we cannot build walls or shields against global pollution. However, we depend upon the strength of our Government and legislation for protection.

Our concerns come from the need to harmonize policy on both sides of the border to create the so-called level playing field. The Canadian Government will be pressured by Canadian industry to lower standards in order that it will be more competitive with American firms conducting the same business.

I ask, with jobs at stake, will Governments be able to resist lowering standards? Our environment is at risk. Need I appeal to and overstate the case for a clean environment to this slate of expert legislatures, this powerful force of Canadian protectors?

I think that the same can be said about our social programs.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I would like to bring to the attention of the Hon. Member that she has another 10 minutes for her speech.

Ms. Blondin: Since the mid-1940s this country has built a social net that ensures that those who need help can get it. This is a service that is shrouded in controversy from time to time.

However, our Canadian democracy is one that stands by its mandate to care for and serve all people equally. Subjecting the existence of our social net to indirect pressures from outside forces is viewed very dimly by Canadians. A similar proposed move to deindex pensions also met with much public outcry and resistance.

At the very least, the social programs will be stretched and strained because of massive lay-offs, job losses, and dislocations. I do not for a moment believe that all those people will be retrained, relocated, or rehired. What exactly does the Government mean when it states that social programs will not be affected?

I look across the floor and I see the winners, the majority, the confident. I say to myself every day, as I look into their eyes and at their faces, surely they know what is best for the country. Do they believe, in their hearts and minds, that this is really what is best for Canada? Will this huge step taken now come back to haunt us in years to come? Will it be when we have no other recourse but to comply?

I ask, Mr. Speaker, do I see the world so differently that I cannot be convinced that this is good for all Canadians, not only for a few—the privileged, and established. Am I so beholden to my political philosophy of Liberalism that I am blinded, and that my mind is shut to another view or opinion? I say no.

I am a fair person. I am not a single focused visionary, nor am I backward. I, too, want a slice of the pie for myself and for my northern peoples. We do not want to sabotage success. Those are false accusations. Nor do we want to be unappreciative. That is also a false accusation. However, my innermost and strongest political intuition draws me back. I am not convinced.

Government Members have not been able to change my mind with a promise of great wealth and a secure future at the expense of our political independence as a nation. Nor do government Members have the jurisdiction over my mandate or integrity as an individual chosen to represent the northern peoples, many of whom fear this deal. It was the Government's duty to inform the public, to win the confidence of the public, and to

leave the public as secure and confident as they appear to be.

There are many here who, like me, stem from common roots, who will never know or feel the realities of that promised wealth meant for a select few.

• (2130)

But there are those who wish to work and live out their days as true and proud Canadians, under the protection of a Government in control of their political and economic destinies.

Without being facetious or sarcastic, I say to the Hon. Members on the other side of this House that I hope they are right. Certainly I would not object to being wrong in this instance. I do hope, for the sake of Canada and its people, that they are right.

Mr. Speaker, I have given you my thoughts, from my heart, on behalf of the northern peoples.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Frank Oberle (Minister of State (Science and Technology) and Acting Minister of State (Forestry)): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to participate in this historic debate—and I refer to it as “historic” for a number of reasons.

Most Canadians are of the belief that this debate was held some time ago. This House of Commons, after all, dealt with the implementing legislation in respect of the Free Trade Agreement some time ago and referred it to the Senate for consideration, and here we are holding that debate all over again.

It is historic because there was an election fought on the issue of free trade, and most Canadians watching the debate now are of the belief that they decided the issue on November 21 last. But again here we are spending all of this time rethrasing the whole debate.

The 1988 general election will no doubt be recorded as being historically significant. At no time in my political experience, nor indeed in the history of Canada, have Canadians expressed such emotion about their love for their country, about their love of their way of life. Never before did Canadians express such sentiment of protectionism in respect of those things we hold most dear, those things that are most distinctly Canadian. Never before did Canadians express such fear of change—and while fear of change is a natural trait, it is not one that fits the Canadian psyche. Canadians have

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

never been afraid of change. We came from other shores to seek change, to build new lives in this great land.

The election campaign forced us to focus on our institutions, to see that they continued to function in the way that they were intended to function.

The Senate was being looked at, with Canadians asking themselves whether it played its rightful role in holding up the free trade deal.

The Canadian people had decided they wanted the deal. The House of Commons had decided that it was necessary.

We had talk about a two-party system. In fact, most Canadians would have thought—and certainly I did when I came to this place—that some arrangement would have been made by the Leader of the New Democratic Party to be absorbed by the Liberal Party. After all, half way through the election campaign we heard that he was going to absorb the Liberal Party; that there was going to be a two-party system.

What is this business all about? What is all this rethinking about? Is a two-party system no longer something that the socialists espouse?

The election was historic inasmuch as it forced us to look at ourselves in a fundamental way.

As Hon. Members know, I come from British Columbia, a region which will be more affected than any other region by the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, an arrangement which will come into effect on January 1, 1989. There is also no region of this country where the free trade issue became more polarized. There is no region more in need of diversified economy, no region more in need of a lessening of our dependence on our traditional industries—mining, fishing, and agriculture—that is British Columbia. The Provinces of British Columbia and Alberta need to lessen their dependence upon central Canada markets.

There is no province or region in this country more experienced in the results of socialist and centralist planning, the type of regime that the Opposition seems to offer, than is British Columbia.

Yet, some in B.C. sought comfort in protection; some were swayed by the fear tactics that the Opposition engaged in throughout the country. Some reached back to the good old David Barrett days. In fact, Mr. Barrett was even elected to the House of Commons.

Those were the good old days of high tariffs and discriminatory freight rates. The socialists, led by Mr.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Barrett, the former Premier of British Columbia, inflicted more damage in the 18 months that they were in power than the Liberals did in 18 years federally—and we all know what that meant: 18 years of Liberal-socialist coalitions.

It was just awful. Investment overflowed the province. No one had any confidence in the ability of British Columbia to play its rightful role in the larger scheme of things in Canada.

Those were the days when all we had was the opportunity to slash our forests and sell our resources in raw form, the only form in which the buyers would take them from us. Those were the days when there were a lot of ordinary people in British Columbia. Well, we are sick and tired of that ordinariness. We have different plans for Canada. We have different plans for the West, and different plans for British Columbia. We want to be a part of what has been experienced in Ontario in terms of the auto industry; we want to be part of the great things that are going on throughout the world. And we fully intend to play our rightful role.

There are no “good old days”. We in B.C. know that best. The lumber industry in British Columbia knows that best.

Trade with the United States is the life-blood of the forest industry, and the forest industry continues to be the largest industrial employer in Canada—not just in British Columbia, where it accounts for 45 per cent of all manufacturing output.

Canada's forest industry is the biggest contributor to Canada's balance of trade. In 1986, we exported over 50 per cent of our forest products, adding some \$16 billion to Canada's trade balance. Last year, \$18 billion was earned by the forest industry in foreign exchange.

The U.S. bought 75 per cent of our forest products exports. As a result of the overwhelming importance of trade in this key industry, some of the strongest support for the Free Trade Agreement comes from that particular sector and its employers. The forest sector knows first hand the devastating impact of American protectionism, or protectionism wherever it is found. It knows what protectionism costs in terms of jobs, in terms of cash flow, in terms of investment, and in terms of productivity.

As we all know, in recent years two countervail investigations were launched against Canadian softwood lumber and the shakes and shingles industry. As a result of those actions, our trade with the U.S. was adversely

affected. The U.S. forestry industry brought pressures to bear, and the politicians reacted and imposed tariffs on our products.

Given the value of the trade in goods and services between Canada and the U.S., amounting to some \$200 billion a year, there is a need to normalize that trade and solidify our relationships.

We in Canada have built a world-class industry around our trees, around our forests. We have built 350 cities and towns around this particular industry, with 8,000 businesses, large and small, now dependent upon our forests for their viability. Close to one million Canadians, directly and indirectly, derive their livelihoods from this important industry.

• (2140)

We did this believing, perhaps innocently, that we can always rely on this great market in the U.S. to buy our products in whatever form we wanted to ship them. Of course, there were cycles, with housing construction being up and down in both the U.S. and Canada. Of course, there were currency fluctuations which from time to time adversely affected us as we were moving along. We learned to cope with these kinds of things. However, all of a sudden a tariff was applied and our most important industry is threatened, not just in its present configuration, but in all of its future prospects.

We know our forest industry is very limited, given its present configuration, in its prospects for expansion. The fibre is all committed. Even in British Columbia there are very few areas where there is room for expansion and additional fibre available. We know we have to work hard and diligently to restock our forests and replenish those areas which have been overcut. Therefore, our best prospects for growth lie in value adding, not just to our minerals and forest products but to all of the things we have shipped in the most primitive form in the past.

That has been threatened as well. Every time we add value to our products, the higher the tariff goes. That is why it is so important for us in the regions, East and West, that we enter into this trade deal. As we all know, those of us who have been in business, if there is no room for expansion or growth, your industry becomes stagnant and dies.

All of us know, of course, this tariff had nothing to do with the stumpage fees or economic rent that was assessed by the provinces on our trees.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In 1983, when the first round of countervailing action was launched against us, it was found clearly that our way of assessing economic rent was not in any way a subsidy to the industry. Nothing changed between 1983 and 1986, except that political pressure in the U.S. intensified. The heat was put on and the way the American system works, politicians react much more swiftly and energetically to the kinds of pressure they get from their people. That is why we have the countervailing duty and a 15 per cent tax on our softwood lumber and a 35% tax on our shakes and shingles.

We see in this free trade deal not only a reduction of tariffs, but also the establishment of new rules. There will be a mechanism to administer these rules. That is why the dispute mechanism is perhaps the most important element of this deal. The analogy has been made by many about the elephant and mouse. It is said that when the elephant takes a deep breath, we feel the pinch, sleeping so close to the elephant. When he rolls over we could be squashed. For the first time this great elephant sat down with one of its trading partners to agree to a set of rules so that every time he breathes we will have to be notified. If we do not like it, we can tell him to move over a bit just in case we are going to be pinched by his expansion.

All these analogies are interesting and worth reconsidering. There is now a judicial process under which our trade will be regulated and within which it has to be conducted. A free trade deal is the best prospect we have for bringing stability to our most important industry, to revitalize it, to add greater value to it, and to expand and diversify it.

The industry sees it this way as well. Let me just quote from a letter from the Fraser Valley Independent Shake and Shingle Producers Association sent to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). You will remember the NDP over there, these great defenders of all that is good and beautiful, speaking out on behalf of the industry. This association said to us: "We urge you to pass the Free Trade Agreement as soon as practical so that others, when faced with similar actions by the U.S., will have a definite course of action available to them that will lead to a more timely and more objective solution. We strongly agree with your opinion that had the Free Trade Agreement been in place in 1986, this specific Section 201 action by the U.S. against us would not have been implemented."

That is what the shake and shingle people are telling us: please pass this free trade deal, please do not listen to the NDP, they are not telling you what we think is

important to our industry. They are telling us not to be swayed by the doomsayers, those who live in the last century. They tell us to get on with implementing the deal which they see as being a crucial and necessary imperative for them to plan their future. Do not worry, we have no intention of being swayed by the doomsayers.

I have followed this debate closely in the House and watched it on my monitor. To listen to some of these speakers from the Opposition you would almost think that they only heard about this free trade deal for the first time yesterday, that it is something we just dumped on them and are bulldozing through the House just a few days before Christmas.

Yet this House held over 300 hours of discussions. Sixty-one days were spent in this House over the last year and a half discussing the free trade deal with the U.S. That came after a royal commission had spent \$24 million of the taxpayer's money travelling throughout the country examining the economic prospects for Canada. Its principal recommendation was that we should enter into a free trade arrangement with the U.S.

Then we had the Liberal Senate. Its committee held over 100 hours of hearings, chaired by a great Senator from British Columbia, and a Liberal, too. It came to the conclusion that the best prospect for Canada was to enter into a deal with the U.S. that would have a dispute mechanism, open the border, reduce tariffs, and create new opportunities for the regions to open North-South trade links. That is what the Senate said in its most prestigious committee about this deal.

I sense that even some people in the Opposition know what needs to be done. They know there is no *status quo*. The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) kept saying: "We are for free trade as well. We are very anxious to see free trade, but we do not like this deal". In fact, he said he would go down to the United States and ask them to negotiate another deal with him. The Americans were holding their breath waiting for him to come down to negotiate another deal. Can you just imagine the reception he would have got down there? Yet he just does not like this particular deal. Is that not strange? What deal does he like?

We have everything we asked for. We have a dispute settlement mechanism. We have lowering and elimination of tariffs. We have time during which this deal will be implemented.

He said that the Americans would receive him with open arms. They are the best friends we have. They are

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

nice people. They will understand that Canadians would not want this particular deal but they would want his. Then he turns around and says: "If you sign this deal, tomorrow morning the Americans will turn into monsters. They will come up and take the false teeth out of our senior citizens and run around in their wheelchairs. They will deprive us of all the things we have worked for." Obviously Canadians saw through that kind of charade. Canadians decided what was good for them and what was good for Canada.

It has been said this deal is a leap of faith. We like to think, instead, that this deal is an act of faith, an act of faith in our country, in Canadians, in the woodworkers in British Columbia and Alberta, as well in the fishermen on the East Coast, and even in the auto workers in the riding of the Leader of the NDP.

• (2150)

This deal is good for all of Canada. It is the best prospect we have for new growth and vitality. We have no intention of depriving future generations of Canadians of their opportunities to make this the greatest country in the universe and to position themselves with the leaders of the world, competitively, with enthusiasm and with pride as we move on toward a new age and a new century.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Ray Funk (Prince Albert—Churchill River): Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honour and a privilege to stand here in this House as the representative of the people of Prince Albert—Churchill River. As I stand here I am very much conscious of the fact that the electors of Prince Albert—Churchill River have sent some very distinguished Canadians to this House. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was elected by the electors of my constituency, as was the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, and the Hon. John Diefenbaker—

Mr. McDermid: Now you're talking.

Mr. Funk: —and most recently the current Hon. Member for Saskatoon—Humboldt (Mr. Hovdebo). I would just like to say in tribute to him that his honesty, his common sense approach, and his record of service to his constituents are examples to all of us. That made it much easier for me as an NDP candidate in that seat.

I would also like to extol the virtues of my constituency and the good people in it. However, since the constituency covers over half the geographic area of Saskatchewan, and since it is so diverse with 48 per cent of the

electors in the City of Prince Albert, 22 per cent of the voters in the rural communities around Prince Albert, and 30 per cent in the North, you would call me out of order a long time before I would be done talking about all those groups and all those areas, Mr. Speaker.

It is politically dangerous not to mention everybody. However, I would like to say to the Members of this House that for those who see only the stereotype of Saskatchewan, the broad prairie which I love very much, there is another half to Saskatchewan which has some of the nicest lakes, trees, forests, and historic communities that can be found anywhere in the country. I would like to invite all Hon. Members and their families to come to visit.

We have heard a lot about mandates in this House during this debate. I would like to say that the voters of Prince Albert—Churchill River sent me with a mandate, too. I have a mandate from 56 per cent of the voters in my constituency to "fight free trade with Funk". That is what I intend to do. In so doing I feel that I am inheriting the legacy of one of my predecessors who I mentioned already, the late Hon. John George Diefenbaker.

It became a bit of a game in our campaign to see who could invoke John's name the most often. I think that we conclusively won that debate. I would like to show Hon. Members why. The most effective piece of literature that we had was a Xerox copy of five pages of Diefenbaker's book *The Years of Achievement* in which he discussed Canada-U.S. trade relations. I quote:

The policies of foreign-controlled industries are determined by the interests of their parent companies; so far as they reflected a national interest, it was not Canada's. Frequently, Canadians were excluded from participating in such enterprises either through the purchase of equity stocks or, as employees, through management positions. Occasionally a United States parent company would take over export orders which had first been explored by Canadian trade officials. Sometimes American-owned industries failed to play their appropriate part in Canadian life through contributions to cultural and charitable organizations. Furthermore, these companies, given the resources of their parent companies, frequently had advantages in exploration and development over those enjoyed by their Canadian-owned competitors. More important, excessive foreign control reduced the control a Canadian Government could exercise in attempting to stabilize our economy and further the process of balanced economic growth. Had the Conservative Party been content to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water as a supplier of raw materials to the United States, these problems might not have loomed so large.

I want to tell the Hon. Members opposite that they have turned their backs on the legacy of John Diefenbaker.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Funk: The first people to realize that were the voters in my constituency where the Conservative candidate only got 26 per cent of the vote running on this Government's policies.

Let me now turn to the reasons why a majority in every sector of that constituency rejected the trade deal, rejected this Republican version of Canada's future.

First, there are agricultural producers in my riding. I think it is quite clear by now that the Canadian Wheat Board is under threat. The farmers are not reassured by the wimpy response to Clayton Yeutter which they got from the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) who I think is also doubling as the trade commissioner for the State of Georgia. Then, there are supply management programs and all the stabilization programs, crop insurance, and so on. Certainly, they are not attacked directly.

Farmers in my constituency see this as a gradual erosion of all the things that are there to protect the family farms, a takeover of our Canadian agricultural industry by interests that are promoting corporate farming and an agri-business approach to farming. Our family farmers recognize that. They rejected it.

In the City of Prince Albert it was very clear to the people who work there that the reason the big business lobby was so interested, so excited about seeing this trade deal come through was that it meant two things: lower wages and less benefits. The people in Prince Albert had seen, too, what happened when our assets fell into the hands of foreign owners. The pulp mill in Prince Albert had been taken over just prior to the election, had in fact been given away by the Saskatchewan Government to Weyerhaeuser Corporation from the United States.

What happened in the year that followed that takeover? The small producers, the people who had made their living in the bush, and the native communities lost their place in the forest industry of Saskatchewan. People had seen that happen and they rejected it.

Then there were our social programs. Earlier this evening we heard from the Minister of deindexation of pensions, a gentleman for whom I do have some respect in that I share a common heritage with him. People were not reassured by that because look what happened.

First, we saw this Free Trade Agreement. As I was reading through it—I did read it; I read it four times—I got to page 204 under Services and there are some very

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

innocuous looking numbers about what is affected by this deal. In order to find out what that was, one had to find standard industrial classification numbers set out in Statistics Canada's Standard Industrial Classification, Fourth Edition, put out by the Department of Supply and Services in 1980. That is not an easy job to do in Prince Albert because our library does not have those documents, so I wrote to the Government for its information. I got a nice glossy brochure on services.

Was there a word about what was in these indexes? No. What is in those indexes? Those numbers refer to hospitals, general hospitals, rehabilitation hospitals, extended care hospitals, mental hospitals, and so on. That is why the people of this constituency have no confidence in the Government's ability to protect our social programs.

Then we turn to the effect of the free trade deal on the people of the North. I want to pay tribute and compliment the Hon. Member for Western Arctic (Ms. Blondin) on her eloquent remarks.

In this regard I would like to point out that I almost jumped out of my chair and asked to be heard on a question of privilege when I heard the Deputy House Leader the other day refer to the fact that they held committee hearings and essentially nobody came.

I would like to tell the Hon. Members here that on July 7 I wrote to that committee as a private businessman, as the owner of Spruce River Research which had done a lot of work in northern Saskatchewan, wishing to appear before that committee to ask questions about things such as secondary benefits from non-renewable resources, development of integrated economy through regional development programs, development of a functional infrastructure, protection of northern ecology, the evolution of self-government and the importance of the safety net.

Did I hear back? Did I get to appear? They said that there was all kinds of time when nobody was there to speak. I did hear back. I heard back 10 days after the committee hearings ended in a letter which stated that there were so many people who wanted to appear and that they did not have a chance to hear these concerns about northern Saskatchewan.

I want to raise now a few of the points that I had planned to raise before that committee. One was with respect to the whole question of the processing of resources. We have heard a lot about how we are going to have secondary benefits and how our resources are going to be processed. In northern Saskatchewan we

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

have attempted to do that. We have something called surface lease agreements that require local content, local hiring, and the use of local businessmen.

What do we see in this deal? We see very specifically in Article 1603 that those things would not be allowed any more. Thus people are very worried about how in fact we are going to enjoy secondary benefits if we do not have the tools to ensure that that happens.

Then there is the threat to our regional development programs. We have been told that they are not threatened. However, just last August the Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion announced the closing of the DRIE offices in La Ronge and in Prince Albert in my constituency. When I checked out why that was happening, Western Diversification Fund officials in Saskatoon suggested that they were bringing their programs into line with the free trade environment. This meant that the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion was abandoning northern Saskatchewan entirely.

• (2200)

Another issue is the protection of the northern ecology. We were told that water would not be affected. This summer people in the North were surprised to read that the Hon. Graham Taylor, Minister of Privatization in the Saskatchewan Government said:

I don't think it is unthinkable that we could bring water from north of La Ronge to the top end of Last Mountain Lake, then use that more than hundred mile gash to bring water southward, and then connect the flow to the Souris River system.

Some may not know the geography of Saskatchewan. Such a scheme would bring the water 16 miles from the American border to fill a reservoir about which the Minister of the Environment of the federal Government would not hold hearings because it is common knowledge there is not enough water in the river system to fill the reservoir. The people of northern Saskatchewan saw that the water would be diverted to the south, 16 miles from the American border and decisively rejected the free trade deal.

It was not only the resource producers in Prince Albert-Churchill River alone who rejected this deal. The free trade deal was rejected by a majority of Canadians living in resource based regions of the country. The Hinterland-Metropolitan dynamic is one of the bases of historic debates in this country. It concerns the interaction of those who control the finances in the cities of this country and those who produce the resources. In an attempt to analyse this dynamic in the context of the election, I measured the resource base as the land

devoted to such things as mining, lumber and agriculture and compared that with the financial resources in the big cities and communities. The comparison is quite shocking.

In the last election, the area represented by Tories who were elected equals 919,509 square miles. The area represented by Liberal and New Democratic Party Members who were elected is 5,188,588 square miles, which works out to 15 per cent for the Conservatives and 85 per cent for the Liberal and New Democratic Parties who oppose the deal. I do not believe there is any better indication that the people in the industrial areas of the country have ganged up against the resource producers.

The stewards of our resources representing 85 per cent of this land said no to this sell-out. They said yes to developing our resources the Canadian way.

The phrase that will dominate the debate in the months and years to come will be "the six-month clause", which is no relation to Santa Claus, for the benefit of Members opposite. That is how we will get out of this deal.

While the Government may not have enough confidence to monitor this deal, it will know that Canadians will be watching. When Canadians see us lose control of our resources, watch our jobs disappear, see our family farms disappear and our distinct way of life vanish, they will band together in a movement like this country has never seen to see this deal disappear and this arrogant Government vanish. This Party and this Member will be front and centre, leading the movement to save the soul of this country.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, thank you for giving me the privilege of addressing the House tonight. This is my first speech since the November 21st election, in which people in the great constituency of Abitibi sent me here for a second term.

My first words are to thank people in Abitibi for that support they gave me on November 21st. Abitibi said yes to free trade, and I would like to take this opportunity to speak directly to them of the Agreement as it concerns Abitibi, Quebec and Canada.

The Canada—US Free Trade Agreement, signed by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and President Reagan on January 2, 1988, is an epoch-making achievement, the culmination of the efforts made during this century by Canadians and Americans to establish a

better framework for managing their economic and trade relations.

The agreement provides us with a historic opportunity to open up a new and more prosperous avenue to the most important and prosperous trade relationship in the world, involving as it does \$200 billion a year. The positive aspects of the history of freer trade and the enormous volume of economic analyses have convinced Canada of the benefits of free trade, namely increased economic growth, a higher level of income and higher employment levels.

On November 21st, Canadians gave a second mandate to the Progressive Conservative Party, thereby supporting the Canada—US Trade Agreement.

The agreement provides for the elimination over ten years of all tariffs and other trade restrictions, along with a strengthening of the rules governing trade management.

What does free trade entail for the constituency of Abitibi? Percentage wise, we know that Government, education, social services, and health services workforce is 22.79 per cent; retail sales for Abitibi are 12.33 per cent; manufacturing industries are 11.55 per cent; mining is 10.66 per cent; transportation is 5.30 per cent; construction is 4.73 per cent; forestry, 3.96 per cent, and finally wholesale sales are 3.29 per cent.

Concerning Abitibi, Mr. Speaker, for trade in non-metallic minerals such as cement, sheetglass, claybrick and fiberglass, tariffs never were a significant barrier. That industry competes with American manufacturers and should benefit from the Free Trade Agreement.

In terms of our agri-food products, a more secure access to a wider market, no tariffs on wrapping materials, food ingredients and machinery will help the industry, and access to the American market will inevitably make us benefit from economies of scale and opportunities to enhance specialization.

With respect to first grade meat, we can certainly look forward to higher exports. In other words, the dairy and poultry industries will still be protected through controls over imports and will not be directly affected.

As regards my own riding where pulp and paper is a leading sector, our companies will gain easier and more secure access to the American market and this will open up new development opportunities for economies of scale in manufacturing and more specialized products.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canadian firms will be in a better position to produce enhanced-value pulp before exporting it and more promising growth prospects. The transition period will give producers time to adjust to new competitors, and the dispute settlement mechanism will make it easier to solve any trade arguments that might arise.

As far as Abitibi is concerned, we will be able to talk about primary pulp and paper products. Now duty free, the pulp industry will have a more secure access to the American market under a more stable investment climate and with lower investment and production costs.

The newsprint sector is now duty free and will also enjoy lower production and investment costs, which is another way of saying it will find it easier to deal on the American market, another plus factor.

• (2210)

Producers of specialty papers made from mechanical wood pulp (uncoated) are already internationally competitive and will find new opportunities on the American market. Competition on Canadian and U.S. markets for paper products such as facial tissues and bleached kraft pulp will increase.

The same goes for wood products like structural lumber. Access to U.S. markets is guaranteed by a dispute settlement mechanism and strict standards for the implementation of safeguard measures under the Free Trade Agreement. The elimination of tariffs will enable Canadian producers to become more competitive by lowering investment and production costs.

Exports of wood products such as particleboard, waferboard and veneer panel will increase when tariffs are eliminated. Competition will be stiff in regard to plywood.

Processed wood products: Increased competition in Canada has resulted in the elimination of high Canadian tariff barriers. Products affected include kitchen cupboards, prefabricated houses, windows, doors and wood crates. Some streamlining will be required. The elimination of equally high U.S. tariffs will provide new opportunities for the more efficient producers.

Mr. Speaker, I would have more to say on this subject and on education, health and social services. Government services are not covered by the Free Trade Agreement. All governments are free to set up services in sectors of their choice. The economic growth generated by the Free Trade Agreement will provide a solid financial base and will enable the government to maintain and improve its services.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In the mining sector, for example, which is important to the Abitibi region, the investment climate and the mining industry's ability to compete will improve thanks to the more secure and predictable access to the American market which the Free Trade Agreement provides.

The metals sector will benefit from a more secure access to the American market and from lower investment and production costs thanks to the elimination of tariffs on certain manufactured products.

The minerals sector will get a wider and more secure access to the American market. Investment and production costs will decrease thanks to the elimination of tariffs on certain manufactured products.

Reduced formalities at the border for temporary visits will help Canadian companies specializing in geological and engineering services. This means that new opportunities will be created for Canadian mineral exploration and production companies. In this connection, one often thinks of a big region like ours, the Abitibi, which is one of the largest ridings in Canada and the largest in the ten provinces.

Transportation is mentioned. The Free Trade Agreement does not explicitly cover transport services. Demand for these services is expected to increase as a result of increased economic activity in Canada and greater circulation of goods between Canada and the United States.

Employment is expected to increase in the manufacture and maintenance of vehicles, locomotives and railway cars and in loading operations. Carriers are expected to incur lower equipment costs, thanks to the elimination of tariffs on transportation equipment.

Increased business travel means more demand for bus services, air services and passenger trains.

Construction: We know that many manufacturing companies export a great deal of lumber. Increased economic activity will generate new opportunities for home building and renovation. Eliminating tariffs in itself will result in lower production costs and the clauses of the Agreement affecting services will yield new openings for construction and for building trades in the American market.

In conclusion, we shall speak in the same vein about forestry. The elimination of tariffs and the dispute-settlement sections of the Agreement will give forest products more secure and wider access to the American market. This new access will increase American demand. As a result, there will be more job creation,

more new investments and more profits in the forest industry. Increased forestry activity will also encourage technological progress and thereby improved productivity. Forestation and forest management will continue under the Agreement.

So, Mr. Speaker, during the election campaign, the Socialist candidate in Abitibi stated that under this Agreement there was no manpower adjustment assistance. We have a surprise for this Socialist candidate! We had developed such a program a long time before the election, which means that under the Free Trade Agreement, the Canadian Government is responsible for ensuring that Canadian workers can fully avail themselves of the new employment opportunities, which is what it does at present.

It is estimated that 5.2 million Canadian men and women change jobs every year. The Canadian Jobs Strategy, with \$1.7 billion in the 1988-89 Estimates, exists to help these workers change jobs. Last year, of the more than 400,000 Canadian men and women who took part in Canadian Jobs Strategy programs, 80 per cent were able to secure employment or join in the labour force.

Under the Free Trade Agreement, the five Canadian Jobs Strategy programs which are relevant deal with employment development, job entry, skills investment, manpower shortage, and community futures programs. As far as the Community Futures programs are concerned, we had provided for the cost a long time before the Free Trade Agreement.

I was able to obtain six Communities Futures programs for the Abitibi region which will benefit Senneterre, Barraute, Lebel-sur-Quévillon, Joutel, Matagami, Malartic, Val d'Or, Amos and surrounding areas, Chapais, Chibougameau and Villebois, Beaucanton and Val-Paradis. In Abitibi, we are ready for the Free Trade Agreement.

In March 1988, a long time before the election campaign, Mr. Landry came to discuss free trade. That former PQ Minister praised the virtues of free trade. His remarks were very well received by the business people in Rouyn-Noranda and Senneterre. Mr. Bernard Landry had come to deal with an issue he knows very well and which is close to his heart. He felt that Canada has at least two good reasons to seek free trade, including the free circulation of goods between Canada and the United States. For that matter, with a domestic market of 25 million people, it is in a weak position when faced with international competition.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada is about the only country of the world which does not enjoy a secure access to a market of over 100 million consumers.

Also, Mr. Landry mentioned in his speeches in Senneterre and Rouyn-Noranda the rise of American protectionism which threatens the economy of Canada and Abitibi. It is jeopardizing trade as a whole between Canada and its greatest economic partner.

In March, long before the election campaign, Bernard Landry also rejected offhandedly the apprehensions of those who feared for the survival of social programs.

We heard Bernard Landry speak with commentator Pierre Pascau in a program that was rebroadcast during the election campaign, that so many listened to back home, all over Quebec and that gave us such tremendous help.

Let us not forget also the contribution and support of the Prime Minister of the province of Quebec, Robert Bourassa, who gave us a hand in such a masterly way.

I would like to conclude, Mr. Speaker, by noting that free trade will not put our small and medium businesses at risk. There is no reason to believe that the small and medium businesses of Quebec will all of a sudden be eaten up by big American corporations once free trade will be in place with the United States, claimed Mr. Tom Peters, one of the most famous management gurus. He said in an article, and I quote:

But for every business, no matter where on the planet, the basic question is not whether it is changing but whether it is changing fast enough, in an environment that has become totally unpredictable.

Mr. Speaker, during the last federal election campaign in Abitibi, the Liberal candidate told the people that Quebecers were going to be squashed by the American elephant. Today, Mr. Speaker, the future belongs not to the elephants but to the gazelles!

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to express my support for the Free Trade Agreement.

[*English*]

Mr. Mac Harb (Ottawa Centre): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to address my new colleagues in the House tonight. I would like to take a moment to express my gratitude to the people of Ottawa Centre for the support and encouragement that I received throughout the recent election campaign. I want to thank them for believing in the Canada that I believe in, a Canada that is strong and free, a Canada that respects the individual and provides opportunity.

• (2220)

On November 21, the voters in Ottawa Centre put their faith and trust in me. I am committed to honouring that trust by representing all the people of my riding. It is because of this commitment that I am standing before you tonight.

When I made the decision to seek election as the Member for Ottawa Centre, I did so fully aware that as a federal representative I would be dealing daily with matters of a national and international nature. But, I must admit, I never dreamed that my first speech in the House of Commons would be in defence of our economic, cultural and social identity. I am, of course, referring to the issue before us tonight, the Government's proposed free trade legislation, legislation which, in my opinion and in the opinion of more than 50 per cent of the Canadian people, threatens our very nationhood. Never has there been an issue which has so dominated an election campaign or the lunch hour or dinner table discussions of a nation. Never has there been an issue which has so divided Canadians.

We are well aware that no nation will ever be completely self-sufficient. Therefore, it follows that no nation can survive without some degree of international trade. The basic needs and wants of our society are better served through the exchange of goods and services across the borders. For as long as people have been exchanging goods there have been others discussing the best ways and means to achieve it. The 19th century economist David Ricardo advanced the theory of comparative advantage to explain the economic basis for world trade. His theory hinges on the relative advantage any one country has over another in the production of specific commodities.

For example, the United States can produce automobiles more cheaply than Brazil. Brazil, on the other hand, can produce coffee more cheaply than the United States. In this instance, it will benefit the United States and Brazil to trade with each other.

Why does Canada trade with the United States? Why does the United States trade with Canada? Obviously, it is because each country has something the other country wants. Unfortunately for Canada the United States wants our raw materials. When our final trade barriers go down, American branch plants located within our borders will be tempted to pack up and go home.

Mr. McDermid: Why?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Harb: Canadians firms will also migrate to the other side of our southern border. They will have to. The advantage that the United States has over Canada compels companies to do just that.

Mr. McDermid: Why?

Mr. Harb: Lower labour costs, longer growing seasons and a market 10 times the size of ours are advantages that any firm anxious about its bottom line cannot ignore.

Mr. McDermid: Why haven't they done it before?

Mr. Harb: These obvious results of the legislation concern me as they concern millions of Canadians. Issues such as this trade deal force us to take long hard looks at what it means to be Canadian. We are proud of our country, and we should be. We are proud of the compassionate quality of our social and regional programs. We are proud of having a political system which allows our government to be a catalyst, stepping in to encourage and support those individuals who need help most. We are a nation with a heart.

Liberal governments have played a major role creating and maintaining a system which protects the rights and interests of all Canadians. I am worried about the fact that we are giving the Americans national treatment in our goods, our services and our investments. No other Government has ever negotiated free trade in services. We know why, Mr. Speaker. Because it will have a devastating effect on those Canadians in the service industry. This is a vulnerable group which includes a high proportion of women and new Canadians. Yes, we are worried.

We must recognize that the Government's majority means that this deal will be approved despite our opposition. But that does not mean the work is over. The Government faces an incredible challenge, a challenge that it must meet if it is truly representative and responsible to the people of this country. It is the challenge of this Government and future Governments to ensure full and secure access to the American market, a goal that our friends on the other side of the House went into negotiations to obtain and emerged without. This Government must ensure the protection of our social and regional development programs.

It is the challenge of this Government to provide our industries with the tools necessary to adjust to the new economic realities created by the Free Trade Agreement. This Government and future Governments must ensure that our birthright, and the birthright of our

children and our children's children, the energy and natural resources which make our country great, are not given away at the cost of our future.

Our day-to-day lives once this deal is implemented will be changed. I am concerned that we will not be prepared for this change. Our farmers, our fishing industry, the millions of Canadians employed in the service sector and the textile industry—the hit list goes on and on. To compete in a free trade environment is a difficult task for a country one-tenth the population and the economic base of its partner. It is especially difficult for Canada because of the fundamental flaws contained within this particular deal. To be competitive, it is vital that we begin with a well trained and productive workforce. Production is a function of efficiency. Efficiency is a function of knowledge and knowledge, logically, is a function of education.

[*Translation*]

As Canadians, we are intelligent, creative and dynamic. The list of Canadian contributors to research and development is very long.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot about the exodus to the South of our best experts in technology. We have to stop that brain drain which threatens the excellence we have maintained as our objective at the university level as well as in our research and technology institutes. We also have to create an environment that encourages innovation and creativity. That's what we want for our country.

[*English*]

To this end the Government must set up a national strategy on educational retraining. As a Canadian, Mr. Speaker, I feel it is a tragedy that in an advanced and industrial society as ours there are over five million people who are functionally illiterate. That has to change, and it is going to change. Our future as a nation depends on it.

Canadians have worked hard to achieve the economic and political standing we now enjoy in the international arena. The Government owes it to Canadians to ensure that this standing is not weakened as a result of the trade deal. The Government must not contribute to the polarization of the western world economy.

• (2230)

There is a great deal of work ahead. I want the Government to face up to its responsibilities now and deal with the problems that this trade deal will create. There is too much at stake to do otherwise. This is a

challenge facing the Government. Because of those concerns, and many others, I cannot support this deal.

Hon. Elmer M. MacKay (Minister of National Revenue): Mr. Speaker, since we may be spending Christmas Eve in this Chamber, in the spirit of the season I would like to extend best wishes to all of our colleagues here today, old and new. At the same time, Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate you on your appointment, and also the Hon. Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Fraser) upon his re-election to be the Speaker. All of the compliments which he has received he has richly deserved. I am sure all Members will agree that he will do his usual exemplary job in this Thirty-fourth Session of Parliament.

I would like to congratulate all new members, including my colleague, the Hon. Member for Ottawa Centre (Mr. Harb) who has just spoken so eloquently. It is a great thing to have facility in both our official languages. *J'aimerais pouvoir parler français. Malheureusement, c'est impossible.*

Unfortunately, I cannot speak in French. However, I am struck by the beauty of the French language, particularly with respect to certain phrases, such as *déjà vu*, *plus ça change*, and *plus c'est la même chose*.

By coincidence, the other day, when I was pondering this important measure I thought it would be interesting to put it in perspective. Therefore, I looked up some of the speeches from bygone Parliaments, including the speech of a great Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Would you believe, colleagues, on March 7, 1911, Sir Wilfrid Laurier was talking about a form of free trade in the Parliament of Canada. Would you believe that he was talking about shingles and saying, as the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) said today in this Chamber, if we had duty-free status on shingles we would have no problems. Talk about *déjà vu*, Mr. Speaker.

Those of us who sat in this Chamber during the Thirty-third Parliament would agree that this measure has been debated. For the newer members, I can understand their alacrity and eagerness to get on with this and debate it. To quote the late Ogden Nash, one thing that Canadian politics might be very much the better for would be a more restricted use of simile and metaphor. We have heard a tremendous of debate on this measure. With the indulgence of the House, perhaps it would be useful to put this in perspective.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I have spoken about a great Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On Page 4751 of *Hansard* for March 7, 1911, he stated:

Our object today is to open the door . . . of a nation of 90,000,000 which has been closed to us for the last 50 years . . .

Think of that, Mr. Speaker. This was a Canadian Prime Minister who, in those days, was saying that the 20th century would belong to Canada, and he was seeking new ways to broaden our economic prowess and open new vistas for us. In those days he talked about a nation of 90 million. Today, as we know, our neighbours to the south are almost three times that in population, and I dare say that the opportunities are three times as great.

We know that in 1854 there was a form of reciprocity between our two countries which did not survive the hostilities of the conflict between Britain and the United States, and later on the Civil War complicated things even further.

Various efforts were made in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s to proceed to return to the free trade ideal. However, these floundered because neither side was really ready until, as I mentioned, Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the attempt in 1911.

In the following two decades Canada and the United States learned to their regret what could happen without free trade. Passion and protectionism ruled supreme and the two nations built ever higher tariff barriers between them.

The spiral of ever-increasing protectionism was finally broken in 1935 when the two countries negotiated a modest but historic Most Favoured Nation Agreement. This accord marked the beginning of a bipartisan effort in Canada to expand trading opportunities for Canadian entrepreneurs. It was started by the Conservative Government of the late R. B. Bennett. It was concluded by the Liberals under Mackenzie King. Three years later the agreement was enlarged and improved, and it confirmed the commitment of both Governments to more Liberal trading conditions, a commitment that was pursued for the next 50 years.

As early as 1947, as some of us who are a bit long in the tooth will recall, a comprehensive free trade agreement was being negotiated between our two countries, but before the pact could be ratified, Prime Minister Mackenzie King concluded that the country was not ready for such an agreement and satisfied himself that GATT would serve for the time being.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

About that time, if I am not mistaken, when these GATT negotiations were in their embryonic stage, there was a young gentleman present by the name of Simon Reisman. He was in a junior position at that time, although it is difficult to imagine Simon Reisman being in a junior position.

In 1965 the two Governments concluded the Auto Pact, which is an important form of sectoral free trade. Again, we had Mr. Reisman, this time in a more prominent role.

Early in this decade the increasingly protectionist atmosphere in the United States threatened Canadian markets again. We know that the Government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau sought ways to attempt to improve this condition. That Government concluded that something more than reliance on GATT was required. We have seen why, because recently in Montreal the GATT process which was espoused by the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) proved to be less than adequate. Nonetheless, it was an initiative that was tried at that time.

To return to the evolution of economic progress and the manner in which most economic progress has been marked by the dismantlement or rearrangement of tariff barriers, those of us who remember the 1950s, including the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition no doubt remembers Paul Henry SpOak and his espousal of Benelux when he talked about a United States of Europe. This evolved into the Common Market which is perhaps one of the greatest economic engines of growth that the world has yet seen.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver—Quadra): You were making a good speech until you got diverted.

Mr. MacKay: Nevertheless, diverted or not, I say to my right hon. friend that he has made some commitments that were very much on the record. Perhaps since he is in the Chamber I should remind him of them. On August 30, 1988, as reported in *Hansard*, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition stated:

I am asking them (for) . . . an opportunity to decide. If the Prime Minister wins he can still meet the deadline imposed upon him by the United States of January 1, 1989. I think that is a pretty straightforward proposition. Call an election now. If Canadians vote for the Prime Minister, then he has his trade deal. If Canadians vote for me, there is no trade deal. All I am saying is: Let the people decide.

Well, the people decided. It is not two out of three, three out of five, or four out of seven. The people did decide.

The Leader of the New Democrats said, after the election—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Why don't you make your own speech? Have you any material of your own? How about a little material of your own?

Mr. MacKay: Some things never change with the Liberals. Before the right hon. gentleman came in, I was talking about a Prime Minister whom I think the Leader of the Opposition would like to emulate, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In the 1911 *Farmers Almanac*, which is another great record, there is a poem that I love to quote. Talk about *déjà vu*, Mr. Speaker. It is as appropriate today as it was then. It goes like this:

"Look upon, the Grits the grimy, grizzled Grits.
What a woebegone expression across their faces flits.

For they are thinking, thinking deeply, how to run the country neatly,
And they wonder how in thunder that it's going to be done.

But the voters, those who matter, paid no heed to their idle chatter,
Those grimy, grungy, grizzly, grumpy, old Grits."

I look upon them tonight, Mr. Speaker, and they are friends of mine and friends of ours, but I believe that really they should take cognizance of the fact that the debate is over. As the Leader of the Opposition would say, and I know he is a great fan of Rudyard Kipling:

"The tumult and the shouting dies, the captains and the kings depart,
but still thy legacy remains, a humble and a contrite heart."

I do not see any humbleness or contriteness on the other side of the House, Mr. Speaker. I suppose that is too much to ask of politicians—even those on this side of the House. But I should think that the Leader of the Opposition would be willing to concede that the debate has been a good one; that it has been extensive—

• (2240)

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Until now.

Mr. MacKay:—and it is now time to get on with the job.

A lot of Canadians over the years thought about free trade, people as diverse as Gordon Milling, who was a research economist with the United Steelworkers of America. In the historic town of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, some 20 years ago, Mr. Milling espoused the idea of free trade, saying that it might be a very good thing; that a reduction in tariff barriers—and he was talking about DOSCO, a company then operating in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Nova Scotia—might lend to greater access to U.S. markets for Canadian steel products.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Did he vote for you, Elmer?

Mr. MacKay: He probably did, and certainly others did. However, I did not have a candidate of the Rhinoceros Party running against me. Given the way the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition has been skating around since the election, I think it is safe to say that he learned something from that skate-boarding champion.

Coming back to those who have earnestly espoused free trade, I think of the great American President John Kennedy, who in addressing this Chamber—and I believe the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition may have been here when President Kennedy addressed the Canadian Parliament—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I was here.

Mr. MacKay: President Kennedy had some very interesting things to say, some of which bear repeating.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): He said that good fences make good neighbours. That is what he said.

Mr. MacKay: He also said that we share common values from the past. He spoke of our common defence line for the present and our common aspirations for the future; and then he said—and I am sure the Hon. Leader of the Opposition will remember this: “Geography made us neighbours; history made us friends; economics made us partners; and necessity has made us allies.”

I think those words bear repeating today.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Can you give us your own stuff tonight, Elmer; tell us what you think.

Mr. MacKay: Since the Leader of the Opposition has been good enough to ask, let me respond. I think that the Free Trade Agreement that we have concluded with the U.S. is an excellent one.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. MacKay: I think that it is an agreement that is good for the country. I think it will make Canada a more self-reliant, a more prosperous, a more outward-reaching nation.

If we might make comparisons again—and I apologize for going back into history this evening. However, I

do think that there are lessons to be learned from making comparisons.

Let's look for a moment at Argentina, a country that in many ways resembles Canada. It is a country that, in the 1930s, had about the same GNP as Canada then had. It is a country that, sadly, has been betrayed in many ways by its politicians.

Argentina, like Canada, is a country that does not have access to a large trading bloc. It is a country that has the same kinds of resources that we do: Wheat, oil, cattle. Argentina is a country that is looking for a future. Canada, because of its proximity to Europe, our relationship with the U.S., our history, has far outstripped Argentina. But, we still need access to global markets.

I ask the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): This is your own stuff, Elmer, so I am prepared to listen.

Mr. MacKay: I know that the Hon. Leader of the Opposition does not like to depend upon the “stuff” of other people, but perhaps, in the light of the results of the last election, he should. It may be that had he had more than one issue during the last election campaign, his Party would have won more seats. But then again, perhaps not.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): We didn't do too badly in Nova Scotia.

Mr. MacKay: The people of Nova Scotia are, of course, very tolerant. It is a province that reacts—

An Hon. Member: Slowly.

Mr. MacKay: —that reacts more positively, and perhaps more slowly. Had the polling day been one week later, there may be even more Members sitting on this side of the House.

An Hon. Member: Or a lot more Liberal seats.

An Hon. Member: Don't you bet on it.

Mr. MacKay: The people of Nova Scotia, partly because of economic policies espoused by centralist Governments, have become dependent upon payments of various types, on subsidies, with the result that they were more receptive than they perhaps should have been to some of the allegations that were made during the election campaign.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Generally, that type of allegation is made behind closed doors. But in this last election, some of the candidates actually had the temerity to say to people that if they voted in the Progressive Conservatives, they would lose their pensions; that they would not be able to stay in their nursing homes. All we had was the gloom and doom.

Fortunately, that did not work over-all, and I am sure that the Liberal Party, in the years ahead, will come to regret those intemperate statements, particularly when the manifest falsehoods become apparent. I am sure that those Liberal candidates who were elected by Nova Scotians in this last election will have a rather heavy burden to discharge when the electorate calls them to account for some of the statements made.

It seems to me that the more one looks at the trade deal, the more one realizes that it is an idea whose time has come—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Where did you get that phrase?

Mr. MacKay: I can say that I did not get it from the Leader of the Opposition. It is far too good and too resounding to have as its source the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): It is a real grabber.

Mr. MacKay: The Free Trade Agreement will be in place for many, many years. The question I have for my friends opposite is: Why are you looking at this agreement as though it were some sort of a doomsday arrangement?

The Leader of the Opposition knows very well, as does the Leader of the New Democratic Party, that implementation of the Free Trade Agreement will extend over the next decade. It will be a gradual implementation. And if there is anything that is unsatisfactory about it, assuming it cannot be modified, assuming we are looking at a doomsday scenario in fact, the arrangement can be terminated. The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition knows that—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): “Just another commercial contract.”

Mr. MacKay: Well, the Leader of the Opposition says that it is “just another commercial contract”—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): That is what your Leader said.

Mr. MacKay: It is a sovereign treaty, but treaties can be changed.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Isn't that beautiful.

Mr. MacKay: The Auto Pact has operated to the benefit of Canada, but that notwithstanding, the Liberal Government that implemented the Auto Pact took a lot of abuse from the Opposition, and particularly from the New Democrats—

An Hon. Member: And the Tories.

Mr. MacKay: It was said by the Opposition that the Auto Pact would mean the end of the auto industry in Canada, that part suppliers were going to be ruined. The Government of the Day even set aside support payments.

Those support payments were never needed. The Auto Pact has worked very well. But, as the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition knows, the Auto Pact is not sacrosanct; it can be cancelled—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): And it is not a free trade agreement either.

Mr. MacKay: Well, if it is not a free trade agreement, it is a sectoral agreement—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): You've got it.

Mr. MacKay: —and we all know that sectoral agreements were tried and did not work.

We all know how a former Liberal Minister of Finance, the Hon. Donald Macdonald, feels about free trade. We know how many of the leading lights in the Liberal Party feel about it—and that is the puzzlement.

Laurence Decore, one of the leading Liberals in the West, supports free trade; eight of the ten provincial Premiers support free trade; Senator Van Roggen supports free trade.

The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition does not support it. He feels it is wrong. Perhaps he is right. But I tell you, most Canadians do not think he is right—and this is why I cannot understand why we are here, with Christmas approaching, debating the issue.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Let's not forget that 57 per cent of the Canadian electorate voted against you.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. MacKay: What is this nonsense about a mandate? What is needed for a mandate is 50 per cent plus 1.

Did the former great Liberal Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, have a mandate on that basis for the NEP? Did he have a mandate for the patriation of the Constitution? Of course he didn't. He brought those measures forward and we debated them. But, no one ever claimed that he did not have a mandate.

How many Governments in this century have had 50 per cent plus 1 of the popular vote? Very few. Certainly, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, for all of his legendary political prowess, was never able to put together back to back majority Governments. He never got the votes that the present Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) got, and no one ever suggested that he didn't have a mandate.

To say that we do not have a mandate is ridiculous. I suppose they want a referendum, which is essentially an American device.

Let me say this: I hope that the Canadian people in watching this debate this evening—

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Let him say anything that is original, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MacKay: I only wish that the Canadian people had fuller coverage of this debate. We should ask ourselves why it is that we do not have television coverage of the type we would see when it is a convention or a sporting event that is being covered. The television perspective that goes out over the air waves from this House of Commons is not representative of what goes on here. Probably if it were, if we had reaction shots, if we could pan the House, if we could have split screens, we would see how much real determination there was in the Opposition to oppose this.

• (2250)

This is kicking the entrails around after the event. Both opposition Parties are trying to do now what they failed to do in the election. I hope we will all have a little sanity, go home and get on with the new agenda, in a new year, in a new Parliament. It is only 4,000 more days to the 21st century and it is not going to do us much good to be rehashing the past when there is so much to do in the future.

Mr. George Proud (Hillsborough): Mr. Speaker, first I want to congratulate you on your appointment. I feel you are doing a tremendous job with the discussions I

have heard going on across the floor for the last two weeks.

It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity today to join my colleagues in the first session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament of Canada to participate in this debate on the legislation aimed at implementing the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

I represent the federal constituency of Hillsborough, Prince Edward Island, a constituency steeped in rich Canadian tradition. I decided to re-enter public life because it has always been my desire to serve the community in which I live and work. I want to at this time thank the people of the riding of Hillsborough for electing me and putting their confidence in me.

We, as Canadians, pride ourselves in protecting our sovereignty; our right to choose how we want to live and under whose control, be it political or economical. Prince Edward Islanders generally, and my constituents of Hillsborough specifically, voted overwhelmingly against this trade deal. With over 85 per cent voter turn-out, the Liberal Party swept the four federal seats on Prince Edward Island. This was a resounding "no" to the trade deal.

As a Member of Parliament from Atlantic Canada, I am fully aware of the importance of liberalized trade. The Liberal Party has long supported international trade. This is a reality in Canadian economic life and has been for years. Historically Canadian Governments, including Liberal Governments, have been successful in lowering our tariffs. As a result 80 per cent of our exports to the United States are presently duty free. The remaining 20 per cent of tariffs, under this agreement, are to be phased out over the next 10 years, but to achieve this I believe we have given up too much to our neighbours to the south.

As I travelled throughout the constituency of Hillsborough, I was overwhelmed by the voices of concern; concern about our regional development programs, social programs, fisheries, farming, food processing and energy. These concerns have not changed since the federal election. My constituents still want their concerns heard. That is the mandate I received.

Proof of this is that since the election I have received numerous letters from Canadians across this country who have voiced their objections about the trade agreement. From British Columbia to Newfoundland, the concerns, although sometimes regional in nature, have a national thread. It is important to note that the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Government was only able to attract 43 per cent of the over-all final vote. Of the Territories and the 10 provinces, only Québec with 53 per cent and Alberta with 63 per cent secured a marginal majority of the popular vote. All others were against this trade deal. Atlantic Canada, 57 per cent; Manitoba, British Columbia and Saskatchewan, 58 per cent; and the Territories, 67 per cent.

Although the Government has secured a parliamentary majority, it is clear that Canadians supporting this trade agreement are in the minority. Legally the Government has a right to proceed with this agreement, but those of us elected have the moral right to not ignore constituents who opposed it and elected us on that basis.

Since the election on November 21 we have seen what is potentially the immediate effects of this agreement. Major businesses closing, such as Gillette, Pittsburgh Paint, Northern Telecom and Catelli Spaghetti, could indeed be the beginning of Canada's economic future. What about protection or retraining programs for these hundreds of Canadian employees affected by these plant closures? The Economic Council of Canada's recent research indicates that up to 250,000 jobs could be created in Canada by 1998, but this number represents the over-all net increase of employment opportunities. Even so, approximately 44 per cent of these jobs are earmarked to be in the lower paying service sector field, specifically in the manufacturing sector.

We have been told that the Government will be considering measures to offset the downside of this trade agreement. However, no plans to establish programs or assistance to workers such as the aforementioned are being considered. What about workers in their forties and fifties? Can they be retrained or just given the golden handshake? Or, do we just let these and future unemployed Canadians sign up for existing worker retraining programs and job-creation programs already in existence?

With reference to job-creation programs, it is important to note that funding for the Canadian Jobs Strategy for fiscal year 1988 is \$1.8 million, down from \$2.1 million in 1985. They can even wait for the recommendations of the federal Government's advisory committee on adjustment which are not due until June, 1989. However, this is a hard pill to swallow for people who have given the better part of their working lives to their chosen field.

Social programs are another major concern for Prince Edward Islanders. We have repeatedly been told that

our social programs are not affected by this agreement, yet Canadians are concerned about our safety net. American businessmen will increasingly want to play in the same ball park as Canadians. Bill C-22 is a prime example. To cite a background study commissioned by the Macdonald Commission: "Canadians would be required to make wage and tax rates and welfare policies conform to American practice and to follow all important changes in the United States with virtually identical changes in Canada".

Social programs and tax requirements on Canadian corporate interests could be perceived as an unfair handicap if Americans believe that Canadians are getting the better of the deal. Given that the Government has been less than firmly committed to strengthening our social programs, an example being the deindexing of old age pensions, our social programs could be in jeopardy.

Given that the Government is proposing a continental approach to trade it would be difficult not to do the same in other activities such as social programs. The net result is that Canadian workers' income expectations would have to be substantially lowered to offset the maintenance of our level of social programs. Americans will be demanding that we cut these programs because they will judge them as unfair subsidies, thus giving us an unfair edge in this hypothetical free trade market.

Unemployment insurance benefits have drawn chronic complaints from the Americans. It is important to note that under combined state and federal programs, plus extended and supplemental benefit plans, only 25 per cent of unemployed Americans receive insurance benefits compared to 85 per cent in Canada. There is a strong concern in my province that fishermen's benefits could be considered as an unfair subsidy by our American counterparts and thus subject to a countervail suit.

What assurances do the Prince Edward Island fishermen have that, for example, what happened to the softwood lumber industry in 1986 will not happen to them in the next five to seven years? What will constitute an unfair subsidy? Can the Government assure the House and the Canadian people that unemployment insurance will be exempt under this trade agreement? If so, let us put it in the legislation. Over the next five to seven years Canadians will be entering negotiations on what is an allowable subsidy, yet the Government has not set any guidelines on this very important issue.

With respect to regional economic development programs, what protection do Canadians have if United

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

States industries initiate countervail actions? More than 50 federal and provincial programs presently provide subsidies which under American trade law could be penalized. For Prince Edward Islanders their potatoes, fish, hogs, and manufactured goods are still subject to U.S. trade remedy laws. What assurances do Canadians have that every time federal assistance is allocated to a region the United States will not claim foul under its trade remedy laws?

• (2300)

I have presented the concerns of my constituents, Canadians who take great pride in our Canadian way of life. We are not against freer trade, just this trade agreement. We do not have secure access and our subsidies will be continually harassed by the United States until we have harmonized with the American way of life.

I was elected to represent the concerns of my constituents. I will fight to ensure that their voices are heard. Canadians need responsible representation in Parliament. I pledge to uphold that right.

Prince Edward Islanders know that 43 per cent of the over-all popular vote does not constitute agreeing to this agreement.

Mr. Garth Turner (Halton—Peel): Mr. Speaker, we are sitting here once more long into the night in the name of partisan politics. The debate we are involved in now, one which we have been involved in for some period of time, is really going to contribute nothing to understanding free trade, really knowing what it is or what it will accomplish. The debate has been extremely exhaustive thus far.

The House has talked about it for 15 months. We have been through a seven-week election campaign. Frankly, I think Canadians are more or less fed up with the free trade debate and would like us to move on. The whole point of why we are here and engaging in the partisan politics of the moment is so some opposition Members can get on record. I think it amounts to little more than that.

The Liberals are free traders. The Liberals have always been free traders. They have had a history of trade liberalization with the United States for decades.

The Liberals can take a great deal of the credit for having brought us to the point where 80 per cent of our trade with the Americans is free of tariffs, something for

which the Liberals can be proud. However, it is astonishing to me now that they are going against the record of trade liberalization which they have accomplished in the past. I think that the Liberals should embrace free trade. I think there is no question about it. If they do not embrace free trade, I think that the Liberal Party is being extremely hypocritical.

After all, there are many prominent Liberals who are solidly behind the free trade deal. For example, there is Premier Frank McKenna, Lawrence Decore, and a lot of the business community behind free trade, which is evident in the financial situation of the Liberal Party.

I think all the Opposition Leader does not really like about the Free Trade Agreement is that his name is not on it—and it will not be on it, either. We have the obligation to ask the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) some questions. We have gone through an election campaign in which the Opposition Leader is saying that this was the cause of his life, that he had to crusade for Canada against free trade. In the last Parliament I believe that the Opposition Leader missed two of three votes that were held on free trade. Where was John? Last Saturday at 1 a.m. we sat here in this Chamber after debating a motion on free trade all day. There was a vote. I believe the results were 144 to 36. Where was John?

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member is a new Member. I must advise him that we do not use the first name or the second name of an individual but his title, such as the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Arseneault: Mr. Speaker, I believe we do not comment on the presence or absence of Members in the House.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): That is right.

Mr. Turner (Halton—Peel): There have been accusations with respect to Conservatives ramming through the legislation for free trade now that the election is over and the House has resumed sitting. I feel that there is a strong suspicion of hypocrisy here. We should look back to the Auto Pact to see how the Liberals dealt with the last major free trade initiative which was brought into the House.

It is beneficial to us to remember that in May, 1966 the legislation for the Auto Pact was introduced into the House. There were no public hearings when that legislation was brought into the House by the Liberal Government. Some 15 months after the legislation had

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

been signed was the first time it was brought into Parliament. There were no committees involved in looking at that legislation.

In fact, the legislation was enacted by Order in Council, just to show Hon. Members how arrogant the Party of the day felt about Parliament.

In fact, I would like to read the motion that introduced the Auto Pact legislation. It stated:

That it is expedient that the houses of parliament do approve the agreement concerning automotive products between the government of Canada and the government of the United States of America, signed on January 16th, 1965, and that this house do approve the same.

That was introduced into Parliament in May of 1966, 15 months after the Government had signed the Auto Pact agreement.

We heard a little earlier today the Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray) speaking in impassioned and eloquent terms concerning his opposition to the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Halton—Peel): It would be beneficial to listen to a few of the comments that the same Hon. Member made when the Auto Pact legislation was first brought in, that is, the free trade legislation regarding automotive products. About increased opportunity, the Hon. Member for Windsor West had this to say:

The point I am trying to make, Mr. Speaker, is that rather than lessening the benefits to Canada, the aim of this treaty is to increase benefits through increasing production and employment for Canada.

That is what the Free Trade Agreement seeks to do now. The following is what the Hon. Member had to say concerning gaining access to a larger market: "We should note, too, that one of our most important aims is to give the Canadian automobile industry access to the vast United States market which, because of its larger population, obviously affords much greater opportunity than is available in Canada". That is precisely what the Free Trade Agreement now seeks to do.

This is what the Hon. member for Windsor West had to say concerning the mandate the Government had to introduce such legislation:

I suggest that this order in council was put into effect under powers which had already been given to the executive by parliament when it passed the Customs Act giving the administration power to vary tariffs and schedules without reference to parliament. In other words, the government was using a power which parliament had already given to it to make changes of this type.

This is what the Hon. Member for Windsor West had to say regarding closure:

At this time I believe we have had reasonable opportunity for discussion. Certainly so far as I am concerned the industry, either from the point of view of individual firms or trade organizations, has had full access to the minister and individual members to put forward their positions. As far as I am aware they will continue to do so, and I am certainly willing to assist them in this regard insofar as I am able to as a private member.

Finally, the Trade Minister of the day had this to say about not seeing the importance of bringing the Auto Pact legislation to a committee of Parliament: "If a parliamentary committee is going to endeavour to ascertain from the manufacturers whether they endorse the agreement which they have already done in the form of letters tabled in the House, I do not believe that anything will be gained to be quite frank".

That is the legacy of the Liberal Government when it introduced a major trade initiative. It is a pale shadow of what this Government has done in order to engender public debate.

• (2310)

There is no evidence in the history of a free trade document being brought into this House that the Government has in any way, shape or form tried to ramrod the legislation through. That is just not the case.

The critics of free trade are afraid of change. Ironically, it is the only inevitable thing that will happen to this country. If we do not have free trade, what will we do to cope with the changes that will occur?

There has been a real lack of specific information in the debate so far about what the critics would do. How will they deal with the future? What will they do when the world forms coalesces in trading blocs? What will they do in the world without a Free Trade Agreement to protect us against American protectionism? What will they do about dwindling markets for Canadian products? What will they do about the inevitability of a recession if we do not have the stimulus of increased trade? What will they do to fund our social programs in the future?

What new impetus can Canada get? What new source of cash flow can we get into this country if we do not trade more with our largest trading partner? Are our social programs not inherently threatened by a willingness to stick our heads in the sands of the *status quo* as our critics would have us do? I believe that is the greatest threat we face.

If we do not do more business with our greatest and, more important, most loyal trading partner, we run the distinct risk of increasing our national deficit even more. That is a mortgage on our future that all of us on all sides of the House have a real stake in bringing under control.

If free trade did nothing else but give us a dispute settlement mechanism, it would be worth it. It would be worth it for Canada to embrace free trade simply to get the creation of a Canada—U.S. Trade Commission. It is a very important step in our relationship with the Americans. It is tremendously important for us to have a mechanism in place so that when a trade dispute erupts we can strike a panel of five members, Canadians and Americans, under a mechanism that has distinct, separate, and spelled out time limits and that within eight and a half months of any dispute coming to light there will be a settlement. That is very important.

I do not believe that Canadians put any credence in the free trade critics or their arguments. We can see that all around us. We can see it in the results of the November 21 election and the fact that we have a clear mandate. We can see it in the public gallery. There are four people up there tonight for the historic debate. While I cannot see the Press Gallery from here, I doubt if there is a person up there. Canadians are tired of the free trade debate. They want to move on.

We must ask whether we will be any wiser after this week is over and after we have sat here until one o'clock Saturday morning, until the inevitability of the free trade legislation being passed. Members on both sides of the House agree that it is inevitable that the Bill will be passed. I do not think we will be any more illuminated on what is in the trade deal. We will still have the same arguments we made during the campaign.

I believe Canadians are sick of this so-called historic debate. I think we are doing it for ourselves and it is probably time to stop.

As was stated on Friday, it is costing \$1 million a day to keep this Chamber open. I do not believe any Member should feel good about \$1 million a day of our constituents' money being used this way.

A Canadian author, Bruce Hutchinson, said: "For we are young, my brothers, and full of doubt, and we have listened for too long to timid men". I believe there are a lot of timid men and timid women in this Chamber. It is time to stop being timid and afraid of the future. It is time to rise to the challenges of a changing world. We must realize that we are involved in a situation in which

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

we must have evolution. Evolution means changing or perishing in a changing economic world.

The *status quo* is not an option. The past is not an option. Building walls is not an option. Free trade is the only option and the sooner we get on with it, the better.

Mr. David D. Stupich (Nanaimo—Cowichan): Mr. Speaker, when I spoke in this Chamber last Friday, about an hour earlier than now, I did not take advantage of the opportunity to congratulate Mr. Speaker on his re-election to that position. Although we did not hear the result of the vote, I suspect he had a majority that we would all envy. It is a reflection of the feeling of Members, including new Members, of the record of the Speaker in that office. I congratulate those who are working with him as well.

While I spoke a bit about the voters in my riding, I did not express my appreciation to them for putting their trust and confidence in me. They sent me here to talk about one issue more than anything else, the free trade issue. After approximately a week of procedural motions and debate we are finally getting into the meat of the issue. The concern felt by the voters in my riding, and I suspect many others, was over the scarcity of solid information about the free trade deal. There was much talk about the deal by both those supporting and opposing it. However, the supporters of free trade did not have much information to offer, other than to say that it was a deal that would be great for Canada once put into effect. However, there were no definitive arguments in favour of the deal itself.

When the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) opened the debate at second reading, I thought we would discover what is good about the deal and what is good for Canadians. The Minister spoke for some 45 minutes, and whatever he said about the trade deal itself could have been said in about two minutes. The remainder of his speech was political rhetoric, having very little to do with the substance of the free trade deal.

The Minister made a few comments which did not give me the reassurance I was seeking and hoping to take back to my constituents. My constituents, even those strictly opposed to the deal, wanted some reassurance about what would happen. They asked what could be done in view of the fact they believed a majority Government would be returned to office. It was my opinion that similar arguments were being raised by people throughout the country, whether they were going to vote NDP, Liberal or Conservative and were sufficient to warn the Government that there was real

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

concern among Canadians. I fully expected the Government to react by making some changes to the legislation to show that it recognized people had concerns about it. I believed that it would try to convince them that the Government was looking after their interests. That did not happen.

In the previous Parliament an amendment to the Bill covered water export. We know that unless that is included in the agreement signed between the two nations it does not mean anything. At least it attempted to show that the agreement recognized the concerns some had about the export of water in a tangible way by putting it in the legislation. I expected, hoped, and told my constituents that I thought the legislation that would come before us when we met would also reflect the concerns of people all over the country. We know it does not. There is nothing in it to reflect those concerns at all.

● (2320)

During the speech of the Minister for International Trade I made notes. I do not have *Hansard* with me, but I made notes of his speech. Near the beginning of it he said that the U.S. had not asked for social programs to be on the bargaining table. That makes me worry more than ever about social programs. The Americans have not asked for social programs to be on the bargaining table yet. The Minister did not say "yet", but that does not change the meaning. He then went on to say, "if they do", so he is leaving the door open for the Americans to ask for social programs to be on the bargaining table. It is wide open. They can be put on the bargaining table any time the Americans want, but the Minister then said: "We will say no".

I would remind you, Mr. Speaker, of one of Tommy Douglas' stories about the elephant dancing with the fleas and saying: "Every man for himself". When it comes to saying no at the bargaining table, is it the elephant or the flea that will carry the weight? Which one will win the day?

By saying that the Americans have not asked for social programs to be on the bargaining table and then going on to say that if they do, the Minister for International Trade means when they do. He anticipates that they will, and he will argue it at the time. By that time he hopes that people will have forgotten that he promised to say no.

The Minister said that health care was not at issue and that we would be able to do whatever federal or provincial governments wanted to do. There has already been talk indicating that parts of our health services

may well be privatized. When the Minister says that it will be up to federal and provincial Governments, it does not reassure anyone from British Columbia, and I am not sure about those from other provinces.

An Hon. Member: Saskatchewan.

Mr. Stupich: Saskatchewan has been mentioned and that is one that I had in mind as well. I know that in the Province of British Columbia, the Premier suggested that one way of getting rid of line-ups in hospitals was to set up a separate hospital system so that those who could afford to pay for it themselves would not have to stand in line. That would be a great system. Are we content to leave our health services to Premiers like that? Now we have the protection of the federal Government. I do not know what the Minister for International Trade had in mind when he said we would be able to do whatever federal and provincial Governments wanted to do. Did he mean the Governments separately or together? I do not know the answer to that, but I hope he will answer it.

I do not know if things work the same way here as they do in the British Columbia Legislature. During second reading, the Minister is either present or has notes taken so that he can deal with questions when he winds up the debate. That may or may not be the case here. If it is not, I am sure that there will be other opportunities to ask questions, but those are two questions I would like to ask.

The Minister then went on to say that Article 1201 of the agreement specifically exempted measures necessary to protect the environment. That is good news. We are increasingly concerned about what is happening to our environment. There can be no doubt about that. However, I wanted to read the article just to see how good it was and how strong I felt it would be in the way of protection.

You may have had the experience that I had as a youngster, Mr. Speaker, when I was attending school. At times, I tried to find definitions of words. I looked up a word and then saw words used to explain that word, then I looked those words up in the dictionary, and I kept going around like a ring in a rosy until I was back where I started and still did not know what the word meant.

Let us see what Article 1201 means. The Minister for International Trade was talking about the environment when he mentioned that article. The chapter is headed "Exceptions for Trade in Goods", and Article 1201 is

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

headed "GATT Exceptions". I do not know what that has to do with the environment, so I kept looking. It says that subject to the provisions of Articles 409 and 904, provisions of Article 20 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or GATT are incorporated into and made a part of this part of the agreement.

As one who is worried about the environment, I was not yet reassured, so I continued my search. Article 1201 refers to Article 409, so I looked up Article 409. The Chapter is headed "Border Measures". Again, I do not know what that has to do with the environment, but I looked at it in any event. I will not read Article 409 because it goes on for a whole page, but it is headed "Other Export Measures". It says that either party may refer to GATT if there are any questions, and the second paragraph says that with respect to the implementation of provisions of this article the parties shall co-operate in the maintenance and the development of effective controls on the export of each other's good to third countries. We have had some pretty bad examples of exports to third countries when it comes to the environment. That in itself is not reassuring.

There was one more place to look. I was also referred to Article 904, so I looked at Article 904 which is headed "Other Support Measures". What that has to do with the environment, I do not know, but I read it thoroughly and I saw no reference to the environment.

If everything the Minister tells us about the Free Trade Agreement is as reliable as his statement that Article 1201 specifically exempts measures necessary to protect the environment, I do not take much reassurance from anything the Minister says.

Some Hon. Members: He hasn't even read it.

Mr. Stupich: He admitted that at one point, yes. Whether that has changed since, I do not know.

Trade distorting subsidies are not defined, but then the Minister reassures us by saying they will be defined over the next five to seven years. The flea will be bargaining with the elephant. That is not reassuring to me.

We now have a binding dispute settlement mechanism. It would be great if that were so, and if I could be reassured that it were so, then I would feel a little more at ease about what is going on. However, the Minister did not give us any references to prove that in any way.

I know the machinery involved in binding disputes settlement mechanisms. How can either country impose a binding settlement on the other? How can any committee do this? What force or power will it have? What will the penalties be if the parties do not react properly? In the case of Canada, the penalty could be that we would give the United States six months notice that we were getting out of the deal. Right now, 75 per cent of our exports go to the United States. If the free trade deal improves that, the figure might rise to 85 per cent. We could say to them that the only real market we have in the world will be cut off voluntarily because we do not like what they have done to us. That is not realistic. We could never enforce a decision of the binding dispute settlement mechanism committee in any way at all.

On the other hand, the Americans could say that they would not import any single good that we want to export to them, and we would be on our knees begging them to import our goods. The binding dispute settlement mechanism works very well one way. It works well for the Americans but it does not work at all for Canadians. It is a one-sided agreement. The Minister said that it was not a one-sided agreement but he should have left out the word "not".

Today, in answer to a question I believe the Minister said that there would have been no countervail if the free trade Bill had been in effect. He is a bit of a humourist. He likes to make jokes. I looked around to see if there were people laughing when he said that. I thought it was one of his jokes.

The countervail was imposed on British Columbia because the Americans said we were giving unfair subsidies to the logging industry. They made that decision. They said that it would be fair and proper that there should be a 15 per cent duty on the import of Canadian lumber to the United States, and particularly on lumber from British Columbia. They made that decision and told us that is what it was going to be. The forestry industry was not prepared to accept that. While not admitting the possibility of a subsidy, they suggested, just in case there might be a subsidy in some way, sometime, that perhaps 3 per cent or 4 per cent might be more appropriate. That was the figure they wanted to fight for. But the politicians, federally and provincially, took it out of their hands and said: "We agree to 15 per cent". The industry was shaken by this, but it had little option when governments made the decision for it.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

● (2330)

For the Minister to say that with the Free Trade Agreement in effect the Americans or the Canadians, depending on which way it was going, would not have the right to examine subsidies and to reach a decision that a subsidy was being given to something being exported and imported, depending on which side of the game you are, is total rubbish. Everyone here knows better than that. They know that is what the whole agreement is for. It depends so much on the subsidies that are yet to be defined over five to seven years. The Minister was not giving us any solid information about the free trade Bill when he talked about the safety that would be given to our exports of lumber in the Province of British Columbia.

The Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski) spoke; here I was looking for something better. I was reasonably sure I would get it, but there was no information, no assurances. He did not even come as close as the Minister of Trade. He did not try. During the campaign my constituents were desperate to get through to the Tory Government so I tried to reassure them. The Tories reacted positively, as I said before, in response to the concern about the export of water but they have not acted positively with respect to any of the other concerns.

We wanted a free trade deal. The Americans needed it. Currently we are running a surplus in our trade with the Americans at some \$17 million a year. The Americans are running a trade deficit of almost 10 times that amount world-wide. They have to change that. Ten years ago the U.S.A. was the world's greatest creditor nation. Today, the U.S.A. is the greatest debtor nation. The Americans had to change that and the easy mark, they thought, was Canada. They wanted this deal to reduce the trade deficit with Canada.

Article 2002 comes as close as anything in the agreement to explaining to my mind. For those who do not happen to have a copy of this agreement with them, I will read part of Article 2002. In effect, the two Governments agree that should either find it necessary to apply exchange controls or take trade actions such as a surcharge or quota to counteract a serious deterioration in its balance of payments position, it will do so. What is serious? That is up to the nation that is experiencing the situation to determine, I suppose. There is no definition. It will do so in a manner consistent with these multinational agreements. These multilateral agreements refer to the obligations under

GATT, the International Monetary Fund, and the OECD Code of Liberalization of Capital Movements.

In other words, international capital will make the decision. If they want to impose quotas, surcharges, anything at all to stop imports from Canada, the international bankers will make the decisions, the very people who expect benefits from the free trade deal. The big companies will benefit. They have no loyalty to any country anywhere. They will shut down plants in Canada, Mexico, the Philippines, or anywhere else. They will do anything in the interests of accumulating capital internationally. There is no loyalty to any country and the people who are getting such fancy salaries out of them no doubt will pay taxes in Bermuda or somewhere like that, where there are no income taxes.

We have placed ourselves almost totally in the hands of such people by going ahead with this agreement. We have given control of our country in almost every aspect over the long run to people who have no loyalty to Canada and, frankly, not even any loyalty to the Americans. No loyalty to anyone save for themselves. I do not fault them.

After all, we are handing Canada to them, saying: "Here, help yourselves". Of all the things that I have seen there is one cartoon that I thought carried the message best. It depicted a little beaver walking with Uncle Sam, saying: "We will give you everything you want, Uncle Sam, but that is our final offer". We gave them everything, but we are going a little further and saying that if there is anything at all that you can think of in the future, you can have that too; our country is yours to control, as you will, for your benefit. If we get something out of it, that is fine, but it is for their benefit and for the benefit of the international corporations.

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, let me first congratulate you on your re-election. This trade agreement became a dominant force in the past election. It was the object of discussions, of course. A vote has been taken. We know the result. On this side of the House we are glad to report to you that the people who elected us did not have confidence in the substance nor in the process by which this agreement was reached. I will try, in the limited time available, to explain why this conclusion was arrived at by Canadians who voted for the Liberal Party.

First, Canadians saw in free trade a misnomer. It did not take them very long in the campaign to arrive at that conclusion. We had the debate in which the Leader of the Liberal Party did so well. As a result of public

meetings and hearings in the ridings, and as a result of the input provided by a number of experts in the field, people realized that this was actually an economic union that the Government of Canada was proposing.

It was more than just a question of trade because what was being proposed and what the Bill before us contains is a measure that deals not only with tariffs and therefore not only with commerce and goods on which a tariff is subjected or not to a certain tax. It also deals with energy, with the environment, with investments, even with equivalency of standards, and with a number of ramifications from those measures.

In the end Canadians concluded that what was being proposed was a measure that dealt with economic union between the economies of the two countries. It therefore dealt with the question of Canadian identity, with political and economic independence. Those who expressed a vote in the negative with respect to this measure felt that we should not go down that road.

The debate this week is a legitimate one and is one that is perfectly understandable if one looks at the percentage of the vote cast for the two parties in the Opposition.

From the examination of the events over the past two years it becomes clear that this Government did not understand the impact of trade on the environment. As a result it failed to do its homework in advance of the negotiations. I will explain, Mr. Speaker.

● (2340)

The Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, which reports to the Minister of the Environment of the day, raised a number of concerns in January, 1986. It stated to the Government that what was needed in anticipation of the negotiations was a series of public consultations whereby we could receive public input on the environmental implications of trade. Unfortunately, this proposal went by unnoticed.

In January, 1986, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council proposed to the then Minister of the Environment that in Canada we needed comparative data that would compare environmental programs being carried out in Canada and in the United States, for reasons that would become clearer as time went by because we would know how to compare programs in the two countries. Unfortunately, that suggestion went by unheeded.

The Canadian Environmental Advisory Council also stated that we should study the experience of other

nations on trade arrangements and environmental protection. Evidently, it was referring to the experience in the European Common Market. It was, perhaps, one of the most sound recommendations that was ever made in relation to the impact on the environment by trade. Unfortunately, once again that recommendation was received with silence.

The Canadian Environmental Advisory Council also proposed a measure that would give the negotiating team for Canada some environmental principles that would serve as a guide during the course of the negotiations. That recommendation went by unheeded.

Finally, the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council proposed that the negotiating team for Canada be given a list of non-negotiable items where the environment was concerned. Unfortunately, again that proposal was disregarded.

Those are the reasons why, on this side of the House, we have to say that the Government of Canada did not do its work, although it was advised to do so by the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council in January, 1986. It failed to do its homework, and it ignored sound advice from people who had been appointed to give the Government advice. So much for listening to an advisory body on the environment. So much for the claims on the part of the Government that it believes in the principles of the environment and that it practises what it preaches.

During the negotiations it was interesting to note that the Canadian negotiating team did not have one environmental expert. It had experts from any discipline one could think of, however not one person on that team who could advise it on environmental matters, and on matters that would relate the matter of trade as it impacts on the environment.

At the same time, in April, 1987, the Government found it possible to endorse the Brundtland Commission report which clearly established the link between trade and the environment. That report called for energy efficiency. It even went so far as recommending a reduction of 40 per cent of North America's energy consumption by the year 2000. While it was negotiating the Government applauded the outcome, the report of the Task Force on the Environment and the Economy. Yet, having done so, it failed and continues to fail to recognize the link between trade and the environment. We had to conclude, and we still do, that one hand of the Government did not know what the other was doing. It did not make sense to see the Government embrace the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Brundtland Commission report, make high-sounding declarations on the content of the Task Force on the Environment and the Economy, and at the same time proceed in these negotiations on trade with the United States without any experts on the environment, and without taking into account the content of the Brundtland report.

After the negotiations the Department of the Environment continued to remain silent. Almost every major Department of the federal Government produced a study and made public its findings in glowing terms proclaiming the advantages of the trade deal. That was done in cultural terms, in commodity terms, you name it, Mr. Speaker. Almost every Department that had anything to say did so, and did so by way of a massive public relations effort. However, one Department remained silent, and that was Environment Canada. Although it is a well-known fact in that Department that there is a link between the environment and trade, as established in the Brundtland report which was embraced and continues to be supported by the Government, they were treated as separate entities: the environment over here, and trade over there, as if one would not have an impact on the other.

Therefore, for the reasons that I have given you, Mr. Speaker, Canadians are entitled to conclude that the Government has avoided recognizing, and deliberately so, the relationship between trade and the environment. At the same time during the election we had the scurrilous picture of the Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) making a ringing declaration on the commitment of the Government to the cause of the environment. That we did hear. When one looks behind the facade, the performance and the actions of the Government did not support its claims.

The Government practises environmental exploitation. It relies on market forces. It relies on deregulation, and on mining our resources such as forest, fisheries, and top soil. It concludes signing an agreement which exempts beer instead of water from the trade deal. It found it politically possible to identify a commodity, beer, to be exempt. However, it did not find the courage, the foresight, or the sensitivity to value something about which Canadians felt so deeply, that of identifying water as a commodity and as a resource that should be exempted from this trade deal, if perhaps not for this generation, for generations to come. Why not, Mr. Speaker, I ask you?

• (2350)

This Government found it possible to sign an agreement which accepts equivalency in pesticides—and that, on first blush, seems a very innocent, matter of fact commercial undertaking. Why not accept equivalency for pesticides? We know what they are, and “equivalency” strikes one as a harmless enough word. But then one discovers that accepting equivalency in pesticides means that more chemicals will eventually enter the Canadian environment, given that there are seven times more such products in use in the U.S. when compared to Canada. As a consequence, Schedule 7 of the agreement, dealing with pesticides, constitutes a very important measure and one with long-term implications.

And what does this Government agree to in respect of the energy sector—and this despite the protestations of Ministers of the Crown in previous debates. It signs an agreement pursuant to which the National Energy Board is no longer free to deny an export licence. And I challenge any Member opposite to refute that fact. And if that were not enough, the National Energy Board can no longer apply a surplus test, as has been its practice.

Anyone knowledgeable in environmental matters knows only too well the impact the various types of energy can have on the environment. The energy section of the Free Trade Agreement is, therefore, of utmost importance, and the reduced role of the National Energy Board should be of extreme concern to all of us.

During the course of the negotiations on the Free Trade Agreement, this Government agreed to the inclusion of a clause exempting and subsidies incentives in respect of oil and gas exploration. Those incentives go untouched by the Free Trade Agreement, and that means that our dependence on fossil fuels will become greater in the decades to come.

Such increased dependence on fossil fuels makes no sense at all. Last June, as Hon. Members will recall, an international conference on the changing atmosphere was held in Toronto. The conclusion of that conference, a conference attended by scientists from all over the world, was to recommend that, by the year 2005, there be a reduction of 20 per cent of CO₂ emissions, carbon dioxide emissions, which are produced when fossil fuels are burned.

If we want to reduce the warming climate trend globally, we have to burn less oil, burn less gas, burn less coal. In other words, we have to decrease our dependence on fossil fuels.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

What credibility can this Government have in the international community when, on the one hand, the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Environment endorse the findings and conclusions of the conference of which I have spoken, including the recommendation that carbon dioxide emissions be reduced by 20 per cent by 2005, and at the same time an agreement is signed with the United States pursuant to which incentives for oil and gas exploration are exempted. Where is the consistency in those two policy statements? They are in conflict, one with the other. It simply makes no sense. They run counter to each other.

The consequences of the Free Trade Agreement in relation to the environment, and particularly the clause that exempts the incentives in respect of oil and gas exploration, is that Canada will become an even greater part of the problem instead of becoming a part of the solution.

We know that trading patterns do have environmental impacts. There is no doubt about that. It is difficult to accept the fact that this Government ignores that basic fundamental point.

At this stage the least that the Government of Canada can do would be to establish the resource capital that we have on this side of the border, identify the environmental pollutants that exist in our system, and provide the data whereby, 10 years from now, we will be able to determine whether the situation has improved or deteriorated, or remained static; in other words, whether our resource capital has diminished or has increased.

Many of us fear that with the Free Trade Agreement and our consequent heavy reliance on the export of natural resources, Canada will use its natural resource capital, rather than exporting the interest from that capital—and this at the expense of the long term and, therefore, at the expense of future generations.

We do not wish to wait until the Government of Canada invokes the six-month clause as a result of its concluding that the Free Trade Agreement is no good from the point of view of our environment and from the point of view of its effect on our natural resource capital. Rather, we would prefer to see Canada move in a manner which would protect the environment, not just by uncorroborated words but by concrete policies and definite programs.

What we are debating at this time is not just a trade deal, and it is not just a free trade deal—we all know that nothing is free. In this particular instance, we are not debating trade, but our national independence and

sovereignty; we are debating how we want our environment to be, an environment that we wish to protect for future generations of Canadians. Bearing in mind those goals, we feel that this Government is failing Canadians badly.

Mr. John A. MacDougall (Timiskaming): Mr. Speaker, I am indeed honoured to be participating in this most important debate. I am pleased, once again, bearing in mind the best interests of northern Ontario, to participate in the passage of the free trade legislation.

Having participated in this same debate in the Thirty-third Parliament, having been a member of the legislative committee which heard witnesses on the predecessor legislation throughout the summer months, and having campaigned in favour of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, I am happy to be a part of this process, a process which will lead to the Free Trade Agreement going into force and effect on January 1, 1989.

● (2400)

I must say that although I am pleased to be able to take part in this debate tonight, we should not again be debating the principles of the Free Trade Agreement, particularly in this week before Christmas. We have already done it a number of times. Yet here we are in the House again tonight rehashing what we have said before.

We in this House discussed and debated a free trade agreement after the 1982 Senate report. We did the same after the 1985 Macdonald Royal Commission report and during the two-year negotiating period. Of course, we spent days debating the principles of Bill C-130 in the last Parliament. This House has debated the principles of this agreement for 64 days in total, or over 300 hours. The legislative committee sat for 16 days or nearly 100 hours, last summer, hearing witnesses and conducting clause by clause study. Debate over Bill C-130 dominated the last Parliament. That does not even take into account the time spent on this idea outside the House in the campaign.

I would like to get away from the subject of Bill C-130 for a few minutes. If I am not mistaken, and perhaps my colleagues will back me up on this, last year, whether it was May, June, July or August, we heard one little signal. That signal was: Let the people decide. Liberals were wearing big buttons which said: Let the people decide. An election was called in October and the people decided in November.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I know a lot has been said about free trade in the seven weeks of that election. I would ask my colleagues if there was anything in the agreement about blood. Does it say anywhere in this agreement that Canadians are going to lose their blood under free trade?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. McDermid: It drew a little Liberal blood.

Mr. MacDougall: You are right about that, but nowhere in this agreement is there anything that says we are going to lose our blood. Guess what, though? Get ready now. The first debate I had with my Liberal opponent, we were all lined up together and he got up and said: "Oh, oh, we have problems here". This was to a bunch of high school students. We were talking about the future of Canada to the young people who are going to build that Canada in the future. He said if we go through with free trade we will not be able to have blood in Canada. I said to myself: "I did not read that". Well, we let that go because we figured it was early in the campaign and he will have time to read the agreement.

Second debate. We are going right along and the first thing you know my Liberal opponent gets up and says—

Mr. McDermid: What are we going to lose this time?

Mr. MacDougall: You will not believe this one. I did not.

Some Hon. Members: We will believe it.

Mr. MacDougall: He said to the audience that if the Free Trade Agreement goes through we are going to have more murderers here in Canada than they have in Detroit. Was that in the agreement? I do not think so. Yet that was the Liberal version of the Free Trade Agreement. That is two debates down.

Mr. Belsher: Tell us about the third one.

Mr. MacDougall: Now we are going to talk about water. I turned to this individual who wanted to take my job away and said: "Show me where in this agreement we sold our water. Let me know where our water is gone". He could not show me. Do you know why? Because water is protected. Yet do you know what he wanted to do in our fifth debate? All of a sudden he said: "I am willing to sell water to the United States". That is what he said. I never said that. This Government never said that. Yet he was prepared to sell water to the U.S.

Strike three, but we were not finished. We had a few more debates. Then we get into agriculture. It went on for three hours. We brought our book in, we sat there and listened. The first thing you know, all our marketing boards are finished. There will never be another marketing board in Canada. That is what he said. Was there anything in here about that? No.

Then supply management was going. I looked in the book again and, no, I am sorry, supply management is covered. Then he said dairy products were going out the window, but we protected dairy products. What can you say? Strike four, but it continued along that line.

I am pleased to see that the Liberals are listening to me. I know if they had the opportunity they would want to be over on this side, but unfortunately they cannot be.

We finished all those debates, but do you know what part of this election hurt me more than anything else? If I ever thought the day would come that I would have to win an election by terrorizing senior citizens, let me tell you that is the day I would not run. Unfortunately, that was the mood and that was the way some candidates tried to defeat sitting Members of the Conservative Government. It is unfortunate, it was uncalled for, and it should not have happened but it did. It is a shame to think that would happen.

So much for the Liberal candidate. I would like to say a few words about what I think is very important. I reviewed the number of days and hours we discussed this issue. We have had a lot of arguments about it, time and time again, whether it was in the campaign, immediately previous to the campaign, or in the last two years. We won the election. Yes. We have been through the debates. We were able to show Canadians that this Government listened to Canadians.

• (0010)

There is no doubt that future Canadians will be looking back on November 21 as the day the electorate once again supported a PC Government with a clear vision for the future of our great country. I believe November 21 will be viewed as a milestone in our country's history. We were not dealing with an election to pick a government Party for the next four years. What we were dealing with was an election for the future of this country to give Canadians a chance. Canadians had a vision. They chose a Party that had a vision for the future of this country.

Last summer, as the legislative committee on the Free Trade Agreement was winding up I had a chance to jot

down some of my thoughts, my own personal reflections on what the free trade deal in which we were dealing with our neighbors meant to me. I sensed that the Free Trade Agreement was taking a bold step which was taking our nation into the 21st century. Most important, we were taking this step as a mature country confident of ourselves and with our sights on a stronger, more prosperous country for the future.

The benefits of freer trade will make Canada stronger. We can be more Canadian, more independent and more sovereign. The more our nation produces, the more we earn. The more we earn the more we can afford for Canadian arts and culture, education and research, social and medical services, programs to resolve our regional economic disparities. All Canadians will benefit from a freer trade agreement because Canada will be made stronger through this agreement.

I would like to say something about the opponents of this deal who spent a great deal of time over the last six months running around the country presenting their senseless arguments and saying that the Government had sold the country to the Americans. As a word of caution I say to you, Mr. Speaker, because you have made your statements loudly and often, that it does not make them any more valid going around in the manner they did.

Senator George Van Roggen, Emmett Hall, the Canadian Federation of Labour, and Mr. Hamel from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce have all told you, Sir, that these statements and arguments against this Free Trade Agreement are pure falsehoods. These statements we have heard against the deal are nothing more than the Opposition's idea of political power play, to blur out the facts and confuse the public.

One such falsehood that presented itself during this last election, one that everyone in northern Ontario is concerned about, is the effect that this agreement will have on regional development policies in northern Ontario. The Opposition stated that our regional development programs, like Community Futures and FEDNOR, have been destroyed or disbanded. This is pure nonsense.

Let me present the facts. The Free Trade Agreement will not affect government subsidies to business or regional development programs. Canada's right to provide assistance for job creation and economic expansion in less developed regions of the country remains unaffected. Articles 8 and 11 of the Subsidies

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Code of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade read:

Subsidies are used by governments to promote important objectives of social and economic policy . . . among such objectives are the elimination of industrial, economic and social disadvantages of specific regions.

Those who have been saying that regional economic expansion or development are not there are wrong. As we all know, the Free Trade Agreement was negotiated under the terms of the GATT. It incorporates certain provisions of the GATT, and includes the GATT subsidies code. This means that Governments in Canada continue to provide for economic growth and development. What was discussed in terms of regional development during the free trade negotiations was a refinement of these existing rules under GATT. There is a clear agreement that assistance can be provided for regional development, as long as it does not distort the trade agreement.

The fact is that federal and state Governments of the United States make liberal use of regional economic development programs. Canada's Government can continue to do so as well. Government agencies such as the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Western Diversification Office and FEDNOR in northern Ontario will continue to be free to offer creative economic development and industrial assistance packages.

They will be able to pin-point areas in which Canadians have the competitive edge, and assist in developing export markets. This spells good news for the growth of regions, our region in northern Ontario—goods news for northern Ontario.

Since 1935 Canada has pursued a course of eliminating tariffs between our two countries. This current agreement deals effectively with the remaining 20 per cent of the trade that still suffers from these trade barriers. Although this agreement may not be perfect, it is a step in the right direction for it provides Canadians the opportunity to build on, extend and improve in our trade with our largest trading partner.

As someone who comes from northern Ontario, I see this agreement as a good one. In our region where more than seven out of ten jobs depend directly on trade, the Free Trade Agreement secures access to our largest and wealthiest market. More important, it ensures our region's future growth and stability. No longer will we have to transport raw resources from our area. We will now be able to process right here in northern Ontario and not worry about the tariffs and the trading barriers which have for so long limited our growth.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We will be able to diversify, build up our secondary industry and make our region's economy stronger and more stable. The Free Trade Agreement is a good agreement for northern Ontario. As I pointed out, it is a good agreement for stability and continued development in northern Ontario.

As a Canadian I see this agreement as a good one. For a country which has three-quarters of its exports going south, this agreement has taken steps to deal with the threats of American protectionism. We have sought and got better and more secure access to the United States. No longer will we have the threat of protectionist trade measures hanging over our heads. The door to the American market will never again be shut to us.

This Free Trade Agreement offers our nation a more secure relationship with our neighbors. We can plan into the future, strengthening and diversifying our economy, and in turn strengthening and securing our social programs and the very fabric of our country.

Mr. Speaker, may I finish my remarks by saying that from Sir John A. Macdonald's determination of stretching our horizons west by rail, to John George Diefenbaker's Roads to Resources policy to develop the northern regions of our land, the Progressive Conservative Party and the Progressive Conservative Government has always presented the people of Canada with a vision of the future of our country. It has always been a Party to build upon the strengths of our land and our people. I am very proud to be part of the Progressive Conservative Government which later this week will once again provide a better, stronger country for all Canadians, one that can grow and prosper for centuries to come.

Mr. David Walker (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to enter this debate following another person from northern Ontario. I grew up there. I was trying to recall where he must have grown up as compared to where I grew up.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Under a rock.

Mr. Walker: The problem is there are no rocks any more.

● (0020)

If there is one part of the country whose politicians should be opposing the free trade deal, it is in northern Ontario where one multinational company after another has ravaged the area. That is where acid rain began. There is no protection left at all for northern Ontario.

Yet that Member stands up to talk about it. Shame on him. The best thing he can do is put it in his householder so his constituents can read it. There will be no need for an election next time because you are history.

The Tories have been talking about majorities during this debate. Let us talk about majorities in Winnipeg. When we talk about a majority in Winnipeg, we are talking about Liberals. To use Tory logic, I am now speaking for Winnipeg and I want to explain why people from Winnipeg are opposed to free trade. They oppose it because it is destroying the economy of the city.

During the entire campaign the *Winnipeg Free Press* stated that concern about free trade was only negative thinking. One business leader after another encouraged support for free trade because it would be great for Winnipeg. The headline in the *Free Press* this weekend stated: "No New Jobs in Winnipeg for 1989". Once you remove all the rhetoric from the campaign you are left with nothing for the workers in Winnipeg, no new funds or investment.

The Opposition also likes to talk about how we are negative thinkers. Where is their game plan for the future of Winnipeg? They do not have one.

Winnipeg built its reputation throughout the world as a world trader. Whether one talks about grain, the garment industry or finance, Winnipeg is a fantastic city of traders. The Government is saying we do not need the protection of the Wheat Board and is removing it. They are telling us not to worry about jobs in the garment manufacturing industry. Who is going to speak for those 7,000 workers? Those are real jobs. It is not a question of negative thinking. It is a question of people's lives that are at stake. Someone has to stand up and try to protect them.

We have been told that we are going back to the principles of the debate which have already been settled. During the campaign the Conservatives kept saying they would protect workers. Where is that protection? If there has been one thing totally fraudulent on that side of the House it is the protection of workers.

While the Conservatives keep asking Canadians to trust them, they take 32 per cent of the funding for job creation in Winnipeg. There has been no money in the city.

We are told to stop going over old debates, but that is what we must do to protect workers. While we may ask

for committees to investigate, we are told that committees are not necessary. We have to watch those Conservatives in the next four years because they are derelict in their duty.

The people of Manitoba spoke against free trade because they have worked for generations to build a city of world renown. They have worked closely with the federal Government on one program after another. In the last four years the chair was kicked from underneath them and the people are very sensitive that the Government is not paying attention.

Liberals were elected in the city because they have shown themselves to have a plan of action to protect workers and to further the interests of the city. The reason why Tories cannot get elected in the city is that they have nothing to say about our future. They keep making vague promises which have no meaning in people's lives.

An Hon. Member: Jobs, jobs, jobs.

An Hon. Member: When, when, when?

Mr. Walker: Just like in 1984, we are still waiting for one job in the City of Winnipeg that can be attributed to one act by the federal Government. When we see it we will applaud it.

The Free Trade Agreement has failed to convince anyone in Winnipeg that there will be any benefits for our city. We will continue to oppose this agreement until the Government assures us that the workers in the textile industries, processing industries, agriculture and transportation will have jobs as this agreement takes place.

The Government should show good faith by forming a committee that will present ideas about how jobs will be protected and the interests of Winnipeggers furthered under this agreement. In the absence of any such proposal we will continue to oppose this agreement.

Mr. Brian L. Gardiner (Prince George—Bulkley Valley): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to speak at second reading of this trade legislation. I want to use the opportunity to make a few comments about my riding. Prince George—Bulkley Valley is an exciting and diverse riding, stretching from the border in the west with the Hon. Member for Skeena (Mr. Fulton) and in the east against the Alberta border where the present Member is the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark).

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

It is a riding dominated by the forestry, mining and resource industries. Unfortunately, it is a riding that was ignored so long by the Tories.

Now it is a riding threatened by the trade deal. My concern over this trade legislation is primarily over what we may end up with during the period when the definition of a subsidy is determined. The Government has already sold out the forest industry in this country, especially in my Province of British Columbia. It caved in to American interests by signing the Memorandum of Understanding that was met with joy by the Premier of British Columbia, Mr. Vander Zalm, but condemned by the forest industry.

Adam Zimmerman, not a member of the New Democratic Party, was quoted as saying on December 31, in the *Vancouver Sun*: "It is bizarre. It is sickening. It is every nasty adjective for an industry person". Zimmerman, also chairman of the Forest Industries Council, said in an interview: "In one step it creates an industrial paraplegic out of a lumber industry".

We have heard reports that some forest companies are operating at a loss due to the provincial and federal Governments caving in to U.S. interests. It is important to note that nothing has changed due to the Free Trade Agreement we are being asked to approve here today. A similar action can be taken again. In fact, when the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) visited Prince George during the election campaign, he made no commitment to our area let alone any promise that he would deal with the Memorandum of Understanding.

I am concerned about this Government and its attitude toward the forest industry. The Auditor General has criticized the Government for its sloppy administration of the various forestry agreements between the federal Government and the provinces. British Columbia was singled out in this area and it is no doubt considering the inadequacy of the Vander Zalm Government.

I am concerned that if we do not have written assurances from the Government and the Minister, we will not have a federal-provincial forestry agreement. My part of British Columbia has the highest NSR in the province. Will federal and provincial spending in forestry be allowed under the trade deal, depending on what is defined?

This afternoon there might be a ray of light. The Government is like a chocolate bar, it is thick. We must get our point across a couple of times before it understands. In today's Question Period I was pleased to note that the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie)

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

has invited representatives from the forest industry to meet with him to discuss the Memorandum of Understanding. This afternoon I was in touch with some representatives of the forest industry in our province and I urged them to take the Minister up on his offer for a meeting, a meeting that we hope will happen as soon as possible. Perhaps, with some luck, we will get some sense out of the Government.

• (0030)

What we need is nothing less than an opportunity as parliamentarians to review how these negotiations are undertaken. We need a full and complete committee reporting independently to the House. We need a trade monitor similar to the Auditor General who can report independently the activities of the negotiations that are taking place. The committee should have the power to travel, to hear witnesses and to take evidence under oath. In the true sense of democracy, give us the opportunity to review the negotiations openly, not behind the closed doors of government.

I do not see why Hon. Members opposite cannot give us a chance to see what is going on. They will have a chance to have their witnesses appear as well. If we do not have this committee, I am afraid that we will see another backroom deal. The Tories will cut out the programs that will cut the guts out of Canada. That is what I and other Hon. Members of my Party fear will happen if we leave the negotiations to Hon. Members opposite and to them alone.

There are many other areas of concern about the trade deal, the environment, social programs and water policy to mention a few. I call on the Government to support the motion put on the Order Paper by my colleague, the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon). If the Government has the courage of its convictions, I know it will support our efforts to represent the interests of our constituents.

In closing, I would like to thank the voters of Prince George—Bulkley Valley for the trust they have put in me as their Member of Parliament. I will continue to work, and I started to do so some time ago. I look forward to the next few years as being an exciting and productive time for my riding and for my constituents.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Is the House ready for the question?

Some Hon. Members: Question.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The question is as follows—

Some Hon. Members: Debate.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I recognize the Hon. Member for Essex—Kent.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Jerry Pickard (Essex—Kent): Mr. Speaker, this being my first speech in the House, I would like to thank my constituents for the faith they have shown in me.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Order, please. I would like to bring to the attention of Hon. Members that there should be a little civility when the Hon. Member is making his maiden speech. Maybe we can get it over with in a hurry. I recognize the Hon. Member for Essex—Kent (Mr. Pickard).

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Pickard: Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I very much appreciate that. I would again like to thank very much my constituents. I promise I shall work to the best of my ability to represent them and their interests and concerns.

My riding is Essex—Kent. It is a small riding located in the most southerly portion of Canada in southwestern Ontario. I believe that my riding is the most diverse agricultural riding in Canada. We produce a very wide variety of agricultural products including multi-million dollar greenhouse industries, grapes, wine production, soft fruit industry, horticultural products, dairy products, eggs and soybeans, to name just a few.

My riding also has a wide variety of food processors located in it, Heinz being one. There are several other food processors there that will be affected by the trade deal and its impact on agriculture. As well, some concerns have been brought forward by the manufacturing industry in my riding. Plant closures may be the result in the manufacturing industries which are closely related to the auto industry.

I have great concern for the people of Essex County with regard to the negative impact this deal will have on them. This is a difficult deal for them to face. As a matter of fact, it is a deal from a stacked deck.

The Macdonald Commission suggested that agriculture would be best left out of this agreement. The Government decided not to follow that advice, though it

cites the Macdonald Commission when discussing impacts on other sectors. The GATT talks in Montreal seemed to fall apart over agriculture. Yet agriculture is touted as being a frontliner in this agreement. I suggest that agriculture should have been exempt. Since this is not so, many facets of the agriculture industry will be in jeopardy.

The family farm in southwestern Ontario has been under a great deal of stress lately. In the past few years, hundreds of farms have gone bankrupt and hundreds of families have been facing a great deal of difficulty. Certainly we can see the 14 per cent interest rate through the Farm Credit Corporation as being one of the things that has created that difficulty. The unpredictable climate and our weather conditions that cause drought, frost and storms have certainly been a problem for farmers. This is an additional burden faced by producers in Canada.

Many family farmers have had to leave the farm to seek second incomes just to make certain their farms can survive. Wives are working in stores and men are working in the auto factories or other plants in order to receive second incomes to keep the farms alive. Now we are adding the Free Trade Agreement to all this, an agreement that will devastate our agriculture community.

This deal creates an unfair advantage for our neighbours to the south. I will try to explain this advantage. My colleagues across the way have suggested that certain factors have not been specifically mentioned by the agreement. Let us consider the climate factor. Long days, warm weather and a long growing season are a real advantage to the farm community. It takes away the concerns that our farmers have over frost and adds stability to production. It creates a higher acre production. For example, in southwestern Ontario, farmers produce approximately 20 tonnes of tomatoes per acre. In some areas of the United States, production is in the area of 40 tonnes per acre with the same capital investment. This agreement does not take that into account. Certainly it leaves our farmers with an unfair deal. I believe we have the best farmers in the world, but I am also realistic. If the cards are stacked against us, we cannot win.

Labour adds another dimension to this stacked deck. Only 25 per cent of American families receive the social and medical benefits and hospital services that 75 per cent of Canadians enjoy. Someone has to pay the bills for those families with social benefits. The Canadian farmer will be one who will have to carry that bill and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

make the payments. This appears to me to be a bit unfair if we are talking about a level playing field.

The minimum wage in Canada is much higher than it is in many states in the United States. This puts the Canadian farmer in another stacked deck situation. Will we in Canada lower the minimum wage to be competitive and on an equal footing with the United States farmer? Since the trade deal will be driven by the holy dollar sign and since certainly control of that dollar sign will be the market, the Americans will be able to sell their products if they can compete on any basis less economically than we can.

I believe that too much has been given up for our farmers to survive. The Canadian Government has shown wisdom and foresight in developing policies that protect our environment. Many insecticides and herbicides that are used legally in the United States are not legal to use in Canada. They pose a great deal of danger to the environment and to the people. These pesticides and herbicides which are banned in Canada are not allowed to be used by Canadian farmers. However, they put the American farmer in a much better dollar and cent situation.

• (0040)

The Americans can produce much easier with the kinds of sprays they are allowed to use. Are we going to lower our standards to be competitive or are United States farmers going to raise theirs by not using such pesticides and insecticides? I doubt very much that we will see them change their products.

We have struggled long over acid rain and pollution of air and water with them. The environment will not change. The Americans will continue to use their products, so our farmers will be faced with another obstacle, another stacked deck, that of unfair environmental laws.

Marketing boards have been placed on the block and their powers will be chopped just like the turkey's neck at Christmas. I realize it is being suggested that the powers will remain in place, but think about a marketing board controlling Canadian prices and supplies while American products not controlled are shipped to our markets to compete. I find that scenario ridiculous.

A spokesman for Heinz, a large food processor in our riding, in discussing the reduction of tariffs on tomatoes made it very clear that if tariffs are removed, the company must take counteraction to balance the loss if it wishes to remain competitive. If the 10 per cent tariff

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

is removed, either the farmer will have to take a reduction in his price of the product, or the worker will have to take less money for his labour, or the social plans will have to be cut so they can survive.

Negotiations in these situations will go very quickly in trying to deal with the farmers, suggesting that they receive much less per tonne for tomatoes. The workers will be caught in a bind with negotiations as well suggesting that their wages should be held or lowered. The company may well leave the country. That is a possibility as well. If the difference is too great for the producer, he will leave Canada. I feel because of the trade deal agriculture will be the big loser.

Why agriculture was ever considered in this agreement is beyond me. Since it has been, the agreement has the potential to devastate the industry. Without question I feel that the agricultural industry has been sold out. If you look at southwestern Ontario you will find not one person on the Government side from that area.

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr. Speaker, may I begin tonight by congratulating you and your colleagues in the chair on your re-election—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, no.

Mr. McDermid: I welcome your support. It is wonderful. I also want to thank the electors of Brampton for returning me for the fourth time to the House of Commons. It is a real pleasure to represent such a great community.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): As I said previously, this is not a Minister's maiden speech but I would like to have a little civility. We are getting very close to putting the question. The Hon. Minister has the floor.

Mr. McDermid: I can understand the Opposition's concern when I get up to speak because I tell the truth about the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: The Opposition Members can natter and heckle all they want for the next 15 minutes, but I am going to speak on free trade and tell the truth about it. Before I get into it, I want to thank the electors in Brampton. My good friend the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) kept yelling across the

House at me to get back to Brampton and work on the campaign because I was in deep trouble. I want him to know, just for his own edification because I know he has not yet had time to check the figures, that I did win by over 52 per cent of the vote.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: I understand his reaction for those people who could not see it on television, Mr. Speaker. He is not easily impressed and I understand why. I will get to him a little later in my remarks.

I am sharing the great City of Brampton with my colleague from Brampton—Malton. Because our community is growing at such a rapid rate, it has been divided into two ridings. I share the responsibility with the Hon. Member for Brampton—Malton (Mr. Chadwick). He is a very old friend of mine and I am very honoured to be here in the House of Commons with him to represent our great city.

The last two years have probably been the most interesting, rewarding and exciting two years in my life because the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) appointed me Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie). In that period of time I followed the negotiations on the Free Trade Agreement very carefully. I have seen an agreement come to fruition. I have followed the debates and participated in them over that period of time. I have seen the legislation develop and come before this House twice now, and we are debating it for the second time here.

I listened with great interest over the last couple of days to the new Members of Parliament speaking freely and saying that they were not given an opportunity to speak. I do not know how you can have it both ways—standing up in the House of Commons and complaining you cannot speak. What are they doing? They are here speaking and they are speaking on the Free Trade Agreement. They have the freedom to speak. As a matter of fact, the Government has given them an extra 24 hours of debate to speak on this agreement. The Government offered them last weekend to speak on the debate. Not only did they not take up the opportunity to speak on the Free Trade Agreement, but only 36 Members showed up to vote on Friday.

Some Hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. McDermid: I want the House to look. The Leader of the Liberal Party is left alone. The Members have abandoned him again.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. McDermid: In those two years of negotiations there has probably not been a broader cross-section of representation from the Canadian public giving advice on these negotiations. The International Trade Advisory Committee had representation from all walks of life in Canada, including the Consumers Association of Canada, the Labour movement and so on. In conjunction with the International Trade Advisory Committee were the 15 sectoral advisory committees involving some 500 Canadians, again from all walks of life and all sectors of our economy giving advice to this Government on the trade negotiations. They actively participated. I have listened to chapter and verse from the Opposition saying this was done in secret, that nobody knew what was going on. What total nonsense that is. There was never as much consultation with the Canadian public as there was with this Free Trade Agreement and the Government is to be congratulated on that.

Mr. Foster: There were never any public hearings.

Mr. McDermid: Here is my friend who says there were never any public meetings. He did not appear before the Macdonald Commission to give his opinion. He did not appear before the Standing Committee. He did not appear before the Senate Committee and he is telling us there were no hearings. There were all kinds of hearings in this country and the Hon. Member knows that. Such nonsense. What total, total nonsense. Then we got the agreement. The agreement was in the public domain—

• (0050)

Mr. Foster: There were no public hearings on the final text across the country and you know it, McDermid. Tell the truth.

Mr. McDermid:—for a period of time and then the legislation was brought forward in May. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that we spent a tremendous amount of time on procedure, whether we should bring it in, and was it in the right form. This went on for a long period of time. Then we got into the debate of it which went on through June, July, and August. It was finally passed in this House at the end of August and went on to that great august body in the other place where they said: "We are not going to pass it. We are not going to have anything to do with it".

We all remember that the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition called the election. He called the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

election: "Let the people decide". I can remember the T-shirts and the balloons. I think it was on a Wednesday, if I am not mistaken, and everybody was saying: "That's my boy. He's calling the election". They were all in the gallery, and it was an exciting day for everybody. The Leader of the Opposition called the election and said: "Let the people decide".

Mrs. Finestone: A little respect wouldn't hurt you, you know.

Mr. McDermid: Then what happened? Well, the Opposition Leader now refuses to accept the verdict of the Canadian people given on November 21.

I wish to quote some of the things that the Leader has said recently. By the way, he did say that he would give "speedy" passage if the Government was re-elected and given its mandate. I wish to refresh the House's memory. He stated: "I believe that we won the hearts and minds of Canadians on the issue. We discussed the details of the deal and how it would affect Canadians. We were winning the election and then two things happened. There was the unprecedented intervention of big business . . ." I might add small business, medium-size business, and people from all walks of life. As my friend from Oshawa would say, "ordinary Canadians".

Then the Leader of the Opposition said: "They mounted an unprecedented attack on my character, on my sincerity, and on my competence". I would say that two out of three they did not. I do not think that they attacked his character or his sincerity. I would not question his character, and I would not question his sincerity, but on his competence, we have to question that one, and so did the Canadian people. The hon. gentleman is correct there, they did question his competence.

Then he said: "It was a cynical manipulation of public opinion, a power-hungry reach for the lower side of human nature". Therefore, everybody who voted Conservative are the lower side of human nature. Isn't that nice? Aren't those wonderful words from the right hon. gentleman? He finishes off his comments by saying: "The Government was playing to fear".

He talked about the negative commercials. I know that the right hon. gentleman was extremely busy on the campaign, and he did not have a chance to see his own commercials. I remember when the first commercials came out from the Liberal Party. They were the negative ones. They were the ones that attacked. They were

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the ones who were wiping out borders, and they were the ones with the Prime Minister kicking a soccer ball.

The hon. gentleman stands in the House and states that we had negative commercials. Boy, I want to tell you that that is the pot calling the kettle black. I cannot believe that the Hon. Member would stand up here and try to make those types of excuses.

I think of Morley Callaghan, that great old man of letters. Morley Callaghan described the right hon. gentleman beautifully, and I quote: "For the sake of their own souls most men live by pretending to believe in something they secretly know isn't true. It seems to be a dreadful necessity". That is what Morley Callaghan said, and I think that the Leader of the Opposition is such a man. I honestly believe that.

The facts are the opposite of those my hon. friend says, and he knows that. First, the Liberals did not win the hearts of Canadians by discussing free trade. They struck fear into the hearts of Canadians through baseless allegations. There is no question about that.

I remember the televised debate. The right hon. gentleman did pretty well in that debate, and I have to give him full marks, until he said: "This trade deal will wipe out our social programs". Those are the exact words that he used. He knows full well that that is not true. I will give him the benefit of the doubt. In the heat of debate that just slipped out, because he really does not mean that.

Secondly, business, large and small from all walks of life—and the right hon. gentleman knows this as well—spoke out in favour of free trade. During the campaign they came to the point that they were upset with the misrepresentations that were being made by both opposition Parties, and they felt that it was time to stand up and be counted. There is no question about that.

Mr. Nunziata: Sober up, McDermid. Let's go home.

Mr. McDermid: Well, they say that they didn't spread fear. They compared the business community to the Ku-Klux-Klan. Senator Kirby, that great Liberal who was somewhere involved in the campaign, although we have not seen him since the campaign, compared the business community to the Ku-Klux-Klan. Magnificent. Who said they did not spread fear?

I mentioned that the ad campaign from the outset was an attack upon the character.

Mr. Rompkey: Tell us about John Crosbie attacking students.

Mr. McDermid: What would the Opposition Leader call the conduct of his candidates going into old folks homes and telling senior citizens that they will lose their pensions? That is what they were doing. Perhaps the right hon. gentleman did not know his candidates were doing that. They were going into old folks homes and telling them that they were going to lose their pensions, until the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) caught by camera from CHCH-TV, admitted that they were not going to. It was part way through the campaign that she finally admitted that pensions were not going to be affected by the free trade deal.

I was very upset with what the right hon. gentleman did during the campaign on free trade. It was probably one of the most crass, mean-spirited type of campaigns in which I have ever been involved. Quite honestly, I do not want to go through it again, ever. I am sure the right hon. gentleman does not either. I think that he looked very uncomfortable doing what he was doing. The Canadian people saw that too.

Mr. Nunziata: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

Mr. Marchi: A point of order on humanitarian grounds.

Mr. Nunziata: I hate to interrupt the Member in mid-arrogance, but I would ask the Speaker to recognize the clock which indicates one o'clock. I understand at this point in time the Speaker is required to put us out of our misery and call the vote.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): There are still approximately 15 seconds remaining, if the Hon. Member would like to continue.

Mr. McDermid: Honesty and truth won out in this campaign. The facts won in this campaign. The Free Trade Agreement is a good deal for Canada. It will lead us into the 21st century as a prominent trading nation throughout the world. I am proud to be part of that agreement. I look forward to seeing its passage expeditiously by the end of this week in order that it can go to the other place and receive Royal Assent by next weekend.

• (0100)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Is the House ready for the question?

Some Hon. Members: Question.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The question is on the subamendment.

Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the subamendment?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those in favour of the subamendment will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): In my opinion the nays have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Call in the Members.

The House divided on the subamendment (Mr. Laporte), which was negatived on the following division:

(Division No. 11)

YEAS

Members

Allmand	Comuzzi	Karpoff
Althouse	Copps	Karygiannis
Anawak	Crawford	Keys
Angus	de Jong	Kilger
Arseneault	Dionne	(Stormont—Dundas)
Assad	Duhamel	Kristiansen
Axworthy	Ferguson	Langan
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Finestone	Langdon
Crossing)	Fisher	Laporte
Axworthy	Flis	LeBlanc
(Winnipeg South	Fontana	(Cape Breton High-
Centre)	Foster	lands—
Baker	Fulton	Canso)
Barrett	Funk	Lee
Bellemare	Gaffney	MacAulay
Benjamin	Gagliano	MacDonald
Black	Gardiner	(Dartmouth)
Blackburn	Gauthier	MacLaren
(Brant)	Gray	MacWilliam
Blaikie	(Windsor West)	Maheu
Blondin	Guarnieri	Manley
Boudria	Harb	Marchi
Brewin	Harvard	Marleau
Broadbent	Harvey	MacDougall
Butland	(Edmonton East)	(Lasalle—Émard)
Caccia	Heap	McCurdy
Callbeck	Hopkins	McGuire
Campbell	Hovdebo	McLaughlin
(South West Nova)	Hunter	Mifflin
Catterall	Jordan	Milliken
Clancy	Kaplan	Mills

Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nunziata
Nystrom
Ouellet
Pagtakhan
Parent
Parker
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Riis
Robichaud
Robinson

Rodriguez
Rompkey
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(North Island—Powell
River)
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller
Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin
Turner
(Vancouver Quadra)

Vanclief
Volpe
Walker
Wappel
Whittaker
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)
Young
(Beaches—Woodbine)—
115

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

NAYS

Members

Anderson	Dommm	Mayer
Andre	Dorin	Mazankowski
Atkinson	Duplessis	McCreath
Attewell	Edwards	McDermid
Beatty	Epp	McDougall
Belsher	Fee	(St. Paul's)
Bernier	Feltham	McKnight
Bertrand	Ferland	McLean
Bird	Fontaine	Merrithew
Bjornson	Fretz	Mitges
Blackburn	Friesen	Monteith
(Jonquière)	Gérin	Moore
Blais	Gibeau	Nicholson
Blenkarn	Gray	Nowlan
Bosley	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Oberle
Bouchard	la-Madeleine)	O'Brien
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Greene	O'Kurley
Bourgault	Guilbault	Plamondon
Boyer	Gustafson	Plourde
Brightwell	Halliday	Porter
Browes	Harvey	Pronovost
Cadieux	(Chicoutimi)	Redway
Campbell	Hawkes	Reid
(Vancouver Centre)	Hicks	Reimer
Cardiff	Hockin	Ricard
Casey	Hogue	Richardson
Chadwick	Holtmann	Robitaille
Champagne	Horner	Roy-Arcelin
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Horning	Schneider
Bagot)	Hudon	Scott
Champagne	Hughes	(Victoria—Haliburton)
(Champlain)	Jacques	Scott
Chartrand	James	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Clark	Johnson	Shields
(Yellowhead)	Kempling	Siddon
Clark	Kindy	Sobeski
(Brandon—Souris)	Koury	Soetens
Clifford	Landry	Sparrow
Cole	Langlois	St-Julien
Collins	Larrivée	Stevenson
Cook	Layton	Tardif
Cooper	Leblanc	Tétreault
Corbeil	(Longueuil)	Thacker
Corbett	Lewis	Thompson
Côté	Littlechild	Thorkelson
Couture	Loiselle	Tremblay
Crosbie	Lopez	(Rosemont)
(St. John's West)	MacDonald	Tremblay
Crosby	(Rosedale)	(Québec-Est)
(Halifax West)	MacDougall	Turner
Darling	(Timiskaming)	(Halton—Peel)
DeBlois	MacKay	Valcourt
de Cotret	Malone	Van de Walle
Della Noce	Marin	Vankoughnet
Desjardins	Martin	Venne
Dick	(Lincoln)	Vien
Dobbie	Masse	Vincent

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Weiner
Wenman
White
Wilbee

Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek—Assiniboia)
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)

Winegard
Worthy—156

Robinson
Rodriguez
Rompkey
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(North Island—Powell
River)
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller

Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin
Turner
(Vancouver Quadra)
Vanclief
Volpe
Walker
Wappel
Whittaker

Wood
Young
(Gloucester)
Young
(Beaches—Woodbine)—
115

● (0120)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I declare the subamendment lost.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I suspect you would find unanimous consent in the House to apply the vote that we have just taken against the original amendment and reversing that vote for the main motion.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Does the House agree to apply the vote just taken to the amendment of the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition and in reverse to the motion for second reading of the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

The House divided on the amendment (Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra)), which was negated on the following division:

(Division No. 12)

YEAS

Members

Allmand
Althouse
Anawak
Angus
Arseneault
Assad
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's
Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South
Centre)
Baker
Barrett
Bellemare
Benjamin
Black
Blackburn
(Brant)
Blaikie
Blondin
Boudria
Brewin
Broadbent
Butland
Caccia
Callbeck
Campbell
(South West Nova)
Catterall
Clancy
Comuzzi
Copps
Crawford
de Jong
Dionne
Duhamel

Ferguson
Finestone
Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gaffney
Gagliano
Gardiner
Gauthier
Gray
(Windsor West)
Guarnieri
Harb
Harvard
Harvey
(Edmonton East)
Heap
Hopkins
Hovdebo
Hunter
Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Karygiannis
Keys
Kilger
(Stormont—Dundas)
Kristiansen
Langan
Langdon
Laporte

LeBlanc
(Cape Breton High-
lands—
Canso)
Lee
MacAulay
MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
MacLaren
MacWilliam
Maheu
Manley
Marchi
Marleau
Martin
(Lasalle—Émard)
McCurdy
McGuire
McLaughlin
Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nunziata
Nystrom
Ouellet
Pagtakhan
Parent
Parker
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Riis
Robichaud

Anderson
Andre
Atkinson
Attewell
Beatty
Belsher
Bernier
Bertrand
Bird
Bjornson
Blackburn
(Jonquière)
Blais
Blenkarn
Bosley
Bouchard
(Lac-Saint-Jean)
Bourgault
Boyer
Brightwell
Browes
Cadieux
Campbell
(Vancouver Centre)
Cardiff
Casey
Chadwick
Champagne
(Saint-Hyacinthe—
Bagot)
Champagne
(Champlain)
Chartrand
Clark
(Yellowhead)
Clark
(Brandon—Souris)
Clifford
Cole
Collins
Cook
Cooper
Corbeil
Corbett
Côté
Couture
Crosbie
(St. John's West)
Crosby
(Halifax West)
Darling
DeBlois
de Cotret
Della Noce
Desjardins
Dick
Dobbie
Domm
Dorin
Duplessis
Edwards
Epp

Fee
Feltham
Ferland
Fontaine
Fretz
Friesen
Gérin
Gibeau
Gray
(Bonaventure—Îles-de-
la-Madeleine)
Greene
Guilbault
Gustafson
Halliday
Harvey
(Chicoutimi)
Hawkes
Hicks
Hockin
Hogue
Holtmann
Horner
Horning
Hudson
Hughes
Jacques
James
Johnson
Kempling
Kindy
Koury
Landry
Langlois
Larivière
Layton
Leblanc
(Longueuil)
Lewis
Littlechild
Loiselle
Lopez
MacDonald
(Rosedale)
MacDougall
(Timiskaming)
MacKay
Malone
Marin
Martin
(Lincoln)
Masse
Mayer
Mazankowski
McCreath
McDermid
McDougall
(St. Paul's)
McKnight
McLean
Merrithew
Mitges

Monteith
Moore
Nicholson
Nowlan
Oberle
O'Brien
O'Kurley
Plamondon
Plourde
Porter
Pronovost
Redway
Reid
Reimer
Ricard
Richardson
Robitaille
Roy-Arcelin
Schneider
Scott
(Victoria—Haliburton)
Scott
(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Shields
Siddon
Sobeski
Soetens
Sparrow
St-Julien
Stevenson
Tardif
Tétreault
Thacker
Thompson
Thorkelson
Tremblay
(Rosemont)
Tremblay
(Québec-Est)
Turner
(Halton—Peel)
Valcourt
Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne
Vien
Vincent
Weiner
Wenman
White
Wilbee
Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek—Assiniboia)
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard
Worthy—156

NAYS

Members

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I declare the amendment lost.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Crosbie), which was agreed to on the following:

(Division No. 13)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Dobbie	Martin
Andre	Domm	(Lincoln)
Atkinson	Dorin	Masse
Atwell	Duplessis	Mayer
Beatty	Edwards	Mazankowski
Belsher	Epp	McCreath
Bernier	Fee	McDermid
Bertrand	Feltham	McDougall
Bird	Ferland	(St. Paul's)
Bjornson	Fontaine	McKnight
Blackburn	Fretz	McLean
(Jonquière)	Friesen	Merrithew
Blais	Gérin	Mitges
Blenkarn	Gibeau	Monteith
Bosley	Gray	Moore
Bouchard	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	Nicholson
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	la-Madeleine)	Nowlan
Bourgault	Greene	Oberle
Boyer	Guilbault	O'Brien
Brightwell	Gustafson	O'Kurley
Browes	Halliday	Plamondon
Cadieux	Harvey	Plourde
Campbell	(Chicoutimi)	Porter
(Vancouver Centre)	Hawkes	Pronovost
Cardiff	Hicks	Redway
Casey	Hockin	Reid
Chadwick	Hogue	Reimer
Champagne	Holtmann	Ricard
(Saint-Hyacinthe—	Horner	Richardson
Bagot)	Horning	Robitaille
Champagne	Hudon	Roy-Arcelin
(Champlain)	Hughes	Schneider
Chartrand	Jacques	Scott
Clark	James	(Victoria—Haliburton)
(Yellowhead)	Johnson	Scott
Clark	Kemping	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
(Brandon—Souris)	Kindy	Shields
Clifford	Koury	Siddon
Cole	Landry	Sobeski
Collins	Langlois	Soetens
Cook	Larivée	Sparrow
Cooper	Layton	St-Julien
Corbeil	Leblanc	Stevenson
Corbett	(Longueuil)	Tardif
Côté	Lewis	Tétreault
Couture	Littlechild	Thacker
Crosbie	Loiselle	Thompson
(St. John's West)	Lopez	Thorkelson
Crosby	MacDonald	Tremblay
(Halifax West)	(Rosedale)	(Rosemont)
Darling	MacDougall	Tremblay
DeBlois	(Timiskaming)	(Québec-Est)
de Cotret	MacKay	Turner
Della Noce	Malone	(Halton—Peel)
Desjardins	Marin	Valcourt
Dick		Van de Walle
Vankoughnet	Vien	Weiner
Venne	Vincent	Wenman

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

White
Wilbee

Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek—Assiniboia)

Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard
Worthy—156

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gardiner	Murphy
Althouse	Gauthier	Nault
Anawak	Gray	Nunziata
Angus	(Windsor West)	Nystrom
Arseneault	Guarnieri	Ouellet
Assad	Harb	Pagtakhan
Axworthy	Harvard	Parent
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Harvey	Parker
Crossing)	(Edmonton East)	Phinney
Axworthy	Heap	Pickard
(Winnipeg South	Hopkins	Proud
Centre)	Hovdebo	Prud'homme
Baker	Hunter	Riis
Barrett	Jordan	Robichaud
Bellemare	Kaplan	Robinson
Benjamin	Karpoff	Rodriguez
Black	Karygiannis	Rompkey
Blackburn	Keyes	Samson
(Brant)	Kilger	Simmons
Blaikie	(Stormont—Dundas)	Skelly
Blondin	Kristiansen	(North Island—Powell
Boudria	Langan	River)
Brewin	Langdon	Skelly
Broadbent	Laporte	(Comox—Alberni)
Butland	LeBlanc	Speller
Caccia	(Cape Breton High-	Stewart
Callbeck	lands—	Stupich
Campbell	Canso)	Taylor
(South West Nova)	Lee	Tobin
Catterall	MacAulay	Turner
Clancy	MacDonald	(Vancouver Quadra)
Comuzzi	(Dartmouth)	Vancielief
Copps	MacLaren	Volpe
Crawford	MacWilliam	Walker
de Jong	Maheu	Wappel
Dionne	Manley	Whittaker
Duhamel	Marchi	Wood
Ferguson	Marleau	Young
Finestone	Martin	(Gloucester)
Fisher	(Lasalle—Émard)	Young
Flis	McCurdy	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Fontana	McGuire	115
Foster	McLaughlin	
Fulton	Mifflin	
Funk	Milliken	
Gaffney	Mills	
Gagliano	Mitchell	

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I declare the motion carried.

Bill read the second time and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): It being 1.30 a.m., the House stands adjourned until later this day at 11 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 1.30 a.m.



HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, December 20, 1988

The House met at 11 a.m.

Prayers

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT

TABLING OF REPORT OF PARLIAMENTARY LIBRARIAN

Mr. Speaker: I have the honour to lay upon the table, the report of the Parliamentary Librarian for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1988.

* * *

FEDERAL REGULATORY PLAN

TABLING OF 1989 ISSUE

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 32(2), I have the honour to table, in both official languages, copies of the 1989 Federal Regulatory Plan.

While I am on my feet, I move:

That the House do now proceed to Orders of the Day.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

• (1110)

(Division No. 14)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Della Noce	Leblanc
Andre	Desjardins	(Longueuil)
Atkinson	Dick	Lewis
Attewell	Dobbie	Littlechild
Beatty	Domm	Loiselle
Belsher	Dorin	Lopez
Bernier	Duplessis	MacDonald
Bertrand	Edwards	(Rosedale)
Bird	Epp	MacDougall
Bjornson	Fee	(Timiskaming)
Blackburn	Feltham	MacKay
(Jonquière)	Ferland	Malone
Blais	Fontaine	Marin
Blenkarn	Fretz	Martin
Bosley	Friesen	(Lincoln)
Bouchard	Gérin	Masse
(Lac-Saint-Jean)	Gibeau	Mazankowski
Bourgault	Gray	McCreath
Brightwell	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-	McDermid
Browes	la-Madeleine)	McDougall
Cadioux	Greene	(St. Paul's)
Campbell	Guilbault	McKnight
(Vancouver Centre)	Gustafson	Merrithew
Cardiff	Halliday	Mitges
Casey	Harvey	Monteith
Chadwick	(Chicoutimi)	Moore
Champagne	Hawkes	Mulroney
(Champlain)	Hockin	Nicholson
Clark	Hogue	Nowlan
(Yellowhead)	Holtmann	Oberle
Clark	Horner	O'Brien
(Brandon—Souris)	Horning	O'Kurley
Clifford	Hudon	Plamondon
Cole	Hughes	Plourde
Collins	Jacques	Porter
Cook	James	Redway
Cooper	Johnson	Reid
Corbeil	Joncas	Reimer
Corbett	Kempling	Richardson
Côté	Kilgour	Robitaille
Couture	(Edmonton Southeast)	Roy-Arcelin
Crosbie	Kindy	Schneider
(St. John's West)	Koury	Scott
Crosby	Landry	(Victoria—Haliburton)
(Halifax West)	Langlois	Scott
Darling	Larrivière	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
DeBlois	Layton	Siddon
de Cotret		Sobeski

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Soetens	Tremblay (Lotbinière)	Wilbee
Sparrow	Turner (Halton—Peel)	Wilson (Swift Current—Maple Creek—Assiniboia)
St-Julien	Valcourt	Wilson (Etobicoke Centre)
Stevenson	Van de Walle	Winegard
Tardif	Vankoughnet	Worthy—151
Tétreault	Venne	
Thacker	Vien	
Thompson	Vincent	
Thorkelson	Weiner	
Tremblay (Rosemont)	Wenman	
Tremblay (Québec-Est)	White	

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Gauthier	Milliken
Anawak	Gray (Windsor West)	Mills
Angus	Harb	Mitchell
Arseneault	Harvard	Murphy
Axworthy (Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing)	Harvey (Edmonton East)	Nault
Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre)	Heap	Nunziata
Baker	Hopkins	Nystrom
Barrett	Hovdebo	Pagtakhan
Bélair	Jordan	Parent
Black	Kaplan	Phinney
Blaikie	Karpoff	Pickard
Blondin	Karygiannis	Proud
Boudria	Keyes	Prud'homme
Brewin	Kristiansen	Riis
Butland	Langan	Robichaud
Caccia	Langdon	Rodriguez
Callbeck	Laporte	Rompkey
Campbell (South West Nova)	LeBlanc (Cape Breton High- lands— Canso)	Samson
Catterall	Lee	Simmons
Comuzzi	MacDonald (Dartmouth)	Skelly (North Island—Powell River)
Crawford	MacLaren	Speller
Dingwall	MacLellan	Stewart
Dionne	MacWilliam	Stupich
Duhamel	Maheu	Taylor
Ferguson	Manley	Tobin
Finestone	Marchi	Vanciel
Fisher	Marleau	Volpe
Flis	Martin (Lasalle—Émard)	Walker
Fontana	McCurdy	Wappel
Foster	McGuire	Whittaker
Fulton	McLaughlin	Wood
Funk	Mifflin	Young (Gloucester)—98
Gaffney		
Gardiner		

• (1140)

[Translation]

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I declare the motion carried.

Motion carried.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Pursuant to Standing Order 100, I do now leave the chair for the House to go into Committee of the Whole.

House in committee on Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America—Mr. Crosbie—Mrs. Champagne in the chair.

• (1150)

On Clause 2—*Definitions*

Mr. McDermid: Madam Chairman, I want to put a few opening remarks on the record before we get into the study of Clause 2. Bill C-2 implements the free trade deal by approving the agreement and amending those laws necessary to meet our obligation under the agreement.

The Free Trade Agreement was considered on six opposition days and by the Commons Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, which heard 158 witnesses over 24 days. Those witnesses represented millions of Canadians.

Legislation to implement the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement was first introduced in Parliament on May 24, 1988. That legislation, Bill C-130, was given second reading on July 6, having been debated for more than 28 hours.

Bill C-130 was given consideration by legislative committee from July 11 to August 4, during which time 59 witnesses were heard over more than 87 hours. Again, the 59 witnesses represented millions of Canadians.

That legislation was given third reading on August 31, having been debated for more than 14 hours.

Today, Committee of the Whole begins consideration of Bill C-2. This legislation is similar, except for some technical amendments, to Bill C-130. Essentially, detailed clause by clause examination of the legislation was carried out earlier this year. The opposition Parties want to amend the legislation, they say, to protect social programs, regional development, culture and the environment. The Government feels that no such

amendments are needed because free trade poses no threat to these.

Social programs are not affected by the agreement. We remain as free as ever to support regional development. Cultural industries are exempted from the agreement. The agreement specifically exempts from its obligations measures to protect the environment.

The Opposition has asserted to the contrary, but this is based on their misreading and distortion of the agreement. They made those assertions in the recent election campaign and alarmed many Canadians. But the alarm that was raised makes the Opposition's assertions no more valid.

In the end, the Canadian people put aside these alarms and returned this Government with a majority. We are now prepared to examine Bill C-2 in Committee of the Whole over the next period of time. I look forward to the questions.

I might say that the Minister for International Trade will participate in the clause by clause discussions at a later time today. We will be spelling one another off during the period of time we are studying this Bill clause by clause. I look forward to the discussions.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Chairman, let me say at the outset that I note one small but significant improvement in the consideration of this legislation over the examination we had last summer. It is that the Hon. Minister for housing suggested that his colleague, the Minister for International Trade, may join us for the proceedings from time to time. That will certainly be a refreshing change from what we had last—

Mr. McDermid: Point of order. I think it should be pointed out to the Hon. Member that I am also Minister of State for International Trade.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Chairman, the woeful performance of the Minister with that duty demonstrates how little people know of the role he plays and the responsibility he carries. It is a sign of just how bad his job is.

Let me repeat that his senior colleague, the Minister for International Trade, is deigning to join us from time to time during these proceedings. It will be most refreshing indeed. In fact, it will probably be refreshing for the Minister for International Trade. He may finally get to know what is in the Bill, after all these months of not having the literacy to perceive it.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

When the Hon. Minister introduced the committee stage, he tried to leave the impression that somehow the exercise we are beginning this morning is just a further sequence in an open, honest, forthright examination that is giving Canadians the opportunity to be heard. The fact is that most Canadians feel frustrated, angry and indignant at the way in which their opportunity for proper examination of this very crucial legislation has been denied over the last several years.

When one considers that the Government's purpose in presenting the trade legislation and its program, as indicated clearly by its own Cabinet paper, was not to inform Canadians but to sell them, we now know why one of the most common complaints heard by every Member of Parliament and candidate in the last election was that Canadians did not know. They had not been informed. That was very much a consequence of the way the Government treated the whole initiative of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

It refused to provide decent research reports as to what the agreement would mean. For example, one of the more ferocious debates during the campaign concerned the impact on the service industries, including health services, financial services and other forms of services. The Government never provided a single piece of paper to analyse what the impact of the agreement would be on health services.

While the Government protested mightily that the Opposition was making false claims, the Government itself refused to provide any evidence, any examination of the impact of the agreement. It tried quite deliberately to hide that information. That information may be locked in the vault of the Minister for National Health and Welfare or some other colleague, but it was never given to Canadians.

Similarly, we were never given any serious research on the impact the agreement will have on such service industries as data processing, telecommunications, banking and financial services. The Macdonald Royal Commission did not provide it. The Economic Council did not provide it. The Government has not provided it.

We are entering into total integration with the United States in an area that provides 70 per cent of the jobs for all Canadians, yet no institution of the Government provided Canadians with the slightest whit of examination or analysis about the meaning, repercussions or impact of the agreement. The Government tries to claim it will share knowledge and information.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Minister tried to leave the impression that Parliament had been given fair opportunity to examine the matter. Let me review the record for the Minister. First, the all-Party joint committee that was struck in 1985 unanimously recommended that before the Government initiated negotiations it should bring the matter to Parliament for debate so that a set of terms and references could be established and Canadians could know what should be negotiated and not negotiated. The Government absolutely refused to follow through on those recommendations from its own Members.

The External Affairs Committee, also composed of Members from both sides, unanimously recommended that if the Government was faced with American omnibus trade legislation passing Congress the Parliament of Canada should reject the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Again, that was a unanimous recommendation by all members of the committee, which the Government totally rejected. It was totally indifferent to those recommendations.

We then got into the farcical, katzenjammer, Keystone Kop operation in which the Government struck a committee to examine the proposed agreement without giving us the final agreement. A committee of the House crossed the country without having in its hands the final document. The Government gave us the comic book version, which described the general principles. People who came before the committee to testify had to say what they thought might be in the agreement because they did not know for sure. Again we went through this fatuous exercise. A committee of Parliament was forced to open itself up for public examination without having a legitimate document in its hands. Is that really a fair and proper way for the senior forum of debate in Canada to conduct its business?

• (1200)

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Axworthy: The Minister tries to suggest that this has been discussed openly. It was openly discussed but we did not have the document to discuss it with. We did not have the proper information before us.

Then we go to the next claim made by the Minister. When the legislation, Bill C-130, was finally produced in the House last summer, the Government provided this great opportunity for examination, he said, but he failed to mention that the majority on the committee, the Conservative members of the committee, turned down a motion I moved that the committee be allowed to travel

across Canada. As a result, we were required to sit only in Ottawa. Citizens from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic Coast, from Newfoundland to British Columbia, were denied the opportunity to present their views. We were held in house captivity here in Ottawa, subject only to the representations of major national lobby organizations. We were denied the opportunity to hear individual Canadians.

I recall very well receiving a letter from a farmer in the Okanagan. He said very clearly that he was the first farmer to lose his farm. The bank had turned down his extension of credit because of the trade agreement. He wanted to come before the committee and make his points.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Axworthy: Madam Chairman, do you hear a rumbling in the hall? Do you think we have scratched a sensitive area? The fact is that that farmer was denied the right to a hearing by a majority on the committee. He was denied the right to appear before the committee in his own part of the country and he was denied the right to appear before the committee in Ottawa.

Again, the Minister is trying to claim that somehow Canadians had fair and open access. I do not know what kind of restricted world the Minister lives in, but I can say that Canada consists of an awful lot more than the City of Ottawa. There are an awful lot more people in it than those represented by lobbyists in this city. Canada consists of thousands of Canadians who wanted to be heard and were deliberately denied that opportunity by the Government.

Once again, we are faced with a piece of trade legislation and this time the final Draconian step has been taken, the final insult to Parliament and to Canadians. Canadians do not even have a chance to appear before the committee.

This is the most important legislation facing Canadians in generations. We have gone through a hard fought election. All kinds of groups and individuals have raised serious questions about this issue. The Minister says that it was those nasty people in the Opposition who challenged the Government on social programs. It was the United Church of Canada, the Lutheran Church of Canada, the Roman Catholic Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church of Canada that challenged the Government. It was the Canadian Council of Social Development that challenged the Government to give those answers. It was 93 environmental groups that

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

challenged the Government on the impact of the Free Trade Agreement. It was also all the womens' organizations in Canada.

Members of the Opposition were simply reflecting the deep concern and anxiety of millions of Canadians. Once again, those very same Canadians who raised those very same questions are being denied the democratic opportunity to appear before a committee of Parliament to make their concerns heard, to have their questions answered, and, most important, to provide to Parliament their best evidence, judgment and wisdom about how the legislation could or should be improved.

We are being forced through closure in this committee to give nothing but short shrift to legislation with hundreds of clauses covering 26 other Acts of Parliament, having an impact on every single sector of our economy. No Canadian is being allowed to appear. The door has been shut on Parliament. We have turned out the lights as far as Canadians are concerned, simply to follow once again the basic maxim of this Government which is to keep Canadians in the dark when it comes to the trade agreement, to deny them the opportunity to know what is going on and to deny them the opportunity to make their voices heard.

There has been a sad history of the rights of this Parliament and of Canadians being usurped. It has been a history of finding a way to simply ramrod and railroad a piece of legislation through without having it subjected to fair, honest and open public examination. We ask the Minister to try to justify the claims he made in his opening remarks when he said that this is simply a trifle, we will just have this legislation passed and get it through before Christmas so that we can all go home in despair simply to meet the Government's timetable. Of course, the irony is that the only change in the legislation the Government made was to change the timetable.

The Parliament of Canada is being put into forced overdrive, is having its rights stripped away, all to meet a timetable which the Government says is no longer important because it has been taken out of the legislation. That to me represents probably the most absurd example of a Government that has simply lost any sensitivity to the House and to the rights of Canadians. It has turned logic on its head. The only amendment that has been made to Bill C-130 is to take away the timetable which the Government now says is the reason why this Parliament is being put into a forced march. Let us think about that for a moment.

I suppose that if there were something sacred and sacrosanct about the January 1 deadline, it would have been stated in the legislation as it was in Bill C-130, but it has been taken out. We can only assume that there is some flexibility there because the Government itself admits to it.

At the same time, we must talk about what happens as a consequence of this legislation. We have put forward a number of suggestions that we believe are both constructive and useful to ensure the proper implementation of the agreement. We do not agree with its implementation, we have fought against it, but we recognize and acknowledge that the Government has a majority and will eventually pass it. Surely the Government should recognize the necessity of a continuing, open examination of how the agreement is working and being implemented.

Let me cite, for example, a statement made when the report was tabled in the U.S. Congress by the American trade representative, Mr. Yeutter, in December. He said that in many instances, conformity with the Free Trade Agreement will require no modification of the law but rather modification of regulation, policy or administrative practice implementing the law. He then goes on to list a whole series of proposed changes in regulations and to such bodies as the CRTC, the Department of Finance and the National Energy Board, many of which are not covered by the legislation. The Americans themselves have now said that there will be an open, continuing demand for changes in Canadian regulation, practices and policies as the consequence of the trade agreement.

I pose this question to you, Madam Chairman, and to Hon. Members: How will Canadians find out about this? How will they know what kind of changes are made to regulations? How will they be able to examine in detail the consequences of a change to the National Energy Board or the fact that some discretionary power has been taken away from the Minister of National Revenue? How will we find out if customs inspectors are applying the rules of origin dealing with goods being manufactured in Mexico but stamped "made in the United States"? How will we find out how that is working?

How will we know if Canadian businesses are being subject to unfair competition because the Americans are manufacturing goods in the Maquiladora strip in Mexico, moving those products into the United States, stamping them made in the U.S.A. and then competing with Canadian goods, even though the wage rate in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mexico is 70 cents an hour? That is a very important consideration from a Canadian business point of view.

I make the case that it is absolutely essential that we have the opportunity to monitor that, to have a watchdog over that kind of practice so that we can know when it is happening and understand very clearly what the impact will be. How will we know what is on the table when the Government begins its negotiations for a new form of subsidy? How will we know what kinds of new concessions and giveaways the Government is prepared to offer?

• (1210)

One of the most crucial amendments required in this legislation is the establishment of an on-going committee. It should be given full power to examine the implementation of the trade agreement, to examine changes and regulations so Canadians will know what is happening. It should be able to look at the whole problem of adjustment, dislocation and plant closings to understand whether the argument put forward by the Government that all will be sweetness and light is right or the argument put forward by many groups and industries, such as the printing industry, the food processing industry and the agriculture industry, that disaster is in front of us is right. Surely Canadians have a right to know. Surely there should be a place in this Parliament where Canadians can come forward to make their case. Surely there should be a place for industry to be heard when it finds itself being ravaged by unfair competition or rules under the trade agreement.

I say to the Government, for the sake of decency and fairness one of the amendments that should be and must be accepted by this House before we retire is an amendment establishing an on-going committee. It could be a standing committee or it could be a special committee. There should be a clear reference to that committee with a full mandate to oversee, to watch and to monitor the full implementation of this agreement and all of its consequences.

Similarly, Madam Chairman, I say to you it is also important that a form of sunset clause be built into this legislation. This agreement is a dramatic rupture in the economic and social fabric of this country. It is wrenching the entire economic structure of Canada from an east-west focus to a north-south one. There will be major rationalizations of industries. There will be major alterations in the way we do business. Both sides of the House can see and understand that.

I believe, and our caucus believes, that Canadians must have a chance to choose ultimately whether that has been the right move. Certainly there must be an opportunity for Canadians to judge whether or not this agreement has been in their best interests. We say that that judgment cannot be made unless there is full and open disclosure and full opportunity for the people of Canada to understand what is going on. That is why we have again presented an amendment that would require a full parliamentary review after three years based upon the findings of the committee so that Canadians will fully understand and see for themselves what the full consequence of this agreement should be. Then a judgment can be made by this Parliament whether or not to continue in the agreement. I think that is fair. If government Members believe as strongly as they say they do in the value of this agreement and its benefits, they should be prepared to put it to the test. They should be prepared to say it is right for Canadians to examine.

It would be fair to accept our proposal that there be a three year review by this Parliament.

Mr. McDermid: Where are the amendments?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We will be presenting them as soon as we have the opportunity in the proper place. At the next election Canadians will then have the right to decide who has been right about the consequence of this agreement. It will be based upon a full, open and honest disclosure.

Is the Minister prepared to accept the proposal we have just made for a standing committee to examine this agreement and for a three-year review so that Canadians will know ultimately whether it has been in their best interests? Are the Tories prepared to act in a sense of decency and fairness to Canadians by giving them this opportunity? I pose that final question to the Minister.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Chairman, I listened very carefully to the words of my hon. friend. Again, as is his habit he puts words in my mouth by saying that I said a number of things that I did not say at all. He does that quite often and did it again today. It is unfortunate he does so because he distorts what has been said in the House of Commons by individual Members.

I listened to the Member talk about negotiations and trade-distorting subsidies. I found that rather interesting. Those negotiations are going on now in the GATT. The Liberals want to put all their eggs in one basket, the GATT basket. They are great supporters of the GATT.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mrs. Finestone: Aren't you?

Mr. McDermid: Those negotiations are going on now in GATT in what is a trade-distorting subsidy as we will be negotiating with the United States in the future. I like hearing the Hon. Member provide the examples he does from the United States. He dumps on our American friends all the time but he wants to change our system to the American system. I find that rather interesting in the proposals that he brings forward.

I will take a look at the amendments and see what he has to say. The standing committees of the House of Commons, as the Hon. Member knows full well, are in charge of their own agendas and can make certain decisions as to what they want to look at and what they want to examine. I would say to the Hon. Member at least have the courtesy to send over the proposed amendments so we can take a look at them and give them due consideration.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Chairman, I have a point of order. I want to say to the Minister that we fully intend to present our amendments to the House. He knows that under the rules of the House, those kinds of amendments would not be admissible by the Chair, in Clause 2, which is the interpretations clause.

Mr. McDermid: I said send them over.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): If the Government wants to get us to Clause 3 where we can present them, we will be glad to do so.

Mr. Langdon: Madam Chairman, let me start if I could with a few general comments as we enter this stage of the debate. I think with clause-by-clause analysis of this Bill there are, in fact, a series of very significant problems which the Government could address and, in addressing those problems, could demonstrate some of the so-called spirit of healing which the Prime Minister talked about on election night.

Mr. McDermid: It takes two to engage in that process.

Mr. Langdon: Instead, the Minister who introduced the debate, and I am pleased to see the Minister—I am not sure whether it is the Minister from Georgia or the Minister for International Trade—

Some Hon. Members: Order!

Mr. Langdon: —who is finally in the House but I am pleased to see him here. I would like to make the point that to stand up at the start of a speech, as the Minister of State for International Trade did, and say point blank, without even hearing the amendments which might be posed by the Opposition, and say they do not see the need to accept any amendments is, first, extremely arrogant and, second, is par for the course in the way in which the Government has proceeded with this subject throughout the entire history of the development of the trade agreement with the United States.

Those amendments which we certainly intend to pose will deal with a wide range of concerns. Let us have a bit of realism on the government side. This is a Government which lost a significant number of seats, which does not have a majority of seats from more than two provinces in this country—

An Hon. Member: What is the matter with Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec and Alberta?

Mr. Langdon: A Government like that should listen and consider some of the points that have been put forward in the campaign and some of the points that are put forward on the floor of this House of Commons. The fact is that the opposition Parties in the House won a majority of the seats in eight of the ten provinces. That is something which any sensitive Government—

● (1220)

Mr. Andre: You do not believe any of this nonsense, do you Steve?

Mr. Langdon: Count them up, Harvie.

The point is that a Government that had some sensitivity or some concern for some of the widespread fears and uncertainties which were expressed by Canadians throughout this country in the past election would at least listen to the amendments that were put before standing up and saying that there is no need for any amendment whatsoever in this Bill.

I said that this was par for the course with the Government with respect to how it has dealt in the past. For new Members of the House especially it is important that the record be made absolutely clear. In its previous term the Government attempted to keep secret, even from the Commissioner of Information, all of the material which had been prepared for the purposes of these trade negotiations, despite the fact that this information had a great deal of significance for millions of Canadians in communities across the country.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We had to go to court, with the assistance of the Information Access Commissioner, to see to it that the Government finally released many of those secret documents. The Government released them not in whole, but with many sections excised from the reports. That is a first piece of reality.

The second piece of reality is that the Government likes to talk about the committees that have been set up to look at this whole set of questions around the negotiations. I have been a member of each of those committees. The committee in 1985, which was a joint committee of the House and the Senate, was completely ignored by the Government with respect to each detailed recommendation that it put forward. For instance, it suggested that the Auto Pact should not be considered whatsoever in these negotiations. Yet, it was considered.

Mr. McDermid: Not even to improve it?

Mr. Langdon: It suggested that agriculture should not be considered whatsoever, and yet agriculture was negotiated. I could go on and detail each of the specific recommendations of that committee that were simply ignored by the Government, despite the fact that these were recommendations that came from a majority of the Conservative members on that committee.

Then there was the committee of late 1987 which made certain recommendations. For instance, it made recommendations with respect to the omnibus Trade Bill and what we should do as a country if the omnibus Trade Bill were accepted in the United States. In that case the committee said that we should withdraw from any agreement with the United States, because the omnibus Trade Bill, as it passed, would put us in a much weaker position than we have been in the past as a country *vis-à-vis* the United States. Despite that recommendation, once again it was ignored by the Government.

Finally, we should talk about the 1988 experience of the committee that was established to review the original version of this legislation. There was a decision made right at the start of that committee's work that it would not be permitted to travel across the country and to hear Canadians. People in each and every individual part of the country were not given a chance to speak about this Bill or about this agreement now that the agreement had actually been published. That reality should be recognized—

An Hon. Member: Tell us about your action in committee.

Mr. Langdon:—in order to have the committee see the sense of listening to people. What the committee did not do was to listen to people. What it did not do was even to permit provincial organizations to come to Ottawa and testify with respect to the legislation.

For instance, the Ontario Federation of Agriculture had serious concerns, and it continues to have serious concerns about the deal. It wanted to come and talk, but it was not permitted to do so because it was not a national organization. In my view, that type of closing off of witnesses is simply, in my view, anti-democratic, unacceptable and, as I say, par for the course for this Government in the past.

The election was a tough election for many Members. It was a hard election for the Conservatives, a hard election for us, and a hard election for the Liberal Party. After the election took place I and many others had hoped that the experience of that election would have brought people back to the House with some willingness to take a second look at this legislation, and to see that the problems with the legislation had to be addressed. Yet what does the Parliamentary Secretary, now elevated to a Minister of State for International trade, do? He stands up and right off the bat says: "No amendments whatsoever".

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Langdon: It is absolute arrogance, and the Conservatives applaud that arrogance. They applaud, and say it is wonderful that we should be able once more to get back to the arrogant habits of the past. I tell this Party across the way that this is a sure recipe to hit 22 per cent once more in the polls.

The point is not that the Government should make the decisions. The point is that Parliament should make the decisions. The right of Parliament is to put amendments forward and to have those amendments considered seriously and to see to it that there is a possibility of a significant, intelligent, and civilized debate in the House, instead of a set of blinkers right from the start, a mask which the Conservatives wear that claims that they and only they are the repositories of wisdom in this country. It is sheer nonsense and a sure recipe for future disaster.

• (1230)

We have prepared a series of amendments, Madam Chairman. We had hoped to be able to put these proposed amendments on the Order Paper but were prevented from doing so by the Government. Had we

been able to do so, all Hon. Members would have had the opportunity to review the proposed amendments. Some relate to the protection of Canada's social programs—

An Hon. Member: How many amendments do you have?

Mr. Langdon: There are a total of 20—not a total which is incredibly out of line given that we are now embarking upon two days of debate.

These amendments would do three things: First, they would solve some of the major gaps which exist with respect to the agricultural sector.

We in the New Democratic Party—and I am sure the same is true of every Member of this House—have received from the prairie pools a very clear indication that it is their view that this legislation, this Free Trade Agreement, threatens the future of the Canadian Wheat Board.

That is something that has to be addressed by way of an amendment. It is something that has to be addressed to make the free trade legislation in any way acceptable to the wheat producing areas of this country.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Langdon: Secondly, there has to be a recognition on the part of this Government that a special committee of the House is required to play a watchdog role in relation to the five to seven years of negotiations still to take place.

I point out to members of the Progressive Conservative Party in this place, many of whom have simply read the synopsis of the trade deal as opposed to the deal itself—

An Hon. Member: You don't know that.

Mr. Langdon: I know that that was certainly the case in so far as the Progressive Conservative candidate in my constituency is concerned. In fact, that individual lost his deposit.

Mr. Dick: And he is not here.

Mr. Langdon: He certainly isn't in this place, and there is good reason for that.

I suggest that there has to be a special parliamentary committee to act as a watchdog in respect of the ongoing negotiations, negotiations that will be dealing with every single aspect of government subsidies, including regional

development grants, unemployment insurance assistance to fishermen, transportation assistance, and so forth. All of those aspects of government assistance in this country will be included.

That is clearly set out in Article 1907 of the agreement, and the legislation before us endorses the agreement.

At the very least, we need a committee to oversee the negotiation process; we need such a committee so as to ensure that the interests of Canadians from coast to coast are protected.

And finally, there has to be a series of amendments put forward whose objective would be to protect the key sectors of the economy which will be adversely affected by the Free Trade Agreement. And any serious thinking Member of this House, regardless of his or her Party affiliation, will recognize that there will be sectors of the economy that will be adversely impacted by the Free Trade Agreement.

The Government may in fact be correct that there will be more winners than losers. We on this side may be correct that there will be more losers than winners. But regardless, the fact is that no one in this House would pretend that there will not be victims of the Free Trade Agreement. There may be victims on the West Coast as a result of the fish processing clauses; there may be victims in Atlantic Canada as a consequence of the efforts on the part of the U.S. with respect to assistance to potato growers; there may be victims—and in fact I think we have seen some already—in the industrial sector of Quebec and Ontario.

Amendments must be put forward to protect the victims of the Free Trade Agreement, and certainly this Government has to consider seriously any amendments aimed at addressing the plight of the victims of the agreement.

I would ask the Minister to start this debate off on a different footing, and he can do so by standing in his place and withdrawing his statement that he will not accept any amendments which are put forward by the Opposition in this debate. I would ask him to consider the amendments on their merits. If the Government chooses to turn them down, that will be its decision; but to do so before they are even put is a measure of total intolerance and arrogance, something which cannot be acceptable even to the Minister himself, I hope.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Minister of State for International Trade.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: Thank you, Madam Chairman. I want to assure the Hon. Member that my statement that I will not accept amendments in this debate has nothing whatsoever to do with arrogance; rather, it has to do with the fact that we have in place a Free Trade Agreement which was signed well over a year ago.

Bill C-2 implements the Free Trade Agreement. That is what the Bill is all about.

Madam Chairman, we went through 100 amendments put forward by the Opposition the last time we examined the Free Trade Agreement enabling legislation. Each one was gone into point by point in terms of why it was not necessary that it be included in the Bill.

The Opposition wants to state explicitly in the agreement everything that is not to be included in the agreement.

When a person disposes of a piece of property, the agreement sets out strictly what is involved in the transaction. One does not state in the agreement that the wife and children are included, or that the family automobile is included. The agreement simply sets out what is included in the transaction, and that is it, and it is precisely that way with the Free Trade Agreement and the legislation that we are talking about today.

An Hon. Member: That is nonsense.

Mr. McDermid: The amendments that they wish to bring in have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the Free Trade Agreement. The Hon. Member knows that.

Throughout last summer we went through the amendments proposed by the Opposition, and we went through them point by point. We, along with the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, worked on the Free Trade Agreement enabling legislation all of last summer, and we went point by point through all of the amendments put forward by the Opposition.

• (1240)

I want to touch for just a moment on his comments on agriculture. Never in the history of this country has the agricultural community been so well taken care of. When there were problems, whether it was drought or unfair pricing in world markets for some agricultural products, this Government was there to help the farmers. That is not going to change. The Hon. Member says we should not have discussed agriculture in a trade agreement. We ship \$5 billion worth of agricultural products to the U.S. You do not discuss that in a trade

agreement? What absolute nonsense. What absolute poppycock. It is one of our biggest trading units. Why would you not discuss it in a trade agreement? Why would you not make it better for our farmers to trade? That is exactly what we are doing.

We are also doing it in GATT, as the Minister reminds me. It was at Canada's insistence that agriculture was put on the agenda for the Uruguay round of negotiations. Sure they are having problems. By the way, we missed the Hon. Member in Montreal. He was invited and did not show up. We are sorry he did not make it.

Mr. Crosbie: Too busy, not interested in the GATT.

Mr. McDermid: That is too bad because he might have learned something down there.

Mr. Langdon: Point of order, Madam Chairman. The Minister just suggested I received an invitation to attend the GATT meetings in Montreal. That is simply incorrect. I did not receive any such personal invitation and I ask him to withdraw that comment.

Mr. McDermid: I am not sure if the Hon. Member was away on holidays after the election or what, but I can tell you that invitations were offered to both Party critics. His name was on the registration list.

Mr. Crosbie: It went through his chairman, but his chairman would not approve him.

Mr. McDermid: Oh, through his chairman? He had better check with his caucus on that.

Mr. Crosbie: Check with Bob White.

Mr. McDermid: It is too bad they did not notify him of what was going on.

Mr. Crosbie: Maybe Shirley Carr.

Mr. Langdon: Point of order.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: As president of this committee I think we are getting away from our chartered course. We should be discussing the Bill. I will hear the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor.

Mr. Langdon: Madam Chairman, one of the rules of the House, as I understand it, is that the word of a Member of Parliament, especially on as specific a point as this, is accepted—

Mr. Andre: It works the other way, too. You have to accept that an invitation was sent. He said so.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Langdon: Since I was the person involved, Harvey, it might be—

Mr. Andre: All you can say is that you did not receive it. You cannot say it was not sent.

Mr. Langdon: I happen to know that the invitation was not sent to myself, nor was it sent to the chairman of our caucus. It was sent to the Leader of our Party—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Langdon: —and was not passed on until the conference had begun. I would ask the Minister to simply accept that.

Mr. McDermid: You have problems in your caucus. I understand.

Mr. Langdon: No, as the Minister knows, I was at the last GATT conference which I do not think the Minister attended, and I have very considerable interest in what takes place in that organization and in this round of trade negotiations which we supported, with some exceptions including agriculture.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Chairman, I feel very badly that the Leader of the NDP did not pass on the invitation to his trade critic. However, he knew the GATT meetings were on. He might have inquired as to whether or not he was welcome.

Mr. Crosbie: He would have been welcomed with open arms.

Mr. McDermid: With open arms. We were all looking for him down there. I wanted to take him to dinner in Montreal, for heaven's sake, but he did not show up.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order, please.

Mr. Flis: Point of order, Madam Chairman. The constituents of Parkdale—High Park sent me here to debate the trade Bill, not whether or not someone got an invitation.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South.

Ms. Dobbie: Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Point of order, Madam Chairman. I realize this is a wide open debate, but we have just had the Minister make a comment and you then recognized the Hon. Member for

Winnipeg South. Would it not be appropriate that someone from the opposition side be recognized rather than having the Minister followed by a Member on the government side? I submit it would be proper to recognize now a Member from the opposition side.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member has suggested that the way the chairman of this committee is recognizing Members is not correct. The way I saw the exchange was that the Hon. Minister simply answered a question put forward by the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor. I agree that we went into quite a long exchange that was not exactly addressing the Bill or answering the question. However, I think it would be quite correct now for someone from the government side to express his or her view, and then someone from the opposition side can have the floor, which is the normal understanding.

I recognize again the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South.

Ms. Dobbie: Madam Chairman, thank you again. I am very proud—

Mr. Langdon: Point of order. A question was asked and I do not recall the Minister dealing with it.

Mr. McDermid: What, on amendments?

Mr. Langdon: Yes.

Mr. McDermid: Yes, I did.

Mr. Langdon: I did not hear it.

Mr. McDermid: You were not listening.

Mr. Nunziata: Point of order, Madam Chairman. I have been listening to the proceedings this morning and noted that members of the Opposition have been asking questions of the Minister and he not only tried to answer the question but went off on a discussion of his own.

I simply seek some direction from the Chair with respect to what is permitted when questions are put to him. I would simply request that the Chair restrict the Minister's comments to answering the questions put by the Opposition rather than editorializing on every point we make.

Mr. Crosbie: Why don't you do up the speeches for us from now on? This is a new rule. No freedom of speech in committee.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I am sure the Hon. Minister will attempt to be as brief as possible in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

answering a question so that as many Hon. Members as possible can express their ideas.

Never twice without three times, the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South.

Ms. Dobbie: Madam Chairman, I am very proud today to rise for the first time in this House to take part in these proceedings and this ultimate discussion about the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. I am also proud to be here on behalf of my constituents in Winnipeg South, many of whom are vitally interested in the opportunities presented by this agreement. Some of these people are business people whose livelihood depends on trade and on the security of access to markets in the United States. But there are others who are individuals who depend on salaries and wages and who support the free trade initiative because of the employment options that it will open up for them in the future.

• (1250)

All of them have shown a keen interest in the agreement. The fact that I am here today is evidence of their support for free trade. I am very proud of the people of Winnipeg South for their intelligent assessment of the deal. This is in spite of the vociferous attempts by the Opposition to distort repeatedly the real facts about the Free Trade Agreement.

I must say that I am also very proud of all those other Canadians who so enthusiastically endorsed the agreement in the recent election. I have to commend our Prime Minister and his Government for having the vision, the courage and the leadership to pursue the Free Trade Agreement to its conclusion over the past year or two.

The Free Trade Agreement marks an achievement that will go down in history as a turning point for our nation. It will be seen by our children and by our children's children as the day that Canada came of age, the day that Canada reached its maturity. This coming of age, this new maturity is being marked even now by the nations around the world upon whom we depend for additional trade and upon whom we depend to act as our allies from time to time in various causes. I believe that this signal is vitally important to our future in the global community. Its message will help to determine how we Canadians are positioned in future negotiations affecting Canada's prosperity and well-being.

The Free Trade Agreement is a symbol of Canadian strength. It is a symbol of a new confidence in ourselves

as a society with an intrinsic identity. We need not fear competition in a nation of strong, capable and secure men and women who boldly seek out new opportunities. Opportunities are what this agreement is all about—opportunities to sell our hydroelectric power from Manitoba; opportunities to expand our beef, hog and oil-seeds production; and opportunities to increase our exports in aircraft parts, textile and clothing.

For those of us who do business from Manitoba, from Winnipeg, the Free Trade Agreement provides us with a freedom to pursue a prosperous future. We view this freedom, this opportunity, with a great deal of optimism and a great deal of excitement.

In Winnipeg we have a diverse industrial base. We manufacture a tremendous variety of products, all looking for market options that simply cannot be realized in Manitoba's population of just over one million people. We have the potential to produce much, much more.

Currently, about 12 per cent of our labour force is employed in manufacturing. Our local industry is already gearing up to double that number. That is why it is so hard for me to understand the negative and contrary remarks made by members of the Opposition, and that they continue to make about the Free Trade Agreement. Surely, these Hon. Members cannot be serious in opposing an agreement that is filled with so much hope and so much promise for the vast majority of Canadians. I cannot believe they do not care.

In my province there is already a tremendous amount of activity as companies prepare to take advantage of the new opportunities opened up by this Free Trade Agreement. This activity is not confined to Winnipeg. In southern Manitoba, in communities such as Winkler, Steinbach and Altona there are literally dozens of small businesses that see the Free Trade Agreement as their ticket to being big businesses. These people are novices in the world of international trade. Many of them depend right now on exports to the United States to sell their products. They know that the Free Trade Agreement will enhance their opportunities while removing the insecurities presented by a growing protectionist attitude in the United States. These things are true right across western Canada. While Manitoba probably has the largest variety of industries expecting to benefit directly from free trade, the other western provinces have just as much to gain and more.

In the West, we need free trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Dobbie: In 1986, our exports to the United States totalled \$12 billion. That represents one dollar out of every five in our western economy. One can see that the threat of increasing protectionism in the United States presents a terrifying prospect for our 7.5 million people.

On the other hand, liberalized trade opens the door to expanded markets. Think about Alberta and B.C., which are practically next door to California with its population of over 25 million nestled conveniently in a 4,000 square mile radius. I personally have done business in California.

If anyone thinks for one moment that we Canadians cannot compete in that market or that our products and our services cannot find markets there, then they should think again.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Dobbie: I have found Californians to be more than receptive to Canadians. In fact, being a Canadian actually gave me an advantage in many cases because my California customers had a very deep-seated respect for Canadian quality and Canadian productivity.

Furthermore, many of them were intrigued by the idea of dealing with a Canadian company. They attached a certain glamour to our foreignness. The same held true for my experience in Washington, D.C., for my experience in Maryland, and for my experiences in New York. Canadian business people have a tremendous opportunity in these markets. Let me tell you, Madam Chairman, our American counterparts are no smarter, no sharper or no tougher than we are in business.

While I am at it, I would like to dispel some of the Opposition's myths about unfair competition from cheaper labour in the United States. In my personal experience it costs as much, and more, to employ people in California as it did in Manitoba, as it did in Ontario, as it did in Alberta or as it did in B.C. Contrary to some of the statements we have heard in this House, American workers are covered by most of the same benefits as are our workers in Canada. Instead of the state subsidizing these costs the burden falls directly on the employer. That means that his bottom line direct labour costs are often higher in Canada than they are in the United States.

The fact is that in the majority of cases, in real terms, labour is not cheaper in the United States. This is not

just my experience. A constituent of mine in Winnipeg South who owns an export business with a large distribution network tells me that the hourly rate that he pays for a warehouse worker in Minneapolis is \$26.75. Those are U.S. dollars. Another local company which just bought a branch plant in Georgia to complement its local production—and Georgia is the one we hear so much about—soon discovered that labour costs offered absolutely no advantage to doing business there. When the wages and benefits were added up and compared there was very little difference from what it cost to employ workers in Winnipeg. So much for the myths that we have heard perpetrated in this House.

So what an opportunity being next to California presents for British Columbia, where one out of every four jobs has the potential to be affected positively by the Free Trade Agreement. What a tremendous opportunity for Albertans to sell beef and to secure markets for their oil and gas. For Saskatchewan, free trade provides security for agriculture, for petroleum and mine exports. It creates a future for that province's small but diverse and steadily increasing manufactured output.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I apologize, but I must interrupt the Hon. Member at this time.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: It being 1 p.m., it is my duty to rise, report progress, and request leave to consider the Bill again later this day.

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Progress reported.

[*Translation*]

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): It being one o'clock, I do now leave the Chair until two o'clock this afternoon.

At 1 p.m., the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS

The House resumed at 2 p.m.

S. O. 31

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S.O. 31

[Translation]

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

CONCEPTION OF PUBLIC INTEREST

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, as a result of the landslides that followed the earthquake of November 25 and that forced the interruption of rail traffic on the Senneterre—La Tuque subdivision, the Abitibi region is isolated.

No passenger train has served communities along the line. CN freight trains have been rerouted to Ontario, resulting in a very long detour of 1,300 kilometres.

Mr. Speaker, why not use the Franquet-Chapais line, which is 700 kilometres long, and thus save 600 kilometres of travelling!

CN is not helping Abitibi and Témiscamingue by continuing to ask for the abandonment of the Franquet-Chapais subdivision.

Mr. Speaker, what is the public interest for Canadian National in Abitibi-Témiscamingue and in Quebec?

* * *

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

CONCERNS OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLANDERS

Mr. Joe McGuire (Egmont): Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the people of Egmont for the tremendous demonstration of support and confidence they showed in me November 21. I want to assure my constituents that I will do my utmost to vindicate their judgment.

The people of Egmont in particular, and indeed of P.E.I. in general, showed a very serious mistrust of the Free Trade Agreement and a quite legitimate fear of its impact on them. They demonstrated their concerns by voting solidly Liberal during the campaign.

Local issues were also prominent in the campaign. Residents of Summerside have become extremely upset over the past couple of years by an offensive odour which emanates from the Summerside harbour from decaying seaweed, and it is particularly revolting at low tide.

In a deathbed conversion, the former Minister of the Environment acknowledged his sin of omission and committed the Government to solving the problem. In *The Guardian* of November 16, my Conservative opponent was quoted as saying that the Minister had committed his Government to finding a solution to Summerside's west end odour problem. Summerside residents fully expect the new Acting Minister of the Environment (Mr. Bouchard) to honour the commitment made by his predecessor, and I hope the Government will not choose to ignore this obligation because the voters of Hillsborough decided to terminate Mr. McMillan.

* * *

CANADIAN SPACE AGENCY

REGINA SUGGESTED AS SITE

Mr. Larry Schneider (Regina—Wascana): Mr. Speaker, I wish to offer a solution to a problem currently causing a split in the federal Liberal Party. In the December 16 *Ottawa Citizen*, it was reported that "Ottawa-area Liberal Members of Parliament have asked the Prime Minister to locate the new Canadian Space Agency near the National Capital, even though their Leader says it belongs in Montreal".

As I know our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) would like to contribute to the resolution of this Liberal embarrassment, may I offer the capital city of Saskatchewan—Regina—the sunshine capital of Canada, the city of lots of space, as the site for the new Canadian Space Agency center.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and have a good Christmas!

* * *

THE FRANCHISE

VOTING BY PROXY—COST OF MEDICAL CERTIFICATES

Mr. John Harvard (Winnipeg—St. James): Mr. Speaker, Canadians are strong believers in democracy, and we abhor anything that stands in the way of the right to vote.

During the recent election campaign I became aware of a problem facing some disabled voters in my riding of Winnipeg—St. James. Due to their disabilities, these individuals chose to exercise their right to vote by proxy.

However, when these voters attempted to secure a medical certificate, which is a requirement for a proxy vote, they discovered that doctors charged up to \$15 for this service. This is not an overwhelming sum, but it is an impediment to the right to vote.

I urge the House to give serious consideration to an amendment to the Canada Elections Act. Voters should not have to consult their bank accounts to determine whether they can afford to vote. Voting is a sacred right in this country, and as parliamentarians we have an obligation to remove any barrier, large or small, that prevents even one Canadian from voting.

* * *

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

ARMENIAN EARTHQUAKE—TRIBUTE TO SASKATOON RESCUE GROUP

Mr. Ron Fisher (Saskatoon—Dundurn): Mr. Speaker, I rise today to offer my congratulations and the congratulations of all the people of Saskatoon to the members of the Canadian on-site rescue effort who returned from earthquake devastated Soviet Armenia yesterday.

Their courage and selflessness are a fine example of the long and proud Canadian legacy of humanitarian service on the international stage. As a nation, we have always tried to be quick to respond to human suffering wherever it might be found, and it gives me great pride to know that Saskatoonians have helped to add another page to that legacy.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must confess that I am deeply disappointed in the shamefully inadequate levels of support provided to these individuals by the Canadian Government. Critical supplies such as water and tents were not made available, and organizers were told to put their rations on their Visa accounts.

I urge the Government to take up the challenge offered by the Canadian volunteers and to set up a crack team that could be put on a disaster site anywhere in the world within hours of a crisis, and to ensure that the experiences and expertise of the rescue veterans of Armenia and Mexico City are properly utilized.

S. O. 31

SIMCOE CENTRE

AN INVITATION TO ENJOY HURONIA HOSPITALITY

Ms. Edna Anderson (Simcoe Centre): Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honour for me to rise for the first time in my place as the elected representative of the constituents of Simcoe Centre. I stand today in thanks for the privilege of serving them.

The great riding of Simcoe Centre is a collection of farmland, rolling hills, and streams, nestled between two beautiful bodies of water, Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. Tourism, agriculture, and a healthy manufacturing sector serve to provide meaningful employment to a majority of our people.

Allow me, Mr. Speaker, to invite and encourage all Members to enjoy Huronia hospitality and recreational services the residents of Simcoe Centre so willingly provide, particularly now in this season of winter sports.

* * *

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Ms. Lynn Hunter (Saanich—Gulf Islands): Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the hypocrisy of the Conservative Government which claims to support employment equity and fair employment practices for women, the disabled, native Canadians, and visible minorities, and yet is not willing to apply these same principles in its own workforce. The under representation of these groups in the Public Service, particularly in management and professional positions, is so serious that the Canadian Human Rights Commissioner, Max Yalden, has called on five major government Departments—External Affairs, National Defence, Revenue Canada, Transport Canada, and Fisheries and Oceans, to account for their discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

How can the Government expect the private sector to take its Employment Equity Act seriously when the Government refuses to include the federal Public Service in this legislation and refuses to enforce fair employment practices in its own workforce?

I urge the Government to amend the badly flawed employment equity legislation to include federal public servants and to include real, meaningful and effective enforcement measures, and I urge the federal Government to set an example for all employers by taking real

S. O. 31

steps to reverse the traditionally discriminatory hiring practices in the Public Service of Canada.

* * *

[*Translation*]

FREE TRADE

ULTIMATE FINALITY

Mr. Michel Champagne (Champlain): Mr. Speaker, the ultimate purpose of free trade is to improve the quality of life of Canadians through stable, long-term job creation.

The Canadian people gave us on November 21st a specific mandate to change our producers' thinking and restore their belief in guaranteed access to a consumer market of 255 million people.

As a responsible Government, we understood that as long as that assurance of perpetual access to a large market is not engraved into the minds of our entrepreneurs, as it is in the United States, Japan or Western Europe, they will reason on the basis of a limited market and will not be able to think really big. They will go and expand somewhere else.

Northern Telecom and so many others companies that invested heavily in the United States over these last few years would not have had to make that strategic move had we had free trade. The jobs would have been created here.

Contrary to the Opposition which is attempting to find replacement programs for those who lose their jobs, this Progressive Conservative Government will go on creating new jobs, and this is the reason why we are in office.

* * *

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

EXPECTATIONS IN RESTIGOUCHE

Mr. Guy H. Arseneault (Restigouche): Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to thank my constituents in Restigouche for the confidence they showed me during the last election.

There has been a large number of cases of injustice in my constituency, and a definite commitment from this Government is needed to remedy the situation.

[*English*]

The injustices suffered by the people of Restigouche include the following. Not one part of the riding qualifies for the northern tax allowance benefit; no economic or job replacement strategy was proposed or introduced in my riding to replace job losses due to CN layoffs; the facilities for our fishermen are still not receiving adequate funding from the federal Government; our rural post offices are being threatened by Canada Post's policies.

[*Translation*]

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, the small community of Madran has been awaiting for too long already the renovation of its obsolete bridge. The province of New Brunswick and the CN are committed to share the cost of the project with the Canadian Government, which is still beating around the bush.

• (1410)

[*English*]

I urge the federal Government to take appropriate action to help the citizens of the Restigouche riding and others with similar problems.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

AUTO PACT PROVISIONS

Mr. Ken Atkinson (St. Catharines): Mr. Speaker, the Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Canada contains an enhanced Auto Pact. Not only have trade irritants been resolved, the Auto Pact now covers replacement parts and tires, and contains a requirement for auto manufacturers to have a 50 per cent Canadian-U.S. content in the cars they produce in order to have duty-free access to the United States.

Auto producers and auto parts manufacturers in the city of St. Catharines are enthusiastic about these provisions in the pact. General Motors and companies such as Hayes-Dana and Thompson Products realize that these items in the Free Trade Agreement will provide them with access to a much larger market and result in stronger companies and more employment in the city of St. Catharines.

The people of St. Catharines and the Niagara Peninsula are very aware of the benefits that will flow to their

area as a result of the Free Trade Agreement, and they made this clear on November 21 of this year.

* * *

AIRPORTS

HAMILTON AIRPORT—SUGGESTED USE TO HANDLE PEARSON OVERFLOW

Ms. Beth Phinney (Hamilton Mountain): Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by thanking the residents of Hamilton Mountain for electing me as their representative to Parliament. I promise to represent the interests of my constituents with the utmost attention and devotion.

The point I want to make today concerns the traffic congestion and the insufficient number of air traffic controllers at Pearson International Airport.

The Hon. Minister of State for Transport (Mrs. Martin) told the House that traffic is being well handled through the holiday season. However, yesterday Pearson International reported at least 14 cancellations and lengthy delays, delays of up to 137 minutes, with an average of between 60 and 70 minutes for Air Canada alone.

Hamilton Airport is open for business, with a full and qualified staff ready to handle the overflow from Pearson International. We hope in the interest of air travellers and their safety, and with the full co-operation of the City of Hamilton, that the Minister will take action to redirect the overflow to Hamilton Airport.

* * *

[Translation]

ELECTIONS

TRIBUTE TO LANGELIER VOLUNTARY WORKERS

Mr. Gilles Loiselle (Langelier): Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people of Langelier for the trust they showed in me on November 21st and tell them how proud I am to be representing them in this House.

Mr. Speaker, please allow me to pay tribute to the hundreds of volunteers whose hard work and devotion made my victory possible. I would like to stress, and I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that all of my colleagues will agree with me, the vital role played by these Canadian men and women within our electoral system and also

S. O. 31

how freely they have given of their time and energy to this key aspect of the democratic process.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay special tribute to one of those workers, Mr. Albert Lemoyne, who passed away at the beginning of the month.

* * *

[English]

NATIONAL ENERGY BOARD

NATURAL GAS SUPPLY AND DEMAND STUDY

Mrs. Barbara Sparrow (Calgary Southwest): Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to the National Energy Board, so ably chaired by Mr. Roland Priddle. In March, 1985, the signing of the Western Accord marked the beginning of the end of the disastrous Liberal National Energy Program.

This Government deregulated oil in June, 1985, and we started deregulating natural gas in October, 1985.

On December 15 this year, the National Energy Board released its first natural gas market assessment report on the market based procedure for assessing natural gas export applications. I congratulate the board on its excellent study with respect to supply and demand of natural gas but, more important, I reinforce its strong message that limited pipeline capacity may pose the most serious concern in the near term.

* * *

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, for years and years immigrants and native-born Canadians alike found their jobs on our farms, in our forests, and in our mines. Today, however, both old and new Canadians migrate to our cities because that is where our jobs are now. Our cities have become the new Canadian frontier.

Most Canadians now live on our urban frontier. But, like all frontiers, our cities have their problems, problems with housing, with the environment, transportation, day care, race relations, drugs and the parole system.

The federal Government has a role to play in solving all of these problems, and just as soon as the free trade

Oral Questions

legislation has been implemented the Government should get on with it, and get on with it fast.

* * *

THE CONSTITUTION**MEECH LAKE ACCORD**

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, former Prime Minister Trudeau's words were prophetic when he wrote in May, 1987:

Those who have never wanted a bilingual Canada—Quebec separatists and western separatists—get their wish right in the first paragraphs of the Accord, with recognition of 'the existence of French-speaking Canada . . . and English-speaking Canada.' Those Canadians who fought for a single Canada, bilingual and multicultural, can say good-bye to their dream: We are henceforth to have two Canada's, each defined in terms of its language. And because the Meech Lake Accord states that 'Quebec constitutes, within Canada, a distinct society' and that 'the role of the legislature and government to preserve and promote (this) distinct identity . . . is affirmed', it is easy to predict what future awaits anglophones living in Quebec and what treatment will continue to be accorded to francophones living in provinces where they are fewer in number than Canadians of Ukrainian or German origin.

If the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) meant what he said in February, 1984, about the rights of Francophones in Manitoba, then he better awaken to the fact that Meech Lake is not the vehicle to ensure minority language rights in Canada. If he will not, then his words are hollow.

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[*Translation*]

CHARTER OF RIGHTS**QUÉBEC ANGLOPHONES' RIGHTS—GOVERNMENT POSITION**

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I would like to come back to Bill 178, which I see aims to restrict some rights of the Anglophones in Quebec. My question is for the Prime Minister. Yesterday, he told us that he had not had the time to read the Bill. It is only three pages long; surely he has had the time to read it! Could we know what his position is today?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my position is the same today as it was yesterday. It is exactly the same position as I expressed in the

House following questions from the Hon. Member for Shefford and others. There has been no change.

NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—POSITION OF PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister is playing hide-and-seek. We will try to get some clarification. On one hand, we have the Secretary of State who supports and advocates the use of the notwithstanding clause. Yesterday, if I understood correctly, once again the Prime Minister in his speech here in this House told us that he was against this section, this notwithstanding clause. Could we know who speaks for the Government, the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I said yesterday that in my opinion, the notwithstanding clause was incompatible with a Charter of Rights and Freedoms. That is a position I have always defended. There is no change in that position. The position I announced yesterday is the Government's. It so happens that since 1981-82, since the Constitution of 1981-82, the provinces now have a "notwithstanding" clause that was granted as part of the constitutional process in 1981-82. The Hon. Member mentions it, he decries it, and I think that he is quite right. But the position that I announced yesterday is the Government's.

USE OF NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—PRIME MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister is still playing hide-and-seek. Is this Government for using the notwithstanding clause? This seems to me to be a very simple question. We have a Secretary of State who is responsible for protecting and promoting minority groups in all provinces, francophones outside Quebec and anglophones in Quebec. The Secretary of State advocates using the notwithstanding or "opting out" clause. The Prime Minister says no, this clause should not be used. I want to know this from the Government: When the Prime Minister says that this clause should not be used, is he speaking for the Government, is he telling the Canadian people that he is for language rights throughout the whole country, wherever they live, that we have rights as minorities, whether we are francophones outside Quebec or anglophones in Quebec?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend's question is troubling, because

Oral Questions

according to the answers given yesterday and published in *Le Devoir*:

"Mrs. Finestone congratulated Brian Mulroney for defending minority rights yesterday. Mr. Allmand concluded by saying that he was satisfied with the Prime Minister's statement that the decision of the Court and the two leaders, federal and provincial, should be respected."

That is the very clear position I announced. I communicated with the Premier of Quebec before the decision was made, to tell him that my position is that of the Government and, I thought, of the federal Parliament. The position was . . . It is hard for me to answer since I am being interrupted by the Member for Hamilton East. If you want me to continue on a sensitive subject, Mr. Speaker, I shall try.

So the position I announced yesterday is exactly the one I defend today and the position was hailed and applauded, if I am not mistaken, by the Hon. Members for Mount Royal and Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, who are Liberals, of course, because the position I defended is exactly the one that I have defended since I first entered the House.

Now I call on my friend, the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier, to read carefully not the conclusions that may be drawn from some statements of the Secretary of State but the text of his statement, and the text of this statement in no way contradicts the position I had the honour to announce yesterday.

The position of the federal Government is very simple. We hoped that the Government of Quebec could come up with a bill that would respect the two important aspects raised by the Supreme Court in its decision. That is what we wanted and that is what I said to Mr. Bourassa and I presume that is the position of all Hon. Members.

● (1420)

NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE

Hon. Bob Kaplan (York Centre): Mr. Speaker, I should just like to quote to the Prime Minister a statement made in October by his Secretary of State. This is a quotation from *La Presse*:

This clause . . .

. . . referring to the "notwithstanding" clause . . .

. . . is one of the powers Quebec has kept and it is essential for its survival.

Is the Prime Minister saying he does not agree with that and that he is prepared to correct the Secretary of State? "This clause is one of the powers Quebec has kept and it is essential for its survival." Can one reject that?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): I would have to see the text of my friend. Is it the same text indeed? What I see here—

Mr. Kaplan: This text dates back to October.

Mr. Mulroney: If you are referring to a text published in October, I did not see it.

If the Hon. Member would let me look at this text of October or September I will do so and respond in due time.

QUÉBEC TRADITION OF JUSTICE TO ANGLOPHONE MINORITY

Hon. Bob Kaplan (York Centre): I will gladly raise the question tomorrow. Yesterday, however, he spoke with truth of the long and noble tradition of Quebec's justice towards its Anglophone minority. I just want to ask the Prime Minister whether he considers the proposed legislation as being part of that tradition?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): I said yesterday, and I repeated today, what I as Prime Minister of Canada would like to see in that legislation. I mentioned that quite clearly. My suggestion, my position has been endorsed or acclaimed by the Liberal Members because it is indeed a position . . . So the Hon. Member is asking me a question.

Mr. Kaplan: That was before!

[*English*]

Mr. Mulroney: Apart from commenting on this matter which is a very important matter, the federal Government and Parliament have also taken very important steps in regard to the promotion of English and French minority language rights across the country, which we have done through either the Meech Lake Accord which preserves and enhances very substantially minority rights, or Bill C-72. My hon. friend was a member of the House that dealt with that.

I bring to my hon. friend's attention a comment that we received from Alliance Quebec, and I think it is important because it refers to our responsibility and the commitment of all Hon. Members of the House in regard to the protection of official languages and minorities across Canada. It says:

Oral Questions

Bill C-72 is a major achievement for the promotion of a bilingual vision of Canada. On behalf of Alliance Quebec, I would like to congratulate you and your Government for having worked so hard to ensure passage of this legislation.

Alliance Quebec has supported this Bill because we see in it the beginning of a process to secure the vitality of the official language minority communities across Canada . . .

Again on behalf of the English speaking community of Quebec I would like to express our gratitude for your efforts.

Sincerely,
Royal Orr,
President, Alliance Quebec

[Translation]

QUERY WHETHER PRIME MINISTER SPOKE TO
MANITOBA PREMIER

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. Yesterday at the Legislative Assembly the Premier of Manitoba withdrew his constitutional resolution. As a result of that action we are now facing a constitutional crisis. Did the Prime Minister of Canada speak directly to the Manitoba Premier? If so, what did the two heads of Government talk about? Is there a plan to pursue the constitutional reform process?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Naturally, Mr. Speaker, I deplore the decision made yesterday by the Premier of Manitoba to act as he did without formal notice. However, I do not agree that the situation can be described as a crisis. There is no crisis in Canada, but we do have serious difficulties caused by linguistic tensions. And such was the situation in the early days following our country's foundation 121 years ago. One hundred years from now, whoever happens to be Prime Minister of Canada will also have to deal with linguistic tensions and difficulties. The stakes and the challenge for all of us is trying to do our utmost to find a fair and honourable way of settling these linguistic tensions and challenges for all Canadians.

[English]

FIRST MINISTERS—REQUEST FOR EARLY MEETING

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, I do not disagree with the words that the Prime Minister has used, and I suspect all Hon. Members of the House would agree with him, but to be frank it seems to me that they are beside the point at this moment. I do not want to quibble about the use of the word "crisis". I said that there is a certain crisis. The reality is, as I am sure the Prime Minister understands, that we have what can certainly be called an impasse in the constitutional

reform process that could rapidly become extremely serious. Let me put it that way.

Given the commitment of the Prime Minister and of all Parties in this House to serious constitutional reform being proceeded with on a thoughtful but speedy basis now that we have been involved in it for the past few years, has the Prime Minister, in his conversation with the Premier of the Province of Manitoba, requested, for example an early meeting of the First Ministers so that we would get the very important matter of constitutional reform back on track?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, it is Canadians who exercise positions of leadership in this area who seek to conclude a constitutional process, and my hon. friend supported the Meech Lake Accord as did the Liberal Party. We know full well that Canada is incomplete as long as Quebec has been left in the role of a bystander. That is why we have all worked so hard to try to find a formula that would bring Québec back into the Canadian constitutional family so that the family could then grow and prosper together.

● (1430)

It is, therefore, important that leaders resist the temptation outside this House to blame everything on the Meech Lake Accord. What happened in Manitoba yesterday, the suggestion that there is a tie-in between what happened elsewhere on the Meech Lake Accord, is very regrettable and very misleading because there is no tie-in. In point of fact, under the Meech Lake Accord, Canada's linguistic duality will be recognized in the Constitution for the first time.

The existence of French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians living together throughout the country will be affirmed as a fundamental characteristic of our federation. As a result, the Constitution, including the Charter of Rights, and linguistic and educational rights in particular, will have to be interpreted in light of this fundamental reality.

I remember comments from both sides of the House. One of the reasons it was so strongly endorsed by all Members of the House of Commons was that members of all Parties believed very strongly that by bringing Quebec into the Canadian Confederation we did so in a manner which strengthened the rights of minorities across the country.

There will always be challenges. There will always be attempts to vitiate those rights and that is why this

Parliament, the Leaders of all Parties, have been particularly vigilant in this regard, as we ought to be.

Ms. Copps: That is not what you said in the election campaign, Mulroney.

Mr. Mulroney: I come to my friend's question. When I was obliged to roll over the First Ministers' Conference that had been foreseen for Calgary, I wrote to the Premiers on October 7 indicating my intention to convene a meeting of First Ministers early in the mandate. I expect that such a meeting of First Ministers will take place in the first quarter, probably in February or March, and clearly this will be a matter of important consideration.

MEETING OF FIRST MINISTERS IN NEW YEAR

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, if I understood the Prime Minister's last words, that is an encouraging sign.

Just so we are clear on this, the Premier of the Province of Quebec has made a statement—if he was quoted accurately in the last 24 hours—that he would not be attending a subsequent meeting until the Meech Lake Accord had been approved. On the other hand, we have had the Premier of Manitoba making rather extreme statements.

Given the constructive role that all three federal Parties have played in this constitutional process in the last few years and hoping that that will continue, do I understand the Prime Minister clearly when he says there will be a meeting in the new year and that will be or will have as its central concern constitutional reform process?

Second, has he had an undertaking, for example, from the two Premiers I have just mentioned that they would be willing to attend such a meeting?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): No, Mr. Speaker. I have no undertaking from the Premiers. I wrote to them in October. My expectation is that if they were invited to attend a constitutional conference they would likely attend.

It is very clear for anybody who cares to see that until Quebec is brought back into the constitutional fold there shall be constitutional paralysis in this country. There shall be no justice for our aboriginal peoples. There will be no Senate reform. There is a whole series of events that will be beyond the reach of this Parliament and this country, beginning with the basic justice that ought to be brought, for example, to our aboriginal peoples.

Oral Questions

That is why so many Members of this House worked so diligently to try to build a formula, imperfect though it was, that would heal the wounds of 1981-82 and make Canada whole again. That is exactly what we sought to do. This is exactly what the Meech Lake Accord did, and this is what we hope the philosophy of that Accord will ensure in the future. I know that I will have the support of my hon. friend and the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in pursuing those objectives with the Premiers of Canada.

* * *

CANADIAN SPACE AGENCY

DAVID FLORIDA LABORATORY—NEWSPAPER'S ALLEGATION

Ms. Marlene Catterall (Ottawa West): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister. On December 14, 1987, the Minister of State for Science and Technology said that the Government would create a space agency to act as a co-ordinator of the research and scientific space projects of the line Departments of the Canadian Government. One of these is the David Florida Laboratory in this region.

In the *Citizen* today we see that, contrary to the Minister's assurances, the Government is planning to break up and uproot the David Florida Laboratory, one of the cornerstones of Canada's space program, at a cost to the taxpayers of \$200 million, the entire annual budget of the National Space Program.

Will the Prime Minister explain to the House the contradiction between the Minister's statement and the plan revealed today to move the David Florida Laboratory?

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, first, if I am not mistaken, it is the Liberal Party's position and the position of its Leader to have the space agency located in Montreal.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. de Cotret: It has been announced by the Leader of the Opposition on a number of occasions, although no decision has been made by the Government.

As to the second issue, I would only advise my hon. friend to search for the facts rather than for fiction. We

Oral Questions

never had any intention, we do not have any intention, we never had any plans nor do we have any plans to move any part of the laboratory to Montreal. That is pure fiction created from who knows where, from some report, that was never asked by myself or my colleague in the Department of Science and Technology.

Where the story that appeared in the media this morning came from is really more a the figment of the author's imagination than from any kind of government decision or action contemplated in the past, in the present, or in the future.

GOVERNMENT POSITION

Ms. Marlene Catterall (Ottawa West): Mr. Speaker, that is not very satisfying to the workers—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member has the floor.

Ms. Catterall: There may be a legitimate argument—I do not accept it, but there may be—about where the space agency as a co-ordinating body should be located, but there is no debate that uprooting—

Mr. Beatty: What is Turner's policy? Do you support your Leader?

Ms. Copps: How is your nuclear submarine program, guys?

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member has been given the floor. I would ask that Hon. Members extend the appropriate courtesies to the Member. The Hon. Member will proceed with her question.

Ms. Catterall: There is no debate that uprooting and dislocating space research could set back the space program in Canada by three to ten years. The Prime Minister said yesterday—

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Ms. Catterall: —that there would be no Blenkarn bulldozer ploughing jobs out of this region.

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Ms. Catterall: He said that public servants would not be victimized for voting.

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Andre: Section 359 of *Beauchesne's*, read it.

Ms. Catterall: My constituents want to know if the Government is even considering this senseless and destructive move of families and jobs. How far will it go to punish the people of this region for voting against the Government?

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

Ms. Catterall: How many jobs is it prepared to move?

Hon. Robert de Cotret (Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology): Mr. Speaker, it is so obvious that the supplementary question was written before the answer to the first question. It is difficult to answer twice.

There is absolutely no question of uprooting. There is no question of moving any facilities from Ottawa to Montreal. I have said that very clearly. There is no question. It was never on the Government's list. It was never even studied. We did not look at it. We did not think about it. It is absolutely not in the cards.

• (1440)

There is no delay in the space program. We have just renegotiated with the European Space Agency for a further ten-year membership in that agency. We are participating in the Hermes program. We have just signed new agreements with NASA to participate in new programs in space.

We are moving ahead rapidly and effectively in this area. We will not uproot you. There has never been any question about uprooting you. Don't worry about it.

Ms. Copps: Don't be so patronizing.

* * *

PAROLE

TORONTO INQUEST FINDINGS

Mr. John Nunziata (York South—Weston): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Acting Solicitor General and it concerns the coroner's inquest into the brutal rape and murder of Tema Conter in Toronto.

In his charge to the jury Chief Coroner Ross Bennet criticized the federal Government for ignoring crucial recommendations made at a similar inquest three years ago into the murder of Celia Ruygrok in Ottawa. At the inquest the Chief Coroner said: "Tema Conter could be alive today if the Government acted on those previous recommendations".

Oral Questions

Would the Acting Solicitor General explain to the House and to the family of Tema Conter why his Ministry failed to adopt and fulfil the recommendations coming out of the Celia Ruygrok inquest three years ago?

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I would be pleased to do so, because it is a very important issue.

I can inform the House and the Hon. Member that, of some 39 recommendations that were made in the case of the Ruygrok killing, some 25 of those recommendations have been implemented to date and some 14 are in progress at the present time. As I pointed out, most of the recommendations have been implemented. The remainder are being actively worked on, but are not yet complete because of their complexity, and in some cases we needed to co-ordinate our efforts with provincial Governments and with the private sector.

RELEASE OF PSYCHOPATH ON UNESCORTED PASS

Mr. John Nunziata (York South—Weston): Mr. Speaker, I repeat that the Chief Coroner said that Tema Conter would be alive today had it not been for the negligence of the Government.

Can the Acting Solicitor General explain to the family of Tema Conter how it was possible for a convicted murderer, a convicted rapist, a diagnosed psychopath, to be on a 48-hour unescorted pass while in the middle of a 25-year sentence for his crimes? Can the Minister explain to the family of Tema Conter how it was possible for that man to be walking the streets?

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, as I indicated earlier, the majority of the recommendations that were made by the coroner's jury in the case of the Ruygrok killing have been put in place. The others are in train at the present time. It obviously takes time to do it, because of the importance of co-ordinating those actions with private sector authorities and also with authorities at the provincial level.

We will be studying very closely all of the recommendations from the jury in the Tema Conter case.

Mr. Nunziata: We have heard it all before, Perrin.

Mr. Beatty: Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member asked a question and does not give me the courtesy to respond. I

wonder whether he would show the same courtesy to me as we extend to him.

We will be studying all of the recommendations in the most recent inquest. We will be making a report during the time period prescribed by the jury. We will be taking every appropriate action to ensure that public safety is maintained, at the same time as we try to ensure that the best aspects of the correctional service and the principle of the National Parole Board be maintained.

Mr. Nunziata: We heard the same things three years ago. It's all rhetoric.

* * *

INDUSTRY

NORTHERN TELECOM—RECRUITMENT OF ENGINEERS TO WORK IN ATLANTA

Mr. Howard McCurdy (Windsor—Lake St. Clair): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade. Northern Telecom has denied that the closure of its highly profitable Aylmer plant reflects a shift of Canadian jobs to its money-losing Atlanta plant, and apparently the Government believes that denial.

We have recently learned that 12 engineers from the Aylmer plant were actively recruited and have since in fact moved to the Atlanta plant and are working there. Is the Minister aware of this fact, and what action does the Government intend to take in response?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I was not aware of the piece of information that the hon. gentleman is sharing with the House.

Northern Telecom is a privately owned company. It is not government owned. I do not see that the Government is in any position to order it as to where it should transfer its employees, or where they should operate or work from, or what is best for the productivity or efficiency of the company. I will see that inquiries are made to get the exact plans of the company.

DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY IN CANADA

Mr. Howard McCurdy (Windsor—Lake St. Clair): Mr. Speaker, as the Minister knows, Northern Telecom is not an ordinary company. As a matter of fact, yesterday the Minister stated that it has become one of the foremost companies in the technological future of

Oral Questions

Canada, largely because its research and development have been heavily subsidized by Canadian taxpayers and telephone subscribers.

Is this to be the Canadian future under the Free Trade Agreement? Will the technologists and technology developed in Canada at Canadian expense instead of sustaining jobs in Canada produce jobs in the United States, or will the Government act to change these circumstances, such that Canadians will have the jobs in Canada which ought to be produced here by the technology for which Canadians paid?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, Northern Telecom is one of the foremost of our privately-owned Canadian companies. I notice that 11 per cent of its sales goes to research and development, which is a great precedent and example for companies in Canada, either publicly or privately owned, to follow.

This is a country that basically has a free enterprise sector and a privately-owned sector outside the control and operation of the Government. That is the way we want to keep it. Northern Telecom has to decide for itself, just like AT&T or any other company, what it has to do to stay competitive and efficient, and to press forward in order that it can employ more people here in Canada and abroad. These are decisions that it has to make.

Mr. McCurdy: Move to the States. That's what the FTA is all about, right?

Mr. Crosbie: In the meantime our programs to assist with its retraining or whatever might be required for employees will supplement its program. I believe that the company itself is going to spend \$2.5 million to retrain in both Canada and in the United States. These effects on Northern Telecom have nothing whatsoever to do with the U.S.—Canada Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, no! Oh, no!

* * *

FORESTRY**FEDERAL-ONTARIO RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENT**

Mr. John A. MacDougall (Timiskaming): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Acting Minister of Forestry. In March, 1989, the five-year federal-

provincial forest resource management development fund will be coming to a conclusion with the Province of Ontario.

Can the Minister tell the House, and those who are involved in the industry, what plans the Government has to sit down with the province to come up with another five-year proposal?

Hon. Frank Oberle (Minister of State (Science and Technology) and Acting Minister of State (Forestry): Mr. Speaker, preliminary discussions have been ongoing for some time with the Province of Ontario and five other provinces whose agreements expire at the end of this fiscal year.

Presently we are considering the best and most effective way to deliver on the strong federal commitment to forestry, whether that is through a future generation of FRDAS or in another way. In all cases we would want to insist that any resources that will be generated by the federal Government will be incremental to that of the provinces. We want to ensure that future agreements are consistent with the traditional role of the federal Government in terms of research, and the renewal and protection of our forests. I am certain that with the response we are receiving from the provinces we will achieve our objective.

* * *

TRADE**U.S. MARINE MAMMALS PROTECTION ACT—
PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF CANADIAN
PRODUCTS**

Mr. Jack Iyerak Anawak (Nunatsiaq): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister for International Trade. An important trade injustice for Canada's Inuit people is the United States Marine Mammals Protection Act of 1972 which prohibits the importation of sealskin, polar bear skins, ivory, ivory carvings, and whale bone into the United States from Canada.

The Free Trade Agreement has not changed the situation. Northern and native businesses still cannot export such products into the United States. Can the Minister tell the House whether the Canadian negotiators tried to obtain an exemption from this law during the trade negotiations?

Hon. Bill McKnight (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Minister of Western

Oral Questions

Economic Diversification): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the Hon. Member to the House. His question is an important one for those citizens of Canada who have traditionally relied on that resource as a source of their income. It was not within the ability of the negotiators during the free trade discussions with the United States to have an exemption to the Marine Mammals Protection Act.

• (1450)

As the Hon. Member knows, this Government, in cooperation with parliamentarians in both opposition Parties, has strongly, throughout Europe and in the United States, made representations to support that important economic industry for Canadians, both those north and south of 60.

REQUEST THAT CANADIAN GOVERNMENT SEEK
EXEMPTION

Mr. Jack Iyerak Anawak (Nunatsiak): The Minister will be aware that the native people of Alaska are exempted from this Act, and the Canadian native peoples need a similar exemption.

What steps is the Government prepared to take to remove this injustice to Canada's native peoples? Will it commit itself to raising this issue on an urgent basis with the U.S. Government?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Bill McKnight (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Minister of Western Economic Diversification): Mr. Speaker, this issue has been raised with the Government of the United States, as it has been before the European Parliament and the Parliament of the U.K.

The matter of trade in those species is not just a question of trade for the native peoples of Canada but for Canadians generally. Canadians are denied access to that market in the U.S.

Mrs. Finestone: The Alaskans have it.

Mr. McKnight: I hear the Hon. Member for Mount Royal saying that the Alaskans have it. They also happen to be American citizens.

Mrs. Finestone: If they have it, we should have it.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERMEN—REQUEST FOR BENEFITS
AMENDMENT

Mr. Fred J. Mifflin (Bonavista—Trinity—Conception): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of Employment and Immigration and has to do with bringing about more equitable treatment under the Unemployment Insurance Act for Newfoundland fishermen, and other fishermen.

Inshore fishermen throughout Newfoundland and Labrador are finding it more and more difficult to accept the rather unique and different manner in which they are treated under the Unemployment Insurance Act whereby they receive unemployment insurance benefits for a specified period and not when they are in fact out of work.

For a specified period starting in mid-November and lasting through until May, they receive unemployment insurance benefits.

They believe, and with good reason, that this is discriminatory.

My question for the Minister is this. Will the Minister pursue the relatively simple matter of amending the existing regulations so as to make fishermen eligible for unemployment insurance at the completion of the normal fishing season, when in fact they are out of work?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his question on this very important subject.

Let me say at the outset that we have made a real effort to assist the fishermen of Newfoundland, and in fact that is one of the reasons why there is a differentiation in the entrance requirements for those fishermen from 14 weeks to 10 weeks. We have also come up with a special program for the fisheries sector in that when there has been a problem with the catch, they are eligible for assistance.

We are in constant communication with the Department of Fisheries, the industry and the Government of the Province of Newfoundland in connection with this whole area, and we will continue to engage in that type of consultation.

MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Fred J. Mifflin (Bonavista—Trinity—Conception): Mr. Speaker, I would ask the Minister to tell the

Oral Questions

House when something positive will be done in respect of this particular situation, a situation which the inshore fishermen find terribly irksome, and difficult if not impossible to understand.

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): This is an area on which we are constantly working. Every year we deal with whatever the difficulties are in the fisheries industry. If difficulties arise, we endeavour to address those difficulties.

It is not something that is simply dropped off the table. It is something that we are constantly working on, and when there is a situation that requires our attention, we immediately act on it.

* * *

HOUSING**ONTARIO—SHORTAGE OF SUBSIDIZED HOUSING**

Mr. Steve Butland (Sault-Ste-Marie): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of State for Housing. Despite his statements during the recent election campaign that there are no homeless in Toronto—and I trust he will not add Ontario and Canada to that list—there is a desperate shortage of subsidized housing in Ontario. In some areas there is a two-year waiting list, and that list will grow unless the Government acts immediately.

I would ask the Minister to reaffirm his predecessor's commitment—I repeat, commitment—to increase, by 7,000, subsidized housing units in Ontario immediately.

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Let me say at the outset that my predecessor did not make a commitment to add an additional 7,000 subsidized housing units. That statement is factually incorrect. What my predecessor did do was to set a new budget for social housing in Ontario, calling for expenditures this year of well over \$500 million, with almost \$250 million of that being spent in the Metropolitan Toronto area.

That money has been taken up by the Province of Ontario, and they are back now asking for more money.

The Government of Ontario made commitments knowing that the money was not there, and now it is blaming the federal Government for the lack of funds.

Once the provincial Minister of Housing begins to feel any heat on this issue, she turns around and blames the federal Government for the lack of funds.

An Hon. Member: Oh, come on!

An Hon. Member: She is absolutely right.

MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Steve Butland (Sault-Ste-Marie): I am reminded of a line from a favourite Christmas poem: "I have promises to keep and miles to go before I sleep."

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): A Christmas poem!

An Hon. Member: That is not a Christmas poem.

Mr. Butland: I suggest that the Minister offers just a half a promise.

The Minister's answer to the homeless, then, is "no". And in the Christmas spirit, shelter for people—this is not a Christmas wish list; it is a necessity. It is housing for those without homes.

My supplementary question for the Minister is this. What specific answer does he have for the homeless in this country, and when will his Draconian attitude toward the homeless change?

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): First of all, I suggest that the Hon. Member get his facts correct. My statement was that the homeless need permanent homes, not temporary homes. The goal of this Government is to provide the homeless with permanent homes. That is the goal of this Government, the goal of our Prime Minister, and the goal toward which we will be working.

It is a multi-faceted problem, a very serious problem. It is a health problem; it is a family problem. It goes much deeper than just providing temporary shelter, as the Hon. Member knows. Our goal is to find a permanent solution for the homeless.

An Hon. Member: Meanwhile, let them freeze.

AIRPORTS**PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT—PEAK HOUR
FLIGHT PATTERNS**

Mr. Harry Chadwick (Brampton—Malton): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of State for Transport and it relates to the situation at the Pearson International Airport.

In the light of the announcement by the Ministry that flight patterns during peak hours at Pearson International Airport would be changed to effect a dual runway system effective May 8 of this year for a six-month trial period, I would ask the Minister to let us know the outcome of that trial. And further, will the system continue, and for what period of time?

Ms. Copps: How long will the chaos continue?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): I thank the Hon. Member for his concern in respect of this particular matter. I can confirm that the trial system of which he speaks was put in place in order to increase runway capacity at Pearson International Airport. I can also confirm that it has been successful and will remain in place.

* * *

[Translation]

DAY CARE**OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE BILL WITHOUT LIMITS
ON FEDERAL FUNDS PAID TO PROVINCES**

Mrs. Diane Marleau (Sudbury): Mr. Speaker, I want to direct a question to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Thousands of Canadian children have been neglected by the Conservative Government.

During their previous mandate the Conservatives attempted to create a day care system under which a ceiling would be set on funds paid to the provinces by the central Government.

Mr. Speaker, does the Minister intend to introduce day care legislation which would not set a limit on funds earmarked for such services in this country?

[English]

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, let me first make the point that this Government has not neglected children, and any

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

statement to the effect that it has is an absolutely incorrect statement.

The fact is, government moneys going to families with dependent children have increased over the life of the Progressive Conservative Government in this country.

We have heard the criticism that family allowance payments were partially deindexed in the past. However, the critics do not factor in the child tax credit. Once the child tax credit is taken into consideration, one finds that total benefits in 1986, as a result of budgets brought down by this Government, have increased. To cite some figures, family allowance payments amounted to \$780.48, and that, added to the child tax credit, a credit which is fully indexed to inflation, translates into total benefits of \$1,578. For 1987, that increased to \$1,642.40; and in 1988, it increases to \$1,714.16.

So, the argument that this Government has done nothing for Canadian families, for Canadian children, is patently false.

In answer to her question in relation to the bringing in of a child care program that has no limits to it, I say to the Hon. Member, with all respect, that I do not think that any Government will come in with a child care program that does not have some spending requirement and some spending projections. That is absolutely important for proper fiscal planning, whether it be by the municipal, provincial, or federal level of government.

● (1500)

It was an expensive program that we came forward with, and if she and others feel the only way to solve this issue is through unlimited funds, I do not think that is in keeping either with the fiscal framework of the Government or the fiscal ability of Canadian taxpayers.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

**CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT****MEASURE TO ENACT**

The House resumed consideration in committee of Bill C-2, an Act to enact the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act—Mr. Crosbie—Mrs. Champagne in the Chair

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: When the committee was interrupted at one o'clock p.m., Clause 2 of the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Bill was under consideration and the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South had the floor.

On Clause 2—Definitions

Ms. Dobbie: Madam Chairman, to continue, this free trade deal is vital for western Canadians. The agreement offers us the opportunity to escape from the limited role we have enjoyed for such a long time as farmers, loggers and miners. It does that while securing our agricultural marketing systems, including our supply-management schemes, for as long as we want them. The Free Trade Agreement allows us to develop our manufacturing base, confident in the access we have secured to the huge American market which is so geographically close and which makes so much sense for us as a place to access new customers.

In Manitoba there are literally dozens of companies who compete internationally and feel free trade will give them the opportunity they need for growth. That opportunity is simply not available right now. I know of a printer of lottery tickets, for example, who has just about reached his maximum potential for sales in Canada. Currently he supplies a small but growing international market, but his largest sales opportunity is south of the border. He claims he could double his size by accessing the Chicago market alone. He knows the sales are there because he has the only installation of its kind in North America and his product has proven absolutely secure and reliable. Yet without the Free Trade Agreement, that opportunity will remain unexploited. His product is currently barred from entering the U.S. This is an old and entirely reliable printing firm and it looks to the Free Trade Agreement for its future in spite of assertions that printing is an "at risk" industry.

There are many other similar stories. In the textile industry, another industry supposedly at risk, the president of a local Winnipeg firm tells me that over 90 per cent of his product is already being exported. Free trade will simply magnify his sales capacity, and his only regret is the lengthy phase-out period of U.S. tariffs on the products he produces. Outside Winnipeg, in the tiny community of Steinback, there is a window manufacturer, the third largest in Canada. He is currently expanding his plant, gearing up for greatly increased production. He, too, looks to Chicago as the natural target for his first sales expansion.

These are comparatively small businesses and we all too frequently hear this agreement is a deal for big

businesses, its benefits will accrue to the giant multinational corporations. This is simply not true as I know from first-hand experience. Last year I served a term as President of the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce. Over 85 per cent of that organization's 1700-member firms employ fewer than 15 people. Yet the membership is overwhelmingly in favour of the Free Trade Agreement and has been since the idea was first announced.

Small manufacturers, small business, small service people, all see the opportunities for expansion if only to supply the medium to large-size firms that will access the trade opportunities in the U.S. on a first-hand basis. Everyone, from the fellow who supplies the ink to my printer constituent, to those who service his computers, can grasp the concept that his growth will magnify their own business potential.

I guess that is enough on business because we tend to overlook the consumer, the ultimate winners in this deal, the man in the street, our friend and neighbour, the worker, the everyday people our opponents like to talk about all the time. Those people are what this agreement is all about: a better lifestyle for all Canadians. That will be achieved through more jobs, lower prices, and access to a wider variety of goods of a higher quality as competitive market forces work their magic.

The source opportunity for price reductions will come from the removal of the tariffs themselves. On certain consumer products this can be a very substantial amount, 20 per cent to 25 per cent for clothing and footwear, for example. Yet the real savings will grow out of competition in the market-place. Business, which can readily understand the economies of scale, will find ways of reducing costs in order to meet competitive pricing in the race to increase sales volume. Increased sales volume means more product, which means more people working to produce the product, which means more money to make more purchases, and so on.

I know this is pretty simple stuff for many of my hon. colleagues, but the debate we have listened to over the past few days would indicate there are those among us who do not comprehend that the free market system is the ultimate answer to prosperity for the majority and a better life for all.

In real terms, the consumer, our friends, neighbours and associates, will reap substantial financial benefits from the Free Trade Agreement. For example, the Department of Finance model places real income gains at 2.5 per cent, while the Economic Council of Canada estimates these gains may go as high as 3.3 per cent. In

dollars and cents, according to a January 1988 Consumer and Corporate Affairs study, this will mean \$450 a year for low income families and as much as \$800 a year for middle and higher income families.

These are some of the tangible, quantifiable benefits we can see and touch. Harder to estimate are the secondary benefits resulting from increased purchasing power and higher consumption in a more affluent society. Who can measure the social benefits that will flow from a society capable of shucking the burden of debt we inherited four years ago? Who can predict the cultural advances that will emerge in a new era of economic stability and confidence?

This is an exciting time for Canada, a time of hope and a time of progress. This agreement exemplifies the kind of Canada we will have tomorrow. It will be a Canada where the promises of opportunity and prosperity which brought our immigrant forefathers to this northern land will be fulfilled.

Let us grasp the opportunities provided to us by this agreement and use them to claim the 21st century for Canada and for our children.

• (1510)

Ms. Callbeck: Madam Chairman, it is with the greatest humility and respect for the traditions of this House that I rise today in the first session of Canada's Thirty-fourth Parliament. I feel truly privileged as a Canadian to have been chosen by the people of the district of Malpeque, Prince Edward Island, to represent them and to bring their concerns to this House.

Parliament is the living heart of our democracy. It is the place where great decisions are made that affect the course of our history as a country. It touches the lives of every individual Canadian.

I am conscious of my responsibility as a parliamentarian to weigh every issue in terms of the effects on my country and in terms of the effects on the lives of the people of Malpeque. Those people are my special responsibility. I see it as my duty to serve their interests.

My district has been blessed by nature. It is bounded by the waters of Northumberland Strait on one side and by the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the other. In between lies some of the finest farmland in Canada, the rolling fields of fertile soil where the potatoes are the prime agricultural crop and dairy farms with herds of purebred cattle. Family farms for the present generation struggle to maintain an existence on landholdings that may go back 200 years.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

On both of Malpeque's coasts fishing villages dot the coastline. The boats go out each day that weather permits in the fishing season. They go for lobster, herring, mackerel and groundfish. Theirs, too, is an uncertain existence in the face of fishing quotas, declining stocks and on-shore markets.

The farm communities and the fishing villages are the sturdy backbone of our rural society in Malpeque. They have a deep and lasting bond with the land and the sea. They depend upon our natural environment to return a living to them year after year.

It is the unspoiled and tranquil nature of our environment that attracts many people working in Summerside and Charlottetown to live in Malpeque. It is the same natural beauty that attracts so many summer visitors to Cavendish and the other magnificent beaches on our north and south shores.

But now the people of Malpeque are threatened. They and all that they hold dear have been threatened by the trade agreement signed by the Government with the United States of America.

On November 21, the people of Malpeque, like the majority of Prince Edward Islanders and the majority of Canadians, said they did not like the trade deal. They said they wanted none of it. They said that their future as Canadians working and living in a sovereign nation was imperilled by the agreement. I am well aware that the Government won enough seats in the election to carry out its trade agreement through this House. So I suppose that is what will happen.

But my concern and the concerns of the people of Malpeque lie not only with what is included in this agreement but also with what is not included, for example, a definition of what constitutes an unfair subsidy. Up to this point that definition seems to have been set by the Americans. It goes this way: "What we do is perfectly acceptable, and what you Canadians do is not". That seems to be the essence of the Mitchell amendment. Actually, the Senator from Maine may have done us a service by signalling what the future will be like if the Americans have their way with us in the coming negotiations over subsidies.

Senator Mitchell has targeted 35 government assistance programs to our farm community which he says constitute unfair subsidy. He wants us to get rid of all of them. He wants our country to become a dumping ground for surplus American farm commodities—never mind that those commodities are produced with assistance from the United States Government, and never

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

mind that it costs our farmers more to produce farm products because they have to contend with much more severe conditions in climate.

The potato farmers of Malpeque are justly proud of the quality of their product. They sell their crops in Canada, in the United States and around the world. Prince Edward Island potatoes are second to none grown anywhere else. But this trade agreement suggests that the present duty that each country imposes will be removed over 10 years. That is fine, but the Americans want more. They are not satisfied with that clause. Now they have issued implementing legislation which authorizes the President to negotiate import quotas on Canadian products and Canadian potatoes. That is a clear signal to me and to the farm people of Malpeque that as soon as we achieve any level of success in exporting potatoes to the United States they are ready to put the clamps on us.

Senator Mitchell's amendments also go after the fishermen. Our fishery and theirs operate from two different philosophies. We manage our fishery; they do not. We assist our fishermen because we manage our fishery. We tell them when they can go fishing. We tell them how much of which kind of fish they can catch. We recognize that in an era of high costs our fishermen are limited to what kind of living they can make by man-made and natural restrictions. But that is not the American way; it is our way of dealing with a Canadian situation.

The fishermen of Malpeque and of the Atlantic provinces are entitled to Canadian solutions to Canadian problems. They will settle for nothing less. They will not accept the American way of doing things in Canada.

The question of what constitutes fair government assistance to agriculture, fishermen and other industries in the Atlantic area is a central issue in this agreement. After two years of negotiations with the Americans the Government was unable to reach an accord, even though it was one of the main objectives of the entire exercise.

We are about to see this trade deal become a reality in Canadian life. We still do not know how this central issue will be decided.

We need regional development programs in the Atlantic region. We need them so that we can help ourselves. We need them so that we can have the opportunity of participating in the prosperity of more favoured regions of the country. We are entitled to those programs because, as Canadians, we are entitled to the benefits of belonging to Canadian society stretching

from east to west from one ocean to the other and northward to the Arctic.

Already there is evidence that the regional development programs are being shaped to fit the American view. Senior civil servants have said so. I have no reason to disbelieve them.

That cannot be allowed to happen in subsidy negotiations. We must preserve the right to shape our society as we see fit. We must be prepared to fight for Canadian solutions to Canadian social and economic problems.

There is every indication that it will be us Canadians who will dance to the American tune in the name of harmonization. It is this prospect that alarms the Leader of my Party, my peers in the opposition benches and Canadians across the country.

It is not just a simple matter of retraining our people. It is not even a matter of compensating them in some way or other. It is a matter of a fundamental right as a Canadian to be able to live, work and enjoy the benefits of the Canadian society we have built over the last 120 years.

The people of Malpeque, like the people in other parts of Atlantic Canada, want no more than what is their right by virtue of being Canadian. This Government has negotiated a trade deal that puts those basic rights in peril.

The performance of the Government in protecting our social programs and defending our right to enact assistance programs as we see fit will be watched by every Canadian. I believe the trade agreement is a bad deal for Canada and for my district. The people of Malpeque said so when they chose me as their representative in this House. I see it as my duty to protect their interests as the full impact of the trade deal becomes apparent.

This is what I intend to do as one individual Member of the Parliament of Canada.

• (1520)

Mr. Cooper: Madam Chairman, I am pleased to have an opportunity to enter into the debate this afternoon on this very important issue, this issue that has been the focus of attention for Canadians for several months now. As we go into this particular stage of the discussion on this Bill, it is interesting to look back and find where we were before. We sat at committee stage on this subject, the subject of free trade, a total of 16 days in the legislative committee. It was 24 days in the External

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Affairs Committee. Those committee hearings added up to 300 hours. As a result of that, the issue has been very much the focus of Canadians. We are repeating that process again today. We repeat it simply because we have gone through an election period. We, as a Government, have received a mandate to proceed on this particular piece of legislation, because it was the central issue of this last campaign.

I have been surprised in the debate over the last couple of days to listen to Members from the Opposition who say time and time again that a majority of Canadians said "no" to free trade, that this Government has no mandate. Yet if we as Members in this House are to apply their rules of mandate that they seem to be using in their particular arguments, we would find that very few people in this House of Commons have a mandate to be here to represent their people. There are very few people in this room today who have over 50 per cent of their electorate backing them. Does that mean that they do not have a mandate to speak for their people? Does that mean that they do not have a right to come in here to represent their constituents by way of voting in this institution or speaking in this House of Commons? Of course not. It would be the height of absurdity if we were to accept that kind of an argument.

Then why should the opposition Members expect the Canadian people to swallow that argument hook, line and sinker all of a sudden because we did not receive over 50 per cent of the vote in this last election? This Government does have a mandate. It has a mandate by every fair standard that has been applied in the country and throughout the history of Parliaments that have existed throughout the world.

I want to touch on three or four items that I think are essential to the debate. The perspective that I want to bring to the discussion is that of the Member of Parliament for the riding of Peace River, an Albertan and a western Canadian. I believe that this particular debate is an issue that has been absolutely fundamental to western Canadians for a long time. If I were to stop and ask western Canadians what has been the one issue that has been a frustration, a point of anger, not in recent weeks and months but for years and decades, they would say that one problem that they have lived with all this time has been the question of tariffs. Those tariffs were never seen as being put in place to protect the people of Peace River or the people of Alberta. They were never put in place to protect westerners. They were put in place to protect industries that were not located in that part of our country.

I really do believe that this issue is fundamental to western Canadians. It is fundamental because of those tariffs. We have wanted, since the beginning of Confederation, since the western provinces became a part of this country, to work on a level playing field. We have asked for equal opportunity. Give us equal opportunity. Give us an equal chance. We believe that we can compete successfully with any competition that exists. Instead, as long as those tariffs have remained in place, we have been confined to the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Why? Because those tariffs have never been fair to our products. It is very simple reasoning. It is not just the Americans.

It is the Japanese and the Europeans. In fact, it is the Canadians as well. We are quite prepared to let other peoples' raw materials come into our country with a very small tariff if we can process those goods, but if they want to ship us processed goods, then we want a high protection. That is exactly what has been happening in western Canada for decades. It was quite easy for us to sell the raw oil, the raw natural gas, the raw lumber, but when we wanted to start processing those products, then immediately they faced a much higher tariff barrier than the raw material. As a result, there is a frustration that is very deep-rooted within western Canada.

We have wanted to diversify our economy. That is why this Government has developed programs like the Western Diversification Program. Why? Because we want to broaden our base. We want new opportunities for western Canadians. We do not simply want to be producers of raw materials. We want also to be the producers and the manufacturers of those raw materials. We want to create those jobs and that investment, and we want to keep it in the Provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. We do not want to export those jobs to the United States, to Japan, to the European Common Market. We want to keep them at home. Why? Because we want a future for our young people. I really believe that that is one of the fundamental issues in this debate.

There is another little bit of history that I think western Canadians particularly want to talk a little bit about, and that is the history of being afraid of the Americans. Speaking from the perspective of an Albertan, I think that oil and gas is an important part of our economy. Not only is it an important part of our economy, but it has taught us a good deal about how we can relate to our American neighbours. When we develop that oil and gas, we do it with the co-operation and the help of the American people. It was they who

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

provided us much of the capital that we needed in those early days. It was they who provided us with the equipment. It was they who provided us with the technical knowledge and the understanding that we needed to develop this product that has since become so fundamental to our economy. That taught us that we did not have to be afraid of the Americans. We did not have to run and hide every time we heard the word "American". We did not have to be cowards.

• (1530)

We learned that we could work with them, compete with them and in fact could teach them some things they needed to learn. For example, within the oil and gas sector in western Canada today there are several western Canadians involved in training Americans in the latest technology and techniques. That is why western Canadians have a lot of confidence in our ability to compete with the Americans and other countries throughout the world.

Let me explain some of the benefits I believe the Free Trade Agreement will bring to the West. My riding is essentially a perfect snapshot of western Canada. That area has a strong agricultural base, a strong and developing forestry industry, and a strong energy industry both in oil and gas. We also have the shale tar sands project which involves us in the synthetic oil industry. My riding, which includes all those fundamental resource economies that exist in western Canada, is probably one of the best examples to illustrate what will happen to the region as a result of free trade.

The Canada West Foundation conducted a study of every riding in western Canada to examine the impact of the Free Trade Agreement on each constituency. The study on Peace River resulted in the astonishing statistic that 99.5 per cent of all the jobs within the riding of Peace River would have either a positive or a neutral impact as a result of free trade. I cannot think of a single investment opportunity or program that could give better prospects for the people of the Peace country than that. It is absolutely astounding that such an initiative could result in a positive impact on 99.5 per cent of the jobs in the area.

It is understandable why this initiative is so important to the people in the Peace country and, I believe, to the rest of western Canada. When one considers such an impact on my riding, which I suggest is a snapshot of western Canada, it is obvious why the debate we are engaged in today is so important.

One of the difficulties we face in Canada is that this is a big country with a small and scattered population. Anyone who wants to develop successfully a large industry obviously needs a large market. In Canada, that large market exists primarily in the so-called Golden Triangle of Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto. In order to gain access to a big market one must be able to reach that market. We in the West are isolated because that market is some 4,000 miles away. The cost of servicing that market is incredible.

The Free Trade Agreement provides another opportunity for western Canadians, including Albertans in my area, that did not previously exist to the same degree. That opportunity is the market in California. It comprises roughly the same population as that of all of Canada, some 26 million. That market is only 1,500 miles from my constituency, which is half the distance to the major market in Canada.

One gas pipeline from the Elsworth gas field in my riding to the State of California and Los Angeles would have the same effect as my riding gaining access to the entire Canadian market from coast to coast. It is no wonder that we believe this initiative is so important. It is a market that gives us an opportunity to move away from our traditional role of being hewers of wood and drawers of water. Suddenly we can see the potential to become the processors of our goods and materials. We can begin to develop the secondary industries that we have longed dreamed of.

The Free Trade Agreement will also be of great benefit to consumers in my riding. During the last election I decided to buy a new pair of cowboy boots—a requirement of every Albertan—to replace my worn out pair. Since we were in the middle of an election that involved the free trade debate, I thought perhaps I should wait and buy the boots after free trade is adopted because of the difference in price. In fact, when I learned of the tariffs that applied to goods like those boots, I was tempted to wait until January 2 to buy them.

The gentleman who sold me the boots said that there was a tariff of approximately 40 per cent on boots, saddles and all his leather goods. The agreement will have a major impact on his operation. We can multiply my experience as a consumer thousands of times each day of the week to realize the goods we will have available to us without the restriction of a quota.

A retailer in my constituency once told me that he wanted to increase his quota of cowboy boots because he

could easily sell what he had. However, he could not obtain any more because of the restrictions placed on him by the quotas. We as consumers will see those goods available at a cheaper price as well as in greater quantities. That is very important.

In my riding the Free Trade Agreement will have a positive or neutral impact on 99.5 per cent of the jobs. That means those jobs will be secure and will continue to exist. In addition, those of us who are working will have other goods available to us at cheaper costs.

We should also consider just what are the alternatives to the Free Trade Agreement. I was surprised that while there is much discussion about this agreement we did not see the Liberals or the New Democrats come forward with well defined alternatives. The Leader of the Opposition said that his solution was to tear up the agreement and proceed on a sector by sector basis. However, the Liberal Minister responsible for that area prior to 1984 said that the sector by sector negotiations did not work. That was not an alternative.

• (1540)

What is the other alternative, to let the tariffs continue to exist? As a western Canadian, I would say that that means our opportunity to succeed, to grow and to develop has been delayed that much longer. It is no alternative to leave the existing tariffs in place. It is no alternative for us to think that we as a country can survive, grow and develop by putting fences around ourselves. That is not the kind of world we are living in today.

The world that we are living in today is a world based on competition, a world based on adjustment and a world based on confidence. I think that is what this agreement is all about. It is our perception of ourselves as Canadians. Are we confident that we can compete with the American and other economies throughout the world? Are we confident that we can adjust and change to the dynamics of a changing, growing, evolving economy? Are we confident in ourselves? Are we confident in our country? Are we confident in our ability to compete with the Americans?

Canada is a very young country, a country with a tremendous future, a country that is prepared to take risks, a country that is full of dreams and visions and a country that has ambitions. I believe that the real bottom line to our success in the last election was that we talked about those visions and we showed Canadians how free trade could give them those opportunities. That, I think, is why this Government has been given the

mandate it has today to proceed on the question of free trade.

Mr. Anawak: Madam Chairman, it is a great honour and privilege for me to rise in the House of Commons today to deliver my first speech as the Member of Parliament for Nunatsiak. I will be delivering some of my speech in Inuktitut, and there is an interpreter present ready to translate it.

I would like to thank the people of Nunatsiak, the beautiful land, for having placed their trust and confidence in me. I want to assure them that I will work on their behalf with sincerity and dedication, in unity and co-operation, toward improving the quality of life in the North, and I hope to represent them in future Parliaments as well.

The Prime Minister's haste to accommodate the President of the United States in passing the free trade legislation prevented me from taking my seat in this House along with the other elected Members on Monday, December 12. In recalling Parliament so soon after the election, the Prime Minister neglected the North, and consequently, my riding of Nunatsiak, as he has done for the past four years.

I can assure the Government that the time of taking the North for granted, as was done in the Thirty-third Parliament, is over. All too often, the concerns of northerners have been neglected, ignored or overridden, and I intend to remind the Government constantly, in co-operation with my colleague from the Western Arctic, that the people of the North deserve to be treated as Canadians and should be able to access the services southern Canadians take for granted such as medical, dental, travel and banking services.

There are 33 communities in my riding, and some of them receive a dental service visit twice a year if they are lucky, a plane once a week, weather permitting, and a pediatrician once every six months. I am sure you are getting the idea, Madam Chairman, of how isolated the North is. We have just two banks in the entire area and one of them does not even offer computerized services.

Perhaps a short geography lesson would be helpful. Nunatsiak is the largest constituency in Canada. It covers an area of approximately 1.3 million square miles or 3.3 million square kilometres. It stretches from Tuktoyaktuk, which is almost directly north of Vancouver, British Columbia, to Pangnirtung, almost directly north of Fredericton, New Brunswick. It encompasses three time zones, Eastern, Central and Mountain.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

During the election campaign, I travelled approximately 20,000 miles, give or take a couple of hundred miles.

Nunatsiaq, which means the beautiful land, is not, contrary to popular belief, bleak and barren. Its scenery can compete with any world tourist attraction. If you do not believe me, Madam Chairman, I invite you to come up to Auyuittuq National Park and Pangnirtung, the Kazan Falls at Baker Lake, or to canoe down the Coppermine River.

Northerners do not want hand-outs from the Government. All we want is a chance to compete with southern businesses in our territory and to become self-sufficient.

The Government must understand that the North is very wary of the Free Trade Agreement. We are worried that we will not be able to compete with American firms which, because of their size, can undercut us, and certain tenders that are over \$33,000 will be fair game for the Americans.

The economic future of the Northwest Territories should not be approached by focusing on the problems of the area: long distances, harsh climate, limited services and a small population base. The Northwest Territories should not be considered a burden on the rest of Canada.

We in the North focus on the opportunities and the potential of our area, emphasizing the wealth of resources, the beauty of the land and our strategic position in Canada's claim to Arctic sovereignty. We encourage the Government to take the same approach. The Northwest Territories is an asset to Canada, economically, socially and politically. We can make a great contribution to the prosperity of this nation if Canada will invest in us.

Development of policies which address changes in regulatory regimes, tax structures, fiscal policy, grant programs and the provision of appropriate supportive infrastructure will go a long way toward ensuring prosperity for the Northwest Territories and hence for Canada. The North must have access to programs and policies similar to the ones used in the initial development of our provinces. We require incentives, subsidies and rebates that will put us on an equal footing with the rest of Canada.

This requires substantial input, but this must be viewed as an investment, whether it is promoting tax measures and reward incentives, developing a resource base of qualified northerners to satisfy the workforce requirements of our expanding northern economy,

encouraging northern participation in the non-renewable resource base industry via publicly traded companies, or exploring linkages between the mining industries and other industries such as tourism and arts and crafts. (English translation from Inuktitut:)

In the area of tourism, more work should be done in education and training, and this should be public sector driven. In the area of transportation, we need an improved and expanded road system and our airport facilities need to be upgraded.

• (1550)

We need to equalize costs with southern markets for transportation, communications, wages, housing and CMHC mortgages. We have to resolve the ownership of land, streamline and consolidate existing government programs and develop a one-window approach.

The people of Nunatsiaq have a very high unemployment rate. Seal hunting and carving are used to supplement incomes. However, we all know what happened to the sealskin market because of Greenpeace and Brigitte Bardot. The collapse of this market destroyed the economy of many Inuit communities as well as that of Newfoundland.

Less widely known is the effect of the United States Marine Mammals Protection Act on the northern and native economy. Passed in 1972, this Act prohibits Canadian northern and native people from exporting sealskin, ivory, whalebone or polar bear skins into the United States.

An exemption from this Act should have been obtained by the Canadian Government during the Free Trade Agreement negotiations. Such an exemption would have a very beneficial impact on the northern economy. But the exemption was not achieved and it seems the Government was not willing to pursue it. Was it because the North did not have enough influence or economic muscle that this issue was not pushed harder?

The Inuit will not be any better off with the passage of the free trade legislation. Why is it that the Alaskan Inuit are exempt from this Act but the Canadian Inuit are not? It certainly is not because the seals or walrus are endangered. The quotas for polar bear hunting are strictly enforced. So the polar bear is not endangered in the world. What is it that the Government is going to do to help Inuit who rely on hunting to sustain themselves? I am certain that the Government of Canada would want to see the Inuit self-sufficient and not totally

dependent on social programs. The Canadian Government must put pressure on the American Government to exempt Canadian native people from the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

The Government of Canada and the Inuit are in negotiations toward a land claims agreement which could establish the Inuit as the largest landowners in Canada. Let us hope that the resources upon which their economic prosperity depends are not diminished by the Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Butland: I thank you, Madam Chairman, for the opportunity to speak on this issue for the one-hundredth time but for the first time in this House. People in my constituency of Sault-Ste-Marie, 29,000 strong, voted against my predecessor and the only issue of which they spoke was the Free Trade Agreement.

Our major industry suggested that 1,000 jobs would be lost if the Algoma Steel employees did not vote Progressive Conservative. The President of Dofasco said there would be no expansion if the Free Trade Agreement did not come to pass. The Chamber of Commerce and the media openly endorsed the Free Trade Agreement and predicted doom if Sault-Ste-Marie did not support free trade. A whole series of Cabinet Ministers, many of whom are across the aisle, including the Prime Minister, came into Sault-Ste-Marie. These were powerful forces at work, but the people of Sault-Ste-Marie did not listen and said in a democratic way, "We do not believe you. We do not trust you. We are troubled by the Free Trade Agreement".

I campaigned long and hard against the free trade and I believe it in my heart, my head and most of all in my gut that this is a bad deal.

Mrs. McDougall: Are you going to read us some more American poetry?

Mr. Butland: As I say, I hope against hope that the deal will bring prosperity to my community. I must because I care for my city and its people, I hope that all the promises of prosperity will come to fruition because it will be of little consolation for me to say, "I told you so". I hope this leap of faith will, indeed, be a leap which will land us somewhere and not in to an abyss. I prefer to believe Leo Gerard who said, when addressing the steel industry.

They'll ship on their subsidized barges and their de-regulated trucks and then over our border on free trade.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

This steel will originate in non-union mini mills in the southern United States. The acceptance and endorsement of this deal is the most dramatic turnaround in political history, and that prompts anyone to ask why. What changed all of these people's minds? Who are these people and which Party do they espouse? I suggest it is a very notable list.

The Prime Minister, who said, "It affects Canadian sovereignty and we will have none of it"; the External Affairs Minister, who said, "Unrestrained free trade with the United States raises the possibility that thousands of jobs could be lost in such critical industries as textiles, furniture and footwear"; the Minister of Finance, who said, "Bilateral free trade with the United States is simplistic and naive"; the former Secretary of State, David Crombie, who said, "Our natural destiny is to become a global leader, not America's weak sisters"; ex Veterans' Affairs Minister, George Hees, who said, "A clear indication of a move toward free trade with the United States would not be a good thing for this country"; the Ontario Conservative Leader, Andy Brandt, who said, "Taking a multilateral route in trade negotiations is the best long-term way for Canada"; former Ontario Leader, Larry Grossman, who said, "I contend it would be a mistake for anyone to have excessively high expectations about the results of any trade arrangements with the United States." It goes on. Then there was Tory strategist, Hugh Segal, but the *pièce de résistance* was former Ontario Premier Bill Davis, who said: "You will not get me". Six months later he said: "What a courageous course of action by the federal Government".

Did a bolt of lightning strike in so many places at once as to profoundly affect the way such so-called learned politicians read into such an agreement? It makes anyone wonder about the credibility of people who espouse the deal now but who were vehemently opposed just a few scant years ago.

Have we not precluded ourselves from the international world of business?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Butland: I believe we have. We have tied Canada to a unilateral market, one that will indeed swallow us up, as Mr. Yeutter has said. The Government has cut back on the very budget that could rescue us from economic domination, and that is research and development.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Right Hon. Prime Minister in his book, *Where I Stand*,—he stands in many places—but where he stood, said:

The starting line for me is the technological dimension. Either we go into the game and become important players in this major league or we become a nation that will, during its entire lifetime, play in the Junior B circuit . . . Research and development, and the resulting innovations are the lifeblood of a successful economy and country.

So the Prime Minister called for a 20 per cent funding increase for the National Research Council and he promised to double Canada's research and development debt by the end of his first mandate. What did he do? He decreased the amount.

Some Hon. Members: False.

Mr. Butland: It is not false. What of the reconciliation, the healing process of which the Prime Minister speaks? There was no thought to entertaining any amendments to the Free Trade Agreement no matter how innocuous. Specifically, our Amendment No. 14 to Bill C-2 states that the Bill should be amended immediately after line 7 at page 4. For greater certainty the Government will bring immediately trade adjustment legislation for those dislocated as a result of the agreement.

• (1600)

The tribunal that we would form should be made up of representatives from government, business, workers, communities, and other interested groups. The tribunal shall receive and investigate representations from groups of companies and workers who believe that they are or are likely to be adversely affected by subsidized U.S. imports, including those provided by the U.S. Defense Department. The tribunal shall report annually to Parliament on the status of adjustment to the agreement and make recommendations for improving the process. None of this will be heard in the appropriate forum.

The wounds are only deeper as a result of this process that we are going through. We are speaking to be heard, but I am sure that no one is listening.

Professor Ross A. Rotstein of the University of Toronto said it perfectly when he stated: "Sometimes I suspect that members of the free trade camp are so intoxicated by the classical free trade rhetoric that they find it hard to come down to earth and look at the specifics of the agreement".

Let me look at the specifics. For example, Article 1602—national treatment of Americans; Article 604—harmonization of laws; Article 1902—either party can

change anti-dumping laws or countervail duties at any time.

The bottom line will be the loss of our unique Canadian identity. This will happen over time. One does not lose one's identity over a short period of time but over a long period of time. I believe that it will happen. If we will not monitor changes as they occur, put on the blinders and ignore what is happening, it surely will happen. In some areas it will be imperceptibly, and in other areas it will be dramatically. We are genuinely fearful. It indeed is a leap of faith rather than a leap of trust. When one takes a leap one ensures that there is a safety net or a cord to keep him or her from straying too far into whatever abyss there is. Neither is provided by the Government.

In conclusion, I hope Members opposite are correct. If they are wrong, they will have committed the ultimate treason. It will be small consolation that history books will condemn them. I pray Members opposite are right for the sake of Canada.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Vincent Della Noce (Duvernay): Madam Chairman, I would also like to take part in this debate. For some days we have been hearing the Opposition pretend they are protecting the people, they are protecting Canadians. I would rather call that confusing the people, confusing workers, and this is what I have to say to Opposition Members: If you are serious, get on with the work, because business people are paying taxes and in order to pay taxes they must work.

While politicians are talking, Madam Chairman, business people must pay taxes. In order to pay taxes, they have to do business. If no taxes are paid, we are in for a frightening deficit first as it was under the Liberals.

Corporations, business people have a responsibility to manage well their businesses and make profits. I know Socialists condemn profits. The same thing for everybody, everybody poor, everybody on the same footing. Everyone with a Lada. That is their business! I remember that during the election campaign my former friend and colleague Phil Edmonston was the only one who declared the Lada the car of the year. That was really something. As a garage operator with some 20 years' experience, I can tell you that if there is one car you should stay away from, that is it. We even refused to gas it up, so bad it was. Those people declared it the car of the year. And now they pretend they will to protect Canadians!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

An Hon. Member: What are they driving?

Mr. Della Noce: I noticed that some of my colleagues have very beautiful cars.

An Hon. Member: The Socialists?

Mr. Della Noce: Yes. Others ride bicycles they tie up here on the side. To show they are poor. But I am sure they take the same salary as we capitalists here do, on this side of the House.

Madam Chairman, I would like to say at the start that free trade is something important to us, Quebecers—it is vital for Quebec. It is vital because as we know, more than 75 per cent of our exports go to the United States.

An Hon. Member: Did Mr. Edmonston know that?

Mr. Della Noce: Mr. Edmonston comes from the United States. We have been stuck with him for 20 years.

In 1986, the value of exports reached \$16 billion. Quebec's exports are mainly composed of the following. Listen to this, because it is important. Newsprint cars, aluminium, telecommunications equipment, ore, ore concentrates, iron concentrate, timber, softwood pulp, rail equipment, urban transportation, machines, machinery and, of course, hydro-electric power in Québec.

Now, I would like to quote one of my colleagues who spoke on Friday, as I liked what he had to say: How could it be said that the people have decided? Even now, I hear that we received a greater number of votes, more than . . . Their calculations are so bad that I only made a cursory analysis. Let's look at the vote counts for the three party leaders—I chose the three leaders because they are the most widely known and got the most coverage nation-wide. First, the leader of the NDP, who likes to use figures and vote counts. As my colleague, the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp), said the other night, the leader of the unofficial opposition received 18,400 votes. The Liberal candidate got 14,000 votes and the leader of the NDP, 18,000 votes. The other candidates got 14,000 and 8,000 votes respectively. If you add those two figures together, you get 22,000 votes.

So the leader of the New Democratic Party should not be sitting in the House. He should go home.

The leader of the Official Opposition only received 20,400 votes. He was the one who said: Let the people

decide! The Conservative candidate running against him received 14,235 votes and the NDP candidate, 10,000. If you add these two figures together—which does not require the assistance of an accountant—you get a total of 24,500, which means that in view of the 20,000 votes he received, the Hon. Leader of the Opposition should not be sitting here.

So I go on to the third example, our leader, the Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney), who had 33,729 votes; the Liberal got only 5,900 and the poor NDP—it is true that they are not strong in Quebec—just 1,800. This means that if there is a leader and if the people have decided, well, we have a leader who got 81 per cent of the vote. That means something.

That is why, Madam Speaker, I would like to refer to the fine words that my colleague said in Latin. I am sure that when you were young, you studied humanities and took courses in which you certainly heard some great Roman sayings. I am originally from that village, that great village which is Rome.

My colleague used a very apt quotation when he said, and I quote page 242 of *Hansard, Roma locuta, causa finita*. This means that when Rome has spoken, the matter is settled. That used to be applied only to what the Pope said. When the Pope, the head of the Catholic Church, speaks in Rome, that's that, it's done.

Well, here in Canada, the final authority is the Canadian people and when they speak, that's that. Why waste time? Why complicate matters? Why tell us stories?

Madam Speaker, I also want to quote a letter that I received. But pay attention—it is quite something.

It was sent by messenger to me in Montreal, by a great citizen, a businessman from Montreal in the Province of Quebec, a Canadian of Italian origin, a prosperous businessman who can work anywhere in the country because for him, Canada is important, and Canada is not just Quebec City or Vancouver, but the whole country. He wrote to me, "Dear Mr. Della Noce: . . ." I would like this to be on record; I want it to be there for my friends opposite to know about it.

• (1610)

[English]

I am a Canadian with strong ties to the Liberal Party of Canada and it is not easy for me as a Liberal to write and tell you that I agree fully with one of your party's policies.

I refer to your party's policy on free trade which I support heartily for the following reasons:—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

And he then set out nine reasons. He is a businessman, and not a socialist. He is a businessman. He makes money. He pays taxes and he creates jobs.

When we arrived in Ottawa after the 1984 election, I recall the Opposition saying: "You promised jobs, jobs, jobs."

Well, we have created jobs, jobs, jobs. We have created 1.3 million new jobs. We no longer here the Opposition talking about jobs.

Let me quote the writer's reasons. They are as follows:

- 1) Free trade should, in my mind, be universal and thus must begin within one continent.
- 2) When two countries like Canada and the United States are so complementary, free trade can only be good for both.
- 3) To me, Canadian trade policies have for too long been protective with the result of an artificial economic environment: damaging productivity and creativity. Thus Canadians have been denied the opportunity to compete and succeed better.
- 4) As a Canadian I look forward to more opportunities and when access to consumers goes from one to ten, so do the opportunities.
- 5) Culture is hard to define. Canadian culture is in constant evolution. We must face the fact that survival as a people and as a country would not be attained by isolating ourselves economically.

And those sitting on the other side of this House do not know what the word "economically" means. To those in this country in business, it is an important word.

He goes on:

- 6) I have faith in my fellow citizens and in their ability to adapt and succeed. When opportunities are offered, Canadians who are ready to work, learn, compete and prosper will mold the future of this country.
- 7) Canadian consumers are now paying a premium on a great number of products. The liberalization of economic activities through free trade can only result in lower product costs and an improved standard of living. The Canadian consumers will profit from free trade.
- 8) True, some sectors are doomed and some jobs will be lost in them. However, for one job lost, two will surely be created in new or enlarged sectors.

This person knows what he is talking about.

- 9) Canadians of Italian descent appreciate what their fathers have done. Like most Canadians, our ancestors left their country looking for opportunity in a new land where a future could be built for themselves and their children. Let us not lose the guts and the initiative of our ancestors. I have not lost them; I am for free trade.

And he signs, "Sincerely yours"—though he should have signed "progressively yours". The writer's name is Luigi Liberatore.

This is an individual who once said to me: "Though I am a Liberal, I like what your Party is doing. This time, I think I am going to vote for you." And I said to Luigi: "If you vote for me, you vote for prosperity." And what kind of a car does he drive today?—a Mercedes Benz.

And he is going to keep driving a Mercedes Benz. He will continue to be prosperous. His business will continue to grow.

I told Luigi that a vote for me would mean that the country would go forward and prosper. I told him that my Leader needed all of the seats in Quebec that he could get.

We have seen the "57-43" buttons worn by members of the New Democratic Party. They think that if they add the votes cast for the Liberals to those cast for the NDP, that that somehow constitutes a victory for them. Well, we in the Quebec caucus should all be wearing "63-0" buttons, because you guys got zero in Quebec. And if that is not a majority, what is?

[*Translation*]

Madam Speaker, I am sorry to point at my socialist colleagues all the time, but they were the ones who came to sow fear in our area. They thought they could gain their first seat in Duvernay. I commend the people in Duvernay for having made the right choice, because it would have been a terrible thing to live with a NDP seat in Quebec. And my comrade Agnaieff or the other one, I can tell you they tried very hard to scare people, to scare businesses. They told them: Vote for me, they are going to tax your profits. What a nice, a smart thing to say! But they did not even get 15 per cent of the votes. They did not finish first, they finished third.

And I would also like to quote another important person in Quebec who is awaiting free trade, someone many of my colleagues know—Mr. Péladeau, Québecor's president. Look at what Mr. Péladeau said—Weaklings will complain that the Americans are coming here, but it is us who must go to the United States. He is not a weakling, he started from scratch. You know how he started, I explained it again here in this House the other night. For the benefit of those who are absent: He was \$2 000 short when he wanted to establish his first printing shop. Two thousand dollars was not the end of the world ten years ago. Imagine, while his mother was away on holidays, Mr. Pierre Péladeau sold his mother's piano to get his first cash

flow. When his mother came back she asked: Where is the piano, Pierre? He answered, I needed money, Ma, to start my first printing shop and I sold the piano because we are not using it anymore, we are working.

But now, Mr. Péladeau has a \$2 billion sales figure. That's right, \$2 billion in Quebec! It would be bad if he would close his business because a lot of people work there. And then you would have reason to complain that Péladeau, Québecor closed down. You would do like Gillette. It is funny you do not mention the good things. You referred to Gillette. You are late, because people have been talking of Gillette's closure for years.

You could look up *La Presse* of December 9. Alain Dubuc, I think, one of Quebec's major columnists, described it very well when he wrote: It is beyond me that people would still be talking about closures like Gillette's, because we know that Gillette has been closing down plants around the world, including the United States, including France. You should be listening, Opposition Members—the tremor that happened at the other end was caused by free trade once more! Come now! Talk about IBM, talk about the other investments. But you don't take people . . . It would appear that you no longer have any respect for the people who elected you because those people said: Go for free trade, no matter what. Go for it. The figures don't matter, even when they are higher. What you need to represent the people of Canada is a seat.

When I look at all that was said during the election campaign, by the leaders and others . . . I'll just quote a couple of them who were here. They wanted an election, and one was held, but unfortunately, they are no longer here. Lynn McDonald, for example, said: We want an election. Consult the people of Canada right now by calling an election. Well, she got what she wanted and now she's gone, gone somewhere where the air is fresh and clean. The people have decided and she has decided. Her decision has brought some good people to this side of the House. Another member, who is still with us, said: Call an election. Let's go to the people. And that is what we did. Then, there was the former mayor of Ottawa, Mrs. Dewar, who said recently: An election must be called immediately to let the people of Canada decide on this issue.

An Hon. Member: She had an election.

Mr. Della Noce: She had an election. She got her chance, she had an election, she is no longer here, she is gone. People said to themselves that they wanted prosperity in Ottawa. Canadians are not stupid, they are

capable of reaching a decision, they are intelligent enough. It does not matter what happens between elections.

I checked around my constituency when the polls favoured the NDP. People had a mild reaction. The NDP thought it would make a clean sweep of all ridings.

I met one of them during the election campaign and he asked me what I and my Quebec colleagues would do after losing the election. Another one kept repeating that our days were numbered. Yet a third one boasted about winning a majority. Another one was sure he would be a Minister, so he had already re-awarded the frigate contracts. He had taken them away from New Brunswick and given them to Montreal. He too is no longer here, but we all know he wanted an election, he was from Ottawa Centre.

That is what we hear from the other side every day, but they forget to talk about the basic issues, projects to help Quebec or another province. Other provinces stand to benefit, not only Quebec.

I should like to refer to the Economic Council of Canada report released on April 13, 1988 which commented on the various aspects of free trade and featured a regional breakdown of increased employment opportunities. Here are the figures concerning Québec. For example, they predicted a 1.8 per cent increase in the number of new jobs, up 58,000; 94,900 new jobs in Ontario; 50,900 in the Prairies; 17,700 in the Atlantic Provinces, and 28,900 in British Columbia.

Madam Speaker, I am saying to these people: You wanted an election, you had one! Perhaps it did not quite turn out as you expected, but that is the way it goes! Now that the people have decided, have faith in them and tell them you are here to help them, not to make life tougher for them.

Members opposite are acting as if they were saying: Protect Canadians, but they are holding them back, dragging them 20 years back.

You know, if I were on the other side I would probably not be smiling as my colleague on the other side is doing as he signals to me. He can hardly wait for me to shut up. I understand that hurts! But my hon. colleague should understand one thing: Not only has the Liberal Party prevented the country from moving forward . . . He knows that well because he is of the same origin as I am; he is of Italian origin and his party prevented Italy from selling Italian shoes in Canada. They imposed

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

quotas . . . Now he is leaving—I understand why. It must be embarrassing to do things like that!

We in the Conservative Party said that we like competition and that Canadians can be competitive because Canadians and Quebecers are not afraid. They are eager to do business in the United States. But listening to them, sometimes I look at myself and wonder whether I am really as good as that, because they do not stop defending us by saying that we will be in for trouble and that it will not work. We will come up with a new name for their party. Their party should be called the “Won’t Work” Party. Why try? My friend Jean-Marc Chaput always said so! It won’t work, we’ll stay as we are, say nothing, get hit on the head and say nothing.

But stop saying that it won’t work. It will work, we are already the best. We look at ourselves in the mirror every morning and say, “We Quebecers are not afraid of taking on the United States.” I have been going to the United States for 20 years. I worked in the States, I was a racing car mechanic and we went as fast with 307 engines as the Americans did with 327’s. The Americans would come to see us and ask how we did it. Besides, we did not have money. Well, we tried to get the most out of our production and we did it with our hands and our head. And we told—I know, Madam Speaker, I must conclude—the Americans:

• (1620)

[*English*]

We work harder than you and we try to do better than you because you are very rich and that is the only way in which we can compete, try to get the maximum for our energy.

[*Translation*]

Madam Speaker, I would like the House to do the impossible, to give a chance to the Canadians who elected us so that we can pass this free trade bill. Let the socialists stop frightening people, because they will always drive Ladas and we want to ride in Mercedes. That is the difference.

[*English*]

Mrs. Gaffney: Madam Chairman, I stand here today as one of the newly elected Members of Parliament. It is a great honour and privilege to represent my riding of Nepean in this most prestigious House. I would like to thank those constituents who gave me such a strong mandate, and I hope I can also earn the trust of those who did not.

As an elected member of Nepean City Council and also Ottawa-Carleton Regional Government for the past ten years, one of the things I quickly learned is that the concerns, the thoughts, the wishes of the people are the ones that elected officials should never ignore. Through this, my maiden speech, it is appropriate to take advantage of the time allocated to me to convey the concerns of the constituents of Nepean.

Those constituents who elected me did so for many reasons. Their overwhelming opposition to this trade agreement, however, was far and above the major reason. Time and time again at doors across my riding I heard one thing: “I am against this trade deal as it is written”.

We all know the trade deal will probably pass this House and be ratified. However, I hope that the newly elected Government of Canada is a compassionate Government and will recognize that the agreement is not perfect, it has weaknesses, that loopholes must be plugged, safeguard measures should be implemented, and that this Government has been elected to serve not only those who voted for it but also those who indicated a great deal of trepidation about this agreement.

This debate should not be considered to be a waste of time. Far from it. This debate is as crucial as ever because the debate and the speeches on this side of the House reflect not only our responsibility towards those who elected us, but are a form of notice to the Government that we are watching and we want it to be sensitive.

The mandate I received from the riding of Nepean is all the more remarkable for two reasons. First, because Nepean, or to be more precise the former riding of Nepean—Carleton, is traditionally a Conservative riding. Second, the proponents of the deal have expressed the conception that Nepean is the kind of riding that has the most to benefit from this trade agreement. Yet despite those two facts, the residents of Nepean voted against the Government and against its trade deal.

Why? I believe the overwhelming majority of Nepean residents voted against this deal not because of any particular animosity toward the Government, but because the residents of Nepean—who, by the way, are a most representative group of Canadian constituents—looked at the deal, examined it and the information pertaining to it, and made up their own minds. The residents of Nepean, as did 52 per cent of all Canadians,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

decided the deal was not good for Canada and not good for Nepean.

That was and is the position of the Liberal Party of Canada. However, Liberals oppose this proposed deal because we believe when you examine it and scrutinize it in detail, you come to the conclusion it is not good enough for Canada. We believed and still believe that the costs outweigh the benefits, as do the residents of my riding.

The majority of senior citizens in my riding oppose this deal. The majority of youth in my riding oppose this deal. The majority of public servants in my riding oppose this deal, as do the majority of small business people. The majority of women in Nepean oppose this deal.

The senior citizens of Nepean oppose it because as much as they like the United States of America, they do not want to become part of it. As much as many of them enjoy spending some of the cold winter months in Florida, they remain and want to remain Canadian, for our pension plans, our medicare, and for our more caring society. The youth of Nepean oppose this deal because they have pride in their country and enough confidence in themselves to decide their own destiny. What they want from the Government of Canada is increased funding for our educational institutions and new job training in skills development areas.

• (1630)

The Public Servants of Nepean oppose this deal because they know that their ability to formulate independent domestic policy is hindered by it. The small business people of Nepean oppose it because at best it detracts the Government from their concerns.

This leads me to the second major fact I wish to discuss—the clear misconception on the part of the Government that the free trade deal is a good deal for Canada's high-tech industry. I am correct in using the term "misconception" because Nepean, as most people know, is Canada's high-tech capital. And Nepean voted against this deal.

I ask for the attention of my colleagues opposite because I know Canadian companies are competitive in world markets. This deal will do more harm to our future international competitiveness than any other piece of government legislation in the history of our proud and growing nation. My hon. colleagues on the opposite side of this House must come to realize that Members on this side of the House oppose this deal

precisely because we have faith in Canada's ability to compete.

Canada's corporate success stories have become success stories partially because of government financial assistance, the type of assistance that is now precluded by this trade deal. Many Canadian companies have become successful because of heavy investments in R and D, excellent products, the foresight to take advantage of market opportunities when they arise and belief in Canadian companies by the Government of Canada.

Now that they have made it, these corporate people, it is all well and good for major corporations to be in favour of this trade deal because they have transcended national boundaries. These corporations are now multinationals. For them, anything that removes barriers to the free flow of capital components and workers, anything that gives more flexibility to respond to world markets, is a good thing.

Unfortunately, what this Government fails to recognize is that what is good for Canada's successful multinationals is not necessarily good for Canada or Canadians. What Canada needs is more corporate success stories. Sadly, this deal is going to make this much harder to achieve, not easier.

What I ask my fellow Hon. Members to ponder is how we are going to help to create the corporate successes that we had of yesterday and how we are going to create them tomorrow when we have willingly tied our hands behind our backs. How are we going to become world leaders in fields such as environmental technology when with the other hand we have slashed government R and D and corporate R and D tax incentives, and are then left helpless to designate a Canadian company as a preferred supplier, or give preferential treatment to companies in certain sectors or certain regions of the country? I do not know. What terrifies me is that I do not think that the Government knows either.

I for one am not of the opinion that either my constituency or my country are best served by reliving the election here. Neither am I one who subscribes to the view that this deal is an unmitigated disaster that will destroy Canada tomorrow. I am enough of an optimist to hope that the present Government may realize the folly of its ways and take the measures to correct them.

What I sincerely hope for is that in the second phase of trade negotiations which relate to the definition of subsidies the Government works harder to protect Canadian interests. I hope the Government of Canada realizes that Canada needs a true industrial strategy,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

and that we need to maintain enough of the levers of our own economy to make it possible.

I hope that the Government realizes that, as it stands, the trade deal puts us head-to-head with the U.S. Defense Department's \$35 billion annual R and D budget, a budget specifically excluded from the terms of the deal which, to remain competitive, will tend to lead us to an even more militaristic economy. To avoid this we need to ensure that the few R and D incentives that Canada has will not be declared unfair trade subsidies, and also devise a realistic and permissible strategy for boosting research and development in areas of our own choosing.

I hope the Government re-acquires the right to use its purchasing power to foster and give a leg up to selective Canadian industries. I hope the Government reserves the ability to implement programs such as the national stock ownership plan suggested by the Liberals in the election that would increase ownership of Canadian firms by Canadians and not leave us totally at the mercy of foreign investment.

I hope the Government holds firm to its commitment that our social programs and regional development programs remain sacrosanct. Furthermore, I hope that the Government does some of the things it should have done long before even contemplating a comprehensive bilateral trade deal with the U.S.

I hope the Government takes measures to reduce interprovincial trade barriers. I hope the Government negotiates with its provincial counterpart—I am speaking particularly here of Ontario—for the construction of a much needed and long overdue four-lane highway south of Ottawa to Highway 401. The completion of Highway 416 is of great economic importance to the National Capital Region.

I hope the Government simplifies red tape for small businesses ensuring that they can get start-up capital, good employees and good advice.

It has been a great pleasure to speak in this House today. I have appreciated the opportunity to express my hopes as a Liberal and to express my hopes for the federal Government of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Darling: Madam Chairman, I am delighted to have the opportunity to participate in the debate today. I am not a new Member of the House. I want to thank the electors of the great riding of Parry Sound—

Muskoka for returning me for a sixth term to the hallowed halls of the House of Commons.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Darling: One cannot hide one's age if one is in public life, especially if one lives in a rural area. Of course I have to admit, and am proud to admit, that I am from that very illustrious class of 1911, and still going strong.

I might have had reservations four or five months ago when the election was going to be announced. As my colleagues will know, we were not the highest in the polls at that time. I think we were running third. But a great many of the very influential people in my riding came to me and said: "Well, Stan, we think you can win the riding despite our being low in the polls. We want you to throw your hat in the ring". As a result I am here today.

I have listened with interest to a great many of the speeches. I want to congratulate all those new Members of Parliament, even though I suppose my tongue is in my cheek concerning certain ones who replaced some very dear colleagues of mine who went down to defeat. But that is politics, and that is the way it is.

As I was thinking back I remember in the last election some of the very vociferous members of the Liberal Party, two of whom are no longer here. They were speaking in most derisive tones of the many Progressive Conservative Members from the Province of Quebec. They were saying: "You're surfers. You're here one time and then you're gone". Early in the mandate of this Government I thought of that and I said: "Well, by golly, it is tough in Québec, and it is unusual". But lo and behold two of those who were most vociferous are gone. Instead of our 57 Members from *la belle province* we now have 63. Some pretty high-priced help and high-profile Liberals went down to defeat.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Darling: I have heard a great many of the new Members saying that they are here for one reason only, and that is to speak on the free trade issue and voice their opposition to it. That is the reason they are here. They are going to do their best to filibuster it. Some have in some ways tried to stop the inevitable. The Leader of the Opposition, the Right Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra, said day after day after day last July, August and September: "Call an election. Let the people decide". That great exponent from Oshawa who believes in free trade only for Oshawa and not for any of

the other parts of the country reiterated the same thing: "Call an election. Let the people decide". In the British parliamentary system, a majority is the way they decide. We have a majority Government here. We have the mandate to bring in free trade and to bring it in by January 1, 1989. We certainly intend to do it despite all the ranting and raving from the Opposition.

• (1640)

Do the new Members want to debate past history in the House? Bill C-130 passed the House of Commons, and it is now before the House in the new form of Bill C-2. In the previous Parliament we debated some very important legislation, including Bill C-51 and Bill C-204 which dealt with smoking restrictions, and I say amen to that. Maybe some of them would like to rehash that. A lot of them may have strong views on immigration, Bill C-55 and Bill C-84. They passed this Parliament, so they are finished. I am wondering about that.

There is also one other issue that some of them may be interested in, and an important resolution which was debated a year ago, the debate on capital punishment. That debate did not go the way I wanted it to, and in that particular case, I might welcome it being brought back into the House, if the new Members are able to do that.

Free trade, despite all that has been said, will benefit more than it will hurt. We have heard the previous speaker from Nepean stating that she had grave reservations for this great riding that she represents. She feels that free trade will be harmful. I have heard other members of the Opposition speaking, including the Hon. Member for Sault-Ste-Marie. Deep in their hearts, they want something that will be good for Canada. I am sure that it will. Deeper in their hearts is the fact that if it does turn out to be a bonanza for Canada, they will end up as one-termers and will go back to their previous jobs, down the pike, whenever the Prime Minister, in his wisdom, decides to call an election. I can assure you it will not be before that.

The Conservative Government has stated that this Free Trade Agreement is best for Canada. What is the alternative to free trade? In 1983, the Prime Minister and other prominent Members of our Government voiced opposition to free trade. It is a different ball game now.

The Americans are in a tough position as far as their trading situation is concerned. I am sure all of my colleagues are aware that they are facing and have faced over the past couple of years a trade deficit of \$170

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

billion. That hurts not only their Yankee pride, but sure as hell hurts their pocket-books as well. They will do something about it and are doing something about it, as we have found to our dismay, with certain legislation that they have brought in. I do not have to repeat that with regard to shakes and shingles and softwood lumber. We know, as has been mentioned by many on our side, we have to do something to protect ourselves. Canada is the only major trading country that does not have a special trade agreement with some other country.

We know the European Common Market consists of some 15 countries. I will tell you, they are a tough bunch of nuts to try and compete against with the subsidies that they are providing, especially in their agricultural production. It is tough to crack that market.

Some of my colleagues on the other side are asking why we do not trade with the Pacific Rim or with Japan. Japan is a pretty tough nut to trade with too, unless we want to sell them lumber and coal. Just try to sell an automobile in Japan, and I will bet you can count the American cars and probably other European cars on your fingers and toes. There is no doubt about it. Japan is a pretty tough nut when it comes to trying to crack that market. They are our second best customer, if my memory serves me correctly. I am not belittling how important Japan is. They are also the second most important trading partner to the United States as well.

We must have trading barriers that will come down and let us trade. The idea of us being afraid to trade in the open market, that we have to be a little, protective country, those days are past. We have outstanding firms and multinationals in our own country. We have small firms that are anxious and willing to compete. I hear members of the Opposition saying that everybody is against it. Everybody cannot be against it.

There are a lot of people in my riding who were against free trade for the simple reason that they were scared to death by the Opposition. The NDP went around saying that their old age pensions would be cut, that hospitalization benefits would be reduced considerably, and they believed it. It is absolutely ridiculous for many of those people, many of whom I have known for many years, to believe that. In my own riding, a lot of them did not vote against me, but they stayed home. That happened in all our ridings. That is why some of our majorities were cut.

Four years down the pike, I would like to go back to these senior citizens and say "Are you still getting your old age pensions? Are you still getting the very best of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

hospitalization? Are all these various subsidized things that senior citizens get, housing and so on, senior citizens' homes, are those available to you?" I am quite sure that the answer will be yes.

My riding of Parry Sound—Muskoka is a rural riding and does not have great up curves and down curves in employment. It is an area which is made up of a high percentage of senior citizens and a lot of small business. Tourism is a very important industry in my area, and the Tourist Industry Association of Canada has stated categorically that the tourist industry is one of the top industries that will gain tremendously if the Free Trade Agreement goes through. There are also many small and larger industries in my area.

● (1650)

The great boggy man opposite has been telling us about industries closing and Canada going to hell in a hand basket. We are facing gloom and doom. Plants have been closing on a regular basis since time immemorial, and it will probably continue. By and large, new plants will step in to take over from them.

For example, there is an article in the *Huntsville Herald* with the headline: "\$65 million expansion is a boon, says Clarke". That is not the illustrious Secretary of State for External Affairs, but the mayor of the great town of Huntsville. Domtar has announced a \$65 million expansion in Huntsville, with 129 new jobs.

Another example comes from the *Bracebridge Examiner* which, I might say, has not been my greatest supporter through the past 16 years. Despite them, however, I have managed to get elected.

The headline in the *Bracebridge Examiner* states: "Top Magna brass has some good news". Lo and behold Frank Stronach, a very prominent Liberal candidate, has announced a new plant for Bracebridge. I will admit that the land was bought a few years ago and put on hold, but the article states:

Magna International Inc. has big plans for its 820 acres of land in Bracebridge, it was reaffirmed at the auto parts manufacturer's annual Christmas buffet last Thursday in Toronto.

Some 2,000 people were invited, including Mayor Jim Lang, town clerk Ken Vietch and other industrial people in the area. There is certainly great expansion, even in a rural area.

I can think of another small plant in the town of Gravenhurst. This individual is an entrepreneur who worked for a big firm for a number of years. He left and

started a small business in Gravenhurst called Gravenhurst Plastics. He started with some 10 or 12 people and is now running two shifts. He is running two shifts. One of the greatest products he is manufacturing is garden hose. He cannot keep up to the market. He has been to the United States and has received orders which he says he cannot fill at the present time with 50 employees.

I can assure Hon. Members that if an area like Parry Sound—Muskoka, which is not a great industrial area, can produce like this, other areas will certainly do the same.

Colleagues are aware that I have been greatly interested in the environment and acid rain. I had the privilege for the last two or three years to serve as chairman of the parliamentary committee on acid rain. My area of Parry Sound—Muskoka is probably one of the most environmentally sensitive areas in the world. If I thought for a minute that anything in the agreement would damage that most magnificent area, the paradise of all vacation lands in Canada, I would certainly be up and saying in no uncertain terms "no to free trade".

It is stated in the agreement, and has been reiterated by our former Minister of the Environment that the Free Trade Agreement in no way will mean an open door for polluting industries to begin. First and foremost, there are tough regulations in effect now. As most Members know, or should know, regulations and controls on the industry are under the jurisdiction of the provincial ministries of the environment. I will give marks to the Minister of the Environment for the Province of Ontario and his Department as well as to the Minister of the Environment in the Province of Quebec, the Hon. Clifford Lincoln. I only hope he will remain in that position.

These jurisdictions are the watch-dog of the environment. Despite the scare tactics put up by the Opposition, there is no way polluting industries will be allowed to come here. Free trade will make no difference whatever on any additional pollution or other waste.

The committee of which I was a Member for several years experienced a rather tough battle with our American counterparts. When I went there several years ago, acid rain was the best kept secret in the United States. No one knew anything about it except a few very important and environmentally conscious members of Congress such as Senator Patrick Moynihan and George Mitchell.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Our colleagues in the United States are waking up to the fact that they are polluting their own nests. Something will certainly be done. I will admit that President Reagan was not the great environmentalist in the United States, and God bless him when he goes to his retirement, but President elect George Bush has stated loud and clear that he will bring legislation to cut down on SO₂ emissions in the United States. There will be controls.

We are fortunate that the majority House Leader in the Senate, Senator George Mitchell, is also greatly in favour of acid rain controls and the reduction of SO₂ emissions. I predict that within the next year and a half the United States will bring in meaningful legislation that will cut down on acid rain, which of course will benefit Canada. The House can rest assured that with our new Free Trade Agreement there will be no more pollution than there would be without it.

Mr. Rompkey: Madam Chairman, in a sense this is a maiden speech for me. On the one hand I feel somewhat like the Hon. Member for Parry Sound in the sense that I am starting my sixth term, but in a sense it is a maiden speech for me.

For the first time Labrador has a federal seat of its own and it is my honour to be the first Member to be elected for Labrador. That gives me a great deal of pleasure.

I do not have to explain to Members of the House where Labrador is or what Labrador is all about. It is a northern territory, not as big as Nunatsiak, but about 112,000 square miles. It extends all the way from the small fishing communities on the coast to the great air base at Goose Bay with its NATO components, to one of the greatest hydroelectric developments in the world at Churchill Falls. In the west the iron mining communities of Labrador City and Wabush City on the Quebec border produce between them about 50 per cent of all the iron ore in Canada. That makes up the totality of Labrador.

It is a very diverse area, with a great deal of promise and possibility, and very many problems. It is an area that spoke out very loud and clear in the last election about this agreement that we are debating today.

I want to put those concerns on the record and advise the Government of how the people of Labrador feel. Their concerns were put in a nutshell by Simon Reisman when he said that we should have got the definition of subsidy but we did not. We ran out of time. We do not

have a definition of a subsidy in the Free Trade Agreement.

• (1700)

What is a subsidy? Which programs of the Government of Canada will be targeted by the United States? We know already, for example, that the unemployment insurance program has been challenged. That challenge is dormant, but it is not dead. What about northern benefits?

I have to give the Minister of Finance credit, now that he is in the Chamber, for implementing a very generous program of northern benefits for travel and housing for the people who live north of 60 and other selected sites in northern Canada. These benefits are very important to the people of the North. When the Free Trade Agreement comes in, these people will want to know if northern benefits will be targeted as a subsidy or not.

Let us take the case, for example, of an iron ore company in Canada which gets the northern benefit tax break. If the workers who work for a Canadian iron ore company have special benefits but there are no similar benefits for workers who work for an iron ore company in the United States, what will happen because of that inequality? Will the United States then say that that is an unfair subsidy to an iron ore operation in Canada and we must stop doing that because we are supposed to be competing on a level playing field?

As Ralph Nader said, I doubt that we will see an uplifting of support services in the United States. What will happen on the level playing field? Will there be a diminution of the support services we have had in Canada? That is the question, and we do not know the answer. That is the concern of the people.

As well, the people are concerned about the possibility of the loss of control over resources that are very important to them, resources like energy, for example. In central Labrador, there is now one of the greatest hydroelectric projects in the world going on at Churchill Falls. It delivers energy to a large portion of not only the Province of Quebec but of New York State. There are other hydro sites on that river as well. There are perhaps over 2,000 megawatts of hydroelectricity left on that river. What will happen under the Free Trade Agreement? The concern is that we will not be able to have a made-in-Canada price.

As I understand it, the agreement says that we must sell energy to the Americans at the same price as we sell it to Canadians. We do not receive a lot of national

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

newspapers in Labrador, but during the election campaign, I watched the debate on television and I saw Mr. Ritchie, on behalf of the Government's negotiating team, fail to give an assurance that there would be no countervail. I would like someone to address this question.

Mr. Crosbie: I am going to address it for you.

Mr. Rompkey: Fine. Let me set out the question. After we have developed the lower Churchill—

Mr. Wilson (Etobicoke Centre): Can we give you an answer?

Mr. Rompkey: Once you have heard the question. Do you want to hear the question first? This is the question. If, after the lower Churchill was developed, we wanted to establish an aluminum smelter in order to add value and if we wanted to offer that company a special price, like the Government of Newfoundland did at Long Harbour with the Electric Reduction Company of Canada, as an incentive for the industry to be set up, can the Americans not then say that the products from that industry have received a subsidy in the sense that we have charged the industry a lower price for energy than we are selling it to the Americans? Can the Americans not then put a countervail on the products coming from that industry?

I heard that debate and I heard the representative from the government side fail to give an assurance that after this agreement is in place, the Americans will not be able to put that countervail on. I believe that they will be able to do so. I believe if we have a made-in-Canada price, a Canadian price which is lower than the American price, the Americans will be able to say that that is an unfair subsidy and they will put a countervail on it. There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement which stops them from doing that.

Those are the concerns of people who want real jobs, not just hand-outs, as my colleague from Nunatsiak said. Will we be able to set up those industries under the free trade deal? That is the question that has to be answered.

The irony is that we do not even have free trade within Canada. For four years we have been trying to get a deal to develop the lower Churchill. I asked the Prime Minister four times in the last Parliament if he would be a mediator between the Province of Newfoundland and the Province of Quebec in attempting to establish the lower Churchill project. It is not going yet.

There is an abundant market for energy in the United States. There is all sorts of hydroelectric potential in Labrador. Yet we cannot get a deal. We are talking about a free trade deal with the United States of America, but we do not have free trade in Canada. This Government has not done anything to overcome those road-blocks.

I have to support the arguments put forward by my colleague, the Hon. Member for Nunatsiak, and I congratulate him on his election to the Chamber. I hope to be able to work with him because we have many things in common. We need in Labrador the same sort of things he needs in his riding. That is, we need essential services. If we are to compete, whether we have a free trade deal or not, the North needs special attention. It needs water and sewer infrastructures, for example.

Those communities will be expected to compete on an equal basis without equal facilities. We need the trans-Labrador Highway to be completed and we need the settlement of land claims so that the native people of the North can compete on an equal footing. The native people are saying they want some control over their lives, that they want to make sure that the resources on the lands they have inhabited for years give them a return and that they have the necessary infrastructure and community facilities to compete on an equal basis.

What is also lacking is a program for training and retraining. This has been addressed in the House over the past week. If there is one startling weakness in all of this, it is the lack of a program for training and retraining, particularly for young people and for people who live in one-industry towns, those who have no alternatives. If their industries are affected under the free trade deal, they will have to fall back on the resources of the Government. I believe it is very important to have training and retraining programs in place for the people of single-industry towns.

As far as my constituents are concerned, the free trade deal as it stands is inadequate. This Party has put forward amendments, and I would hope that the Government would look at those amendments, consider them and accept them. We cannot stop this deal from going ahead. The Hon. Member for Parry Sound—Muskoka is quite right. There was an election and the people have spoken. The Conservative Party has a majority. It is the Government of Canada. They have more votes over there than we have over here. It is impossible to stop the free trade deal. However, we do ask that we be listened to and that the concerns our constituents have expressed be addressed. We do ask

that amendments be accepted so that when the deal goes through, it will be a deal with which Canadians can feel confident.

Last, I would like to remind the Government of the need to address the needs of the North and to ensure that the people of the North can compete on an equal basis. That means the provision of the necessary infrastructure, the water and sewer, roads and communication facilities that are needed to allow the people of the North to compete.

• (1710)

Mr. Fisher: Mr. Chairman, as a new Member of the House, it gives me a great deal of pride to represent the new constituency of Saskatoon—Dundurn. Those who are familiar with Saskatchewan will realize the two previous seats, Saskatoon East and Saskatoon West were divided by the river. Saskatoon—Dundurn has the beautiful South Saskatchewan River flowing through it and a great diversity within the constituency ranging from farmlands to beautiful residential areas. As well we have a certain amount of industry from potash mines to packing houses.

I would like to thank the voters of Saskatoon—Dundurn. It gives me a great deal of pride to be here on their behalf. I believe the main reason I am here, although it is not the only one, is that the feeling against free trade in that part of Saskatchewan was so strong that people knew there was no one other than the New Democrats who would be able to stand up for their rights in this staid and beautiful place that we call the Parliament of Canada.

Speaking of the Parliament of Canada, it gives me a great honour to stand here as a Member of the New Democratic Party having been represented in the past by such illustrious people as J. S. Woodsworth, M. J. Coldwell, Tommy Douglas and many others who I should probably mention but am unable to because of time restrictions. One of the reasons we are here today, and speaking most vociferously as we are, is as a result of the legacy of the people whom I have just mentioned. There is no doubt whatever that Canada is an entirely different kind of nation than that of the United States.

Because of that Canada represents a threat to the U.S.A. That is one of the main reasons that we have got ourselves into this free trade deal with the Americans. We talk about harmonizing, level playing fields and social programs. But, this nation of ours is a better nation than that south of the border. I did not say it was

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

stronger or more militaristic, I simply said it was a better place and a better society in which to live. The free trade deal covers every aspect of Canadian society, and I would suggest that from the point of view of the opposition to it, in its entirety. If the free trade deal were a human being, you would have to say of it that it has no redeeming social values. We have to ask ourselves some questions about the free trade deal.

We have to ask why on earth we have it in the first place. We have to ask ourselves what effects it will have on our earning capacity and we have to ask ourselves among other things the effects it will have on agriculture. I think also we should ask ourselves what will life be like after free trade.

Why are we in this free trade deal? We can answer in relation to the United States and mostly in relation to the U.S. as we see the American society since the 1980s and the election of President Reagan. We have come back to something we have almost forgotten and that is Reaganomics and monetarism, the theory of doing business that says if you leave business alone, if you leave industry alone, if you deregulate and let industries run on their own, they will prosper beyond all imaginable levels. I suppose their people will be driving Mercedes Benz, as was alluded to earlier. If that were the case, if the society we are trying so hard to emulate had arrived at that level, I would suggest that everyone in the United States should probably be driving Mercedes Benz.

An Hon. Member: Do you have a bicycle?

Mr. Fisher: The United States of America has since the 1980s used a hands-off approach. The whole concept of monetarism has got itself into the mess in which it is now.

Only a moment ago a Member opposite referred to a \$170 billion deficit which the United States has and he suggested that was big trouble. I suggest \$170 billion is certainly big trouble. Reaganomics is demonstrably at the root of that said trouble.

Once the effects of Reaganomics took full force and the regulation of business became the leading aspect of the day, all kinds of very strange things happened in the U.S. We have for all intents and purposes what amounted to dumping, dumping from countries where wages were very low, of commodities ranging from steel to automobiles to any number of other commodities. These things flowed into the United States—some legal, some illegal. Some found their way into the U.S. through

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada. They came into the U.S. from Taiwan, Brazil and Korea, places where the workers in those countries have been exploited in a way that some people in Canada would like to see happen here.

There is the twofold effect to monetarism. One, the unregulated, unfettered ability to do business which the United States which has led to the inflow of cheap goods devastating the indigenous industries. Second, monetarism takes away the ability of Government to have the proper kinds of influence upon all aspects of business and industry within a nation. We have the example of U.S. Steel which in the scheme of things 15 or 20 years ago was the epitome of everything that represented the United States. U.S. Steel was the good old U.S. of A. In that era of 15 or 20 years ago, you could refer to it in the same context as the good old days in the Li'l Abner cartoon where everything that was good was good for General Bullmoose—that may have been General Motors, but U.S. Steel applies as well—was good also for the U.S.A.

What is good for the General Bullmoose and good for U.S. Steel is not any longer good for the United States of America. U.S. Steel has found that it can take its profits made in the U.S., ship them overseas, get into partnerships with steel companies elsewhere, primarily in Korea, and export that steel back to the U.S. at a cheaper rate than it could be produced in the U.S. That is precisely the kind of situation in which we will find ourselves here in Canada, and is precisely the reason the U.S. is in big trouble.

• (1720)

Subsequent to the United States discovering that it had this tremendous deficit, and not entirely sure of its source, there was the election of 1984. Shortly after that the Prime Minister and the President of the United States got together, buddy-buddy, and sang *When Irish Eyes are Smiling*. At that time the Prime Minister said that the United States was our greatest neighbour and biggest trading partner.

The common expression when one finds oneself in an awkward position these days is simply to say: "Whoops". The United States realized that Canada existed. Prior to that time it was the Pacific Rim, particularly Japan, that was taking all the heat for the deficit in the United States. Now it is Canada.

The pressure on Canadian goods going into the United States increased at a rate which was unprecedented. Therefore, we find ourselves being pressured on

every level by our closest friend and neighbour. Certainly, from the point of view of business people, they find themselves in the position of single-handedly feeling responsible for the United States deficit and were forced by our good friend and neighbour to attempt to do something about it. If we get into this free trade deal we will be able to counteract this pressure from the United States, return to the days of friendship, and live in an era of prosperity.

I do not know what happened from the time of the Progressive Conservative leadership prior to the last federal election. There were some people who ran for that leadership, and some who are present in the House, who stated such things as: "unrestrained trade with the United States raises the possibility that thousands of jobs could be lost in such crucial industries as textiles, furniture, and footwear". The Prime Minister rejected free trade saying: "Canadians rejected free trade in 1911. They did so again in 1983. Canada must increase its share of the total world trade which dropped to 33 per cent in two decades". The Minister of Finance stated: "Bilateral trade is simplistic and naive. It would only serve further to diminish our ability to compete internationally".

I am not sure what happened in the intervening years.

Mr. Charest: They call it elections.

Mr. Fisher: In 1984 the Prime Minister suddenly found himself the Prime Minister with 100 free trade ghost riders on the back-benches saying: "We don't care what you said before you became the Leader. We are here. We have this majority. We are free traders, and you get yourself a free trade deal with that nation so that we can have access to the U.S. market". That is fine and dandy. Let us get access to the U.S. market. One of the reasons that we were going to get assured access to the U.S. market was so that we could get investment in Canada. Remember, everybody was investing elsewhere and not in Canada. We attempted to get a deal where there was free access to the United States. We did not get free access. There is not assured access of Canadian products into the United States of America.

What the Government got was assured access of Canadian capital in the United States, which was an even better arrangement than the previous arrangements because there were some limitations on Canadian capital going into the United States. Exactly the opposite of what the Government said it was going to do occurred,

and it exacerbated the problems we had before we got into the deal.

Much has been said about the negative effects of free trade. I do not think that anything negative can demonstrably be shown to be untrue. For example, let us talk about wages. This morning someone referred to the fact that the wages in the United States were not lower than they are in Canada. In the third quarter the average wage in Canada was \$19,337. Adjusted for the exchange rate the average wage in the United States was \$18,500. The average wage in the sunbelt, which would include the grand and glorious peach state of Georgia, rounded out and adjusted for the exchange rate, was \$16,000. I would suggest that an average loss of \$3,000 a year for someone going into that country will certainly be significant.

I could go through the list of the average wage for all the 20 sunbelt states, but it is rather long and depressing. Nevada is the only state which has consistently been above the U.S. average. Those are the types of states that our businessmen and people are so fond of saying they are going to move their businesses and industries to when free trade comes in. There is no way in the world that we as Canadian people can be threatened with our businesses and industries going there. Of course, prior to them moving there they will say to their employees that they are going to have to take lower wages, benefits and fringes, or else the company will move there.

There is no justification for the Government getting into such a deal with such a nation, certainly if one wants to start on the elementary level of wages. Employers will force their citizens to take lower wages or else those companies will move out. That is an unjustifiable position in which to put our people. It puts Canadian citizens into the intolerable situation of blackmail.

Let us look at education and compare our education to what is available in some of the southern states, the situation that those people who already live in those states find themselves in, and which undoubtedly we would find ourselves pressured into accepting. The expenditure per pupil in the public schools in the sunbelt states is an average of \$3,713. In the United States itself it is an average of \$4,063. The 1987-88 estimate for Canada is \$5,037 expenditure per pupil in our public schools.

• (1730)

I suggest that that is something we have to look at. We cannot accept the lower standard of living that those lower wage standards would force upon us.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Fisher: We should take a look at life after—

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I have to inform the Hon. Member that his time is up.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Tremblay (Rosemont): Madam Speaker, I rise for the first time in this House.

First, I would like to thank the people of Rosemont for allowing me to represent them and work with the members of this House for the development of Rosemont, Montreal, Quebec and Canada.

It is also a privilege for me, Madam Speaker, to rise for the first time to debate an issue so vitally important to all the men and women of Canada.

We have before us a Bill to implement the Free Trade Agreement that was signed by two sovereign nations. This Agreement is the result of lengthy negotiations with our main partner in trade and our closest ally. It was deliberately entered into by this Government to ensure the long-term prosperity of all Canadians.

The question before us as Members of Parliament is simply this: Do the people of Canada support the will of this Government?

Madam Speaker, I call upon the democratic spirit of the honourable members of the Opposition. All during the election campaign, I heard Liberal and NDP candidates voice concerns about the impact of the Free Trade Agreement.

A minority of them have since been elected to this House, yet they still sing the same song. They have not learned anything, Madam Speaker. They are still worried about our social programs, our regional development programs and our labour programs. They are concerned about everything. They are even concerned about Canada's sovereignty.

Madam Speaker, they have yet to understand that we must come to a decision about a piece of legislation to implement the trade deal. This trade deal is a major and even an essential factor of the Canadian development strategy, advocated by our Government.

But, Madam Speaker, Canadians readily understand that the agreement must be judged in the context of the Government's strategy as a whole, the employment strategy, the regional economic development strategy, the research development strategy, and so on.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Madam Speaker, Canadians are fully aware that our country is experiencing exceptional changes, and the Free Trade Agreement is one of the many aspects of these changes, although it is a major factor. Four years ago, Madam Speaker, Canadians got tired of a regime which had divided their country and had been unable to show economic leadership, so they elected a new Government which advocated a fresh economic approach and genuine national reconciliation.

Four years ago the Progressive Conservative Party chalked up an unprecedented victory and, under the direction of the new Government, Canada was about to undertake an historic change in policy.

Discarding the autocratic and arrogant attitude which was the hallmark of the previous administration, the new Government chose from the outset to play fair with the provinces and show confidence in them. Rather than simply maintaining the centralizing and arrogant economic approach of the previous administration, the new Government tackled the issue of redefining Canada's economic priorities and reconsidering the role the state has to play to promote development.

Banking on the country's economic potential and the ability of all Canadians, the Progressive Conservative Government decided to level with the private sector and show confidence in the entrepreneurship of Canadian men and women. Because Canadians are quite capable of holding their own on international markets, the Government's new economic strategy was to look far beyond our own borders. The free trade deal with our major partner has widened our horizons and will make it a lot easier for us to take our rightful place in the economy of the continent and of the entire world.

In short, the 1984 election has proved to be more than a simple change of Government. It marked, for Canada, the beginning of a new era both politically and economically.

At the political level, our country is now more confident than ever before. At the economic level, our country had the best performance of the seven most developed countries. The change initiated in 1984 was profitable in every respect. That is why Canadian men and women decided on November 21 to renew the mandate of the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his team.

Madam Speaker, an issue which our Government feels is most important and which was raised on many occasions by the Opposition during this debate on the

Free Trade Agreement is that of our ability to ensure the development of all the regions.

How about the Montreal region? Over the past four years, Madam Speaker, what was profitable for Canada also proved profitable for the Montreal region.

To be convinced of that, one needs only remind the House of the general climate which existed hardly five years ago. Having just escaped the worst economic recession of the past fifty years, the region was still assessing the extent of the damage and licking its wounds.

Plant closures, job cutbacks, production rationalization, aging of the industrial infrastructures, etc. The structural weakness accumulated over nearly a quarter of a century were revealed during the recession. A fatalist attitude was gaining ground. This sentiment was strengthened by the clear indifference demonstrated by the Government of Canada towards the region. The federal economic strategies which prevailed at the time, introduced a quarter of a century ago, had been planned in Ottawa and imposed on the region. Whether it was in the field of energy, financial services or air transport, the implicit message the federal Government was giving investors was clear: We know what is good for Canada and the Montreal region will just have to adapt . . .

It is not surprising, Madam Speaker, that in such a context, many Montrealers completely lost confidence in the willingness and even the ability of the Government of Canada to contribute in one way or another to the recovery of their region. For them as for a growing number of Quebecers, the Canadian Government was partly to blame for their economic decline. Instead of helping to find lasting solutions, it had become an integral part of the problem.

Out of this context, a new generation of entrepreneurs started to emerge. A new spirit then took hold of the Montreal community.

For all those who were actively involved in Montreal's recovery, it was obvious that the various social and economic interests and governments had to come up with some solid consensus on the priorities for action. Strong in their new dynamism but mindful of the hardships of the recession, the people of Montreal gradually regained confidence.

But four years ago, an essential ingredient for this new state of mind to lead to real economic recovery was lacking. This ingredient was a new attitude of the federal Government to the region. To break the vicious

circle of decline, the Government of Canada absolutely had to learn to trust Montreal's resources, to be open to initiatives based on regional consensus and to see its role as a partner acting in concert with those involved in the region.

The coming into office of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his team in 1984 was to set the scene for a climate of dialogue. The Progressive Conservative Government quickly proceeded to implement in Montreal key management principles it proposed for the whole of Canada. Essentially, these principles sought to replace arrogance with openness, systematic confrontation with the search for consensus, *fait accompli* tactics with new forms of partnership.

The men and women of Montreal, who for years had carefully been kept out of all major decisions concerning them, were somewhat skeptical at first.

Gradually, they began to realize that the principles put forth by Conservative Party candidates during the election campaign were being translated into concrete action, a new approach to Montreal's problems and an in-depth review of the Government's role in regional development.

Thus, in 1985, the Government simultaneously struck a Ministerial Committee and an Advisory Committee on the development of the Montreal area. The Advisory Committee, chaired by Professor Laurent Picard, was given the mandate to consult the local population at length to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the area as well as key directions development should take.

The report of the advisory committee was made public in the fall of 1986. For the first time in the economic history of Montreal it made it possible to set the basis of a genuine mid- and long-term regional development strategy. In its response to the report a few months later the federal Government indicated its decision to establish seven major areas of development for the Montreal region. These seven areas of development are the basis of a strategy aimed at launching the real economic recovery of the region. The strategy is the result of close co-operation by the various partners involved in the economic development of the region. This is definitely not some kind of magic formula imposed from above, but the expressed will of a community which has the full support of the federal Government.

This consensus has now been confirmed in the recent federal-provincial regional development agreement with the Government of Quebec. For the first time, Madam

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Speaker, a development strategy for the Montreal region has been endorsed by socio-economic development agents as well as by municipal, provincial and federal authorities.

Yesterday the Hon. Member for LaSalle—Emard (Mr. Martin) said:

• (1740)

[English]

"I will keep watching the Government. I will keep watching on regional development. I will keep watching on sectoral development. I will keep watching on social programs". I can tell you that he will keep watching for the next 20 years because the Liberal Party has no strategy except watching. Watching others doing their best for the development of Montreal, and their best for the development of Canada.

[Translation]

Madam Chairman, Montreal is unique in the world. The moment it was founded—nearly 350 years ago—it became obvious that this exceptional site was bound to have a promising future. This archipelago at the confluence of four major waterways was the natural entrance to the continent and one of the main transit ports for trade between the old and the new world. For over two centuries, as a result of such a privileged situation, the region was the metropolis of Canada and its main window on the rest of the world. Eventually Montreal had to adjust to a period of relative decline which radically changed its development prospects. Today, as this period has just ended and Montrealers turned a page, the major challenge is to adjust to a new economic environment and prepare to enter outright into the 21st Century.

Today, we have already taken a historic turn. The spirit now prevailing has nothing to do with the general defeatism that was rampant hardly five years ago. The open attitude, the commitment to consensus, the promotion of new forms of partnership that characterize this Government's management philosophy have been exceptional stimuli for the region.

The 21st Century is around the corner, Madam Chairman. Let us think about this: The number of years to run until the year 2000 is exactly the same as the number of years since the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976.

The decisions made today will determine the status of our resources in the year 2000. Modernizing our industries, developing high technologies, realizing our

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

full international potential are all challenges for the year 2000. On the first day of the year 2000, the Free Trade Agreement with the United States will have been fully implemented for hardly a few months, and Montreal will be a prosperous area open to the world.

Such is the real stake behind the choice now before us. More than a choice of a party, it is a choice of an attitude, a choice of a society we now have to make.

Between a return to the past that would inescapably lead us back to decline, and economic renewal that alone can lead us outright into the 21st Century, the choice is clear, Madam Chairman. It is my hope that all Members in this House will support the Bill to implement the Free Trade Agreement implementation bill.

[English]

Mr. Hawkes: On a point of order, Madam Chairman. I just want to put on the record that there have been consultations amongst the three Whips. We have agreed that the arrangement we have had for a supper hour between six and seven will be extended tonight to between six and seven-thirty. The House will continue in Committee of the Whole, speeches will continue to be made, but there will be no tactical manoeuvring for an extra half hour this evening.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Manley: Madam Chairman, it is with great pride that I stand today in this House conscious of the traditions of this place and of the ghosts of great parliamentarians who have stood in their places in this chamber and debated affairs of state. Perhaps no aspect of this first speech more distinctly impresses itself upon me than the fact that I, too, one day will be a ghost in this chamber. My ghostly presence will be made certain by the transcription of these words to be retained in perpetuity for future reference by my descendants.

[Translation]

So, I am very much aware that I am now speaking in this House not only for today, but for the future. I am not only addressing my colleagues, my constituents who have my thanks for the confidence they expressed in me, and the Canadian people, but the children of the future.

[English]

If we bear a great responsibility as parliamentarians, and we do, our greatest responsibility is to our descendants. It has been said that we do not inherit this land from our ancestors, rather that we borrow it from our descendants. It is for our descendants that we must

endeavour to enact laws whose hallmark is fairness. It is with both eyes focused on the future that we must conduct ourselves with civility, demonstrating respect for one another and for the traditions of this place and our land.

• (1750)

If I enter this House endeavoring to look to the future I do so heeding voices of the past. I wish to take the time to commend to this House the ancient words of the followers of Saint Francis of Assisi who wrote to the rulers of the people in about the year 1220 saying:

We, the followers of Francis of Assisi and your co-workers in struggling for a better society, send greetings and peace and this message. Keep a clear eye toward life's end. Do not forget your purpose and destiny as God's creature. What you are in his sight is what you are and nothing more. Do not let worldly cares and anxieties or the pressures of office blot out the divine life within you or the voice of God's spirit guiding in your great task of leading humanity to wholeness. If you open yourself to God and his plan printed deeply in your heart, God will open himself to you.

Remember that when you leave this earth, you can take with you nothing that you have received—fading symbols of honour, trappings of power—but only what you have given: a full heart, enriched by honest service, love, sacrifice and courage.

Embrace the God of us all and his Word wherever it surfaces. Imitate his preference for the poor and powerless. Enter into his plan of liberating all peoples from everything that oppresses them and obstructs their development as human beings. Do not grow tired of working for peace among all people.

Help remove unjust social structures and patterns of exploitation. Uphold the rights and dignity of the human person. Foster the creation of a society where human life is cherished and where all peoples of the planet can enjoy its gifts, which God created for all in a Spirit of love and justice and equality.

I believe these words to be as relevant today as they were when they were penned in the year 1220 A.D.

I come to this House grateful for having been elected by the voters of Ottawa South, a new constituency encompassing suburban neighbourhoods in the cities of Ottawa and Gloucester. While my constituency is a new one, it largely encompasses neighbourhoods represented not so long ago by my Leader, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition. I dare say that nowhere in Canada were his coat-tails longer than they were in Ottawa South, for he is still remembered as an able, attentive and effective local Member of Parliament. I can only hope to do as well as he did in service of my constituents.

I look as well for inspiration and example to another mentor. It is now some 12 years since I enjoyed the rare privilege of sitting a few hundred yards from this Chamber in the Supreme Court of Canada as Law Clerk to the Right Hon. Bora Laskin, Chief Justice of

Canada. I believe that I can say without fear of contradiction that no more notable example of distinguished public service could be found than the late Chief Justice.

In achieving my election to this House, it was my honour to meet with many thousands of my constituents as I sought them out at over 40,000 doors. Many issues of great importance and concern were raised by them. It is my honour as well as my duty to bring these concerns before this House. There were the concerns of Public Servants. I believe I have within my boundaries a larger number of federal Public Servants than any other riding in Canada. They have major concerns that have led to the erosion of morale in their workplace.

There was the environment. My constituents demand and expect action from all levels of Government about this crucial issue. There was the multi-billion dollars of expenditure proposed on nuclear submarines. My constituents are opposed to it as a senseless and shameful waste of money. There was the issue of the use of patronage by Governments and the perception of corruption in the political system. My constituents were appalled at the endless series of resignations in disgrace that characterized this Government in its first mandate. There were concerns of the elderly, of students, of post-secondary students at two universities and a community college. But there was no concern greater than the concerns expressed by my constituents about the trade agreement proposed with the United States.

My constituents voted against it by a margin of more than two to one. Why? They voted for Canada. They voted against moving into the embrace of the United States. They voted against the surrender of our sovereignty to the U.S. Congress. They voted for the things that make us different from the United States.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Manley: I do not think we can deny the differences. We are a more peaceful and peaceable people. We are a kinder and gentler nation.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Manley: Our historical alliances are based on links of culture and heritage and not simply on links of convenience. We are a people which has resisted the melting pot in favour of celebrating diversity. We are different.

My margin included many who told me that they had always voted Conservative in the past but they could not do so this time. My margin included many to whom I

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

referred as the Diefenbaker Conservatives. I think that the words of the former Leader of the Party across the way, former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, in his first volume of his biography are of significance. He wrote about the election of 1911 on reciprocity that:

The election had a profound influence on me, and perhaps more than anything else made me a Conservative. I attended all the meetings in Saskatoon. There was wide-spread feeling that if Reciprocity with the United States was accepted, economic union would result, ultimately leading to political absorption... The Conservatives stood for "one Canada", free from United States domination. The bands at Conservative meetings played, and the faithful sang, "We're soldiers of the King". "Rule Britannia" had its place in those programs as we cleaved to our British heritage in defiance of American manifest destiny and Grit continentalism. The result was a tremendous revelation of Canadian determination to be Canadian. This impressed me greatly.

I did not tell the voters of Ottawa South that I was against free trade because, indeed, I am not against free trade or fairer trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Manley: I am not against lower tariffs. I am not against increasing efficiencies. I oppose this trade agreement with the United States. I told my constituents why I was opposed to it. It is because we entered into this negotiation looking for certain things and we did not get them. We did not get what we were asking for. We did not get secure access to the U.S. market. We did not get exemption from U.S. trade remedy laws. We did not get a binding dispute settlement mechanism that is any use to us. But we gave up significant things.

We gave up important economic levers. We gave up the ability to introduce policies in the interests of Canadians in areas such as investment, energy and regional development. We gave up protection for vital sectors that cannot compete. We lost our ability to determine that foreign investment in Canada is in the best interests of Canada. We impaired Canadian ability to conduct independent policies for energy supply to consumers. We diminished provincial power to establish economic and social policies.

[*Translation*]

Madam Chairman, although I am not a member of one of those Montreal or Toronto big firms, I am a business lawyer and over these last eleven years I have advised a number of clients on their business contracts.

[*English*]

As a lawyer perhaps what concerns me most is what is missing from this deal and from the Bill that seeks to implement it. I have found with many clients that they

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

can read commercial contracts quite well for themselves, very often they are not so complicated that they are not understandable. What they need good advice for is to point out to them the things that are perhaps missing from an agreement.

I think when one sits down to look at this agreement, as a lawyer one would say: "What is missing here? What do we need that is missing"? Obviously, the definition of subsidy was not arrived at. It is a crucial matter. Clients have often come forward to me and said: "Well, no, we did not agree on this or that important point, but I trust my partner that I am entering into business with. I trust him. We will work it out. We want to get this deal, close it and then we will go on to solve the problems later".

Inevitably that is a prescription for disaster. Once the deal is signed, once the parties begin following a course of conduct that implements a deal, bargaining positions change. The ability to negotiate is eroded. In this deal, by failing to come to terms on the definition of "subsidy" entering into a new relationship with our largest trading partner, we are exposed to making very significant changes to the basis of our economic system which may impose limits on what we are able to negotiate with the United States in five to seven years. I think that is a major concern.

• (1800)

There is the concern that the agreement specifically says that subsidies in the energy sector would not be considered subsidies for the purpose of the creation of a "level playing field". Why are other potential subsidies not mentioned in the agreement? Any lawyer would point out that if regional development programs are not intended to be there, why are they not exempted specifically? Why are they left out? If our social programs are not in danger, why are they not specifically exempted? Put it in. We are being asked to trust the United States, and we can trust them. We can trust them to do what is best for them, not what is best for us.

In a radio interview on CBC before the election, the noted American economist, Robert Reich, said: "If I were a Canadian, I probably would not be terribly supportive of the Free Trade Agreement. As an American, as a citizen of the United States, I think it is quite good for us. Is it good for Canada? Well what do you get? What do you benefit? You get a reduction in tariffs, and that is probably a good thing. But the core issue with which the United States and Canada have to deal with regard to trade frictions is the question of

what is an appropriate subsidy from government to industry, and the United States and Canada are no closer to a meeting of the minds on that issue than they were before the Free Trade Agreement was concocted."

I am not only concerned with what is missing from the agreement, but what is missing from the Bill. We had assurances throughout the campaign that social programs would not be affected. Why not put it in the Bill? If we did not get it in the agreement, why not assure the people of Canada, through the Bill, that these are exempt?

We have received assurances from the other side that the deal would increase employment. New jobs are going to be created, we were told. We also know that jobs are going to be lost. Where are the adjustment programs to see that people who lose their jobs are able to train and retrain for new ones? We are in danger of creating in this country a new class of unemployed. What are we going to do for them? We have received assurances that the cultural industries will not be affected. Put it in the Bill. We have received assurances that the environment will not be endangered despite what many environmental organizations have said. Can we not deal with this in the Bill?

I think that the greatest concern for me is that this trade agreement is all that this Government is putting forward by way of economic policy. It is that bankruptcy of policy that has led to this comprehensive, bilateral trade agreement. Our problem is not access to U.S. markets. Our problem is preparing for a future in which we have to compete in a high-tech world with the Japanese, the Koreans, the Germans, and they are beating us. It is not the Americans we have to worry about it. We have to start spending money on research and development. We have to build ourselves up so that we are more productive, so that our economy can compete with all of the world instead of tying ourselves to a falling star.

Why is the Government pursuing a policy of high interest rates causing an increased dollar that has the effect of reimposing tariffs that are going to be reduced through this agreement, causing a greater loss of jobs through high interest rates than are going to be created through this Free Trade Agreement?

Why has the Government failed in its last mandate to develop a strategy that will increase our R and D spending, increase our productivity and competitiveness? Why? Because this is a Government bankrupt of ideas, of policy, of new initiatives. That bankruptcy

cannot be better demonstrated than by the campaign that has just ended, a campaign in which I have heard of fear being spread. I have seen fear in my constituency. It is spread by the other side. It is spread by letters from employers who have nothing to do with affected industries, telling their workers that if free trade is not adopted, they are going to lose their jobs. That is the kind of fear that we saw. We saw a major political Party in Canada running television commercials that for 30 seconds consisted of a series of unflattering photographs of the Leader of the Opposition. That is a Party that is bankrupt of policy, if that is all that they can do.

[*Translation*]

In conclusion, I would like to thank my constituents of Ottawa South for their great confidence. I am committed to serve them to the best of my abilities and represent them well in the coming years.

[*English*]

Mr. Crosby: Thank you, Madam Chairperson.

We have to begin by explaining the Bill now before the House of Commons, which is Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America. Bill C-2 contains none of the provisions that are being talked about in this House. It is a highly technical Bill, combining the elements necessary to support the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. I do not think we should lose track of that exercise, because the debate is degenerating into a difficult discourse that reminds me of a story.

It was once said that if you put enough gorillas into enough cages with enough typewriters for long enough, they would type out all of the world's great novels. I think that is happening in this debate, because all we are doing here in this House of Commons is considering enabling legislation to implement the Free Trade Agreement already signed, all ready to go into force, all ready to be implemented by the Government of Canada and by the Government of the United States of America. There is no reason for us to be here.

Then someone has the nerve to say: "We are not regarding the democratic process." Parliament has a history. Parliament has a tradition. We must follow that tradition in calling sessions of the legislature. I have said this before in the House of Commons, but it bears repeating, this is clearly considered and stated to be by the Prime Minister and the Government of Canada a very special session. It is a session of the kind that we convened to deal with the railway strike.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Did anybody come to Ottawa when Canadians were crippled by a closedown of the railway service and say: "We must have a Speech from the Throne. We must have a debate. We must have committees"? No, we all gathered together to pass the railway legislation to end the strike, to return Canada and Canadians to normal, transcontinental activity. Nobody objected to that.

We are told this is a very different kind of session, but it is not. It is no different from any other special session of the Parliament of Canada, of the House of Commons, that was convened to deal with a specific issue, and that specific issue is the Free Trade Agreement. So do not worry. There is nothing unusual about what is going on in the House of Commons these past few days. The only thing unusual is that the opposition Members will not accept the verdict of the people.

What do the members of the Opposition do? They still talk about the mandate; we do not have a mandate. All you have to do is sit in the Chamber for an hour and you will hear everybody talking about the mandate. The latest speech on the mandate came from the Member for Nepean. I do not want to pick on a new Member, but she announced that she had a mandate, and she was here to stop the Free Trade Agreement, have it amended, have it changed, or have some other action taken. So I have taken the trouble to look up the mandate for the new Member for Nepean. The new Member for Nepean got 26,501 votes. The Progressive Conservative candidate got 23,399 votes. The Member of the New Democratic Party got 6,122 votes. There were 291 votes to another candidate.

● (1810)

If you add that up correctly it will come to 56,213 votes. Fifty per cent is 28,106. The Member from Nepean was 1,595 votes short of a mandate, or 47 per cent of the votes. She has no more mandate to come here and represent the people of Nepean and say that when they supported her they demanded that she end or obstruct the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement than the Government has to pass it.

In fact, as I have explained on other occasions, the Government has an even clearer mandate because 4.3 million Canadians, 25 per cent of all Canadians who did not vote in the federal election, accepted the verdict by not voting. They had no authority to call a new election. They accepted the verdict of the rest of the people and we have a very clear mandate. It is a mandate supported by 60 per cent of the Canadian voters, not 43 per cent, 44 per cent or 45.5 per cent.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Sixty per cent of the voters of Canada either directly supported the Progressive Conservative Party or supported the verdict of all the electorate by not voting in the general election. There is no great majority out there saying the Free Trade Agreement should be stopped. It is a figment of the imagination of the Opposition Parties.

Where are the supporters of the Opposition Parties? Where is Maud Barlow, who went on national television and said: "I and my organization will fight the Free Trade Agreement until we beat it to death, till we wrestle it to the ground". Where is Maud Barlow? She is at home watching television, doing her thing. She is not worried about what we are doing in the House of Commons, nor is her great friend, the ultimate opponent of free trade in Canada, Mel Hurtig. Where is Mel Hurtig?

An Hon. Member: Selling encyclopaedias.

Mr. Crosby: Selling encyclopaedias for young children. He flogged it all he could with the seniors of Canada, now he is off to the children. He is certainly not outside the Chamber or anywhere else in Ottawa fighting the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement. Thanks a lot Mel Hurtig. Thanks a lot Maud Barlow. But you are not here when your friends in the Liberal Party and your friends in the New Democratic Party need your moral support.

Where are the pickets that used to appear at every discussion of free trade? I walked into the House of Commons several times in the last days but saw no pickets. They have all gone home with their signs. You do not have anyone left, just a few rumpled Liberals and a few rumpled members of the New Democratic Party carrying out the mandate of the Mel Hurtig's, the Maud Barlow's and the Bob White's.

Where is Bob White tonight? I would like to see him in the gallery of the House of Commons monitoring the free trade debate, seeing if all the Members of the New Democratic Party are saying what Bob White thinks they should say. He gave them great advice after the election. Is he giving the NDP any advice on free trade now and how to fight the issue? I suspect that Bob White is where most sensible Canadians are tonight, preparing for the Christmas season in the spirit that should be common to all of us. Instead we are here beating a dead horse, battling an issue that has already been resolved. We are doing that because Members of Parliament continue the election campaign into this

Chamber. They continue to pursue the myths that evolved in the election campaign.

Let us talk about some of those myths. The first myth is that the election was on free trade alone, that everybody who voted in the federal election of November 21, 1988, only had free trade in mind when they went to the polls. I have already said that many people in this country are concerned about abortion. Many people voted on that issue.

Even if they did not, there were many people trying to encourage Canadians to vote on other issues. I received a pamphlet in my mailbox from the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. They were kind enough to provide me and everyone else in Halifax West as well as many other constituents in Canada their views of the federal election. Of course, they did not want anyone to vote Progressive Conservative. They wanted the Mulroney Government thrown out because they did not like the way it was dealing with the postal service.

It cost over \$6,000 to distribute a piece of material to all the homes in Halifax West to try to influence them to read the material and decide how they would vote. They were not concerned about free trade, they were concerned about the postal service. I guess their friends in the New Democratic Party should tell the members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers that they wasted their time and money because everyone who voted NDP voted on the basis of free trade and that everyone who voted Liberal voted on the basis of free trade. Who cares about the postal service?

The fact is that many Canadians care about the postal service and probably were influenced by that piece of election propaganda prepared by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. That union said in advance of the election that they would attack certain Progressive Conservative Party members and oppose them in the election.

It is almost laughable that the Member for Ottawa South, along with the Member for Nepean should come into this Chamber and say that their electors voted for free trade while, in the next sentence, they say their electors are members of the Public Service of Canada.

We know where the Public Service of Canada, through the Public Service Alliance, stood on the matter of electing Progressive Conservatives. They fought all of us tooth and nail and used their money to do so.

In Halifax the members of the Public Service Alliance who work at the dockyard felt obliged to publish lengthy advertisements at the cost of thousands of dollars, urging their members and their families as well as others to vote against the Progressive Conservative candidates. If that was not bad enough, after the election they said they were successful in getting people to vote against the Progressive Conservatives. They said: "We are members of the ship repair unit, Halifax East and we got members of our union and their families and friends to vote against the Progressive Conservative Government".

Are Members of the Liberal Party and New Democratic Party coming to the House of Commons and saying that everyone in Canada voted on the basis of free trade?

I suggest they tell that to the promoters of the Peace Pledge who issued materials to all electors, took out newspaper advertisements, urging people to vote on the basis of the stand on a number of issues, including nuclear weapons free zones, nuclear powered submarines and cruise missile testing.

They regarded these as issues on which Canadians should vote. Are Members of the Opposition saying that no one paid any attention to all the propaganda they produced, especially when those same Members stand in the House and say, as the Leader of the Liberal Party said during the election campaign, that advertising and promotion by Canadian big business has turned the election around.

How do they come to the conclusion that no one paid attention to the Public Service Alliance, which is perhaps a good idea, that no one paid any attention to the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, which is an excellent idea, and that no one paid attention to the Peace Pledge? Certainly Canadians voted on the basis of what they perceived to be the issues. While free trade was a very important issue, we have to explode the myth that the federal election was based entirely on free trade. Let us hear no more talk about mandates from Members of Parliament elected with 47 per cent of the vote and saying they have a mandate but we do not.

Let us talk about some of the myths that relate to the Free Trade Agreement. The most hateful myth of all was medical care and the fact that the signing and implementation of the Free Trade Agreement will destroy, damage or otherwise adversely affect medical care in Canada. Canada happens to have a much better medical care system than they do in the United States.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I think every American, certainly every elected member of the United States Congress is very conscious of that fact. I am sure their knowledge extends to all offices of the U.S. Government.

They know that we have a medicare system in Canada which is less costly, more efficient, which reaches more people at less government expense. They admire our medical care system because they know the statistics that relate to medicare in Canada. They know that we in Canada spend only 8 per cent of our GNP on medical care while in the United States they spend 11 per cent of the GNP on medical care.

Members of the New Democratic Party say that the Americans want a level playing field which will eliminate medicare because they want us to abandon medicare in order to be level with them. I find that strange, since they already spend more on medical care than we do.

• (1820)

In fact, in the whole social program area, the Americans and Canadians spend approximately the same amount of their GNPs on social programs. I have the statistics here, and I would be glad to read them to Members. Approximately 21 per cent of Canada's GNP is spent on social programs, and in the United States it is approximately 24 per cent. How could anyone manufacture the argument that social programs would disappear so that our programs would be equal to those of the United States? How could anyone argue that we would be equally bad instead of equally good?

Members of the Opposition will not face up to these kinds of facts. They want to protract the debate and continue the myths that were portrayed during the election campaign. They want to bring these to the floor of the House of Commons, and they will not face the fact that there are substantial statistical and economic arguments against all the issues they have used to convince some Canadians that the Free Trade Agreement will not be a positive initiative for Canada.

When will they give up? When will they stop trying to convince people, through the medium of debate in the House of Commons, that the Free Trade Agreement should not be implemented? It is time to stop. It is time for members of the Liberal and New Democratic Parties to face up to the fact that the Free Trade Agreement does not adversely affect medical care because the costs of medical care in Canada and in the United States are approximately the same. It has no economic impact. It

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

does not affect the price of goods. It does not distort trade, nor do the variety of social programs we have.

Let us talk about pensions. Are members of the Opposition under the impression that there are no pension programs in the United States of America? Have they not heard of social security? Do they not realize that seniors in the United States receive pensions as do seniors in Canada? Perhaps our program is better. I hope it is. It should be and, if it is not, we will try to make it better. However, those programs are in place and the percentage of Gross National Product that is spent on these programs is approximately the same. In the interests of fairness and of properly informing Canadians, please drop these nonsensical arguments.

I would not mind if members of the Opposition started talking about the environment. At least there is an element of uncertainty with respect to the environment. The Free Trade Agreement makes very clear that in no way, shape, or form does Canada give up its right or authority to legislate and implement policies with respect to the environment. However, at least members of the Opposition would argue that we might back off. At least they would be dealing with a subject that might change rather than with facts, figures, and programs that are already in place.

If we are to continue what I have already characterized as an nonsensical argument, at least let us deal with the parts of it that might give rise to some concerns. Let us not deal with those elements that have already been clearly disposed of again and again. Let us not deal with the question of who has the mandate and who has been elected with what percentage. That decision has already been taken by the people of Canada. The play is over, the curtain is down, and now we have to move on to the next performance.

I do not want to make light of those who protest the Free Trade Agreement. I believe there are legitimate concerns arising from a dramatic initiative like the implementation of free trade. I understand why people in the textile industry are concerned. They want to guard their ability to produce and market their goods. I understand the concerns of people in various parts of Canada. However, what I do not understand is the rhetoric that is preached about free trade. I do not understand the people who have entered into the discussion but who do not have any real role to play in the dialogue. I would like to end my remarks with a

description of some of the nonsense that I have seen played out.

I was a member of a standing committee that studied the Free Trade Agreement. We had the great opportunity to hear from some of the opponents of free trade. We heard from Mel Hurtig and from Mordecai Richler. Let me tell Hon. Members what Mordecai Richler said to that committee. We are concerned about the wine industry in Niagara and we want to help out. We want to make sure it is not adversely affected. Mordecai Richler, the great opponent of free trade, said:

—but if free trade meant the dubious wines of Niagara would be displaced by the far more palatable stuff distilled in California, I would not be displeased. There is only so much plonk I am prepared to drink for my country. In fact, the louder I hear Ontario squeal, the stronger my support for free trade.

Let us get the opponents of free trade all in one place, and they will tear each other to pieces. They do not agree with each other. They are dealing only in rhetoric, not in facts. Let us get down to the facts. Let us pass Bill C-2. Let us get on with the business of making Canada economically strong.

Mr. Ferguson: Madam Chairman, I wish tonight to draw to the attention of the House the deep and grave concern that I have, returning as a Member. During the early stages of this debate, Hon. Members opposite threw caution to the winds and accused Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition of obstructing. I wish to remind them of what this House is all about.

It is not my intention to lecture Hon. Members, but because many Hon. Members have been in the House for only a short time, it would be useful to remind them of what others have said in moments of national importance. Let there be no mistake about it. The present situation the Government has got itself and Canadian citizens into is of grave national importance.

It is obvious that closure sits too lightly on the shoulders of the Deputy House Leader and many Members opposite. Let me quote from *Hansard* for the Twenty-second Parliament, third session, page 4512:

To begin with, I say that never in all British history under a parliamentary system have the rules been juggled as they have in this case or have the rules been changed as it were between innings.

The issue at hand is the attempt to ram this trade deal through the House without giving all Hon. Members of the Thirty-fourth Parliament an opportunity to improve an old Bill from a previous Parliament which had an entirely different make-up of Members.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Obviously the Government has not understood that the electorate sent a clear message to the new Parliament that the trade deal could and should have improvements made to it. The tactics being used mean that we are being asked to abrogate our position as the dominant forum for discussions in the legislature and, in turn, leave the decision-making process to the executive. All of this is to meet some preconceived date that was decided before debate began. Because of that pre-imposed date, closure was applied, even though a majority of Canadians voted against the deal.

We have heard a great deal about sovereignty during the past year, but in our parliamentary system the sovereignty of the people is expressed through Parliament. When I say "parliament", I mean the minority or the Opposition, as well as the majority. Let us not have any more statements from the government benches and particularly from the Minister for International Trade who was quoted in the December 26 edition of *Maclean's* magazine as saying that there is nothing more to be said. I beg to differ.

Surely the Hon. Member for St. John's West does not have a monopoly on what is good for Canadians. Surely he cannot deprive the 125 new Members of the House who have not had the opportunity to express their views and those of their constituents who can no doubt contribute to improving a flawed deal.

Again, I would like to quote from *Hansard* of the Twenty-second Parliament, page 4513:

I do make an appeal to the Prime Minister. This Parliament, this institution should be a temple of freedom, not a place where frustration becomes the means whereby the rights are swept aside and whereby the rules are misinterpreted in order to achieve a temporary advantage.

I have to suggest, Madam Chairman, that perhaps one of the reasons this debate is being brought to an end is that the Government wants to silence those Members who are speaking out against this deal before we have more plant closings and lay-offs of Canadian workers by parent U.S. companies.

• (1830)

Although we are starting the festive season I am speaking here with a heavy heart. When we consider this Bill, it clearly contains basic principles rejected by 53 per cent of Canadians at the polls. It will, in fact, mean the end of so many of the organizations and systems that we have in Canada which are the envy of the world.

I am shocked and angry about the heavy-handed way this Government has neutered our agricultural marketing systems in Canada in exchange for continued access to markets that we already have and markets that we may or may not be able to continue to supply or have access to, either at home or abroad.

We still have the countervail duty on our Canadian hogs going into the United States. We still have the tax on shakes and shingles. The U.S. trade remedy laws are still intact and, despite all the assurances for the former Minister of International Trade and the Prime Minister in 1987 that the whole object of the exercise was to exempt Canada from the U.S. trade remedy laws. We are not exempt. In fact, the co-chairman of the U.S. Senate Ways and Means Committee last summer pointed out to his colleagues that in the event of a dispute between the Free Trade Agreement and the U.S. law, U.S. law shall prevail.

I am particularly upset that this Government has assured us that our marketing boards and agencies were not on the table when, the powers of these agencies and boards were being removed or circumvented. First, I will address myself to the powers of the Import—Export Permits Act being removed from wheat and grains. Furthermore, under the terms of the agreement, wheat is to be traded freely when support levels in both countries are deemed to be at par, but we have already lost our two-price wheat policy which is costing our Ontario farmers \$1 a bushel this year. In view of forecasts of a 70 per cent increase in plantings next year in an attempt by individual farmers in Canada to stay competitive, prices will drop and losses will be much higher unless of course Mother Nature intervenes again this year.

Canada is regarded as having the best agricultural product marketing systems of any nation in the world. Ron Stoddard, Executive Director of the Nebraska Wheat Board stated in London, Ontario on Monday, December 5, that growers in his state are strong supporters of a two-price system for wheat. He predicted that the free trade agreement would be a disaster for Canada.

This grain trade expert went on to say that the international grain trade is the real winner, and as our grain prices reach record low levels we see these international grain companies buy company after company.

Mr. McDermid: Who said this?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Ferguson: This is already happening in southwestern Ontario. A large U.S. based multinational corporation bought Maple Leaf Mills last year and is now buying some smaller operations. This is occurring at a time when this huge U.S. based company already has a preponderant position in Canadian agricultural supply and purchasing markets. This company is the largest privately-owned company in the United States.

As a farmer from southwestern Ontario, I suggest this is not a coincidence. Prior to the ending of the two-price wheat system by the Government, the Government brought the Vice-President of this company's Canadian operation into the office of the Deputy Minister of Agriculture here in Ottawa for a two-year period, beginning August 1, 1985 and ending July 31, 1987. It is also interesting that Mr. Amstets, the U.S. Chief Negotiator at GATT, is a former Vice-President of that same U.S. grain company. Just think of it, a Vice-President of the Canadian operation in the office of our Deputy Minister of Agriculture here in Ottawa at the same time as the executive Vice-President of the same U.S. based company was the U.S. negotiator in GATT, and was involved in these negotiations.

I was shocked to see a document prepared by this person in the Deputy Minister's office in late 1987 that was extremely critical of Canada's supply management systems, particularly in the poultry sector. Of course, as usual, the people who contributed to that document were not farmers, except for one from Buffalo, Alberta, but rather academics and big business people who showed their greed and could think only of their own market shares and corporate profits. Why did they not invite the poultry people and those whose livelihood depend on a stable and heavy poultry industry?

I submit that the Government is only interested in big business. When I look around me at the numbers of farms being foreclosed or taken over by the Farm Credit Corporation through powers of sale since the election on November 21, let me tell you that Scrooge himself could not be more callous or heavy-handed during this festive season.

Mr. McDermid: You were there when there were 22 per cent interest rates for the farmers.

Mr. Ferguson: Perhaps I should read a little excerpt from *The Globe and Mail* for December 16. It is entitled "Farmers' net worth plunges since 1984". The article also reports that in a comprehensive survey of the industry, the Federal Farm Credit Corporation found that the average net worth of Canadian farmers declined

by 11 per cent since 1984 while there had been substantial increases in the amount of long-term debt, the number of high risk borrowers, and the number of farmers in arrears.

I should go on to point out that in general the Farm Credit Corporation found that farmers belong to marketing boards. Whether they raise poultry, eggs, or are involved in the dairy, they tend to have more stable, more profitable, and better investments than cash crops farmers. Members of the marketing boards are protected from market fluctuations—

Mr. McDermid: Exactly.

Mr. Ferguson: —by established prices. What happened to our marketing boards and agencies in the poultry sector, marketing boards that we were assured were not even on the bargaining table during the negotiations? On page 4 of the Free Trade Agreement we see increases in the global import levels.

Mr. McDermid: Based on what?

Mr. Ferguson: On chicken, turkey, and eggs. It is an increase of more than 40 million eggs a year—

Mr. McDermid: Based on what?

Mr. Ferguson: —at a time when our Canadian producers are being asked to cut back to balance supply and demand.

Mr. McDermid: Based on what?

Mr. Ferguson: As just a point of interest, Madam Chairman, the U.S. company that I mentioned a few moments ago has 13 million laying hens in the United States. In all Ontario we have 7.5 million laying hens and in all Canada we have about 20 million. That one company has 13 million in the U.S. Imagine a company having two-thirds the amount that we have in all Canada. Here in Canada we have not paid any subsidies or provided any financial assistance to the poultry industry for at least the last 13 years.

I ask the Minister of Agriculture when he returns to show his support for the Canadian marketing systems and to honour his commitment to Canada's hatching egg producers and to place hatching eggs on the import control list as was requested and as he promised. I would personally ask the Minister for International Trade to take the initiative in this matter and make their Christmas a happy Christmas for the Canada hatching eggs producers.

Why did the Government not insist during this free trade negotiations and the GATT meetings that the U.S. adopt our system of marketing as the envy of the world rather than the dog eat dog, survival of the fittest, that we see to the south?

Mr. McDermid: Why do you not tell that to your European friends?

Mr. Ferguson: What else did this administration do to our marketing systems that was not supposed to be on the table during negotiations?

Page 119 of the agreement indicates that for the purposes of Article 706 the definitions in paragraphs 1(a) and 1(b) are definitions of chicken and turkey respectively. I do not disagree with those definitions. I think the first two definitions are correct, but then I go on to look at subsection 2 of Article 706 which lists 13 different types of further processed chicken. Under this definition, chicken is certainly not considered to be chicken. There are 13 different types of further processed chicken that are not considered to be chicken: chicken cordon bleu, breaded chicken cordon bleu, Chicken Kiev, breaded chicken Kiev, and chicken TV dinners, and the list goes on.

• (1840)

Under subsection 3 there are nine different types of further processed turkey that are not considered to be turkey. Those further processed products will enter Canada free, outside the import quotas.

If this is not chicken or turkey, what is it? Is this a clear, above-board, honest manner in which to negotiate a trade agreement, or is this the latest method that the Tory administration is using to destroy these producer organizations established under an Act of Parliament? These further processed poultry products will account for more than 50 per cent of production here in Canada within the next few years. Not only will we lose the jobs of the people processing these birds, but the farmers currently supplying these boards will be forced to cut back or forced out of business, along with the other allied industries supplying producers of these products on the farms and on up through the system.

We were promised that our Canadian systems were not on the bargaining table. Now we find that they have been gutted and the Canadian people will be the losers.

When I look into the section on agriculture, curiously I came to page 88 and the definition under Article 711. I was shocked to see that the goods listed in tariff item

22.01 include natural water, snow, and ice. Yet there is no explanation as to whether Articles 7(1) and (2) of the Act supersede Article 711 of the agreement.

The Minister for International Trade should come clean with the people of Canada and admit what he has done, stop the deal, and apologize to the people of this nation. The Tories started out trading horses and ended up losing the farm. Now closure has been imposed upon this institution because the Government did not want to talk about being taken to the cleaners.

In closing, I ask the House either to reject the trade deal or amend it, to ensure that the powers of the Canadian Wheat Board and the powers of our national marketing agencies are left intact and that we retain the powers of the Import Permits Act in order that continued stability is provided for the producers of Canada and that ample supplies of high quality Canadian food are available to Canadian consumers at reasonable prices.

Mr. McDermid: I wish to raise a couple of points. The Hon. Member went part way when he started quoting from the Free Trade Agreement, but he did not tell the whole story.

First, the Hon. Member talked about increased levels of imports that are allowed for chicken, eggs, and powdered eggs under the agreement, but he did not say where the number came from. That number came from the actual average imports over the last five years. It was not a number picked out of the sky or a phoney number. It works out to be a 1 per cent increase. That number was arrived at by using actual importations in this country over the last five years. The Hon. Member failed to mention that when he talked about the various products.

The other thing the Hon. Member failed to mention was that we had reserved the right to establish new marketing boards where producers wanted them and where the Government saw that it was the proper thing to do.

The Hon. Member is a former Minister of Agriculture, albeit that he held his portfolio for only a couple of months, as long as I have had mine, but he did not tell the whole story. Those products to which he referred can be placed on an import control list. As a matter of fact the Government placed yoghurt and ice cream on the import control list after the Free Trade Agreement was signed.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

To boot, I am not sure where the Hon. Member comes up with the fact that we have ruined the marketing boards under the Free Trade Agreement. Article 11 applies in the GATT, has been preserved, and will continue to apply under the Free Trade Agreement. The Hon. Member only goes part way in his explanations, as the Liberals will when they do their explaining on the Free Trade Agreement. That is one of the injustices that the Canadian public had to put up with during the campaign because of the half-truths and just going so far.

For example, his Leader reads the first paragraph in a section but does not go on to read the whereases and whatfors after that. If one only reads part of a paragraph or section of the Free Trade Agreement, it may sound absolutely horrifying to the public.

When one goes on to read what in fact it means and the clarifications that go with it, it makes absolute sense. The dairy industry supported the Free Trade Agreement because it knows that our marketing systems are protected. The poultry associations have also been supportive. They know that the marketing system is preserved. What is happening to destroy the marketing system is that farmers are allowing processors to pay them a premium on chicken they produce. Certain Canadian processors are paying premiums and are destroying the marketing system that they themselves set up and asked for.

If the Hon. Member wanted to do something useful, then he might talk to the producers in this country and attempt to bring some sanity back to what is going on in the Canadian market-place, and not blame the Free Trade Agreement for what is happening. The Hon. Member is nodding his head. He knows what is going on with the producers. I have known the Hon. Member for many years. It is nice to see him returned to the House, although it is obvious that he did not learn much in the four years that he was gone. He has not been fair in the manner in which he has been giving his assessment of the Free Trade Agreement and the marketing board situation.

Mr. Ferguson: I wish to take issue with some of the statements made by the Hon. Minister. In the first place, I never mentioned the dairy industry whatsoever. On page 84, and I refer to this as the global quota, I acknowledged that there would be a global quota. I went on to point out that this would be circumvented by further processed chicken and turkey products that are

not considered to be chicken. That is what is going to destroy the industries.

Mr. McDermid: Can they be placed on the import control list?

Mr. Ferguson: Chicken and turkey as defined are already on the import control list, as are eggs.

Mr. McDermid: Can you add to the import control list, according to the agreement?

Mr. Ferguson: I would think that we could. However, if we cannot add then let us have the broiler chicken hatching eggs also added.

I would also like to point out that when the import restrictions are removed on wheat there simply cannot be a two-price wheat system. I wish to go on record as pointing out that the advisory board to the Canadian Wheat Board does not support this deal for that very reason.

• (1850)

[Translation]

Mrs. Landry: Madam Chairman, I am indeed extremely pleased to rise and participate in this debate on second reading of Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

This Free Trade Agreement was certainly a major issue during the last election campaign. In my own riding of Blainville-Deux Montagnes, like everywhere else in Quebec and Canada, the debate on this dramatic initiative was marked by fiery and passionate speeches, but unfortunately hardly based on facts.

Both as a Minister and as a Member of this House, Madam Chairman, I was very happy to witness the extensive interest which the free trade issue had raised among Canadians everywhere in Canada.

The free trade issue emphasized not only the importance of trade for our prosperity, but also the importance which Canadians give to all aspects of our lives which make our society unique.

Madam Chairman, I should like to recall briefly the circumstances which convinced us of the need to negotiate a free trade agreement with our most important trading partner. As a matter of fact, it is in the early 1980s that the notion of a comprehensive free trade bilateral agreement with the United States came to light. It was in 1982 that the Canadian Senate, which

was made up at the time of a majority of Liberals just as it is today, issued its report on free trade with the United States. The said report stated:

Negotiating a bilateral free trade agreement with the United States remains the best means to achieve the hoped-for objectives of restructuring, growth and competitiveness for the Canadian industry.

Madam Chairman, you will remember that in 1982, the Hon. Donald MacDonald, the former Liberal Minister of Finance, and his commissioners had received from Prime Minister Trudeau a mandate to carry out the most thorough and exhaustive review of our economy and to recommend guidelines for the future. For three years, this commission held public hearings throughout Canada.

Its findings were simple and unequivocal, and I quote:

Free trade will increase our wealth and, at the same time, reinforce the structure of our country and increase our self-reliance.

Madam Chairman, why did these studies, Royal Commissions and other groups and individuals recommend negotiating a free trade agreement? And why did the present Progressive Conservative Government also accept this advice? Our reasons are exactly the same as those for which small countries today are turning to free trade. The rise in protectionism is a threat to Canada's economy. With the Free Trade Agreement, Canada is doing what it must to ensure better access to its largest export market.

The Government and the supporters of free trade believe that this can only provide better economic opportunities for Canadians in all regions of this great country.

Indeed, Madam Chairman, the Free Trade Agreement opens possibilities for all Canadians, from St. John's to Victoria.

Since negotiations on this Agreement began, the need to serve all of Canada adequately has remained a priority. That is why the Free Trade Agreement is widely recognized as an essential element of this country's regional policy.

Just think, Madam Chairman, of the energy sector in Quebec, forestry in the West or fisheries in the Maritime provinces. They will all benefit from this trade agreement.

I also think of the market of 250 million people, the many export opportunities, the development of our resources and so many other possibilities the Free Trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement affords us. And that, Madam Chairman, is what will develop our regions.

Nevertheless, the opponents of free trade continue to maintain that it will lead to the disappearance of Canada as we know it and that we will lose opportunities because of it.

On what do they base their opposition? Certainly not on the history of the last fifty years which is one of a continuous progression towards the freeing of trade and the elimination of tariffs and trade barriers between the two countries.

I think we must seriously ask ourselves the following questions. Are we any less Canadian after half a century of increasing trade with the United States? Are we any less independent following the reduction of tariffs? Are we less prosperous? Madam Chairman, I think the vast majority of Canadians will say our identity has never been stronger. I can say that we have never seen such an abundant production in literature, music, art or Canadian films than today. Each of those areas of creativity is solidly protected by the Free Trade Agreement and, as promised, we have maintained all forms of assistance for the cultural industry as well as our capacity of introducing new ones.

Nothing in the agreement prevents the Government from continuing to fund the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, Telefilm Canada and the Canada Council. I think free trade can only strengthen our sense of identity rather than weaken it, because it is precisely when a country's economy is strong that it can afford to support its art and cultural institutions.

The same argument applies to our social policies. Free trade opponents, the two opposition Parties, of course, say that the agreement threatens those policies as well as our health insurance and unemployment insurance systems. We know, Madam Chairman, how, during the last election campaign, in a way I would call shameful, they spread fear especially among older people. The agreement does not jeopardize in any way the integrity of Canadian social security systems, and any risk would rather come from a stagnant economy, protectionism or the *status quo*. Under international as well as American and Canadian law, social programs such as health insurance and unemployment insurance, pensions, maternity and other fringe benefits are not considered a subsidy if they apply to the whole population. And, to make sure that those programs are viable, we must be

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

able to afford them. Madam Chairman, only a flourishing economy can guarantee an adequate health system for all Canadians.

And what about the manufacturing industry, particularly the small and medium-sized businesses, where over 12,000 of my constituents of Blainville—Deux-Montagnes work? That group of energetic entrepreneurs represents one of the most dynamic and growing economic forces in the country and in the constituency I am proud to represent. Since I started dealing with those businesspeople many months ago, I have always been impressed by their enthusiasm. I am proud to hear them say how much they will benefit from the opportunities created by free trade. Those small businesses are ready to take advantage of the tremendous benefits resulting from better access to the vast American market. The Agreement will offer new trade opportunities to those Canadian entrepreneurs. It will stimulate the growth of small businesses ready to invade the American market and, just as important, secure access for those already there.

The elimination of duties on manufactured products exported to the United States will give a competitive advantage to Canadian products sold on the American market.

So far, our producers have had a market of 25 million. They will now be able to produce for a market of 260 million.

Madam Chairman, I would also like to talk about the industrial sector. In my riding, like everywhere in Canada, this sector will become more and more competitive internationally as production costs decrease with the elimination of customs duties. Under free trade, the industries of Blainville—Deux-Montagnes, namely chemicals and automobiles, as well as plastics, furniture, fabricated metals and electronics, will be in a better position to compete on international markets.

Finally, these producers will have innumerable opportunities to find and exploit other niches, other production processes, new management skills and new investment possibilities here and in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, that is why national small business associations such as the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the Canadian Small Business Council and the Retail Council of Canada also strongly support the Agreement.

• (1900)

[*English*]

I would like to turn for a moment to my role as Minister of External Relations. As Minister responsible for Canada's international aid programs, I am particularly pleased to see how free trade with the U.S. will improve Canada's aid programs to the Third World.

This important trade initiative is part of this Government's two part approach to international trade. Canada is committed to pursuing the gradual reduction of trade barriers, both bilaterally with our most important trading partner and multilaterally through negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The FTA has been hailed by all major industrialized nations as an important check against the rise of protectionist forces in international trade. Such forces present a direct and growing threat to global economic growth, and most particularly to economic development in the Third World.

Co-operation in trade with developing countries has been a focal point in Canada's external relations, and this will be enhanced under the FTA. The economic growth generated by the FTA will strengthen Canada's capacity to support economic development assistance initiatives in the Third World.

[*Translation*]

The Agreement will enable Canada to continue to reach and exceed this remarkable level of development assistance, which in 1986-87 was \$2.26 billion. Such objectives are reached by creating a stronger, more dynamic economic infrastructure right here in Canada. Mr. Speaker, that is how industrialized nations like ours can afford the kind of generous, innovative programs that symbolize the reputation Canada has acquired in the developing world.

The Third World can only benefit considerably from the economic growth that will result from the enhanced trade arising from the Agreement. The growth in our economy brought on by free trade will lead to strong demand for Third World products. Free trade will thus contribute to significant economic growth that will enable Canada to keep its leading role in encouraging and promoting the expansion and growth of the economies of developing nations.

And so, Mr. Chairman, it is clear that those who say that the Agreement bespeaks Canadians at siege in a North American fortress are sorely mistaken. Our

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

opponents can find nothing in the Agreement that might threaten our assistance programs. And the reason for that is very simple. Our assistance policies have nothing to do with our trade relations with the United States. Decisions in the area of assistance will always be made by Canadians and in the best interests of Canada, independently of the Agreement.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say how proud I am to have been granted the privilege of participating in this historic debate. The Free Trade Agreement gives Canadians the chance to show the whole world how hard-working, productive, innovative and competitive they can be. In short, to show that they are ready to meet the challenges of the future.

Mr. Chairman, the people of my constituency, like those in the majority of constituencies across Canada, clearly indicated on November 21st that they wanted the Conservative Government to continue to work to make Canada grow. I am proud to be a member of this Government, which negotiated free trade with the United States to ensure greater prosperity for all Canadians in the years to come.

[*English*]

Mr. Parker: Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to speak in Committee of the Whole today on Bill C-2.

I represent a very diversified riding. We have three national parks, so the environmental aspects of this legislation are of very deep concern to the people living in my riding. We also have a very beautiful fruit growing and farming community in the Creston area. We are involved in mining through our coal, silver, lead and zinc mines in the Kimberley area. We have the service sector in Cranbrook which services the valley. We have a system of workers in the transportation field as well.

Throughout this campaign we found a very, very deep concern among those people. Yet when I came back to this House, as I have done and am very pleased to do, I heard this rhetoric from the other side. I heard the Minister responsible for housing speak last night in a very violent way with respect to how the Opposition is criticizing the Government.

Mr. McDermid: Violent?

Mr. Parker: Yes, very violent.

Mr. McDermid: Do you know what the word means?

Mr. Parker: That same violence came out during the campaign when we were called liars. We stood on our platform and tried to express the concern we had for our people in those areas I mentioned who saw the greed of the large multinational corporations going for free trade while they were being trampled on. That concern came from across the political spectrum. It came not only from New Democrats, but from Liberals and many, many Conservatives. They left the Conservative spectrum and started to support us because of these deep concerns.

We saw the Prime Minister come into Vernon, not Kelowna or Penticton but Vernon, and offer \$20 million to grape growers because of their concerns for their industry. There are no grapes grown in Vernon. The grape industry is located in Kelowna, Penticton, and Osoyoos, but he would not dare show up in those areas with his \$27 million. No, he went to Vernon, safe territory, and talked about it. He did not give the grape growers an opportunity to express their concerns.

• (1910)

In Creston where fruit, dairy products, and grain are produced the people are concerned. They are concerned about the fact that their growing season does not compare with that in the United States. They are concerned that the competition they will be facing will be very real. The dairy industry is very concerned about what will happen to dairy products if there are no processing plants to process products. If there are no processing plants, there is nothing else to do but get out of business.

I want to talk for a moment about railway workers. They are saying to us: "What is going to happen when we start going north and south?" That is what the Minister said yesterday. What is going to happen when Alberta builds a four-lane highway to export products to the States and Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba start running north and south instead of east and west? What will happen to our railway jobs? What will happen to the railway workers? What will happen to the Ports of Vancouver, Thunder Bay, and Churchill? We in this Party want to set up a mechanism to respond to the problems with which these people will be faced.

I was at one time Mayor of Revelstoke. I remember when the Columbia Treaty was signed and what a great deal it was going to be for the province and people of British Columbia. Thousands of acres of land were flooded, not for Canadians, not for the production of power, but to store water for the Americans. We saw

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

them draw down that water to such a level that dust storms occurred. No one could even live in the area. We had to appeal to them to do something, to put in place some type of regulations.

That was a small agreement compared with what we are talking about now. When land was expropriated in this case there was only one Party which stood up to fight. That was the New Democratic Party.

All we are asking for in the Free Trade Agreement is to have some type of mechanism put into place by which we can monitor what will take place. If the Government feels that this is such a wonderful deal, why is it so determined not to give us such a mechanism to protect our people?

I wish to deal with the survey conducted by the Bank of Nova Scotia. The bank calls it an update of an economic development study.

Mr. McDermid: It was done before the agreement was signed.

Mr. Parker: I do not care when it was done. The fact remains that the issues were studied. We have seen what has happened since the agreement was signed.

Mr. McDermid: I love that, a socialist quoting the Bank of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Parker: The bank said that these were the high risk areas that could be affected. Many of them in my riding will be affected: Automotive, heavy truck assemblies, small parts producers, food processing, poultry, fruits, and vegetables. The people in my riding are very concerned when they find out that the banks are starting to identify these areas as high risk areas. When they need capital to participate and to compete, the bank will say: "You are in a high risk area and we are not prepared to lend money to you".

Rail freight car assemblies are also identified as a high risk area. We have a major rail car assembly plant in Golden which has hired many workers. The community has built much of its structure around this plant. If we start to see that these freight cars are going to go south for repairs and so on, into the lower markets where there is cheaper labour we will find that this railway shop will not be able to maintain and create the jobs that our communities expect from it.

Shipbuilding, ship repairs, chemicals, organic specialties, box board and container boards, agriculture, poultry, trucking services, cable television programs, and footwear are areas which have been shown as high risk.

When these people try to get money to compete in what has been called a level playing field, they will find that the banks will not give them the opportunity to participate in those programs.

I have worked for many years on a program to sell western Canadian coal to central Canadian markets. We have started to break through in that market. Several million tonnes of western Canadian coal from the Sparwood-Elkford area have been sold to supply plants in central Canada. This has created jobs and kept the money in Canada. Money has been flowing to pay the workers in British Columbia.

This is the type of program that we should be working on. There should be east-west co-operation to buy western national resources to supply central Canadian markets. In turn, we would buy the manufactured goods.

Mr. McDermid: You want to keep westerners hewers of wood and drawers of water and provide central Canada with all the manufacturing. Is that what you said?

Mr. Parker: Let us have them buy our raw materials. We will buy their finished products. We will create thousands of jobs across Canada. We will create thousands of jobs in my riding. People will be taken off the unemployment insurance rolls.

In 1984, during the national election campaign, the big saying in my riding was "jobs, jobs, jobs". The jobs were not there. We lost jobs. We lost a fertilizer plant in Kimberley; 150 people lost their jobs. We are one of the richest agricultural countries in the world, and we cannot keep a fertilizer plant going.

The Conservative Member whom I replaced allowed that to happen. Members opposite talk about east-west alienation. That was created by this Government which has allowed these types of things to take place.

I would like to talk about a few other promises that were made. The Conservative Government cannot be trusted. The Prime Minister and the Conservatives cannot be trusted. They have increased taxes on the average family by over \$1,300, and they said that they would not increase our personal taxes. They tried to deindex the pensions of our senior citizens.

Mr. McDermid: No, we did not.

Mr. Parker: That is what the former Member said during the election campaign. He also said: "Sid Parker is not telling the truth. We did not try to cut pensions, we only tried to deindex them". Is that not something?

The Conservatives passed legislation which drastically increased the cost of prescription drugs.

Mrs. Sparrow: No. We brought in research and development.

Mr. Parker: Show me the jobs that were created by the program. Show me the jobs in Kootenay East. Jobs have been lost in Kootenay East. Our pensioners are now paying three and four times more for their drugs than they have paid at any other time. This is as a result of the Free Trade Agreement, whether or not Hon. Members opposite agree. It was done as a gesture to the Americans. The Conservatives have given thousands of profitable corporations—

● (1920)

An Hon. Member: You are a total stranger to the truth.

Mr. Parker: He says that I am a stranger to the truth. I can remember when the great debate took place in the 1984 election and the Liberals were criticized for patronage appointments. We saw what happened after the Conservatives were elected.

Mr. McDermid: We took care of your House Leader. His name was Ian Deans. We took care of Stephen Lewis. We took care of all your friends. All your friends got good jobs. You are just sore because you did not get one.

Mr. Parker: Mr. Chairman, they are getting a little rattled.

The Chairman: Order, please. After we have some quiet, the Member may continue.

Mr. Parker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McDermid: What has this got to do with the Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Parker: Mr. Chairman, they talk about "honesty" and they talk about "trust us". Let us talk about whether we can trust them. Let us talk about whether we can trust them with the Free Trade Agreement. I can remember the Hon. Member for York—Peel in this House, who was found guilty on 14 different counts of conflict of interest, not one, not two, and \$600,000 of the taxpayers' money was used to try to defend him.

I say to small businessmen out there who are supporting the Conservative Government: "If you got yourself

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

into a situation where you would be charged, and you were found guilty on 14 different charges, would the Government come and pay your legal fees?" I do not think so.

Before I close, I want to discuss water. I think water is what this agreement is all about; this is taken from *Wildlife International*. As I said before, with regard to the Columbia River Treaty and how it affected our water, I remember that we as a municipality decided it was too costly for us to run a city water main to irrigate our golf courses. We wanted to pump water out of the Columbia River reservoir to irrigate our golf course. Do you know that we could not do that in Canada? We had to get permission from the International Joint Water Commission and the Americans to take water from our own rivers and our own country to irrigate a golf course within our own country.

Mr. McDermid: Who sat on the joint commission? Why did they set up a joint commission?

Mr. Parker: It does not matter who sat on it. I am saying that we better clarify what we have. I have an article here. There is a loophole in the controversial Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement which could have an unwanted impact on Canada's most essential natural resource, water. It reads:

U.S. politicians have already voiced the possibility of future needs for Canadian water, says Donna Leith, Director of the Education and Information Program at the Rawson Academy of Aquatic Science.

As the agreement stands now, says Leith, our American neighbours, who face worsening H₂O shortages, have equal access rights to all precious Canadian waters.

That is what it says. Here is what she says is the solution to it:

The only solution to strengthen Canada's position, she says, is to implement a joint Canada-U.S. Declaration of Meaning which clearly excludes water from the trade agreement.

This was not done.

Mr. McDermid: Who said that?

Mr. Parker: I told you who it was. It comes from *Wildlife International* of November and December, 1988, and her name is Donna Leith, Director of the Education and Information Program at the Rawson Academy of Aquatic Science.

So note that and let us do something.

Mr. McDermid: I have met with them before.

Mr. Parker: You have met with them.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: I know where they are coming from, and you are wrong.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member's time has expired.

Mr. Fee: Mr. Chairman, first I would like to echo the comments made by my predecessors on both sides of the House. They stated what an honour it was to dedicate their maiden speeches in this House to such an important topic as the free trade debate. I doubt whether Parliament has faced such an important issue since the Second World War.

I would like to offer my congratulations to you and to your colleagues in the chair on your appointments. It is very apparent, even to a newcomer like myself, that you and your colleagues are all held in very high esteem by the House. I wish you very good fortune as you face the challenges ahead.

It is also a privilege for me to stand in this House as the representative for Red Deer. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and gratitude to the voters of Red Deer for placing their faith and confidence in me. It is with a great deal of humility that I take up this role, standing as I do in the shadow of such a fine and able servant of the people as was my predecessor, the Hon. Gordon Towers.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Fee: Mr. Towers is very well respected in Red Deer, as evidenced by his regular large majorities with every election that he faced. There is no doubt that he had the confidence of a majority of the people in Red Deer. I have been impressed, even in Ottawa, as I wandered the halls talking to my colleagues on both sides of the House with the respect of which they talk about my predecessor. Probably more important than that, when staff members in the Commons, the security guards, even the bus drivers, find out where I am from, they ask and inquire after Mr. Towers and tell me that I have very big shoes to fill. I realize that I have big shoes to fill, and I am going to do my best to fill them.

I have also been told that there is only one proper way that I could officially recognize my predecessor, who in addition to providing total commitment to the people of Red Deer, was noted for his poetry. With the indulgence of the House and the Chair and with respect for the poet of Dromore, I would like to offer the following:

There's tough work ahead for Douglas Fee
If I'm to serve as well as he
Who, with lively verse before me came
Into this House of national fame.

Alas no more will this House hear
From Dromore's Bard now in Red Deer
But I am here and though not a bard,
I am prepared to work just as hard.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Fee: Mr. Chairman, through you to the House, I would have to state that I am not a poet, and that will probably be the last effort you will hear from me.

My riding is a reflection of the very best that the Province of Alberta has to offer. From the majestic Rockies in Banff National Park in the West, through to the bustling City of Red Deer in the East, our riding boasts beautiful scenery, sprawling farms and ranch land, rich resources and, most important, friendly, hard working people.

Agriculture is the basis of our economy, but we also rely very heavily on the energy sector, oil, gas, and petrochemicals. The Free Trade Agreement is going to have a profoundly positive impact on the energy sector as a whole and on my riding in particular. In the short time available, I would like to explain why we see benefits and why a clear majority of the voters in Red Deer supports the Free Trade Agreement.

First, let me deal with tariffs.

• (1930)

The eventual elimination of tariffs will allow the free exchange of goods across the Canadian-American border. Most of our natural resources already cross that border duty-free, but tariffs are still quite high on value-added goods. As a result of the Free Trade Agreement, not only will Canadians be able to increase their exports, particularly in further processed goods, but Canadian consumers and manufacturers will have access to lower priced goods. As has been expressed earlier in the House, the Canadian consumer will be the ultimate winner from the free trade arrangement.

Under this agreement both Governments agree not to discriminate against foreign purchasers of energy by using export taxes. In other words, price will be determined in the market-place where it should be determined. All provincial and federal rights to develop our energy resources in Canada remain intact. The Free Trade Agreement is a logical, consistent step toward a freer market in energy. It meets all our prior obligations to the International Energy Agency.

This Government began the liberalization process when it abolished the National Energy Program and the Petroleum Gas Revenue Tax. I was somewhat shocked

yesterday when I heard Members on the opposite side of the House say that this agreement would prevent the institution of another national energy program. For the people of my riding that is a very good reason for supporting the Free Trade Agreement. We do not want another national energy program.

The National Energy Program and the PGRT absolutely devastated small Canadian-owned oil companies in my constituency. Several Canadians lost a lot of money and a lot of faith in government with those two programs. They are getting that faith and confidence back. The entrepreneurs in the Alberta oil patch have started over again. I talked to several of these people throughout the election campaign, and they told me emphatically that they do not need nor do they want Governments telling them how to run their business. They want the opportunity to compete fairly. They want the market that will be secured by the Free Trade Agreement.

The Free Trade Agreement confirms each country's commitment to move toward a liberalized investment climate. Canada will retain important rights to monitor foreign investment. In energy, takeovers of healthy Canadian companies by foreigners are prohibited.

Both Governments have agreed to apply the respective rules and regulations to everyone, regardless of their country of origin. In other words, the Americans will not discriminate against Canadian companies doing business in the United States simply because they are Canadian and vice versa.

Each Government, however, retains the right to establish whatever safety standards or environmental regulations it wishes. Those who want to do business in Canada will have to play by Canadian rules. Provisions for national treatment do not and will not apply to social programs or medical services, regardless of what the Opposition would try to have us believe.

The Free Trade Agreement confirms our commitment to the principles of GATT and the International Energy Agency. This means only that when we cut back production we will allow the Americans a chance to bid on a proportion of remaining production. We do not have to give our energy away, but in times of international shortage we will not turn our back on our neighbour and our best customer, either.

We still retain the right to provide government incentives for exploration and development of our energy resources, but perhaps the greatest achievement of our Free Trade Agreement is its creation of a secure

trading environment. With the elimination of tariffs and a commitment to national treatment, cross border trade will undoubtedly increase. Since 85 per cent of our energy exports go to the United States, it is essential that we secure access to that market.

Secure access will lead to more investment. This will result in the development of large scale energy projects like the one announced last week by the Caroline Area Gas Producing Group in my riding. It plans to invest \$600 million to build a natural gas refinery, employing over 1,400 construction workers and ultimate employment for 150 people. There was the announcement by the Minister for International Trade yesterday that the Joffre plant just outside my constituency will be expanded with a third phase by Novacor. It is another investment of a half billion dollars. It will have very positive and long lasting effects on my constituency.

These projects require a staggering amount of capital in order to be built, in fact more capital than Canada alone can provide. A stable trading environment will encourage investors to plan for a longer term. This will mean more money spent in Canada, more jobs, and greater prosperity for Canadians.

I find it amazing that in my constituency there are so many examples of positive reactions to the re-election of the Conservative Government and the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement, and that people sitting in the Opposition can only find doom and gloom about it.

This agreement offers Canadians an opportunity to become more than hewers of wood and drawers of water. Lower tariffs, secure access to large markets, and more investment will promote diversification. We will be able to refine our natural resources right here in Canada and sell the refined products abroad, rather than ship out raw materials. This means more jobs and better jobs for Canadians.

Another example from my constituency is Sun Pine Forest Products. It is planning a huge expansion of its timber processing business, in anticipation of an increased market in the United States. It is building an 80 million board foot sawmill near Rocky Mountain House. It will include a chipper, planer mill, dry kilns, a CCA treatment plant, and a fibre board plant. Some \$32.5 million will be invested to create 267 long-term jobs. Estimates are that over 600 construction jobs will be created and 530 indirect jobs. Sun Pine's payroll will be over \$17 million a year. This kind of investment will have a profound impact on our local economy. It is a

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

prime example of the benefits secure access to a large market can bring.

There is still a huge, untapped potential in Alberta's energy resources. This agreement will enhance our security of supply. Security of supply depends on a strong domestic energy industry, capable of developing new energy resources to meet future requirements. Free trade will strengthen Canada's energy industry, both through new investment and through an increase in exploration and development activity. In turn, this will enable the industry to find and develop the energy resources necessary to ensure that Canada's requirements are met.

Finally, the Free Trade Agreement is important for the long-term viability of the energy sector because it provides, for the first time, a means by which Canada and the United States can settle trade disputes when they arise.

The binational dispute settlement mechanism, and the commitment to prior consultation concerning trade legislation affecting the other country, will ensure that trade between Canada and the United States operates fairly and reasonably. With this arrangement in place we no longer need to talk about mice and elephants. Canadians and Americans will meet as equals.

The people of my constituency and I believe that as long as the rules of the game are followed we can compete with the best in the world. We will still have to work long and hard, because even though the Free Trade Agreement creates an opportunity we must go out there and take advantage of it.

My Province of Alberta is a province of pioneers. Our parents and grandparents settled the land. They passed down to us a solid rural work ethic. We still believe that the good Lord helps those who help themselves, that hard work should be rewarded, and that there is a place in our world for creative and free enterprise.

Albertans are bold and independent. They do not want government to intervene in areas where they can take better care of themselves. We are not afraid of competition. We have met challenges before. We look forward to the challenge of maximizing the benefits of the Free Trade Agreement.

I conclude by saying that the Free Trade Agreement is a golden opportunity not just for Red Deer, not just for Alberta, but for all the regions of Canada. By further opening up and securing access to American markets, the Free Trade Agreement will promote

regional development and therefore stronger regions and a stronger Canada.

This agreement will be successful not because it weakens central Canada but because it strengthens the regions. Regions of Canada do not want to rely on hand-outs, nor do we want to remove ourselves somehow from Confederation. We only want a chance to live up to our potential. This agreement will help us do that.

• (1940)

Mr. McGuire: Mr. Chairman, it is an honour for me to rise in my place tonight representing the great riding of Egmont in the House of Commons. Egmont has had many distinguished representatives over the years, including Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King when he first became Prime Minister in 1919, Colonel James Ralston, Minister of War during World War II, and the Hon. J. Watson MacNaught who served as Solicitor General of Canada, to name just a few.

I pledge to my constituents of Egmont that I will represent their views to the best of my ability and in the best tradition of my predecessors. The riding of Egmont in western Prince Edward Island is a district whose wealth is based on agriculture, fishing, and tourism. Egmont is an urban-rural riding whose population is fairly evenly distributed between the urban areas of Summerside, St. Eleanor's, and Wilmot, and the rural area which stretches from St. Eleanor's to the north-western tip of Prince Edward Island.

The riding of Egmont voted decisively against the Government's Free Trade Agreement. This agreement was described to me by a fisherman in my riding as being like an iceberg which is approximately one-tenth above water and approximately nine-tenths below water. Indeed that was and still is an apt description of the Free Trade Agreement.

Because there is no definition of what is a subsidy, because regional development programs are not guaranteed, because there is no assurance that marketing boards will survive this agreement, and because the support programs for our fishermen will likely be discontinued, the iceberg analogy is very applicable. There is far too much that we do not know or understand about this agreement. The Canadian people are not being told and will not be told what is likely to happen to them, except that there will be winners and losers.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The farmers in my riding feel that they will be losers. The fishermen in my riding feel that they will be losers, and the youth and senior citizens feel that they will be losers.

Our forefathers came to this country to escape the harsh rule and greed of the class society in Europe. The Scotsmen came here after it was discovered that sheep were more valuable than people and they were evicted from their ancestral lands and told to fend for themselves. The Irish came here to escape oppression and famine in a country where they were not allowed to own their own land or to raise meat to feed themselves. Other Europeans came here to escape tyranny and war, and in Canada, they joined with the French Canadians to build a different, more caring society for themselves and their children.

They wanted to build a country in which there were no lords of the manor. They wanted a country based on rights and freedoms that they could only dream about in Europe at that time. They came here and built such a nation, a nation in which free and caring people were the basic building blocks and in which greed was never a national characteristic.

There are new lords of the manor who are taking over the direction of this country. The American multinational corporations and the Canadian conglomerates with their insatiable appetite for optimum profit margins and who recognize no national boundaries are now orchestrating our society to suit their own ends.

During the recent election campaign, the large corporations spent millions and millions of dollars on advertising which was designed to influence the people of Canada, to threaten their workers, and to scare them with their doomsday predictions to the extent that their point of view won the day. Now they have a Government that will do their bidding for the next four years.

There were election activities of the most undemocratic sort imaginable. These corporations made a mockery of the Election Expenses Act. Now they will have their way in this country. They are the new lords of the manor.

The small farmers, the small inshore fishermen, senior citizens, and the truck drivers of Egmont, how can these ordinary Canadians hope to compete against the corporate might of Canada and the United States? The Economic Council of Canada predicted that there would be approximately 890 jobs created in Prince Edward Island over the next ten years as a result of the Free Trade Agreement. That is an average of 89 jobs a year.

What will be the price we will have to pay for these 89 jobs per year? How many dairy farmers will go out of business to create these 89 office jobs? How many hog farmers will survive once the subsidies to the industry are eliminated? How many potato farmers will suffer when the President of the United States invokes the Mitchell amendment and limits the importation of Canadian potatoes?

Potatoes are Prince Edward Island's major export. Under GATT, Canada succeeded in lifting import quotas ten years ago. Now we will have import quotas again. The economy of Prince Edward Island could be brutalized if our potato and fish exports are subject to limited entry to the United States market.

What will happen to the rural communities of Prince Edward Island when the farmers and fishermen go out of business? What will happen to the small businesses in these small communities? They will disappear and they will not be replaced. There will be no headlines in *The Globe and Mail* as there were when the tragedy of the Gillette Company was announced.

No one will notice the creeping devastation of the agricultural sector in Prince Edward Island. Time will pass and no one will notice as one farmer here and another one there falls by the wayside. The rural areas will slowly but surely become a waste land.

The Free Trade Agreement will finish the family farm in Prince Edward Island. That is why Prince Edward Islanders voted against the Tories in the recent election. They chose to believe the four island Liberal candidates and our esteemed Premier, the Hon. Joseph Ghiz, who said that this deal was a bad deal for P.E.I. and was a bad deal for Canada.

Prince Edward Islanders know their history. They know that the Atlantic area suffered economically when it joined Confederation. We joined in with a great experiment called Canada and redirected our trade east-west rather than south and east. As I said, we suffered economically because of this decision. However, over the years, economic opportunity has been more equalized across the nation. Transportation subsidies, regional development programs, and social programs like workers' compensation, the Canada Pension Plan, and the unemployment insurance program have been put in place. These great advances in the redistribution of our national wealth have given all our citizens an opportunity to share in the prosperity of this great nation.

The people in the Atlantic provinces, the people in the North and the people in the West have the gut feeling

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

that we will return to the bad old days of dog eat dog: If one happens to live in an area that is regionally disadvantaged, then tough, one can always move. People in the Atlantic provinces will again be forced to move to the United States to find employment, as they had to do at the turn of the century. This time, Canadians in other parts of the country will find themselves in the same predicament.

In conclusion, I believe that the Government has a responsibility to assure the people of Prince Edward Island, and indeed all the people of Atlantic Canada, that their interests, concerns, and way of life will not be dismissed in the cavalier manner that they were by former civil servant and now corporate executive, Mickey Cohen, when he stated: "Atlantic Canadians you are on your own".

Mr. Taylor: Mr. Chairman, I very much appreciate the opportunity to speak here tonight. I want to state in this my first speech in this magnificent Chamber that I am proud to be a Canadian I am proud to be a New Democrat, but I am even prouder to be a representative of The Battlefords—Meadow Lake, a constituency in northwest Saskatchewan.

I am very happy, also, to be able to make a few remarks on what is probably the most important piece of legislation that has ever been talked about in this Chamber. It is described here on the Order Paper as: "Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America". It is legislation of a considerable number of pages, legislation not unlike the agreement itself.

Before I talk about this legislation, I want to make a few remarks about The Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency and to thank the voters who gave me the opportunity to be here, the voters who placed their trust and confidence in me to carry their message to this Chamber, and to the other Members of Parliament herein.

● (1950)

The message I was sent here to discuss was one very much against this free trade legislation. In The Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency the free trade legislation or the free trade deal was very much a single issue. I will speak tonight on behalf of the people who oppose this deal, and I will bring some of opposition to your attention, Madam Chairman, in a moment.

Throughout the riding and throughout the campaign I was told time and time again that the free trade deal

was bad for Saskatchewan and bad for the people of Canada. I was told too many times to count that this deal was being sold to an uninformed electorate by a Government without a single guarantee that what our grandparents and parents had worked for, in many cases fought for, would be protected for our future and for our children's future.

Here we go again with new legislation, not much different from that introduced prior to the election. Still, after all of that discussion, argument, and expressed concern, there is no protection or guarantees despite hundreds of words from a very concerned population. Has this Government not listened to anything? Has this Government not listened to the people it claims to represent? Seniors, farmers, wage earners, Indian people, pensioners, small business people, service club representatives, members of church groups, the handicapped, and students in my riding, all Canadians, all intelligent, all concerned that the Government has ignored their concerns about the future of this great country.

The Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency is an area made up of farmers, city and native people. It is a diverse economy with agriculture being the predominant nature of that constituency. These are very down to earth people, very intelligent, very caring individuals, all of whom have a great deal of concern for their friends, their neighbours, their family, their province, and their country.

Earlier this day the Minister, the Hon. Member for Brampton, talked about what the Government had done for farmers in Canada. I want to mention a couple of things in that regard. First, I want to bring to the attention of the House a letter that I received today from one of my constituents, a fellow who lives in Borden, Saskatchewan, right near the very eastern edge of the constituency of The Battlefords—Meadow Lake. He writes:

Dear Mr. Taylor:

First I would like to congratulate you for winning your seat in Parliament. It is unfortunate in my opinion that the PCs won a majority because I feel that this so-called free trade deal is going to be detrimental to Canada.

This is an ordinary farm person speaking from his heart. I hope, Mr. Chairman, I do not have to listen to this noise. I did not go for supper tonight and get fed up like these people. I am getting fed up here in the House.

My constituent continues:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I am certainly not against trade with the United States but I feel that this deal may have gone too far.

Members can cheer that because that is my feeling as well.

As a farmer I feel that our marketing boards are in danger because no matter how adequately the PCs claim to defend them, the Americans make no bones about wishing to dismantle them. This I believe began to become apparent in the recent GATT talks.

This is a good letter from one of my constituents. He goes on to say:

However even worse than the danger to certain segments of our economy is the over all danger of associating ourselves so closely with a country that is 10 times our size. We will be swallowed like a cat swallows a mouse.

The election campaign brought to my attention many things to which my friends and colleagues from the Alberta area should pay some attention. The leader of my party in Saskatchewan spent a lot of time in my constituency and spoke to many different groups. One of the stories he was relating to the people in my constituency referred to Alberta farmers, Alberta ranchers. This is the story: One rancher has 100 head of cattle on his ranch and another rancher has 10 head of cattle. The farmer with 100 head of cattle leans over the fence and says to his neighbour with 10 head of cattle: "Why don't we take down this fence and let our cattle share all this land?" I do not think there is a single Alberta rancher, if he had 10 head of cattle, that would tear down that fence and allow his neighbour with 100 head of cattle to go through his pasture and let the cows eat up all the grass that was there for his cattle. That is what this free trade is about. That is the sort of thing Americans are asking Canadians, with the 10 head of cattle, to do.

I would like to read some more from my constituent's letter. He writes:

I wish this free trade deal could be stopped. I don't think that it can, but at least I believe that it is going to have to be watched very closely to protect ourselves as Canadians.

Thank you for attention and good luck in your deliberations in Ottawa.

This letter comes from a person who I have never met before. It arrived in my mail today. It gives me the courage and stamina to stay here and talk to my friends across the way.

I also want to bring to the attention of the House an article that appeared in the newspaper this morning. Many Members will have read it already. It deals with a Canadian study that says that Canada lags far behind other countries in the export of items such as bread, cookies, and beer. This study was done by the Grains

2000 group. I do not know too much about it, but I believe that as long as we have free trade we will never be able to develop and continue those processing industries which use agricultural products to improve our agricultural industry and exports of agricultural products in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Waddell: Mr. Speaker, I have a point of order. I thought there was a tradition in this House that new members were given the courtesy of the House to complete their speeches. I would ask Hon. Members, including Ministers, to respect that tradition.

Mr. Taylor: I appreciate the interjection of my colleague, Mr. Chairman, unlike the interjection of Members opposite. I want to get back to the comments made this morning, because they were made in the context of this debate by the Member from Brampton who said that his Party had done so much for agriculture over the last four years.

First, our farm community, according to the 1986 census, is getting older, farms are getting bigger, and land is not worth as much as it was in 1984. Quite a number of things should be brought to the attention of this House, particularly as we look at the Province of Saskatchewan. We are talking about an increase of 35 per cent just in the last year in farm bankruptcies in the Province of Saskatchewan, the highest percentage in the Canadian context. We have farm income that although it is higher than ever is supported mostly by government payments because the price that is paid for the commodities on the international market, not supported by this Government, is down. The total net income of farmers right across the country has declined. In Saskatchewan it is some 47 per cent over the last few years. These things indicate that the farming sector, particularly in Saskatchewan, is not supported by this Government.

Between May 1987 and May 1988 the Canadian farm sector lost 24,000 jobs on the Prairies alone. The recent drought, the worst since the 1930s, scorched millions of acres of crop land and cattle range. This Government in the election campaign promised a drought relief program for the drought stricken farmers of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta. They forgot to talk to their partners in cost sharing of this program, the provinces, and now the provinces are backing out and the program is in jeopardy. It did not consult with provincial counterparts before making a cost-shared promise during the election campaign.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

• (2000)

The total farm debt in Canada has now reached a staggering \$22 billion. The farming situation is so bad that most farmers now earn more off-farm income than on-farm income. One-third of all farm income is made from off-farm jobs as a consequence of the poor income situation on the farm.

On the other hand the New Democratic Party has provided a tremendous amount of encouragement to the farmers in Saskatchewan. That was evidenced by the recent election campaign. Certainly, the people of Saskatchewan indicated that the New Democratic Party was more trustworthy than the Government in place.

The New Democratic Party did support agriculture, and we do support the farm groups that oppose the free trade deal that we are discussing in this legislation.

Mr. McDermid: You do not support the Cattlemen's Association.

Mr. Taylor: The family farm stabilization program that the New Democratic Party discussed during the election campaign is a program to assure farmers of a basic income for their production. It was a program designed to take the place of the current haphazard and *ad hoc* programs of the Government. This program ties the price to the U.S. target price so that the Canadian farmer is getting the same benefit on the world and international market as American counterparts, those same American counterparts whose organizations are threatening to destroy the marketing system that is selling that product on the international market.

According to an article in October the United States Wheat Board talked about the U.S. Government desiring to make the elimination of the Canadian Wheat Board one of its demands in the negotiations on agricultural reform.

The New Democratic Party also calls for a revamping of the Farm Credit Corporation, an overhaul that makes it a true farmers' bank and not a lending institution of last resort, as the Government has set it up. We also talked about tax fairness for farmers to ensure the restoration of five year block averaging in recognition of fluctuating incomes on the farms.

We were also talking about funding to be provided for farm water, soil conservation research, and financial assistance for farmers to explore new conservation techniques or retire farmland for conservation purposes. A major problem in the near future will be the depletion

of the land in western Canada. That land which supports and nurtures the economy of western Canada is slowly being depleted. Something has to be done in conservation terms in order to protect it.

The free trade deal has been criticized in numerous editorials in western Canadian newspapers, by western Canadian editorial writers, and by people who have been heavily involved in the agriculture sector.

Mr. Andre: The *Edmonton Journal* was the only western newspaper.

Mr. Taylor: I have quite a few here and I am prepared to read every one, if the House will indulge me. For example, the Canadian Wheat Board has an elected advisory committee. It is meant to provide advice to the Canadian Wheat Board to help its operations. That committee met and clearly discussed the implications of the Free Trade Agreement and the legislation on agriculture and on the Wheat Board. That committee strongly recommended that the Government not proceed with the agriculture sections of the free trade legislation, and that the Canadian Wheat Board was definitely in jeopardy as a result of the provisions included in this legislation. As a result, we strongly urge that changes be made in that one context alone.

The Saskatchewan Wheat Board delegates put forward a motion to support the proposed Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement, but in August withdrew that support because they had no assurances from the Government that the integrity of the Wheat Board as a sole marketing agent for Canadian wheat, oats, and barley would be protected.

We have lost the two-price system of wheat as a result of the deal. We have lost the freight rate on canola moving West. One plant has been lost in the City of Lloydminster. A canola crushing plant in the City of Lloydminster has announced that it will be closing. That is a direct result of the free trade deal. We in western Canada are finding that the implications of this deal on agriculture and on our economy are too great to support.

I urge that the House think strongly about the implications of this legislation, and about the implications of what it means to the future of the strongest economy that we have in western Canada. I urge Members to defeat the Bill in front of us. Let us return to the drawing board and put together some reasonable alternatives to trade fairly with the United States.

Mr. Soetens: Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to address the House. I wish to thank the

people of the riding of Ontario who have given me the honour and privilege of being here to represent them, particularly on two points. First, they have sent me here to follow along on the fine tradition of the former Member for Ontario, Mr. Scott Fennell, the Government Whip. Now that I am here, I have often thought that the Government Whip is using the whip on the wrong side of the House. Perhaps in the future we can change that pattern.

Second, and the most important the reason I am excited about being here is that the people of the riding of Ontario granted me enough support that I can say that I stand here with support that almost equalled in total the vote received by the Right Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra, and the Right Hon. Member for Oshawa, combined.

Mr. McDermid: You have a mandate.

Mr. Soetens: The riding of Ontario contains approximately 150,000 people. It is a very exciting riding. I would like to make sure that Members of the House are aware of the community I represent. There are three municipalities, Whitby, Ajax, and Pickering. Each is similar in size with approximately 50,000 population. It is a very young riding. There are many first-time home buyers. The population has doubled in the last seven years. Undoubtedly, with the growth that is taking place it will continue to grow and double in roughly seven to ten years.

It has a diverse economy, which is functioning very well, perhaps because of the economic policies established by the Government of the last four years. It is functioning so well that we are facing a shortage of serviced industrial land in the riding.

For example, unemployment is at such a low level that there are numerous jobs advertised for skilled and unskilled employees available in the riding of Ontario. Over the last year unemployment dropped to such a level that on several occasions it was not possible to record the level of activity.

Residential construction in the riding is at record levels with more than 4,000 housing starts per year during the last three years, and a projected similar ratio for the next two or three.

• (2010)

Housing is expensive, with prices starting at \$130,000 for a 1,000 square foot home on a 30 by 100 foot lot.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Because of the number of people moving into the riding, there is tremendous upward pressure on house prices.

There is tremendous activity in the riding of Ontario in the commercial and industrial sectors, with both large plants and industries expanding. Industrial/commercial buildings of 4,000 to 40,000 and up to 400,000 square feet are being constructed. It is an exciting area in which to live, and an exciting area to represent here in Parliament.

There were numerous issues debated in the last election campaign. In fact, the Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra in his opening comments raised a couple of those issues and I should like to take a couple of moments to deal with them now.

The Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra, at page 122 of *Hansard*, is reported as having said:

We are granting American industry what is called under the agreement national treatment—national treatment in Canada for American institutions and American citizens, national treatment in goods and services and investments.

He went on to say:

That means Americans will be treated the same as Canadians when those Americans operate in Canada.

I do not know what is wrong with that. I would merely say: Thank goodness we didn't elect a Liberal Government, given the way past Liberal Governments have treated the business community. In the light of that record, Americans wouldn't want to be treated in the way in which Canadian industry was treated.

The Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra went on to pose the question: What happens to our bright Canadian citizens, those who establish an industry, those who have incentives, those who have ideas and create an industry that is worth \$10 million?

Yes, such an industry might be sold to an American firm. But, the difference is that, under a Progressive Conservative Government, that \$10 million would probably be reinvested in Canada to create even more jobs. While the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition doesn't appear to like that idea, I can tell you that it would be just great for Canada.

The election campaign did result in the return of a Progressive Conservative majority Government. In the riding of Ontario, the campaign was waged on several issues.

Many of the Liberal and NDP Members of this House have said that they were elected on the basis of their opposition to free trade. I can tell you that the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

people of the riding of Ontario voted for fiscal responsibility, for leadership, for environmental policies, for the local candidate, for free trade, and other issues. More important, the people of the riding of Ontario voted for a future; they voted for a vision. It is because of that vote, and my personal convictions, that I rise today in support of the Bill to implement the Free Trade Agreement.

In the riding of Ontario, the impact of our currently operating trade agreement is evident everywhere. There are numerous large and small business reaping the benefits of the Auto Pact. And now with the FTA, all businesses will have the same opportunity—but not just in the riding of Ontario, and not just in the Province of Ontario, but in all of Canada.

In Ajax-Pickering, we have the Ajax-Pickering Board of Trade, representing in excess of 250 businesses, most of which are small and independently owned, and all of which have come out solidly in support of the Free Trade Agreement. Throughout my riding there are numerous businesses from many areas of endeavour which have taken a very public position in support of free trade.

To give Hon. Members an idea of the diversity of the industries operating in the riding of Ontario that support the Free Trade Agreement, let me provide you with a brief listing: plastic injection moulding companies; tool and die companies; paint manufacturers; chemical manufacturers; pharmaceutical manufacturers; steel companies, both primary producers and secondary fabricators; furniture manufacturers; polymer-resin companies; telecommunications antenna manufacturers; high frequency radio communications manufacturers; aircraft parts manufacturers; textile dyers and finishers; engineering firms that specialize in road and bridge construction; laboratory research equipment service companies; biotechnology engineering firms; printers; construction companies; lamp and lighting manufacturers; automotive manufacturers; automotive parts manufacturers; and home builders.

The foregoing list represents only a few of the many industries in the riding of Ontario which have publicly come out in support of the Free Trade Agreement. Suffice to say that the vast majority of the companies in the riding of Ontario, companies employing 2, or 20, or 200, or 2,000 people, and collectively employing over 20,000 people, support the FTA.

In my previous employment, I had occasion to travel throughout the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia,

Louisiana, and the Carolinas—all of those states about which the opposition Members in this place seem to be concerned. I have also had occasion to travel throughout Virginia, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and other states of the United States. I have travelled throughout all of those states on business, selling goods produced by Canadian manufacturers, and I was able to do so successfully.

I have no hesitation in saying that we can compete successfully against U.S. manufacturers. There is nothing that the Americans have that we cannot deal with.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Soetens: While the preceding is sufficient reason for me to support the Free Trade Agreement, I also support it for what it can do for the rest of Canada. The riding of Ontario is but one of 295 ridings in Canada, just as the Province of Ontario is only one of 12 main parts of Canada when one includes the Territories.

When my parents brought the Soetens family to Canada from Holland, we started out in Nova Scotia. That was some 34, 35 years ago. It did not take very long for my parents to discover that there were no jobs available in Nova Scotia in my father's field of endeavour, in his area of expertise. As a result, we packed our bags and moved to Ontario. That was 33 years ago.

It is that very tragedy of Canada that causes me to support the Free Trade Agreement. Today, many young men and women who wish to further their careers—or, in many instances, start their careers—are moving from the West or from the East to Ontario, leaving their homes, their families and their friends behind. Government support programs, many supported by the vibrant economy of the Province of Ontario, have not stopped that flow.

With eight of the ten provincial Premiers supporting this deal, with their collective hope that it will encourage more jobs at home, I am absolutely convinced that the old ways are simply not good enough any longer. The Canadian fabric and family are under great stress and strain, and the Free Trade Agreement will provide some relief. More important, it provides a future.

I should like to conclude by quoting the words of the Hon. Member from the riding adjacent to mine, the riding of Oshawa. I think it apropos the discussion we are having in this place. This is a quote from *Hansard*, and I direct it to the Members in opposition:

You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go.

I invite Hon. Members to vote for this Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell.

Mr. Boudria: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased this evening to have the opportunity to speak on the Free Trade Agreement. I want to give this Government a final opportunity to change its mind, to repent and spare the people of Canada—

An Hon. Member: Let's vote now and find out.

Mr. Boudria: It is not too late. There is still time for this Government to do the right thing.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Boudria: Let me try to convince the Members opposite of the merit of changing their minds. I will start by reading to them a statement made by a very famous Canadian, as follows:

This country could not survive with a policy of unfettered free trade. I'm all in favour of eliminating unfair protectionism where it exists. This is a separate country. We'd be swamped. We have in many ways a branch-plant economy, in many ways, in certain important sectors.

The words of the Right Hon. Prime Minister as reported in *The Globe and Mail* of June 1, 1983, at the time that he was Leader of the Opposition.

An Hon. Member: What a change of heart.

Mr. Boudria: I quote again:

I've never used the words "free trade". I don't think any of your colleagues have heard me ever use that.

Once again the words of the Right Hon. Prime Minister as quoted in *The Toronto Star* of November 28, 1985.

● (2020)

It is quite evident to most of us on this side of the House, and if we say it long enough it will be evident to government Members as well, that the Government tried to fool the Canadian people in getting this deal approved. Some people across the way may say that is only a partisan remark. I know you would not think that, Mr. Chairman, you are far too objective and non-

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

partisan so you would understand the following quote from a government document which said: "Benign neglect from a majority of Canadians may be the realistic outcome of a well executed communications program. The best strategy for the Government is to adopt a low profile approach to the general public".

In other words, what the Tories were telling each other in this secret document I am quoting from is that we will hide the information, feed them just a little bit of propaganda, hope they keep quiet, and we will get the free trade deal through. That was the Tory plan. Because of the vigilance of my colleagues on this side of the House the strategy did not work.

Mr. Charest: Is there a recount going on?

Mr. Boudria: I want to read to you from a press release of July 26, 1984.

Mr. Charest: That was the second last election, Don.

Mr. Boudria: Wait a minute.

Mr. Charest: You are one election late.

Mr. Boudria: I tell the Hon. Minister it is important because this statement was made—

Mr. Charest: In Sherbrooke.

Mr. Boudria: Yes, exactly, in Sherbrooke, Quebec.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Boudria: Thank you. I am glad to have such applause from the Tories.

Mr. McDermid: Just ignore it and keep going.

Mr. Boudria: I will read this document slowly for the Tories: "The PC objectives in the textile and apparel industries are to ensure the short-term stability of the industry through fair and balanced trade measures and, in the long term, to facilitate adjustments by supporting measures that promote and reinforce the strength of the industry". It says point number one is fair trade but not free trade.

Mr. Charest: What was it about?

Mr. Boudria: The Minister will surely understand that. I am sure he would. It was released in his own riding.

Mr. Charest: What was it about?

Mr. Boudria: What happened in between—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Charest: It was about the textile policy.

Mr. Boudria: That is what I just read, yes. I know I read it kind of quick, but—

Mr. McDermid: And he has been elected twice since then.

Mr. Boudria: I am sure the Hon. Minister would have picked that up, that it was about the textile industry.

Mr. Charest: Yes, because they support us.

Mr. Boudria: The Government said fair trade but not free trade. We would be swamped, said the Prime Minister.

Mr. Charest: There is no free trade in textiles.

Mr. Boudria: Let me read to you another document and see if the Conservative Members recognize this one.

The Chairman: The Minister of State on a point of order.

[*Translation*]

The Deputy Chairman: The Minister of State for Youth and Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport (Mr. Charest) on a point of order.

Mr. Charest: A point of order, Mr. Chairman. I will not intervene at length in the remarks of my colleague from Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria). Presumably this document was published or released in July 1984 during the previous election campaign. It relates to an issue which is of great interest to the residents of the riding of Sherbrooke, namely the textile, clothing and footwear industry. I would have thought the Hon. Member would make that clear. But since we are talking about the campaign of 1984, I take this opportunity to set the record straight concerning his statement, and I can tell you right now that the Sherbrooke textile industry supported the Government in the 1988 election, as did all textile workers who denounced the Liberals—

[*English*]

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Chairman, that was not a point of order. It was not even a good point.

Let me continue reading from these important documents. Let us see if the Conservative Members recognize this one: "It would render Canada a field for American capital into which it would enter as freely for the prosecution of public works and private enterprise as into any of the present states. It would equalize the

value of real estate on both sides of the boundary, thereby probably doubling at once the entire present value of property in Canada. Whilst giving stability to our institutions and introducing prosperity, it would raise up public, corporate and private credit. It would increase our commerce, both with the U.S. and foreign countries, and would necessarily diminish to any great extent our intercourse with Great Britain into which our products would for the most part enter on the same terms as at the present. It would render our rivers and canals as highways for immigration to and export from the West and to incalculable benefits for our country".

Mr. Charest: Would you repeat the last phrase?

Mr. Boudria: "It would also introduce manufacturers into Canada as rapidly as they have been introduced into the northern states".

Mr. Charest: He can read.

Mr. Boudria: Pardon me?

Mr. Charest: I said you can read.

Mr. Boudria: I know Members across the way are very curious about this document which speaks so highly about how a certain measure would increase trade between Canada and the U.S. Perhaps I should tell them what I have been reading. I have been reading to Conservative Members the Annexation Manifesto of 1849. That really describes well the kind of attitude we see across the way now that existed in 1849.

Mr. Charest: Really up to date in your research. We thought you were only one election late, looks like you are a century and a half late.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Chairman, the more things change, the more they remain the same!

[*English*]

I want to talk about the effects of this free trade deal. We have heard about the closure of the Gillette plant on November 24, at a cost of 590 jobs. We have heard about the closure of the Ortho plant on November 25, 16 jobs lost. There is the closure of the PPG Canada Incorporated plant on November 26, 139 jobs lost. Then there is the closure of British Footwear on November 28, 50 jobs lost. The closure of Northern Telecom on December 7, 870 jobs lost. Those are all closures since the Government was re-elected on November 21.

Mr. Charest: What about the openings?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Boudria: The Minister will claim they are all mere coincidences.

Mr. Charest: What about the openings?

Mr. Boudria: This is all coincidence that they are shutting down and moving to the U.S. in preparation for free trade. Mere coincidence, say the Tories.

Mr. Charest: Point of order. I wonder if the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell, in the name of logic, if he is going to attribute loss of jobs to the FTA, would also attribute to the FTA all the jobs created since November 21?

The Chairman: The Chair thinks that is a matter of debate.

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Chairman, I am looking forward to the Minister's speech so we can interrupt him as frequently as possible. I hope my colleagues will give him the kind of reciprocal treatment he so richly deserves.

I want to talk about the Prime Minister's trade deal and its effect on Canadian farmers. As my distinguished colleague just pointed out very astutely, it will have disastrous effects on Canadian agriculture.

Some Hon. Members: Nonsense!

Mr. Boudria: The Tories say "nonsense".

Mr. Andre: It is going to cause drought and plague.

Mr. Boudria: We know the deal is bad for Canadian agriculture. Members across the way are saying there is nothing wrong with the deal. I say to them: If there is nothing wrong with the deal, then why on July 30, 1988, did the Canadian Federation of Agriculture send a letter to all Hon. Members saying that they have grave reservations about Bill C-130? Why did they say they want to see it amended before it is passed in the House? They rejected it in its present form. That Bill was identical to the one moved earlier last week, Bill C-2. This letter dated July 30 was sent to us by the National Council of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. I say to Members across the way: If the deal is so good for agriculture, why is it that an umbrella organization representing most if not all of the agricultural producers in Canada is against the deal?

Mr. McDermid: They are not.

Mr. Charest: Why did the farmers vote for us?

Mr. Boudria: The Minister asks why the farmers voted for the Government. I cannot complain personally about the vote of farmers in my riding because I was elected with 74 per cent of the vote. I think I have a mandate to speak on their behalf. The Conservatives say that under this deal we have guaranteed access to U.S. markets.

• (2030)

Mr. Charest: No, it was not.

Mr. Boudria: Oh, yes, it was said in the House in speeches yesterday. It has been said repeatedly in the House of Commons that we have this guaranteed access to the U.S. markets and that from now on things are going to be great.

Mr. Charest: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. In the name of accuracy I think that it would only be fair, if the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell is making allegations about things that were apparently said by some Members on this side of the House, that he cite what was said. I challenge him now right here to get up to cite my words. I would like him to read me my words which I allegedly said in this House or elsewhere.

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to abuse the rules of the House. I say to you, Mr. Chairman, that Members should not be rising in their places pretending to raise points of order. I say to the Minister that if he cannot play within the rules of this place, why does he not go outside and talk to someone, if anyone is willing to listen to the stupidities he has to say?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Boudria: I was quoting a document—or I was attempting to—when his arrogance interrupted me. I want to say to the Minister—actually, I want to say this to other Members because they can probably understand it while he cannot.

The statement of administrative action of the President of the United States which was tabled with the United States Congress states under Article 1902 that each party retains the right to apply its national anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws to goods of the other party, and also reserves the right to amend those laws. The rights of amendment to the anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws with respect to goods of the other party is subject to requirements to notify, consult and so on. In other words, not only can the United States still apply countervailing duties, and any other

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

protective measure it wants, against Canada, it can even make new countervailing duty laws that it does not have now and apply them.

Some Hon. Members: So can we.

Mr. Boudria: That is an interesting point. Members opposite say: "So can we".

One country is 10 times the size of the other. Members across the way are saying that they want to penetrate the large U.S. market in order to gain access to it; we want that guarantee because it will be good for our country.

[Translation]

Mr. Fontaine: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Lévis on a point of order.

Mr. Fontaine: Mr. Chairman, I heard the Hon. Member compare the two populations—Americans and Canadians—but he forgot to point out that now we have a tribunal to settle disputes and at least two Canadians and two Americans sit on that tribunal, so it does restore some balance between the two states. Before there were two Americans who could challenge the allegations made by Canadians. My colleague ought to mention that.

Mr. Boudria: A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell on a point of order.

[English]

Mr. Boudria: I did not hear a word that he said, but that does not matter anyway.

I want to read an article from the *Toronto Star* of August 2. It is entitled: "More trade surprises". With regard to President Reagan it states in part: "Nor did he forget those Canadian farmers who may take solace in the trade exemption for marketing boards. Reagan warned that as soon as the deal is in place the U.S. plans to go after Canadian import restrictions on poultry and eggs".

For farmers under supply-management, it is quite clear that the Government of the United States intends to damage those structures that we have now even further than they are already damaged under the Prime Minister's trade deal. Under this trade deal they are damaged a number of ways.

First, Article 710 states that supply-management is protected. On the surface that may be convincing to some. However, Article 703, which precedes of course Article 710, states:

In order to facilitate trade in agricultural goods, the Parties shall work together to improve access to each other's markets through the elimination or reduction of import barriers.

It could be interpreted by courts of law in the future that this article is in direct contradiction to Article 710. How will it be interpreted in the future? I know that some of the legal whiz-kids across the way are saying: "We have nothing to fear". But I am not convinced at all.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, first of all, we know that most of the farming in my riding is subject to quotas—dairy farming. Now I know that farm issues like milk production might not interest the Hon. Member for Duvernay (Mr. Della Noce), but for those here who are interested in it, I am convinced that the dairy industry is threatened by this Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Chairman, I am convinced that this Agreement threatens the agricultural sector.

Mr. Fontaine: Mr. Chairman, point of order.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Lévis (Mr. Fontaine) on a point of order.

Mr. Fontaine: Mr. Chairman, I was on the Legislative Committee that heard representations from the farming community on free trade, when the Hon. Member did not come last summer. They came to testify in favour of free trade; the *Coopérative laitière du Québec* is in favour of free trade; the red-meat producers of Canada are in favour of free trade; the grain growers are in favour of free trade. Did no French-speaking Quebecers come to this Committee last year, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Debate. The Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria).

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Chairman, you are very patient with those Conservatives. They do not deserve all that patience, and I congratulate you.

First, the Hon. Member opposite, who came to debate free trade in my riding, knows very well that the farmers of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell at a public debate in which he participated in our riding were opposed to the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Boudria: "Oh, oh!" say the Hon. Members on that side of the House. A fact that the Hon. Member for Lévis (Mr. Fontaine) across the way forgot!

Finally, Mr. Chairman, as I was saying before I was interrupted by the Conservative Members opposite, the Agreement threatens the dairy sector and milk production in the riding of Glengarry—Prescott—Russell and elsewhere in Canada. First, there is the whole subject of ice cream: 4.5 million hectolitres of milk are used to make it.

I see that the the Minister of State for Agriculture (Mr. Blais) has just arrived.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Boudria: Mr. Chairman, I am happy, extremely happy, to see that the Minister has arrived to lend an ear so that he may later convince his Conservative colleagues of the error of their ways. I see that the arrogance born of power has already overtaken the Minister of State for Agriculture. May I remind him that in a democracy, all positions, even that of Minister of State for Agriculture, are temporary. Time will tell what is to become of the Minister of State for Agriculture.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask my colleagues opposite one last time to think. I know that they are not often called upon to do so and that thinking is hard for them, but I am sure they can learn. With practice, even a Conservative can learn to think.

I ask the Members opposite to think. Mr. Chairman, there is still time for them to withdraw this bill, forget the whole thing and come to their senses. How about it, Mr. Chairman?

• (2040)

The Chairman: On a point of Order, I give the floor to the Minister of State for Youth and Minister of State for Fitness and Amateur Sport (Mr. Charest).

Hon. Jean Charest (Minister of State (Youth) and Minister of State (Fitness and Amateur Sport)): Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order.

I would not want this speech to go by and at the end, hear the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell (Mr. Boudria) refer to an alleged arrogance on this side of the House, when at the end, only a few days before the electoral campaign got under way—

The Chairman: Order! I do not consider that to be a point of order. We shall now continue the debate with the Hon. Member for Wild Rose (Mrs. Feltham).

[*English*]

Ms. Feltham: Mr. Chairman, as a new Member in a riding in Alberta, it gives me great pleasure that my first speech in Parliament will address the important issue of free trade. I would also like to take this opportunity to again thank the people of Wild Rose for placing their faith in me and for electing another Conservative to the House of Commons.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Feltham: The constituency of Wild Rose is appropriately named. The shrub is a hardy flower that grows extensively across the prairies and the foothills of the Canadian Rockies. It flourishes in some of the most adverse conditions, just as the people of Wild Rose have managed to prosper despite the economic ups and downs of the past 15 years.

In the western part of this large riding, the people of Banff, Lake Louise and Canmore have developed a world class tourist centre that attracts not only those who come to view the magnificent physical setting, but also those who come to partake of the varied cultural activities of the Banff School of Fine Arts.

The towns of Bowden, Olds and Didsbury in the north part of the riding service a major grain producing area. In Olds, there is an agriculture college that focuses on teaching young people how to become better farmers and how to compete in a very competitive world.

The eastern part of the sprawling riding contains the wide open ranges necessary for cattle and livestock production, with Strathmore being the largest centre east of Calgary.

Airdrie is a city of 11,000 people and is the central point of our constituency. It is a growing city, but well-planned and forward-looking. Both Airdrie in the north and Cochrane to the west are within 10 miles of Calgary. Yet they could not be called bedroom communities since they not only service the rural agricultural community, but they are also home to the many executives and professionals involved in the petroleum industry. The whole riding, for that matter, has a stake in the petroleum industry, as attested to by the hundreds of oil pumpers covering the landscape.

The people in my riding have always been Conservative when it comes to politics, but when it comes to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

business, they are always eager to try new ideas. They are entrepreneurs. They are business people.

When given a choice on November 21, the people of Wild Rose voted "Yes" to free trade. They know that ratification of the agreement means they can look forward to a booming economy, to challenge the economic greatness of the United States and to be exceptional in their own fields, whether it is agriculture, tourism, or business. The people of Alberta still have that pioneer spirit, but they do have long memories. They remember that a Liberal Government crippled a booming oil industry with the National Energy Program. They remember the PGRT. They remember the years when the Liberal Government forgot the western farmer.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Feltham: Albertans know how to avoid a boom or bust economy in the future. It is to diversify. We must stabilize our economy. We must be less dependent on an economy that is cyclical in nature, where world prices for petroleum and agricultural products fluctuate while costs remain high. We must establish stability. We must diversify. To diversify, we need markets for our products. That market is just south of our border. The Free Trade Agreement will open that border to Alberta and we will take advantage of it.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Feltham: The removal of the tariff walls will allow Alberta industries to become important on both the national scene and the international scene. Businessmen know that the Free Trade Agreement will expand opportunities for them to open new markets in the United States. The young people of our country can now look forward to a possible future in business when this agreement is ratified. Would anyone deny that future for our youth? The opposition has said that we cannot compete in the U.S., but we do compete, and we will continue to compete. Those whose primary market is the American market will find that their expansion potential will increase.

Businessmen trying to do business in the United States have had to cope with differing technical standards and a myriad set of requirements for licensing and registration. This has slowed their expansion, but already, because of the Free Trade Agreement, talks have begun to make it an easier operation to expand into the American market.

With expansion potential increased, investors' confidence will make it easier for small businessmen to secure investment funds for modernization and for new ventures.

• (2050)

With expansion potential, increased industrial confidence will make it easier for small businessmen to secure investment funds for modernization and new ventures. Entrepreneurial initiative will take over and Alberta small businessmen will be able to achieve their full potential.

The Alberta agricultural sector will have access to the fastest growing market in the world. Removal of U.S. tariffs on red meats will mean that Alberta beef will be more competitive in the U.S. market. Cattle producers know what is good for them. Support for free trade is strong from Alberta cattlemen. They understand the importance of free trade to their sector of the economy. It is interesting to note that for the past 100 years The Cattlemen's Association has been promoting free trade.

For years people in the agriculture sector have had to put up with a time consuming and costly procedure to protect themselves in trade disputes. A settlement process that will be efficient and fast is what farmers have needed and will now get.

For the first time there will be a process for settling trade disputes and a means to protect our farm exports from annoyances like the countervailing duties that the U.S. throws up to protect their own farm and manufactured products.

Just imagine what the removal of trade barriers will mean to those who want to enter the agri-food industry. They will find that the removal of tariffs on packaging materials, food ingredients and machinery will encourage this sector to expand. The additional jobs that will be created and the additional profits to be made will encourage growth and productivity.

Now let us think about the depressed petroleum industry. Presently there are such high duties on petrochemical by-products that some cannot compete in the U.S. market. An 18 per cent U.S. duty on Canadian methanol and 12.5 per cent on polyethylene make it difficult to compete and to give impetus to expand our present capacity and to process our raw products in Canada, and to increase the profitability of existing exports. The U.S. market will be opened to a whole range of oil derived products made in Alberta.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Investment prospects for additional facilities needed to increase production in the petrochemical industries will mean a more secure future for the petrochemical sector, a future for our young people. We will no longer just pump our oil and ship it elsewhere, we will build plants, we will create jobs, we will ship quality finished goods at competitive prices to the markets in the south.

Albertans know what they want. They want to maintain their right to ownership, their right to levy royalties and their right to determine the rate of production. This is important to Albertans. With the Free Trade Agreement, these rights are guaranteed.

Today, in an article in *The Ottawa Citizen* the President of Novacor Chemicals of Calgary, one of Alberta's natural gas producers, states that his company stands to save \$30 million in tariffs. What will he do with those savings? It has already been decided. He will open a third ethylene plant. This means more jobs, in fact 200 permanent positions. Without free trade this project could not have gone forward. Competition does not phase him. His company is willing to compete with the U.S. producers.

Expansion in all areas of the economy will mean a broader based economy, with more jobs going to all Canadians. Under the Free Trade Agreement the Canadian Government can continue to provide funds for economic growth and development, if the objective is to eliminate social, economic and industrial disadvantages.

Government structures like the Western Diversification Office can still provide creative assistance to develop markets in areas where Albertans may have a competitive edge. Tariff-free access to the U.S. market can only enhance export opportunities for the Alberta petrochemical and livestock industries. Small businessmen will be able to achieve their full potential and our mining operators will have access to a larger market.

Albertans recognized these opportunities when they voted for free trade. That is why I am here today. Albertans have already said yes and I now say yes to this very important agreement.

Mr. MacWilliam: Mr. Chairman, this is my first opportunity to speak in the House and thank my constituents back home in Okanagan—Shuswap for placing their confidence in me as their representative here in Ottawa. I want to send my best wishes for a very joyous holiday season to those at home who are viewing tonight.

I was sent to Ottawa for a very specific reason. It was to provide a voice of concern from the West, from British Columbia in particular and the Okanagan—Shuswap area. It is a voice of concern that would stand up and be counted with regard to the trade deal that is facing us today.

I am delighted to take my stand here tonight and oppose the implementation of Bill C-2 and oppose this trade deal because it is not a deal on free trade. It is not even fair trade. It is a sell-out of Canada's resources. It is a sell-out of Canada's future.

Let me go into a brief history of this trade deal. It is not the first time that the subject of free trade has been before the Chamber. I want to quote some voices of history who have talked on this most important topic before:

The American title, by right of our manifest destiny, is to overspread and possess the whole of this continent which providence hath provided us. Texas is secure and so now, who is our next customer? Shall it be California or shall it be Canada?

Those were the words of John O'Sullivan who, in 1891, set the stage for the first debate on free trade. As we all know, that debate ended when Sir John A. Macdonald won a Canadian election on this very issue and turned back the American free traders at the 49th parallel. Macdonald said that free trade with the U.S. would inevitably lead to annexation and asked how Canada could keep its political independence when it had thrown away its economic independence.

• (2100)

We all have a feeling for history in this House. As we all know, the trade issue arose again in 1911 when the Laurier Government negotiated a free trade deal with President Taft to reduce tariffs on a broad range of natural products and manufactured items. The agreement sailed through the U.S. House of Representatives, supported by the Speaker of the Assembly who said at that time:

I am for it, this reciprocity agreement, because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of British North America clear to the North Pole.

Former Liberal Leader Edward Blake broke with the Laurier Government over that issue and stated that free trade was the same as commercial union and would lead to political union with the United States.

Once again the issue was raised and fought, and this time, for those Hon. Members who are so verbose on the other side of the House, the issue—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. A new Member of the House is trying to deliver his maiden address. We are having trouble with the clocks and that is what the uproar is about. I wonder if there is something that can be done to stop the clocks from running the way they are in order to give the Hon. Member a chance to deliver his maiden address.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Chairman, I rise on the same point of order. I appreciate the generosity of my hon. friend for drawing our attention to the problem with the clocks. Having watched the clocks and noticing how quickly their hands are moving, I would say that if we were to wait for another 15 minutes, it would be time for the next general election. I think we should hold off for awhile.

Mr. MacWilliam: Mr. Chairman, may I say that I appreciate the comments of my colleague from the other side of the House. It does get a trifle difficult with the uproar that is going on, but we try to do our best.

As I was saying regarding the history of free trade debates in Canada throughout the last 100 years, as it was in 1911 it remains today the most important issue that has ever faced the Canadian people. Its outcome will unalterably define the future of this land.

This trade deal is about more than cheaper widgets. It goes much further than a simple reduction in tariff barriers. If it were simply about a reduction of tariff barriers alone, I do not think we would have too much problem with it.

However, in the words of U.S. President Reagan, this deal is a new economic constitution for North America. The Macdonald Commission calls it a leap of faith. The Concerned Citizens for Free Trade call it an attack on the very survival of Canada as a nation. The prophets of free trade promise long-term prosperity and economic growth. Critics warn that Canada in an integrated economy will suffer a period of uneven expansion followed by long-term economic decline.

U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter summed in up best when he said:

The Canadians don't understand what they have signed. In 20 years they'll be sucked into the U.S. economy.

How can I be more explicit? Those are not my words but the words of the U.S. Trade Representative.

Let us look at what happened in the Maritimes. In the 1860s, Maritimes businessmen who supported the concept of an integrated economy made a gamble in an

attempt to expand profits by harmonizing with a larger market. The collapse of the mass consumer industry in the Maritimes followed, most Maritime businesses failed and almost all the workers were thrown out of their jobs. Branch plants were closed as they became controlled by new, Montreal based corporations.

As a result, the Maritime Provinces were thrown back on their remaining resource industries and a huge wave of emigration and destabilization followed. As Canada prepares to enter a similar economic union with the United States today, it is important and imperative to keep in mind the earlier fate of provinces like Nova Scotia and to remember that the Bank of Nova Scotia does not live there any more.

The Prime Minister has said that free trade will provide lower tariffs and market opportunities. He said that it will protect Canada against future U.S. protectionist measures. He said that it will give Canadian industries increased opportunities to bid on U.S. government projects. These were the Prime Minister's three principal reasons for going into the free trade deal, so let us have a look at these reasons.

The first reason was to secure access. Tariffs will be reduced, but let us recall that 80 per cent of goods already come across the U.S.-Canada border tariff-free. Reductions will only apply to a portion of the remaining 20 per cent. The 15 per cent duty on Canadian softwoods and the remaining tariff on shakes will still apply, so what benefit is it to the lumber industry? Tariff reductions essentially pale beside what could be negotiated through continued negotiations at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This comprehensive trade deal was not even necessary in order to reduce those tariffs. U.S. President Reagan has had the constitutional authority since April, 1987 to reduce tariffs with Canada on a bilateral basis without the need for a comprehensive trade deal. If we do not need the trade deal to reduce tariffs, why did we go into this agreement in the first place? Perhaps it was to remove those non-tariff barriers, the U.S. trade remedy laws, which penalize the export of Canadian products. Let us look at that area.

The Prime Minister again promised Canadians that in negotiating the deal these punitive U.S. trade measures would be eliminated. Canadian Trade Ambassador, Simon Reisman, said that the deal would not be worth the powder to blow it to hell if it failed to protect Canadian exporters from future U.S. protectionist measures. The Hon. Minister for International Trade,

who admittedly had not read the deal at the time, argues that the agreement has accomplished this important objective. In fact, it has not.

Instead of a binding dispute mechanism, Canada has settled, has capitulated, for a bilateral panel that will serve only as a court of last resort after those trade embargoes have been imposed. The panel will not be able to challenge the laws, only the application of those laws. We have relinquished the right to appeal under the International Trade Tribunal, and we have even less protection under this trade deal that we enjoyed under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

What about government procurement? That was the third reason for going into this deal. Under the agreement, Canadian companies can apparently bid on \$3 billion in U.S. government contracts. That sounds good until it is compared with the \$18 billion the U.S. Government put on the negotiating table in the last round of GATT negotiations. Again we have come out second best.

On the three critical components of the trade agreement—secure access, protection from future U.S. countervail and increased access to government procurement—on the three pinnacles, in each case the Government has failed to negotiate those three critical components.

What about economic considerations? Informetrica, an Ottawa based research house, reports that free trade will eventually provide an over-all benefit to Canada with increased output, employment, and income in the very long term. Just how long that is is anyone's guess.

● (2110)

The initial gains will be concentrated in selective provinces such as Québec and Ontario but will be offset by economic dislocations in other areas. An economic dislocation is an economist's way of saying that people are going to lose their jobs.

Here is the crunch. The analysis by Informetrica states that increased tax revenues, as a result of the free trade deal, will be insufficient to offset the loss of customs revenue from the reductions of tariffs in the trade deal. That is an economist's way of saying that free trade will increase the federal deficit. The analysis further argues that any attempts to reduce the deficit that will accumulate through the free trade deal by increased taxation will in fact reduce or possibly nullify the economic impact of the Free Trade Agreement. Increase taxes and the benefits of the Free Trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement disappear. What we have is an economic catch-22. Free trade increases the deficit. If we try to buy down the deficit by increasing taxation any advantages go up in smoke.

In fact, the Prime Minister intends to do just that. His national sales tax scheme will impose a minimum sales tax on all goods and services. It will tax virtually everything that moves and a lot that does not. Most tax experts believe that when you add increased national sales tax being imposed to pay for free trade to provincial taxes, we could be looking at a tax rate of between 15 per cent and 17 per cent.

The Canadian Homebuilders' Association estimates that such a tax on homes will disqualify at least 60,000 families from getting a mortgage. That means a downturn in the housing market and all areas of the economy that are sensitive to consumer demand.

The Prime Minister and this Government are grabbing the taxpayer's pocketbook to pay for the free trade deal. By so doing it will lower disposable incomes and negate any economic advantage of the Free Trade Agreement. In the final analysis, if one supports free trade then one must also support either an increase in the federal deficit or an increase in taxation. It is as simple as that.

Believe it or not, I have tried to outline the benefits of free trade. There are many costs associated with it. Even the strongest opponents of free trade have said that it will impose massive readjustments to the Canadian economy and the Canadian workforce. Some will end up winners, but many will end up losers.

Bruce Wilkinson, Professor of Economics at the University of Alberta, argues that the Mulroney trade deal amounts to an economic constitution between Canada and the United States which will place us on an irreversible path toward political integration. This trade agreement surrenders our right to make our decisions and to pursue our own national destiny. It gives Washington the powers that are the prerogative of provincial capitals.

Mr. McDermid: Give me one example.

Mr. MacWilliam: It promises to change dramatically the economic, social and cultural landscape of this country.

Just as there is no free lunch—and we have heard that saying many times from people on the other side of the House—there is also no free trade. Everything has its

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

price. What the Members of this House must do in these negotiations is ask themselves whether the price of this trade deal is really worth it.

Mr. Pagtakhan: Mr. Chairman, I rise with a Damocles' sword of closure over my head. Should it happen it will be the equivalent of parliamentary slavery. We have heard reflections on the part of government of arrogance in attitude, unfairness in approach and discrimination to the new Members of Parliament.

In the spirit of this holiday season first let me greet you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Speaker, Her Excellency the Governor General, all our colleagues in the House and Senate, all Canadians, all families across the country and, more particularly, the constituents of Winnipeg North with the twin messages of peace and prosperity and in the language of my original tongue, *Maligayang Pasko at Manigong Bagong Taon*. Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

It is also in this festive spirit that I would like to speak to the subject of the free trade deal and the implementing legislation. Allow me, Hon. Members, to reflect also during this festive season a sadness with you.

A few months ago a member of my Filipino community, a Canadian immigrant, was hastily deported to the Philippines. Her name is Sally Espinelli. I question the fairness of this Government. It is fundamental rule of fairness that a person is given avenues for redress, including appealing a case to the Canadian Human Rights Commission. In fact, the Canadian Human Rights Commission recommended that Sally Espinelli's case be placed before that body. That was not to happen because the Government failed to exercise the virtue of moral fairness and denied a Canadian immigrant the due process of judicial review.

Now back to the subject of tonight, the free trade deal. I seek the understanding of government to allow amendments to this deal, to make clarifications and thereby prevent uncertainties in the future. Is there a basis to believe that there are uncertainties in the future?

The Minister for International Trade, if I may paraphrase, said that it would take four to five years to see whether this deal was good or bad. That, to me, is an admission that the deal could be bad, and we believe it is bad. We believe it is bad for the people of our country. Sure, statistics have also been mentioned of jobs being created. Statistics have been mentioned of jobs that will be lost. What is clear, and I think it has been denied by government, is that jobs will be lost.

To that problem we have to have a mechanism—common sense dictates—to help the displaced workers of our country as a consequence of this deal. Let me say to the Government that even Supreme Courts of nations allow reconsideration of original decisions. Why cannot the Government, during this season of understanding, allow amendments so that the total sentiments of the Canadian people across the country can be reflected truly in this deal? It is indeed a big challenge to the Government. It needs a big heart to answer the challenge.

• (2120)

I am referring to a declaration entitled "A Canada—U.S. Church Declaration on Justice for Farmers and Food for People", adopted in September, 1988. This group is committed to justice and to supporting the self-sufficiency of peoples in producing their own food and developing their own economic and social institutions to enhance the quality of life. It is a group deeply committed to security to tenure for those who work the land, a group deeply committed to wide distribution of land among people, a group deeply committed to the right of people to eat healthy and nutritious food, a group committed to a system of pricing that returns to the producer of food the cost of production plus a fair return that provides a reasonable standard of living, a group deeply committed to countering the concentration of control and ownership of land by the few and the domination of food production and distribution by corporations. I submit that these principles of morality and of commitment to people are sound and laudable.

I submit to the Government that this group is deeply opposed to this deal because it feels that the deal is detrimental to those principles.

Article 409, "Other Export Measures", asks us to guarantee supply to the United States of our total resources. It states:

1. Either Party may maintain or introduce a restriction otherwise justified under the provisions of Articles XI:2(a) and XX(g), (i) and (j) of the GATT with respect to the export of a good of the Party to the territory of the other Party, only if:

a) the restriction does not reduce the proportion of the total export shipments of the specific good—

I would like to call to the attention of the Government that this article does not only refer to energy. It continues:

—made available to the other Party relative to the total supply of that good of the Party maintaining the restriction as compared to the proportion prevailing in the most recent 36-

month period for which data are available prior to the imposition of the measure—

What does that mean? It means that, the United States having set the level of consumption, we must maintain it or reduce our own supply. This particular provision in the agreement would in future disallow us to make a Canada-first policy on our energy resources.

Article 409, "Other Export Measures", refers specifically to the energy good as a resource and states our obligation to supply the United States, or we do not supply ourselves.

Article 906, "Government Incentives for Energy Resource Development", states:

Both Parties have agreed to allow existing or future incentives for oil and gas exploration, development and related activities in order to maintain the reserve base for these energy resources.

I ask the Government: Why not also have the other programs, our health care and social programs specifically mentioned in the agreement, in order that there will be no uncertainty in future?

The last time I spoke I discussed the weakness and feebleness of the binding settlement mechanism. I will not elaborate on it further. However, I do feel that we should accept amendments to address some of the limitations of this proposed agreement.

Bruce H. Fisher of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in Halifax stated:

The United States probably agreed to the inclusion of such a weak dispute settlement mechanism precisely because it would be ineffective in forcing the U.S. to accept unpopular judgments. However, as Canada's exports are largely dependent on the U.S. market, the latter might be able to use such a system to force concessions out of Canada on difficult bilateral disputes.

Indeed, there are other potential considerations as a consequence of this trade deal. We have already mentioned the weakness to allow regional expansion. There is another interesting feature, namely, that regional expansion may be exempted if the industries to be developed involve military equipment.

The Canadian Peace Pledge Campaign stated:

A Canada/U.S. free trade deal could also make military production more central to the Canadian industrial strategy. While the agreement in general views government subsidies to industry . . . as unfair and thus prohibited competition, support to military industries would be exempt. This could mean the only regional industrial incentives available will be to military industries.

I tell the Government that if for the reason of peace only Canadians have a strong interest in rejecting the Reagan—Mulroney deal.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I would like to call to the attention of the Government Article 1801. In effect, it prohibits Canada from requesting the GATT to examine complaints related to the United States countervailing and dumping duties.

Mr. Mel Clark, Deputy Head of the Canadian Delegation for the GATT Tokyo Round, stated:

In 1949 . . . the determination of rights and obligations between Governments arising under a bilateral agreement is not a matter within the competence of the contracting parties—

This means that the subsequent Article 1801, subsection 2, becomes meaningless under this proposed agreement.

Let me come to the issue that I truly feel can be threatened—our social and health care programs. Article 1401 mentions the services covered under this agreement. Part of the services include the management of the health care services. I would like to put on record the belief that non-profit public administration of our health care system would indeed be jeopardized and therefore our medicare system, which is the best in the world, could be in jeopardy.

In medicine, we first make a diagnosis and then provide treatment. Before we make a diagnosis we would like to get all the information and do the essential medical examination of the patient. Mr. Chairman, you have heard submissions, information, from all of us from the government side and the opposition side. It is only fair and right that we conclude that there are defects in the current Mulroney—Reagan deal. It is in fact only half a free trade agreement.

• (2130)

I quote the words of Mr. Godsoe, past Executive Director of the Macdonald Commission on the Economy:

Implementing the agreement would not only be contrary to the Macdonald Commission's recommendations, it would set off intensive negotiations over the real agenda. Canadian negotiators have stated there was no time to conclude any agreement on the definition of "unfair trade" and what regional development or other economic or social support programs would be in jeopardy.

Mr. Godsoe went on to say:

In short, what else is there to offer the Americans except agreement that at least some of our government-support programs are to be classified as unfair trade subsidies? Surely the most ardent advocate of the current agreement must concede that. The focus will then shift to what regional-development and other support programs will have to be discontinued at least for export industries. This is the measure of (the) failure of the free-trade deal.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

for export industries. This is the measure of (the) failure of the free-trade deal.

The American concerns have been addressed in the Free Trade Agreement: Access to our financial markets, access to our resources, and access to our service sector. Our Canadian concerns in respect of lower barriers have been addressed in part, but continue to be somewhat elusive. Other concerns have not been addressed at all. I have in mind potential harassment of Canadian exporters by the U.S. and the lack of stable and secure access to American markets.

Indeed, there are two key issues that have gone undelivered by the Free Trade Agreement: The binding arbitration of disputes and the lack of a common book of rules defining unfair trade practices.

I am in favour of freer trade, as are all Liberals; but, I am vehemently opposed to the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal.

In the same way that I would not drink a glass of water filled with impurities, I would not accept a trade deal filled with impurities—

Mr. Turner (Halton—Peel): Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order.

The Hon. Member should know better than to refer to the “Mulroney-Reagan” trade deal; rather, he should refer to the Right Hon. Prime Minister either by his riding or by his—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Pagtakhan: No one would drink a glass of water filled with impurities. No one should accept a free trade deal filled with impurities.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Pagtakhan: Let us not fear amendments, let us fear arrogance; let us not fear debate, let us fear its absence.

I am asking that there be a clarification in respect of some of the provisions of the Free Trade Agreement.

I can believe that this Government is sincere in believing that there are no weaknesses in the FTA. But, the Government must believe that we on this side are also sincere in believing that there are in fact weaknesses in this deal.

Where there is an honest difference in opinion, the reasonable person will ask a good lawyer to provide a

clarification in black and white. In that way there is no possibility of a misunderstanding in the future.

It has been said often that if something is not specifically dealt with in the agreement, there is no reason to worry. Let me remind Hon. Members opposite of a universal truism: Absence of evidence is no evidence of absence.

In closing I would ask again, in the spirit of Christmas, that this Government take cognizance of the concerns of Canadians across the country, take cognizance of the concerns of the constituents of Winnipeg North. I say to the Government that an ounce of clarification today is worth more than a pound of conflict in the future.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Charles DeBlois (Montmorency—Orleans): Mr. Chairman, as I rise to speak before this august assembly, I must admit to you that I have two concerns.

The first is that we are in Committee of the Whole for clause-by-clause consideration in principle of Bill C-2 on the Canada—United States Free Trade Agreement. I note that we are only at clause 2. I am really extremely concerned: Will we continue our deliberations here until July or August? Will we be singing “Santa Claus” here on New Year’s Day or Christmas Day? I am really worried that we are only at clause 2. But people do not seem to be worried; it seems that parliamentary procedure is flexible enough that we can talk about anything and nothing in this free trade debate.

My second preliminary remark, which is part of my introduction, Mr. Chairman, concerns the look on the faces of our friends opposite. The other day, I quoted a Latin saying that delighted my colleague here from Duvernay (Mr. Della Noce) and this evening, I feel like giving you another Latin quotation that is very appropriate for the situation. There is an old Latin proverb that the ancients liked to quote and it goes like this, *Afflicto afflicto non addenda est*. It means that one should not add to someone’s woes.

Mr. Chairman, looking at my friends opposite and their woeful expression, I almost feel like keeping quiet and saying that one should not further afflict those who are already afflicted. And I am afraid that my speech tonight will only confirm this wise old adage, *Afflicto afflicto non addenda est*.

But my constituents have given me a mandate and I will take courage and forge ahead.

My message tonight is meant to be above all a testimony. I note that my neighbours opposite, my friends opposite, as they are called in the parliamentary tradition, take great pleasure in philosophizing on free trade. They read texts, they theorize, they philosophize. I bring you the real life experiences of people with whom I spoke during the election campaign, not theoretical speeches but concrete facts.

In the riding of Montmorency—Orleans, I based my campaign on the business community, among others. I visited lots and lots of people and many companies. I shook almost 15,000 hands in the riding of Montmorency—Orleans. I went to places where people work and live, to golden age clubs, restaurants, car dealers, small and medium-sized businesses and big factories. Everywhere, the workers, the owner, the boss, anyone—

I went to various workplaces and every time I visited a small or medium-sized business or a large concern I would get to meet the head of the company and ask him: Listen, what do you think of free trade? And surprised I was: 100 per cent of those I questioned in the riding of Montmorency—Orléans were supportive of free trade and the agreement negotiated by our leader and his representatives.

So much so that I will tell you something. The highlight of my election campaign was when I went on television and asked my Liberal opponent and my socialist NDP opponent, Mr. Gourdeau, a nationally-known personality: Name one single business in the riding, one single small or medium-sized business which is against free trade. I did that on the radio and twice on television. I never did get an answer. Are we here to make philosophical statements or to represent our constituents? Are we here to show off or to perform, or are we here to represent the people, the men and women who elected us?

● (2140)

It was rather amusing in my riding of Montmorency—Orléans because the national NDP leader, Broadbent, the champion or ordinary people... When I talked to my constituents of Montmorency—Orléans, my people, many of whom suffer from the high unemployment rate or end up on social welfare, I would say to them: Are you aware of the hourly wage rates in Oshawa, you know, the city of the ordinary candidate over there who always keeps his cool and peppers his speeches with the word "ordinary"? I said to them: Do you know what the hourly rate, the unemployment rate

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

is? It is nil in the constituency of Oshawa and 10 to 15 per cent in Montmorency—Orléans. It is easy to say you're fighting for ordinary Canadians and be against free trade in Oshawa and Windsor. There, the people are already "tuned in" to the United States under the Auto Pact. Things are going well there, but will they share the wealth with Quebec and the rest of Canada? No way! That's what I told the people in my constituency and they replied: Shame! Mr. DeBlois, when you are elected, you will go to the House and tell your colleagues opposite that we, too, would like to share in the economic prosperity enjoyed by Ontario and Oshawa in particular.

Let me tell you what two industries had to say. In my constituency of Montmorency—Orléans, Abitibi Price runs a plant that employs 400 people. That's a lot of people! They work day and night. I visited the plant twice, once during the day shift and once during the night shift. I did not inform the *Téléjournal* camera crews so that my visit could be seen on the news that night. No one saw me, but I was there during the day and at night. Some party leaders alert news teams so that they can be seen on the *Téléjournal*... My visit did not make the news, but I was there, even at night, in a small room with union leaders and the ordinary people. Afterwards, I went to see the boss on the third floor and talked about free trade.

I also went to see Léo Cauchon at a saw mill called Château Richer. He said: Listen, Charles, the tax on timber really hit me hard this year. It was so sad. And let me tell you what the president of Abitibi Price had to say. He said that without free trade, Canadians would lose. Canada would be the only Western country without access to a market of more than 100 million people. Mark my words and take heed. Throughout history, every time a smaller country signed a bilateral trade agreement with a larger country, the smaller country always came out ahead, and never at the expense of its culture or its independence. Those of you who talked about being dwarfed, about it being a case of the elephant and the mouse, you were out to lunch! I know what I am talking about.

When I am with my people... The leaders of the Liberal and New Democratic parties wanted to scare people: You will lose your pensions. The former Social Welfare minister said that free trade would give us AIDS. U.S. blood is tainted with AIDS. The people of Montmorency—Orléans said: Come on, we're not going to swallow that!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I am sorry if I sound a bit demagogic, Mr. Chairman. But the people in my riding were outraged when they watched the national news in the evening and heard Mr. Turner say it was the end of the Canadian dream. Come on! I asked the people in my riding if they had ever been in Jasper or if they had visited Alberta. The answer was no. I asked them if they had ever been to Old Orchard. The answer was yes. Our people in Quebec are used to travelling to the United States. They will not lose their culture nor their language. Do not try to make us believe Americans are bad boys who only think of manipulating us. Our people are proud to be able to do more business with the Americans. So big industries and small industries, those of ordinary people, to borrow a phrase from the NDP, our socialists, our avant-garde, those champions of ordinary citizens . . . I visited small businesses. I have in mind Consulab that specializes in advanced technology and Moulures Bégin. Here is what I heard from them: "Do not tell anybody I am for free trade, I want to get ready before other small businesses in the same field. Wait before you talk about it." I renege on my word tonight, but I do so in the interest of the country and that of Hon. Members. It is important that you know about it.

I must say I had much fun discussing free trade. I thank the Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Turner), the Leader of the Liberal Party, for waking us up. I spent the past three weeks discussing free trade everywhere, and I feel that the popularity-seeking arguments put forward by the Opposition have scared our people stiff. You will notice that everybody who can see straight in Quebec, including Premier Bourassa, the PQ Leader, the Desjardins Movement, such great journalists as Alain Dubuc, the Mayor of Beauport, the largest city in my riding, Jacques Langlois—none of them belonging to the Conservative Party—are all for free trade.

It is important to mention that two weeks before the election, in the Quebec region, all open-line radio hosts invited objective guests such as Bernard Landry, Claude Masson, an economist with Laval University . . . We felt that the more we were going to explain free trade, the more people would understand it. You may have noticed that since the November 21 election, the various polls indicate that we would have won more seats, and the proportion of people who are now for the Free Trade Agreement is constantly rising. In other words, if the election was held today, three-quarters of all Canadians would support free trade and we would have between 225 and 250 seats.

As you may have guessed, Mr. Chairman, I want to be consistent with my original statement. I will not insist further. I suggest that we should not add to the pain of the people who are down. *Afflictio afflicto non addenda est* . . . That is enough. I just want to repeat again that when we listen to the people concerned—when I see a guy in the Quebec region—in addition to being the Member for Montmorency—Orléans, I am a member of the regional caucus which is brilliantly chaired by the Hon. Member for Québec East (Mr. Tremblay), when I see a guy like Louis Garneau who supplies the praiseworthy Canadian cycling team with clothing for cycling and has to pay 30 per cent of custom duties to the United States. He said: With the free trade agreement, tomorrow I could pay \$100,000 per year less in custom duties, and I would be able to open a plant in Saint-Augustin. When I say that to the people, they say: "It is great, Mr. DeBlois!" I am not the one who is saying that, but an ordinary guy back home who is the president of a company which is far from being a multinational.

Having said that, Mr. Chairman, I think that we do not need to look into the Bill before us. I realize why we are still dealing with Clause 2. It is not necessary to study every clause, because the demonstration I have just made will certainly reassure Members opposite and I am sure that tomorrow at the latest we will be able to leave and spend Christmas at home, knowing that our friends will change their minds and finally support this dramatic and important initiative for the future of Canada, namely, the adoption of a bilateral agreement with the United States.

• (2150)

[English]

Mr. Volpe: Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to contribute and to participate in the debate that is designed to introduce some amendments to the trade deal. My Party and I feel a great need to amend the trade Bill that we find deficient both in process and in content. I dare say that the Government has recognized many of those deficiencies, many of the shortcomings, both in the House in the course of the last couple of days and also during the election campaign.

The people of the riding of Eglinton—Lawrence have been most generous in demonstrating to me and to my Party the type of trust, faith and encouragement they have in us. They did that with their votes. That demonstrated their complete trust in our position that they

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

would be following a debate on this historic document tonight.

I say that it is historic because of all the reasons we have heard over the course of the last couple of days. These reasons mark a new thrust, a new direction, a new sense of a vision for Canada. Unfortunately, it is a sense of vision that ignores some of the very real material realities that the country has experienced over the course of the last 20 years. I am happy to say that I am part and parcel of those new realities in the country that we all share and in which we all take pride.

I would like to take a moment to thank the people of Eglinton—Lawrence, people who are very representative of the new dynamics of Canada. They are people who represent all spectrums of the economic, social and cultural mosaic of Canada. There are people in my riding who range from the extremely wealthy, the very established, to the very poor, as well as the very new. We have a very vigorous entrepreneurial sector which numbers a great manufacturing district of well over 600 enterprises.

When I rise to say that I am going to speak and want to address very specifically some of the amendments that my Party will make to this trade Bill, I do so because the people of my riding, who have a sense of a dimension and perspective for the country, which includes social peace, social well-being as well as entrepreneurial dynamics, want their interests both protected and promoted. We can do that if we accept that amendments to this particular deal which bring us to that kind of purpose.

The Government has recognized that amendments need to be made. Through statements during the course of the election campaign as well as through statements in the House we have heard all types of reassurances. We will move amendments to ensure that those reassurances are there on paper for us to examine and to refer to.

It is going to be a commercial deal, a deal that will include the new economic order for us in Canada, that my Party does not share and that we would like to amend in order to put it on the appropriate path. That appropriate path includes a direction that a Minister of the Crown in the previous Parliament acknowledged reflected the true dimensions of Canada, when he said in a business conference in Toronto: "over the course of the last five years 65 per cent of all the businesses started in this country were begun by entrepreneurs from that

sector of our population that we call the newer Canadians, the multicultural, the multi-ethnic community". Some 65 per cent of all new businesses were generated by people who were new, people who had something to contribute to the country. That contribution came not only from their individual talent and desire to succeed but from their sense of ownership in the destiny of a country that had become theirs, a country which they would like to take into the 21st century as a free, independent, sovereign, industrial and commercial example to the rest of the world.

Those people also fall into the category that the Government has acknowledged is the greatest creator of jobs. Some 85 per cent of all jobs in Canada are created by small and medium-sized businesses. When we talk about a new economic order, we have to consider where the dynamics for the entrepreneurial spirit will be generated. If this deal will generate that kind of spirit, then we should support it, but let us not support the deal if we do not find the kinds of guarantees that promote the entrepreneurial spirit.

In the riding of Eglinton—Lawrence there are people who are major players in the financial world. There are people who are in the professional fields, entrepreneurs and labourers as well. None of them need lessons about courage or risk-taking. They do not need lessons about the opportunities that an increased market-place can provide. Some 80 per cent of these people come from a background which is neither French nor English. Yet they are proud to be part of our country. That 80 per cent needs no admonitions about encouragement. They have left countries in which they were aware and familiar with the legal system, the cultural and social values. They came here because it welcomed them with open arms, the entrepreneurial spirit, the desire to create and to contribute. They did not come here because they were afraid to take risks. They did not come here because they were afraid about a new market-place. They did not come here because they were afraid of competition, nor did they come here because they wanted to be dependent upon others. They came here to create a new wealth, a wealth in which others could share. They did that with a sense of great pride and social accomplishment.

Those are the types of people from Eglinton—Lawrence who said to me and to my Party: "Go to Ottawa. Protect and promote our interests. Be aggressive. Be dynamic. Express our views in the House and make sure that Canada and our interests are defended".

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I stand and speak on behalf of those people from Eglinton—Lawrence who are now in the midst of their Christmas season. Others have just finished the Hanukkah season. To all of them I wish them the best for the season and for a happy new year as well. I wish you, Mr. Chairman, and all my colleagues in this place the same. For all of them, I am here with my Party to move amendments that will ensure that their interests and vision of Canada that is continually evolving are protected. We must move amendments because the negotiation process is faulty. The context is faulty. We need to be able to produce a different type of environment if we are going to go through with this deal.

Let us take a look at what happened. It is not that long ago that the Prime Minister, the Trade Minister, the Finance Minister, and several other members of the Cabinet indicated that this Free Trade Agreement, as they called it, would be an anathema to Canada, to the Canadian vision, economy and society as we knew it a mere three years ago and as we still recognize it today.

What happened? Over the course of a few years we found that former and current Governments dismantled immediately some of the basic pillars of our Canadian economy. First, they removed the restraints on investment, removed FIRA, and removed the controls on foreign investment in Canada. Second, we saw the removal of the pillars that we had seen as the strength of Canada in the National Energy Program. We opened up our capital markets to foreign investors without due regard, without putting any constraints on them to consider the needs of Canada, our historical dimensions, and the special considerations of the way we have evolved socially and culturally.

● (2200)

What happens when we remove the levers we had at our disposal in negotiation? We end up negotiating in the supine position. It is no irony. It is no coincidence that the major negotiator in those talks, Mr. Simon Reisman, indicated that a deal could not be struck on the basis of commitments that the Prime Minister had made to various Premiers of the provinces, including the Premier of the Province of Ontario.

Some of those guarantees for protection of our agriculture, which some of my colleagues have expressed in a most eloquent and very definitive manner, are at a disadvantage by virtue of our climate and by virtue of our own geographic and geophysical terrain. Second, there would be guarantees with respect to protection of our investment market and our capital market. There

would be guarantees for the maintenance of social programs. Canadians have fought hard over the course of the last decade to maintain social programs that have become the envy of modern societies throughout the western world and have served as models for the emerging societies of the eastern world.

We saw some of the guarantees that the Prime Minister gave to our Premiers. I refer to the guarantees for the Auto Pact in my province and the dynamics that they produced for a particular sector of the country which we wish could be distributed throughout the rest of the country. We were given guarantees that we would have access into the American market and that there would be protection from unfair competition from the United States. We saw guarantees given for a binding dispute settlement mechanism. We saw guarantees given to the provinces that there would not be any compromise on energy.

All of those were poor guarantees. They were not worth much. They were given in a free spirit. They were given very eloquently. They appear to have been given very trustingly and very vociferously, but it proved in the end to be worth nothing more than the warm words that they indicated. We see that this trade agreement lacks all of those. It is no coincidence that we see a major province like Ontario indicate that the Free Trade Agreement is not in the interests of our province, and we dare say, not for the rest of Canada.

Let us take a look for a moment at the kind of access that has been provided for us under this particular deal. Let us look at the reasons why we will have to move amendments, why it is incumbent upon us as the party which represents those people who have interests in the development of the economy and in maintaining the social and cultural dynamics therein, to move the kinds of amendments that we will move. First of all, we do not have guaranteed access. Nowhere in the deal is there an indication that we have guaranteed access to an American market. When we hear the great words about a very large market-place for our goods, we ask ourselves, where does it say we move in? Where does it say that that market is open to us and not to anybody else? We keep in mind that this is a nation of people who have built greatness on adversity, who have been unafraid of challenges. It has been people who have taken the bull by the horns and have done what they needed to do to create success where none could be seen.

Where is this great opportunity? Is it with the great buyers in the United States? I refer to the federal, state

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

and municipal legislatures, which through their procurement policies develop a great clientele and market-place. No, we do not have access to that. Do we have access to any specific sector of their economy that other states do not yet have? No, we do not have that either.

What we have is an opportunity over the course of the next 10 years to diminish tariffs so that we can make it easier for American and multinational corporations to increase competition in Canada. Yes, competition will be good. Perhaps it might even lead to lower prices. I say "perhaps" because there is no study which indicates that the benefits to consumers will be anything but marginal.

What will we have? Will we have an opportunity to create a greater entrepreneurial class? Perhaps, if we ignore the fact that 55 per cent of all manufacture and trade being conducted between the United States and Canada is done between a branch plant and a home office, if there is to be rationalization, then we in the branch plants will be the first victims of such rationalization. Is there going to be greater opportunity for us to increase our development of industrial capacities here when American corporations will increase as well their production capacity here?

Mr. McDermid: Here?

Mr. Volpe: Perhaps not. One question that we have to ask ourselves is what will happen? We acknowledge what the Government has said over the course of the last few days. There will be winners and losers. If those losers are many of our employees, what will happen as our Government is pressured to meet either the needs of those businesses which find themselves in difficulties or the workers that find themselves dislocated? Will we make a decision to support industry? Will we make a decision to support our workers and our families?

We find ourselves entering into a deal that turns out to be little more than a continental energy pact, a continental energy pact that might make some sense to producers. It makes a lot of sense to the government side, but it does not make a lot of sense to the manufacturers in my riding. The manufacturers in my riding ask why would I give my competitor to the south the same price that I have to pay for my energy costs? When my overhead stays at x dollars and is compared to a competitor to the south, what do we do with the cost of our products when we go into a common market-place?

Mr. McDermid: They pay twice for electricity, twice the price.

Mr. Volpe: The entrepreneurs in my riding want to know that if there is going to be a level playing field it shall be level and it shall be balanced, and that we take into consideration the special needs of all Canadians.

What I want to do is explore some of the other dynamics that the people in my riding suggest that we ought to look to. Some of those dynamics have been ignored by a Government that has put all its eggs into one particular economic policy, one do-or-die economic strategy for this country. That is the tragedy of this trade deal.

Mr. McDermid: Nonsense.

Mr. Volpe: The Minister is accustomed to saying those kinds of words because he does not have anything positive to say. That is fine. The people in my riding have asked for and insist that what should happen is that an economic strategy take into consideration the potential of small businesses, that we increase opportunities to maintain the flexibility, the adaptability and the aggressiveness toward specialization that will be required as we enter the 21st century.

Mr. McDermid: That is what this is all about.

Mr. Volpe: The Hon. Member had better read it again. That is not what is in there.

Why do we not take a look at turnkey industries, promote sunrise industries, develop specialization, develop secondary and tertiary industries and promote them through the resources that we have available, not only in the natural and in the human sector, but also through whatever government assistance we can provide? As we move toward a more global economy, let us not forget that the 250-odd million people who live to the south of us do not represent the sole market potential in this world. If we are to be truly global citizens, we should explore every market potential around us.

• (2210)

In closing, let me add that the chief negotiators from Mexico say they would never enter into such a deal in a hundred years. The chief negotiator from Israel said that Canada gave up 100 times more than it got. Our Prime Minister said that he was against free trade but supports it now because only donkeys do not change their minds. I hope he really meant that so when he looks at the braying bunch behind him he may have a change of heart.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, I noted with interest the comments of my hon. friend with respect to his premier. As a citizen of Ontario, I watched with interest during the last campaign the all-out exhaustive, unrelenting campaigning by the Premier of Ontario against the Free Trade Agreement. In fact, he was so exhausted that during the last two weeks of the campaign he went to the Far East to recuperate.

I hereby give notice pursuant to Standing Order 57 that at the next sitting of Committee of the Whole House on Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, I will move that further consideration of Clauses 1 through 150, the preamble, title and schedules and any amendments proposed thereto shall be the first business of the committee and shall not further be postponed.

Mr. Milliken: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I wish to give notice that if the Minister chooses to move the motion of which he has given notice at the next sitting of the committee, I would like to raise a point of order before the motion is put to the Committee because it would be my submission that such a motion would be out of order.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Chairman, this is a rather historic occasion. If the Hon. Member actually does move closure at the Committee of the Whole stage at the next sitting of the House, it would be the first time this has happened in 32 years. I just want to draw to your attention that the last time this happened was during the infamous pipeline debate. Once again I just want to say that this is an historic day but a rather black mark in terms of Canada's history.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Chairman, I think we are all dismayed by the action taken by the Minister, but we have become accustomed to these kinds of tactics. I want to raise a question with the Minister relating to procedure. This morning the junior Minister for Trade made a direct request on behalf of the Government that amendments be presented so they could be given consideration and we would be able to organize the business in a way that would allow us to make sure those amendments are there.

If the Government intends to cut off debate, is it also prepared to have the presentation of the amendments relating to the different clauses of the Bill proceed in such a way that would allow us to make sure that those amendments are there? I am simply repeating the words

used by the Minister this morning. Is the Deputy Government House Leader prepared to end debate tomorrow under those circumstances on these very important matters, before there has been an opportunity to comply with the request of the Minister and ensure that we have an opportunity to specifically look at the amendments the Opposition wants to present?

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, that offer was naturally on the table last week, given in good faith, and we were prepared to do that as we were prepared to debate through last weekend in order to give all colleagues in the House an opportunity to debate.

Unfortunately, the offer was not taken up by the Opposition Parties. I understand from my colleague, the Minister of State for International Trade, that he has not had an opportunity to even review the amendments, although that might have been made possible by my hon. friend. Under those circumstances I certainly hope we will get to the clauses to which my hon. friend wishes to make his amendments, and also allow other colleagues to make their amendments. But those offers were on the table last week, given in good faith by the Government, not taken up by the Opposition Parties.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I just want to clarify something with the Hon. Minister. He only stated half the proposition. He said those offers were on the table, but they were conditional on the time allocation. Of course, no one who has any respect for the rights of this Parliament would agree to under those conditions.

I want to repeat to the Chair, because I think it would be part of the judgment of the Chair itself, that it was not an offer made last week but one made this morning, where the Minister requested the submission of those amendments. We would like to have the opportunity to present them so that the debate can target particularly the kind of concerns our Members have raised during the day. We want to have the offer to put these forward. I think it would be a judgment by the Deputy Government House Leader and the Government during the one day we have left, to allow us to proceed to some of the pertinent clauses in the Bill so that amendments can be properly presented in their proper form.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, the offers were on the table last week, made in good faith. The offers were on the table this morning, made in good faith. The offers were on the table this afternoon, made in good faith. They have not been taken up by the Opposition Parties.

Mr. Pagtakhan: Mr. Chairman, I thought I should rise on a question of privilege. If the Government intends to invoke closure, it will be a betrayal of democracy and a reflection of the pusillanimity of the will of the people.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Chairman, I want to seek clarification from the Deputy Government House Leader. He indicates that there were some packages or some offers that were made. I have been in the House of Commons all day. When not here, I have been watching on the monitors in the lobby. I do not recall hearing a presentation put to the House of Commons. Perhaps I am wrong. I would ask the Deputy Government House Leader, if he did make an offer to the House of Commons, what that offer was?

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, during the meetings that I had with my hon. friend we reached agreement on certain terms. Those terms were drafted, copies were made available to my hon. friend and were made available to the Liberal Party. My hon. friend knows very well that his Party was unable to agree to those terms. They are here and they are available.

I do not think we have to negotiate on the floor of the House. Those negotiations took place with my hon. colleagues opposite. I say without equivocation that the offers were made, the offers were drafted. We believe the offers would have been acceptable to allow for exactly what my hon. friends wanted, that is the tabling of the amendments, the putting of the amendments, the divisions on a recorded basis so that everyone would know who stood for what. Unfortunately, they were not taken up.

The Deputy Chairman: I must say that if there are going to be further negotiations in regard to this matter, I wish it would be done behind the curtain. There are other Members who would like to speak on Clause 2. If there are to be further negotiations I would hope it would be done behind the curtain.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Chairman, I want to make it perfectly clear there will not be any further negotiations. I want to say that I take some offence. We have had some discussions. I thought these discussions were in confidence. Obviously they were not.

I guess what I am saying is that any suggestion that there might be some overtures made by the Government to the Opposition, after the Deputy House Leader stood in the House and indicated that there were attempts made earlier when in fact we had some discussions but I

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

was not aware these were public discussions—I guess they are now—

Mr. McDermid: You asked.

Mr. Riis: He stood up in his place and said these offers had been made.

Mr. McDermid: Had they?

Mr. Riis: In the House.

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please. I would hope that further negotiations, if there are going to be negotiations, would take place behind the curtain.

Mr. Riis: There will not be any further negotiations.

• (2220)

Mr. Clark ((Brandon—Souris): Mr. Chairman—

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I would simply like to direct a question to the Deputy House Leader. There are a total of 21 amendments which we would like to be able to present to the House and have voted—

Mr. Deputy Chairman: I am afraid that that is debate. The Hon. Member will have an opportunity to present his case later.

Mr. Langdon: Let me finish my point of order, Mr. Chairman. My point of order is simply to inquire of the House Leader if he is in fact saying it is not possible for us to put such amendments because he intends for the debate to remain on Clause 2 throughout the entire time.

Mr. Deputy Chairman: I recognize the Hon. Member for Brandon—Souris on debate.

Mr. Clark (Brandon—Souris): Mr. Chairman, I am happy to have an opportunity to address the issue of free trade once again, and I do so primarily as a western Canadian with a special interest in agriculture.

I had a chance to speak on this matter before the election, but there have of course been changes in circumstances since the election. It has been a most unusual election and in fact a very historic election. There is probably one other election in Canadian history that has been fought on a single issue to the extent that this one has, and that was the election of 1917.

The fact that this election was fought on a single issue to the extent it was and the fact that the majority is as

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

significant as it is, a majority that is greater than I for one would have anticipated, means that the Government, as a result of having won the election, very clearly has a mandate to an unusual degree. It has more of a mandate, perhaps, than governments had coming out of previous elections.

I am also conscious of the fact that there have been other elections in Canadian history in which free trade was a principal issue. That of course was true of the election of 1891 and it was also true of the election of 1911. In those election campaigns, the Party advocating free trade was defeated. One might well ask what is different this time, why is it the Party advocating free trade has been successful. The answer to that will probably be determined in the future by historians and economists, but I would suggest that the reason is primarily that our economies have matured significantly since 1891 and 1911.

There is indeed a new confidence in Canada that was not there earlier. The new confidence is as a result of some changes that have taken place in the world. The example set by the European community, the fact that small nations can work and trade with larger nations without losing their identity, sovereignty or culture, has given confidence going into this campaign, confidence on the eve of the Free Trade Agreement.

I would also suggest that the fact that we as Canadians have demonstrated our ability to compete with Americans these last few years has been significant. As we entered into this campaign and during the course of the debate in the last few months, many Canadians, though perhaps not all, have been mindful of the fact that we have been competing in trade with the Americans and that we have been doing so successfully. The fact that the balance of trade has been some \$16 billion in our favour during the course of the last two or three fiscal years is proof of our ability to compete, and I think that gave Canadians the confidence they needed as they wrestled with this question.

The confidence Canadians have in the administration of the Government over these last four years has also been very operative in the decision they reached during the course of the last election campaign. I speak particularly as a western Canadian, and I say with a considerable amount of pride and satisfaction that never in the history of Canada have western Canadians played such a significant role in the leadership of this nation as they have in the last four years. Many Canadians accepted that as being part of the decision-making process.

I would certainly not pretend for a moment that all Canadians who voted for the Progressive Conservatives on November 21 voted with a deep understanding of free trade. They did not. However, I think many who voted for our Party did so with the realization that they have confidence in those who were providing leadership to this Party. Having faith in the leadership of the Party, they were prepared to accept the management skills for the direction they have seen followed these last four years and have believed that those who are leading this Party and who have lead the Government for the last four years had the good interests of all of Canada at heart. They have confidence in them as they look ahead to the next four years.

However, a great deal remains to be done. I think of my riding of Brandon—Souris, and I would like to note in passing how appreciative I am to the voters of Brandon—Souris for having confidence in me and for providing me the opportunity to serve for the third time in this House of Commons. However, I would not pretend for a moment that all the residents of Brandon—Souris feel confident about free trade. In fact, they do not. Many have some real reservations about free trade. We as a Government must accept some responsibility for that. Quite frankly, I do not think we explained free trade as adequately as we should have these last few months, and that is one of the reasons for some of the difficulties we had during the course of the election campaign.

Perhaps we as a Government depended too much on the print media. Perhaps we forgot that we are in the age of television. I think we should look at that in retrospect. Perhaps we forgot for a moment that it is easy to frighten people in 30 seconds over television but it is difficult to reassure them in 30 seconds. As a candidate in the last election campaign, I am very mindful of the difficulties we encountered at about the time the Opposition advertising campaign began.

What troubles me about the last election campaign is the fact that there was so much fear generated by politicians. We have a responsibility as politicians, regardless of what Party we represent, to indicate to the voters what we stand for, the policies that we advocate and the plans we have in mind. What we saw too much of in the last election campaign was an emphasis on the part of some opposition Parties on what they were against rather than what they were for. This unfortunately contributed to some of the fear and uneasiness that existed.

I speak with confidence when I say that I believe that during the course of the next four years, those fears which may exist now or may have existed during the course of the election campaign will be dispelled as free trade evolves. I am confident that when we come to this evaluation period which the next four years will provide that many people will be reassured by what will have transpired.

I would like to take this opportunity to talk about what the Free Trade Agreement is and what it is not. I hope to address some of the concerns of my constituents and of others who as yet remain unconvinced.

The Free Trade Agreement is a commercial agreement between two nations. It is an agreement not unlike that which the European communities entered into several years ago. It is an agreement not unlike that which Australia and New Zealand are currently participating in. It is a commercial agreement under which there will be, over a period of some 10 years, a gradual reduction in tariffs. It is also an agreement that will reduce the likelihood of non-tariff barriers interrupting trade between our two countries.

It is not a proposal for an economic union. It is not a proposal for a political union. One of the advertisements which distressed me the most and which I found to be the most intellectually dishonest was the one which suggested that the border between Canada and the United States was being erased. I cannot believe that those who created that advertisement or those who provided that it be shown believe that that was an honest thing to do. It may have been effective for a period of time and in the end, it may have been effective for some Canadians who really believe that somehow or other, Canadian sovereignty is at stake.

Each of us who stand in this House are proud of the fact that we are Canadian. We would not be part of the political process if we were not. I think it becomes meaningless to become engaged in a debate about who has been or will be the greatest of the Canadian nationals. We do know that there is no threat to Canadian political sovereignty in the Free Trade Agreement. We are sometimes criticized by those who say that American law remains in place, and indeed it does, as Canadian law remains in place.

● (2230)

The very fact that the law is there for me disproves the suggestion that there is any loss in sovereignty. We retain the right to make our own laws. We retain the right to sit and deal with countervail if necessary, as do

the Americans. If that were not the case, then it may well be that some could criticize us for surrendering our sovereignty. We have not done so.

What we are seeking in the Free Trade Agreement and what I believe we have secured is the right to access to larger markets and enhanced access to markets. There are no guarantees. I do not think there are guarantees about many things in this world. There are no guarantees that we will have total, unfettered access to American markets because we will not. What we have is the opportunity to trade, the opportunity to compete. We have the opportunity to have greater access to a market which is 10 times our size. The size of that market is exceedingly important to us.

In relative terms throughout the world we are a small nation. In fact, there are really only two industrial nations in the western world which do not have guaranteed access to a market of 100 million, ourselves and Australia. If we seek, because we meet the economies of scale which are a characteristic of an industrial society, then we must have that type of access to that market.

I do not pretend to be an economist, but the little economics I studied at University reminds me of the fact that in order to have an industrial society there are some necessary characteristics. There are some necessary attributes which a nation must have. You must have the natural resources, which we have. You must have the entrepreneurial skills, which we have demonstrated we have. You must have access to capital. You must have the labour supply and you must have the transportation system. We have all of those. You can have all of those and have nothing if you do not have access to market.

We in Western Canada historically have grown a good quality agricultural product and we have grown it in surplus. We know throughout our history that without access to international markets we in Western Canada do not have an economic future. That is why we as a region have advocated free trade. That is why we as a region have historically believed we were the victim of a national policy of protective tariffs.

We know we must sell outside our country. We in the West know very clearly that one-third of the jobs in Canada come as a result of exports. We know that 50 per cent of agricultural income comes as a result of exports. We know that if we do not trade, we die in economic terms. Having said that, I am amazed how often some of us seem to forget.

Sometimes in the phone-in programs farmers call and ask why we worry about markets outside of our country.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Why do we not have supply management for all of agriculture and concentrate solely on the domestic market? The answer to that is very simple, Mr. Chairman. It lies in the fact that 50 per cent of our agricultural income comes from exports. If we did not have access to those markets, we would lose, it would seem logical, 50 per cent of our agricultural community. We depend on that market, and the Free Trade Agreement gives us access to that market. That is why the cattle producers of Western Canada and cattle producers throughout Canada for the large part are so keen on the Free Trade Agreement.

In fact, the Canadian Cattleman's Association has been very impatient with us, even though as a Government we were committed to free trade, by the fact that we have not moved more quickly in that direction. That is why the Canadian pork producers are so supportive. They know we sell 30 per cent of our hogs into the U.S. If we do not have access to that market, then our own hog industry is in jeopardy.

As I travelled throughout this last campaign, I visited my Hutterite Colonies. Even the Hutterites do not always vote or as often as they should. Even though traditionally they do not take a great deal of interest in federal politics, this time they did because they are hog producers. They know in Manitoba how much they are dependent upon the American market. I think to a greater degree than ever before they voted as a result of that and they voted in favour of free trade because they voted for their own economic livelihood.

During the course of the campaign I heard many people express fears about the Free Trade Agreement. It is important to try to dispel those fears. People were afraid that somehow or other the deal was a threat to our social programs. Yet, when you asked our opposition where in the agreement is there a reference to social programs, they conceded there was none.

People were afraid, as we all know, that there was a threat to medicare. Yet when you asked the opposition where in the agreement is there a reference to medicare, they conceded there was none. People were afraid that there was some sort of threat to our cultural identity. Yet when you asked the opposition to refer to where in the agreement our cultural identity was threatened by the Free Trade Agreement, they conceded that there was no evidence. The opposition talked about a threat to our energy and to our livelihood and our ability to obtain control of energy. There was much confusion about pricing. Some of my opponents said that we could not sell energy to our customers for more than we sold it

in Canada. That is not true, Mr. Chairman. In fact, Quebec Hydro has demonstrated that it can sell hydroelectricity to the State of New York at three times the price it sells to the Province of Quebec.

We, in the Province of Manitoba, have a massive development project in the North. The limestone does not make any sense to us unless we have access to American markets. There is no sense whatever. We produce hydroelectricity at a surplus. Under the Free Trade Agreement we will have a greater likelihood of developing long-term, vital long-term markets, for hydroelectricity in the U.S. The Free Trade Agreement will prevent the coal industry in North Dakota from setting import tariffs against that hydroelectricity going into the U.S.

What about the fear expressed so often that in times of shortage we would have to sell our resources to the United States and could not look after our own interests? Unfortunately, sometimes we have short memories sometimes. Many of us have forgotten that Canada and other nations entered into agreements early in the 1970s specifying that in times of shortage there will be a sharing according to existing contracts in proportion with existing contracts. For example, if we in Manitoba sell 20 per cent of our electricity into the United States and consume 80 per cent of it ourselves and there is, for some reason, a shortfall in Manitoba we have agreed, and it seems to me morally logical as well as the law of the land at the moment to share that shortfall for the duration of that contract. The Americans would not have it any other way and we would not sell energy if it were any other way. If we were the customer, we would not have it any other way either.

The Free Trade Agreement is complex. Any document written by lawyers is inevitably complex.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Clark (Brandon—Souris): I am afraid that is true. It is a make-work project by lawyers. If we could all understand what lawyers wrote, perhaps we would not need lawyers.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Clark (Brandon—Souris): I say that facetiously, of course. It is difficult to read legalese and it is not exciting to read. It reminds me of some of the history texts which I read and even some of the material which I have written, none of which is exciting to read. It is still

exceedingly important to understand. Unfortunately, in this age of television we have this tremendous tendency to reduce the complex to simplicity which makes it easier for us but it can also be very misleading.

I see the Free Trade Agreement as an opportunity. We in Western Canada have always believed in opportunity. There are no guarantees but there were no guarantees when the pioneers came to Western Canada. When our forefathers came to Western Canada there were no guarantees of success. There was no guarantee the region would be productive and there was no guarantee that there would be markets for what was produced. There was a willingness to take a risk. First because the people who came believed in themselves.

I believe that we as Canadians must continue to believe in ourselves. I say with some sadness that sometimes I believe we are our own worst enemies. For whatever reason, Canadians have a certain inclination to develop an inferiority complex. As a result of that inferiority complex, we cannot compete with others because they are larger but I say to you, Mr. Chairman, that we throughout our history have demonstrated that it is not the size of the nation that is important, it is the quality of the people who constitute the nation.

I believe our history demonstrates that we have the capacity to be a world leader. We have the capacity to trade with our American friends to the south. I believe, given the opportunity we as a nation are about to take that opportunity and we will prove that we can in the future do as we have done in the past. We can do with it in such a fashion that we will build a future. We should take that opportunity, grow with it, and build a future that is important, not only for ourselves, but for our children and generations that will come after us.

● (2240)

The pioneers who settled western Canada did not think only of themselves, but of other generations. They thought of their children and grandchildren. We as a nation have a responsibility to also think of our children and grandchildren. The Free Trade Agreement represents for our children and grandchildren a future on which all of us can build.

Mr. Whittaker: Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment the staff of the House of Commons for making me feel at home on this the night of my maiden speech by turning the clocks to Pacific Standard Time, the time in my riding of Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt. I would also like to take this opportunity to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

thank all of the people in that riding for their faith in me and returning a member of the New Democratic Party to the House of Commons for the first time in more than 30 years.

The last member of the New Democratic Party to sit in the House was Owen Lewis Jones who sat in the House between 1948 and 1958. At that time he had a number of concerns about the area that are still shared today, concerns about agriculture, and productivity of the farmers. Those are still some of the concerns of the Okanagan and certainly concerns that I share with the farmers of that area.

The riding of Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt is an interesting riding with four major regions. The Merritt area is heavy in mining, ranching, and forestry. The Similkameen area shares in common with the Okanagan region the major thrust of tourism and agriculture. The area of the boundary country is also agriculture and forestry, along with mining. It is a diverse area taking in many things of interest. In particular, Grand Forks is an area that has an interesting culture with a Doukhobor background. It also has a history that goes back into the early days of British Columbia.

One of the problems in our area, particularly in the Merritt area, but shared by the whole Okanagan—Similkameen region, is that in British Columbia the unemployment rate is approximately 2 per cent higher than the average for the rest of Canada. The Okanagan region is 2 per cent above that. In the City of Merritt the unemployment rate adjusted is 24.4 per cent, and unadjusted of those employable over 15 years of age and under 65 is pushing 37 per cent. This is something that we as Members of the House have to work toward solving. I as a Member of that region intend not to sit in the corner and say nothing, but to speak up in the House on matters such as this, and point out to the House that that is unacceptable anywhere in Canada, and certainly is unacceptable in the region that I represent.

Another large factor is that a major portion of the population of the Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt area is the seniors population. Recently I read that the population of seniors over 65 is 11 per cent in Canada. In the area of Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt there is more than double that. The town of Osoyoos where I come from and reside has a seniors level over 65 of some 28 per cent. The neighbouring small community of Oliver has a seniors population of 35 per cent. The average over-all is somewhat double the national

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

average. More has to be done in my area particularly to ensure that seniors are looked after.

In talking to seniors and going through facilities throughout the past couple of years, I find that there is a definite lack of geriatric research. There are problems for seniors because there are not ample facilities for those seniors. If the facilities are present, there are other factors that they find difficult. Transportation in the area is difficult in small areas, and that is something that we as Members of this House have to deal with.

Seniors are also frightened by the unexpected and the unknown. In this particular case, the unknown that frightens seniors is the particular Bill that is before the House now. Seniors do not know and cannot receive an assurance from the Government that social programs are not part of the deal.

Mr. Crosbie: They have had the assurance a thousand times.

Mr. Whittaker: Besides the assurance they need more than loud words from the Minister for International Trade from St. John's. They need something in writing, an amendment. The very fact that social programs have not been put in that agreement leaves the matter open to interpretation.

Mr. McDermid: Name the article, name the chapter that it is under.

Mr. Whittaker: That is exactly what I am saying, Sir. If you read it, you would know—

Mr. McDermid: I've read it more times than you ever have.

Mr. Whittaker: —that in fact they were not in the agreement, and should have been put in the agreement. The Minister has admitted that there were certain things that could not be dealt with in that agreement such as subsidies. They should have been dealt with by the Minister. They should have been dealt with by our negotiator. It is unacceptable that they are not and have not been in that agreement.

Our seniors deserve better than that in their golden years. They deserve the assurance. They should have that assurance, not only from the Minister, but from both sides in this deal, both Canada and the United States, that their futures will be looked after; that they do not have to worry about medicare or their social programs. It is unacceptable that those have not been put in the agreement.

In the preamble to Bill C-2 it states that the Free Trade Agreement is:

to promote productivity, employment, financial stability and the improvement of living standards,

to establish a climate of greater predictability for Canadians to plan and invest with confidence and to compete more effectively in the United States and global markets,

I would like to give an example of the type of confidence that we have in the Government. In my area there was a small utility company called West Kootenay Power and Light. In that area we were very proud of that small utility. It provided power to some five regional districts. In those regional districts Canadians at least had control of that utility. Two years ago, after the dismantling of the Foreign Investment Review Agency by the Government, over the objections of my constituents, the Government sold West Kootenay Power and Light to Utilicorp of the United States. That company could not even purchase another utility in many of the states of the United States, but we in Canada sold that utility to the United States. We have been assured by the Members that, if we do not want to sell anything, we don't have to sell it.

• (2250)

That was a case, Mr. Chairman, where we did not want to sell West Kootenay Power and Light. Where is it? It is in the hands of the Americans. At the present time, the same Americans are in the Okanagan trying to push through a gas and oil turbine plant, a plant which would threaten the environment in that area, an environment to which this Government has paid only lip service. We in the New Democratic Party are going to fight for a safe environment for future generations.

That, I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, is only the start of what is to come under this Free Trade Agreement—the sale of our utilities, the sale of our future. We are having a sale on our resources.

In my region of the country, the wine industry and the soft fruit industry are now down the tube. That is not something that is going to happen in the future. It is something that is happening now, in anticipation of the Free Trade Agreement coming into force and effect. I have friends and acquaintances who are pulling up their soft fruit trees—their peach trees, their cherry trees. This is all in anticipation of the coming into force of the Free Trade Agreement.

Our fruit growers need more than lip service from this Government. What they need is the assurance that they will be able to compete effectively. They do not want to

be sold down the river by this Government, with no program of compensation put in place for them.

In the Okanagan, there are 210 farms involved in grape growing, comprising some 1,400 acres and accounting for gross receipts in excess of \$10 million a year. It is a fledgling industry. When the California wine industry was at the same stage of development, the U.S. Government saw fit to provide protection for it against competition from Europe. We in this country have decided that our fledgling wine industry is to be sacrificed on the altar of free trade. That is unacceptable.

The B.C. wine industry is a part of the future of the Okanagan. It plays a major role in terms of both tourism and agriculture. It is a necessary part of the romance of the Okanagan Valley. It is something that those travelling through the Okanagan can enjoy. In my riding alone, there are eight wineries, all of which are threatened by the Free Trade Agreement. We produce good wines. They are wines that should be available here in Parliament, in preference to French wines. We should be selling our B.C. wines here in the halls of Parliament.

Mr. McDermid: I can tell the Hon. Member that Canadian wines are available in the parliamentary dining room, and at the various social functions held by the Parliament of Canada. I invite him to go to the parliamentary dining room to see the number of good Canadian wines that are available.

Mr. Whittaker: I would like to see more of our good Canadian wines available within these hallowed halls.

Mr. Beatty: Surely not in the halls of Parliament.

Mr. Whittaker: Mr. Chairman, I have here in my hand a letter from a grape grower in Summerland, British Columbia, the owner of El Racimo Vineyards. In his letter, this person states:

The problem is quite simple to delineate. Once I have to pull out the grape vines on my land I am stuck! I will have 10 acres with a mortgage and family to support. No income. No job. No retraining program. No viable means of relocating to find employment with the debt load that I will have to sustain. No alternate crop. No means of disposing of my property (there being little demand for farm property in the Okanagan Valley nowadays). No money (since the bank wants the compensation package to protect its equity in the property).

This individual is not the only one who has this type of concern. Reference was made earlier this evening to a gentleman in the Summerland area who could not get funding, a gentleman by the name of Bill Summers. In fact his plight was raised in the House during the last

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Parliament. Because of the shortened process, he was not allowed to appear before the legislative committee.

Mr. Summers telephoned me before I left for Ottawa, requesting that he be permitted to appear before the parliamentary committee studying the Bill. He wants to tell Members of Parliament how unfair the Free Trade Agreement is, and of the uncertainty it holds for the grape growers in the Okanagan Valley.

Mr. McDermid: Tell us about the GATT decision.

Mr. Whittaker: I would be pleased to tell you about the GATT decision. The Free Trade Agreement was signed in October; the GATT decision came down in December.

Mr. McDermid: When was the GATT panel struck?

Mr. Whittaker: That is the situation with respect to GATT. Under the present structured compensation package, this gentleman will receive substantially less than he would normally make. The compensation package that has been put together by this Government doesn't do the job for farmers. Certainly the fact that the compensation package is what it is reflects the fact this Government has not done a proper research job.

The compensation package provides that farmers will be paid approximately \$1,100 to pull out their vines, with \$7,000 being provided to plant new vines. They are told that they have to upgrade, and they know that they have to upgrade. But, in order to get the upgraded grapes into their orchards, they will have to incur a cost of \$11,500 an acre. Right off the bat, they are into a negative position.

That is not the crowning point. It takes approximately five years to get those vines into full production. What do these people do for a living while they are awaiting a yield from the upgraded crop? Do they simply sit on their thumbs? Will this Government provide them with financial assistance? Our grape growers are placed in an untenable position.

I had occasion to speak to one farmer recently, an individual who was over 50 years of age, and he said to me: "What am I going to do? I have put every penny I have into this farm. I have equipment that isn't good for anything but growing grapes. Some of my land isn't viable for anything but grapes. What do I do? If I switch to apples, I lose the investment I have in my equipment."

That is the effect the Free Trade Agreement has on the grape growers in my region. The soft fruit growers

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

are placed in the same situation. When is a proper compensation package going to be put together for them, such that they can take comfort from the fact that they have some means of support in their retirement years?

Many of the soft fruit growers in my region are looking to a means of supporting themselves in their retirement years. They have put everything they have into their farms, and they now need some assurance from this Government that they will have something to look forward to in their golden years.

Bill C-2 is not defensible. It is legislation that my constituents cannot live with. It is legislation which my constituents have asked me to speak out strongly against.

If amendments were allowed, I would propose an amendment to the following effect: For greater certainty, nothing in this agreement shall be interpreted so as to adversely affect Canada's social, cultural, environmental, agricultural, and regional development programs, nor impair any future federal or provincial Government in designing new policies and new programs in these fields.

Without an amendment along those lines, Bill C-2 is unacceptable to my constituents, unacceptable to British Columbians, and unacceptable to all Canadians.

[*Translation*]

Mrs. Jacques: Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for recognizing me. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to my constituents in Mercier for their support during the last election. I would like to assure them of my renewed, complete commitment and co-operation on matters of concern to them. I am very proud to represent them for another term.

[*English*]

I wish to congratulate the Hon. Member for Vancouver South on his election as Speaker of this place. As well, given that I will be, this evening, putting forward my views on the Free Trade Agreement, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate our former colleague, Pat Carney, and the Hon. Member for St. John's West on the work that they have done in connection with the Free Trade Agreement.

[*Translation*]

On November 21st, the people gave us a mandate to implement the Free Trade Agreement. "Let the people decide" stated the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Chairman, we now realize that during the elections the people decided. The Leader of the Opposition wanted to tear up the agreement. But the people decided on November 21st, and on a majority basis. They proudly and enthusiastically welcomed the Free Trade Agreement. The people know full well that new initiatives are needed to ensure significant economic growth.

Mr. Chairman, this agreement is in Canada's best interests. Through trade negotiations, we will make our trade secure, give it more scope. Some 20 per cent of Quebec's products are exported abroad, 75 per cent of which to the United States. Further, 250,000 jobs are directly or indirectly linked to Quebec's external trade. It is therefore of prime importance, Mr. Chairman, to open up borders between nations, and more particularly between Canada and the United States.

The elimination of tariffs and non-tariffs barriers imposed by the United States will benefit the Canadian and Quebec economies. Improved and enlarged access and the security provided by a long-term trade agreement, will create a climate under which the private sector will invest in Quebec. Those investments will involve very modern, world-scale facilities directed to the over-all North American market. This will result in an efficient and dynamic economy.

Let me take as an example the petrochemical industry, mainly based East of Montreal's limits, in my constituency of Mercier which harbours 49.8 per cent of that industry's jobs. The petrochemical industry also is active in the constituency of my colleague for Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies (Mr. Corbeil) and the constituency of the Hon. Member for Verchères (Mr. Danis). That industry will see a significant difference when the reduction of tariffs leads to increased exports and the industry's profitability. Canada is the major supplier of petroleum and refined petroleum products to the United States, with deliveries upwards of 750,000 barrels a day.

Mr. Chairman, several industries in my constituency will undoubtedly benefit from the Free Trade Agreement: Union Carbide, Pétromont, Kemtec and Soligaz. Soligaz is planning to export over 75 per cent of its production to the eastern United States. When the Free Trade Agreement is implemented, 15 to 20 per cent of the tariffs will fall. That will be very good.

Free trade means better jobs, better opportunities and better prices for thousands of Canadians. The Agreement opens the door to new challenges and new opportunities.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Chairman, those who stand to gain the most from the Free Trade Agreement are our children. For them, Canada will truly be a land of opportunity, growth and prosperity. They will use their many skills and talent, but more importantly, they will have all the tools they need to succeed. They will have access to the largest market in the world, the U.S. market.

The bilateral trade agreement will provide Quebec entrepreneurs with many opportunities. They will distribute their products to over 250 million American consumers. The Agreement will also open the door to world markets, because the American market is a world market.

Canada's prosperity depends largely on trade and millions of jobs depend on our ability to export our products.

The small part of the country which I have the honour and privilege to represent in the House of Commons has experienced economic difficulty during the past few years. Job losses associated with the shutdown of factories and companies created this situation. It was when the Liberals were in power, Mr. Chairman, that they closed four refineries. We worked hard to get the east end of Montreal back on its feet and we succeeded.

A refinery closed its doors at the time, in 1984, and we invested \$10 million to save it.

Also, Mr. Speaker, since 1984, 2,500 jobs have been created in Mercier riding. I am proud to run as a Conservative.

I would also tell you, Mr. Speaker, that many companies have expanded and modernized in anticipation of free trade.

Indeed, the petro-chemical industry and others will enjoy increased productivity and return on investment. We will even see a very significant industrial redeployment.

Quebecers see the trade negotiations as a way to achieve five main objectives, namely to make Quebec a productive, competitive society, to develop and encourage investment, to create a substantial number of jobs, to reinforce its technological base and finally, Mr. Chairman, to fight rising protectionism.

In short, Quebec hopes to develop a dynamic economy that can adapt to its environment with more flexibility and to better seize the opportunities for change afforded by the prospect of internationalizing its markets.

I would like to add, Mr. Chairman, that during the election campaign, the Liberals and the NDP used dishonest and unfair tactics and they continue to do so in the House today; they amuse themselves by frightening old people, women and all those who benefit from social programs. You should be ashamed to do something like that.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that the Liberal candidate in my riding during the campaign went around saying, "Don't vote for her. She's pregnant and she won't look after you!" What a disgrace! And what a misogynist! Look where he is today! He stayed in Montreal. He did not come here to Ottawa.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to reassure the Canadian people, all seniors, women, everyone who benefits from social programs, by telling them that their social programs will never, ever be cut. That is not part of the free trade negotiations, as my colleague from Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt (Mr. Whittaker) said so well just now. He should be ashamed to say things like that and to frighten old people, to tell them that with the Free Trade Treaty, their old age security pensions will be cut. I find that ridiculous.

Also, Mr. Chairman, I would like to quote Mr. Broadbent: "The Prime Minister received a clear mandate. The Agreement with all its flaws received the people's approval. It would not be appropriate to oppose it now. I believe that we have exhausted every recourse."

But today, Mr. Chairman, the Leader of the New Democratic Party, who is not even here tonight, tells us that and continues to delay passage of the Free Trade Bill. I find that shameful. It costs Canadians money—their taxes. How much do you think it costs to sit this evening?

So I would like to ask them to approve . . . I think that the people gave us a clear mandate. They want free trade and I hope that you will support it.

• (2300)

[*English*]

Mr. Fontana: Mr. Chairman, I feel proud and privileged to represent the people of London East and I thank them very much for their confidence.

First let me say that the announcement by the Deputy House Leader that he intends to invoke closure again tomorrow is totally unacceptable and irresponsible. What it means, again, is that the majority of people in Canada is denied the opportunity of putting forward its

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

position to this Government. Members on this side of the House have a legitimate right to be here and have a mandate. They want to put forward their position to the Government. I agree that the Government has a mandate to govern, but it must govern responsibly. I suggest that the frequent use of closure motions essentially deny the rights of members on this side of the House to put forward the concerns of the majority of Canadians who are still very uncomfortable with this deal.

● (2310)

It is clear that we cannot stop this bad deal, but we can try to make it better. We propose to put forward some 26 amendments, if given the opportunity to do so.

As I said before, the Government has a mandate to govern. We have a mandate to put forward our position in a responsible fashion in order to convince the Government not to implement the agreement in its present form. This assertion is in question. It is also a fact that we on this side of the House have a mandate. We were elected to represent those frustrations, those concerns, and those fears of the majority of Canadians who still feel that this deal is a bad deal.

It is fair to say, even after spending close to \$30 million of taxpayers' money, that the Government has failed to convince the vast majority of Canadians that this deal is good for them. However, the Government still tries to blame us for its inability to reassure the country.

As for the NDP, I might say that it is nice to see that its Members have finally decided to help us out in opposing the deal. I feel obliged to point out that if they had focused their attention on fighting the deal during the election, rather than on the ineffective and futile campaign that they waged, maybe we would not find ourselves in this unfortunate position. Mr. Bob White also said that.

During the Leaders' debate the Prime Minister called this deal a commercial document—no big deal and cancelable on six months' notice. That did not surprise me, considering that this is the same Prime Minister who was against free trade in 1983, perhaps because of similar concerns to those that I now have. The Prime Minister also asked Canadians to take a leap of faith. However, I suggest that that leap of faith is into a pool which has no water. We as Liberals want to put some water in that pool by proposing some very constructive and positive amendments, if given the opportunity to do so.

Perhaps the Prime Minister should have referred to the positions taken by his predecessors Sir John A. Macdonald, Robert Borden, and John Diefenbaker. These wise men all understood that a comprehensive bilateral agreement with the United States, one that does not adequately protect our fundamental social, cultural, and regional differences, would be dangerous. They were right then and we are right now.

This trade deal is more than a commercial document. It is more than an agreement on tariffs. It does not provide the safeguards to protect our unique Canadian way of life and our values.

These values are reflected in the best social programs in the world, in our regional development programs, and in our cultural and environmental policies. We have always been a much more caring and generous people toward each other.

Unlike our American friends, our great social programs such as UIC, pensions, and health care have happened because Canadian Governments have made them happen, not because of market forces or the good will of big business. This is why over 37 million people in the United States live without adequate medical coverage and more than one million were turned away from hospitals last year. Our country is more than a corporate balance sheet and its people are far more important than that.

My home town of London is a major medical centre. Does the trade deal mean that the rich U.S. hospital corporations can come here and buy Canadian hospitals? While the deal only covers health management services, and we know that hospitals are within provincial jurisdiction, that does not end this concern.

Article 2011 allows either country to claim compensation if the other one takes any action that "causes nullification or impairment of any benefit reasonably expected to accrue to that Party, directly or indirectly, under the terms of the agreement". This is a critical clause. It means that the U.S. can claim compensation if Canada takes some action, even if it is not mentioned in the agreement. Article 2011 could allow the U.S. to demand compensation should its hospital corporations be prevented from expanding their services in Canada. An amendment limiting the scope of Article 2011 should be entertained.

London also has many small manufacturing plants. I am a little concerned that goods, partially manufactured in America but finished in Mexico under the Maquiladora program, could flood this country with

goods that we cannot compete with. Goods produced under Maquiladora should not be considered as U.S. origin products for the purposes of the FTA. This loophole is a killer for Ontario manufacturers. It will affect hundreds of jobs. We need safeguards and adjustment programs prepared to protect our Canadian workers before the fact, not after the fact.

Yes, the Americans are our friends and our allies. Yes, they are our greatest trading partner. But that does not mean that we have to give up our standards in the name of free trade. In fact, Mr. Ralph Nader really warned us that free trade means moving to a lower standard for our social and other programs.

Some people say that the Mulroney trade sell-out actually protects Canada. To these people I ask: If this were true, why then did we not achieve guaranteed access to the American market? Why were we not given exemption from their omnibus trade Bill? Why did we have to postpone the discussions on the crucial issue of what constitutes a subsidy?

I ask you, Mr. Chairman, who in their right mind would sign any document with a crucial definition that will remain unresolved for seven years? Is that not a classic case of putting the cart before the horse?

We already have 80 per cent free trade with the United States. We did not have to sell our souls for the other 20 per cent. We should have continued with sectoral agreements through GATT without compromise to achieve the same end.

This Government is determined to rush this agreement through at any cost and to use all tactics available to it, including closure, closure, closure, to achieve its goal.

I ask the Prime Minister in the spirit of reconciliation and healing that he himself admitted was needed after the election, whether he will he stop this parliamentary roller-coaster ride and allow for more public comment on the deal? Will he allow the House of Commons to deal with constructive and positive amendments to what he guaranteed Canadians during the election?

I am sure that the Minister for International Trade feels the same way as I do about this country. This country is a special country. It is our home and it provides our livelihood. Let me point out to Conservative Members that in the last century Sir John A. Macdonald acknowledged this when he said:

There are national considerations that rise far higher than the mere accumulation of wealth, than the mere question of trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

advantage: there is prestige, national status, and national dominion—

In preparation for the 21st century, and to be able to compete globally and not only with the United States, we must begin to invest more in education, more in research and development, more in training and retraining programs. In short, we have to start investing in our people to become leaders, not followers, and surely not a shadow of the United States in the North American continent.

It is an honour to be given a chance to stand up in this House to fight for my country's future.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Valcourt: If I may, Mr. Chairman, as I rise for the first time in this new Parliament, I should like to thank the people in my Madawaska—Victoria riding who have trusted me and asked me to represent them again in this Parliament.

• (2320)

[*English*]

Someone said: "Let us hear from Main Street. Main Street has spoken. The people have decided". Since we have been in this place the last few days, I thought this was all over.

[*Translation*]

I thought that we had heard enough from the prophets of gloom and doom. I thought that the campaign of fear was over. Apparently it is not. They have not come to their senses, Mr. Chairman. One must wonder if those people who were elected and had called for an election . . . After all it was the leader of the Opposition who asked for an election where the Canadian people would decide. Well, back home, in my Madawaska—Victoria riding, the people decided for Canada. They decided for the future of Canada. They voted for us because they realized what was needed to succeed. You know, during the November 21 election, the Liberal Party made the mistake of trying to represent some people they did not believe in. They did not believe in them. They thought that Canadian businessmen, that men and women, young and old, were like them. They thought that these people lacked the necessary energy, enthusiasm and resources to attack new markets. That is what the Liberals think of Canadians.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[English]

I was proud to be a Canadian the day after the election. After the campaign of fear that I witnessed, the people collectively pulled together and said: "We do not believe that crap. We are capable Canadians. We shall succeed". I was proud to be a Canadian.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Valcourt: That is what being a Canadian is all about.

On Sunday I was inadvertently watching Question Period and I saw the Right Hon. Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in a nice interview with Pam. There he was in his splendour telling us that he had caught the minds and the hearts of Canadians.

I do not have much experience in this House. I was a Member of Parliament for the first time in the last Parliament, but during this election campaign I had the occasion to visit a senior citizens' home in my riding of Grand Falls. I will never forget what I saw there. I never thought in my life as a young, naive politician, that people would sink so low as to scare poor, insecure people in a senior citizens' home. If, in order to get a vote, you have to get into a senior citizens' home, you have to go see a poor, old lady who is sick and tell her that she is going to lose her pension cheque, you are getting pretty low. That is a new high at being low. The NDP and the Liberals did that. That is what they did.

[Translation]

Mr. Chairman, I heard earlier a necktied Socialist refer to the Canadian identity. A necktied socialist is something dangerous! He referred to the Canadian identity we were going to be swallowed by those wicked Americans, they were going to strangle us Canadians. I am an Acadian from New Brunswick. I am from Northern New Brunswick, not an area where GM has big plants. The unemployment rate is high. We have fishermen. We have lumbermen. We have plenty of guts. We have farmers. We are Acadians, Francophones, a supposedly minority group in New Brunswick. You see, we Acadians in 1755, were the first to land in America. We came from France. Let me say to my colleagues from Quebec that Champlain, before going to their area, established Port-Royal in our area!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Valcourt: Looking into the Acadian people's history, a working people, a people who had to fight for their most basic rights, we had to fight for our schools,

we had to fight for our hospital system. We had to fight to keep our language, our religion. And to hear a necktied socialist tell us that because we Acadians finally will be able to prosper, have a little money in our pockets, create jobs, we are going to become Americans? No, thank you. No way! We are not Americans. We are and will remain Acadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Valcourt: Mr. Chairman, . . .

[English]

You hear some of the Grits or the socialists talk about the Sale of Canada Act. We have sold Canada.

[Translation]

We sold the country down the river, so they say. I would like to ask him to come down in the Madawaska area. Do you know, Mr. Chairman, how I explained this to people at home? Let me tell you about the great city of Edmundston, the capital city of the Republic of Madawaska. The Republic of Madawaska is our area. In our area, we are next to the American border. Those wicked Americans, we see them every day. We visit. We go and have a beer on their side, they come and have a beer on our side. We fraternize.

In our area, Mr. Chairman, there is a large paper mill. It is now owned by Noranda, those wicked capitalists who create jobs, you know. They employ people.

In our area, there is a large paper mill, and I told everybody—there is a paper mill in our area and there is another one on the other side of the river. Some 800 feet across the river. There are two mills—one on the American side and one on the Canadian side. During the campaign, the socialist candidate and the Liberal candidate were saying: "Free trade is horrible! We are going to lose jobs. This will sell the country down the river."

Well I am telling you that they have been selling off the country for too long, much too long!

Back home I would say to them: Have you ever asked yourselves why in Edmundston . . . You, shut up!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Valcourt: Why do we have a paper mill in Edmundston, a huge paper mill which does not produce any paper? We do not make paper, we make pulp. We harvest our natural resources, our lumber, we take our big beautiful logs on the Verte River, we bring them to the mill, we stir a bit, we make paste and then we ship

that to the United States and they make the paper. Do you know why? Because of the tariffs. Because if we make the paper in Canada they slap on a tariff when it gets to the border. So the mill is built in the United States and the paper is made in the United States. We have been shipping our natural resources down south for a good many years.

The people in the Atlantic . . . I see the former mayor of Moncton, the Member for Moncton, a man from the Atlantic who should know better and who spoke against the Free Trade Agreement. What did our fishing industry produce? We take a big cod. Back home we fish for cod, then what do we do with it? What? Do you know what we do with it? We freeze it and ship it whole to the border. And do you know what the Americans do when they see our big beautiful cod? They kiss it. Welcome! They take our cod to New England. They have their own people work on it.

Do you know what we would like to be able to do? We would like to take that same cod, cut it up ourselves in nice little filets, wrap them in attractive packages labeled "Made in New Brunswick" and then sell them to the Americans.

Mr. Chairman, when we are . . . You too shut up! When you think of the speeches we hear in the House . . . and this afternoon some Members were still talking about water. They still think we are going to divert the St. Lawrence River and reroute it through the United States. These projects do not make any sense! But those people, Mr. Chairman, they seem to think that the apocalyptic message they sent out during 51 days . . . But Canadians gave you a clear answer. You wanted Main Street to speak, Main Street has spoken!

Mr. Chairman, Christmas eve is drawing close. A moment ago I was listening to the previous speaker who was upset because we imposed closure. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, we ought to use the guillotine, and I am not too sure where, but certainly in the debates because Canadians have heard everything Members opposite had to say to scare them. They heard all the threats.

Older Canadians. I have a suggestion for the Minister of National Health and Welfare. When the next cheques are sent out, why not include a notice to the effect that, despite the free trade deal, they will get their cheques in February, they will get them in March, they will get them in April. Let's tell them!

An Hon. Member: Hear, hear, Réal Caouette! The bogey men!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Valcourt: Yes, the bogey men and the scare-crows, but this is Christmas time. Go and decorate your Christmas trees in peace! Stop scaring people. Accept the will of the Canadian people. Because the night of the election, the Hon. Member for Oshawa (Mr. Broadbent) and the Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Turner) were saying to Canadians they accepted the verdict. In a boxing ring, when the referee counts to ten and declares you out, you shut up and go home. That is all you can do.

The people have decided. They have legitimate concerns, of course, but if they want to know what the Free Trade Agreement really means, I tell them to go to the office of my colleague, the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) who will be delighted to explain it to whoever is able to understand.

• (2330)

[*English*]

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please. The Hon. Member for Kenora—Rainy River has the floor.

Mr. Nault: Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to have to follow a bit of comic relief. I know that it is a difficult time and a difficult night, with long hours. It is always nice to have someone be a bit of a clown.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Nault: Unfortunately, this is a serious issue.

I would like to begin by taking this opportunity to thank the people from Kenora—Rainy River who have again gone back to the Party that got this country this far in so long.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: Remember Trudeau.

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please. I would appreciate a little civility. The Hon. Member is making his maiden speech.

Mr. Nault: I want to take this opportunity to thank the people of Kenora—Rainy River for the honour of representing them in Parliament. I have been given the task of representing their collective views in this House.

Kenora—Rainy River is the fifth largest riding in Canada. It consists of a hardy breed of northerners who are very independent thinking and very proud of their part of the country.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Kenora—Rainy River is a very beautiful part of Canada, one which has potential not only in the natural resource sector but in tourism and the service industries. Agriculture is also a very significant aspect of the southern portion of the riding.

The Kenora—Rainy River riding has tremendous potential, potential that as yet has not begun to be tapped. That potential will be severely handicapped if this Free Trade Agreement goes through.

In an area like northwestern Ontario the need for the Government to take an active role is essential to achieving growth and prosperity. From the mid-1930s to the election of the Government in 1984, the strategic objective of successive Canadian Governments in trade negotiations has been to increase the standard of living of Canadians by obtaining improved and more secure access to foreign markets at reasonable costs which do not put our independence at risk and provide some flexibility to continue protecting a few industries that have difficulty competing with imports.

Why this Government has thrown those objectives out the window only God and their corporate friends can answer.

Because of the Government's need to pursue its political objectives, my riding stands to be a big loser under this agreement, as does all of northern Ontario. I guess the Tories already know this because all they have to do is look around and across the aisle to notice that only one of their Members out of twelve are left. The Hon. Member for Timiskaming must feel awfully lonely.

• (2340)

Mr. MacDougall: No, I feel great.

Mr. Nault: Due to the 1987 softwood lumber understanding and its grandfathering by Article 1910 of the agreement, the Government has in effect killed the softwood lumber industry in northern Ontario. Adam Zimmerman, chief executive officer and chairman of Noranda Forests Incorporated, recently stated that the lumber agreement cost Canada's forest products industry more than \$1 billion in 1987. Does that not seem to be an odd way to reduce costs, raise real incomes, and create new jobs?

On behalf of those men and women who have lost their jobs because of the Government's lack of intestinal fortitude or guts, I would like to say thanks for nothing.

I will not apologize for the people of Kenora—Rainy River who have voted against the Free Trade Agreement. As the Liberal Party has continuously said over and over, we are in favour of trade. We are free enterprisers, but we believe our country has been sold down the river by this Government.

What is it that we as Liberals have against this particular Free Trade Agreement? Is it, as the Conservatives would lead us to believe, for political reasons, or is it truly because this is the most poorly negotiated deal in history?

We have given away our forestry industry and our agricultural sector. We have given away our energy resources, and more specifically control over these resources, to the point that policy in this sector will be controlled in Washington, not in the halls of the Legislatures of our great country.

Due to its hidden agenda which is to tie the hands of future Governments and to limit the role of the Government of Canada, the Government has entered into a harmonization of economic policy. What does this harmonization mean? To me, it means the same wages for workers in this country as for those in the U.S. It means less contribution by business for the benefits of workers. It means less unemployment insurance for Canadians in the long term. It means that pension moneys given by business will be eroded because of the pressure to compete with comparable American businesses to achieve a so-called level playing field.

I am very ashamed that this Government will be allowed to widen even further the gap between the rich and the poor.

The Tory Government is in the process of creating a fragmented society, a society which will not nurture the areas of the country which are vulnerable to boom and bust cycles, areas like northern Ontario which rely so heavily on natural resources and the industries that go along with these resources.

Under the Free Trade Agreement, subsidizing industry during these difficult times will be prohibited. So much for regional development in regions of Canada like Kenora—Rainy River. I suggest that if members on the government side really care about the regions of the country which need government assistance, they should join with me in recommending an amendment to the FTA which would allow maintenance of regional development.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Similar to the pressures to harmonize our economic and social policies with those of the U.S., there will also be eventual pressure by business to standardize Canadian and U.S. environmental protection. This is a very obvious conclusion.

In order for companies in Canada to compete with companies on the other side of the border, their production costs must be of an equal nature. Canadians cannot allow this to happen, because if they do—and the record of past American Governments proves how small a priority the environment is to them—future generations of Canadians will never forgive us for our insensitive and uncaring policies of the 1980s. The environment and the protection of our environment are our gifts to future generations. Let us as parliamentarians never lose sight of this objective.

During the election campaign, the citizens of Kenora—Rainy River continually indicated to me their disgust of the American style of politics used by the Tory Party. One particular advertisement which the Tories used on the radio went like this: “A vote against the Free Trade Agreement is like shooting yourself in the foot, but a vote for the NDP and John Turner and the Liberal Party is like shooting yourself in the head”. Is this any way to set an example to the young people of Canada who are listening to this type of garbage?

The last election campaign was like a nightmare. It got so bad that I had people tell me at the door that they were no longer watching the news at night. Seniors in particular could not believe how downright slimy this Party had stooped to become. I am sure this election campaign will go down in history as being the most distasteful the electorate of Canada has ever seen.

What I disliked most, if it is possible to dislike something the most considering the number of flaws in the deal, was the virtual giveaway of our ability to regulate American foreign investment in Canada. We in the Liberal Party have always believed that foreign investment is good for Canada, but simply to open the doors to foreign investment without insisting on some performance rules, job creation or screening, is just plain suicide.

It is essential that the Conservative Party exercises its right as the ruling Party to allow amendments which will restrict the complete takeover of Canada by American interests. If these amendments are not forthcoming, the fragile economy of northern Ontario will be in jeopardy. I respectfully ask government Members and

all Members of the House to consider the implications as I have outlined them.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Chairman, I rise more in sorrow than in anger. I have been here pretty well all day waiting to hear one original thought, one new argument, one new point that any member of the Official Opposition or the unofficial opposition could bring up in connection with the Free Trade Agreement, and there was not one new point. There were no new points. We have been subjected all day today and all day yesterday to a series of repetitious points, the same hackneyed, false points that were made during the election campaign by the same false, hackneyed people, some of whom got elected to the House.

The best illustration of the kind of campaign that was waged against the Free Trade Agreement I can think of was when a Liberal candidate in Newfoundland, who turned out to be successful, met a young woman walking down the road in a rural area. She was eight months pregnant and he went up to her and said: “You know, that is the last free one you will be having”. That is the kind of campaign that was waged against the Free Trade Agreement by Liberal candidates, and they should be ashamed of themselves for waging such a campaign.

The proof of the pudding will be in the eating. I prophesize that in a year's time, in two years' time, in three years' time, in four years' time, we will not hear another word from members of the Opposition about the Free Trade Agreement because they will be afraid to utter a word against it when the next election comes. We are hearing the last kick at the cat by this mangy collection opposite.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: It was Mark Twain—

Mr. Boudria: He is a well-known Canadian.

Mr. Crosbie: He was an American. There are some well-known Canadians, but it was Mark Twain who said that if you pick up a starving dog and make him prosperous, he will not fight you. That is the principal difference between a dog and a man. That is also the principal difference between a man and a Liberal or a man and an NDPer. We will make them prosperous against their own will, against the struggle they have put up against the Free Trade Agreement. The difference between them and the dog is that they will be biting us in four years' time instead of thanking us.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I came across another statement today that reminded me of many of the Hon. Members opposite. Someone, though I do not know who, said that it was unfortunate that a mere 90 per cent of politicians give the other 10 per cent a bad name. There is an hon. gentleman back there from some district in Vancouver. He had to scoot all over B.C. to find a district that would accept him. I am glad to see he snook back in. It is nice to see him back here because he is not a bad chap for a socialist.

• (2350)

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I want to deal for a couple of moments with something which the Member from Malpeque said today about regional development. How long, oh Lord, do we have to go on with this talk about regional development and how the Free Trade Agreement is somehow going to put a stop to regional development policies in Canada? How could we put a stop to them when they are in the very Constitution itself? That this country is dedicated to overcoming regional disparity is in the very Constitution.

Many hon. persons opposite are supporters of GATT. The critic for the NDP would not come to our GATT meeting in Montreal last week because his Leader would not pass on the invitation to him. I personally wanted to see him at the GATT to see how he would perform when he saw there was a GATT, when he got himself torn away from his fixation with the U.S. Free Trade Agreement. I was hoping to see him and the Hon. Member from "Winnipeg Soft Centre" at the GATT as well but, no, he did not turn up at the GATT.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I do not know where the Member from "Winnipeg Soft Centre" was when the GATT meeting was on. I am glad to see the Hon. Member for Sudbury is back in the House. I have never heard him make sense, but he is often amusing and that makes up for it.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I would like to suggest that the Minister stick to the subject, though I know it is difficult since he has not read the deal. I very much hope that he will come across with some comments about this trade deal rather than about extraneous subjects.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Chairman, we can all be thankful at what we are saving his students from.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: The Hon. Member from "Windsor—Woeful" should just sit back and relax.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Let us look at the Free Trade Agreement and regional development. There happens to be a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade that was entered into by the Liberal Government of the day in 1947, I believe it was. Ever since 1947 there has been a subsidies code of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. I know that this is news to the Hon. Member from "Winnipeg Soft Centre" who has never looked at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades. I do not know what he has ever looked at frankly, except the mirror.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Article 8 and Article 11 of the Subsidies Code of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade read like this: "Subsidies are used by Governments to promote important objectives of social and economic policy. Among such objectives are the elimination of industrial economic and social disadvantages of specific regions.

In other words, ever since 1947, Governments have been given the imprimatur. They have been given permission. They have been given consent. They have been given the go ahead. They have been given the okay. They have been given the nod to go ahead and subsidize within their own countries for certain purposes, to promote important objectives of social and economic policy, including the elimination of industrial, economic and social disadvantages of specific regions. I am from a region that has suffered from industrial, economic and social disadvantages for 400 years, and I am the living proof of it.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Do you think for one moment that I am going to support a Free Trade Agreement that does away with the possibility of assistance from my own region which suffers from industrial, economic and social disadvantages? Do you think that the Premier of Newfoundland—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: That is why you got 2,000 votes in my district and I got 25,000 votes.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: I am too modest to mention this but I happened to get 60.5 per cent of the vote, and I have a mandate and I have a "womandate" as well.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: I want you to go down to Branch—92 per cent of the vote, 92 per cent! When I find that other miserable 8 per cent, God help them.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: As I was saying, the Free Trade Agreement was negotiated under the terms of the GATT and incorporates certain provisions of the GATT, including the GATT subsidies code. This means that Governments in Canada can continue to provide for economic growth and development. Why then did the opposition Parties go around this country, particularly in Atlantic Canada, with the vicious untruth that somehow this agreement was to interfere with regional development in this country? All that is in the Free Trade Agreement is a commitment for us to negotiate with the Americans to see if we can agree on a common definition of trade distorting subsidies, but 96 nations in the GATT have not as yet been able to agree on what these are. We want to see whether we can agree with the Americans. If they suggest a definition that we disagree with, we say no, n-o, no.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: There is not an American in the world that I am afraid of. There is not a member of the NDP or a member of the Liberal Party that I am afraid of. There is no one I am afraid of, Mr. Chairman. I can say no to anyone, except my wife.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: There is nothing in this Free Trade Agreement that endangers Canadian regional development policies of general application across this country.

We heard, of course, the myth and the exaggerations about social policies. We have already had a social policy that was challenged in the United States of

America. The two opposition Parties knew of it. The Hon. Leader of the Opposition knew all about it. This famous lawyer headed up McMillan Binch in a pinch. You could find him at McMillan Binch for a number of years. He had to know all about this, because if he did not know all about it himself he had to the high-powered help to tell him about it. They used to take him by the hand and lead him down to Winston's every day for lunch and lead him back after lunch.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: In 1985 one of our social programs was challenged, Mr. Chairman. You are certainly well qualified to be Mr. Speaker. In fact, I hope some day to be looking at you and seeing you in an upper place wherever that might be.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: One of our social programs, unemployment insurance for fishermen, was challenged in 1985 by a group of American fish importers or somebody down there who did not like competition from Canada in the fishing industry. They challenged the unemployment insurance program for fishermen and claimed it was a subsidy.

Who threw it out? Who overturned the case? Who gave it the boot? Who took it by the slack of the drawers and put it right out through the door? The Americans took it by the slack of the drawers, not Canadians, not Ukrainians, not Uruguayans, not Peruvians. Americans took this stupid case by the slack of the pants and threw it out through the door because they said that it was a social program of general application, and therefore it could not be challenged.

The Deputy Chairman: I regret that I have to interrupt the Hon. Minister.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Crosbie: We have another nine hours tomorrow.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Chairman: It being twelve o'clock midnight, pursuant to Order made Friday, December 16, 1988, it is my duty to rise, report progress, and request leave to consider the Bill again at the next sitting of the House.

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Progress reported.

*Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement**[Translation]*

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Pursuant to Order made on Friday, December 16, 1988, the House

stands adjourned until 2 p.m. today, pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 12 midnight.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, December 21, 1988

The House met at 2 p.m.

Prayers

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[*English*]

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

LABRADOR FISHERMEN'S BENEFITS—REQUEST FOR EXTENSION

Hon. William Rompkey (Labrador): Mr. Speaker, I have sent the following letter to the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Ms. McDougall):

Fishermen and plant workers on the Labrador coast feel that they are discriminated against under the U.I. regulations. The benefit period now ends May 15. Yet ice is in the bays on the Labrador coast until the end of June. During that time it is impossible for fishermen to fish and, therefore, for plant workers to work . . .

. . . Labrador fishermen feel they are economically punished because of a fact of geography. Through no fault of their own and because of forces beyond their, or anybody else's, control they are without income for six weeks every year.

What other group in Canada is systematically denied income every year simply because of geography?

. . . In the long term what is needed is an income support plan for fishermen separate altogether from U.I. But until such time as that is introduced we must make U.I. work, inadequate as it is.

The fishermen on the Labrador coast are among the most disadvantaged in Canada. They have struggled for centuries to eke out a living . . . But the fact remains that at the present they need a cash income during the winter months including the period from May 15 to June 30. The fishermen of Labrador are asking for simple justice when they ask for the extension of U.I. to the end of June.

[*Translation*]

GENERAL ELECTION

TERREBONNE CONSTITUENCY—CHOICE OF THE FUTURE

Mr. Jean-Marc Robitaille (Terrebonne): Mr. Speaker, I would like to begin by thanking the people of Terrebonne for the confidence they showed in me on November 21. By giving me a majority vote, they also gave a majority vote to the Progressive Conservative Government and its extraordinary leader, the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). For the second time in a row, the men and women of Terrebonne elected a member of the Progressive Conservative Party. I shall endeavour to live up to the confidence they have shown in me.

The people of Terrebonne wanted someone who knows where he stands. They did not want a Liberal or a socialist, Mr. Speaker, as neither party knows where it stands. The people of Terrebonne, like the rest of Canada, showed great political savvy by refusing to give in to the unfair scare tactics used by the Liberals and the socialists.

The people of Terrebonne, in their unbounded wisdom, intelligence and self-assurance, chose the way of the future. The people of Terrebonne, Mr. Speaker, chose the way of free trade because they know that it will be good for them. We, the Conservative Party, know where we stand, and we shall keep our word.

* * *

[*English*]

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

SUGGESTED HIGH-SPEED COMMUTER RAIL NETWORK AROUND CITIES

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, once the free trade legislation has been enacted, the Government must quickly turn its attention to the problems of Canada's urban frontiers, our cities.

S. O. 31

To some extent three of those problems, the lack of affordable housing, inadequate public transportation, and the need to clean up the environment, are all linked. The development of a modern, high-speed commuter rail network around our cities would not only help solve transportation problems, but would also provide the infrastructure necessary to increase substantially the supply of less expensive land available for badly needed housing, while at the same time reducing pollution and conserving energy.

The linchpin is the high-speed commuter rail network. Rail is a federal responsibility and no Progressive Conservative Government has ever failed to build a railway to solve a problem. Let us hope this one will not be the exception.

* * *

CHILDREN

THIRD WORLD DEBT BLAMED FOR DEATHS OF CHILDREN

Mr. John F. Brewin (Victoria): Mr. Speaker, in the last 12 months at least half a million children in the Third World have died because of a slowdown or reversal of economic progress in their countries. UNICEF, in its annual report released yesterday, places the blame squarely on the crushing burden of debt owed by these countries to banks and financial institutions in the industrialized world.

UNICEF has called for a summit of world leaders to reduce this deadly accumulation of debt. It has asked for Canada's assistance in promoting such a summit. As one of the rich countries in the world we have an obligation to accede to the request.

I call upon the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) to make every effort to ensure that such a summit will be held. In 1989 the UN will be adopting the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The protection of these rights, however, must start now.

[*Translation*]

GENERAL ELECTION

SUPPORT OF THE POPULATION OF LOUIS-HÉBERT

Mrs. Suzanne Duplessis (Louis-Hébert): Mr. Speaker, my first words are to congratulate you on your reelection as Speaker of this Hon. House. On November 21st, constituents of Louis-Hébert returned me here and I want to thank them today. Like my first term, this second one entails heavy responsibilities, but I am convinced that with the support of all my constituents and people in the community, I can perform my role in an efficient and dignified manner.

As in the past, I intend to keep listening to the people in Sainte-Foy, Sillery and Cap-Rouge, and my constituency office will always be open to all.

In this holiday season, I would like to extend to all those I am privileged to represent in this House my best wishes, and may the New Year bring peace, health and happiness to you and members in your family!

* * *

● (1410)

[*English*]

NATIONAL CAPITAL

CALL FOR ENLARGEMENT OF REGION

Mr. Don Boudria (Glengarry—Prescott—Russell): Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the united counties of Prescott—Russell and the municipalities of Clarence Township, Cambridge Township, North and South Plantagenets, Plantagenet Village, and the Town of Rockland signed resolutions asking that the National Capital Region be enlarged to include their own municipalities.

After Question Period I intend to move in the House of Commons a Private Member's Bill to enlarge the National Capital Region to give that privilege to residents of the constituency that I have the honour and privilege to represent. I hope to have the support of all Hon. Members in this House so this Bill can be enacted as soon as possible.

[Translation]

FREE TRADE**JOB CREATION**

Mrs. Gabrielle Bertrand (Brome—Missisquoi): Mr. Speaker, during the last elections, my Liberal opponent travelled around the constituency claiming everywhere and on every forum that free trade would have nothing worthwhile, and that it would be detrimental to Brome—Missisquoi. Not only was he completely wrong, but in so doing he insulted the hundred or so entrepreneurs in my constituency who show remarkable dynamism. Indeed, between 1984 and 1988, more than \$1 billion were invested in Brome—Missisquoi; 1,600 permanent jobs and 1,400 temporary ones were created. In our area, we are not afraid of free trade; in our area, we have confidence in the future. As proof of what I said, two weeks ago Dominion Textiles, a supposedly vulnerable company, announced the creation of 200 new jobs in Magog. Yesterday, General Electric announced a \$40 million investment, the creation of 210 new jobs and the consolidation of 150 jobs. This means 560 jobs over two weeks for Brome—Missisquoi! The Leader of the Opposition may call that marginal, but to me this involves the future of young people in my constituency and I feel this is excellent news.

* * *

MINES AND MINING**INVESTMENT BY VAL D'OR COMPANY IN UNITED STATES**

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, Val-d'Or's Société Espalau is investing in the United States and, through Forage Moderne, it has just opened a new American branch plant which will operate under the name of Modern International Inc. This company will be carrying out exploratory drilling in the United States, mainly in Nevada. It expects to begin work as early as February 1989.

Seventy per cent of Modern International shares will be held by the firm Forage Moderne of Val-d'Or. Through this investment it will gain access to a new market in a region where mining exploration is at its peak.

That, Mr. Speaker, is the kind of initiative taken by far-sighted Abitibi businessmen in the context of free trade.

[English]

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS**SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS**

Mr. Mac Harb (Ottawa Centre): Mr. Speaker, right now, in almost every municipality in eastern Ontario and across Canada, city officials are being faced with rapidly deteriorating municipal infrastructures. The capital costs involved for adequate rehabilitation are well beyond the capacity of any local government.

Sewage treatment plants need millions of dollars to upgrade them to an acceptable capacity level. In eastern Ontario alone, 38 plants fail to meet provincial standards, often resulting in raw sewage being discharged directly into our rivers. This type of pollution is an environmental crime and it has to stop.

The federal Government must co-operate with the provincial and municipal Governments and pay its share of these costs. I urge the House to act swiftly on this matter.

* * *

CHILDREN**PLIGHT OF POOR CHILDREN**

Ms. Dawn Black (New Westminster—Burnaby): Mr. Speaker, Christmas is a time of good food, family, and friends. At Christmas we indulge our loved ones, especially our children.

How sad that this Christmas over one million children in impoverished families will be disappointed. How ironic that, in a country as rich as ours, one out of every six children is denied proper nutrition, housing, and clothing. We allow the potential of all of these children to be jeopardized by a miserly and outdated attitude towards social policy.

● (1415)

The Child Poverty Action Group tells us that over 300,000 children in Ontario, our richest province, are poor. In my own province of British Columbia 126,300 children are disadvantaged, much higher than the national average, and they are going to school hungry.

The National Council on Welfare warns us that the federal Government is systematically cutting all child benefits by 3 per cent a year.

Oral Questions

Our children are safe and warm. Is that why we don't care?

* * *

[Translation]

TRADE

PLANETARY CHALLENGE OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Mrs. Nicole Roy-Arcelin (Ahuntsic): Mr. Speaker, forced to compete with other economic unions in the rest of the world, Canada had no option but to secure its fair share of the market with its powerful and friendly ally, the United States, so as to face up to the many worldwide challenges of the 21st century.

The socialists and the Liberal Party, two reactionary factions whose ideas have yet to reach beyond the threshold of the 20th century, would have us revert to the horse and buggy days of our forefathers.

Mr. Speaker, McLuhan correctly predicted that technological progress, media and communications development, as well as more numerous economic ties between nations would propel us further away from the moribund economic nationalism which leading members of the Opposition are attempting to revive.

Mr. Speaker, taking a leaf from the book of the Hon. Member for Montmorency—Orléans (Mr. DeBlois), I use a dead language so as to be better understood: *Quousque tandem abutere, Catalina, patientia nostra?* How long will you Liberals and socialists abuse the patience of the population?

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

THE CONSTITUTION

QUÉBEC'S PROPOSED SIGN LANGUAGE LAW

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. In its judgment, the Supreme Court of Canada declared as it related to the Québec sign law that it was clear that it was within the power of the Québec National Assembly to promote the French language as the predominant priority principal language of the province, but not at the expense of excluding minority language rights.

Does the Prime Minister approve of the legislation introduced by Premier Bourassa, applying the so called inside-outside formula which excludes the use of non-French signs outside business establishments? Does he think that that Bill meets the test of the Supreme Court of Canada judgment?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, in the last two days I have indicated that I neither approve of it nor do I believe that it meets the test of what the Supreme Court said. I indicated this in response to the Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce and other members of the Leader of the Opposition's Party.

I indicated this morning that the position I have held and continue to hold is that I hope the Government of Quebec could find, as the Supreme Court suggested, a way of accommodating those two fundamental principles of respect for the French speaking dimension of Quebec and respect for the principles enshrined in the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

That in regard to the specific issue is the way we wish it to be done. Anything less than that of course is disappointing to us. I have conveyed this to the House time and time again. I have responded to members of the Leader's Party. In respect of the protection of minority rights in the Province of Quebec, both the Member for Mount Royal and the Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce complemented me and congratulated the Government on its stand on Monday and Tuesday.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): If the Prime Minister is of the view that the legislation introduced by the Premier of Quebec does not meet the test of the Supreme Court judgment, as he just said, how can he approve of that legislation?

[Translation]

APPLICATION OF NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—
GOVERNMENT POSITION

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister said several times that, in general, he is against applying the notwithstanding clause. Does the Prime Minister approve of the use of this notwithstanding clause in the Quebec Bill itself as a way to get around the Quebec Charter of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and to counter the effects of the judgement rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I was and remain opposed to having a notwithstanding clause in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

I was opposed to the Canadian Government's making such a concession to the provinces in 1981-82. It was not Quebec, but other provinces, that sought this concession. Mr. Bourassa did not request the notwithstanding clause; he was not there. The clause was a concession to the provinces. If I am against the clause, I am of course against using it if such use is contrary to the fundamental rights contained in the Quebec and Canadian Charters of Rights and Freedoms. I do not blame the Government of Quebec or the Government of Ontario for the existence of the clause. Neither Premier Peterson nor Premier Bourassa asked for it; it was a concession of the Canadian Government to the provinces. And unfortunately, today, using this clause has a negative effect on the Quebec Charter and the Canadian Charter of fundamental rights. That is my position and I think that, in essence, it is shared by almost all Hon. Members.

• (1420)

[English]

PROVISIONS OF QUÉBEC BILL—POSITION OF PRIME MINISTER

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, let us see what position we have obtained from the Prime Minister this afternoon. He has admitted that, in his opinion, the Quebec Bill now before the National Assembly does not meet the test of the Supreme Court of Canada judgment. Therefore, logically, he ought to disapprove of that Bill but has not said so.

He says he is against the notwithstanding clause, and yet the Quebec Bill employs that notwithstanding clause. Therefore, logically, he should not approve of the Bill, but we cannot get a statement from him as to his opinion on the Bill before the Quebec National Assembly.

May I ask the Prime Minister a further question?

Mr. Masse: You are not in a courtroom.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The Hon. Minister says that I am not in court here. This is the highest court in the land. This is the House of Commons of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Both of the Prime Minister's admissions, on the test of the Supreme Court

of Canada as it is reflected in the Bill, and the notwithstanding clause, should lead him to the conclusion that he cannot approve of the Quebec Bill.

I want to put it in other terms. Does the Prime Minister believe that the Quebec Bill, in its suppression of the use of minority languages outside commercial business establishments in Quebec, offends the Quebec Charter of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and if so, does he not believe that that Bill should never have been introduced in its present form?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend is asking me a question his colleagues asked me on Monday and Tuesday, and the answer remains the same. I answered the question very clearly and very specifically.

The Quebec Bill, in my judgment, clearly does not meet the tests set out by the Supreme Court of Canada, and therefore, clearly, if it fails to do that, one of the tests being respect for the provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Province of Quebec, surely in the absence of that, it offends the Charter. Therefore, as I have indicated, anything that offends the Charter is something that I find unsatisfactory both as a legislator and as a Canadian.

Mr. Nunziata: That's pretty strong. That's strong language, Brian.

Mr. Mulroney: I—

Mr. Speaker: The Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition has asked a question which is of great importance to the whole country. The Prime Minister is responding. I am sure Hon. Members would want the Prime Minister to continue his answer.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, on October 26 in Sherbrooke, I said that in my maiden address in the House of Commons I said then that it was fundamental to the idea of Canada to ensure that the rights of our linguistic ethnic minorities are protected at all times. I believe we have done so with the Meech Lake Accord which fully respects the rights of English-speaking Canadians in Quebec and French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec. We have recognized Québec as a distinct society, and English-speaking Quebecers are an integral part of that distinct society.

Oral Questions

● (1425)

[Translation]

That is what I said in Quebec during the election campaign and that is exactly what I am saying today.

[English]

I call to my friend's attention, in regard to the instrument that gave rise to the problem we are dealing with, a press conference that took place on Wednesday, November 18, 1981, as reported by Robert Sheppard and Michael Valpy, in which the then Prime Minister was asked about the agreement to let Legislatures override fundamental legal and equality rights, about whether the Government of Canada under the new Constitution had consented to different language rights for Canada and for the rest of the country.

At page 322 it states: "Well, yes', said the Prime Minister with some candor. 'You are asking me now', he said, 'if I consider it' the Constitution—a success. No, I consider it an abject failure.' He abruptly stood up and walked hurriedly outside into the rain into his waiting black limousine leaving the riddle behind him". The riddle is still here. The riddle and the challenge of language rights will only be solved by tolerance, generosity, and leadership, such as the kind that Members of this House I believe have always provided.

That is the commitment that we have made in regard to language rights elsewhere.

We have been left with a less than perfect instrument which we must all try to correct.

[Translation]

QUERY WHETHER PRIME MINISTER SHARES VIEW OF
SECRETARY OF STATE

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Right Hon. the Prime Minister and relates to the series of questions asked by the Leader of the Opposition.

I appreciate the Prime Minister's remarks about the notwithstanding clause, and I should like to ask him how he can reconcile the statements he has just made with those of his Secretary of State who must also champion the rights of official languages minorities.

So I am asking the Prime Minister whether his views are shared by his Secretary of State, or whether his being away from the House attests to his disagreement with the Prime Minister?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Given the seriousness of the debate, Mr. Speaker, I am surprised by this kind of question. Would it be fair on my part to ask whether the fact that the Leader of the Opposition has been away for two days indicates that he disagrees with the Hon. Member for Shefford? Surely the Leader of the Opposition had good reasons to be absent, just as the Secretary of State does. He deserves as much consideration on the part of the Hon. Member for Shefford.

PRIME MINISTER'S POSITION

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): By way of a supplementary, Mr. Speaker, I will not seek justification for the absence of the Secretary of State, but justification for his remarks. I am asking the Prime Minister how he can reconcile the position he has just stated—and I agree with him—with that of his Secretary of State, which happens to be the opposite. Are there two kinds of truth for the Government, or is the Government trying to have its cake and eat it too? I would like the Prime Minister to tell us the Government's clear, precise and specific position which agrees with that of the Secretary of State because the Secretary of State is supposed to be the authorized spokesman for official languages minorities, and the matter comes under his responsibilities as Minister and Secretary of State.

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Yesterday I explained that there is no contradiction whatever in the position of the Secretary of State and mine as expressed to *La Presse*. I speak for the Canadian Government as Prime Minister of Canada. What I said is the full position of my Government, and all Members, I mean all Ministers endorse this position.

Now are there differences concerning certain nuances? I would draw the attention of the House to a statement made the day before yesterday by my friend and published in *La Presse* of December 20. I quote:

Mr. Lapierre has stated that the privileges of the National Assembly must be respected. According to him, federal MPs can only express personal opinions.

So the privileges of the National Assembly must be respected if it is to legislate in fields under its jurisdiction, and that is exactly the opposite of what your leader has just said.

• (1430)

[English]

PRIME MINISTER'S CONVERSATION WITH QUEBEC
PREMIER

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Prime Minister on the same subject.

As the Prime Minister knows, the Supreme Court of Canada made a decision on Bill 101. It notably underlined that the Government of the Province of Quebec has the right to give predominance to the place of the French language in that province and suggested a course of action for a Government that wanted to do that—appropriately do that in the Province of Quebec—but which at once would be consistent with the Québec Charter of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights. The Premier of the Province of Quebec took a decision to move in a different direction instead of that one, and instead used the notwithstanding clause.

If I understood the Prime Minister clearly today, he has expressed his unequivocal opposition to the route that has been chosen. Has he in conversations with the Premier of the Province of Quebec in the past 24 hours, or before suggested very directly the desirability that the Premier change his legislation and bring in a Bill that would be consistent with the two Charters and, at the same time, give the desired predominance and desirable prominence to the French language in the Province of Quebec?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the NDP is asking me whether today I conveyed my opposition or my views on this. I conveyed my views on this to the Premier of the Province of Quebec before the decision was made.

Last Sunday morning I called him and conveyed my views that anything at variance with the principles established by the Supreme Court would clearly run counter to the fundamental precepts maintained by the Supreme Court. I was of the view that the Supreme Court decision could be accommodated with all of the necessary respect being given to the two fundamentals that were mentioned.

The Premier of Quebec clearly has come to a different point of view, which is not mine, and which I regret, because it runs counter to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms both of Quebec and Canada—it runs counter to the positions I have encouraged elsewhere—and he is in the process of passing this legislation because of an instrument that was provided in 1981 which allows a

Oral Questions

provincial Premier to override the most inalienable rights in the Canadian and Québec Constitution. This is something of grave importance that goes back, not to any Meech Lake Accord but to 1981-1982 which, no doubt, will ultimately have to be resolved.

If my friend is asking me whether today I have dealt with it, I dealt with it on Sunday before the matter arose.

PREMIER'S RESPONSE TO PRIME MINISTER

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, since Sunday, and more relevantly since the Government introduced this legislation in the Province of Québec, we have had a breakdown in the constitutional process at the national level. We have had some significant resignations from the Government of the Province of Quebec itself in the Quebec National Assembly.

In the Prime Minister's serious conversation with the Premier of the Province of Québec at the time, did the Premier indicate that he would be open at some point to changing that legislation in a direction that would be consistent with the goals of achieving predominance of the French language in the Province of Quebec but which would not in any way impinge upon the freedom of expression in our country?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Premier did not indicate that in a conversation with me.

I believe I saw him in his televised press conference indicating that if Meech Lake were passed and if the protections for English and French-speaking minorities contained in Meech Lake came to pass, that it may very well be that that would be sufficient protection for the Premier of the Province of Québec to forgo the kind of initiative that was taken. I would want to check carefully what he said, but my belief is that what he was saying in his press conference was that, if Meech Lake were passed, that those protections sufficient for English and French-speaking minorities would exist. I think that would be along the lines being sought by my own friend and would be encouraging. But in the conversation that I had, no such undertaking was given to me.

[Translation]

REQUEST THAT PRIME MINISTER MEET QUEBEC AND
OTHER PREMIERS

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister may be right, but if I remember correctly, the Premier of Quebec said the opposite—there was

Oral Questions

no connection whatsoever between Meech Lake and his decision as Premier of the Province of Quebec.

But I would like to ask the Prime Minister a simple question: considering that the Premier of Quebec might change is policy, has the Prime Minister decided to have an early meeting with the Premier of Quebec and the other Premiers to continue the Process of constitutional change and, at the same time, solve certain fundamental problems?

The Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think I answered yesterday to my friend that I wrote to the Premier on October 7 to set up a First Ministers' conference during the first quarter of 1989. No doubt constitutional matters will be discussed at that meeting.

But the problem remains intact, to use the phrase of my predecessor on the matter of the Constitution. He himself in his book judged the 1981—1982 Constitution very severely. The major flaw was Quebec's absence. They did not succeed to bring Quebec back into the Canadian constitutional mainstream, even with the "notwithstanding clause".

So, here is a challenge for us all to try and find a formula that would allow an honorable and enthusiastic return of Quebec into the Canadian family—then we will be in a position to proceed with the other important decisions such as Senate reform, justice for our native peoples, and all the other major questions that await us. But we can do nothing unless we can find a formula that will allow Quebec to come back honourably into the Canadian Constitution.

[English]

REQUEST THAT FIRST MINISTERS' MEETING BE
CONVENED

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I have a series of questions for the Prime Minister. Yesterday the Prime Minister criticized the Premier of Manitoba for linking the question of Meech Lake to the Language Bill in Quebec. The Prime Minister today in Question Period has just made that linkage himself.

Mr. Valcourt: That is stupid.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The fact is he just did.

Second, the Prime Minister has not indicated what his reaction would be to the calls by the Premier of New Brunswick, the Premier of Ontario, who have asked for

an immediate First Ministers' meeting to consider the notwithstanding clause and to consider the question of how we can provide a national protection for minority rights.

Will the Prime Minister now agree that a First Ministers' meeting would be immediately called in the new year and that specifically on the agenda would be the question of how the notwithstanding clause could be a matter of agreement among all the provinces and the federal Government to eliminate it from the Constitution in order to ensure the full protection of minority rights?

• (1440)

Why was that not part of the Meech Lake consideration? Is the Prime Minister now prepared to reconsider his position and put it on the table so that we can eliminate the precedent that was established a few days ago?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, there are two serious misstatements of fact in the prefatory remarks of my hon. friend. He stated that Premier McKenna asked for an immediate First Ministers' Conference. He did no such thing; he said the contrary. He said that a First Ministers' Conference would be premature.

The Hon. Member then indicated that I made a linkage between Meech Lake and the utilization of the right.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Yes, I did.

Mr. Mulroney: I said no such thing. I said that Premier Bourassa in his response in a press conference appeared to indicate that he could forgo perhaps ultimately the utilization of the notwithstanding clause, if the protections for Quebec and the other minorities were there pursuant to the adoption of the Meech Lake Accord. It was not at all what I said. I made no such linkage whatsoever.

An Hon. Member: Do you disagree with them?

Mr. Mulroney: I made no such linkage at all because there is no linkage between the Meech Lake Accord itself and what has transpired in the Province of Québec. The Meech Lake Accord provides for greater protection, and greater justice, and greater equality for English and French-speaking minorities across Canada, and surely all Members of the House must be in favour of that.

PRIME MINISTER'S POSITION

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister did not answer my question.

The country is looking for decisive national leadership at this very crucial time in the history of the country, and the Premiers are asking for it. We now have an opportunity to do something fundamentally important for the protection of minority rights in the country, similar to what the House of Commons did a few years back when, in the province of Manitoba, there was a threatened abrogation of French-speaking rights and the House adopted a resolution which the Prime Minister, when he was Leader of the Opposition, fully supported.

As a national Leader and the head of the Government what action does the Prime Minister intend to take to deal with the very serious circumstances we are in? Will he call a First Ministers' meeting? Will he put the question of national initiatives to protect minority rights on the agenda? Will he consider eliminating the notwithstanding clause from the Constitution as part of the talks at that First Ministers' meeting?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think that even my hon. friend will acknowledge that he gets the Christmas prize for temerity. It takes an awful lot of nerve to ask me if we will deal with something in regard to the protection of minority rights, particularly as those minority rights might be affected by a notwithstanding clause.

My recollection is that he was a Member of a Government that gave the notwithstanding clause away, and it should never have been done.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): You are the Government now; take your responsibility.

Ms. Copps: How is the Tory, Sterling Lyon?

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker: As I said, the matter at this point is very important to the country, and we should therefore extend a level of courtesy to all Members in this House.

[English]

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, when I was in Saskatchewan on April 14, 1988, when there was a problem in regard to minority rights, I was asked in the presence of Premier Devine how I fundamentally felt about the concept of minority rights. My philosophy is one that

Oral Questions

perhaps my hon. friend will allow me to repeat in one line.

I said, if you want to understand how you should deal with minorities ask yourself what it would be like to be in a position of a minority and treat the minority with all the generosity that you would want extended to yourself.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): What are you going to do about it? Come on, Brian, show some leadership on this one.

Mr. Mulroney: That applies to English-speaking minorities in Québec, French-speaking minorities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and elsewhere. It applies across the board.

All Members of the House, all Leaders of political Parties in this House, recognize that language can indeed be a difficult instrument of division, but it can also become an instrument of some unity and strength. It has to be treated fairly and in a responsible, thoughtful manner.

As I indicated yesterday, I will be meeting with the First Ministers.

I think we made very substantial strides with Bill C-72 which provided substantial enhancement of minority language rights in the federal Public Service and across Canada. We did the same thing with the Meech Lake Accord, perhaps not perfectly, but we made great strides in protecting English and French-speaking minority rights across Canada. We can do more.

I am satisfied, if the atmosphere is one of calm reason, that ultimately tolerance and justice, for which Canadians are well known, will prevail and we will have the type of Canada which brings fairness to minorities wherever they are.

* * *

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

CHARGES AGAINST FORMER MP—GUILTY PLEA

Mr. Derek Lee (Scarborough—Rouge River): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Prime Minister. Two weeks ago the people of Canada were witness to an unseemly manifestation of corruption in the guilty plea of the former Member of this House for the riding of

Oral Questions

Gamelin. This man was not just an ordinary crook, but an elected Member of the House, and a Member of the Prime Minister's caucus.

This guilty plea and the preferred indictment process chosen by the Crown have now covered up the facts and background of this corruption, but the public interest requires disclosure of this information.

What steps will the Prime Minister take to expose and explain this insidious chain of corruption associated with his Tory Government?

Mr. Speaker: I know the Hon. Member feels very strongly about this question, and it is a matter of importance. I would just point out that it may well be administration of justice in the province, but the Minister is rising and we will hear the Minister.

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, as you indicated, this question relates to a matter that is still before the courts. I have no intention to make comment on it, and I would hope that the Hon. Member would show in his subsequent activities in the House a greater respect for the institutions of the country, including the courts, than he has shown in his first question.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Nunziata: Mr. Contempt himself!

VICTIM IMPACT STATEMENT QUERY

Mr. Derek Lee (Scarborough—Rouge River): Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Justice has failed to note that the matter I just addressed has been the subject of a guilty plea in the courts of this country.

Mr. Beatty: It's still before the court.

Mr. Lee: As the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister know, common law criminal procedure permits parties harmed by an offence to make submissions to sentence through the Crown.

Will the Prime Minister make a commitment to the House to submit a victim impact statement to the court so as to impress upon the court and all Canadians the seriousness of these offences?

Mr. Charest: That is incredible!

Mr. Beatty: Where is your Leader?

Mr. Andre: Out of order!

Mr. Foster: I do not think the Tories like this question. Methinks the Tories do protest too much.

Ms. Copps: Ripping off the public!

Mr. Charest: Any other case you want us to handle?

Ms. Copps: How about Sinc Stevens' legal bills? Bribes, that is what we are talking about.

● (1450)

Mr. Speaker: In the circumstances, I think we should move on to the next question.

The Hon. Member for Yorkton—Melville.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

SOCIAL PROGRAMS—POSITION OF CANADIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Mr. Lorne Nystrom (Yorkton—Melville): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Right Hon. Prime Minister.

During the election campaign, the Chairman of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce wrote a letter to the Leader of my Party, saying, in part, and I quote:

We have no fear whatsoever that our social or development programs will be affected by the free trade agreement, and we have said so repeatedly.

In the light of the statement by the Chairman of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce yesterday that his organization is now calling upon the federal Government to cut spending on universal social programs, including the unemployment insurance program, as well as spending to industry, which would take in regional development programs, I should like to ask the Prime Minister whether or not he is prepared today to say, in an unequivocal way, that he will reject the request of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce for this type of cut-back in government spending, and in fact maintain the level of government spending on social programs in this country.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): The Hon. Member is quite correct in quoting someone as saying that the Free Trade Agreement will have no effect on the social services, the social programs

Oral Questions

that are now in effect in Canada. That is quite clear when one reads the terms of the agreement.

As to any suggestion that those outside of government can influence government spending, I can only tell the Hon. Member that we in this Government decide upon government policy, and not anyone from the outside.

The fact that many members of the labour movement in Canada are asking that the Leader of the New Democratic Party be removed from office is not to say that their advice should be heeded. The fact that the same individuals who came out against free trade are now coming out against the Leader of the New Democratic Party is not to say that their advice should be listened to.

CHAMBER'S REQUEST THAT ROYAL COMMISSION BE
APPOINTED

Mr. Lorne Nystrom (Yorkton—Melville): The "Bay Street" buddies of the Minister, mainly in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, have called upon the Government to establish a royal commission on social programs in this country.

I would ask the Prime Minister to confirm today that he will say "no" to his Bay Street buddies, that he will say "no" to the multinationals in this country, and that there will be no royal commission looking to cutback the social programs in place in Canada today.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister and the majority on this side of the House were elected by the voters of Main Street Canada, and those are the people we intend to listen to for the next four years.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

* * *

TRADE

SOFTWOOD LUMBER TAX—LAY-OFFS ANNOUNCED BY
GREAT WEST FOREST PRODUCTS

Mr. Joe Comuzzi (Thunder Bay—Nipigon): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade.

Great West Forest Products of Thunder Bay today announced the lay-off of 180 employees.

Some Hon. Members: Shame, shame!

Mr. Comuzzi: That lay-off will be followed by a lay-off of a further 180 people who work in the bush. In addition, 60 independent contractors will lose their jobs.

This lay-off, in total, will affect 420 workers.

In its press release the company states that the closure is a direct result of the 15 per cent export tax imposed by this Government.

Why has the Government not taken action to get rid of that export tax, a tax that is costing hundreds of jobs in northern Ontario?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): The export tax was a tax—

An Hon. Member: That is a tax on Main Street Canada, John.

Mr. Crosbie: The export tax was a tax imposed after a great deal of consultation between the Government of Canada and the Governments of the provinces most affected by the threatened American actions in connection with softwood lumber. Rather than having increased tariffs attached to Canadian softwood lumber products going into the U.S., it was felt that the money should be kept in Canada, and it is for that reason that the export tax was imposed.

Through the increase in stumpage fees and, in certain provinces, the imposition of the 15 per cent export tax, the additional moneys are retained in Canada, principally in British Columbia, as opposed to going into the coffers of the U.S.

Mr. Speaker, this is not something that was voluntary on our part. It was, rather, to salvage a situation that was not of our making.

Ms. Copps: That was Pat Carney's "final offer".

Mr. Crosbie: When and if it becomes possible to alter that arrangement, and the provinces and the other parties concerned wish to have it changed, we would be more than willing to sit down and discuss it with them.

Ms. Copps: Are you going to amend the Free Trade Agreement?

REQUEST FOR ELIMINATION OF PROVISION IN FREE
TRADE AGREEMENT

Mr. Joe Comuzzi (Thunder Bay—Nipigon): My information is that this is just the tip of the iceberg in so far as the loss of jobs in Thunder Bay is concerned.

Oral Questions

Thousands of jobs will be lost this winter due to this export tax.

As has been said, it is something that has received grandfathering treatment under the Free Trade Agreement. I would ask the Minister whether the Government is prepared to take action to eliminate the grandfathering treatment and to delete the applicable clause from the Free Trade Agreement.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I believe the Memorandum of Understanding has a termination clause in it, and if the provinces and the other parties concerned believe that it is an arrangement that should be terminated, thus allowing the Americans to proceed with the countervailing tariffs that they threatened, that is a step that could be taken. But we would certainly have to consider such a course very carefully.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Take it before the GATT. Challenge them.

* * *

INDIAN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT'S SOCIAL POLICIES—EFFECT ON NEW BRUNSWICK INDIANS

Mr. Fernand Robichaud (Beauséjour): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of State for Indian Affairs.

Yesterday I was informed by representatives of New Brunswick Indians that the Department of Indian Affairs has adopted a new set of social policies, policies that encourage native poverty.

Indian communities now face a series of unilateral cut-backs imposed by the regional administration of Indian Affairs, which cut-backs will make life very difficult for those communities, communities in which unemployment runs as high as 90 per cent.

Is the Minister aware of these cut-backs, and does he agree with them?

[*Translation*]

Hon. Bernard Valcourt (Minister of State (Small Businesses and Tourism) and Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)): Mr. Speaker, if the Hon. Member for Beauséjour wishes to have information on the budget of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for native people

and Indians, especially in New Brunswick, I can show him that over the last four years, the funds for services to Indians increased steadily since 1984. Therefore, his allegation of cuts is not based on facts and he would do well to check the figures before rising in the House and uttering such nonsense.

REQUEST THAT MINISTER MEET INDIAN DELEGATION

Mr. Fernand Robichaud (Beauséjour): Mr. Speaker, representatives of the Indian communities of New Brunswick were the ones who showed me those figures and said there were cuts. Could the Minister explain why he has so far refused to meet with this delegation that is now here in Ottawa in order to understand the implications of these cuts on these communities? Does he agree to meet with them? They are here and wish to meet him.

Hon. Bernard Valcourt (Minister of State (Small Businesses and Tourism) and Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)): Mr. Speaker, first of all, I am glad to see that the Hon. Member for Beauséjour has managed to find time to meet with these Indians. I could tell him, Mr. Speaker, that I have never refused to meet with anyone. Indeed, the Indians of New Brunswick probably never had a Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development who gave them so much time because I am the first one from New Brunswick; however, I do not intend to make appointments in the House of Commons. But certainly, if they want to contact me, I am ready to meet them.

* * *

[*English*]

ENERGY

PRICE OF OIL

Mr. Ross Harvey (Edmonton East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Energy, and is as follows:

'Twill be the night before Christmas, and up at the Soo
More than 600 steelworkers will have no work to do.
Lay-offs at Algoma for up to two months
Starting just before Christmas have folks down in the dumps
And the reason is low sales of tubular steel—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Harvey: If I may continue:

'Cause out in Alberta nobody will deal.
With oil prices staying disastrously low,—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: Let him finish!

● (1500)

Mr. Speaker: Given the time, perhaps the Hon. Member would like to put his question.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I am sorry, Mr. Speaker, it is so rarely that I am struck by the Calliopean Muse. It costs jobs in Ontario. It costs jobs in Alberta. When will the Minister approach his Alberta confrères to negotiate a reasonable Canadian floor price for Canadian oil?

[Translation]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Hon. Member is not trying to suggest that we return to the National Energy Program.

[English]

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Edmonton East on a very short supplemental.

FLOOR PRICE QUERY

Mr. Ross Harvey (Edmonton East): Mr. Speaker, no one is talking about a return to the National Energy Program.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): What we are talking about is allowed for in the Western Accord that the Minister signed in 1985, a floor price for Canadian oil.

[Translation]

Hon. Marcel Masse (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources): Mr. Speaker, obviously, if the Minister sets a ceiling price, he will set a floor price. And if so, we would be right back to the national energy policy.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

SOFTWOOD LUMBER PRODUCTS EXPORT CHARGE ACT

TABLING OF ANNUAL REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the

Tabling of Documents

Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 32(2), I have the honour to lay upon the table, in both official languages, copies of the annual report of the Softwood Lumber Products Export Charge Act; and I move:

That the House do now proceed to Orders of the Day.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

● (1510)

(Division No. 15)

YEAS

Members

Anderson	Clark	Edwards
Andre	(Yellowhead)	Epp
Atkinson	Clark	Fee
Attewell	(Brandon—Souris)	Feltham
Beatty	Clifford	Ferland
Belsher	Cole	Fontaine
Bernier	Collins	Fretz
Bertrand	Cook	Friesen
Bird	Cooper	Gérin
Bjornson	Corbeil	Gibeau
Blais	Corbett	Gray
Blenkarn	Côté	(Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-Madeleine)
Bosley	Couture	Greene
Bourgault	Crosbie	Guilbault
Boyer	(St. John's West)	Gustafson
Brightwell	Crosby	Halliday
Browes	(Halifax West)	Harvey
Cadieux	Darling	(Chicoutimi)
Campbell	DeBlois	Hawkes
(Vancouver Centre)	de Cotret	Hicks
Cardiff	Della Noce	Hockin
Casey	Desjardins	Hogue
Chadwick	Dick	Holtmann
Champagne	Dobbie	Horner
(Champlain)	Domme	Horning
Charest	Dorin	Hudon
Chartrand	Duplessis	

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Hughes	McDermid	Sparrow	Walker	Young	Young
Jacques	McDougall	St-Julien	Wappel	(Gloucester)	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Jelinek	(St. Paul's)	Stevenson	Whittaker		110
Johnson	McLean	Tardif	Wood		
Joncas	Merrithew	Tétreault			
Jourdenais	Mitges	Thacker			
Kempling	Monteith	Thompson			
Kilgour	Nicholson	Thorkelson			
(Edmonton Southeast)	Nowlan	Tremblay			
Koury	Oberle	(Rosemont)			
Landry	O'Brien	Tremblay			
Langlois	O'Kurley	(Québec-Est)			
Larivière	Paproski	Tremblay			
Layton	Plamondon	(Lotbinière)			
Leblanc	Plourde	Turner			
(Longueuil)	Porter	(Halton—Peel)			
Lewis	Pronovost	Valcourt			
Littlechild	Redway	Van de Walle			
Loiselle	Reid	Vankoughnet			
Lopez	Reimer	Venne			
MacDonald	Ricard	Vien			
(Rosedale)	Richardson	Vincent			
MacDougall	Robitaille	Weiner			
(Timiskaming)	Roy-Arcelin	Wenman			
MacKay	Schneider	White			
Malone	Scott	Wilbee			
Marin	(Victoria—Haliburton)	Wilson			
Martin	Scott	(Swift Current—Maple			
(Lincoln)	(Hamilton—Wentworth)	Creek—Assiniboia)			
Masse	Shields	Wilson			
Mayer	Siddon	(Etobicoke Centre)			
Mazankowski	Sobeski	Winegard			
McCreath	Soetens	Worthy—156			

NAYS

Members

Allmand	Fontana	Marleau
Althouse	Foster	Martin
Anawak	Fulton	(Lasalle—Énard)
Angus	Funk	McCurdy
Arseneault	Gaffney	McGuire
Axworthy	Gardiner	McLaughlin
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Gauthier	Mifflin
Crossing)	Gray	Milliken
Axworthy	(Windsor West)	Mills
(Winnipeg South	Guarnieri	Mitchell
Centre)	Harb	Murphy
Baker	Harvard	Nault
Barrett	Harvey	Nunziata
Bélair	(Edmonton East)	Nystrom
Bellemare	Heap	Pagtakhan
Benjamin	Hopkins	Parent
Black	Hovdebo	Parker
Blackburn	Hunter	Peterson
(Brant)	Jordan	Phinney
Blondin	Karpoff	Pickard
Boudria	Karygiannis	Proud
Brewin	Keyes	Rideout
Broadbent	Kristiansen	Riis
Butland	Langan	Robichaud
Caccia	Langdon	Rodriguez
Callbeck	Lapierre	Samson
Campbell	Laporte	Simmons
(South West Nova)	LeBlanc	Skelly
Catterall	(Cape Breton High-	(North Island—Powell
Clancy	lands—	River)
Comuzzi	Canso)	Skelly
Copps	Lee	(Comox—Alberni)
Crawford	MacAulay	Speller
de Jong	MacDonald	Stewart
Dionne	(Dartmouth)	Stupich
Duhamel	MacLellan	Taylor
Ferguson	MacWilliam	Tobin
Finestone	Maheu	Vanclief
Fisher	Manley	Volpe
Flis	Marchi	Waddell

Walker	Young	Young
Wappel	(Gloucester)	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Whittaker		110
Wood		

• (1540)

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I declare the motion carried.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed from Tuesday, December 20, consideration in committee of Bill C-2, an Act to enact the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act—Mr. Crosbie—Mr. Danis in the Chair.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, I move:

That further consideration of clauses 1 to 150, the Preamble, Title and Schedule and any amendments proposed thereto at the Committee of the Whole stage of Bill C-2 shall be the first business of the committee and shall not be further postponed.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands rises on a point of order.

• (1550)

Mr. Milliken: Mr. Chairman, as Hon. Members will know, the present closure rule was introduced into the House of Commons in 1913. The words of the rule are quite explicit. We heard them in the motion just read by the Deputy House Leader. I refer to the words: "The items shall be the first business of the committee and shall not further be postponed". I submit that the words "further be postponed" have a specific meaning. In my submission, the motion as proposed is out of order.

The words of the closure rule in the House have been unchanged from their introduction in 1913. At the time of their introduction the Hon. Arthur Meighen, who was the Minister who had framed this particular rule, made certain statements about the application of the closure rule. Those words are instructive for understanding the manner in which it is to be dealt with in the House today. I would like to refer to *House of Commons Debates* of April 10, 1913 where, as reported on page 7536, Mr. Meighen was discussing the manner in which this rule would be applied. He stated:

I do not know that I understand the question but I will repeat what I have said and I think the hon. gentleman will understand me. Clause 2 is under discussion and the Government have reason, by what they have observed, to see that it is being obstructed, or on reasons that appear to them good, they move that the discussion be adjourned.

He was interrupted, and then further stated:

Nothing more, however, is done at that time and they pass to clause 3. That is the next thing to do, without a doubt. Clause 3 then becomes the subject of discussion in the committee. Clause 3 is under consideration and the committee discusses it also for a time, and the Government takes the responsibility for the length of that time. Then, if the same conditions develop; if the Government deem it is their duty as the custodians of the rights of the people of this country, they can move that the consideration of that clause be postponed. Then the committee passes to clause 4 and it is in the same category, and nothing is done as yet except merely to move the postponement.

In this committee we have considered one clause only, and it has not been postponed. How can it be further postponed, that is the question.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Milliken: Following the introduction of the closure rule in 1913 it was applied in the debate on the naval Bill in that year. The procedure described by Mr. Meighen in the passage I have quoted was followed faithfully throughout the discussion on the naval Bill in Committee of the Whole, and indeed on all other parts of the Bill.

In 1917 closure was invoked again on two occasions. Rather than go back to the 1917 *Debates*, I would like to read from *Hansard* of May 31, 1956 where the events of 1917 were summarized by a person now sitting at the Table of the House, Mr. Stanley Knowles, who rose on a point of order similar to the one that I am raising today. At that time he summarized the use of closure on the naval Bill in 1913, and at page 4509 of *Hansard* he stated:

In the case of the naval aid bill in 1913—hon. members can find this in volume V—after considerable discussion clause 1 was carried. Clause 2 was discussed for a considerable time and then was postponed, as recorded in column 9276. Clause 3 was moved in that column and postponed in column 9339. Clause 4 was moved on that page and not postponed until column 9348. I could go on right down to clause 6. It was only after all of the clauses had had some discussion in the committee—I am not confusing the issue by pointing out the kind of so-called discussion we had on clauses 1, 2 or 3; I am letting that go because the issue about clauses . . .

Mr. Knowles continued to discuss the pipeline Bill, and I need not read that.

Mr. Knowles described two instances in 1917 on a Bill having to do with the Canadian National Railways, and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I will not read it all because it is exactly the same procedure that was followed in 1913.

Having referred to those three precedents, there is a further one in 1919 to which I wish to refer you, Mr. Chairman. That is the debate on April 25 and 28, 1919 on the Bill to establish the Canadian National Railways Company. In all of those cases that I have cited the procedure was followed: the clause came up for consideration before the committee, was considered by the committee for however brief a time, then consideration was postponed.

The closure motion was moved after all clauses had been considered, and a day's debate was then held which went at that time until 2 a.m.—now we go until 1 a.m.—and the question on the Bill was finally decided.

That procedure changed in only two instances. I wish to describe them briefly because obviously they will be relied upon by the Government in support of this most unusual procedure. I submit that they are quite different from the circumstances in which we find ourselves today. The first of those occasions arose in 1932 in a discussion on a Bill entitled the Unemployment and Farm Relief Continuance Act of 1932.

That particular Bill contained three clauses. The first was the operative clause, the second required that all Orders in Council and regulations made under the Act be tabled in the House of Commons, and the third was the title. During the consideration in the committee of that Bill, following lengthy discussion on clause 1, the Government invoked the closure motion similar to the one being considered today, and moved that further consideration of all clauses not be postponed.

At the urging of the then Prime Minister, the Chairman ruled that the discussion on clause 1 had covered the discussion on all the other clauses of the Bill because it was the operative clause in the Bill, and he allowed the Government motion to be voted upon. It was first carried in the affirmative and the closure rule went into effect so that the decision was made later that day on the Bill.

The second example of procedure, which I submit was incorrect, as was the 1932 example I have just cited, occurred 32 years ago in the pipeline debate. In an earlier speech in the House on the procedural motion last Friday I have already discussed the import of that particular measure.

During the course of the pipeline debate on May 31 there were seven clauses in the pipeline Bill. There had

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

been three considered in Committee of the Whole and postponed. Consideration was proceeding on Clause 4 and had proceeded for some considerable time. The Government moved a similar motion to the one moved today, that further consideration of all the clauses not be postponed. It was then that Mr. Knowles, among others, and Mr. Fulton, who was a former colleague of some of the people on the other side of the Chamber, raised points of order objecting to the proposal that had been put before the House.

The Chairman ruled that the motion as proposed was in order. The Chairman's ruling was appealed to the Chair. The Speaker also ruled that it was in order, and his decision was appealed to the House and upheld on appeal. That decision was made on Friday, June 1, a day referred to by former colleagues opposite as Black Friday. On the following Monday they were so disturbed that the Speaker had made such a ruling that they moved a motion of non confidence in the Speaker of the House, an unprecedented move, and debated that for some days in an effort to undermine his authority.

There are no other precedents of which I am aware, or that I have been able to find where this rule has been used in Committee of the Whole.

● (1600)

Based upon a review of those authorities, I submit that the motion now before us is out of order. I submit to the Chair that the 1932 ruling, upheld in 1956, constitutes a bad decision and one which ought not to be followed. As a consequence, the Chair should ignore the rulings of 1932 and 1956.

R. MacGregor-Dawson, in his book *Procedures in the Canadian House of Commons*, published in 1962, states, at page 130: "The precedent established in 1932 and strengthened in 1956 is obviously an undesirable one. A system under which only a few clauses of a Bill are considered before being passed is neither wise nor sensible."

In addition, the Speaker of this House, on Thursday, December 15 last, made a ruling on a previous closure motion moved by the Deputy Government House Leader, and I should like to quote from that ruling. At page 78 of *Hansard*, we read the following:

After a very careful consideration of this point, I am more persuaded by the weight of precedent and practice. Taking into consideration the gravity of the measure to be invoked and the necessity of protecting the rights of the minority, it is my feeling and decision that the intention of the Standing Order as drafted and as it has been applied is to allow a majority to impose closure only after

debate on the question has begun. This is to ensure that such a debate is not unfairly or prematurely curtailed. In this instance, debate on the motion had clearly not begun when the Hon. Minister served notice.

And I submit that debate on any clause but Clause 2 of Bill C-2 had not begun at the time of the notice of motion calling for closure, or the motion itself.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Milliken: If you are not persuaded that the rulings of 1932 and 1956 are incorrect, then I say to you, Mr. Chairman, that there is another significant difference. I have in my hand the 1932 Bill that was under consideration. As can be seen, it is one page in length, with a title page. I also have in my hand the pipeline Bill, which comprises some seven or eight pages and a title page. And I now have in my hand Bill C-2, the Bill which we are being asked to conclude committee consideration of today, having only discussed one clause, and one can readily see how thick it is. In addition to the Bill itself, it has schedule, after schedule, after schedule.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest to you that the 1932 and 1956 precedents, being poor rulings, ought to be overlooked by you, and that you should take cognizance of the precedents established in 1913, twice in 1917, and again in 1919, precedents established in accordance with the view of the author of the closure rule as to how that rule should operate in this House.

I submit that that is the proper course for the Chair to follow. The motion of the Deputy Government Leader ought to be ruled out of order, and we should proceed to clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): What is your answer, Doug?

The Chairman: The Chair recognizes the Hon. Member for Kamloops (Mr. Riis), on the same point of order.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Chairman, at the outset, I must say that the case presented by the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands is an extremely convincing one.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Riis: I simply wish to add two points, the first of which is to repeat again that the last time we saw this procedural blitzkrieg take place was back in 1956, 32 years ago, during the pipeline debate.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I refer the Chair to Citation 334(8) of *Beauchesne's Fifth Edition*, which makes it perfectly clear that the precedents conflict as to whether closure may be moved on a clause which has not yet been called and postponed in Committee of the Whole.

As the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands has indicated, on four occasions—1913, twice in 1917, and in 1919—all of the clauses had been postponed before closure was moved; and on two occasions, in 1932, in connection with the unemployment and farm relief legislation, and in 1956, in connection with the pipeline legislation, closure was used on clauses which had not yet been called.

Obviously the precedents conflict; there are precedents on both sides of the argument. But, I think that we in this House would be well advised to look to the most recent decision of our own Speaker, a decision brought in on December 15 last in respect of the attempt by the Deputy Government House Leader to give notice of closure in respect of a debate which had not yet begun.

In his ruling, the Speaker made it perfectly clear that such a course was unacceptable; that procedurally, such a course was inappropriate.

I submit to the Chair that we are in exactly the same position at this time. We are being asked now to accept the notion that we can discuss closure on questions that have yet to be put. I suggest to the Chair that the motion of the Deputy House Leader to invoke closure be ruled out of order.

The Chairman: The Chair recognizes the Minister of State.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, at the outset let me compliment the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands on his initial foray into the procedures of this House. I compliment him on the considerations which he raised in his argument.

He asked us to follow comments made during debate in this House, and that we consider to be a worthwhile effort. Such comments are always instructive. However, I think the Chair would agree, as would all Members, that we are more inclined to follow the precedents set by previous Speakers than we are comments made during the course of debate.

Rather than asking the Chair to overrule the decisions of previous Speakers, we request that the Chair follow precedent.

The Hon. Member for Kamloops made the comment that, on December 15 last, a notice of closure was ruled out of order—and, yes, it was. That notice of motion to invoke closure was ruled out of order clearly because it had been given before the debate on the motion for the second reading of the Bill had commenced. I understand that. At the time I commented that we had ventured into that area knowing that there was no precedent. I can recall saying at the time that we had decided that we would test it to see if we could make it stick—and it didn't stick, and I can recall complimenting the Chair at the time on its ruling.

Obviously, the notice of closure should come at the proper time. I grant that. But I suggest to the Hon. Member that there is a big difference between the situation of December 15, which involved our having given notice of closure before the debate had actually started, and the situation which prevailed last evening, at which point we gave notice that we would be moving closure during Committee of the Whole consideration at the first crack.

I draw to the attention of the House the actual wording of the Standing Order 57, which states that any Minister of the Crown may move that the debate shall not be further adjourned, or that the further consideration of any resolution or resolutions, clause or clauses, shall be the first business of the committee and shall not further be postponed, and so forth.

In accordance with Standing Order 57, I gave notice yesterday of our intention to move closure today. We are now in Committee of the Whole, having resumed Committee of the Whole consideration of the Bill, and it is for that reason that I have put the motion at this time.

I submit to the Chair that we have used all of the proper and required forms, proposing that all of the elements of the Bill, none of which had been voted or stood by the committee at the time of the putting of the motion, be the subject of the closure motion. All clauses and all elements of the Bill were included in the notice, and the request was that it be dealt with as the first business of the Committee of the Whole.

There is an "s" or a pluralized form in the standing order that has been unchanged since 1913, other than, as has been mentioned, to change the hour from 2 a.m. to 1 a.m. The clear intention of the order is that one closure motion can be moved with respect to all parts of the Bill, or any specific parts. We went on to add schedules and to make sure that our notice was all-inclusive.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

● (1610)

I want to refer my friend to the pipeline debate and the decision. I think it is important to note that in this particular case it was a decision of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House, which was appealed to the Speaker, and then the Speaker's ruling was challenged. What we had here was something that does not happen anymore, that is, a challenge of the Speaker's ruling. Not only do we have the ruling but we have the force and effect of a House decision backing up a Speaker's ruling.

I want to read what the Speaker said on June 1, 1956. He said this:

The question is the following one:

In committee of the whole, Mr. St. Laurent (Quebec East) moved that at this sitting of the committee of the whole house on Bill No. 298, an act to establish the Northern Ontario Pipe Line Crown Corporation, the further consideration of clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, the title of the said bill, and any amendments proposed thereto, shall be the first business of this committee and shall not be further postponed.

Mr. Fulton raised a point of order that the motion was not in order on the ground that certain clauses of the bill have not been before the committee and also that other clauses were postponed before being considered by the committee, and therefore, in accordance with standing order 33, the said clauses could not come within the ambit of the proposed motion. The chairman ruled that in accordance with the rules and the practice of the house the motion is in order. Whereupon Mr. Knowles appealed to the House from the ruling of the Chair. The House divided on the question: Shall the ruling of the chairman be confirmed? And the ruling was confirmed on the following division:

I want to repeat that. That ruling of the Chair has the authority of a decision of the whole House.

Mr. Fulton argued that certain clauses of the Bill had not been before the committee, and I quote— "therefore, the said clauses could not come within the ambit of the proposed motion". That was his argument. What did the Chairman rule in response?

At pages 4516 and 4517 he ruled that the whole question seems to revolve around the interpretation to be put on the words "further consideration found in Standing Order 33". That was the number of the former closure rule.

He said Clauses 2 and 3 had not been called, but it seems to be generally agreed that their subject matter was discussed during the debate on an earlier clause. I would suggest to the House that yesterday through until 12 o'clock in the evening there was a wide-ranging discussion on all clauses of the Bill, and a wide-ranging debate, very ably participated in by Members from all

sides. I cite that ruling to back up my argument that the notice that we gave is in order and that the motion is in order.

I suggest that in this day and age one cannot argue that a closure rule must work in such a way that you have to close and go through this exercise on every clause. That just would not go down well in terms of today's society, in terms of delay rather than debate. I suggest that this is not the intent of the operation of closure. That would be a recipe for the complete disempowering of this House. I do not think the people would stand for it. I would like to quote, if I could, from a great parliamentarian, Mr. Clement Attlee who said this:

I have sat too long on the opposition benches not to be sensitive of the rights of the opposition and of the rights of private members. It is the right and duty of the opposition to criticize the administration and to oppose and seek to amend the legislation of the government but it is nonetheless the right and duty of the government to govern and to pass into law the program which it has been elected to carry out. The successful working of our parliamentary institutions depends on harmonizing these conflicting rights and duties. It will be the object of the Government to preserve the rights of minorities as an essential feature of democracy, while at the same time ensuring that democratic institutions are not wrecked by the failure to carry out and implement the will of the majority.

I suggest that the ultimate test of the acceptability of closure is not procedural. The ultimate test of closure is in the public. How does the public react to closure? Is there a hue and cry? Is there editorial outrage? Are your phones ringing and are my phones ringing?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Lewis: I bet they are. I will bet they are; and they are saying: "What the devil are you doing? The people decided". That is what they are saying on your phone calls.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, I close not with a procedural argument, I admit, but I suggest to you that the public was asked to decide a fundamental question, that is, the free trade Bill. They decided. We are here to take action on that debate. I submit that the action we are taking by way of notice of closure and the closure motion is fully in order.

Mr. John Nunziata: Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to make some very brief submissions on the point of order. I would submit that the motion moved by the Minister is out of order. I concur with the comments

of my colleague with respect to his reasons why the motion is out of order. I would further submit, Sir, the wording chosen by the Hon. Minister would also render his motion to be out of order. I would like to read it for the House. He moved a few moments ago, presumably under Standing Order 57 of the Standing Orders, and I quote:

That further consideration of Clauses 1 to 150, the Preamble, Title and Schedule and any amendments proposed thereto at the Committee of the Whole stage of Bill C-2 shall be the first business of the committee and shall not be further postponed.

The operative words are: "shall not be further postponed". The intent of the motion moved by the Hon. Minister is that the debate ought not to be further adjourned. Under Standing Order 57 of the Standing Orders it speaks of the notice that must be given at a previous sitting of the House. It refers to the difference between not further adjourning a debate and not further postponing consideration of any particular clause that may be under consideration.

As my hon. friend submitted, how can one further postpone something that has not yet been postponed? As I understand it, the only clause under consideration at the present moment is Clause 2. At no point was Clause 2 ever postponed.

With respect to adjournment, I suspect that what the Minister is trying to do is to limit debate until later this day, in other words, to exhaust debate not only on Clause 2 but on every clause in Bill C-2. But he chose the wrong motion. Once again he used the words "shall not be further postponed".

If you refer, Sir, to Standing Order 57 of the Standing Orders you will see that the first part of the clause indicates that at a previous sitting of the House a certain notice must be given. It states that the Minister:

—may move that the debate shall not be further adjourned, or that the further consideration of any resolution or resolutions, clause or clauses, section or sections, preamble or preambles, title or titles shall be the first business of the Committee, and shall not be further be postponed;

I submit to you, Sir, that the motion is out of order because the Minister chose the wrong wording, as well as for the reasons given by my learned friend. In order to further the intent of what the Minister was trying to do he ought to have used the words "that the debate shall not be further adjourned and that any clauses presently postponed shall not be further postponed".

In closing, I would ask that you, Sir, refer to the dictionary definitions of the words "adjourn" and "postpone". In the Oxford dictionary "adjourn" is

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

defined as "being moved to another place or time"; and "postpone" is defined as "keep from occurring until a later time".

• (1620)

At no point did this House "keep from occurring until a later time" any particular clause under consideration, especially Clause 2. We did in fact adjourn the debate yesterday until today.

For those reasons I ask that you rule the motion moved by the Minister out of order.

Mr. Cooper: Mr. Chairman, I want to participate briefly in this point of order. I do not need to revisit a lot of the ground already covered.

I think it is very clear this motion is in order for a number of reasons. If we refer to Citation 334 of Beauchesne's, as was done by the NDP House Leader, it says very clearly we have the precedent to proceed with this motion. We are backed by precedent, we can proceed, and as anyone who looks at the procedures of the House well knows, we tend to look at the most recent precedents as setting the tone and determining the rules that we can use in this institution today.

The other point made about that particular precedent is that it was agreed to by the entire House of Commons. It was put to a vote and Members endorsed it. However, I think there is one other element which has to be taken into account.

This happened back in the 1950s. Since that time there has not been an attempt, as far as I am aware, by any committee to go back and revisit this clause, to look at the precedent that was established in the pipeline debate, and attempt to overturn that precedent. I have participated in two groups which looked at the rules of the House of Commons and the precedents and suggested reforms, the Lefebvre Commission and the McGrath Committee. The latter committee was the author of the many rule changes we saw in the last Parliament.

I submit that the reason for there never having been an attempt to look at the closure rules and say that the pipeline debate precedent should not be used, is very simple. The majority decision of the House of Commons at that time was found acceptable and it has allowed this House to continue to do the type of thing we are doing today by introducing this motion. In fact, the precedent does apply and there has been no attempt to change it.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Chairman, I have had some brief discussions with the House Leaders of the other Parties. I would suggest that in the event the Chair wishes to reserve on this decision and consider it, it would be helpful to all Members of the House if we were to agree on a time to come back to the House for a decision. I am not trying in any way to suggest that you rush this decision or anything like that, but if you found it appropriate, we might be prepared to convene to hear your decision at seven-thirty and to continue with clause-by-clause consideration in the meantime. If we can work out a specific time I think it will be helpful to all Parties.

The Chairman: I would like to thank the Hon. Member for Kingston and The Islands, the Hon. Member for Kamloops, the Minister of State, the Hon. Member for York South—Weston and the Hon. Member for Peace River for their comments on this procedural matter. I will in fact take this matter under advisement for some time and I was going to suggest that we come back at the call of the Chair. However, I understand it would be easier if the Members had a specific time at which to return. If the suggestion made by the Hon. Minister is acceptable to the other two House Leaders, the Chair would also find it acceptable.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to rush you in your decision or in any way ask you how you intend to proceed. Standing Order 57 states that immediately before the Order of the Day, the Minister may do what he has done, that is, move closure in accordance with Standing Order 57.

A point of order was raised. Now, on the Minister's suggestion, you say we shall proceed to debate Clause 2, which is not yet before us, because the Orders of the Day have not yet been read. That poses a problem . . . Listen carefully. There seems to be something missing.

If there is nothing before the House, there is nothing before the House. We can't invent something.

If the House agrees to proceed with the debate on Clause 2, the Chair must put a thing called Bill C-2 before the House. Then, we shall proceed with the debate.

I do not understand. I therefore ask the Chair to tell us how—the suggestion is a good one—but how do we proceed? I would like to know how we are to get out of this.

The Chairman: I shall reserve my decision in any event. There, I think that is settled.

My next decision is that I intend to adjourn for some time. If the House, if Hon. Members had wanted to continue the debate by agreement, that could have been done, but I see, I think that it might be in the interest of the House of Commons at this time and of the Committee to adjourn for a while.

So I intend to adjourn. All that I ask you now is whether you have a time to suggest to me. I will certainly take more than an hour, at least. But I think it would be preferable to have a set time so that all Hon. Members know when to come back.

I think that the suggestion of 7.30 p.m. seems reasonable to me and if there is no further objection . . .

[*English*]

SITTING SUSPENDED

The Chairman: Is it the wish of the Committee to suspend the sitting to the call of the bell?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

The sitting of the Committee was suspended at 4.25 p.m.

[*Editor's note: For continuation of proceedings see Volume B*]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Wednesday, December 21, 1988

[*Editor's Note: Continuation of proceedings from Volume A.*]

SITTING RESUMED

The Committee resumed at 7.30 p.m.

The Chairman: I am now ready to rule on the point of order raised by a number of Members.

In the point of order raised earlier today, the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands argued that the Hon. Minister of State for the Treasury Board was premature in giving notice of closure in relation to Bill C-2 because debate had not begun on many of the clauses that he referred to in his notice.

This leads easily to the further argument that the Minister's motion now before the Chair should be rejected. Since this motion must flow from his notice of yesterday, it too, it is argued, is defective.

The Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands and the Hon. Member for Kamloops quoted from the Speaker's ruling made last week on December 15, 1988 in support of their argument. I should first address that issue.

Standing Order 57, without a doubt, provides for the giving of notice of closure either in the House or in Committee of the Whole. The Speaker's ruling of December 15, 1988 clarified what appeared to be an ambiguity as to the timing of the notice, and he ruled that notice can only be given once the debate has commenced on the matter to be closed.

Consideration of Bill C-2 in Committee of the Whole has also without a doubt begun, particularly as the committee is currently on Clause 2 of the Bill. The Minister, during the course of the consideration of Clause 2, gave notice of his intention to close debate on Clause 2 and on all remaining clauses of the said Bill. The timing of the Minister's action is, in my view, in keeping with the Speaker's ruling. Unlike the situation referred to last week, the Minister has served notice after debate on the committee stage had begun.

The Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands and the Hon. Member for Kamloops further argued that the Minister's motion is procedurally faulty because it attempts to closure in Committee of the Whole parts of the Bill that have not yet been debated or postponed.

The Hon. Member for Kamloops is right in saying that Beauchesne's Fifth Edition, page 118, Citation 334, paragraph (8), sheds little light on this matter and that the citation is not quite definitive.

[*Translation*]

And I quote:

Precedents conflict as to whether closure may be moved on a clause which has not yet been called and postponed in a Committee of the Whole. On four occasions (1913, 1917 (twice) and 1919) all clauses had been postponed before closure was moved. On two occasions (1932 and 1956) closure was used on clauses which had not been called.

[*English*]

The committee will appreciate that since notice of this point of order was given yesterday, I have, in anticipation, reviewed in detail all the precedents mentioned in that citation, and for the benefit of those who may not yet have time to do so, I believe it would be useful to take the time to summarize them.

In 1913, the order in Committee of the Whole was on the Naval Aid Bill C-21. On February 28, 1913, debate commenced in Committee of the Whole on the Bill which contained five clauses. Clause 1 was adopted; Clauses 2 to 5 were all debated and postponed. Prime Minister Borden then proposed a new Clause 6, and it was debated and postponed. On May 8, 1913, notice of closure was given by the Prime Minister. On May 9, 1913, the Prime Minister moved:

That further consideration of the second, third, fourth and fifth clauses and the proposed sixth clause of this Bill shall be the first business of the committee and shall not be further postponed.

This motion covered all remaining clauses of the Bill in a new proposed Clause 6. The motion was agreed to 71 yeas; 44 nays. No procedural objections were made on the proceedings.

It should be noted that Prime Minister Borden had a very specific purpose in postponing consideration of all

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the clauses before invoking closure. Under our rules, new clauses are considered only after all clauses have been considered. I refer Hon. Members to Beauchesne's Fifth Edition, Citation 765.

• (1940)

Therefore, had the Prime Minister proceeded in any different manner, he could not have proposed his new Clause 6 to the Naval Bill since closure could preclude the Committee of the Whole from reaching Clause 5 before the hour provided for interruption.

In 1917, there were two occurrences of closure in Committee of the Whole. All four clauses of Bill C-125, the Canadian Northern Railway Act, and all five clauses and the schedule of Bill C-133, the Wartime Elections Act, were first postponed before closure was invoked. The *Debates* or the *Journals* offer no explanation of why this procedure was followed and there was no objection or procedural discussion.

The 1919 case is more analogous to the 1913 case. The Committee of the Whole was debating Bill C-70, the Canadian National Railway Act. The Committee had adopted some clauses and postponed others in what was a 30-clause Bill. As in 1913, the Prime Minister was required to seek the postponement of all the clauses because he, too, wished to move two new clauses numbered 31 and 32. Like Prime Minister Borden in 1913, if he had proceeded any differently and had invoked closure any earlier, he would probably have been precluded from moving any amendments.

The next instance of closure in Committee of the Whole was on April 1, 1932. Prime Minister Bennett moved:

That further consideration of the title and Clauses 1, 2 and 3 of the Unemployment and Farm Relief Continuance Act, 1932, shall be the first business of the committee and shall not be further postponed.

This motion covered all clauses of the Bill, although only Clause 1 had been formally called and debated. The motion was put and carried and there was no procedural challenge to the fact that some clauses had not been called or postponed. This precedent is virtually identical to the situation the committee now faces.

The most recent example of closure in Committee of the Whole took place on May 24, 1956, when debate commenced in Committee of the Whole on Bill C-298, the Northern Ontario Pipeline Corporation. Clauses 1 to 3 were postponed, Clause 4 was being debated, and Clauses 5 to 7 were never called. On May 30, 1956,

notice of closure was given by Prime Minister St. Laurent. On May 31, 1956, Prime Minister St. Laurent moved:

That at this sitting of the whole House on Bill No. 298, an Act to establish the Northern Ontario Pipeline Corporation, the further consideration of Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, the title of the said Bill, and any amendments proposed thereto, shall be the first business of this Committee and shall not be further postponed.

The closure motion covered all clauses of the Bill, although Clauses 5 to 7 were never called or debated. A point of order was raised, and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole ruled the motion in order, referring to the 1932 precedent. His decision was appealed to the Speaker, who confirmed the ruling. The Speaker, whose rulings were at that time subject to an appeal of the House, were also challenged.

The question was put to the House for decision, and the ruling that the Minister could closure clauses not yet called was sustained by a vote of 143 yeas to 50 nays.

To address the matter raised by the Hon. Member for York—South Weston, I should point out to the committee that the language used by the Minister today is the same as in every case heretofore mentioned.

As I said earlier, Beauchesne's Fifth Edition, citation 344, offers little direction, but an analysis of the cases seems to provide some indication.

In two cases, 1913 and 1919, it would appear that the clauses were postponed for procedurally strategic reasons. In two other cases, both in 1917, all clauses were simply postponed and the debates shed no light on why. On the last two occasions when closure was invoked, in 1932 and 1956, some of the clauses in the Bills concerned had not been reached, and in the latter case rulings were made by the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and the Speaker, which were subsequently confirmed by the House itself, that the closure motion was in order.

The 1958 Fourth Edition of Beauchesne's gives us a little more to consider. The committee will remember that prior to 1968 most Bills of Supply and of Ways and Means destined for a Committee of the Whole were preceded by a resolution first considered by the Committee of the Whole.

[*Translation*]

Citation 167 of the Fourth Edition of *Beauchesne* says, in part:

—If, under this Standing Order, the notice applies to several proposed resolutions, the whole of the sittings allowed for discussion may be engaged in only a part of them and the

remainder has to be voted on without the House having debated them at all. The right of free debate is thereby abolished in so far as those proposed resolutions are concerned.

This citation is very important, and I will read it again in English.

[*English*]

—If, under this Standing Order, the notice applies to several proposed resolutions, the whole of the sittings allowed for discussion may be engaged in only a part of them and the remainder has to be voted on without the House having debated them at all. The right of free debate is thereby abolished in so far as those proposed resolutions are concerned.

It is obvious from that citation that Beauchesne's 1958 Fourth Edition at least envisaged the possibility of closure being applied in Committee of the Whole to parts of a Bill not yet debated.

The Hon. Minister of State for the Treasury Board made a strong point in underlining that the 1956 precedent which confirms the 1932 precedent carries the authority of sustained Chairman's decision, a Speaker's ruling, and a recorded decision by the House itself.

The Hon. Member for Peace River accurately pointed out that in all the recent discussions of procedural reforms, closure has remained untouched.

Therefore, in light of the 1958 Beauchesne's citation, the precedents of 1932 and 1956, and the lack of further direction by the House since 1956, I must rule that the Minister's Notice given yesterday is valid and that his proposed motion is in order.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Chairman: It is now my duty to propose the question without further debate.

Mr. Milliken: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I respectfully appeal your ruling to the Speaker.

Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and the Chairman of the Committee made the following report:

When the Order of the Day to resume consideration in Committee of the Whole of Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, was about to be called, the Hon. Minister of State for Treasury Board proposed to move that further consideration of Clauses 1 to 150, the preamble, the title and schedule, and any amendments proposed thereto of the Committee of the Whole stage of Bill C-2 shall be the first business of the Committee and shall not be further postponed.

A point of order was raised by the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands about the procedural acceptability of the notice and the form of the motion.

After hearing argument, I ruled that the notice was in the proper form and could be proceeded with.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Whereupon, the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands appealed to Mr. Speaker from the decision of the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Speaker: Under the circumstances, it would be appropriate for the Speaker to stand the House for a few minutes to consider carefully the reasons the Chairman has given. I shall do that, to the call of the Chair.

• (1950)

Mr. Hawkes: Mr. Speaker, when you say "to the call of the Chair", will the bells ring for five minutes as they did on the previous occasion?

Mr. Speaker: I think that would be appropriate.

SITTING SUSPENDED

The sitting of the House was suspended at 7.52 p.m.

SITTING RESUMED

The House resumed at 8.15 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: I have been following the proceedings carefully. I listened to the Chairman's ruling, and I have considered the arguments from both sides of the House. During the recess just concluded I read the Chairman's ruling, and I am satisfied that the two precedents mentioned, that of 1932 and that of 1956, are persuasive precedents. I rule that the Chairman has properly applied them to the issue before us. Therefore, I confirm the ruling of the Chair.

House in Committee of the Whole on Bill C-2, an Act to enact the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act—Mr. Crosbie—Mr. Danis in the chair.

The Chairman: The motion is the following one: Mr. Lewis, seconded by Mr. Mazankowski, moved:

That further consideration of Clauses 1 to 150, the preamble, the title and schedule, and any amendments proposed thereto at the Committee of the Whole stage of Bill C-2 shall be the first business of the committee and shall not be further postponed.

Is it the pleasure of the committee to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

• (2020)

Motion (Mr. Lewis) agreed to: Yeas, 147; Nays, 77.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Chairman: I declare the motion carried. The Hon. Member for Fraser Valley East, on debate.

Mr. Belsher: Mr. Chairman, at the outset I should like to compliment you on accepting the position of Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. As well, I congratulate you on your re-election. I should also like to extend a special welcome to all new Members of the House. I wish them well and look forward to working with them.

I should also like to say a special thank you to the people of Fraser Valley East for again honouring me with their support and sending me back to Ottawa to be their representative in this the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

We are on Clause 2 of Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement. The agreement itself is about the phasing out of tariffs. The position of the Opposition is: Given that 80 per cent of the trade between Canada and the U.S. is free of tariffs, and given that we are getting along fine under that regime, why bother with the other 20 per cent?

An Hon. Member: Hear, hear! A good question.

Mr. Belsher: The fact is, the 80 per cent of the trade that is without tariff is trade in raw materials. It is the value-added exports that attract tariffs, and it is those tariffs that we are endeavouring to phase out over the next 10 years.

To give Hon. Members an example, a pair of shoes produced in Canada would attract a 48 per cent tariff if sold in the U.S. Yet, raw materials flow back and forth across the Canada-U.S. border without tariff. The Opposition Parties have played to the fears of Canadians. They say that because something is not in the agreement, it is at risk. That is just not true.

The Free Trade Agreement is a trade agreement only. It is a way of ensuring continued access to the largest market in the world, the U.S. market. Bill C-2 merely implements the agreement consummated by the Prime Minister and the President over one year ago, an agreement which will ensure continued access to each other's markets without fear of tariff barriers, without fear of protectionism.

In the Fraser Valley, the independent shake and shingle producers know first-hand the detrimental effects of protectionist measures. In a recent letter to the Prime Minister, the Fraser Valley Independent Shake and Shingle Producers Association stated:

We urge you to pass the Free Trade Agreement as soon as practical so that others, when faced with similar actions from the U.S., will have a definitive course of action available to them that will lead to a more timely and objective solution.

Further, they went on to state:

We strongly agree with your opinion that had the Free Trade Agreement been in place in 1986, this specific section 201 action by the U.S. against us would not have been implemented.

This from an industry which has suffered without a free trade agreement.

I have heard opponents compare the Free Trade Agreement to being as dangerous as laying down beside an elephant. To those people, I say: Please wake up to reality. We are already laying down beside an elephant. The Free Trade Agreement is to protect us should that elephant decide to roll over.

As I stated during the election campaign, the Free Trade Agreement is good for the people of my riding of Fraser Valley East, and for the people of Canada. It does not threaten our social programs. It does not give our resources to the Americans; it does not give our water to the Americans; and it does not threaten our agricultural supply management systems.

We cannot say it more clearly than that, and still the Opposition Parties try to scare Canadians into believing their wild accusations.

I am glad to see that Canadians cannot be hood-winked. They have clearly stated, as the results of the election of November 21 indicate, that they are not afraid of progress.

I see the Free Trade Agreement as ensuring that the American market-place remains open and accessible to Canadians, providing opportunities for continued economic growth and ensuring the continuation of the prosperity we have begun to build in the past four years of Progressive Conservative government.

Let me take a moment to review the history of free trade. The idea of some sort of free trade agreement with our neighbour has been around since Confederation, and even before. Sir John A. Macdonald sought reciprocity and turned to his national policy only when the U.S. rejected the idea of reciprocity.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the seventh Prime Minister of Canada, and a Liberal, wanted unrestricted reciprocity with the U.S.

In the 1930s, both Canada and the U.S. entered into a Most Favoured Nation agreement to help stimulate one

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

another's economies in the wake of the depression of the 1930s, leading to the establishment of the GATT.

In 1982, the Canadian Senate, dominated by Liberals, issued its report on free trade with the U.S., which report stated, and I quote:

—the desired restructuring, growth and competitiveness of Canadian industry can best be achieved by the negotiation of a bilateral free trade agreement with the United States..

In 1983, Prime Minister Trudeau appointed the Royal Commission on the Economy, headed by Donald Macdonald, a former Liberal Finance Minister. That commission was in place for three years, during which time it held public hearings in every part and region of Canada. Its conclusions were straightforward and clear:

Free trade will help make us richer and, by making us richer, strengthen the fabric of our country and increase our self-confidence. It will offer our nation a more secure relationship and make us less vulnerable.

Earlier this month, Canada hosted the GATT countries in Montreal for the purpose of conducting a review of the mid-point results from the GATT Uruguay Round.

● (2030)

GATT was formed January 1, 1948. Canada was one of the 23 founding members. This agreement sets out the rules for international trade. We remain firmly committed to GATT today and the rules it has put in place. It remains the cornerstone of our trade policy. The FTA is fully consistent with the spirit and letter of GATT. Article 24 allows GATT signatories to negotiate free trade areas.

The most current round of multilateral negotiations began in September of 1986. It is to be concluded in 1990. These negotiations, called the Uruguay Round, included on the agenda across the board negotiations on agriculture. Unfortunately, there was no agreement. There is an obvious need for more discussion within GATT on agriculture. Canada's import controls in support of supply-management programs are in conformity with GATT. This is not the case with the U.S. or the European Economic Community. The U.S. and EEC support policies that generate large surpluses which are in turn dumped on the world market with the help of massive export subsidies.

At the recent Montreal meetings we worked to reduce trade distorting subsidies which are causing serious difficulties for our farmers. What we were concerned with at those meetings in Montreal was the fact that Article 11, dealing with supply-management and import

restrictions, is imprecise. Canada's position is that the Article should be clarified to ensure that it is not misused, that the appropriate agricultural products are covered and the Canadian supply-management system is compatible with post-Montreal GATT obligations. Unfortunately, the 96 GATT member countries at the meeting could not agree on a negotiating framework and the gap between the EEC and the U.S. was too great at this time. However, we will continue to work toward a solution at future meetings.

Because of Article 11, even if you were to throw out the Free Trade Agreement you would still be faced with doing something about trade distortions. That is something the opposition Members failed to tell the farming community.

The Government had three objectives regarding agriculture in the Free Trade Agreement. One was to improve access for farm products, then to make access more secure, and then to preserve our agricultural policy instruments. Those objectives were met. The agreement gradually eliminates all tariffs and addresses a broad range of agricultural non-tariff barriers. It also safeguards the Canadian agriculture marketing system, and provides flexibility for the introduction of new supply-management systems consistent with rights and obligations under GATT.

With respect to the specific impact on the major agricultural sectors of most interest to the people of the Fraser Valley, this agreement will have no effect on the supply-management system for dairy products or the poultry industry. There will be no effect on primary producer returns for poultry and eggs from tariff reductions since import controls are maintained, although import quotas for chicken, turkeys and eggs will be increased slightly to the benefit of the food processor. That was based on an average of imports over the previous five years. Increased export market opportunities for high quality finished cattle for slaughter and high quality beef and pork is what is expected by that industry.

The Opposition, over these many months, has been saying that we sold out our energy. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Free Trade Agreement says, in Article 902, that Canadian and U.S. rights and obligations under GATT on legitimate trade restrictions on energy products are affirmed. Canada retains its power to control the flow of Canadian energy exports. It also says that if you have contracts, contracts must be lived up to. As it affects British Columbia, this part of the agreement talks about the Bonnyville power system

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

which B.C. wants access to in order to sell energy to the California market. That is covered in Article 905.2.

Article 907 deals with Canadian uranium and electricity exports. It has been said that we cannot sell energy to the U.S. at a higher price than what it is sold for in Canada. That is just not so. Article 908 says that Canada's long-term obligations under an international agreement are still in effect in times of supply shortages. That agreement was signed with the former Government some 10 or 12 years ago.

We have many times been accused of selling out our water. Yet we know water was spelled out very clearly in the agreement. The agreement says nothing it contains, except Article 401, applies to water. It goes on to explain that water means natural surface and ground water, in liquid, gaseous or solid state, but does not include water packaged or as a beverage or in tanks. Yet the opposition Members neglected to tell the people that these things were in the Bill.

What has been said about the agreement after the election? In a series of interviews on November 23, the Leader of the NDP said various things. He was quoted in *The Globe and Mail* as saying the Canadian people have taken a decision and the Prime Minister certainly has the right to continue with passage of free trade. At another point he said it would be churlish and inappropriate to say something should be done about the law at this stage. All the chances for amendments that could possibly have been taken have been exhausted.

Ms. Copps: Who said that?

Mr. Belsher: That was the Leader of the NDP. In *La Presse* on that same day he said in our parliamentary tradition, the Canadian people made a decision and the Prime Minister now has the right and mandate to pass the free trade Bill. Later on he said the Prime Minister has been given a clear mandate. The agreement, with all of its faults, faults by NDP standards, has been approved by the people. It would not be appropriate to oppose it now. He indicated it was extremely unlikely that his Party would reintroduce amendments to the Bill once Parliament resumes.

So much for what the NDP say. Let us now see what the Right Hon. Leader of the Official Opposition said on the same day. In the *Ottawa Citizen* he was quoted as saying that the people decided they want the deal. He said the people are always right. In the *Montreal Gazette* he is quoted as saying they would be restating their position on the matter but they let the people

decide and the people have decided. Having stated their case they would let matters proceed. What happened between November 23 and today?

The Tourism Industry Association of Canada ran an ad which said that tourism and free trade feed each other. That association, representing over one million Canadians directly or indirectly employed in the industry, believes it is important for all Canadians to understand that tourism is a \$21 billion industry, second only to the auto sector in foreign revenues earned.

It generates roughly \$9 billion in taxes and is growing more than twice as fast as any other major industry. Tourism means jobs for one in ten Canadians; one in four for Canadians under 25. Some 20 per cent of our tourism revenues come from visitors beyond our border. The association urges all associated with the industry to consider the many economic benefits that will flow from the Free Trade Agreement to ourselves and to all our different enterprises and to Canada.

Another organization we are well acquainted with in this Chamber is that of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business. They talked about their wish list for Christmas with the new Government. The results of more than 17,000 personal member interviews showed strong small business support for free trade. Six small and medium-sized firms out of every seven said the agreement will have a positive effect on their business. The importance of free trade to the over-all health of the small business community cannot be ignored.

● (2040)

They go on to say that small business is vital to the growth of the Canadian economy. Companies with less than 20 employees were responsible for some 85 per cent of the job creation between 1978 and 1986. The over-all health of small business will likely reflect the over-all health of the Canadian economy.

Much has been said about the Americans and their ability to make their laws for themselves. People fail to realize that Canada has not given up its ability to make laws, nor have we changed our laws.

The agreement is of economic benefit to Canada. This Government has started upon this road and has followed it through because we feel it will be of benefit to the Canadian economy. With benefits flowing to the Canadian economy, what better assurance is there for the social programs that Canadians enjoy?

History is on our side. We know that through history, when tariffs have been lowered, trade has gone up. With

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

trade, there are benefits. We know that Canada produces more than it can consume. So, where will we go for our markets? The money is not sufficient within our own country.

I am glad to be a part of the Government that is setting this trade deal in motion. I will be pleased to stand in my place when it comes time to vote on the third and final reading in support of the motion that this Government has taken under the leadership of our Prime Minister and his Cabinet and to do my part to further the Free Trade Agreement with the United States of America.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to rise to participate in the debate on the Free Trade Agreement, pleased at the fact that the voters of Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing chose me to represent their interests in Ottawa, and pleased with their belief that the Free Trade Agreement is bad for Saskatoon, bad for Saskatchewan, and bad for Canada.

It is with sorrow that I speak today. The sorrow comes from seeing a Government that is so ideologically driven, and bound to big business backers introducing legislation which so vigorously attacks Canada's best interests. It attacks Canada's control over its own resources and ability to set its own economic destiny. It attacks Canada's social programs, health care system, environmental standards and financial investment strategies. It threatens Canada's family farms and agricultural institutions with extinction.

This deal strikes at Canada's very heart and identity. It should be seen as part of a wider, neo-Conservative agenda. It is part of the agenda of the Conservative Government and its business allies to reduce and remove the differences between a free-enterprise market-driven United States and the social democracy, albeit one which requires further improvement, which the New Democrats and the CCF before them in Saskatchewan pioneered for Canada and which Canadians have built over the last 40 years.

Even the Conservative Party played a part in this process of developing the Canada we know today.

Mr. Crosbie: Talk to bad boy.

Mr. Nunziata: You are not supposed to heckle, Mr. Crosbie. Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

An Hon. Member: Do you have to rain on everybody's party?

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for York South—Weston on a point of order.

Mr. Nunziata: I regret very much and apologize to the Hon. Member for having to interrupt in the middle of his speech. There is a tradition in this House when a new Member is making a speech that Members on the opposite side ought not to heckle. The Minister of Trade and his side-kick, the Minister of Housing, have been heckling the new Member as he has been delivering his speech.

The Chairman: It is not really a point of order. It is tradition that we do have a bit of civility when the person—

An Hon. Member: Oh, oh!

The Chairman: I am talking to the Hon. Member who just made the representation, the Hon. Member for York South—Weston. I am just making the representation for the Hon. Member, for his edification. I have just been speaking to him, and he is not helping me by speaking across the floor. There is a tradition here to have a little civility when a Member is making a maiden speech. I agree with him, but that goes both ways. Therefore, I would like to recognize the Hon. Member for Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing.

Mr. Axworthy (Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing): Mr. Speaker, even the Conservative Party played a part in this process of developing the Canada we know today. CN, CBC, and the first regional development programs were enacted under Conservative Governments. They were rather different governments from this one. As everyone knows in this House, John Diefenbaker would be as fiercely opposed to this free trade deal as we are on this side of the House today.

The Conservative Government, along with its business allies, is on a path to destroying all that makes Canada a better, more caring and compassionate society than the United States. It cares not about the consequences, the potential job losses. It cares not about the loss of control over energy and resources, over our investment strategies and job creation programs. It cares not about the consequences to Canada's economic and social fabric.

There have, however, been two positive consequences of this free trade debate. First, it encouraged Canada

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

and Canadians to think clearly about what type of society they wanted. As the election shows, most Canadians in Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing and across this country said "no" to the type of Canada proposed by the Government across the aisle. Second, it flushed out this Government's and the business community's neo-Conservative agenda for this country.

This Free Trade Agreement is really an economic constitution for Canada. It establishes the market as the final decision-maker over important economic and social issues which we in Canada have grown to see as being partly the responsibility of our democratically-elected governments. It is not just a commercial or business deal. It strikes at the heart of Canada's social fabric.

It is worth noting that virtually all of the business organizations which supported the Free Trade Agreement have been promoting a neo-Conservative social and economic agenda over the past decade at both the federal and provincial levels. Only yesterday they were calling, as we have heard today in this House, for a review of social spending in Canada. This provides opponents of the Free Trade Agreement with legitimate and real grounds for suspecting that social programs and regional development subsidies are at risk.

This is not a commercial deal but a reflection of the political, social and economic agenda which is totally unacceptable to the majority of Canadians, as the election on November 21 showed. This Conservative Government has given in to its big business friends. It is a case of whoever pays the piper calls the tune.

This deal is bad for Canada in so many ways that we cannot deal with all of it in a short 20 minutes. Therefore, I would like to concentrate on two issues—agriculture, and social and health programs.

We all remember the assertions made by the government Ministers that agriculture was not on the table. Yet against the advice of most agricultural organizations and the advice of the Macdonald Commission, agriculture was included in this deal. It is by far the largest article in the Free Trade Agreement.

What about agriculture? As all Members know, most farmers are opposed to the Free Trade Agreement. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture, the largest farm body in the country, called it a "threat to many sectors of agriculture and unacceptable in its present form". The Saskatchewan Wheat Pool says that the deal will undermine the Canadian Wheat Board and other marketing boards. The Canadian Wheat Board Advisory Committee said the same thing. The National

Farmers Union, the Federations of Agriculture in Quebec, Nova Scotia and Ontario all came out strongly opposed to the implications of this deal. Even some of the Government's own advisors have indicated this Free Trade Agreement is bad for agriculture.

● (2050)

Why is there so much opposition to this if the Government says it is so good? Farmers across the country agree that supply-management across a wide range of agricultural products is threatened.

Last weekend I met with representatives of supply-managed sectors in my constituency. The riding contains significant chicken, turkey and egg producers, between 75 per cent and 80 per cent of Saskatchewan's dairy industry. They all fear for their existence under this deal. Tariff removals and expansion of global and supplemental quotas threaten Canada's supply-management system which has served both producers and consumers well. Provisions which allow producers access to cheaper U.S. imports pose a real threat to our farm and our rural communities.

The Government tells farmers that they need not worry, that marketing boards are safe. Farmers in Saskatchewan did not believe the Government on November 21 and they do not believe the Government now. It is for good reason.

In his recent debate with Michael Dukakis in the presidential elections, President-Elect Bush said that he was opposed to supply-management. The U.S. government's position at GATT to remove Article 11 which permits supply-management has been supported by the Government. It is not surprising that our supply-managed agriculture sectors feel threatened by this deal and by the Government.

Grain farmers fear for the continued existence of the Wheat Board and we have seen moves against that in recent weeks. The list goes on and on.

The Government seems unable to understand or is prepared to ignore that giving up control at the border will destroy our marketing boards and destroy the agricultural industries and the rural communities they serve.

Furthermore, the health of Canadians is at stake here. The Americans have lower health standards, lower sanitary standards, and lower production standards than us. Practices are permitted in the United States which we will not tolerate here. This Free Trade Agreement will give rise, through the harmonization process, to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canadian standards being replaced by lower and less desirable American standards, to the detriment of Canadian consumers, Canadian producers and our rural communities.

In summary, this agreement is a dangerous agreement for Canadians because of what it does to our import barriers. No one will be able to persuade the Americans that our marketing boards and our Wheat Board are not barriers to trade. Yet the Government is prepared to sacrifice western agriculture to its ideological agenda.

I want to talk briefly about health and social programs. We have heard a lot about how our health and social programs are protected under this deal. All members of the House know the social and health programs which Canadians enjoy were developed first by CCFers and New Democrats in Saskatchewan. Those Saskatchewan New Democrats fought for these programs and some of them even lost their lives in that fight. They fought against the same forces that now support the Free Trade Agreement.

Social and health programs have a special place in the hearts and minds of New Democrats in Saskatchewan. It was not Mr. Justice Emmett Hall who developed medicare, it was Tommy Douglas, Woodrow Lloyd and Allan Blakeney. New Democrats and Canadians know that and they are proud of that. If not for these three, Douglas, Lloyd and Blakeney, and those CCFers and New Democrats who supported them in Saskatchewan against all odds, Canada would not have a medicare system today.

Much of what makes Canada distinct as a society and a more caring and compassionate society than the United States, a better society I believe, grew out of the vision and work of the CCF and NDP in Saskatchewan. We will not let this House or Canada forget it.

Our health care systems are in danger under this Free Trade Agreement. The Free Trade Agreement will threaten our health care system and the health of Canadians in three main ways: First, it opens up Canada to the American market-driven, for-profit system of management of health care; second, it places permanent legal and political limits on the future powers of Canadian governments to regulate health care services or establish new publicly funded health services; third, it encourages ongoing political pressure from business on both sides of the border to level the playing field by cutting publicly supported social services, including health care.

In Saskatchewan we have seen first-hand considerable evidence of this strategy already. We have seen considerable evidence of the attack on our health care system with the decisions of an increasingly unpopular Progressive Conservative Government there.

Many articles in the agreement serve to attack our health care program, but I will only mention two. Article 2010 sets out the conditions under which either party may establish a monopoly. The definition of a monopoly would include future expansion of Government social services that might replace private services, such as a new dental care program or eye care program. Where the establishment of a monopoly affects American investors, Canada must notify and consult the United States in advance and endeavour to minimize or eliminate any nullification or impairment of benefits under this agreement. If that does not give up something, I do not know what does. If that does not give up the right to ensure that Canadians receive the sort of health care we decide we want, I do not know what does.

According to Article 2011, the nullification and impairment article, almost any present or future Canadian regulation, law, or health care program that had any effect whatsoever on American trade, investment, or profits in health care services, could be challenged by the U.S. Government or American corporations.

According to Article 103, the trade deal is binding on all levels of Canadian Government and essentially constitutes an economic constitutional document. Once in place, it limits the powers of all levels of Canadian Government to carry out action and exercise the powers that they have traditionally enjoyed in the provision of social service programs.

The omission of health and social programs from the Free Trade Agreement does not mean they are secure. All will be vulnerable to attack as unfair subsidies, and subject to countervailing duties or pressure for reduction or elimination.

This risk applies to Canada's health care system, unemployment insurance benefits, Canada Pension, Old Age Security, Family Allowance, equalization payments to poor provinces, subsidies to industries, regional development programs and eventually even perhaps to federally funded day care, none of which exist on the same scale in the United States. All these are subject to serious challenges. All these ensure that Canada gives up a great deal under the agreement.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Over-all, we lose under this agreement. We give up our resources and our control of public services, but we do not even get guaranteed access to the American market in exchange. The Free Trade Agreement in no way prevents the United States from continuing to apply countervailing duties, as it did in the softwood lumber case. The dispute settlement process must apply the trade law of the country concerned in resolving disputes. We get no protection from that under the trade agreement.

Set in its broad context, the Free Trade Agreement forms part of an over-all strategy of Canadian big business to roll back the gains in public ownership. We have given up an enormous amount. Canadians voted against this deal on November 21. The constituents of Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing voted against this deal on November 21.

I hope I have given some indications as to the reasons why they voted against it and why they did not accept the vision of Canada the Government presented.

It is an unfortunate and sorry day for Canada when we give up so much for so little.

• (2100)

[Translation]

The Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Richelieu (Mr. Plamondon).

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Plamondon: Mr. Chairman, this is the first time I am greeted with such applause by the Opposition. They must have the wrong list.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to take part in the discussion of clause 2 of the free trade legislation. It is indeed a pleasure, because this is one of this Government's best achievements, certainly an achievement that will bear fruit for the coming generation and all those after that.

But before getting into the heart of the matter, that is clause 2, I would like to take this opportunity to hail my constituents who re-elected me with a 23,000 vote majority. This was a clear approval, by 69 per cent of the popular vote, of this Government's policies and the performance of their Member of Parliament. I am deeply touched by that vote of appreciation, which I view as a heavy responsibility for the Government and for myself to pursue in the same direction. I therefore hail all the areas in my constituency, starting from the beautiful community of Bécancour which over these last

four years has enjoyed enormous levels of investment, because Bécancour, which has the largest industrial park in Quebec, had always been the center of federal-provincial bickering at the official level, but has now enjoyed a climate of co-operation over the last four years, which resulted in the location of five major industries in Bécancour's park since then. For instance, Norsk Hydro will soon hire 350 employees, the aluminum recycling company soon to be joined by a magnesium recycling company.

Finally, this park is doing better and better thanks to this Government's drive and especially its policies, either in the area of Nicolet which also has enjoyed heavy investment, mainly the \$1,200,000 Museum of Religions, as well as the whole area of Saint-Célestin, Anneville, Sainte-Monique, Grand-Saint-Esprit, a part of our country which often had felt neglected by the previous Government and has been in full economic swing for four years now. So the people in that area, people in the Baie Dufévre area which are the biggest dairy producers in the country, were not afraid of free trade—they did not believe the lies, and the false rumors the Liberal Party tried to spread in the constituency of Richelieu through the efforts of their candidate.

Ours is a proud region, and I enjoyed telling the story of Baie Dufévre's farmer, a good Conservative, who was told by his neighbor, a Liberal farmer who, having been used to years of arrogance was always boasting of having the best performance: You know, in the morning I get aboard my jeep, and when the day ends I have not seen the end of my farm. To which our good Conservative friend replied: I also have a jeep like yours. This shows that the era of arrogance is over in that region, the fear Liberals tried to instill into the people during the election campaign is over.

This is also true of the area of Pierreville—the Pierre Thibault company which makes fire trucks, is banking enormously on free trade to increase its work force and of course its list of customers—all because of higher productivity that free trade would bring about. The regions of Yamaska and Saint-David and the communities in and around the Sorel-Tracy region, namely Saint-Robert, Saint-Aimé, Sainte-Victoire and Saint-Ours, will benefit greatly from free trade. My constituency, Sorel-Tracy, in particular, stands to gain considerably. Companies like Atlas Steel and Slater Steel, which buy much of their raw material on U.S. markets, will gain guaranteed access to those markets over the course of the next ten years and see the rates drop from ten to two to one per cent annually during that time.

The Free Trade Agreement is a gold mine for companies like *Fer et Titane* and large companies such as Soreltech in the Sorel-Tracy and neighboring regions. Those regions were predestined for free trade. I salute the voters in my riding of Richelieu and thank them once again for the wide margin and the 69 per cent majority they gave me. I intend to keep working as I have done during the past four years, that is, to represent them and voice their concerns in this Chamber, and, especially, to ensure the economic growth of my riding.

Mr. Chairman, as we are now reviewing Clause 2 of the Free Trade Bill which deals mainly with definitions, I would like to share with you a few thoughts concerning social programs. Our social programs received special attention from the Liberals during the election campaign, a campaign based on fear, a lack of confidence in Canada and in Canadians' ability to perform in the North American context. As they had too few economic arguments, the Liberals turned to scaremongering, saying that our hospitals and our social programs would be jeopardized by the Free Trade Agreement. Experts proved it wasn't so, of course, and we had to remind the Liberals and the people of Canada that their fears were totally unfounded!

On the issue of federal-provincial relations, the Liberals claimed that it was impossible to come to any agreement with the provinces. Yet, we managed to do so. They have always been rather arrogant. This reminds me of an anecdote concerning the Liberal team which was in office before we took over in 1984. It seems there was an African province which had a problem with elephants. So this African province appeared before the United Nations and urged that a special commission be appointed to solve the problem created by surplus elephants within its territory. Thus Canada was appointed, as were France and England of course, along with the Americans, and their mandate was to find a solution to the problem of surplus elephants in that province.

The Americans did not waste any time coming up with their solution: How to can elephants and sell them for human consumption. The French produced a report entitled: Is control of unweid female elephants possible? Our English friends took a novel approach in their report: Can we organize safaris for the royal family with a view to reducing the number of elephants in that region of Africa? But nary a word from the Canadians, the Liberal Government just could not produce a report. So two months later the UN President called and said:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Are you going to release your report on the elephant problem? Two months later they delivered a long report entitled: Do elephants fall under provincial or federal jurisdiction?

So that is the kind of Government we had, forever wondering, before intervening, whether a given issue was a provincial or federal responsibility, instead of creating a climate of co-operation between the provinces, as this Government has done, which has resulted in a significant economic fallout in all ridings throughout Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Since the trade agreement was signed we have often said that the integrity of Canada's social security system is not threatened by the Free Trade Agreement. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, the greatest threat against our social programs would be a stagnant economy, protectionism and the status quo. Not only does the trade deal not threaten our social programs, but our Government and future Governments will have all the leeway they need to prepare new social policies to meet the needs of all Canadians. Our social security system is second to none in the world and we are proud of this collective achievement.

Mr. Chairman, history has shown that we can enhance our social system while remaining competitive on the market. Canadian companies have shown that they can compete internationally and the argument that social programs are an unfair burden and hurt the competitiveness of Canadian companies is invalid.

In 1965, Madam Chairman, Canada acquired a health insurance program and over the next 20 years, trade with the United States grew steadily to reach nearly 80 per cent of our total exports. During this time, health insurance was never considered an unfair burden by business. Why would we believe today, Madam Chairman, that our health insurance program or our old age security pension plan in particular would affect our ability to compete? Only a flourishing economy is able to give a country an adequate social security system for its people. And that is just what the Free Trade Agreement will give Canada: prosperity.

These same social programs, Madam Chairman, cannot be considered subsidies because—

• (2110)

Ms. Copps: Madam Chairman, if you know the Standing Orders, you know that Members may talk about anything in the House when it sits in Committee of the Whole.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Madam Chairman, the Hon. Member has just said that the Free Trade Agreement will guarantee a flourishing economy. I would like to know whether he is saying that to the Gillette workers.

Mr. Charest: It seems to me, Madam Chairman, that the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) should know that in Committee of the Whole, her question is absolutely not a point of order. We are surprised that now, after four years of experience in the House of Commons, she does not know better. Maybe we should not be surprised, Madam Speaker. But anyway—

It is obviously not a point of order.

Mr. Plamondon: Madam Chairman, I think that if each and every time we disagreed with the arguments put forward by members of the Opposition or the NDP, we would be rising on points of order at every word so to speak. But we extended them the courtesy of hearing them, and I hope Opposition Members will extend me the same courtesy by hearing my arguments. I would be most pleased to join the Hon. Member at any time in a debate on workers' problems and the number of new jobs created by this Government, as opposed to the number of jobs lost when they were the Government.

But let me come back, Madam Chairman, to the matter of social measures. I was saying that those same social programs cannot be viewed as subsidies, because under a principle of international law, under the American and Canadian legislations, they are not when they apply to the whole population, such as health care, unemployment insurance, old age security pensions, maternity benefits and other social benefits.

Moreover, government services such as health care are excluded from the agreement. Only management services for health care facilities, such as maintenance, food services and payroll services come under the agreement.

The inclusion of those services, Madam Chairman, only recognized the *status quo*. It will neither encourage nor discourage the entry of American firms into the management of health care facilities. The activities of those businesses have been and will be under the jurisdiction of provincial Governments; where a provincial Government decided to privatize the management of those health facilities and thereby to allow American firms to bid for contracts, American firms wishing to locate in Canada could then do so.

The inclusion of management services for health care facilities, Madam Chairman, in no way threatens the

viability of our programs. The Free Trade Agreement poses no threat, and provinces have all the leeway needed to manage their own facilities.

If I may, Madam Chairman, I should like to quote Mr. Ritchie who was on the Canadian team which negotiated the free trade deal. He said:

If these facilities are administered by the federal or provincial Governments, if they are quasi-public and non-profit making, in all such cases they are not covered (by the Free Trade Agreement). Even if they are commercial. Of course, the Governments have every right to regulate, even regulate who can become the owner of such facilities.

As Mr. Ritchie sees it, clearly the problem of privatizing health facilities has nothing to do with the free trade deal.

Ninety-five per cent of Canadian hospitals are publicly-owned, therefore they are not covered under the FTA. As long as these facilities remain public property, nothing in the trade agreement threatens the ownership of our hospitals. When there is talk of managing health care facilities, the reference is to services only, services such as computers and catering, for example.

Madam Chairman, I am proud to live in a country which over the years has managed to use its resources in such a way as to make it possible for all citizens to enjoy decent living conditions. I know that all Government Members share my views.

Madam Chairman, we are not the only people in this country who are convinced that the Free Trade Agreement will not affect our social programs. Eminent personalities like Judge Emmet Hall, the father of health insurance in Canada, Claude Castonguay, who is mainly responsible for giving Quebec health insurance, Thérèse Lavoie-Roux, Quebec's Minister of Health and Social Services, Pierre-Marc Johnson, former Minister of Social Affairs in Quebec, Bernard Landry and so many others have maintained that nothing in this Agreement endangers the viability of our social programs.

But there is more than expert opinion, Madam Chairman; there are all those Canadians who on November 21 gave the Conservative party a second mandate to bring this great enterprise, the Free Trade Agreement, to completion. They are people who care about the future of the country, as we do, and who have understood that Canada's sovereignty in the field of social policy is not threatened by this Agreement. There are all my constituents in the riding of Richelieu, Madam Chairman, who gave me a second mandate and

whom I am proud to represent—young people, others not so young, entrepreneurs and builders who have confidence in themselves and who know that they can meet the challenge of free trade.

These are the same people, Madam Chairman, who have understood that only a strong, prosperous Canada can guarantee the viability of our social programs. And this very prosperity necessarily depends on implementing the Free Trade Agreement with our largest trading partner, the United States.

Thank you, Madam Chairman, and again, let me thank those who voted for me in Richelieu.

[English]

Mr. Flis: Madam Chairman, after a leave of absence of four years, it is indeed a great honour to speak in this Chamber again. I was looking forward to returning because in the four years I was absent the Members who served here brought in some excellent changes to the rules of the House.

For example, Private Members' Bills are getting to be much more important now, and I know of the work done on that by the Hon. Member for Etobicoke—Lakeshore. I know that parliamentary standing committees have been given much more authority and accountability. These are all positive steps in the right direction. The bells are much more pleasant to listen to, and that is a step in the right direction as well.

One thing that disturbed me very much upon returning was the fact that from day one the Government facing me has been closure crazy. It will not allow us to put amendments. It will not listen to what is being said. It will not listen to the new Members of Parliament who represent the people of Canada.

In 1981 when the Liberal Government brought in time allocation on a borrowing Bill, nothing so Draconian as closure but simply time allocation, the Minister for International Trade who introduced Bill C-2 to implement the Canada-U.S. FTA said:

What about closure, Mr. Speaker? We have just seen this government attempt to hijack the whole Canadian nation, not Parliament but our whole country, destroy the very consensus on which it is based by using their majority in this House to do things they were not authorized to do by the public. . . . They are not a legitimate government when they attempt to change the very nature of Canada—

Now who is changing the nature of Canada? Those were the words of the Hon. Minister for International Trade, but he wants to change the nature of Canada

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

without listening to the new Members of Parliament or to Canadians.

Directing the House Leader, of course, is none other than the Deputy Prime Minister. I used to have a very high respect for him, but let me tell Hon. Members what he said:

If we believe in parliamentary democracy and the right to freedom of speech, then we must ensure that the rights and privileges of Parliament are always secure.

By virtue of a closure motion today we have a further contempt for and erosion of the spirit and privileges of this institution. I believe tyranny begins when parliamentary debate ends.

He went on to say:

At the very outset I must say that I abhor this tactic. I find it offensive. I find it repugnant because it strikes at the basic fabric of our parliamentary democracy. Instead of having a parliamentary democracy we have what resembles a parliamentary dictatorship.

Who is the dictator today trying to force the most important Bill next to the Constitution through this House without allowing any amendments, bringing in closure every day since we have been here? Who is the dictator now?

• (2120)

I want to thank the people of Parkdale—High Park for re-electing me and sending me to speak on their behalf. My predecessor received a total of 34 per cent of the votes.

Mr. McDermid: What did you get?

Mr. Flis: And even those were votes won by intimidation, votes by third party advertising presidents sending letters to workers intimidating them to work for the Conservative Member. I have never seen an election with that kind of intimidation. It is a disgrace that the Tory Party would stoop to doing that.

I am here to represent my constituents. Before I got to Ottawa there were already letters on my desk awaiting me. Here is one from two of my constituents:

Dear Mr. Flis:

We are just two of the many Canadians who are very concerned about the future of this country. We do not believe that a majority of Canadian people want this deal passed, and an over fifty-per-cent vote against the Conservatives strengthens this belief.

Please continue to fight as loudly as you can against free trade. In a democratic society it is the majority who should decide and it is our opinion that a national referendum is the only true way to discover whether Canadians really want this deal passed. This issue, the future of Canada, is too important to allow Mr. Mulroney to assume a majority of consent of the Canadian people.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

If the recent decision to close certain plants in Ontario and Quebec is a preview of the results of free trade, then Canada's future is in doubt:

Yours truly,
Charlene E. Black, & William K. Jackson

The Minister of non-housing should have the courtesy to listen to the constituents of Parkdale—High Park.

Mr. McDermid: I am listening.

Mr. Flis: He never listens. He has no respect for our constituents.

Here is another letter from Andrew Cullen. Mr. Cullen, from 89 Constance Street, writes:

Dear Mr. Flis:

I want to voice my support for your opposition to the trade pact and I hope that you will do what you can to stop or amend it in the House.

Here is a constituent who realizes that the Conservatives won a majority. What is he asking through me? He is asking that they accept amendments.

The Liberal Party through our critic, the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, has presented excellent amendments on behalf of our Party. We would like to see an amendment that would provide a permanent review by parliamentary committee. What is wrong with that, Madam Chairman? You would allow it. You are a fair person. The amendment would be like this:

The implementation of this Act shall be reviewed on a permanent basis by such committee of the Senate, of the House of Commons or of both Houses of Parliament as may be designated or established for that purpose.

What is wrong with such an amendment, or an amendment to allow to review and report after three years? We would simply word it as follows:

The committee designated or established for the purpose of subsection (1) shall, within three years after the coming into force of this Act, undertake a comprehensive review of the provisions and operation of this Act, and shall, within a reasonable period thereafter, cause to be laid before each House of Parliament a report thereon.

What is wrong with that amendment, Madam Chairman? We have an amendment about the protection of our environment and health. I know the Tories are not interested in protecting our environment and health. They have no respect for Canada's environment. They have no respect for our health programs. We would word it:

For greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the Agreement shall restrict the authority of the Government of Canada to protect the Canadian environment and the health of Canadians.

The Tories will not accept that amendment. What about an amendment to protect the cultural industries, worded:

For greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the Agreement shall limit or restrict the support of the Government of Canada to the development of cultural industries in Canada.

What is wrong with that amendment?

Do you think, Madam Chairman, that the Tories will accept an amendment to protect health care facilities management services? We would word it:

Notwithstanding Article 103 of the Agreement, the federal government shall not compel municipal or provincial governments, through the use of override legislation, to comply with any provisions of the Agreement with respect to health care facilities management services enumerated under the Standard Industrial Classification numbers—

For their information we even list the numbers because the Tories cannot read, Madam Chairman. What about an amendment on adjustment programs? I raised in this House during Question Period the ripple or chain effect this Bill will have on small industries. I gave an example of Hamida Textiles Inc. In canvassing I met a constituent who was selling equipment to restaurants. Another was in the pharmaceutical business, another in the furniture business, and another in the medical supply business. Everyone told me that if this trade deal went through they would go under.

All we are asking is for protection for those small businesses that will go under. What kinds of adjustment programs are there for them? What kinds of retraining programs are there? The Bill does not give any. The Minister gives great promises, but will he deliver on those promises? Can we trust this Government? This is a Government which promised that senior citizen's pensions would not be touched. What happened? The Tories tried to touch them, but we would not let them.

We heard a lot of debate about the social programs. If they are not going to be touched as the Tories say, why not allow us an amendment such as this one:

For greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the Agreement shall be interpreted so as to affect the continuation of existing or the establishment of new Canadian social programs, including the health care system, unemployment insurance, child care, pensions, minimum wage law, labour law and maternity benefits.

These are all programs which the Liberal Governments brought in over the years and which the Tories want to give away. I am very honoured to return to this House at the same time as the Hon. Members for Nunatsiak and for Western Arctic.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[*Translation*]

Mr. Ferland: Point of order, Madam Chairman.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Portneuf (Mr. Ferland) on a point of order.

Mr. Ferland: Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. I am sorry, but there is a tradition in this House that allows Members to clap their hands but not to pound on their desks. It might be worthwhile to point this out to the new Members.

[*English*]

Mr. Nunziata: Madam Chairman, I rise on the same point of order. On behalf of the Official Opposition I would like to apologize to the Hon. Member for waking him up.

• (2130)

Mr. Flis: The Hon. Member knows that he has no point of order.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Would the Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park wait for a second, please.

I know that there are a number of new Members. The Hon. Member for Portneuf raised a very valid point, and I am sure it would be very much appreciated by everyone. The Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park has the floor.

Mr. Arseneault: Madam Chairman, I rise on a point of order. Is the Chair saying that we were not correct in what we were doing here? We cannot hear you from here.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Restigouche might hear a little better if he would wear the earphone which is provided to every Member.

There is a custom in this place where people do not normally use their desks to applaud, but use their hands.

Mr. Arseneault: Thank you, Madam Chairman. I will keep an eye on everything.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member is quite welcome. The Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park.

Mr. Flis: I know that the Hon. Members for Nunatsiag and Western Arctic would want to see an amendment on aboriginal claims which we would word it: "For

greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the agreement applies to the lands, resources, and waters claimed by aboriginal people pursuant to an aboriginal claim, or to the laws and policies relating to such claims."

I think that everyone in the House should support that amendment, and we should be proud that there are MPs in this House who represent those people.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Flis: In this whole Bill the term "subsidies" is not defined. We know the negative impact that that might have on regional economic development. We would like to introduce an amendment to protect our regional economic development programs. We would word it: "For greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the agreement shall, in any way limit or restrict the exercise of the authority of the Government of Canada in any of the following areas".

Time will not permit me to list all the areas, but areas such as the economic development of all regions of Canada on an equitable basis, and formulation of plans and integrated strategies to support development and diversification of the economies of all regions of Canada. The Government has our amendments. However, it will not allow us to table them.

My constituents of Parkdale—High Park sent me here, if not to kill the Bill, at least to make it better. When we were the Government I remember us debating the Constitution, the Western Grain Transportation Act known as the crow Bill, the Canadian Aviation Safety Board Bill, and the Ports Canada Bill. We allowed amendments from the Official Opposition. Will the Government allow any from this Official Opposition? No, it has forgotten what Parliament is all about. It is hijacking Parliament.

One of my constituents is concerned about foreign takeovers, and in his letter he further states:

I am a computer software contractor, and even though I can compete well in the U.S. (I did about \$30,000 worth of business there last year) I am worried by the lack of foreign takeover protection. Our high-tech industries may be able to compete, but they are vulnerable to foreign buyouts.

We certainly have competitive industries, but if they are taken over they are no better to us than any other branch-plant; the profits move south and are not ploughed back for the future, then the technology moves south, and soon after the jobs move south. I already see a dangerous level of penetration of our industry, and I think we will find one day that the winners have been bought and that we are left with the loser.

The letter is from Andrew Cullen, a constituent of Parkdale—High Park.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Minister of State for Housing is not listening to grass roots Canadians. He thinks that he knows it all. I invite him to come and visit Parkdale—High Park where people have nowhere to sleep and where six to eight people have to sleep on the floor in one room. I invite the Minister to come and see what the housing crisis is all about and to listen to the grass roots people.

I not only received letters from the riding of Parkdale—High Park. I received letters from across Canada. The following is a letter from Saskatchewan which states:

Dear Mr. Flis,

I am writing as a Canadian citizen, who is extremely concerned that an independent Canada be left for my children and future generations of Canadian children.

I therefore urge you, as an elected member, representing the over 1,200,000 more Canadians who voted against the Free Trade Agreement than voted for it—to be true to your mandate—and fight the F.T.A.

That is someone from Saskatchewan who is asking me to stand here and fight this agreement. Perhaps I am receiving so many letters from Saskatchewan because I was born and raised there. The letter further states:

Canadians elected you, on the promise to fight for our future. Your duty to Canada is to fulfil that promise.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours truly,
Jessie L. Steinhauer-Edwards

I also received a letter from New Westminster, B.C., which was addressed to Jesse Flis, Parkdale—High Park. It states:

The results of the recent federal election clearly demonstrate that a substantial majority of Canadians voted against the Mulroney-Reagan Trade Deal. In fact, only in the provinces of Alberta and Quebec did the Mulroney government receive absolute majorities and, again, not in every riding.

Therefore, we strongly urge you to work to the best of your ability to oppose this deal that the majority of Canadians do not want or in the alternate, based on tactical considerations, fight for effective amendments to lessen its adverse effects on Canadians.

Here is someone from B.C. asking us to fight to bring in amendments, and the Government will not listen. It will not even let us table the amendments. Talk about hijacking Parliament, shame.

Every Prime Minister has a vision of Canada. Unfortunately, the vision of the present Prime Minister is a scary one. He wants to give up what our immigrant parents built for over 100 years. They built this country with their bare hands, and the Government wants to give it away to the United States.

Mr. Mayer: What a bunch of rubbish.

Mr. Flis: In this Parliament we are casting an historic vote on Canada's fate. We are casting a vote to decide whether we want a mosaic Canada like our fathers built or a melting pot Canada. We are to vote on whether we want a Canadian Canada or an American Canada. We are to vote on whether we want a sovereign nation or whether we want to be the fifty-first state of the United States.

Ms. Copps: We choose Canada.

Mr. Boudria: I rise on a point of order, Madam Chairman. I am seeking clarification and assistance from the Chair. I have had the opportunity to review the precedents, and I am unable to find where it has been decided that it was not permitted in any way for Members, either in Committee of the Whole or in the House of Commons, to manifest their approval of another Member's speech by way of applauding on the desks as opposed to with their hands.

Given that this was raised by a Member across the way, and it has been reviewed by yourself, I am seeking assistance from the Chair. Thus far it has been the practice, started by some individual caucuses which for reasons known to themselves would demonstrate their approval in a manner that was changed after television was brought into the House of Commons, but there are no rules preventing or suggesting by which means the applause should be manifested. Perhaps the Chair could enlighten Members on the ruling that was given some time ago.

• (2140)

Mr. Oberle: I will be prepared, Madam Chairman, to allow the Hon. Member, and perhaps the one sitting next to him, special dispensation to thump their desks. It seems to me that it would better reflect the nature of their respective characters.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Chair recognizes the Hon. Member for Restigouche.

Mr. Arseneault: Madam Chairman, I do not need special dispensation from the Hon. Member. I can speak for myself. I can only say that the speech was such a great one, I could not restrain my enthusiasm. It is not my fault that those on the opposite side were awakened.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I should like to respond to the point raised by the Hon. Member for Glengarry—Prescott—Russell.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

There is not in fact a written rule forbidding Hon. Members from using their desk tops in that manner for the purpose of showing approval or disapproval in respect of what is being said. However, because it causes sound problems for the television technicians, it is a practice that has fallen into disuse.

I see no difficulty in new Members being made aware of the problems that it causes, and it is my hope that it is not something that would again become a practice in this Parliament.

Mr. Boudria: Madam Chairman, if I may, I should like to express my appreciation to the Chair for its clarification of that previous ruling.

Mr. Attewell: Madam Chairman, I rise on a point of order.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Markham, on a point of order.

Mr. Attewell: Madam Chairman, having been born in the Parkdale—High Park area of Toronto, and having spent my first 20 years in that area, I am embarrassed by the lack of substance in the remarks of the Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park.

I wonder if we might be able to get all-party agreement to give him another 20 minutes, in the hope that he can come up with something of some substance and content.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear! It is unanimous.

Some Hon. Members: No, no!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Is there unanimous consent?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Flis: On a point of order, Madam Chairman—

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park on a point of order.

Mr. Flis: Madam Chairman, because of all the heckling, I was only able to get half way through my remarks, and certainly I could use another 20 minutes in order to finish them. I am willing to accede to the request of the Hon. Member for Markham, and in fact I now seek unanimous consent of the Committee of the Whole to continue for another 20 minutes.

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I have asked whether there is unanimous consent that the Hon. Member for Parkdale—High Park be permitted to continue for another 20 minutes, and that unanimous consent is not forthcoming.

• (2150)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Côté: Madam Chairman, before I start, I would like to thank the people of the magnificent riding of Richmond—Wolfe for turning the riding around and helping to bring this Government back to power.

Here are a few facts about my riding. Richmond—Wolfe boasts 52 municipalities and towns and 53,000 voters, 11 per cent of whom are Anglophone. Its main industries are in the manufacturing and mining sector. The city of Asbestos exports asbestos; Disraeli exports Shermag furniture; Bromptonville and Windsor export pulp and paper; Valcourt, in my riding, is home to Bombardier, a large, well-known firm. The people of Richmond—Wolfe voted for Yvon Côté and the Government because they are convinced of the positive impact and economic benefits of free trade. I share their conviction and take this opportunity to thank them for their support.

It is with great pride, Mr. Chairman, that I take part today in the debate on the Free Trade Agreement. On November 21, the people of my riding, and millions of other Canadians like them, showed the rest of the world—yes, the rest of the world—that Canada wants to open itself to the world. They are the people, Mr. Chairman, that I have the honour and privilege to represent in this Chamber.

Barely a few years ago, China, Iran and even some European countries seemed to us to be somewhat distant and inaccessible and we even had difficulty imagining that other economic systems could exist. All that really mattered for us was our own country, I might even say our own town or village. Well, we realize now that there is in this world, in addition to Canada, a great many other countries and thousands of towns and villages, and that it extends beyond the oceans, as we know now through the printed media and other forms, as well as through our travelling and business acquaintances.

Today, whenever we switch on our television sets, we can visit this planet which includes more than our parish, our town and even our country, and we can even reach out to other planets.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Today, we must learn to share with others. Technical progress in the area of communications, the specialization of production and even transformation technologies, as well as the lack of some resources are factors which, among others, have contributed to opening up the world, especially in the area of trade.

As I was saying, we are no longer the citizens of a ward, a city, or even a country. In several respects, we belong to the international community.

I think we all know the *Rolling Stones* who do not belong to this country. We all enjoy eating New Zealand lamb and we are pleased to taste clementines from Morocco. We enjoy the fragrance of French perfumes. We wear clothing made in Hon Kong and we are happy to drive European or Japanese cars.

In my own riding, we have an international vocation. Pulp and paper from Brompton and Windsor, as well as asbestos from the city of Asbestos are exported everywhere in the world, the Bombardier firm with its snow and transportation equipment, are all proof that we are no longer living in a small village, but that we have become international in our dealings exchanges with other countries.

Mr. Chairman, such is the reality which we must accept. I regret that the people sitting in the Opposition cannot recognize this reality. We must maximize our opportunities by opening up trade with the rest of the world. As a matter of fact, as recently as December 15, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) stated before the Conference of the Americas, and I quote:

To use a truism, national economies are becoming more interdependent, and what occurs outside our country is now as important as what occurs inside.

Again, this goes to show you that what concerns the rest of the world concerns us too.

How many countries are now geared to the international market? Let's take for example the European Economic Community, or the free trade deals between Australia and New Zealand. I should also mention Israel and the United States, and countries like Canada and the United States which are slowly but surely moving towards such international agreements.

The obvious thing about free trade is that it seems to satisfy the needs of each and every country, each and every partner, while making good use of the economic, geographical or political characteristics which make them unique. It is like two merchants in a village who, instead of competing against each other, decide to merge

through a partnership agreement. In such a way will Canada, instead of being the so-called little brother to the American big brother, become an equal partner with the United States, with the same rights and claims.

History shows us therefore that Canada and the United States have developed through this century a most powerful trading relationship.

The idea of striking a free trade agreement with the United States did not come by chance to our political leaders nor is it a drastic change in Canada's history. This agreement, Mr. Chairman, is merely the logical extension of an existing relationship in accordance with the trend towards trade liberalization which prevails in the international economic community.

While I am on the subject of history, Mr. Chairman, allow me to recall certain events. In 1911, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister of Canada, sought to liberalize trade with the United States. In 1935, to refresh the memory of the Liberal Opposition, Mackenzie King signed an agreement with the Americans in order to reduce tariff barriers between Canada and the United States. In 1983, to again refresh the memory of the Liberal Opposition, the Liberal Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, also sought to establish sectorial trade deals while establishing at the same time the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development prospects for Canada, better known as the Macdonald Commission.

I am only recalling a few facts of our history. They all have in common the same will to modify and even depolitize the framework of the economic relationship between Canada and the United States.

That relationship exists mainly because of the geography of our two countries. Is it not a fact that Boston is nearer to Montreal than Vancouver or even Calgary for instance, without of course making it a matter of distances to our fellow citizens in western Canada.

Clearly, nature had its way. The value of our exports to the United States has been on a constant increase, Mr. Chairman. Today, nearly 80 per cent of our exports go to our neighbors down South. Some believe, or used to believe at least that since we already exported close to 80 per cent of our products, there was no need to sign an agreement for freer trade because of the access we already had to the American market.

However, Mr. Chairman, that access is very uncertain. Let us simply recall lumber which many Members already referred to in their speeches, and which was a

victim of American protectionism. So there are dangers to be avoided. If the Americans had fully countervailed, as they were getting ready to, the countervails that were being contemplated could have ruined 20 of Quebec's towns and villages, and wreaked havoc in British Columbia.

Those situations, Mr. Chairman, are a constant menace for Canada and whole segments of our economy. The rising protectionism in the United States is in fact a constant danger for our country and certainly could have become so, had it not been for the prospect of the Free Trade Agreement with our neighbours down South. And indeed, the Free Trade Agreement is checking that strong American tendency to protectionism while granting Canada a privileged trade status.

That agreement, Mr. Chairman, allows us to maintain our access to the United States and develop the potential of other sectors that until now were being kept away by tariffs that often were very high. We need the American market, as the United States also needs Canada to strengthen their international economic credibility.

On this matter, Mr. Chairman, let me quote Mr. Bernard Landry, an economist and former Minister in the Lévesque government:

For a few years in particular, the Americans have been promoting freer trade on the global scale in a very far-sighted and probably generous way. They are preaching to the rest of the world fair practices and fluid trade.

Their argument stands to lose weight if the economic borders between the U.S. and their main partner are more anarchical and less open than, let's say, those between European allies.

And that is one good reason why the United States want freer trade with Canada. This trade deal is also important to us because it gives us access to the American market. Not only do we have to continue trading with the United States, but we also have to face more aggressive international competitors. The emergence of new industrialized countries from Asia, including the exceptional development of Japan and the growth of China, not to mention Europe of 1992, are all key elements to the new dynamics of international trade. We will have to fight very capable competitors. We already know that. So, it won't be easy to maintain and assert our position on the world economic scene.

Mr. Chairman, in this tough competitive world, Canada was the only big industrialized country which did not have access to a market, at home or abroad, of more than 100 million people. And we all know the importance of such a deal.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Free Trade Agreement will give us access to a market of more than 250 million people, giving us the opportunity to produce in huge quantities and to lower production costs. This is what we mean by economies of scale. So, who will be the big winner in all of this? The United States compared to us, or us compared to the United States. Obvious, isn't it? We will gain access to a market of 250 million people. Americans are the ones who might have doubts about a market of only 25 million people spread out from East to West! I think the advantages are obvious. Therefore, to succeed on international markets, we must be competitive, Mr. Chairman, and there is no magic formula for maximizing our chances of success. We have to offer the best products at the lowest prices. It's simple logic.

We already have trading relations with Europe and Asia, but we must put all the chances on our side if we want to maintain these relations and develop new ones. The world has changed, Mr. Chairman, and we must be competitive if we are to maintain our standard of living. We must therefore hold our own on the international economic scene and, to achieve this, we must start at the beginning by respecting the nature of our own trading dynamics.

The prosperity of the Canadian economy depends largely on its capacity to export. A third of our GNP depends on trade and accounts for 3 million jobs, 2 million of which are linked exclusively with our trade with the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the Americans are our major trading partners. We are an exporting nation and a lot of our wealth comes from trade. Why seek elsewhere what we already have near at hand?

Mr. Chairman, just south of the border lies the greatest industrial country in the world with which we have been trading for more than a century and which offers us the possibility of developing our economic potential. The opponents of free trade have been desperately trying to have us believe that this agreement threatens our sovereignty, our social programs and our regional development policies.

Finally, if anything threatens our sovereignty, it is our stagnant economy. Mr. Chairman, nothing in this Agreement threatens our national sovereignty. Under this Agreement, we maintain our capacity to manage our own cultural, social, economic and environmental promotion tools, that is our own destiny. How have we managed to implement all those programs so typically Canadian, when for the past 50 years we have lowered

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

our tariff barriers and increased our trade with the United States? Have we lost those social programs? Have we lost our sovereignty? Never. In fact, Mr. Chairman, it's partly our profits from increased trade over that period that allowed us to introduce health insurance, old age pensions, family allowances, and all those great social programs at the heart of Canada and our well-being.

Some key figures have also maintained that nothing in the Agreement threatened the viability of our social programs. Those people, Mr. Chairman, are none other than the fathers of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, namely Mr. Justice Emmett Hall and Mr. Claude Castonguay. Let me quote the latter: "I disagree completely with those who say that our social programs are threatened by free trade. On the contrary, with the Canada-U.S. Agreement, we stand a better chance to maintain and possibly improve our social programs." Their statements have been endorsed by the Quebec Minister of Health and Social Services, Mrs. Lavoie-Roux, and by a former holder of that portfolio, Mr. Pierre-Marc Johnson.

In conclusion, we must not be deceived. Mr. Chairman, only an economically strong Canada will be able to support these programs and our ability to promote new ones. That is what I call acquiring the wherewithal to assert one's sovereignty. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, the world is changing and evolving rapidly. Now, trade is not only nationwide, but rather worldwide. Therefore, any responsible government must set its trade policies with this in mind. If our country manages to add a successful round of GATT negotiations to the success of the Free Trade Agreement, it will have a solid base for growth and prosperity. That is the rationale for the twofold approach to trade which the Conservative Party intends to pursue. Mr. Chairman, there could be no valid alternative to such a good, realistic vision of the dynamics of trade. That is why on November 21, Canadians, and in particular the voters of Richmond—Wolfe, chose to trust the only Canadian political party that is able to ensure the economic future of this region and also the nation.

The people have spoken. They clearly expressed their opinion and there can be no more obstacles to implementing the policies that the people have freely chosen to support. Canada is therefore committed to seeing its trade initiative with the United States through, in the firm conviction that it will be an important springboard for the development and prosperity of this country. The world is opening to us, Mr. Chairman, and we must give

ourselves the tools required to keep and strengthen our place in the international economic community. This is the challenge that Canada will meet because we are giving it the chance.

• (2200)

[English]

Mr. Parent: Mr. Chairman, I too rise with a great deal of pride in this debate. I am one of the new-old fellows. A few days ago the House Leader said that first we had the rat pack and now we have the retreads coming back. There is an old saying in French—

[Translation]

The more things change, the more they remain the same! The House has changed a little. Instead of 282 Members we now have 295 and each Party is well represented in the House.

[English]

I want to talk tonight not only about free trade. I want to mention how very happy I am that the citizens of the riding of Welland—St. Catharines—Thorald chose to send me back here. I also want to say something about the gentleman who sat in this House in this place for four years. I refer to Mr. Allan Pietz who was a member of the governing Party on the other side of this place. Mr. Pietz served my riding very well. He is an honorable and honest man.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Parent: We first met in the 1979 election. I nudged him out. He then came back in 1984 to defeat me. I have won the seat again.

I come back with some humility as a matter of fact. Most of the Members in the House have not tasted defeat. I have. It gives one a different perspective about what one tries or is trying to do when one comes back to this place.

The riding of Welland had its name changed. It used to be just the riding of Welland, which it was since 1867. Since 1935 it was held by a Liberal Member of Parliament. I will try to hold it a little bit longer. I must tell Hon. Members that the people of the riding were served well by Mr. Pietz. I hope to continue in his tradition.

Tonight I want to talk about the free trade Bill which is before us. Yes, it is an historic Bill. In it Canada is choosing the direction that it will take for the foreseeable future. Make no mistake about it, our country is

now going down a road which will be more and more driven simply by economics. I wish I could say that I believe in my heart that economics will not be the only thing that matters to members of the Government. I ask them in the name of the people who elected me to be cautious before they do any tampering with any of the programs that we have put in place over the years.

Free trade is not something which is new to my Party. We in this House know that it was the Liberal Party which was in power with the exception of a few years under the leadership of Mr. Diefenbaker and the present Secretary of State for External Affairs. From 1948 to 1984 Liberals are the ones who negotiated the trade deals which made it so that we could trade 80 per cent of our goods, at least, and 90 per cent in Ontario, with the United States where there were no tariffs or duties put on goods. We did that by being sure that we did not dislocate too many Canadian people. We did it always keeping in mind that first and foremost we are here not only to make the almighty dollar but to take care of those people who are given into our care for whatever time we serve in this place.

At the outset of the election and before that in 1983 even the Prime Minister said: "Don't talk to me about free trade. I will have none of it—not now, not ever". Some time in the intervening years the Prime Minister decided to change his mind. In so doing he has virtually dragged us down that road, that road which I think is going to offer a number of pitfalls.

With respect, Mr. Chairman, I believe that this free trade deal is not a good deal for Canada. The reason I oppose it is because it does not give the type of protection that I believe the people of Canada will be needing in the months and years ahead.

When the Government set out to put free trade into motion, it wanted three things. One of the things it wanted was free and unfettered access to U.S. markets. I submit the Government did not get such a concession from the United States.

A second thing the Government wanted was a tribunal that would settle disputes between the two countries. It did not get a tribunal which could make binding decisions. All this tribunal can do is decide whether Canadian law or American law has been broken. We know from the softwood lumber deal and the 15 per cent tax that we have our people put on their product that this has remained in place even with the free trade deal. What many of the premiers wanted and this Government said it wanted was an exemption from

the omnibus trade Bill, the protectionist trade Bill, coming into place by the United States. They did not get this protection.

• (2210)

For the three things we set out to do and did not get, what did we have to promise? What did we give up to get this non-deal? One of the things we gave up is control over our energy. It is well known in this House that through this free trade deal, the Americans will have as much access to our energy at Canadian prices as we have. We know that even in a time of crisis when things are difficult for us here in Canada, we will not be able to take care of our citizens first unless we give the Americans the same amount of energy that they had negotiated before on an average of three years.

What do we do with our industries that are located close to energy supplies around the Niagara Peninsula and Niagara Falls where hydro is sold at a cheaper rate in Ontario than in the United States? We, as Canadians, have developed that energy over the years. Now we will share it without any extra costs to the Americans. They will be paying the same that we will be paying.

Under the National Energy Program, established by the Liberal Government, we had to have a 25-year supply in the ground before we could start exporting. Then it was 15 years. Under this Government, I guess we do not need any supplies for ourselves. Whatever we take out of the ground, we should sell as fast as it comes out.

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that we have given up control over our financial institutions. We used to have in Canada FIRA, the foreign review agency, which screened any foreign take-overs of Canadian companies worth more than \$5 million. We will have some kind of screening in the years ahead, but after three years, the only screening that there will be by an agency called Investment Canada is for any companies that are worth over \$150 million.

We have approximately 7,500 companies worth more than \$5 million in Canada. Of those, only 10 per cent are worth more than \$150 million. This means that foreign companies will be able to come into Canada to buy up, raid, and merge with Canadian companies so that control of these companies is in the hands of companies from a foreign nation. How long would the United States put up with another nation owning 90 per cent of their energy? How long would it take them to pass a law so that they would have control of their own destiny? Yet, we invite people into Canada to take

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

economic control of our country. By so doing, we diminish ourselves as a nation.

One of the speakers from the other side mentioned earlier that whoever pays the piper is the person who calls the tune. I suggest that before too long, the economic control of our country will be in American hands. They will be calling the economic tune for Canada. We are going to have to dance to whatever song they want us to play.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

—I am sorry, I do not recall the name of his riding—

An Hon. Member: Richmond—Wolfe.

Mr. Parent: —of Richmond—Wolfe talked about pensions—

An Hon. Member: A Québecer.

Mr. Parent: A Québecer is a Canadian. Is there a difference between a Québecer and a Canadian? It is the same thing, even here in this House?

An Hon. Member: Yes.

Mr. Parent: He talked about old age pensions. I remember a few years ago when a woman was here on the Hill, I believe her first name was Solange, and she spoke to our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), and at the time the Prime Minister wanted to reduce old age pensions. She said to him: Mr. Mulroney, you lied to us. Imagine saying words like that to a Prime Minister! She said: You lied to us. We voted for you, and then you forgot all about us. Bye, bye Charlie Brown! You remember that, don't you?

[*English*]

Not only when he spoke about his sacred trust of the old age pensions. It was not long before even the Old Age Pensions were attacked.

We have heard it said time and time again that social programs will not be touched. We have been asking: "Where does it say they will be protected?" There is no place in this agreement where it says they will be protected.

I question seriously whether our social programs will not be attacked and diminished. I believe there will be pressures brought upon this Government by the American Government when they come to negotiate what is a subsidy. These subsidies, if they are seen to be unfair subsidies, will result in demands that they be taken off or diminished. Who is going to suffer for that, Mr.

Chairman? I submit to you it will be the Canadian people who will suffer for that.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

An Hon. Member: They do not care.

Mr. Parent: I do not want to say they do not care. I believe that Hon. Members on both sides should want what is best for the Canadian people. Even if the Americans do not put this kind of pressure on, perhaps it will be our own Canadian businessmen.

There was a report by the Québec Association of Businessmen. They were saying that they will need some relief because of the moneys they are paying for the social programs of the people who are working for them. Already we are getting indications that there will be pressures being brought to attack those people in our society who can least defend themselves.

We have built these social programs over the years, block by block and step by step, so that the Canadian people would be taken care of in their old age. Do we want to become like the Americans in harmonization? If we do, we do not rise to the highest level. I suggest that we will be falling to the lowest common denominator, and that will be falling into the American system. I for one would deplore that very much.

• (2220)

I want to comment briefly on the tactics in this campaign. I sat in the House for a number of years. There were only two times in 10 years that I ever heard the word "liar" used, and on both occasions the people who used the word were kicked out of the House, rightly so. There should be no place in this House for the term "liar", much less for anyone in the House or outside the House to call one of the leaders of our Parties in this country a traitor. These are the kinds of words we heard in this campaign. It is a shame. It brings all of us down when we start talking like that, and we should avoid it.

Ms. Copps: Down in the mud.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Parent: Yes, it is very sad when people say such things.

[*English*]

Someone once said that ours is a MacDonald riding. I guess that means we have working people, like my dad was, who work in the factories and try to make a living as best they can for their families.

For the first time in five campaigns there were employers in my riding writing letters to employees, stating that if they did not vote for free trade, they were in grave danger of losing their jobs. It is a form of blackmail. When big business tries to put pressure on ordinary Canadians who are trying to make a living, how do you want them to react, if not at least with a little bit of fear? That is why I expressed at the beginning of my speech how very proud I was to represent the people of Welland—St. Catharines—Thorold. They did not knuckle under to that type of blackmail.

While I do not even like the word, I do know that what they were doing was unfair. It is not in the Canadian tradition to try to force people to one's way of thinking. The Canadian way has always been to try to bring people around to your way of thinking by giving them good arguments.

This is a bad deal. I ask Government Members to act with caution. This may be the fulfilment of the American dream, as Mr. Reagan said it. But it is not the fulfilment of the Canadian dream. Those dreams are in the hands of the Government for the next four years.

Mr. Corbett: Mr. Speaker, first let me express my appreciation to my constituents in Fundy—Royal who have given me the opportunity to represent them again in the House of Commons for my fifth mandate.

It indeed has been an interesting time since 1978. As a matter of fact, this last election was probably one of the most interesting and different campaigns that I, along with most other of my colleagues, I know on this side, have experienced since we began our political careers.

At the outset of this campaign, the Leader of the Opposition took a prominent place. I note with interest how quickly that prominence seemed to quickly diminish to the point where the subject of conversation among Canadians was what the Leader of the Opposition would do wrong on a particular day. On the first day we saw the Leader of the Opposition stumble on one position while, on the second day, he stumbled into another position. One began to wonder what the Leader of the Opposition would stumble on next. Is it not a shame what took place?

Ms. Copps: It keeps him out of jail.

Mr. Corbett: What took place is a shame. That is what led us to why we are here now. I know it is difficult for the Opposition to try to concentrate on what happened during the campaign—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Ms. Copps: Michel Gravel.

Mr. Corbett: —and what went into it—

Ms. Copps: Sinclair Stevens.

Mr. Corbett: The fact is that we and the Canadian public were subject to a very inept campaign by the Opposition. They wondered what they could do to grip the imagination of people in order to get them out of the dilemma concerning the actions of their leader. In Montreal the Liberals were concerned about whether their leader would come back to Montreal, and what kind of trouble they would expect if he did.

Ms. Copps: Tell us about Gravel.

Mr. Corbett: They decided they should do something dramatic to capture the imagination of Canadians. They decided to revert to that tactic that is most despicable. While they knew it to be cowardly, they would do it as a last resort. The Liberals had no substance or background. They had no future unless they did something dramatic. They decided to attack those people in our society.

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please. I would appreciate a little civility. I would appreciate if Hon. Members would let me hear the speech, at least to see whether the Hon. Member is in order.

Ms. Copps: We are on Clause 2.

Mr. Corbett: I must say that nothing does my heart and soul better as a Maritimer from the cradle of Confederation than to be able to present to the House of Commons, Canadians and the nation a speech to the melodic strains of *O Canada* sung, a little off-tune, by the Member from Hamilton. She demonstrated her incapacity in the last Parliament. If she continues, I am sure she will do the same amount of damage to the Canadian electorate in the future.

How were the Liberals going to accomplish these objectives? They were going to approach those people in this country who were least able—

Ms. Copps: I rise on a point of order. To correct the record, I think the Hon. Member believed somehow that I was humming the Canadian national anthem. I was humming the American national anthem. I am surprised that the Member does not know the difference. I am not surprised he will not know the difference five years from now, but we still have our anthem.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Deputy Chairman: The Member for Fundy—Royal.

Mr. Corbett: What it points out to me is that she is unable to as much as carry a tune as she is to carry a message. To get back on track, trading agreements are nothing new to Canada. In the last 40 to 50 years, we have been involved in trading arrangements with various countries. We have been developing trading arrangements with the United States for the last 40 to 50 years.

• (2230)

It was only a couple of weeks or so ago that there was a big meeting in Montreal, a place near and dear to all of our hearts. Where on earth were all of these people? Why were they not thundering down to Montreal to be in touch with what was going on with the very important General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade? They are the ones who expressed so much concern over the number of weeks we were involved in the election campaign.

It seems that the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor created some hullabaloo in the House the other day because his Leader had not passed on his invitation to attend this meeting in Montreal, as though it were the Government's fault that his Leader decided that he should not be provided with this invitation. If this is such an important issue, why is it that all these people were not flooding to Montreal, taking up all the hotel rooms, fighting for positions in the conference room? Of course, the answer is that they are not at all interested in trading agreements, as they have not been for the last 40 or 50 years.

What interest is shown when we start discussing tariffs on a bottle of perfume or a suit of underwear or a can of paint?

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I would like to indicate that the Hon. Member yet again inaccurately described what took place with respect to invitations to attend the GATT meetings—

The Chairman: That is not a point of order. On debate, I recognize the Hon. Member for Fundy—Royal.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Chairman—

The Chairman: The Chair has ruled that that is not a point of order. On debate, I recognize the Hon. Member for Fundy—Royal.

Mr. Corbett: Mr. Chairman, I do not doubt that the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor is attempting to take

up the time of the House with frivolous points of order because he has nothing left to say. The people said it all on November 21 and we are here to prove that point.

Mr. Langdon: Point of order—

Mr. Corbett: Let me tell Hon. Members why these people are not flocking down to Montreal to listen to what was going on when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade met.

The Chairman: I recognize on a point of order, and the Chair presumes it is another one, the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Chairman, the point I rise on is that you as the Chairman might hear the point of order before making a decision that it is not a point of order. My point is that the reason people were not at the GATT conference to share in the Government's failure was because of a poor approach which the Government took—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

The Chairman: The Chair fails to see how that can be a point of order. I recognize the Hon. Member for Fundy—Royal.

Mr. Corbett: I am delighted that that was brought to our attention. Canada has been a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade for a good number of years. As a matter of fact, it was the Hon. Member's colleagues, in conjunction with the Government they supported for so many years, the Liberal Government, who determined that we were so ineffectual to this point. At least we have been able to bring the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to this country to start discussing this country's needs, the first time in a good many years that has taken place. It is to the credit of this Government that we have accomplished at least that much, and that is a heck of a lot more than we can say for Hon. Members opposite. Thank you for bringing that to our attention.

The reason that they did not go to Montreal was because, to their constituents, a discussion about a 15 per cent tariff on a can of paint or on a suit of underwear or on a bottle of perfume is just about as sexy as watching paint dry. I know that to some opposite, that might come as a bit of a shock, but those are the kinds of things they discuss at those meetings. If I stand before Hon. Members and all of a sudden determine that they will lose their medicare and old age pensions—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Chairman: The Chair has a point of order from the Hon. Member for Restigouche.

Mr. Arseneault: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order. I wonder if the Hon. Member would stick to the facts. I do not think it is right for the Hon. Member to presume why I was not at the GATT hearings.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Fundy-Royal has the floor.

Mr. Corbett: Mr. Chairman, I will not take that matter up with the new Hon. Member. He can be excused for his ignorance. There is no question that over the next number of years he will become more acquainted with what takes place and how this Chamber works. However—

The Chairman: The Chair has another point of order from the Hon. Member for Restigouche.

Mr. Arseneault: Mr. Chairman, I may be a new Member but I am just an ordinary person and I do not appreciate the word "ignorant". As a schoolteacher and an educator, I never allowed that kind of thing to take place in the classroom. This is the highest court in the land as far as I am concerned, and it should not be allowed here. I think the Hon. Member is lowering himself, and I ask the Hon. Member to withdraw that comment.

Mr. Beatty: You should listen to some of Sheila's speeches.

Ms. Copps: Stick to your tricycle, Perrin.

Mr. Beatty: See what I mean? Get a grip on yourself, Sheila.

The Chairman: The Chair understands full well the reaction of the Hon. Member for Restigouche and the Chair does believe that that type of language should not be used here. However, I will not ask the Hon. Member to withdraw, but I would hope that that type of language would not be used.

Mr. Corbett: Mr. Chairman, I beg to differ with the Hon. Member. There is nothing wrong with being ignorant of issues. If one comes to the House of Commons thinking he or she knows everything about all that goes on, indeed that will create one of the difficulties with which we are faced this evening. We should not expect the people who walk into this Chamber, fresh from the streets and high schools of this nation, when they have not had any opportunities or experiences, to

deal with the issues placed before them. They should have the experiences of our front-benchers who have a wealth of knowledge. If you think that I was referring to the individual's intelligence, Mr. Chairman, of course I did not intend that to be the case whatsoever.

We have an opportunity as a nation to take ourselves out of this ignorance and move ourselves into the 21st century to become a part of a world trading nation that will bring prosperity and will provide our children and grandchildren, who would otherwise would not have had a chance, great opportunities. These people would have denied them the opportunity to deliver that message to the people with any enthusiasm on November 21.

Speaking of November 21, I wish to say that today is a great occasion. December 21 is our first anniversary. I would like to congratulate the Government on a grand election which was held just one month ago, and it was a great day for Canadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Corbett: The people have decided. We now have a chance to move forward and provide more opportunities. We have a chance to leave the archaic attitudes of members of the Opposition behind us. We can provide Canadians with new opportunities and social programs—

• (2240)

Ms. Copps: Mr. Chairman, I have a point of order. The Member for Fundy—Royal has claimed today is his anniversary, the anniversary of his Government. I would like to remind the Hon. Member that today happens to be the darkest day of the year, being the winter season.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Corbett: Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the Government on its first anniversary of the election and remind Hon. Members opposite, as it has just been brought to my attention, that not only is it the first anniversary, but it is also the longest day in the country's calendar.

Today, as the Government, we have that opportunity of continuing to bring to the country's attention the most significant program the country has probably seen since Confederation, one that will be responsible for bringing increased prosperity and a future that none of us will ever regret.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Corbett: I also want you to understand, Mr. Chairman, that our senior citizens who were concerned about losing their old age pensions, who were concerned about their grandchildren being drafted because of the lies and the other things that were being brought to their attention by way of fearmongering et cetera, are still receiving their old age security. This Christmas will be brighter. This Christmas will be more wonderful and their grandchildren will be more secure.

Let me tell you, Mr. Chairman, the greatest problem that we have with free trade is not the fear of protectionism but the prosperity it will bring all of us as a nation. It will bring us together more united, happier and more able to go forward as we look forward to enjoying the future prosperity that is inevitably going to come.

Mr. Harvey: Mr. Chairman, tonight's poem will be in blank verse, and without discernible meter, so I hope it is deemed to be in order.

I was interested in the remarks of the Member for Fundy—Royal who observed that he was coming here to this body to represent the cradle of Confederation. I am certain that Members of this House and perhaps the people of Canada watching, wherever they may be, will deem it ironic that the Member comes from the cradle of Confederation to serve on the benches of a Government that seems determined to turn this House into the grave of Confederation. Do I hear a point of order already? Surely not.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: Nobody is listening.

Mr. Harvey: You are too kind. By heavens, the Government members are feisty tonight. It must be the opening of the Parliamentary Restaurant so late in the evening.

I am pleased, however, to have this opportunity to speak tonight because there will be scores of new members elected to this House for the first time—on that anniversary so lately heralded by the Hon. Member for Fundy—Royal—who will not have the opportunity to speak in this House on this Bill at any of its stages, at any point in its progress.

Mr. McDermid: You have had three times already.

Mr. Harvey: I am sorry, my good friend. This is my first time on this Bill.

The reputation which this Government enjoys for factual information is more than borne out by the chap heckling at this point. There are, I would guess, between 60 and 80 new Members in this House who will have no opportunity to address this Bill despite it having been unquestionably the most important issue discussed in the recent election, which means the constituents who elected them, whether or not on balance they approved of the Free Trade Agreement or rejected the Free Trade Agreement, will be unheard in this House in this Thirty-fourth Parliament, which is, after all, the Parliament—I think it is safe to say—that will pass this Bill into law.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Harvey: Those Canadians will not be heard because of this Government's unbridled determination to pass this thing by an artificial deadline that means nothing to anybody save it. It is inexplicable unless, of course, one takes into account perhaps overwhelming pride, or perhaps the arrogance of power, or some other such unworthy motivation. As I say, Mr. Chairman, I tonight have this opportunity and I intend to use it and I thank you very much for it.

What we have before us in this Bill is a new fundamental Constitutional document for this country for, as the Bill itself holds out, in those instances where there is a statute or a regulation or some other instrument which is in conflict with the Free Trade Agreement, it is the Free Trade Agreement which will prevail.

I must admit I have not been to law school. That is true. I think that may put me in the minority in this House, but it is true nonetheless. But it does seem to me that the principal characteristic of a fundamental constitutional document is that it overrides anything with which it comes into conflict. That seems to be—Members opposite will correct me if I am wrong—in the nature of this Free Trade Agreement. Hence, it is only reasonable to deem it a fundamental constitutional document.

It is a fundamental constitutional document which, being put in place, gives the Americans, the Congress of the United States, the administration in Washington, a part it has never enjoyed before in this country.

This can be seen as the culmination of two centuries of American state craft, if such is what you want to call it, but I do not think it is a thing which Canadians ought necessarily to celebrate. I do not know if it is a thing which we ought to greet with open arms: "Hurrah. The Americans at long last seem on the verge of achieving

the aims they have striven for for 200 years." What kind of Canadian Government would celebrate that? Obviously the Canadian Government we have here now, is the Canadian Government that is bidding to become the grave of Confederation.

In the election just passed—and we have heard a lot about this in the last few days—there was the great question of mandate. Members across the way claim that their Government enjoys a mandate. It is true the Government enjoys the mandate to govern and to put this legislation before this House and it enjoys the mandate to pursue with the passage into law of that legislation with all the vigour it can muster. We, however, on this side of the House enjoy a mandate as well. It may not be as overwhelming, but it is a mandate. God knows, the mandate I enjoy in Edmonton East is hardly overwhelming. I am here by virtue of 38 per cent of the votes cast. I do not claim that to be overwhelming.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Beatty: We can all be forgiven for one mistake.

Mr. Harvey: It is, however, just a wee bit better than the 36 per cent earned by the Conservative candidate who supported the deal. When put together with the votes received by the Liberal candidate, who equally vigorously opposed the deal, you will find that the votes cast in Edmonton East gave a majority, a clear majority, to the anti-free trade forces in that election. The pro-free trade forces, including the Reform Party, God bless them, even the old Christian Heritage Party—and with that, if you want them, you can even have the Western Canada Concept and the Western Independence Party. They are yours. Fine, take them. But you still do not get a majority in Edmonton East. In fact, by that measure you do not get a majority across this country.

● (2250)

Might I draw the attention of Hon. Members to this display which I sport on my lapel: "53-43 No Deal". It means that the combined national vote of those candidates opposed to the free trade deal was 53 per cent. The combined national support of those Conservative candidates supporting the deal was 43 per cent. Roll in the Reform Party, roll in the Western Canada Concept, roll in every other group, but the Government came up with 47 per cent.

Members opposite can call that a mandate if they want, and in many respects it is a mandate, but it is not a majority. A majority of Canadians rejected this deal.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Having established that point irrefutably, I would like to move to the deal.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I hold up a copy of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and Members opposite applaud. That is magnificent, Mr. Chairman.

This booklet accompanied me to every door on which I knocked, and to every forum at which—not always to the enlightenment of those I addressed—I spoke.

At every occasion in the campaign concluded November 21 I had this trusty little booklet with me. The reason I had it with me was because, prior to the election, when I was out canvassing, when it was already an issue, the electors of Edmonton East kept telling me: "We don't know what's in the deal. We don't understand it. We wish someone would tell us what is in the deal". That is why I carried this around with me.

From time to time it was only a matter of turning to various parts of the deal. For example, chapter 19 is one of my favourites. I do not know about elsewhere, but in Alberta this deal was held up as that shining instrument which will guarantee to our producers and manufacturers unfettered access to the American market. That is how it was sold to the people of Alberta. Yet, when I went door to door and opened this little booklet at page 271, and read out Article 1902 which states:

1. Each Party reserves the right to apply its antidumping law and countervailing duty law to goods imported from the territory of the other Party—
2. Each Party reserves the right to change or modify its antidumping law or countervailing duty law—

Mr. McDermid: Each Party.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Indeed, no question. We can do it too. However, the point to bear in mind when the Conservative Government was selling this to the Canadian people as a guarantee of access is that it is clear in Article 1902 that it is no such thing. Having simply read it, it became clear to the people of Edmonton East.

Mr. McDermid: Now read chapter 18. Chapter 18 refers to that, be honest now. Read it.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I have read it. But the point is right here in paragraphs 1 and 2, and it states—

Mr. McDermid: What does it say about the law?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): As the Minister for International Trade seems so fond of saying, if this deal had been in place the shakes and shingle tariff never would have been imposed, the softwood lumber tariff never would have been imposed. That is nonsense. It is perfectly within the right of the Americans to impose those duties under Article 1902.

For example, let us say a steel plant in Edmonton comes up with some fantastic new steel fabricating process that takes the market by storm, and it is exporting into the United States to beat the band. There is nothing under Article 1902(2) to prevent the Americans from introducing new tariff laws to prevent that.

Mr. McDermid: Read chapter 18.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I have read chapter 18 but it does nothing to impair the effect of Article 1902(1) and (2).

Mr. McDermid: What does it say about introducing new trade legislation? Come on, get with it. What does it say about being GATT consistent or FTA consistent?

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Nothing that is not overcome by Article 1902.

Mr. McDermid: Read chapter 18.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I have read chapter 18. It does not defeat Article 1902.

Mr. Langdon: No guaranteed access. None at all.

Mr. McDermid: He's changing his tune about the laws.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): They are very excitable tonight, Mr. Chairman. Do you suppose that they have been dealing with Mr. Ben Johnson's staff? I would suggest that the pages check whatever it is that they are putting in the water.

Mr. McDermid: Order. What was that crack about Johnson?

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Another article that the people of Edmonton East found most intriguing was Article 2005. We were told originally that cultural industries were not on the table. Then, having been dropped on the table by accident, it was discerned that, by God, they were exempt. It is true. The first four words of Article 2005(1) are: "Cultural industries are exempt". By God, congratulations.

Alas, Mr. Chairman, those of us who felt so compelled continued to paragraph 2 where it is with grieving heart we read:

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Agreement, a Party may take measures of equivalent commercial effect in response to actions that would have been inconsistent with this Agreement but for paragraph 1.

How the heck did that get in there?

Mr. Langdon: That's the contradiction.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I have not been to law school, but as I read this it means that if, for example, in a surfeit of nationalist fervour the Government decides to pursue vigorously a national film industry including subsidized distribution—whoa! Flora, where are you? I hear Members opposite saying no, no. I know that it is too much to ask until Members opposite are replaced by the New Democrats. Before the century is over, it will happen, Mr. Chairman.

In any event, in this deal there is nothing to stop the Americans from imposing a duty of equivalent commercial effect on anything.

Mr. Fulton: Right on.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Let us say, Mr. Fulton's cherished salmon.

Mr. McDermid: Order.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Or perhaps those automobile parts for which this particular province is so well famed.

Mr. Langdon: Be careful now.

Mr. McDermid: Reel him in a little, Steve.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): What we have here is an exemption for culture that is no exemption at all. It is merely a shifting of commercial responsibility from culture to anything else the Americans decide. It becomes even more interesting when one reads the definition of cultural industry found in Article 2012 which states that "cultural industry means", among other things:

c) the production, distribution, sale or exhibition of audio or video music recording,

In my town there is an outfit called Stony Plain Records. It is one of the most successful independent Canadian record labels in the country. The owner of that company, Mr. Holger Petersen, is a good friend of

mine. We used to play in a band together. It was not a very good band, but it was fun.

Mr. Beatty: Sort of like the NDP.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): The owner of that company has told me that this clause, by itself will drive him out—only two minutes remaining, Mr. Chairman. How time flies when one is having fun.

• (2300)

Let me now deal with the subject of subsidies and social services. Over and over again we have heard the assertion that there is nothing in this agreement that will in any way affect social services or health care.

One can only wonder whether those who make that assertion have ever read the schedule to Chapter 14—

An Hon. Member: Certainly, Crosbie has not.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East):—and, if they did, whether they took the time to figure out what the numbers mean. It is just a bunch of numbers. But when one reads those numbers, when one compares them to the StatsCan industrial classifications, one finds, for example, that “Management Services” includes the management of nursing care homes, of homes for the handicapped, and of foster homes.

We could wind up raising a generation of “McChildren”.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): Under No. 861, we have the administration of general hospitals, of rehabilitation hospitals. Also included would be public health labs and blood bank labs.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Some Hon. Members: Time.

Mr. Harvey (Edmonton East): I do not want to stand here and accuse Hon. Members opposite of having lied to Canadians during the last election campaign, but I will tell you, there was some mighty thick smoke. In some ridings, such as Edmonton East, the voters saw through that smoke; in fact, the majority of Canadians, 53 per cent, saw through that smoke. And, if this Government ignores that majority, it does so at both its peril and the country's peril.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Calgary Southwest, on debate.

Mrs. Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, I am extremely pleased to be able to participate in the debate on the Free Trade Agreement.

At the outset, I should like to congratulate the Hon. Member for Vancouver South on his re-election to this House and on his having been chosen as Speaker of the House. As well I pass along my congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman, on your re-election and on your again assuming the post of Deputy Speaker of the House and Chairman of the Committee of the Whole.

I welcome all new Members to this place. Certainly, they have been totally immersed in parliamentary procedures over the course of the past few days, and I congratulate them on the job that they are doing.

I also wish to extend my thanks to the constituents of Calgary Southwest for their support in re-electing me to this the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: You have a mandate.

Mrs. Sparrow: Yes, I do have a mandate. Indeed, I had five opponents, and none received back their deposits.

Mr. Della Noce: Having been elected with the biggest majority in Canada, we certainly can say that you have a mandate.

Mrs. Sparrow: The Hon. Member is correct in saying that I was elected with the largest plurality in Canada.

Mr. Della Noce: A majority of 30,000.

Mrs. Sparrow: The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement represents the most comprehensive free trade agreement ever concluded between two countries. It covers more trade and trade related issues than any other agreement in the world. More important, it breaks important new ground and thus will be of great value to both the U.S. and Canadian economies.

Ms. Copps: It breaks the backs of the workers of Canada.

Mrs. Sparrow: The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement sets new standards for trade agreements and is consistent with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the GATT.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

It meets the test of fairness and of mutual advantage. It is a win-win situation. It is an agreement that moves Canada into the 21st century, with a sound base and a focus on the future, for utmost success.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Sparrow: It will provide a stable climate, a stable environment for my children, for your children, and for our grandchildren.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Sparrow: Canada cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world. Hon. Members opposite want to look inward, want to look backward, but they do not want to look forward. Your views and your practices do not work today, and they will not work tomorrow.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Copps: Mr. Chairman, I rise on a point of order.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Hamilton East, on a point of order.

Ms. Copps: Mr. Chairman, I hesitate to interrupt, but I should think that the Hon. Member, with her experience in this place, would recognize that under the rules of the House she should be addressing the Chair.

The Chairman: The Hon. Member for Calgary Southwest, on debate.

Mrs. Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, we must face reality, and this Progressive Conservative Government is facing reality, is meeting the facts of the real world head-on.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Sparrow: Our trading regime has changed over the last 40 years. It has changed dramatically since we signed the GATT in 1947-48. We are a trading nation. No fewer than three million jobs in Canada depend upon trade, and 30 per cent of our gross revenues comes from trade. We have to trade to exist, and we must have secure markets in order to maintain our standard of living.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Sparrow: Canada is blessed with an abundance of natural resources. In the past, we have been extremely successful in selling our primary products. But today Canada wants to upgrade, wants to process such things as our natural gas, our uranium, our forestry products, our fish—all of our products. When we do so under the

current regime, the processed product is subjected to large tariffs or duties.

Today Canada exports most of its natural resources tariff-free, whereas value-added products meet with a heavy tariff.

Taking the petrochemical industry as an example, 40 per cent of Canada's total petrochemical sales are in export markets. Of the methanol produced in Canada, 80 per cent is exported, attracting a U.S. duty of 18 per cent. The tariff on polyethylene is 12.5 per cent; and on styrene, 7.4 per cent.

Every 2 to 2.5 per cent reduction in tariffs translates to \$28,000 to \$30,000. Once the Free Trade Agreement is implemented, the removal of the tariffs applied to petrochemical products will add millions of dollars to the cash flow of the petrochemical industry in Canada, thus leading to new investments for facilities.

Only last week Novacor of Calgary announced a multimillion dollar expansion and upgrading of its petrochemical plant at Joffre, Alberta.

The Free Trade Agreement is already having an effect in Alberta.

Let me point out how tariffs work against us. SunIce is a Calgary firm that manufactures ski clothes. Its products are very well regarded world-wide. The volunteers who participated in the staging of the Fifteenth Olympic Winter Games in Calgary, as well as many of the participants, wore SunIce garments.

All Hon. Members will be aware that Calgary hosted the Fifteenth Winter Olympic Games, held in February of last year. We are very proud of that.

An Hon. Member: And a job well done, too.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs. Sparrow: The SunIce Company wished to sell its products in the U.S. But guess what—there was a 23 per cent tariff imposed on them. So what did they do? They went into the U.S. and built a factory, hiring American citizens to work in that factory.

It created jobs in the U.S. It did not create jobs in Canada, and we were the losers.

Let me take a moment to quote a passage from the Western Economic Opportunities Conference, held in Calgary, Alberta, in 1973. A new Member of this House was in attendance at that conference, in the person of

the Hon. Member for Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca had the following to say on the subject of tariffs:

Tariffs have encouraged the concentration of manufacturing in Central Canada, with western Canada supplying agricultural products and other raw materials. The national tariff structure inflicts particular penalties on western Canada.

He also said that bilateral negotiations with another country, in particular the United States, were likely to make western Canada more productive than the GATT.

• (2310)

Some Hon. Members: Who said that?

Mrs. Sparrow: Davey Barrett. He also stated in his 1973 conference that the most obvious and most important market for western Canada is the United States.

Some Hon. Members: Who said that?

Mrs. Sparrow: Davey Barrett. He also said that the lowering of U.S. tariff walls could provide a breakthrough for western Canadian industries. There it is.

Some Hon. Members: Who said that?

Mrs. Sparrow: Davey Barrett.

Mr. Langdon: Point of order—

Mr. Beatty: He just took the bait.

Mr. Langdon: Madam Chairman, the Hon. Member should not be referring to Hon. Members of this House by their names. She also should not be suggesting that particular Hon. Member ever supported this trade deal because he did not at any time.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. McDermid: Reel him in, Bobby.

Ms. Copps: Barrett for leader.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I am sure the Hon. Member, as an experienced Member, will find another way to refer to a Member than by his name. She should use the name of his riding. As far as opinions expressed, that is a question of debate.

Mrs. Sparrow: Madam Chairman, I realize why there was a point of order. The Hon. Member across the way is perhaps a little bit embarrassed over the new Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Langdon: I rise on a point of order, Madam Chairman. I hate to raise points of order in view of the tremendous majority my good friend received.

Mr. Beatty: Don't refer to her as your good friend. That is a slur on her character.

Mr. Langdon: However, I think it is also a rule of this House not to attribute motives. I certainly never would have as a motive embarrassment over the strong fight against the trade deal which the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca put forward.

Mrs. Sparrow: Madam Chairman, I was just going to say a few words about protectionism. Protectionism is going to continue to rear its ugly head. I know we heard a great deal about the softwood lumber deal. The Opposition never brought up the fact that in 1986 we were charged by the U.S. Commerce Department with unfair subsidies.

Two years later the same charge was made, but guess what happened? The U.S. law was either manipulated or distorted because of political pressure. This Free Trade Agreement will install a bilateral dispute mechanism which will not allow political pressure to change or distort international trade law.

Mr. Harvard: I rise on a point of order, Madam Chairman. I have a question concerning the rules. I am a new Member, so forgive me for not knowing the rules—

Mr. McDermid: You have a rule book in your desk.

Mr. Harvard: I will read it. I have heard something somewhat familiar to me because I come from the Province of Manitoba. I heard it on that side of the House. It is emanating from those Members. I heard it in the Province of Manitoba. We tried to stamp it out in the last election. We were almost successful in the City of Winnipeg.

I am referring to whether it is permissible for us in this House to listen to Tory bullshit?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Harvard: I come from Manitoba and that is what we call it. We call a spade a spade.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order.

Some Hon. Members: Out!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: It is getting to be quite late in the evening. Members are debating quite

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

passionately. It is of course quite understandable that Members will not always agree with what is being said on one side or the other. On the other hand, the language used by the Hon. Member is not the type of language that Members appreciate hearing in this House, especially when a Member is on his feet.

I think it would be proper at this time for the debate to continue.

Mrs. Sparrow: Madam Chairman, I do hope that since I have been interrupted quite a few times you will extend my time.

I was talking about protectionism. The chairman of the U.S. Senate subcommittee on trade, Sam Gibbons, met with me last May and we discussed protectionism. That committee has before it 139 Bills on protectionism. They are not necessarily directed against Canada in particular, but I can assure you that if Canada does not get this agreement through we certainly will suffer and be caught in the side-swipe when the U.S. moves forward on its omnibus trade Bill.

I want to spend a few moments on energy. There is nothing in this agreement that forces Canada to sell anything to anyone, nothing. The provinces retain complete control and full jurisdiction over all their natural resources. They have the right to control exploration, development, and production of all their oil and gas. This agreement secures a market for our exports only if we are a reliable supplier. That is fair.

As well, neither country will be able to place restrictions on energy exports or imports. We started way back in June, 1985 to deregulate the industry. Oil in June and natural gas in October. We got rid of the National Energy Program. We got government intervention and control out of the oil and gas industry. We said: "Let the free market move. Let private enterprise do it".

I was totally embarrassed today when the Hon. Member for Edmonton East rose in Question Period and asked the Minister when this Government was going to put a floor price on oil. I can tell you: Never. Never, never, never.

All through the election I heard that we were selling out our natural resources. Canada cannot charge more for its exports than we charge our own residents at home. That is nonsense. All contracts are freely negotiated on a commercial basis. In that regard one can look to Québec and what the Premier of Québec has done in terms of selling his electricity into the northern U.S. He sells it at two and a half times more than what

he is getting from the residents of Quebec. These are freely negotiated contracts.

• (2320)

I want to repeat again that this Government believes in private enterprise. We are not going to interfere, nor should we, in terms of regulating an industry. Our job here is to create a stable fiscal climate to allow industries to get on with the job and let the free market operate.

To develop, to explore, and to produce natural resources cost millions and, in fact, billions of dollars. Canada is a huge country geographically, but populationwise we are very small. We do not have the capital to bring on stream our natural resources. We need foreign investment. Investors look for a stable, reliable country. That is what the Conservative Party stands for, and I am proud of it.

Our synthetic reserves in northern Alberta, the oilsands, the heavy oil, the frontier reserves in the Beaufort Sea and off the East Coast are extremely costly to develop. They take years to bring on stream.

Do we want security of supply? Do Canadians want security of supply? If they do that is exactly what this Free Trade Agreement will bring them.

I wish to quote the Canadian geological potential for oil in Canada. It is 680 years, but it takes money to develop. In terms of natural gas it is 167 years. We have not even started looking for it. We have an abundance of natural resources. That is exactly what we will produce.

During the election I heard a great many myths about the environment. They went: "Oh, dear, time and time again Canada will be forced to harmonize with the United States environmental standards". That is nonsense. Under Article XX of the GATT we can protect public morals, such as through the prohibition on trade in pornographic material. We can protect human, animal or plant life or health. We can protect the environment. It is all in here under Article XX.

In closing I want to say that we did not leap into this deal overnight. It started in March, 1985 with the Québec Summit. We got an agreement in the fall. We spent 18 months negotiating. We spent 18 months talking to ITAC. Simon Reisman, the negotiator, had a 40-person team. The International Trade Advisory Committee. There were 15 SAGIT sectoral advisory committees. They met every month. They reported to Mr. Reisman who in turn reported to our Minister of Trade.

This particular agreement has had more study, more provincial government input, more industry input than any other agreement ever entered into by the Government of Canada.

The dispute settlement mechanism is described in chapters 18 and 19 chapters. It probably has to be one of the very strongest benefits of the deal. There was a report done by a legal firm in town called Fraser and Beatty which states that it is a tremendous asset, probably one of the very best dispute settlement mechanisms that exist.

The Free Trade Agreement is important for Canada. We did win a mandate. We have more seats in this House than the other two Parties. We have the right to fight this, and we will.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Madam Chairman, the constituents of South West Nova know my feelings on free trade. I would like to spend my 20 minutes asking the Minister some quick, simple questions which my constituents and many Canadians have asked me—

An Hon. Member: Can he answer them?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I do not know; it is up to the Minister.

Obviously, a great many Members do not realize that they have the privilege of being able to question directly Ministers and their officials. I regret that the officials are not here tonight.

Mr. McDermid: They are here. I can get them in one minute.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): You may need to, John; excuse me, I will ask you the question in a minute.

I am sure the Minister can answer the simple questions. They will be brief and to the point.

My first concern relates to the working group on subsidies as set up by Article 1907. I realize that the two countries have agreed to establish a working group to develop more effective rules and disciplines concerning the use of subsidies, and to develop a substitute system of rules for dealing with unfair pricing and government subsidization. I have a number of questions on subsidies for the Minister. The Minister of Trade, I am sure, is aware that we have debated back and forth in committee. I am only exercising my right as a member of this

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

committee to ask him some questions. I know that he is brief in his answers.

Has the Canadian Government, the Cabinet, done an evaluation of what is a subsidy as it relates to Canada and the Free Trade Agreement?

Mr. Crosbie: Yes, Madam Chairman, naturally over the years we have looked at what is a subsidy. I cannot stand if the hon. lady is going to stand.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I just asked for a yes or no answer.

Mr. Crosbie: We can wait until the end of the hon. lady's speech and then I can give the answers.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Just answer yes or no.

Mr. McDermid: Sit down and let him answer.

Mr. Dick: He can answer for 20 minutes if he wants.

Ms. Copps: Don't be a dick.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Is the definition of a subsidy in the Free Trade Agreement to be retroactive before January 1, 1989? Will companies presently receiving Atlantic Canada Opportunities grants in the East be penalized, or is there a cut-off date for when the subsidy begins? In other words, is there a cut-off date on to when a subsidy actually begins for the Free Trade Agreement? My question requires a yes or no answer. I am just asking.

Mr. Crosbie: Obviously, the answer is no. There has been no agreed definition of what is a trade distorting subsidy. We are hardly going to make it retroactive if there ever is an agreement.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): In other words, we had better hurry up and get all our grants in first before January 1, 1989.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I have the final determination that was made in the United States with respect to the Atlantic groundfish countervail action. I am sure the Minister is aware of the list which is contained in that determination.

I do not really want to go into details. I want to outline some of the programs that were determined to be a subsidy in that determination by the Americans. I wish to enumerate 11 or 12 of them, because I think

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

that they are important *vis-à-vis* whether or not the delegates on the committee have some type of order to look at these as subsidies.

They are: the Fishing Vessel Assistance Program, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Promotion Branch, assistance for the construction of ice-making and fish chilling facilities, certain types of investment tax credits, programs for export market development, regional development incentive programs, industrial and regional development programs, fisheries improvement loans programs, Department of Fisheries and Oceans grants to fishermen and fish processors—I am reading from the determination. There are 38 subsidies listed which went into the evaluation. I could go on with the list.

The Hon. Minister knows that we are both interested in harbour development for fishermen, but preferential user fees to fishermen under the Small Craft Harbours Program were determined to be a subsidy. There is also government equity infusions into National Sea Products and Fishery Products International. It is no wonder that if it is not going to be retroactive it will not hurt at all.

• (2330)

Then you can go to the ones that affect Newfoundland, Mr. Minister, such as Newfoundland grants for the rebuilding and repairing of fishing and coastal vessels. There are about eight of them.

There is a list of subsidies. I want to know whether the Minister will give any instruction to the working group that will evaluate the rules on these 38 points which brought in countervail on subsidies. I do not want to know what happened to each program. I want to know if the Minister has any direction for that working group when it comes time to set it up. It is coming by January 1, if we pass it between now and the end of the year. Has the Minister given a list of protected industrial growth subsidies to the working group? Has he made such a direction?

Mr. Crosbie: There seems to be a lot of confusion in the mind of the Hon. Member. I suppose her departure from the House for four years has caused some confusion in her mind of these matters.

The subsidy situation is this: With or without the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the United States now has a law, as do we, to deal with the question of whether or not exports into the United States are unfairly subsidized. We have the same laws in our country. There is nothing strange or peculiar about the fact that the Americans have those kinds of laws. Every

trading country in the world has them to protect themselves from unfair trading.

Therefore, if the Americans export products to Canada that are unfairly subsidized in a trade distorting way, then a Canadian company can make a complaint to the relevant authorities here in Canada. If they can show that the American product was unfairly subsidized in a trading sort of way, then we can put on a countervailing tariff. This is a law that works both ways.

Last year, this year, next year, the Americans will be able to bring actions against Canadian exports to the United States under their trade law if they allege that some product of ours has been unfairly subsidized. Up to the end of this year, the case will be determined by an American agency. They would make a determination whether or not under their trade law there was an unfair trade distorting subsidy.

After January 1, that will no longer be the case. We will be able to have a dispute resolution process to which we will appoint two members.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): It is my job—

Mr. Crosbie: Madam Chairman, I was asked a question, and I have the floor.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): No. Madam Chairman, he has not answered my question.

Mr. Crosbie: I have the floor.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order, please.

Mr. Crosbie: If I am asked a question, I should be able to answer it. After January 1, when this legislation passes this House, we will have a new dispute resolution mechanism. There will be a board appointed—two Canadians, two Americans—with a neutral chairman.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): A point of order, Madam Chairman—

An Hon. Member: We are in committee, Madam Chairman.

Mr. Crosbie: Have I the floor, Madam Chairman?

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Not at this time. There has been a point of order raised by the Hon. Member for South West Nova.

Mr. Crosbie: Either the Hon. Member is asking questions or she is not. What kind of nonsense is this?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: There was a point of order.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I specifically asked the Minister a question. I do not need a lesson on countervail.

Mr. Crosbie: You do, you certainly do.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Madam Chairman, I do not know if you have had the experience of sitting in Committee of the Whole.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): He cannot answer the question. My question was a simple question on whether or not he was going to provide any guidance on subsidies as of January 1. Please answer the question. I do not need a lesson. I will make a speech if you want me to. It is my time. I am asking a question. Answer the question.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order.

Mr. Crosbie: If I can continue with the answer, the Hon. Member is confused.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I am not confused about subsidies. It is the whole issue that you have to discuss.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Order. There is something that should be made a little more precise for all Members in this Chamber. It is the prerogative of a Member, in Committee of the Whole, to ask questions of the Minister responsible for the Bill. The time taken by the Minister, now that we are within a situation of closure, is part of the 20 minutes in which the Hon. Member has to make a statement. Whenever a question is asked, I think the Hon. Member should be allowed the time to answer.

The last time the Hon. Member for South West Nova rose, she rose on a point of order. The point of order was not made and debate started again. I will not consider the time which has been taken by the point of order. This discussion will not be taken into account when adding up the time which the Hon. Member has coming to her.

The Hon. Minister had the floor. I think it would be useful to everyone if the answer is concluded as quickly as possible.

Mr. Crosbie: Thank you, Madam Chairman. I will try to finish very quickly.

The present system is that every case is decided individually. There is no agreed definition on what is a "trade distorting subsidy". If two countries could agree together on a definition of what makes up a "subsidy", it would save a lot of time and effort on everyone's part in taking these individual cases before dispute tribunals. That is what the committee will be doing over the next five to seven years, attempting to see if we can agree with the United States on what is a definition of a "trade-distorting subsidy". We will not agree to any definition that will endanger regional development programs in Canada. The law will not change in the United States. It will not change here unless we both can reach agreement in this committee.

The omens are not good about agreement because 96 GATT countries have not been able to reach agreement. Perhaps over the next five to seven years we will be able to do so. We are not going to agree to anything that is damaging to Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for South West Nova.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I just want to say, Madam Chairman, thank you for your indulgence. I feel that it is my right to have my 20 minutes. The Minister does not need to instruct me on the preamble to his question. I am only asking: Did he or did he not instruct the group that will be sitting down as to matters that are priorities with respect to Atlantic Canada? He says he would not agree. That is fine. I am just wondering if he has made a list.

• (2340)

My next question concerns Chapter 12 of the agreement. I am pleased to see that the Government grandfathered the ownership of the vessel that catches the fish in Canadian waters.

There is a difference between the East Coast and West Coast, and I will not worry about the West Coast since the Government obviously does not. I am only interested in the East Coast.

The explanation in Chapter 12 states that the powers of the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans to ensure that Canada obtains benefits from our fisheries resources remain intact. The agreement protects the current Canadian policy restricting foreigners—I presume

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

foreigners means the U.S.—to a minority ownership of licensed Canadian vessels, or of companies that own licensed vessels.

What is most astonishing to anyone in inshore fishing is the statement: “or hold enterprise allocation”.

The Minister must know that 80 per cent of the East Coast fisheries is under enterprise allocations.

Mr. Siddon: That is not true.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): This means someone can go to the American stock exchange and have a minority interest in Fishery Products and National Sea. The Canadian fish which we fought so hard to control within our waters is now going to them. It also means that you can take 150 inshore boats—

Mr. Siddon: Point of order.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Madam Chairman, that was not the Minister I was talking to.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Minister rose on a point of order.

Mr. Siddon: I think the Hon. Member would want the House to have correct information. She should tell the House that 80 per cent of the Atlantic fishery was not under enterprise allocation. She should tell the House the facts.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): He does not know what he is talking about.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Minister may want to enter into debate at a later stage. It is not a point of order. The Hon. Member for South West Nova.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): The Minister knows the fishery policy. We all know it on the East Coast. Fifty-one per cent of the boat ownership must be owned by Canadians. That is grandfathered. However, we do not know who will own 49 per cent.

For example, if Investment Canada has a level of \$150 million, an entire sector of an inshore fishery could possibly be bought at 49 per cent, so that the direction of that inshore fishery could change hands. I do not think that was what the Minister wanted. I am sure he did not want to give up control of our fish in our waters to a foreign minority shareholder.

Mr. Siddon: A point of order—

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): When you consider that it has to be landed on shore—

Mr. Siddon: Point of order—

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Minister, on a point of order.

Mr. Siddon: I think the Hon. Member would want the House to know that inshore fishermen must have Canadian licences and that only Canadians can own—

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I have advised the Hon. Minister before, and it would be appreciated if he would rise on debate and not try to debate on a point of order.

Mr. Tobin: Madam Chairman, I appreciate the fact that you pointed out that there was a world of difference between a point of order and debate. The Minister is interrupting the flow of an eloquent and passionate speech with fictitious points of order that are really debate. Let us hear from a passionate defender—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I would point out to the Hon. Member that I made this point with the Hon. Minister. I will give the floor back to the Hon. Member for South West Nova.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Madam Chairman, I will return to some of the other concerns I have in this Free Trade Agreement. I am concerned about the technical standards. I am concerned about restrictive trade practices. I am concerned about temporary entry permits.

There is a difference between American immigration law and Canadian immigration law. I suggest that Americans could come in and spend as much time as they want here, while I believe Canadians are restricted by immigration laws to six-month period.

Mr. McDermid: Where does it say that?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): They can come up here for an extended period of time. There is no discretion.

Mr. McDermid: Where does it say that?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I have the section and I will send it to the Minister later.

I understand that mirror legislation must be passed with respect to the temporary entry permit. How long

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

will it be before we will have the same right to go to the States as Americans have to come here? Or, will there be shorter periods?

I also want to deal with cheap labour.

Mr. Crosbie: When do we get a chance to answer the question?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I did not ask a question yet. I will ask a question if you want, Mr. Minister. Does the Minister expect that inshore fish landed at our wharfs would be processed anywhere in eastern Canada when it could be processed anywhere in the States cheaper?

In other words, I understand the grandfathering position so that the fishing capacity has to be 51 per cent owned by Canadians. However, I can see the minority taking hold of that and taking it over. I understand that it is grandfathered and that you have to land inshore fish at the wharfs. However, I believe that ultimately our company will not be able to buy because they must compete with the cheap labour and processing.

Does he not believe that the inshore fishing community will be harmed by the process of landed fish going straight to the States to be finished?

The Minister may say that this agreement will allow us to process our fish further. Yes, you can find six people to do fish cakes. They can do all the fish cakes the Americans will eat. That is six more jobs, but what about all the plant jobs? Seasonal workers may be considered a subsidy and the fish may be sold to the States and processed there. The inshore fishery will go out the window.

We are worried about communities and their lifeblood. You are worried about fish cakes for National Sea and Fisheries Products. I cannot believe that any Minister coming from the East would allow a minority shareholder to put our landed fish stocks in Boston or anywhere there is cheaper labour.

Fisheries Products International and National Sea already have places there because it is cheaper to bring the fish there. How will the Minister keep our natural resources in Canada?

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: There are only a few minutes left, if the Minister wishes to answer.

Mr. Crosbie: How are you going to keep them down on the farm now that they have seen Paris? I am glad

the Hon. Member wanted to observe the rules of the Committee of the Whole by asking—

• (2350)

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I am sorry, I recognize the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor on a point of order.

Mr. Langdon: Madam Chairman, I have a procedural question I would like to raise with you. It is my understanding that once closure has been applied in Committee of the Whole, it is not possible to conduct question and answer sessions, and that an Hon. Member is limited to one intervention as the Hon. Member for South West Nova has already done. I wonder if that is not the case, Madam Chairman.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: At one point. The Hon. Member probably did not understand, although I made that point very clear at the outset of the speech of the Hon. Member for South West Nova. Should the Hon. Member wish to ask questions of the Minister responsible for the Bill, the time the Minister would take to answer the question would be deducted from the 20-minute period allowed to the Hon. Member. Otherwise, it would be considered an intervention from the Minister. Within the 20-minute period, the Member may again rise to his feet and be recognized after asking a question of the Minister. Does that answer the Hon. Member's question?

Mr. Langdon: Yes, Madam Chairman, but this creates a problem with what I understand to be an important rule which comes into effect when closure is imposed by the Government in Committee of the Whole, that is, that a Member cannot speak more than once.

In this case, the Hon. Member for South West Nova will have spoken a number of times and the Minister will have spoken a number of times. That would seem to contradict the rules imposed under closure.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: Perhaps the Hon. Member will allow me to try again. Once we are under closure, no Hon. Member is allowed to speak for more than one 20-minute period. Should the Hon. Member choose to ask a question of the Minister responsible, the time the Minister takes to answer the question is taken into consideration within the Hon. Member's 20-minute period. This is a choice the Hon. Member can make.

The time which was allowed the Hon. Member for South West Nova has now expired. We will resume debate with the Hon. Member for Guelph.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: Now do I have the floor?

Mr. Tobin: Madam Chairman, I rise on a point of order. Of course we accept and support totally the explanation you have given to the Hon. Member who raised the question, but I simply wonder if Madam Chairman took into consideration the time that was spent in explaining to the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor what exactly was happening tonight when tallying the total time spent by the Hon. Member who has just spoken. I wonder whether or not there is time remaining for the Minister to give his normal short, succinct and brief answer and for the Hon. Member to respond.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: I can assure the Hon. Member that the time taken by points of order during the Hon. Member's speech was taken into consideration and added to the normal time, but now the time has in fact expired and we are resuming debate with the Hon. Member for Laval.

Mr. Crosbie: I haven't answered the question yet.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: The Hon. Member for Laval has the floor.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Ricard: Before I begin, Madam Chairman—

[*English*]

Ms. Copps: Madam Chairman, before the point of order was made, I understood that the Chair had recognized the Hon. Member for Guelph.

The Assistant Deputy Chairman: At this time of night, the Hon. Member may allow the Chair to have a problem when recognizing a Member. I do apologize. I recognize the Hon. Member for Laval.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Ricard: Madam Chairman, before I begin my comments, I would like to congratulate the Minister of External Trade (Mr. Crosbie). For almost 18 months he was accused of not having read the trade agreement. I suggest that he deserves a good hand of applause for the way he has been answering questions, and if my colleagues want to join me, we are going to very strongly applaud him.

An Hon. Member: It would seem he learned it by heart since that time!

Mr. Ricard: Yes indeed, it would even seem he learned it by heart. Congratulations, Mr. Minister.

Madam Chairman, I would like to make a brief statement. What is the purpose of the legislation now before us? As stated, it is—

to strengthen the unique and enduring friendship between the two countries and their peoples as befitting great trading partners,

to strengthen Canada's national identity while at the same time protecting vital national characteristics and qualities,

to promote productivity, employment, financial stability and the improvement of living standards,

to establish a climate of greater predictability for Canadians to plan and invest with confidence and to complete more effectively in the United States and global markets,

to build on Canada's rights and obligations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other multilateral and bilateral instruments of cooperation,

to contribute to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade and provide a catalyst to broader international cooperation, and

to establish effective binational procedures for the resolution of disputes in antidumping and countervailing duty cases involving the two countries and, generally, any dispute arising out of the Agreement;

Mr. Chairman, reciting that statement, I am still wondering why Opposition Parties are cautioning Canadians against the right to negotiate or trade with the United States, which will enable all residents in Canada to benefit from the Agreement.

I wonder how they can explain to Canada and Canadians that we should exercise caution because when trading with the Americans we could be tricked.

During the past week and a half, and maybe longer than that now, I have heard in this Chamber all kinds of comments and allegations, and often falsehoods, about what this Bill would have us do with our American colleagues.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, when two people decide to enter into an agreement, they sit down at a table to hammer out the details of the agreement, then finally sign it. The process, I would think, is the same when the parties involved are two countries. This Chamber is full of lawyers. I am sure they will agree with me on that. When two countries decide to enter into an agreement, the same rules apply. They sit down together, each side says what it wants and they try to come to an agreement.

We are 25 million strong in Canada and we produce much more than we consume. Obviously, we try to sell our products to other countries as best we can. Part of our excess production goes to the United States and we are currently trying to increase our sales to that country.

We know that to the 250 million Americans, Canada is a small market. But for them, the Free Trade Agreement means much more than trying to sell or buy consumer goods.

● (0000)

It shows that they can get along with another country. It sets the scene for future negotiations with the world. The ultimate purpose of the Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Chairman, is not to establish trade between two countries, but to establish world trade. What we want is a world market for our products. If you remember, some time ago, we clearly showed that Canada could compete with any other country in the area of high technology. Canada, and I should say even Quebec, boasts the best engineers in the world. Laval has produced good engineers, Mr. Chairman. I am one of those engineers and I am not afraid to say so. There is a large firm in Montreal called Lavalin which competes on the world market. It is the only engineering consultant firm to have succeeded in getting into Russia. And that's no small feat, Mr. Chairman. These people are able to compete on the world market, which means that if we can sign agreements with our American partners, we will be able to tackle the world market, as well as sell our expertise, goods and services. Of course, the Liberals will say that we will never be able to achieve that goal, because they themselves were never able to prove that in the past. They were never able to set up a system to help us expand.

As far as the implementation of free trade is concerned, Mr. Chairman, they claimed during the election campaign that we were unable to foresee its impact.

Mr. Chairman, we are saying that custom duties will be entirely eliminated for approximately 15 per cent of our bilateral trade. As soon as the agreement is implemented, goods made in Canada or in the United States such as computers and computer hardware—this is high technology—fur, clothing, frozen fresh fish,—I wish to pay tribute to my colleague the Minister of State for Small Businesses and Tourism (Mr. Valcourt) who clearly demonstrated last night what he will do with cod. Animal feed, skis, skates, whisky—which may be somewhat important but which will be able to cross the border tax free. At the same date, custom duties will be reduced by 20 per cent on approximately one-third of all the other goods exported or imported. For instance, machinery, paint, furniture, paper and paper products. The Minister himself mentioned paper products yesterday.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

He said that we were supplying the raw material in Canada, but that the Americans were making the finished product; with a new free trade agreement, we could make it here. Hardwood plywood, oil, and spare parts for cars; this will affect my friend the Hon. Member for Duvernay (Mr. Della Noce) and Luigi. These duties will be reduced by another 20 per cent until these goods account for approximately 50 per cent of our bilateral trade.

Let us deal now with embargoes, Mr. Chairman. Canada will lift its embargoes on second hand planes and cars which are 8 years old or older, but this restriction as to the age of second hand cars will be gradually eliminated by as much as 2 per cent per year until January 1, 1993. Of course, there is a lot of detailed planning behind all of this.

Residence permits for businessmen. As you know, Mr. Chairman, I tried one day to go and work in the United States as an engineer and I found it very difficult for a Canadian professional to be hired in the United States and try to secure a position there without being sponsored by an American firm. And this caused a lot of problems because the company which wanted to do business in the United States market had first to ask for a working permit there which they could never obtain. So they were compelled to join an American corporation to sponsor a Canadian corporation. With free trade, new rules for temporary visits to the United States by business people, professionals, merchants, investors and persons transferred within a company will take effect for Canadian citizens. That seems clear to me—it is not hard to understand.

An Hon. Member: American citizens too.

Mr. Ricard: American citizens as well, that is true. You are right, sir, it is free trade we are getting into. So if we go down there, they have the right to come up here, to our country. And I think that we are big enough, mature enough and man enough to accept it and to work with the agreed upon rules.

So, Mr. Chairman, looking at all that, we easily realize that it cannot be bad for Canadians.

What will be the effects on a province like Quebec? For four years, we have heard the Liberals here tell us that the Montreal area was being neglected by the federal Government. The Montreal area has the labour force, the infrastructure, everything we need to give those people the chance to take on the world market, the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

American market. But they must be given the opportunity to do so.

For 20 years, the Liberals tried to subsidize companies that had trouble surviving. It was like putting band-aids on wooden legs, Mr. Chairman. They never solved the problem. With the means at hand, we tried to solve the problem effectively. We saved Petromont. We invested millions, but in an intelligent manner. We enabled this company to compete, to restructure, to go after markets that were closed to it until then.

So, Mr. Chairman, if the Montreal area can have access to the American market, if it can produce high tech products, if it can produce finished products, what will it do? We will sell them to the Americans. Indeed, we have already started. Look at companies like Spar, which produces the Canadarm for the U.S. shuttle—

An Hon. Member: It is made in Lotbinière.

Mr. Ricard: It is made in Lotbinière—even better. There must be some small screws made in Lotbinière.

Mr. Chairman, we realize that Canadians can do.

Mr. Chairman, I remember the demagoguery the Opposition parties resorted to in 1984-85 when we talked about giving Crown corporations back to private enterprise and decentralizing. We then had the first company sold to private enterprise, namely de Havilland. I remember that very well because at the time I was chairman of the Committee on Regional Economic Expansion and we had held hearings on the sale of that corporation to private sector interests. I recall that at the time someone said that if the Government were to get rid of Crown corporations it would kill that industry, create unemployment and witness the exodus of Canadian brains to American companies since Boeing was then the prospective De Havilland buyer.

We also had the privilege of listening to Mr. Bob White who had come to make representations.

An Hon. Member: Not Bob White?

Mr. Richard: Bob White, in person.

An Hon. Member: The leader of the NDP?

Mr. Ricard: The future leader of the NDP. He came here with his retinue of 15 or 20 people and attempted to laugh at the state, to ridicule the Canadian Government. He was not aiming only at the Conservatives, Mr. Chairman, the Liberals too were a target because, naturally, for Bob White absolutely nothing exists

except socialism, the NDP and socialism. As far as he was concerned, any sale of a Crown corporation to the private sector was a scandal, soon to degenerate into a cancer.

We witnessed the same scenario when Canadair management decided to sell some of their shares to private interests. The same people came to the House, they appeared before the committee where they made demagogic statements and accused us of every sin in the book, they came to tell us we were selling this country off to the Americans, they came to tell us that we were getting rid of our heritage, Mr. Chairman, our heritage!

Now if we consider the results of these sales, this privatization, without actually saying that we created jobs, the fact is that these companies almost doubled the number of workers they had at the time, they increased their profits three and four times over. That is what they did. The beauty of it is that the additional provincial and federal taxes and every other tax related to their purchasing power enabled us to justify fully the loans we had made, and then some.

I said that the Montreal region is home to a number of high technology industries like Spar in the riding of my friend the Minister of Labour (Mr. Cadieux), Canadair, Paramax, Canadian Aviation Electronics, each one a high tech undertaking which would stand to gain a lot. But in order to achieve this, Mr. Chairman, the Bill under consideration first has to be adopted. We must adopt this Bill because it is the tool we need to amend the laws that will enable us to develop our high technology.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to talk to you about the Space Agency. During the election campaign, the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) said that the space agency would be built in the Montreal area. If you take a look at last week's newspapers, you will see that a dozen of the members in his caucus want the agency to be built in Ottawa. It is obvious that the Members involved are Opposition backbenchers. The fact remains, however, that the Liberals can't seem to get together to decide where they want the space agency to be built. They wanted to trip us up by trying to pit us, the Members from the Montreal area, against the Members from the Ottawa area for the space agency. They wanted to create a rift between us.

Mr. Chairman, on this side of the House we did not stoop down to that demagoguery, we did not trip over. We did not compromise ourselves. The Prime Minister (Mr.

Mulroney) said he would make a statement in due time and all other Ministers abode by that.

What is important to us, Mr. Chairman, it is not whether the Space Agency is in Montreal or Toronto or Ottawa. What is important to us, Mr. Chairman, is that Canada be recognized as the high technology place, the place to develop aerospace. If we can have people in Saskatoon and Halifax working on high technology, aerospace products, people in Montreal will applaud, Mr. Chairman, they will support that, and those people will be able to promote the aerospace industry in Montreal.

I think that on this side of the House, all Members here, all Conservative Members share that view, and everyone is working for the good of Canada—everyone wants to promote Canada.

Mr. Chairman, as my time has expired, I would like to conclude by saying that the sooner the Bill is accepted, the sooner Canada will grow, the sooner the high technology industry in Canada will be improved, and the better it will be for Canadians, Quebecers and especially people in Laval.

• (0010)

[English]

Mr. Crawford: Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the constituents of the riding of Kent for the trust and confidence they have placed in me. As a representative for the riding of Kent in southwestern Ontario, I pledge to go above and beyond the call of duty for my riding.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crawford: It is indeed an honour, a privilege, and a humbling experience to be a new Member of Parliament. In this my maiden speech in this hallowed Chamber, I am pleased to put forward my comments regarding the free trade deal in this historic debate, and particularly on how it may affect Kent. I wish to concentrate on three aspects or issues that are of specific concern to Kent: agriculture, the automotive industry, and the environment.

Kent County has some of the most fertile land in Canada, and it is number one in the nation for corn production. Day in and day out our farmers are confronted with things not under their control, such as the weather, low market prices, and high input costs. The trade deal puts at risk one of Canada's most basic industries, our food industry. The Government said that our supply-management boards are left intact by the

trade deal, but elimination of tariffs on processed foods will undercut Canadian poultry, eggs, and dairy marketing boards. As more processed foods are imported from the United States, the authority of Canadian marketing boards will weaken, and processors and farmers will lose business.

Article 401 will eliminate tariffs on fruit, vegetables, and processed foods. This will frequently make it difficult for our fruit and vegetable producers to compete with imports from the United States, especially the southern states which have a much longer growing season.

Our shorter grower season limits our ability to grow fruit and vegetables relative to the U.S. These products are generally in larger supply in the U.S. and at a lower price than in Canada. Therefore, because our food processors pay higher prices for Canadian than U.S. fruit and vegetables, by eliminating tariffs the trade deal obviously puts pressure on processors to relocate operations in the United States, closer to the source of cheaper supplies.

Our farmers are faced with more than Mother Nature, with more than the big banks breathing down their necks. Now the trade deal throws our farmers to the wolves.

The use of pesticides will be forever changed by the trade deal. Just as we are recognizing an urgent need to develop policies that move us away from a dependence on herbicides and pesticides, the free trade deal commits us to an American approach that actually makes it easier for certain pesticides and herbicides to be licensed.

Schedule 7 to Chapter Seven specifically concerns pesticides. It states that the U.S. and Canada must "work toward equivalent guidelines, technical regulations, standards and test methods". The difference between the U.S. and Canadian approaches are quite real. In the United States there are 20 per cent more active pesticide ingredients registered for use, and over seven times as many pesticide products.

One good example is the herbicide Alachlor, a probably cancer-causing substance which the U.S. continues to license, but it is banned in Canada. Alachlor, which has been demonstrated to cause tumours in test animals, has been found in both ground and surface waters across Canada. According to Health and Welfare officials, the evidence that it could be cancer-causing was the most convincing they had ever seen for a

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

pesticide. Yet, the U.S. found that the benefits outweighed the risks and it continues to register Alachlor.

Not surprisingly, the manufacturer has argued that Canada's licensing rules should be changed to reflect the American criteria. The free trade deal will weaken Canadian pesticide regulation. The effect will be to trade the adverse impact on Canadian health and environment in a return for greater profits to the transnational chemical industry.

● (0020)

That is clearly unacceptable. The citizens of Kent are concerned that this Government will not even consider amendments which would safeguard our ability to ban, inhibit, or restrict the use of pesticides or chemicals, an ability which is cast in doubt by Schedule 7 of the Free Trade Agreement.

What about the environment in general? The constituents of the riding of Kent have a heightened awareness of this Government's poor record on the environment. The northern parts of Kent County draw their water from the Sinclair River, an international waterway and a waterway that is threatened by chemical spills, blobs, and waste water.

The residents of North Kent, which comprises the native reservation of Walpole and the Town of Wallaceburg and the Town of Dresden, want a clean water pipeline from Lake Huron so as to eliminate the threat of spills and to permit them the same quality of water as that available to the City of Sarnia.

This Government has repeatedly said that the free trade deal is not about the environment. In fact, the environmental significance of the trade deal has been apparent from the outset. As early as June 1986, this Government's own environmental advisory council called upon it to conduct a public and thorough assessment of the implications of the Free Trade Agreement, and this before negotiations were concluded.

The advice of this Government's own advisory council on the environment was ignored.

Some Hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Crawford: In response to the critics of the trade deal, the Government is now claiming that the environment is protected under Article 609 of the agreement and under Article XX(B) of the GATT.

This Government's claim that nothing in the trade deal prevents Canada from regulating to protect the

environment is entirely false. Its strategy appears intended, once again, to capitalize on the fact that most Canadians have not read the Free Trade Agreement.

One is left with the impression that the environmental concerns were not omitted recklessly or inadvertently. The Government has drawn attention to sections of the Free Trade Agreement and the GATT which, we are told, concern the environment; but neither provision applies to the very parts of the Free Trade Agreement of greatest environmental concern.

By raising Article 609 and Article XX(B) of the GATT, the Government underscores its total failure to protect the environment from the worst impacts of the Free Trade Agreement. The only conclusion left is that the framers of the deal were careful to make sure that their major objectives were not stopped by any concern for the environment.

There is no mention of environmental protection anywhere in this trade deal. As a consequence, the implications for the environment are not clear. No environmental impact study of a Free Trade Agreement had been carried out by the Government before, during or after the deal was signed.

As well, Canada may face pressures to lower our standards to American levels. Canadian business could argue that our stronger regulations in such areas as acid rain emissions, air pollution, liquid waste disposal, and the use of pesticides could put Canadian companies at a competitive disadvantage.

Ms. Copps: Shame. Another sell-out.

Mr. Crawford: The Ontario Environment Minister agrees that subsidies given by federal and provincial Governments to reduce pollution emissions may be attacked by American companies as unfair subsidies. The definition of "unfair subsidies" is to be decided over the next five to seven years. Pollution control subsidies and subsidies related to the environment have not been excluded from this deal.

Mr. Chairman, this Government's concern for the environment takes second place to its concern for big business and the profits of big business, with no concern for the environment.

The auto industry is of prime importance to the riding of Kent. Because of our proximity to the major car manufacturers, our auto parts factories have grown and prospered. The auto pact has played an important role in that success.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crawford: Throughout the negotiations, the Government maintained that the auto industry would not be part of any Free Trade Agreement and that the Auto Pact would remain intact. Yet, when the free trade deal was made public, one found an entire chapter dealing with changes to the Auto Pact, Chapter 10.

The trade deal, Mr. Chairman, makes several significant changes to the Auto Pact, changes which eliminate Canadian safeguards and essentially gut the Auto Pact.

Ms. Copps: Shame.

Mr. Crawford: First of all, the policing mechanisms are removed. The Auto Pact allowed companies to move autos across the border tariff-free if those same companies manufactured in Canada 60 per cent of the value of vehicles sold in Canada. Car makers are required to pay full tariff on any imports that do not meet the 60 per cent requirement, and the tariffs are set at such a level that it is always in the car maker's interest to build the cars in Canada, creating jobs for Canadians in the process.

The Free Trade Agreement removes this policing mechanism by phasing out tariffs on original equipment and tires over 10 years, and over five years the tariffs on replacement parts. Without these tariffs, manufacturers will have fewer incentives to invest in Canada, with the consequent impact on jobs for Canadians. Also, the deal introduces a new 50 per cent North American rule of origin.

In order for original parts to move between Canada and the United States at the tariff rates specified in the Free Trade Agreement, at least 50 per cent of the manufacturing cost will have to be incurred in North America. The Government refused to accept the advice of the automotive parts manufacturers of Canada, who warned the Government that unless the North American content requirement was raised from 50 per cent to 60 per cent, up to 20,000 jobs could be lost in the auto parts industry in Canada. This particular aspect of the agreement has many in the riding of Kent very concerned, given that the livelihood of many of the residents of the riding of Kent depend upon this industry.

A third way in which the Free Trade Agreement weakens the Auto Pact arises out of the fact that it restricts the Auto Pact to current participants only. Canada has agreed not to allow companies other than the existing North American car makers to qualify under the remaining provisions of the Auto Pact. We

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

will no longer be able to use the Auto Pact and its access to the U.S. market to attract new investment from Asian companies in order to create jobs.

These changes essentially gut the Auto Pact. This Government has agreed to move from "managed trade" to "free trade" in automobiles.

With tariffs tied to performance requirements, we have been able to create jobs and prosperity in the Canadian auto industry. Why this Government would abandon the Auto Pact when it is working in Canada's interest is baffling. Ideology conquers common sense again.

How has some of the auto industry reacted? As I mentioned earlier, Victor Lonmo, the President of the Automotive Parts Manufacturers of Canada, predicts that 20,000 jobs will be lost in the auto parts industry as a result of this free trade deal, with the job losses occurring primarily in the high technology sector involved in electronics and engine design.

All labour unions in the industry oppose this trade deal on the ground that it would allow auto makers to move Canadian jobs to the U.S. While I do not agree with the politics of Bob White, the President of the Canadian Auto Workers, he makes a reasonable statement when he states, and I quote: "If you have the safeguards without a penalty, how can people be so sure about the future? If you take away the penalty enforcement, I think you put a lot of jobs in jeopardy."

Another aspect of this deal that leads us toward the economic union of the U.S. and Canada is the impact of the minimum wage laws here and across the border. While all Canadian provinces have minimum wage laws, nine American states have no standards. In addition, the minimum wage in 12 of the states is under \$3 an hour. In fact, in Texas, the third most populous state in the union, the minimum wage is \$1.40 an hour.

Ms. Copps: Shame. What a disgrace.

Mr. Crawford: Under this trade deal, Canadian workers will find themselves in competition with lower paid and poorly protected workers from Texas and Mississippi.

Ms. Copps: They don't care about workers. That is what they want. That is the hidden agenda of this Government—big business.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

● (0030)

Mr. Crawford: Factors in the southern states such as lower labour costs, fewer unions and lower employee benefits, have contributed to an exodus of manufacturers from the northern states, all with the highest minimum wages in the U.S. Employment in the manufacturing sectors of Michigan, New York and Ohio dropped by an average of 13 per cent. This same north-south trend will apply to the Canadian manufacturing sector in the aftermath of this trade deal.

Almost 60 per cent of low-income workers are women. Minimum wages are especially important to part-time workers, 75 per cent of whom are women. Thus the threat posed to Canadian minimum wage standards is greatest for women, as well as for the disabled and cultural minorities. Some two million U.S. manufacturing jobs have disappeared since 1979, and it is expected that 90 per cent of the new jobs created in that country between now and 1995 will be in the lower paying personal service sector. This trend is also occurring in Canada.

Given that minimum wage workers in Canada currently find themselves on the low end of the ladder already, they can ill afford further pay cuts to the low levels experienced in the U.S. However, companies will be pressured to harmonize, equalize, and jeopardize the blue collar worker.

The very grave concerns the people of Kent have for this trade deal were demonstrated in my election. The working class, blue collar workers, know they will be hardest hit by this trade deal. They voted for a Party that looks to Canada's future and does not plan just for the next fiscal quarter. They want to see action to train and retrain displaced workers.

The Government says it has the programs in place to look after those who will be negatively affected by this deal. What have the Tories done with industrial training programs? Cut them by 45 per cent. The Government capped support for apprenticeship programs at \$37 million this year, a cut of \$400,000 from last year. That is the Tory commitment to apprenticeship.

The Government should be following the lead of the Ontario Government, a real leader in skills training. In 1984 the federal Government spent \$2.2 billion on skills training. In 1988 it was cut 27 per cent to \$1.6 billion. That does not show me that the Government has a real commitment to training and retraining our workers and young people. In the meantime, the Ontario Government added 98 per cent new funds to its programs.

I could go on and on about the effects of this deal on culture, energy, foreign investment policy, the service sector, financial services, women, medicare, unemployment insurance, pensions, child care services, education and Crown corporations, but I will not because I know my colleagues on this side have covered those points very thoroughly.

To conclude, I want to say what a pleasure it was to take part in this historic debate. The future will show who was on the right side of this debate. I want to wish everyone a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Leblanc (Longueuil): Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to stand at 12:30 this morning and speak on Clause 2 of the free trade legislation. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank the residents of Longueuil who voted for me and gave me a strong majority last November 21. Residents of Longueuil gave me 53 per cent of the votes. Believe me, I made at least 75 speeches on free trade during the election campaign. It is mainly for that reason that people from Longueuil voted for me. In my riding of Longueuil there are many small and middle-sized businesses, as well as some large ones, namely Pratt & Whitney. Ninety-nine per cent of these businesses, supported the Progressive Conservative Party because they firmly believe in free trade and in Canada's future under free trade.

Mr. Chairman, the Liberal Party has always claimed to be a very democratic party. They said that it was up to the people to decide but, in 1984, we formed the government with 211 Members. We had the power and we had the mandate to act. But they said that we had to be more democratic than that. The people should be consulted on free trade. Do you know what they did? They used the non-elected Senate to block the free trade legislation. That's antidemocratic. We went to the people because we wanted to be democratic. We consulted the people. Is the Liberal Party still willing to block the free trade legislation with its non-elected majority Senate? If that is what we call democracy, I think that we are off the mark and that Canadians absolutely don't understand what Parliament is.

Canada's geography, Mr. Chairman, is such that it is spread out lengthwise. Canada is a huge country stretching five thousand kilometers from East to West. And the population, of course, is concentrated in the South because people prefer living in the South rather

than in the North. To the South, we have the Americans, our neighbours. Through the decades, Canadians and Americans have done business together. We work at that. We buy and we sell. We have learned to work together. They have become our friends. Eighty per cent of all our exports are headed to the United States. That accounts for 2,500,000 jobs which depend directly on our sales to the United States. That's enormous! We absolutely had to make a choice and we decided to reach this trade agreement with the United States precisely to protect those jobs instead of simply saying that we were going to create jobs.

But 250 economists in Canada came out in favour of free trade because they say it will create jobs. I say that what was even more important in all this was the fact that the Americans had decided to use protectionist measures which might have resulted in at least 2 million Canadians losing their jobs. Can you imagine such a situation with a country like Canada, with 25 million people and some \$300 billion in accumulated debts. If unemployment continues to increase, if corporations do not make benefits, where will we end up? We will end up broke. So it was really important for Canada to sign this agreement with the United States to continue to develop and grow.

● (0040)

Some businesses in Longueuil, Montreal, and elsewhere in Quebec and Canada export between 20 per cent and 60 per cent of their production to the United States. If the Americans had continued to implement their protectionist measures, these businesses could have lost between 20 and 60 per cent of their market. They would have lost all their machinery. Their only choice would have been to move to the United States. If we want to keep these businesses here, we must make it possible for them to grow, and that is what we are doing with the Free Trade Agreement.

Over the past ten years, we have witnessed a fairly remarkable technological evolution. As you know, there have been changes: even in our own offices, computers have replaced secretaries. That is a dramatic example. We have replaced our secretaries with computers. Unfortunately, we did not make these computers. Why? Because we are not assured of a major secure market which would justify the necessary research and development for these highly sophisticated machines. If we want to develop high technology to replace the jobs we have lost, we need a market which is large enough to justify

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the investments in research and development. That is why the Free Trade Agreement with the United States is really essential and necessary for Canada. We had the possibility of accepting or not accepting free trade. We also had the choice of progressing or dying. It is because we decided to progress that Canadians provided us with this mandate.

Concerning social welfare, I have never heard so many lies as during this election campaign. We were told that social welfare would be affected. We have been doing business with the United States at a fairly accelerated pace for at least 100 years—80 per cent of all our exports are sold to that country—and we have done it while maintaining our social programs. There has been no change. We will continue to grow with the United States and we will also have a long-term guarantee that we can continue working with that nation and keep our social programs.

I heard Mrs. Bégin, the former federal Liberal Minister, say that free trade would force us to sell our hospitals. It is nothing but lies. None of the clauses in the Free Trade Accord says that we have to sell our hospitals. There will be no changes of any kind before or after implementation. We have always been free to sell our hospitals if we wanted to. But nothing in free trade deal forces us to sell our hospitals. Besides, most hospitals belong to the provinces who can choose to do what they want with them.

You know, there were all kinds of rumours during the election campaign. Some even said at one point, I think it came from the Liberal Party, that free trade would lead to an increase in AIDS.

An Hon. Member: Mrs. Bégin said so.

Mr. Leblanc: I think she is the one who said that. I do not know whether she was talking about free love or free trade, but no matter, she was talking about AIDS. So those bold remarks of Mrs. Bégin give some idea of what we are seeing here, the type and mentality of this Liberal Party, and that is continuing. That is the way Mrs. Bégin spoke and that is what we are still hearing today.

They scared the elderly. That is vile, that is base, that is unacceptable. Most of these people have nothing more than their old age pensions to live on, yet our opponents went as far as telling them they might lose their pensions. Well that is . . . I would rather not say it. It makes me sad, just how low can you get.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

But as you would know, Mr. Chairman, older Canadians had their revenge because the Liberals and the NDP treated them like ignorant and naive people. They called them everything under the sun, and they would have us believe things that did not make any sense. So of course they voted for Nic Leblanc of Longueuil.

They also talked about the flag game, you know, the American flag going up and the Canadian flag going down. What misleading statements!

I had the privilege to have as Opposition candidate at home, a Liberal candidate in Longueuil, a distinguished gentleman called Michel Dupuis, a former ambassador to Paris, the chief adviser to the Official Opposition for External Affairs. You know what he wrote in his mailings?

Some Hon. Members: No!

Mr. Leblanc: Beware! Beware! This is a former ambassador speaking. Beware, the Americans are coming! He was referring to dignity. People in Longueuil should have someone they deserve. He was referring to dignity, stating in his ads: Beware, the Americans are coming! Imagine! A former ambassador! This is much viler than I thought. I thought he meant the Americans were coming to buy our products. I told my people: This makes no sense, it is much too low. He must mean the Americans are coming to buy our products, they are coming to help us make our industries grow and create jobs. I found that so vile I could not let the people think that a former ambassador, an official who represented Canada, could say anything so vile. He wanted to protect the dignity of this Parliament and the famous people who are representing us around the world.

Service industries have a yearly \$24 billion sales figure. Seventy per cent of our Gross National Product. In Canada, 8.8 million jobs are associated with the service industries.

With free trade, the service industries will have an opportunity to operate in the United States. And I can tell you that all those service industries eventually will be able to operate there. The way they treated service industries—Mr. Garneau, whom I can name because he is no longer here, said we did not have in Quebec people intelligent enough to compete with the Americans in the service industry. I would like to tell Mr. Garneau that I find it rather sad that an insurance company would hire him. We have especially in Montreal, since I am very close to Montreal, I am more familiar with what is going

on in Montreal, I can tell you that in Montreal there are companies like SNC, Lavalin, great service industries. Lavalin for instance is the third largest service corporation in the world.

I can say that Lavalin is very proud of the fact that the Conservatives have come to power since it will now be in a position to do even more business with the United States and to keep on moving ahead. With greenbacks worth more than our currency coming in, Lavalin will be in a position to create more jobs in our fine city of Montreal, on the south shore, in Quebec and in Canada. As you well know, last summer the leader of the Opposition stated in a press conference that free trade with the United States would not be a good thing for us. He said that we should make rules whereby we could sell to all countries of the world rather than limiting our sales to the United States. But, as you know, that would mean the *status quo*. He was talking about something we have already been doing for 50 years. It is a well known fact that for some thirty years now, the European Community are joined in an economic agreement. Japan and Asia have decided to do the same. They are about to enter into an economic agreement.

We have been trying to increase our sales in Europe for 100 years, but even now we only sell 7 per cent of our products in that part of the world. Only 7 per cent of all our exports go to Europe. Europe is one of the most industrialized and advanced region of the world, where you find a lot of consumers, where the workers are well paid, etc. Yet, we only sell them 7 per cent of our products. We are unable to sell our products to Japan, because it is technologically more advanced than we are. We don't do much better with the Africans, the Asians, the Brazilians, or the Central Americans, because they don't have much money to spend. So, what market is still available to us, what market would allow us to grow as a nation? The United States! For fifty years now, we have had access to this natural market, and we will continue to do so. It only proves that the leader of the official Opposition never understood and still does not understand what free trade with the United States is all about.

Let's take for example the Montreal area, a small circle here, which I talked about during the campaign. On an 800 kilometres area, in the Montreal region, we draw a circle from Montreal where 75 million people live, that is 75 million consumers. I am sure you realize that if the Americans were to put a barrier between Canada and the United States, that would only leave 6 million consumers in the Montreal area. A company

would never chose to locate in Montreal if there were only 6 million consumers, never. To be able to attract good R&D or hi-tech company, you need to have a population of at least 50 million.

I wanted to talk about farmers, I wanted to say to Mr. Proulx who claimed that free trade was not good, I can say to Mr. Proulx that only—

An Hon. Member: Who is Mr. Proulx?

Mr. Leblanc: The head of UPA. Were he the least bit intelligent he would invent a kind of cheese the Americans like. But I can tell you that with only one kind of cheese, if 250 million Americans decide to buy cheese, a single brand might feed all the cows in Quebec.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Leblanc: But he did not think of that. He lives in the past, does not believe in the future. So much for that.

Mr. Chairman, it was a pleasure to speak to you this evening, to the people of Longueuil and to other Canadians. Rest assured that with free trade Canada will remain prosperous. Canadians got the message. The Conservatives got the message. Young people got the message. Mr. Bourassa got the message. And smart people who know the rudiments of economics got the message. Over the next 20 years you will come to realize that free trade is the best historical deal ever made by Canada.

• (0050)

[English]

Mr. Rodriguez: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to say this is my maiden speech in this Parliament. I heard a speech earlier tonight by the Hon. Member for Calgary Southwest. That is a Conservative Member. I heard a lot of speeches tonight from the Conservatives, but that was a passionate speech. Imagine a Tory with passion. I have never come across a passionate Tory. It is a contradiction in terms. It is saying that there is such a thing as a progressive conservative.

I want to stir the ashes a little bit with respect to the last election. Hopefully we will find a phoenix or two. I want to stir the memories of Members and of Canadians who are watching here tonight. I heard the Conservatives during the campaign. They talked about lying. They accused certain leaders of the opposition parties of not telling the truth.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Rodriguez: That is right. I heard them in the debates saying that the opposition was going around scaring senior citizens. They said that we were accusing the Prime Minister of lying. I ask you, did I bring my mother on the platform?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Rodriguez: Did I announce that I was deindexing old age pensions?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Rodriguez: Did Brian Mulroney say he was deindexing pensions?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please.

Mr. Rodriguez: And did he force us to—

The Deputy Chairman: Order, please.

Mr. Rodriguez: Who was really lying to the Canadian people? Us?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Rodriguez: Or was it those terrible Tories over there?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Rodriguez: Absolutely. Do we all remember the *Wheel or Fortune* show in Montreal where they had the smoke and a few mirrors? They started to announce all the Tory candidates from Quebec coming on to the stage. When they had gone through 75, I was still looking. I turned around and said to my wife, "Where is Michel Gravel?" He did not come out of the fog. "Where is Madame Blais-Grenier? Where is Mr. Côté? Where is Monsieur Bissonnette?" They came out of the fog. It was like Godzilla meeting Dracula.

• (0100)

The Deputy Chairman: Order. In accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 57, at this time it is my duty to interrupt the proceedings and put forthwith all questions necessary to dispose of the Committee of the Whole stage of the Bill now before the House.

Accordingly, the question is on Clause 2.

Shall Clause 2 carry?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 2 agreed to: Yeas, 163; Nays, 95.

• (0110)

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 3 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 3 agreed to: Yeas, 159; Nays, 108.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 4 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 4 agreed to: Yeas, 160; Nays, 111.

• (0120)

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 5 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 5 agreed to: Yeas, 154; Nays, 108.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 6 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 6 agreed to: Yeas, 155; Nays, 109.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 7 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 7 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 8 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 8 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 9 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 9 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 10 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 10 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 11 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 11 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 12 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Clause 12 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 13 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 13 agreed to: Yeas, 158; Nays, 108.

• (0130)

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 14 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 14 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 15 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 15 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 16 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 16 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 17 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 17 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 18 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 18 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 19 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 19 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 20 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 20 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 21 carry?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 21 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 22 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 22 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 23 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 23 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 24 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 24 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 25 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Clause 25 agreed to: Yeas, 159; Nays, 104.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 26 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 26 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 27 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 27 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 28 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 28 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 29 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 29 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 30 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 30 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 31 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 31 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 32 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 32 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 33 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 33 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 34 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 34 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 35 carry?

Some Hon. Members: On division.

Clause 35 agreed to.

The Deputy Chairman: Shall Clause 36 carry?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Hawkes: In my previous incarnation, Mr. Speaker, I was a bit of a statistician. I see a trend developing. I wonder if we might dispense with the counting and simply record 158 to 110, if that is acceptable to the House.

Mr. Gauthier: That's about average, Mr. Speaker.

Clause 36 agreed to: Yeas, 158; Nays, 110.

Clauses 37 to 50 inclusive agreed to.

Clauses 51 to 150 inclusive agreed to.

Schedule agreed to.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Title agreed to.

Bill reported.

● (0140)

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade) moved that the Bill be concurred in.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed to the motion will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it. Call in the Members.

Mr. Hawkes: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I think I detect a sense in the House, if we are calling in the Members, that a five minute bell might be sufficient.

Ms. Copps: You just lost the vote.

An Hon. Member: He said the "yeas" have it.

Mr. Speaker: To clarify the confusion, the yeas have it. Call in the Members. Before we do that, there has been a suggestion that a five minute bell should suffice.

Some Hon. Members: Dispense.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker: Is there unanimous agreement to dispense with the bells?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

An Hon. Member: Five minutes.

Mr. Speaker: Five minutes.

[English]

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Crosbie), which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 16)

YEAS

Members

Anderson
Andre
Atkinson
Attwell
Beatty
Belsher
Bernier
Bertrand
Bird
Bjornson
Blais
Blenkarn
Bosley
Bouchard
(Lac-Saint-Jean)
Bourgault

Boyer
Brightwell
Browes
Cadieux
Campbell
(Vancouver Centre)
Cardiff
Casey
Chadwick
Champagne
(Saint-Hyacinthe—
Bagot)
Champagne
(Champlain)
Charest
Chartrand

Clark
(Yellowhead)
Clark
(Brandon—Souris)
Clifford
Cole
Collins
Cook
Cooper
Corbeil
Corbett
Côté
Couture
Crosbie
(St. John's West)

Crosby
(Halifax West)
DeBlois
de Cotret
Della Noce
Desjardins
Dick
Dobbie
Domm
Dorin
Duplessis
Edwards
Epp
Fee
Feltham
Ferland
Fontaine
Fretz
Friesen
Gérin
Gibeau
Gray
(Bonaventure—Îles-de-
la-Madeleine)
Greene
Guilbault
Gustafson
Halliday
Harvey
(Chicoutimi)
Hawkes
Hicks
Hockin
Hogue
Holtmann
Horner
Horning
Hudon
Hughes
Jacques
James
Jelinek
Johnson
Joncas
Jourdenais
Kempling
Kilgour
(Edmonton Southeast)

Kindy
Koury
Landry
Langlois
Larrivé
Layton
Leblanc
(Longueuil)
Lewis
Littlechild
Loiselle
Lopez
MacDonald
(Rosedale)
MacDougall
(Timiskaming)
MacKay
Malone
Marin
Martin
(Lincoln)
Masse
Mayer
Mazankowski
McCreath
McDermid
McDougall
(St. Paul's)
McKnight
McLean
Merrithew
Mitges
Monteith
Moore
Nicholson
Oberle
O'Brien
O'Kurley
Paproski
Plamondon
Plourde
Porter
Pronovost
Redway
Reid
Reimer
Ricard
Richardson

Robitaille
Roy-Arcelin
Schneider
Scott
(Victoria—Haliburton)
Scott
(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Shields
Siddon
Sobeski
Soetens
Sparrow
St-Julien
Stevenson
Tardif
Tétreault
Thacker
Thompson
Thorkelson
Tremblay
(Rosemont)
Tremblay
(Québec-Est)
Tremblay
(Lotbinière)
Turner
(Halton—Peel)
Valcourt
Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne
Vien
Vincent
Weiner
Wenman
White
Wilbee
Wilson
(Swift Current—Maple
Creek—Assiniboia)
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard
Worthy—160

NAYS

Members

Althouse
Anawak
Angus
Arseneault
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's
Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South
Centre)
Baker
Barrett
Bélair
Bellemare
Benjamin
Black
Blaikie
Blondin
Brewin
Butland
Caccia
Callbeck
Campbell
(South West Nova)
Catterall
Clancy

Comuzzi
Copps
Crawford
de Jong
Dionne
Duhamel
Ferguson
Finestone
Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gaffney
Gardiner
Gauthier
Guarnieri
Harb
Harvard
Harvey
(Edmonton East)
Heap
Hopkins
Hovdebo
Hunter

Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Karygiannis
Keys
Kristiansen
Langan
Langdon
Laporte
LeBlanc
(Cape Breton High-
lands—
Canso)
Lee
MacAulay
MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
MacWilliam
Maheu
Manley
Marchi
Marleau
Martin
(Lasalle—Émard)
McGuire
McLaughlin

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nunziata
Nystrom
Pagtakhan
Parent
Parker
Peterson
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Rideout

Riis
Robichaud
Robinson
Rodriguez
Rompkey
Samson
Simmons
Skelly
(North Island—Powell
River)
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller
Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin

Vanclief
Volpe
Waddell
Walker
Wappel
Whittaker
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)
Young
(Beaches—Woodbine)—
107

● (0150)

Mr. Speaker: I declare the motion carried. When shall the Bill be read the third time? At the next sitting of the House?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Speaker: It being 2.03 a.m., this House stands adjourned until later this day at 11 a.m., pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

The House adjourned at 2.03 a.m.



HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, December 22, 1988

The House met at 11 a.m.

Prayers

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[*English*]

PUBLIC SERVICE STAFF RELATIONS BOARD

TABLING OF REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 32(1), I have the honour to table in both official languages copies of a report to Parliament from the Public Service Staff Relations Board pursuant to Section 21 of the Public Service Staff Relations Act.

* * *

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT

TABLING OF FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 32(2), I have the honour to table in both official languages the first Employment Equity Act annual report to Parliament.

* * *

NATIONAL SPORT ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops) moved for leave to introduce Bill C-207, an Act to recognize hockey as a national sport.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House that the Hon. Member shall have leave to introduce the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, the Parliament of Canada has never officially designated any sport for official recognition.

Some Hon. Members: Lacrosse!

Mr. Riis: Lacrosse has never been officially recognized as our national sport.

If there is one thing that is clear across this country, it is the fact that hockey, both as a spectator as well as a participation sport, is an outstanding part of our culture. For that reason I am introducing this Bill officially to declare hockey as our national sport.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the first and ordered to be printed.

* * *

● (1110)

PETITIONS

PROTECTION OF ROUGE RIVER VALLEY WILDERNESS AREA

Mrs. Pauline Browes (Scarborough Centre): Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to present a further petition today concerning saving the Rouge Valley. The title of this is: "Help Save the Rouge". Residents of Scarborough, Agincourt, Etobicoke, the City of North York and the City of Toronto have signed this petition. They are stating that the Rouge Valley in Scarborough is a unique and precious natural area, and that protecting the endangered wildlife and the wilderness area is in the national interest.

The petitioners are joined by the Mayor of Scarborough, the federal Minister of the Environment, Save the Rouge Valley System and the Coalition of Community Associations and, indeed, yourself, Mr. Speaker, who is supporting this particular venture of saving the Rouge Valley.

Point of Order—Mr. Riis

They call upon the Parliament of Canada to work with the Government of Ontario to establish the Rouge River Valley as Canadian heritage land or provincial park.

Mr. Speaker: I want all Hon. Members to know that I am with great difficulty restraining myself from commenting.

PROTECTION OF MARKET PROGRAMS

Mr. Ralph Ferguson (Lambton—Middlesex): Mr. Speaker, I rise to present three petitions today on behalf of residents of southwestern Ontario who have availed themselves of their ancient and undoubted right to present a grievance common to your petitioners with a certain assurance that your humble House will therefore provide a remedy.

The petitioners humbly pray and call upon Parliament to reject any proposals that threaten our Canadian farmers' marketing systems and programs. In duty bound your petitioners will ever pray.

Mr. Speaker: Orders of the Day.

* * *

POINT OF ORDER

PROPOSAL FOR CHRISTMAS RECESS

Mr. Riis: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I think that everyone would agree that Christmas is approaching, Christmas Eve is just around the corner and that this is not the way that we want to proceed any longer. I think that we all recognize that the Government wants to pass this enabling trade legislation. The opposition Parties do not want it to pass.

In recognizing that fact, I wonder if there would not be some disposition to recess for a few days to allow us to return to have a more thoughtful, more comprehensive debate on this issue and to allow Members to get home to their families for Christmas Eve.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Kamloops has put a question to the House. The question is one that your Speaker probably could answer very quickly. But, again, I am constrained from doing so. There may be some response from the government side.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, we have proceeded as quickly as possible with the disposition of the one item in the Speech from the Throne. There have been certain

delaying tactics but we are proceeding. Third reading will commence today. I think the quickest way to accomplish what my friend wants is to have one complete, all inclusive speech from his critic and then vote.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: Orders of the Day.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade) moved that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be read the third time and passed.

He said: Mr. Speaker, I think it might be appropriate, in starting my address on third reading of this important piece of legislation, just to remind the House and, in particular, the House Leader for the New Democratic Party of the fact that this legislation, which incorporates an agreement reached between Canada and the United States in October of 1987 has now had more than a year of debate, of questioning and of examination by the people of Canada and by the Parliament of Canada. The Bill now before the House on which I am moving third reading is a Bill that has already received extensive consideration in this House. It has been through the process before, through committees of the House, a standing committee of the House, and a legislative committee. I suppose that in all our history there has never been a Bill as well considered and debated in every aspect as this particular piece of legislation.

Rather than suggest to the House that we now adjourn for a few days and come back to continue discussing this Bill further, I want to remind the House Leader for the NDP of what his own Leader said just several weeks ago, there having been an election concerning which the Free Trade Agreement was one of the major subjects of debate. He said this on November 23, as reported in *The Toronto Star*: "I think the process has been gone through now." Then, as reported in *The Gazette* of Montreal on the same day he said: "The people of Canada have taken a decision and now Mr. Mulroney has the right to continue with his free trade legislation".

Let me just say that never did a Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) or a Government have a greater right to proceed with any legislation than have this Government and this Prime Minister with respect to this piece of legislation.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: In addition, the Leader of the New Democratic Party said this as reported in *The Globe and Mail* on November 23: "It would be churlish and inappropriate to say something should be done about that law at this stage"—referring to the Free Trade Agreement—"all the chances for amendment that could plausibly have been taken have been exhausted". That was a statement of the Leader of the NDP on November 23—two days after the election which had raged for seven weeks almost exclusively on every street corner and in every house in Canada about the very agreement now before the House.

In *La Presse* it was reported: "On the subject of the trade deal with the United States, he, Broadbent, said that the only thing left for him to do was to accept the decision of the Canadian people. 'In our parliamentary tradition, the Canadian people have made a decision and Mr. Mulroney now has the right and the mandate to pass the free trade Bill'".

Have we seen that kind of spirit exemplified in the House since we opened again on December 12? Of course we have not. We have not seen any acceptance whatsoever of the result of the election campaign that ended on November 21 with a decision in favour of the continuation of the Mulroney administration which meant a decision in favour of the continuance of entering into force of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Has there been that kind of spirit at all in the last 10 or 12 days? No. What we have seen is exactly what Mr. Broadbent said would be churlish and inappropriate. This is what the Leader of that Party said himself. It would be churlish and inappropriate, and the actions of the NDP in the last 10 or 12 days have been exactly that—churlish and inappropriate. They are continuing to be churlish and inappropriate right down to the last second of this debate.

If that is the way they want this to go, that is the way it will have to go. Because, Mr. Speaker, the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement is going to be put before this Parliament for a final decision before Christmas. It is going to be put into effect by January 1, if we can believe statements most appropriately made by Liberal Leaders in the Senate as to what they plan to do the

week following Christmas, as long as this House does its job before we rise for Christmas Day. Here is something that the Leader of the New Democratic Party said on November 23. He was voluble on November 23 and very reasonable. In *La Presse*, he indicated:

"It is extremely unlikely that the NDP will reintroduce amendments to the Bill once Parliament resumes . . . Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has been given a clear mandate".

The moment of truth had come in Oshawa. He continued:

"The agreement with all of its faults has been approved by the people. It would not be appropriate to oppose it now."

Do the Members of the NDP ever listen to what their Leader says? Are they just waiting for some new, bright spark to come from out of the West to eliminate their Leader? Does this mean they are ignoring their strictures and the opinions of their present Leader because they know they have a rising star coming from the West? There has never been a star rise from the West, but perhaps this will be the exception.

• (1120)

The appropriate way for this debate to conclude is for the two opposition Parties to agree that we will debate on third reading today and vote this evening at five or six o'clock. That would allow the Members of this House to rejoin their family members for the Christmas season.

This country entered into a solemn agreement, a treaty with another country. It was entered into a year and two months ago. The date for entering into that arrangement was fixed at January 1, 1989. Will we let it be said that Canada cannot meet its commitments with respect to such an agreement after one year and two months, a general election, and hundreds of hours of debate and discussion during the intervening time? We will be shaming this institution before Canada and the world if we do not conclude our business before Christmas. That is the position of the Government, and it is a most reasonable position. If the people do not want to be reasonable, then the Government must continue on.

What about the Liberal Party of Canada, that mighty institution?

An Hon. Member: You used to belong to it.

Mr. Crosbie: I used to belong to it. I might have something appropriate to say about this suggestion that I once belonged to it. I admit that in my youth I was wayward.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We know you were convicted of being an extrovert.

Mr. Crosbie: Here is a saying I came across the other day that might apply to the honourable opposition critic with respect to trade. I do not know who said this, but it is very appropriate.

"The man who wants to clean up politics would make a good start by getting out of politics."

There was a most appropriate statement made in 1984. It was made to the present Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner). It said, "Do not avoid politics because there are so many hypocrites. There is always room for one more." It could certainly turn out to be true.

Somebody said that I had been a member of the Liberal Party, to which I plead guilty. In 1971, however, I became mature and sensible. Always have an appropriate quote in your pocket. Here is what Lord Halifax said:

"Ignorance makes most men go into a political party, and shame keeps them from getting out of it."

It did not keep me from getting out. I recommend that the hon. gentlemen and ladies opposite consider what Lord Halifax said. Do not stay in the Liberal Party simply because you are ashamed.

I believe there is evidence of more reasonableness in the Liberal ranks than there is in the NDP ranks. We must be fair here. The Liberal Party, experienced in the arts of governing a country which they have governed for most of the last century, are more reasonable. They have accepted the fact that the election is over and that the Conservatives have been returned with a majority. The NDP has not accepted that. They have not accepted their Leader. They are having their strings pulled by Bob White and the seven dwarfs, by Shirley Carr. They are all being manipulated over there. Nobody knows who is really in charge. However, I do not want to aggravate them, this being the Christmas season.

What did the Liberal Leader say following the election? We know that he wanted to let the people decide. That was a mistake, but they did decide. They did not decide the way the Leader of the Liberal Party wanted them to decide. Just after the election he said this in *The Ottawa Citizen* of November 23:

"He said Tuesday his Party will not block free trade legislation. The people have decided they want the deal."

Then in the same paper, he said: "The people are always right". This is a very sensible position to take.

He said in *The Gazette* of Montreal on the same day, "We will be restating our position on the matter". Well, by golly, he was right. We have heard that restated a thousand times, but, you know, we let the people decide. "Having stated our case, we let the matter proceed." That was *The Toronto Sun* of November 23. These are the statements of the Leader of the Liberal Party.

We have had a debate. I have not added up the exact number of hours we have debated this matter since December 12. Perhaps some genius who is good at mathematics could do it quite quickly. We have had many additional hours of debate on the Free Trade Agreement. Everybody has stated his or her position. I know the position of the Liberal Party. I know the position of the NDP. I know the position of the Progressive Conservative Party. The public of Canada knows the positions of the three Parties. The public of Canada is paying no more attention to this Chamber at the moment than they are paying to the man in the moon. They are not paying any attention to politics, with the possible exception of the controversy in connection with language matters in Quebec and other parts of Canada. The public may be paying some attention to that, but they are not paying attention to people who are here debating for the thousandth time a matter on which they decided on November 21.

If they gave us any thought they would say, "What did we elect to the House of Commons? What kind of a charade and farce is the parliamentary system in Canada that this process can go on, that we should be here night after night until one or two o'clock in the morning hacking over matters already decided by the people of Canada? How much longer is it to go on? Is the New Democratic Party to have this continue until Saturday morning?"

An Hon. Member: If need be.

Mr. Crosbie: If need be? Well, there is going to be a "need be", because we are not adjourning until the House deals with this matter. You can be sure of that. Whether it is two o'clock on Saturday morning or Sunday morning or Boxing Day, this is going to be dealt with. That is the position of the Government.

An Hon. Member: Dictatorship.

Mr. Crosbie: Good, the critic is back. I hope the bright light from the West will listen as well.

Mr. Barrett: Are you speaking to me?

• (1130)

Mr. Crosbie: The predecessors of the New Democratic Party, the CCF, were not much brighter than their successors, the New Democratic Party. I have here some clippings from newspapers in 1965, when a free trade agreement was under consideration in the Parliament of Canada dealing with the automobile trade and auto exports between Canada and the United States.

The newspapers refer to the free trade automobile pact. We all know today the reverence with which the NDP approaches the Auto Pact. If one mentions the Auto Pact they genuflect. In fact, Bob White becomes a whirling dervish when one mentions the Auto Pact. I will not get into what Shirley Carr becomes.

Let us look at some of the newspaper reports of the day when free trade in the automobile area was being debated. An article in *The Globe and Mail* on January 27, 1967, quotes Albert Taylor, President of Local 222, as saying:

'We're going to raise hell about the auto pact and see what can be done about getting jobs for the Oshawa area', Albert Taylor, President of Local 222, United Auto Workers of America, said yesterday.

They are going to raise hell about it. They were opposed to the automobile pact which was introduced by our Liberal predecessors, by the way.

On October 6, 1965, in a report from Oakville which appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen*, an article about the Canada-U.S. automobile free trade Bill described the position of the Parties. The Liberals say it is a good deal. The Liberals happen to be right. They have been right in the past, they may be right in the future, although one doubts it when one looks across the hall to see what is sitting on the other side.

The Conservatives said: "Let us see how it works—". I will not go on with the rest of it, but since this is the season for honesty, the rest of the sentence states: "We don't like the way the resolution approving it was rushed through the Commons".

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: That was Michael Starr.

What was the position of the New Democrats? "Tommy Douglas condemns the arrangement as a gift to the carmakers". "The NDP candidate in Ontario, Oliver Hodges of Winona, said to his nominating convention, "it is a pricing cartel organized between the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Government and the auto makers. It is a secret agreement involving Government money and policy".

Tommy Douglas condemned the Auto Pact as a gift to the carmakers. How things have changed in 23 years. Now we are not allowed to touch the Auto Pact. One of the reasons for the Liberal and NDP opposition to the Free Trade Agreement now negotiated is that they say it affects the Auto Pact.

Mr. Douglas also said that the Auto Pact was a massive giveaway. An article in the *Globe and Mail* On June 29, 1965, states that:

George Burt, Canadian director of the auto workers, said the union would do its utmost to influence public opinion against the trade scheme.

Are they not lucky that they were just as successful in arousing and influencing public opinion against the Auto Pact as they were in arousing it against this Free Trade Agreement? In both cases they were completely ineffectual.

Mr. Burt went on to say:

... and it is with regret and full determination that the UAW announced it will do its utmost to influence Canadian public opinion against the Canada-U.S. automobile free trade plan.

These are the predecessors of Bob White, who now froths at the mouth when someone mentions a free trade agreement for the rest of Canada with respect to the United States. It is okay now for the automobile industry in Oshawa. It is all right for the automobile industry in Windsor. It is all right for the fat cats of the United Auto Workers here in Ontario, but it is no good for us poor Newfies, it is no good for Atlantic Canada, no good for British Columbia and no good for northern Ontario. It is no good for Quebec. It is only good for the fat cats who are representing Oshawa and Windsor and areas like that where the unemployment rate is practically zero. You can hardly find an unemployed person in the areas I have mentioned.

The free trade auto pact is all right now, 23 years later, for the people who live in those areas represented by the Leader of the New Democratic Party and his trade critic and others opposite. But it is not all right for the rest of us Canadians. To that the Canadian people have given a definitive answer. They have said, "if it is good for auto workers, it is good for us and we want to try a bit of the action". That is what this Government is doing. We are seeing to it that the rest of them get a bit of the action.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: I want to be in the Christmas spirit so I will not continue with many of the other quotations.

Mr. Martin: Read Diefenbaker's quote.

Mr. Milliken: Do you have anything to say about unregulated foreign investment?

Mr. Crosbie: Twenty-three years ago at least there was a modicum of intelligence in the Liberal Party of Canada. Today that modicum has been driven out. What we see as a result is across the hall today. We are looking at them today.

What should be the spirit with which the legislation we are now considering is approached? I have given the opinions of the Leader of the Liberal Party, who is no longer listened to by his own caucus. I have given the opinions of the Leader of the New Democratic Party, who certainly is no longer listened to by his caucus. The poor man does not know which shoulder to look over next, or who is coming behind him the quickest.

I want to refer to Premier Peterson of Ontario who was in a statesman-like mode. Perhaps he is getting ready to guide the ship of state federally rather than provincially.

Last summer, according to a Canadian Press report, he said that if the people of this country accept the deal, then obviously he has to stand with the results of that. That is a very reasonable statement. According to an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* on July 27, Premier Peterson said: "Once there is a clear mandate one way or the other, then we will govern ourselves accordingly. I will accept the will of the people". Is it not wonderful how everyone is prepared to accept the will of the people when they think the will of the people will turn out to be their will? However, when the will of the people turns out to be a will-o'-the-wisp, they change very quickly.

The same article goes on to quote Premier Peterson as saying: "I will accept whatever the judgment of the people is. I still would not think it is a great deal but I would accept the verdict". He also said: "I would look at everything we are doing. We will have to look at the situation as it presents itself". He said that his qualification for supporting the deal, that the Tories must win a majority, is only there because a Tory minority Government probably could not implement it anyway. His qualification has been met. We have a majority.

He also said, as quoted in the *Globe and Mail*, that if an election is called and the people of Canada endorse the trade agreement he would co-operate in the deal and

consider dropping challenges to it on matters of provincial jurisdiction.

He said: "If the people of this country speak on an important issue, I have to accept the results of that, and I would as a democrat". He said: "I would not think it is a great deal but I would accept the verdict".

Could anything be clearer? I will be asking Premier Peterson to stick to what he said in several matters over the next several weeks, including the situation with respect to beer, liquor and wine. I have always found Premier Peterson to be reasonable and a good person to deal with. I will be calling on him to observe the spirit of those remarks on or about January 1, 1989, if this legislation goes into effect as I think it will.

I call on Members of his Party to observe the same spirit of the remarks of Premier Peterson and the remarks of their Leader on November 23.

I do not want to take too long today. However, I believe I have unlimited time. My record is eight and one-half hours in the Newfoundland House of Assembly. If driven to it, if irritated, if aggravated by interventions and people interrupting me, I am capable of going to Christmas Day.

Mr. Martin: We want the record.

• (1140)

Mr. Crosbie: There are some interventions from Mr. Martin. Some call him Mart-in, some call him Mar-tin, some call him Martine. We will see which one works when the convention comes.

To get back to my remarks, the opposition Parties believe this to be a dark day for Canada's future. We say that this legislation is an expression of confidence in the abilities of Canadians and it is a crucial step for building a stronger, more prosperous Canada. If that was not the case, we would not have introduced it.

I want to say to the opposition Parties, it is time for them to give the Free Trade Agreement a chance. They have made their case here in the House and before the people of Canada. We have made our case. The majority have accepted the case that we put before them, so it is time for them to give this agreement a chance. We will know in three or four years' time, before the next election, whether or not this appears to be a good deal. If at that time it is still doubtful, opposition Parties can make their case again, but in the meantime, I believe it is only fair and right for them to give this important commercial step forward a chance to see whether it

works or does not work, to see who is right and who is not right.

I appeal to opposition Parties to cease this campaign of trying to sabotage indirectly the agreement they could not stop directly, of ceaseless questioning here in the House of every example they can lay their hands on of some firm laying some people off or making some readjustments in its workforce. This is something that goes on and has gone on every week for the last 100 years and will be going on for the next 100 years. Why not save their fire for actual cases of lay-offs that are caused directly by the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, if there are any such? Why be crying wolf every day, day after day, with an election on this question just over with, trying to pretend that every lay-off in the country is due to an agreement that has not yet even gone into effect? It is just as right for us to come into the House every day and talk about every job that was created that day or every new investment that has been announced.

I would like to ask opposition Parties, once this legislation is passed, to relax and give it a chance, give it a fair trial. This is important for Canadians. This is important for hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers. It is important for tens of thousands of Canadian businesses. It is important for everyone who lives in Canada that this be a success and that the opposition Parties who oppose it not try to sabotage it. Their duty now is to give it a chance.

If their version of what the future holds turns out to be right, they will be in power in four years' time and we will be out. However, it just so happens that we are right and you are wrong, so you are not going to be in power in four years' time. But in the meantime, our opponents are patriotic Canadians and we therefore believe that they will not continue with a campaign of deliberately attempting to create fear and loss of confidence in Canada and deliberately attempting to sabotage the Free Trade Agreement for the next three or four years. The time has come to give the Free Trade Agreement a chance.

What does it do? It sets out a framework for greater security, stability and opportunity in our trade with the United States. That is all it does. It sets out a framework, crucial for creating the confidence that our enterprises need for investment if we are to keep Canada competitive globally. That is what the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement does.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

It is no miracle. It will not provide miracles. It depends on Canadians to take advantage of the opportunities it offers. It could be a complete failure. It will be a complete failure if Canadians have not got the gumption, the confidence, the initiative, to seize the opportunities that are offered. No one will have anything laid on a platter before him because of the U.S. Canada Free Trade Agreement. We are not suddenly going to see miracles occur here in Canada. All we are doing is giving Canada and Canadians a chance to increase their economic wealth and prosperity, but it is up to Canadians whether they can compete or not compete. We think they can compete. We have confidence in Canada. I will not say anything about whether our opponents have confidence in Canada or not, but we do, so it is going to depend on us.

For Canadian producers, more trade simply means more business for our workers. More trade means more, better and more secure jobs. For consumers, it should mean wider choice and lower prices, and in the longer run, more trade means stronger economic performance, higher personal incomes and increased revenues to support existing and expanded government services.

All of the niggling talk we have heard about how government services will be threatened is so silly. It is so juvenile and also, of course, quite dangerous. How can we continue to improve and expand government services if we cannot increase the economic wealth of this country? This is a means of increasing the economic wealth of the country.

Let me give just three examples of investments that have occurred because of free trade. There are thousands of them. There will be thousands more. We will start with a small example because of the importance of small business. Roseworks, and I am not talking about some woman who works, Roseworks is a fledgling company that intended to move to the U.S. because of its fear that its business would wilt without free trade. It was going to move to the U.S. if we did not get the Free Trade Agreement. Now it says it can blossom in Canada because the agreement is going ahead. That is Roseworks. They have pioneered technology—

An Hon. Member: What about McCain's?

Mr. Crosbie: Some honourable nitwit says, "What about McCain's?" I will say this about McCain's. Starting out in a small way in New Brunswick, they are now a world giant and they have been able to compete from Canada. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

will not interfere in the continuing growth and expansion of McCain's, and anybody who thinks that it will have little confidence in McCain's and little confidence in Canadians.

Mr. Martin: What did Harrison say?

Mr. Crosbie: Wallace McCain and Harrison McCain are Liberals, but the rooster must be in the hen pen or something considering the cackling that comes from the other side. Harrison McCain and Wallace McCain are Liberals, but that does not make them any less admirable. I admire them despite the fact that they are Liberals. They are entrepreneurs. They may feel that some aspects of the food processing business might be adversely affected by the agreement, and if they are right, then we are prepared to assist whenever and wherever that might be necessary, but we already heard about a potato plant out in Manitoba that would be closed because of the U.S.-Canada agreement being approved, and we have already heard since November 21 that it will not close at all and no one ever said in the first place that it was going to close, so I can tell you that Harrison McCain and Wallace McCain will take great advantage of the Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Martin: Tell us about the cucumbers.

Mr. Crosbie: What about the cucumbers? I have never eaten a cucumber in my life, Mr. Speaker. I hate cucumbers.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: I don't like green things.

An Hon. Member: What about pickles?

Mr. Crosbie: I don't like pickles.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Well, don't look in the mirror.

Mr. Crosbie: The Hon. Member for Winnipeg soft centre has struck again.

What did Roseworks say? It pioneered technology to preserve fresh flowers indefinitely. I am going to get some of those for occasions in the future when hon. gentlemen will need them as they go to their rewards. The company will increase its staff from 15 to 50 over the next two years. It will export 80 per cent of its product to the U.S. This is one small business in Kingston already saved for Canada. Here is the representative from Kingston fighting the Free Trade Agreement that is going to give his constituents 35 more jobs. He was up

on his feet yesterday jawing away about closure as if he had 100 years of parliamentary experience. If he had any sense he would have certainly closed what he was using yesterday to argue against closure. He would be trying to protect these 35 more jobs in Kingston, an area of Canada that badly needs more jobs. Where is Flora when she is needed, Mr. Speaker? That is the question we have to ask.

• (1150)

Flora MacDonald was my desk-mate. She will be sorely missed in the House. However, I think that the people of Kingston have saved her for something even greater, if there could be anything greater than being a Member of the House. I hope that we will hear a lot more from Flora MacDonald in the future. She is a woman of tremendous capabilities and experience. I hope that the Government will be able to find something for her that will suit her talents and her capabilities so that she can go on serving the people of Canada as she has done for the last 20 years.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: The President of Roseworks—I am glad to see the Hon. Member for Kingston and the Islands is present. He is going to get the Roseworks, if he doesn't look out.

The President, Mr. Peter Blainey, said the following on December 14: "Without free trade we... would definitely have to locate in the United States and those 50 jobs, quite frankly, would not be here [in Kingston]".

Hon. Members still a chance to vote for this Bill on third reading. I suggest to the hon. gentleman that he reconsider his obdurate and stubborn attitude and be prepared to be flexible.

An Hon. Member: Was that after the election?

Mr. Crosbie: December 14 was after the election, after the loss.

An Hon. Member: Is it still Canadian-owned?

Mr. Crosbie: Let us deal with the question: "Do you care whether it is Canadian-owned, or not?" I would like to see the whole world Canadian-owned, lock, stock and barrel. If I had my way I would own it all myself, except that I have devoted myself to public service.

Let us take the question of Canadian-owned. If the firm is Canadian-owned, terrific. However, if the firm is not Canadian-owned, there are still 50 jobs that that

firm is creating in Kingston. Frankly, down in Newfoundland we do not give a damn if it is owned by the Martians as long as it creates jobs for Newfoundlanders and Canadians. We do not care if it is owned by the Afghanistanis. We don't care if it is owned by the Martines, or the Martons, or the Crosbies—in fact, we would prefer it to be owned by the Crosbies. It does not matter to us, we are impartial. If I had any sense I would be owning something and not up here working and slaving until 2.30 in the morning. In fact, if I get any offers that would set me up I would be gone like a flash.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): How about a nickel, John?

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. It is my belief that the privileges of all Members have been abused when the Minister for International Trade takes advantage of the television cameras and the 10 people who are watching today to make an appeal to do some useful work, because we all know that the work he has been doing for the last number of years has been useless. This is a terrible abuse of the parliamentary channel. I would hope that he would tell us how the free trade deal will help—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Mr. Crosbie: That Hon. Member's future has always been well behind him. He is enjoying his last session in the House. Why did he get re-elected?

Mr. Tobin: With a bigger majority than Crosbie.

Mr. Crosbie: Because I slaved for his district. I improved Deer Lake Airport. I was a fool. There was a new terminal building at Deer Lake Airport, a \$17 million harbour improvement at Corner Brook, tens of millions for the Kruger mill in Corner Brook. There were improvements at the airport in Stephenville, and on and on it went. What happened? Well, we see the results of how things went wrong. We are only interested in doing good for the people of Canada, no matter who they have representing them.

Let us look at a larger firm. I want to look at Nova Scotia based National Sea Products.

Miss Clancy: Yes, let's look at that.

Mr. Crosbie: Oh, the Liberals hate success. They hate success. Our Premier is well sprung.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Would you articulate on that a little, please?

Mr. Crosbie: I am not going any further, Mr. Speaker.

Earlier this month Mr. Gordon Cummings estimated that 400 new jobs will be created at National Sea Products because of the Free Trade Agreement. He stated: "The seafood industry now will do more secondary processing in Canada. Instead of taking a fillet of fish, putting it in a 16 1/2 pound frozen block, sending it to the United States and processing it there, we'll be able to do that here in Atlantic Canada".

We have had one example of a small business, and now this is an example of a traditional resource industry expanding in Canada because of free trade. It has a \$2 million production line on the floor in Lunenburg which, as a result of our success in the election, will now go into operation creating another 35 or 40 additional jobs in National Sea Products in the next few months because of the fact that the people of Canada supported us in the election.

Let us look at one larger enterprise, Du Pont, a giant chemical company. Next, I am going to hear: "Who owns Du Pont?" Is it American-owned or controlled, or Canadian-owned or controlled, or is it Italian—does Luigi own it? Frankly, I do not care who owns it. I would prefer it to be Canadian-owned, but if it goes on doing what it is doing now, and doing what it promised it will do, it has a very warm spot in my heart.

What is this giant chemical company planning to do? It has stated that capital spending in Canada for 1989 will be \$150 million, an increase of 50 per cent over this year. Why is it doing this? Its President, Ted Newall, on December 2 stated: "This is designed to help us capture the opportunities provided by free trade with the United States . . . The end to uncertainty about free trade gives us the opportunity to pursue our corporate strategy more vigorously. Export sales will more than double from the 1987 level, approaching \$500 million by 1991. Our strategy is to invest in businesses that can serve the full North American market and that can now, or soon, become competitive with the best in the world".

This is one of the so-called branch plant companies that members of the New Democratic Party kick and thrash around about. They don't mind the old branch plants in Windsor; no, Sir. They don't mind the branch plants in Oshawa. I have not heard the Leader of the New Democratic Party rise and kick the bejabbbers out of General Motors that has put billions and billions of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

dollars of investment in Oshawa where he has been returned. It is an oasis of prosperity. We never hear them talk about the branch plant mentality when it comes to General Motors. This so-called branch plant company is going to modernize and expand. Why is it going to do that? Because Canada is a good place to invest, particularly because of the increased opportunities under free trade.

• (1200)

Let us look back at what Mr. Newall said:

The end to uncertainty about free trade gives us the opportunity—

Now we have the opposition Parties in the House wanting the uncertainty to continue. They managed to create an atmosphere of uncertainty for most of 1988. The agreement was entered into in October, 1987. They fought this all through 1988. They then said the people had to decide. The Liberals called upon the Senate, this unelected anachronism. The elected remnants of the Liberal Party in the Senate were called upon to block this deal. They created great uncertainty because of the actions of the Senate, the elected second Chamber. That has to be corrected, in my opinion, and corrected soon. We have to apply the guillotine to the Senate. That is my view on the Senate, Mr. Speaker.

An Hon. Member: You send your has-beens there.

Mr. Crosbie: There is only one E Senate that I want to see, emasculated. That is the result that will have to come for the Senate if the Senate is to survive. Never mind the triple E, we should have the single E, emasculation. Now I am getting diverted from whatever I was saying.

The opposition Parties created uncertainty. Then they said there had to be an election. We had the election. The damage done to Canadian business planning and to Canadians who wanted to take advantage of the new free trade Bill was incalculable.

An Hon. Member: The majority said no.

Mr. Crosbie: Millions, if not hundreds of millions, billions of dollars of damage was done because investors had to hold back. They could not carry out their planning because of the uncertainty created by the opposition Parties.

On November 21, the people of Canada spoke, but the opposition Parties still want to carry on creating uncertainty.

Ms. Clancy: They spoke to us too.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Newall said:

The end to uncertainty about free trade gives them the opportunity—

That is why this legislation has to be passed this week. That is why it has to go into effect on January 1, because we have to end the uncertainty. It is our duty to end the uncertainty. It is a virtue to end the uncertainty. The uncertainty must be ended.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Having damaged this country terribly in the last six months or a year, the opposition Parties want to continue to damage the country by going through this charade that we have gone through the last few days.

Mr. Milliken: Utter nonsense.

Mr. Crosbie: We are not going to go along with that. We are ending the uncertainty. We were elected to govern. We are going to govern whether or not the Opposition likes it.

An Hon. Member: What about the positive amendments?

Mr. Crosbie: There has not been a positive statement from the ranks of the Opposition since they got into this House on November 21, not one positive statement.

Mr. Della Noce: Not one from Kingston and the Islands.

Mr. Crosbie: Absolutely. Luigi had it right.

I want to emphasize that while the agreement creates a framework for greater stability and opportunity in Canada—U.S. trade it does not mean an end to trade disputes. Will opposition Members listen to this for heaven's sake so we can avoid a lot of silly, tedious questions in 1989? It does not mean an end to trade disputes, and no one ever suggested, except on the opposition side, that it did. Our trade disputes with the United States will continue, Mr. Speaker. They may even accelerate. They may grow in number and profusion because the United States is still under heavy pressure. The Americans still have a huge balance of payments deficit. They still have a huge deficit in the balance of trade. They are still nervous as cut cats. We have an elected Congress that is just as protectionist now as it was six months or a year ago. This does not mean an end to trade disputes, but it means we have

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

much better defences when it comes to trade disputes with the United States of America.

I am telling the Members of this Chamber today that there will be plenty of trade disputes with the United States of America in the future, but because of the foresight of this Government we will be in a position to deal with them from a position of much greater strength than Canada was in a position to deal with them before.

Ms. Clancy: How?

Mr. Crosbie: I am asked how. You understand, Mr. Speaker, that the opposition Members have not read the agreement.

Ms. Copps: You haven't read it. You said so yesterday.

Mr. Crosbie: I was accused of not having read the agreement simply because—

Ms. Copps: You said so yesterday, that you still haven't read it.

Mr. Crosbie: I admit it. I have never read the pages with all the algebraic equations. I do not think there is a Member here in the House who has read them either. I do not intend to read them. I am not going to read them.

The Member from Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte (Mr. Tobin) is going to look up $A \text{ minus } B \text{ over } C \text{ over } X \text{ minus } Y \text{ equals the power of how much grain will be subsidized in the future. That is up to him to read it if he wants to.}$

Ms. Copps: It is the power of Washington.

Mr. Crosbie: I knew something was missing. Suddenly my ear drums puffed out and there was the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps).

The question was how. The institutional mechanisms and the common rules of conduct that are created by this agreement put Canada in a far better position to promote our interests and defend ourselves against protectionist actions. Isn't it strange how every other country in the world would give anything to be in our position in this Canada-U.S. deal?

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Why didn't Hon. Members come to the GATT conference in Montreal?

Ms. Clancy: You didn't invite us.

Mr. Crosbie: I was host to 96 countries plus 9 other countries as observers. It could have suited a couple of these hon. gentlemen to come to Montreal. We extended a hand of friendship to them to see if they could learn anything, but they did not show up.

An Hon. Member: We didn't get the invitation.

Mr. McDermid: Then your Leader didn't give it to you.

Mr. Crosbie: We had representative Gibbons from the United States and Senator Max Baucus. We had American representatives, but our own opposition Parties did not have the interest to send an observer. We had representatives of the P.C. caucus with us. If the opposition Members had come they would have seen the rest of the world envy us because of this arrangement with the United States of America.

Mr. Tobin: That was pity in their eyes. It is the first time a country gave itself up without a single shot being fired.

Mr. Della Noce: It is "boop boop de bepbop"

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Our Hon. Member Della Noce has certainly put his finger right on it. "Boop boop de bepbop". Whatever it is. I certainly agree.

Mr. McDermid: Watch *Hansard* have fun with that one.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Protectionism is still a great problem in the United States because of the American's new sense of vulnerability in the last few years from the huge budgetary and trade deficits. We should have a sense of vulnerability ourselves. The mote is not only in the American eye. Canadians can have motes in their eyes as well. Do you realize, Mr. Speaker, that Canadians are not perfect. Our trade policy is not perfection. We occasionally err on the side of protectionism ourselves. If we do it occasionally, you can imagine that the Americans do it as well.

Mr. Tobin: Give us some examples.

Mr. Crosbie: So does every other country. We all feel these protectionist pressures.

Mr. McDermid: There are liquor and wine mark-ups.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: An important segment of the U.S. and its legislators yield to the temptations and blame their problems on the unfair practices of foreign competitors, just as we have a tendency to blame others for our problems caused by our own protectionist actions. The Free Trade Agreement will not stop the American protectionist impulse but it will give us a more effective means to resist protectionist actions directed against our enterprises and employees.

Ms. Clancy: How?

Mr. Crosbie: The hon. lady asks how. The dispute resolution mechanism is the most advanced dispute resolution mechanism ever entered into by two countries in the history of the world. One only has to go to impartial international trade experts to get that opinion. We are going to have the most advanced disputes settlement mechanism in place in the world today. Why?—because Canadians will sit on the panels adjudicating disputes brought in the U.S. by U.S. interests and Americans will serve on the panels struck in Canada to decide disputes brought by Canadians under Canada's trade laws.

• (1210)

Not once during the election campaign or during the free trade debate in this Chamber have I heard Members opposite approach this agreement from both sides. All we hear is their whining and their bitching about what is going to happen here in Canada, about the rights that the Americans will have here in Canada. We have yet to hear them speak about the rights that Canadians will have under the FTA in the U.S.

I cite the example of the health care field. There is only one area in the health care field where the FTA might have an effect on services in Canada, and that is in health management.

An Hon. Member: That's right.

Mr. Crosbie: In Canada our hospitals, our health care system, is almost 100 per cent owned by the provincial Governments—

Some Hon. Members: No, it is not.

An Hon. Member: That is wrong. It is non-profit, but not government-owned.

Mr. Crosbie: In some instances, hospitals are run by the Salvation Army or other religious order. In any event, the health care system is almost 100 per cent

publicly financed and controlled by either the provincial or federal Governments. As a consequence, the opportunities for American firms to make inroads in the health management field will be very slim. They will only have that opportunity if a province allows it—

An Hon. Member: And the provinces will.

An Hon. Member: Read Article 2011.

Mr. Crosbie: The Free Trade Agreement does not force, and cannot force, a province to do anything it does not wish to do in the health care field.

But in the United States of America the health system is almost 100 per cent in the private sector, with the result that Canadian health management companies can tender on health management contracts in the U.S. In doing so, they will receive national treatment. They cannot be discriminated against. Under the FTA, they will have every right to compete with American firms on such tenders. In other words, the FTA opens up a vast new market for Canadian health management firms in the U.S. This is an area where we have taken the Americans to the cleaners. U.S. health management firms cannot come into Canada and make the same inroads because of the fact that our health care system is all but totally controlled by Government. As a consequence, the opportunities for U.S. firms in Canada are minimal in the health management field.

Mr. Tobin: That is nonsense; absolute nonsense. Tell the truth.

Are you saying that the provincial Governments cannot give a contract to American firms in the health care area?

Mr. McDermid: No, that is not what he is saying. Certainly they can. But that is a decision for the provinces.

Mr. Tobin: And they will do it. If the federal Government cuts back on the transfer payments, the provinces will have to turn more and more to the private sector. You know that. We all know that. You are simply trying to bluff your way out of it.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, we are listening to the bogeyman. The bogeyman travelled around Newfoundland raising this type of fear.

Mr. Tobin: We got five seats. How many did you get?

Mr. Crosbie: His is a part of the same kind of thinking as that of the Liberal candidate that I mentioned the

other night, the Liberal candidate who came across a poor young woman eight months pregnant walking down the road and who said to her: "That's the last free one you'll have."

That is the kind of tactic that was used, and the Hon. Member opposite illustrates that tactic.

Mr. Tobin: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte (Mr. Tobin), on a point of order.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, I was not listening carefully, as is my wont whenever the Minister is on his feet, but if the Hon. Member suggested—and I would hope that he did not—that I or another Liberal candidate in Newfoundland said to some poor young woman, eight months pregnant, to quote the Minister, words to the effect "That's the last free one you'll ever have", I would ask the Minister to withdraw his remark, because such an event never happened, notwithstanding the Hon. Member's best attempt to portray it as having happened.

An Hon. Member: How would you know?

Mr. Tobin: I speak for myself, and I would hope that the Hon. Member would have the good grace to take my word on that and withdraw his suggestion.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for St. John's West (Mr. Crosbie).

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I don't know what the Hon. Member opposite was up to during the campaign. I don't know whether he bumped into any pregnant women during the course of the campaign. I never said that he was the candidate in question. As a matter of fact, he was not. But there were seven Liberal candidates in Newfoundland, and one did exactly what I am telling the House was done. In other words, he was suggesting to this poor young woman that if the Free Trade Agreement goes into effect, "medicare is gone, and this will be the last free child you'll ever have".

Mr. Tobin: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte, on a point of order.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, it is a tradition of this House, generally, that we do not make allegations or

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

attack people who are not here to defend themselves, and I would suggest—

An Hon. Member: Oh come on! What have you been doing for the last four years!

Mr. Tobin: I suggest to the Minister that he show some class, as he is capable of doing on occasion, and withdraw that remark. He is making an allegation against an unnamed individual who is not here to defend himself or herself. It is an improper allegation, done in an improper way, and I would ask that he do the right thing and withdraw it.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for St. John's West (Mr. Crosbie).

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, it is certainly a pleasant change to have a Member of the "rat pack" get all upset when an allegation is made against an unnamed person. Usually it is the rat pack that is making allegations about named persons who are not in the Chamber to defend themselves; they are outside this Chamber in the general public. Usually they are asking questions—

Mr. Tobin: Come on, John; show some class.

Mr. Crosbie: Usually they are asking questions that imply some kind of scandalous conduct and it turns out that the scandalous conduct never occurred.

We have seen a hundred examples of that. And then the Hon. Member opposite, who is a Member of the rat pack, gets up and states that I should not say something about a nameless person, a true story about a Liberal candidate in Newfoundland, an individual who went unnamed.

Well, thank God the rat pack has finally gone to ground!

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I should like to try to wrap up before six this evening, and with that in mind I hope I do not have to suffer any further interruptions.

While the Free Trade Agreement is not going to stop the American protectionist impulse, it will provide us with far more effective means to resist such actions.

To hear the opposition Members in this place speak, one wouldn't realize that Canada itself has an anti-dumping law, that Canada itself has a countervail law, that our trade disputes law has in it the right of Canadians to approach our regulatory agencies and allege

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

dumping, as was done this past summer in connection with the import of U.S. apples into Canada.

Under Canadian law, Canadian producers and manufacturers can allege that imports coming into Canada are unfairly subsidized, with a request that a countervailing tariff or duty be imposed.

Every trading country in the world has its own set of trade laws. To hear Hon. Members opposite speak, one would think that it was only in the bad old United States of America that there were such terrible laws about subsidies and countervail and anti-dumping.

Canada itself has such laws, and we insist upon retaining those laws until the trading nations of the world can reach common agreement on what an appropriate countervail law is and what the appropriate definition of "trade distorted subsidies" is.

Until that day arrives, we need our anti-dumping and countervail laws, just as the U.S. needs such laws, just as the European Economic Community needs such laws, just as Japan needs such laws, just as any other trading country in the world needs such laws.

The Free Trade Agreement, in addition to creating new opportunities for Canadian enterprises, in addition to providing Canadians with a more effective shield against U.S. protectionist actions, strengthens our bargaining position at the GATT.

I would not expect Hon. Members opposite to know anything about that, because they have demonstrated no interest in the GATT.

While the Liberal Party pledged its dedication to the GATT system, as soon as a GATT panel decision adverse to Canadian interests came down, they began attacking the GATT. That is their wont. They are in support of anything that sounds good. But once there is a result that they do not like, they come out against it.

In any event, in theory at least, they are supportive of the GATT.

They came out against the bilateral arrangement between the U.S. and Canada, but they were all for the GATT. That was their official position.

An Hon. Member: Just like the Tories on the Auto Pact.

Mr. Crosbie: And it is the same in the New Democratic Party. They are for the GATT—until the GATT rules, when applied to Canada, result in a decision that we in Canada do not like.

If we get caught imposing a protectionist action of our own and the GATT panel rules against us, we have the two opposition Parties coming out against the GATT. They no longer like the GATT; they don't like the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. The NDP Party thinks we can rely on our own little market here in Canada. They believe in autarky, I think it is called; that you can just survive on your own little internal market of 26 million people. They forget that 30 per cent of all Canadian jobs come from exports, and 20 per cent of those from exports to the U.S.

• (1220)

Mr. Della Noce: Oshawa.

Mr. Crosbie: They are only concerned about Oshawa, of course. Oh, the autarkist is getting up. Woeful Willy from Windsor is wending his weary way to his "wittle" feet again.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor on a point of order.

Mr. Langdon: Yes, Mr. Speaker. It concerns a reference the Minister has made a number of times. There was in fact an NDP party last night, which accounts in part for the limited numbers here today.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Langdon: Ordinarily it is the "NDP" or the "New Democratic Party".

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I just want to explain why this strengthens our position in the multilateral trade negotiations at the GATT. In the previous rounds of the MTN, one of the most important parts of the process, if not the most important, was what deal would be struck between Canada and the U.S. The reason was and is that Canada and the U.S. are the largest trading partners in the world. We were the two countries that had the most at stake in those negotiations.

Under the GATT rules any agreement reached between Canada and the U.S. had to automatically benefit other countries under the most favoured nation rule, whether or not those other countries made any concessions to Canada. That is why this agreement is so much more favourable to us than it would be if it was reached in the MTN at GATT. Every concession we made to the U.S. or they made to us would have to be automatically conferred on all the other countries engaged in those negotiations. The agreement means that Canada does not have to pay multilaterally for

what we have gained bilaterally from the U.S. The Europeans, the Japanese and the newly industrialized countries will now have to make concessions to us for improved access to the U.S. and Canadian markets. That improves our bargaining position immeasurably on the issue of improved access to their markets, which is another tremendous advantage to Canadians of the Canada-U.S. bilateral Free Trade Agreement.

I am still optimistic about the prospects for a successful Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations, but we have all seen how difficult it is to solve the agricultural conundrum. We all saw what happened in Montreal on the four areas not agreed to. These issues now have to be reviewed again in April in Geneva. We made great headway in 11 other areas, but these are all held up because we cannot get certain countries to consent because there has been no progress in the agricultural trade subsidy area.

There is a chance that the Uruguay round negotiations will fail. Without the Free Trade Agreement we would then be left outside any major trading bloc, knocking in vain at the door. Because of this agreement we have assured ourselves of access to one of the largest and most prosperous economies in the world, the U.S. Without this agreement we would be left defenceless, particularly in the event that the Uruguay round of negotiations were not successful.

Mr. Harvard: Fiction.

Mr. Crosbie: It is not fiction. If you think this is fiction, you are not fit to govern. You do not want to consider what the possibilities are in the future, you do not want to take action to protect yourself today from what might happen to you tomorrow. That used not to be the Liberal view of things, but the Liberal Party has of course changed immeasurably since I left it and the bottom dropped out of it in 1971.

Free trade with the U.S. is an insurance policy against the worst case scenario. What is that? A global slide into protectionism. That is what the agreement does for us. It helps protect us against the fearsome prospect of the worst case scenario, the Uruguay round fails and we slide into a world of protectionism.

For all those reasons we believe the FTA will benefit Canada, just as the reduction of trade barriers between the U.S. and Canada has benefited us now for 50 years. In 1945, I believe it was, 35 per cent of Canada's exports went to the U.S. Last year it was 76 per cent to 80 per cent. This is not something that occurred under a

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Conservative Government. This occurred under many Liberal Governments over many years. In all the years from 1945 until now the Liberal Party was in power except for five or six years under Mr. Diefenbaker, eight months of the Clark Government—

Mr. Harvard: A hiccup.

Mr. Crosbie: You can call it a hiccup, but it was a hiccup that resulted in the belch that followed under the Liberal Government of Mr. Trudeau. We all know the damage the Trudeau belch did to Canada from 1980 to 1984. The Canadian people certainly quickly regretted the error they made in defeating the Conservative Party of Joe Clark in February, 1980. They soon discovered to their peril and their cost what they had done.

When the Liberal Party got in it had no authority to change the Constitution at all. It had never asked the Canadian people or suggested to them that it was going to cause constitutional revolution. Yet that same Party, with 43 per cent of the vote, now says we do not have a mandate to do anything at all. We have only 43 per cent. The Liberals got into power with 43 per cent of the vote and then changed the Constitution of Canada. Senator Machiavelli Kirby. We all remember that, if we have any memories at all, and how they went about bullying the provinces. They put in the notwithstanding clause. This is their clause which they are now trying to say they no longer support. That Party is the notwithstanding Party. I do not know how anyone can stand them.

We had six years of Mr. Diefenbaker and eight months with Joe Clark, up until 1984. So in the period from 1945 to 1984, almost 40 years, that is when our increase in dependence upon the U.S. occurred. It occurred under Liberal Governments. They adopted policies such as Mr. Trudeau's policy of turning to Europe. What was it called? The third option. Some 65 per cent of our exports went to the U.S. then. The third option did no good whatsoever. The figure on exports to the U.S. now is 76 per cent to 80 per cent.

We are dealing with the situation left to us by many Liberal Governments. Having gotten us in this position they then spend all their time trying to sabotage the solution we achieved to the problems they left us. Instead of trying to be statesman-like and helpful, they try to create uncertainty and ruin the arrangement we have made. We think the Free Trade Agreement will position us better to meet the new realities of international life, whether they involve reduced or increased trade barriers.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I might remind the House that 1.3 million jobs have been created in the last four years. If you listen to Question Period you would think there was not a job left in Canada. The Opposition get up in every Question Period trying to find some place in the country where they can allege a job has been lost as a result of free trade or whatever. They never once mention during the election campaign the economic policies and conduct of the Government. That was never the subject of debate. It was never the subject of criticism by the Leader of the Opposition or by the Leader of the New Democratic Party. They could not criticize the Government's economic record because the Government's economic record was so strong.

• (1230)

Some 738,000 more women are working in Canada in 1988 than were working in Canada in 1984. The youth unemployment rate has been reduced tremendously. It had gone up and increased under the Liberals, despite Senator Hébert's ploy that the media was taken with, lying down outside the Senate Chamber going to starve himself because our youth policies were not satisfactory. What was he doing when youth unemployment went up by 170-odd thousand under Mr. Trudeau? He was in the Parliamentary Restaurant quaffing champagne and eating pâté de foies gras.

When the youth unemployment rate was being reduced severely he was demonstrating outside the Chamber, with the help of the media. Members of the media would come along every day to have a look to say: "Are his eyelids open or shut? Is he still alive?" One could tell by the tongue flapping, Mr. Speaker, that he was still alive.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): We still must have a little respect for the other place.

Mr. Harvard: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. Through you, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to the Minister for International Trade to get a grip on himself. He has now again attacked someone who cannot defend himself, someone who is not in the House, the Hon. Senator Hébert. What we are getting—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): That is not a point of order. The Hon. Minister for International Trade has the floor.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I believe that the hon. gentleman who was just up on an interjection, a new Member to the House, introduced some new language

into the House last night. He has the gall to get up to lecture me about what I should be saying or not be saying in the House. He had better watch himself first, that hon. gentleman. We heard what he thinks is clever language in the House here last night. It did not go over very well then. I suggest to him that he should wait until his Hon. Leader here, the trade critic, gives him the signal before he jumps up and makes an a-s-s of himself again, Mr. Speaker.

I am trying to come to the end of my remarks here.

Mr. Harvard: Please do.

Mr. Crosbie: What I want to suggest—

Mr. Caccia: That is unparliamentary language.

Mr. Crosbie: Who is that croaking up now? That is the hon. gentleman who supports his Leader so avidly. He is such a faithful follower of the Leader of the Opposition. The Leader of the Opposition had to move him into the front row because he could not have him behind his back any longer.

Mr. McCurdy: You are a model of statesmanship.

Mr. Crosbie: I want to speak for a moment on the question—

Mr. Tobin: The only Party whose leadership you have not run for is the NDP. You had better watch yourself. Ed Broadbent has a fellow watching you full time in case you abandon your pinstripes for denim.

Mr. Crosbie: Any Party that I ran for the leadership of would be vastly improved if I made it, that is for sure.

Let me just come to the question of adjustment about which we have heard so much. I want to remind the House once again to get this issue into perspective. Let us take some respected economic forecasting agencies, in this case the Economic Council of Canada, which is as good as any of them can be, and look at what it forecasts for the next 10 years. Remember that the Free Trade Agreement is being introduced over a 10-year period. There is a 10-year period of adjustment for the Free Trade Agreement. Just look at the dimensions of the problem of adjustment as its forecasts show.

The Economic Council of Canada estimates that 439,000 jobs would be created over that 10-year period as a direct result of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement. It might be right and it might be wrong. It might be off by tens of thousands, or it might not. It estimates that 107,000 jobs would be lost during that

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

period. That is an average of 18,000 jobs per year. It says that there will be a net gain of jobs likely from the agreement of 251,000 over the period. Remember that our leading economic forecasters say that the result of the Free Trade Agreement is a net increase in jobs. It states: 439,000 jobs created, 187,000 lost, 251,000 net increase. Naturally, we have to be concerned about 187,000 jobs that may be lost. But this country already has a plethora of programs to deal with people who are unemployed and who are in between jobs.

Every year in our dynamic economy something like 3.5 million to five million people change jobs during the year. We have programs. We have the Canadian Jobs Strategy. There are programs of the Department of Labour, programs in the Department of Unemployment and Immigration, programs in the Department of Industry, Science and Technology, to help people who are in between jobs now, and during the time of the Free Trade Agreement or whatever.

Let us get this in perspective. The adjustment might be an adjustment for 187,000 people over a 10-year period. Anyone can come into this House and try to pretend every day that there is some huge emergency outside because of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, but that is pure bluff on their part. That is trying to create a perception. The problem is that there could be adjustments for 187,000 people likely over a 10-year period.

If new programs are needed to assist in any particular area, and there may be several particular areas in which the agreement has adverse effects outside the normal effects, we will be ready with special programs if special programs are needed, just as they were produced for the grape growers of Canada. Let us give the Free Trade Agreement a fair chance.

Once members of the Opposition have finished bemoaning the fact that they lost the election, that they were not successful, once that sinks in and the Free Trade Agreement is here, opposition Members will be good Canadians and give this agreement a chance to work—

Mr. Harvard: For how long?

Mr. Crosbie: I would say it would be reasonable to give it three years in any event. There is not likely to be an election for four years.

Mr. Harvard: Tell us how we are going to get out of it if it is bad.

Mr. Crosbie: The hon. gentleman wants to know how to get out of it if it is bad. If it is bad, we can give six months' notice and terminate it. Under the Auto Pact one has to give one year's notice. If the Americans want to change the Auto Pact they give us notice of one year and then in one year the Auto Pact is terminated, or we negotiate in between. If either one of the parties to this agreement discovers that it is not to their advantage or was not what they thought it should be—and I do not think this will happen—they can give six month's notice and force a renegotiation or bring the agreement to an end.

All I am suggesting is that the opposition Parties give this a chance. If they are not prepared to give it two or three years, a reasonable period of time, they should give it at least a year. They should not try to break the confidence of Canadians and themselves in any opportunities that a Free Trade Agreement will present to Canadians. They should do their best to help us realize and to help Canadians realize the opportunities there are in this agreement. Surely, they have to admit that there are some opportunities presented by this agreement. Surely, they cannot believe that just about the whole business community of the country is so stupid that members of it are supporting something that will not give them an opportunity at all to advance the interests of their own companies.

Mr. Tobin: Fifty per cent of them are American now anyway.

Mr. Crosbie: Who is American? I did not realize that John Bulloch was an American. The Canadian Federation of Independent Business, headed by John Bulloch, supported the agreement with great strength. Sixty-seven per cent of their members said that the agreement would be of benefit to the small businessmen and women of Canada.

• (1240)

An Hon. Member: Where is your Member for Hull—Aylmer? On vacation today? Where is he? In the sun? Florida?

An Hon. Member: If you only worked one-tenth as hard as he does.

Mr. Crosbie: Are they suggesting Luigi is not a Canadian?

I would conclude by saying that this has been a long siege. I did not realize, when the Prime Minister asked me to become the Trade Minister at the end of March,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

that the process would be so long and painful. It has been just about nine months since the end of March.

I was happy to accept his invitation. I believe that this is a positive benefit for Canadians. I realize this will not produce economic miracles. It will put Canada into a favoured position among the nations of the world. The United States is still the largest and most prosperous market of any country in the world. The Free Trade Agreement will give us an immeasurable sense of security, particularly if the rest of the world is not successful in the Uruguay round of the GATT discussions that are now under way.

This is an agreement that strengthens Canadian nationalism; that strengthens the opportunity for the development of Canadian culture; that strengthens every region of the country economically; that gives Atlantic Canada a new chance. I have visited Nova Scotia frequently. I heard the complaint that Nova Scotia had been done in by Confederation in 1867, that it had been a prosperous place based on north-south trade until it entered Confederation. Then Ontario and Québec imposed high tariffs and stifled progress forever in Nova Scotia. What would happen in Nova Scotia if that tariff arrangement were ever changed? We are now removing the shackles from the Nova Scotia economy that they complained about for 110 years of Confederation. They are being removed from New Brunswick where the Premier supports this agreement. Despite the fact that he is a Liberal, he continued to give the agreement his support during the election campaign. The Premier of Newfoundland supports it. We only have one maritime Premier who does not, and that is the Premier of Prince Edward Island.

This deal is good for every region of Canada. This is a positive step forward for Canada. It is good for all Canadians. It is good for the people I represent. I cannot think of any strong, persuasive, rational argument against entering into this Free Trade Agreement. That is why I am proud to have participated in this process. That is why we are prepared to spend every day from now until New Year's Day to see that this gigantic step forward for Canada becomes law and takes effect on January 1, 1989. The time has come for that to be done.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We have had a lot of time this last week to sit in our chairs and reflect. I have come to an important revelation. I now know what the definition of "hell" is. It is having to sit in my chair until 2.00 a.m. passing clauses that I

have never had a chance to debate and getting up four or five hours later and listening to the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) for two hours. There is no more cruel and inhumane punishment than the combination of experiences the Members have been put through.

I do not want to disrupt the Christmas season with the same obnoxious remarks that the Minister made. Before the Hon. Minister runs away for his lunch break at the local gas station, let me pass on to him something that the members of the Liberal caucus suggest as a Christmas gift to the man who has nothing.

We have thought longingly about the Minister for International Trade and what would be the appropriate gift for him at Christmastime. We know he has not had time to write Santa Claus, so we are here in the full spirit of generosity and charity to make a contribution. It came to our desk. It is entitled, "The John Deer Spreader Handles More Manure Faster to Save You Time".

"Let's face it. There are other things you would rather do than spend a lot of time spreading manure. That is why we introduced a new 350 Spreader with reliability and performance that gets you out of the field fast. Not only does the new 350 Spreader save you time, it is economically priced. So whatever you would rather do with your time and your money, the 350 Spreader will help you make it possible."

We have the ideal Christmas gift to replace the Minister for International Trade, and that is the 350 Spreader. Just think of the time we would save the Canadian people. Just think of how the people watching television would be saved an excruciating experience if we had a spreader in the place of the Minister. We would get that manure out an awful lot quicker and more efficiently than what we have today.

In the same spirit of generosity, I want to help the Minister on another small item. It seems that the only poignant moment in the whole speech was when he appealed for a new job.

Ms. Copps: The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) was listening.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We hope the Prime Minister was listening.

The Minister said that he would rather be in another place. That is a sentiment shared by about eight or nine million Canadians.

I pass on to him an offer I saw from one of those American corporate giants that he so longingly loves.

Before Goodyear closed their plant in Toronto, they still had a job opening left. This would be most appropriate for the Minister's talents and qualities and offer him plenty of opportunity for travel, fresh air, and exercise. They need a replacement for someone to glide over the Rose Bowl on New Year's Day. I can think of no more useful accomplishment for that exercise than what we have had here today. I say to the Minister, "It is not too late". He could run out and apply immediately. There are two weeks until New Year's Day. We will look forward to seeing him hang-gliding over Pasadena sometime on New Year's morning.

I wish to say one thing on this third reading. I have been in politics a long time, and I hate to lose. I hate to lose debates, elections, and debates on important issues. The question that has been raised in this debate by Members on all sides is who won the election and what the election really meant. It is important to spend a moment, because the Members on the Cabinet benches and the Tory back-benchers have been banging their desks and rising to their feet and saying, "We won". Let me raise some questions. Let us see what happened in the Province of Newfoundland.

• (1250)

Here is the chief salesman for the trade deal. In his home province one would think that the magic of his argument, the thrill of his comments, his Don Rickles routine, would have mesmerized the people of Newfoundland to the point where they would run to the polls as fast as possible to vote for every Tory Member of Parliament. But what happened? His own plurality fell by 10,000 votes, and five out of seven seats are now held by Liberals.

Let us look at other Atlantic provinces that the Minister is so proud to talk about with a sense of realism and understanding. What happened in Prince Edward Island? There was 100 per cent rejection of the Conservatives. One accomplishment was that not only did he give a message to the Tories, they made a singular contribution to the environment of Canada by getting rid of the last environment Minister.

Mr. Charest: The election is over, Lloyd.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I say to the Minister of Youth, or whatever he is, the election is not over. The election is just beginning. You had better be aware of it. The election has begun.

Mr. Charest: That is pathetic, Lloyd.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The pathos is in the eye of the beholder. I am afraid the Hon. Member has spent a lot of time looking in the mirror.

Let me recount that there were only two provinces in the entire country that one could say voted in a majority way for the Conservative Party. One of them happened to have an extraordinary number of seats which, by the parliamentary system, gave them a majority in the House. But it was close. We know just how close it was because we know how frantic, sweaty and obsessive—

Ms. Copps: Dirty.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre):—that is right, and how dirty the Tories got in the last couple of weeks because they knew they were going to lose.

We came very close because there were millions of Canadians who rejected the deal and voted against the Conservative candidates in overwhelming numbers. I point to my own Province of Manitoba where we now have five Members in the City of Winnipeg, where we defeated Conservatives and New Democrats on the basis of a very important message, that it was the Liberal Party that spoke for Canada.

If the members of the Conservative Party ever had a moment of reflection—which I doubt since it is a contradiction in terms—I believe they would realize that it requires them to sit down and seriously consider the election results. The results did not give them *carte blanche*. They did not give them a mandate for dictatorship. It did not give them—

Mr. McDermid: Give me a break.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): It did not endow them with some divine ordination to govern. It gave them a very strong message. It is that there are millions of Canadians who rejected the Government from 1984 to 1988, who defeated 40 or 50 of their own members, defeated six members of the Cabinet and reduced the pluralities of every Tory candidate in this country. More Canadians voted against the free trade deal in 1988, than voted against it in 1911 when it was defeated.

Mr. Charest: What was the population in 1911, Lloyd?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The fact of the matter is there was a split vote. I want to say with some regret to my friends in the New Democratic Party that it was also a sad sight to see a new coalition emerge

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

in those last two weeks of the election, attack the Liberal Party. It was a coalition of the Tories, big business and the New Democratic Party Leader.

It was hard to imagine that a Party which stood up day after day in the House saying it would oppose to its last breath the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement would, in the last three weeks of the election as it began to slip, turn its fire on Liberals. They forgot that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) was the proponent. They somehow forgot that it was the Conservatives who were the advocates of trade and spent all their time, advertising dollars and energy and resources attacking the Liberals. I say that with great regret because we felt that if there had been an effective coalition across the country we could have defeated the Conservatives and we would not be debating this Bill at the present time.

Mr. McDermid: It is all your fault, Steve.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): That saddens me deeply, Mr. Speaker. I want to say by way of personal reflection that I, like other Members in the House, have been intimately involved with this debate for close to four years. I think I speak for all Members of the House, both those who have just been elected and those who were here, that in a sense it has been a rare privilege to be involved in a debate of such historic proportions, win or lose. In some ways we have been serving in a very dramatic and historic way the reason why we are here.

Every one of us, whatever our differences, runs for public office because we feel we have something to offer.

An Hon. Member: Lloyd for leader.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): We know that what has transpired in this country in the past years and months has been something that has demanded the utmost commitment, engagement and involvement. It has required—I make an exception. The Minister of Youth does not have the ability to be committed or engaged. He does not understand what public service means. All he understands is how his job works. That is the limit of his understanding of himself. That is the problem with the Conservatives, and there are too many of them.

That kind of commitment which people have made has been broadly shared by millions of other Canadians. We have simply been their servants in a real way, active as their spokespersons. This has been a very important definition for Canadians. It has required thousands of

people to leave the comfort of their occupations and families and ask themselves some hard questions about what this country means.

This debate, as raucous as it gets and with as much rhetoric that has flourished, did require Canadians to come to grips with some very fundamental questions about who we are, what we are and where we are going. I think that sets the base for a continuing debate in this country.

Anyone who assumes that this third reading of the Bill ends the debate is sorely wrong. It just begins the debate. This has been a catharsis for Canadians. It has given Canadians a new perspective of what it means to be a Canadian. It has brought them to realize that we simply cannot let Parliament work in the abstract in some isolation on the Hill in Ottawa and that the only way we can govern is if people are directly involved and can participate.

In some ways that realization came too late. In part, the Tory strategy succeeded. For a long time they were able to keep this matter hidden in the shadows. The strategy that was elaborated in their Cabinet paper in 1985, clearly stated that the only way they could get the trade deal through was if they did not tell Canadians what was in it. The Minister of Trade says he does not like cucumbers but he certainly knows how to grow mushrooms, which is basically to throw the manure at them and keep them in the dark. That is what the Minister and his colleagues have been very capable of doing.

The doors opened with the election. We suddenly realized that something very important was happening. That is why we have been engaged in this debate as long as we have in this last week and why we felt we needed far more time. That is why we believe it was not simply a matter of turning this Parliament into a sausage machine that would process the votes according to some kind of automatic formula, but would provide a forum in which that thirst for understanding and demand by so many Canadians to know more about this deal could be satisfied.

We have been denied, and so have Canadians. I say as a veteran of this House that it strikes me as being sad, in a way, that we could go through the last few days seeing closure brought forward more often than it was during the famous pipeline debate which was called at the time of a crisis of parliamentary government in Canada. The Government has used closure more often for more

incidental reasons than any Government in the past, far exceeding anything we saw in the pipeline debate.

There has been no sense of shame on the part of the Conservatives. There has been no regret or apology, no ability to understand what they were doing. They were totally incapable of understanding that one of the real victims of this whole debate has been Parliament itself and that they have put in jeopardy this fine institution by the way they have used their jackboots to simply tramp on the rights of the House. It seems to me that is one of the first casualties we have to look at.

I invite you back at three o'clock when we can continue our discussion.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): It being one o'clock, I do now leave the chair until two o'clock this day.

At 1.01 p.m. the House took recess.

AFTER RECESS

The House resumed at 2 p.m.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S.O. 31

[Translation]

FREE TRADE

COMPLEMENTARY NATURE OF AGREEMENT

Mr. Marcel R. Tremblay (Québec-Est): Mr. Speaker, the recent meeting of representatives of the GATT countries in Montreal once again demonstrated that all negotiations aimed at reaching a trade agreement are laborious and do not always produce the expected results.

The Federal Liberal team and their leader propose a multilateral agreement as an alternative to the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. Such a proposal shows a lack of realism, experience and judgment on their part.

Canada cannot go backwards and accept a sudden and abrupt increase in customs tariffs when it has taken almost 50 years to bring them down to their present level. The Free Trade Agreement is an insurance policy against this reversal of things since it provides for the phasing-out of all trade restrictions between our two neighbouring countries and for the stabilization of our long term economic policy.

S. O. 31

Today Canadians are proud to have given their confidence to the Right Hon. Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) and to have supported his proposal for a bilateral agreement with our major trading partner, the United States, while striving at the same time to liberalize further international trade. The Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Speaker, is complementary and non-exclusive.

* * *

[English]

TRADE

SOFTWOOD LUMBER TAX—LAY-OFFS ANNOUNCED BY G. W. MARTIN COMPANY

Mr. Maurice Foster (Algoma): Mr. Speaker, earlier this week the G. W. Martin Company of Sault Ste Marie and Searchmont announced that it will be laying off 65 employees in its softwood lumber operations there. This represents over half the employees in the sawmill in the hamlet of Searchmont. This is a devastating blow for this small community.

These lay-offs have resulted from the Government's infamous export tax on softwood lumber which has cost the company \$981,000 during the last two years and is now costing half of the workforce in Searchmont their jobs. I call on the Government to rescind this tax which has cost the softwood lumber industry in northern Ontario millions and millions of dollars and will cost thousands of jobs this winter if the Government does not act. The Government must act now to save these jobs in northern Ontario's softwood lumber industry.

* * *

HOUSING

TRINITY—SPADINA CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING PROJECT

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity—Spadina): Mr. Speaker, thanks partly to this Tory Government, 36,000 children in world-class Toronto must depend on food banks, many because their food money must be spent on rent.

A co-operative group in Trinity—Spadina is trying to build affordable housing. It is ready to go to tender to build 62 units, family and single, two-thirds of them rent-geared-to-income. However, when construction costs rose, this Government refused to give more dollars to meet the cost. Instead, it slashed the number of

S. O. 31

CMHC unit allocations so that this group may totally lose its two years of volunteer labour and its \$200,000 provincial start-up allowance.

This Tory Government did the same thing to the same group two years ago. This Tory Government itself has caused increased housing costs by upping the sales tax on building materials and by refusing to impose a speculation tax to deter its land speculator friends.

I call on the Minister of State for Housing (Mr. McDermid) to take off his rigid dollar cap and enable people to build this and other affordable housing to meet the needs of low-income Toronto people.

* * *

MULTICULTURALISM

CALL FOR APPOINTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS COMMISSIONER

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, another urban problem that needs the urgent attention of the Government is race relations. Equal opportunity and equal treatment are cornerstones of a free and democratic society, and most certainly of our Canadian multicultural society.

Recent concerns surrounding the Albert Johnson and Lester Donaldson cases in Toronto, the Michael Wade Lawson case in Mississauga, and the Anthony Griffith case in Montreal, underline the urban race relations problem. I do not want these problems in my city and I know that you do not want them in yours, Mr. Speaker.

Just prior to the election, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) committed the Government to establishing a new Department of Multiculturalism. At the very least, that Department should include a Race Relations Commissioner.

* * *

[*Translation*]

FREE TRADE

TRIBUTE TO PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Gilles Bernier (Beauce): Mr. Speaker, in a few days, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Bill will be ratified by this House. This Bill is the culmination of three years of hard work by the Conservative Government and is the boldest economic initiative in the history of Canada.

Thousands of people in all provinces participated in its development, inspired and encouraged by a man who believed in our resources and potential. That man is the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

Nineteen eighty-nine is just around the corner, and I hope that Canadians will continue to use their talents to ensure the prosperity of Canada. I pay tribute to the men and women who never despaired, who showed great strength of character in their efforts to develop this complex Agreement that will help employers create jobs and benefit the young people of Canada.

Let it be said loudly and clearly. It took courage, audacity and leadership to develop the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Bravo, Brian Mulroney! Your Government has delivered the goods to the people of Canada. To paraphrase Vigneault, my dear Brian—

* * *

CANADIAN SPACE AGENCY

CHOICE OF SAINT-LAURENT CONSTITUENCY

Mrs. Shirley Maheu (Saint-Laurent): Mr. Speaker, my riding of Saint-Laurent is the centre of the high technology in Canada. The state-of-the-art technological developments produced there will put Canada at the forefront of the space industry. The creation of the Space Agency will help Canada to become an important partner in the development of space exploration. I was pleased to hear the Prime Minister tell the House that even ridings that had elected members to the Opposition would receive their fair share.

[*English*]

However, I am disappointed that the Government has not yet proceeded with its commitment to grant the space agency to Saint Laurent. Have the people of Saint Laurent suffered because of their rejection of my opponent in the election? Surely the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) would not give the space agency to Saint Laurent just because it is Premier Bourassa's riding but would because Saint Laurent deserves it.

[*Translation*]

I only hope the Government will keep its promise to give people their fair share and build the Space Agency in the most appropriate location, that is, in Saint-Laurent, which already has the necessary infrastructure.

[English]

THE LATE KARL HILSINGER

Mr. Bill Winegard (Guelph—Wellington): Mr. Speaker, the man known as the "Silver-Suited Skier" has died. Karl Hilsinger, former Canadian Football League all-star and sports consultant to the War Amputations of Canada, died of a heart attack last Thursday. He was 56.

We will all remember Karl Hilsinger as the double-leg amputee who appeared in television commercials about the Child Amputee Program, the CHAMP program, sponsored by the War Amputations of Canada.

Karl participated in the 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. He joined with several others in the CHAMP program in skiing demonstrations and he took part in the Olympic Torch relay. During that relay, he refused to use a wheelchair. He carried the torch while walking on what he called his stubbies.

Karl's passing is a tragic loss to the 1,200 young amputees in the CHAMP program. According to Cliff Chadderton of the War Amps, the children worshipped him. He set the standard for how to overcome a disability. He was a man who dedicated his life to others. He will stand tall in our memories.

* * *

THE LATE BERNT CARLSSON

Mr. Jack Whittaker (Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt): Mr. Speaker, I am sure I speak for all of us when I express our sorrow over the tragic crash last night in Scotland of a Pan Am Boeing 747 en route from London to New York.

The New Democrats have suffered a particular loss in that crash, for one of the passengers on that flight was Bernt Carlsson, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and a well-known member of our international socialist family.

The New Democratic Party had worked with Mr. Carlsson for more than a decade, especially since his election as Secretary General of the Socialist International in 1976. We were witness to his untiring efforts to improve East-West relations and to address problems of underdevelopment and conflict in the Third World.

S. O. 31

In the course of this work we came to know him, and he came to know Canada through his visits here. He was a great socialist and a great friend of mankind. He will be sadly missed, not only by his friends and colleagues in the New Democratic Party but by all Canadians.

* * *

[Translation]

FREE TRADE

POSITION OF FARMERS

Mr. Michel Champagne (Champlain): Mr. Speaker, in the last election campaign, the Liberals and the New Democrats have tried to scare the Canadian people, especially farmers, by telling them that free trade could threaten their future. On the contrary, Mr. Speaker, our Government was responsible enough to protect our marketing boards by including Article XI of GATT in Article 710 of the Agreement. That means, Mr. Speaker, that the Canadian dairy industry will stay in place and grow stronger and that the poultry and egg industries have been strengthened and protected as farmers had requested.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, we are sensitive to the fact that we export a lot of pork, beef and horticultural products to the United States. Mr. Speaker, as a responsible Government, we couldn't say no to those producers who need guaranteed access to the American market. We couldn't say no to developing a policy allowing our farmers to expand. That is why, Mr. Speaker, on November 21, Canadian farmers and co-operatives said yes to a Progressive Conservative Government as it is the only party to offer a positive and progressive option for the future of Canadian agriculture.

* * *

• (1410)

[English]

INDIAN AFFAIRS

ESKASONI—ELECTION OF BAND CHIEF

Mr. Russell MacLellan (Cape Breton—The Sydneys): Mr. Speaker, on November, 1988, an election was held in Eskasoni. In the band council election for chief the winner won by one vote.

S. O. 31

There are allegations of irregularities in that election but the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs says that this matter cannot be dealt with for months. The town is split and there is not even any move for a recount.

The Supreme Court of Nova Scotia says that it does not have the jurisdiction and the community of Eskasoni is split down the middle.

There is nothing in the Indian Act to deal with this matter and the people of Eskasoni are being denied the rights that people in other electoral jurisdictions can take for granted and have without any problem.

I ask the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to look into these irregularities and conduct a recount as soon as possible, and I would ask the Minister to bring in amendments to the Indian Act that would look after the shortcomings in the present legislation.

* * *

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

Mr. Ross Reid (St. John's East): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) ran the campaign of his life. He ran long and hard for the hearts and minds of Canadians.

Here is this great warrior for Canada wounded in battle, struggling on despite the will of the people, struggling on despite the coming bells of Christmas, struggling on despite the fact that no one is listening, continuing the campaign of his life. Struggling ever onward leading his tattered, weary, and worn band of loyal banditos.

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry I have to interrupt the Hon. Member but I think that his comments may well be inappropriate. The Hon. Member for Sault Ste. Marie.

* * *

PUBLIC SERVICE**EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE NEGOTIATIONS**

Mr. Steve Butland (Sault Ste. Marie): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to address the House on an issue which will likely affect all Canadians early in 1989. This issue is the negotiations or lack thereof between the federal Government and its 137,000 civil

servants. These negotiations could result in the largest strike in Canada's history.

The negotiation process has been stalemated by the Treasury Board and apparently its strategy is to offer little, request concessions, force overtime, and generally bully the workers into submission. There is also the ever present threat of cut-backs.

Morale is non-existent.

Generally these people are being treated as second-class citizens. It actually is no surprise since we have already experienced government's attitude to displaced workers as a result of free trade.

We should all make ourselves, as responsible representatives, aware of the plight of our civil servants, acknowledge it and finally address it before a most serious crisis is upon us.

* * *

CANADIAN SPACE AGENCY**SUGGESTED LOCATION WITH NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION**

Mr. Eugène Bellemare (Carleton—Gloucester): Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion lately concerning the location of our National Space Agency. Arguments have been raised in favour of both the Montreal and Ottawa regions.

While both areas have unique advantages, our national Space Agency should be positioned within easy travelling distance from other scientific groups such as the National Research Council and Telesat Canada.

Talk of decentralization and reallocation of the Government's resources robs this region of its expressed mandate to provide a full service community to its many residents. I suggest that the Government look closely at locating the National Space Agency within the National Capital Region.

* * *

THE ECONOMY**OECD REPORT ON CANADA'S PERFORMANCE**

Mrs. Barbara Sparrow (Calgary Southwest): Mr. Speaker, this week the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development forecast that Canada's

economy, boosted by consumers' confidence and the Free Trade Agreement, should continue to expand at a healthy rate over the next two years.

The OECD noted Canada's manufacturing plants are running at near capacity, while the unemployment rate dropped to a six-year low of 7.8 per cent in the first half of 1988.

Because of continuing strong business investment and profits, the jobless rate is expected to fall to 7.5 per cent by the end of this decade.

With the economy approaching full employment, we must keep a watchful eye on wages, credit expansion, and rising commodity prices, all the factors that could trigger inflation.

Four years in office has proved the ability of a Conservative Government to strengthen Canada's economy. If you think that is good, just watch us in the next four!

* * *

NATIONAL DEFENCE

NUCLEAR POWERED SUBMARINES—COST OF PROPOSED ACQUISITION

Mr. Len Hopkins (Renfrew): Mr. Speaker, in the previous Parliament the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Beatty) announced the Government's intention to purchase 10 to 12 British or French nuclear powered submarines at a announced cost of \$5 billion before June, 1987.

The Tory Government has since revised its cost figures up to \$8 billion. However, the Business Council on National Issues estimated the cost at \$12 billion but revised it downward when it realized it was hurting its Tory friends.

United States naval experts have been saying \$10 to \$12 billion, but several experts have recently stated that a \$16 to \$20 billion estimate is a more likely figure.

During the election campaign, those nuclear subs were the quietest operating pieces of equipment you ever saw. The Tories didn't want to talk about their unpopular desire. It will take 27 or 28 years to produce all those submarines, which means that the Minister of National Defence will be happily collecting his old age pension by the time the last one goes into the water.

Oral Questions

The nuclear submarines program may well be announced quietly before this House reconvenes. If it is, it may be a sad day for Canada's Armed Forces because other areas of National Defence will go in need, all because the Minister of National Defence—

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry but the Hon. Member has exceeded his time. Oral Questions.

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[Translation]

THE CONSTITUTION

NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE—GOVERNMENT POSITION

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I would have liked to put my questions to the Secretary of State, but in his absence I will direct them to the Prime Minister.

The law of the land—Bill C-72—provides that the federal Government, and I quote, "is committed to enhancing the vitality and supporting the development of English and French linguistic minority communities, as an integral part of the two official language communities of Canada, and to fostering full recognition and use of English and French in Canadian society."

The Secretary of State, responsible for implementing this law, said recently that invoking the notwithstanding clause is a legal and legitimate step in that it amounts to using a mechanism included in the Canadian Constitution. As for the Prime Minister, he stated yesterday that resorting to the notwithstanding clause is a breach of the Charters of Rights and Freedoms of Canada and Québec. Mr. Speaker, the contradiction is obvious: one says white, the other says black. How can the Prime Minister continue to defend his Secretary of State who has publicly admitted he cannot do his duty, which is to promote and protect official language minority groups wherever they live?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): I find it difficult to watch Liberal Members greet this kind of question with applause, for they have always urged all their colleagues in the House to be particularly sensitive concerning linguistic issues in Canada, and always seek to avoid confrontations and create ill feelings over such questions.

Oral Questions

I answered this question yesterday and I invite my friend to read yesterday's *Hansard* very carefully, the answers are there, clear and unequivocal. If my friend can indeed show me a contradiction I would be pleased to comment further. Yesterday I spoke in the name of the federal Government. I stated a position which all Cabinet Ministers endorse. This position is fully consistent with the objectives of our linguistic policy, be it under Bill C-72 or pursuant to the Meech Lake Accord whose main purpose is to do justice to our linguistic minorities wherever they happen to be in Canada.

• (1420)

[English]

REQUEST THAT PRIME MINISTER DISMISS SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I know the position of the Government. I heard the Prime Minister very clearly. My question was directed to the Secretary of State. Does he understand what his role is? Does he play a role of importance in this country? I say yes, but that gentleman does not understand his role, Mr. Prime Minister. He does not comply with the requirements of protecting and promoting minority rights across the land.

In answer to a question I put him on June 28, 1985, as reported in *Hansard* at page 6365, the Prime Minister stated:

... I can assure you that, both as concerns the English-speaking minority in Québec and the French-speaking minority in Manitoba and elsewhere, the federal Government is there as a friend, as a supporter, and all our resources and potential will be used to promote the cause of our French-speaking or English-speaking minorities wherever they may be.

Will the Prime Minister live up to his promise? Will he fire the Secretary of State and replace him with someone who cares, who understands, and who will stand up for minorities wherever they are in this country?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, for a Government that had Serge Joyal in as Secretary of State it takes a lot of nerve to talk about promoting fairness.

Mr. Gauthier: Show your courage, Mulroney; show your courage.

Mr. Mulroney: Let me just read for my hon. friend what has taken place since the Secretary of State was sworn in.

[Translation]

June 7: Renewal and enhancement of the Secretary of State's official languages programs. The Government will earmark more than \$1.4 billion for these official languages programs over the next five years.

June 15: Signature of one general and three subsidiary agreements with Saskatchewan: \$63 million over 10 years. On June 15, again with Mr. Bouchard, signature of an agreement between Saskatchewan Francophones and the federal Government involving \$17 million over five years.

June 27: Signature of a general agreement with Prince Edward Island concerning services in French: \$4.5 million over five years.

Premier Ghiz congratulated the Secretary of State. On August 26: Signature of a draft agreement with Nova Scotia, the Collège de l'Acadie: \$5 million over five years.

November 28: Signature of a draft agreement with Prince Edward Island, the Community School Centre in Charlottetown: \$5.3 million.

As I speak, the Secretary of State, Mr. Bouchard, is busy negotiating agreements in favour of Québec's Anglophone minority. Such are the valid reactions of the Secretary of State!

[English]

RETENTION OF MINISTER IN CABINET

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, we have listened to the Prime Minister avoid a question that relates right to the heart of parliamentary democracy, namely, cabinet solidarity. We have attempted to put questions to the Secretary of State but he has performed the greatest disappearing act this week since Houdini. We cannot reach him.

Mr. Della Noce: He was here last night. Where were you?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Yesterday, in response to a question I put to him, as reported at page 522 of *Hansard* the Prime Minister stated:

I was and remain opposed to having a notwithstanding clause in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Those were the words of the Prime Minister. The Secretary of State is quoted, as early as October 18, 1988, and as recently as December 21, as saying that the notwithstanding clause is "essential for the survival of certain fundamental Québec values".

Oral Questions

That is not a nuance, as the Prime Minister attempted to portray to the House yesterday. That is a fundamental difference of opinion. I ask the Prime Minister how can he retain a Secretary of State responsible for minority language rights in this country, and their protection, with such a fundamental difference right at the heart of his Cabinet?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition refers to the greatest disappearing act since Houdini. It is the greatest disappearing act since Turner!

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Some Hon. Members: Cheap shot.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, I am trying to—

[*English*]

Ms. Copps: You are a slimebag. Speak in English.

Mr. Mulroney: The Member for Hamilton East says: "You are a slimebag. Speak in English". She is suggesting that by speaking in French I am doing something wrong.

[*Translation*]

What you have just said is appalling!

[*English*]

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister continues to act in the good tone of this House of Commons.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

[*Translation*]

CONVENING OF FIRST MINISTER'S CONFERENCE—ROLE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

The Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister said yesterday that—

Mr. Speaker: As I said yesterday, this is a very important matter for this country. It is appropriate that all Hon. Members extend a level of courtesy to those who ask questions and also to the Minister who gives the answer.

May I repeat that this is a very important matter, not only for now but for the future of our country.

The Right Hon. the Leader of the Official Opposition.

M. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Yesterday and the day before, the Prime Minister stated in this House that he would call a conference of First Ministers to discuss the matter of the override clause.

I ask him, what role will the Secretary of State be playing at that conference? The Prime Minister wants to do away with the override clause. His Secretary of State wants to keep it.

How are they going to sit together at that conference?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the notwithstanding clause was agreed to by my predecessor in 1981-1982 and it has always been my personal view that a notwithstanding clause is incompatible with a Charter of Fundamental Rights. This is a personal view that may not be shared by everyone, but as far as I am concerned it has always been my belief that if a Prime Minister said: On one hand I give you—

[*English*]

On the one hand I give you inalienable rights, and on the other hand, by the way, I forgot to tell you, I am going to allow the Premier of a given province to override your inalienable rights. That to me indicates that there is something very fundamentally wrong with the Charter of Rights and the granting of an override. That has always been my position in respect of that override clause.

Ms. Copps: So tell Lucien.

Mr. Mulroney: The Premier of Quebec, as I indicated, did not ask for that override clauses. He was excluded from that ultimate result.

The override clause, having been granted by my predecessor, the exercise of that now presents in its result a problem for all Canadians, including the Leader of the Opposition and myself.

• (1430)

I have found that what we inherited, the constitutional result of 1981-82, is gravely flawed. While at Meech Lake compromises were made—and it is true that compromises were made—there has never been a concession ever made of which I am aware as grave as that which was granted in 1981-82, when the provinces were allowed to override our so-called inalienable rights as Canadians.

Oral Questions

Therefore, the belief that I have stated and the responses that I have given are perfectly consistent with that view.

We inherited the override clause. We will try at a Conference of First Ministers in the future—and Premier McKenna recommends that we proceed slowly in this regard. But, at an appropriate time, we will no doubt review the matter of the override clause, because in my judgment it is at variance with the most fundamental of our rights.

How we resolve this issue clearly will demand reason and fair-mindedness, and tolerance—and I believe that resolve it we shall, because Canadian interests can only be protected.

Minority language interests, minority rights cannot be fully developed while that 1981 override clause exists. That is my view, and that is the view of every member of this Government.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): That is evidently not the view of every member of the Prime Minister's Government, because the Secretary of State does not share that view.

An Hon. Member: That's right; that's the point.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I listened with some interest to the Prime Minister's declaration before the House, a declaration he should have directed not at this side of the aisle but at his colleague, the Secretary of State.

If the Prime Minister felt as deeply as he says he felt, he had the opportunity, with his provincial colleagues, at the Meech Lake negotiations to have that clause removed.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

VIEW OF SECRETARY OF STATE—RETENTION IN
CABINET

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, what we are talking about here is the fact that the Secretary of State is the Minister to whom the Prime Minister has mandated the responsibility for minority language rights in this country. That is his job. That is his mandate.

So, I ask the Prime Minister how it is that he can retain a Secretary of State, in charge of protecting minority language rights in this country, who is beholden to a "notwithstanding" clause which remains in place at the expense of minority language rights?

Mr. Clark (Yellowhead): Don't be absurd. You are making a fool of yourself.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): Yes, I admit to the Secretary of State for External Affairs that I am perhaps a little incensed, and I imagine that he is too, staying at the Cabinet table with a Secretary of State who does not want to protect minority rights.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I venture to say to the Secretary of State for External Affairs that when he held high office, as Prime Minister of this country, he would not have tolerated that view in his Government.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): I ask the Prime Minister: How can any minority group in this country feel protected as long as his Secretary of State remains in this Government?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, dealing with the comments of the Leader of the Opposition with regard to Meech Lake, he knows full well—

Some Hon. Members: Answer the question.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition has just taken four or five minutes to ask the question. Perhaps his colleagues would be good enough to give me the opportunity to respond.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Speaker: I put forward yesterday, and again today, in both languages, the view that, in the opinion of the Chair, this is a subject that requires a dignified series of questions and a dignified series of responses.

The public is watching us. Frankly, I do not think they will have too high an opinion of us unless we show more of an understanding for the solemn obligation that all of us in this place are under in respect of a matter that means a great deal to this country. I ask Hon. Members to co-operate.

The Right Hon. Prime Minister.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition knows full well that the Meech Lake initiative was undertaken as an opportunity to bring Quebec back into the Constitution, which all of us agree is a primordial responsibility.

The reference in those negotiations to the “notwithstanding” clause was—and I think this is accurate; we can check *Hansard*—was made by me. I think I was the only Leader to refer to the fact that this “notwithstanding” heritage of 1981 was deeply unacceptable and would have to be dealt with.

[Translation]

Concerning the comment made by the Leader of the Opposition, I have before me the text of what was said by the Secretary of State, and I quote:

“The use of the “notwithstanding clause” is a legal and legitimate action under the mechanism included in the Constitution of our country.”

I think this is accurate. He also said:

“It is therefore incumbent upon the Government of Quebec to assess the circumstances under which it may use the “notwithstanding clause”.”

I think that is accurate.

Quebec having been the beneficiary of that clause given by the former Liberal Government, and since the clause exists to the benefit of Quebec and the other provinces, it is now difficult to those who granted that clause to blame another level of Government for using it. I explained the position of this Government, the reasons why I was opposed to its use under the circumstances at hand, that is the decision by the Supreme Court, because I thought that a legislative formula could be found that would reconcile the two major principles laid down by the Supreme Court, that is respect of the French language on the one side, and respect of the provisions of the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms on the other hand. This was not only my own preference, but I think the wish and expectation of every Member in this House.

It is however unfortunate in my view that the Leader of the Opposition, having received most specific answers yesterday, would revert today to that kind of accusation. He knows full well that the answer—

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Oral Questions

Mr. Mulroney: Anyway, I will conclude on this, Mr. Speaker—the answer I gave on behalf of all Government Members, concerning the protection of minority rights, was commended by the Hon. Member for Mount Royal and the Liberal Member from Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. I would think this reflects the wishes of everyone.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

* * *

[English]

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

UNITED STATES IMPORT BAN ON CANADIAN ICE CREAM

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade.

This week the Minister announced that Canada has asked the GATT to investigate why the U.S. has prohibited imports of Canadian ice cream since 1970.

Given that the Government told Canadians throughout the election campaign that the Free Trade Agreement would provide “assured access” to the U.S. market, why is the Minister going to the GATT on this question of access just days before the deal goes into effect?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, as Hon. Members may be aware, earlier in the year Canada imposed import controls on yoghurt and ice cream, as we have the right to do, in our view.

The United States objected to the import controls we imposed in respect of ice cream and yoghurt and brought a complaint before the GATT with respect to that action. We, therefore, brought our own complaint before the GATT in relation to the fact that, for the last 15 years, the U.S. has not permitted the importation of any ice cream from Canada.

What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and it is for that reason that we are proceeding before the GATT.

Had the Hon. Member listened to my speech made earlier today on Bill C-2, he would realize that the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement does not mean that there will not be trade disputes between the U.S. and

Oral Questions

Canada in the future; rather, it simply provides us with a better means of defending ourselves in the future.

• (1440)

Mr. Althouse: Mr. Speaker, I was aware of that for a lot of years prior to this agreement, and it seems odd, after listening to the rhetoric of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade, that we still have to go to the GATT. They have been telling us with this agreement we would not have to do that any more. It appears that their lauded dispute settlement mechanism does not have any effect, which is what we on this side have been saying.

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL POLICY—U.S. POSITION

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Mr. Speaker, during and since the negotiations the U.S. has continued to press for changes in our agricultural policy with regard to our marketing board system and our position on Article 11 of the GATT, while at the same time restricting our access to its markets through the omnibus Trade Bill and other measures.

What is the Government proposing to do to defend Canadian agricultural interests in the coming year, 1989?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, we have been debating the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement now for some 14 months. It has been stated repeatedly by us, and it is a fact, that of course GATT is still in existence. Canada and the U.S. both still belong to the GATT. As a matter of fact, I was a host to a GATT conference in Montreal about ten days ago where 96 countries of the GATT gathered together. I invited observers from the NDP and the Liberal Party and they did not attend. Perhaps that explains why there is some confusion here.

The U.S. has argued that our adding ice cream and yogurt to the import control list on January 28 last is inconsistent with our obligations under Article 11 of the GATT. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement has nothing to do with it. It is not in effect yet. Even if it were, we still have GATT rights, as does the United States.

We are now going to the GATT with respect to the Americans' obtuseness in quibbling about our import controls on ice cream and yogurt when for 15 years they have not allowed us to export ice cream to the U.S. We are not putting up with that kind of treatment from the U.S. or anyone else.

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD—PRICING AND MARKETING SYSTEM

Mr. Vic Althouse (Mackenzie): Mr. Speaker, it has not been clear from the negotiations thus far that Canada is pressing for a strengthened Article 11. Will the Government respond to the Prairie Pools' request for written assurances that the Wheat Board's pricing and marketing system will be protected under GATT or the FTA? Will it strengthen Article 11 so these marketing boards can continue to operate as they have for years and years?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the GATT has been in existence since 1947. I am not quite sure how long the Canadian Wheat Board has been in existence.

Mr. Mayer: Since 1935.

Mr. Crosbie: Since 1935. However, I can assure the hon. gentleman that Article 11 of the GATT is not going to be changed without our consent because there has to be consensus. All 96 countries would have to agree. We have no intention of agreeing to anything that would endanger the Canadian Wheat Board in any way, shape or form.

* * *

[*Translation*]

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

USE OF NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—POSITION OF PRIME MINISTER

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Right Hon. Prime Minister. First, I would like to inform him that it is not the Government's position that we are disputing, but rather the contradictory position taken by his Secretary of State.

I would like to ask the Prime Minister to explain how his Government plans to play two fiddles at the same time and for how long. How can he say that he is against the notwithstanding clause, while his Secretary of State says that the clause is vital? Their statements are clearly contradictory; one does not need a dictionary to see that. One is against the clause and the other says it is vital. Might I remind the Prime Minister that, although he may have inherited the notwithstanding clause from his predecessor, it was he who appointed the

Secretary of State of Canada and therefore he who must assume full responsibility for that appointment.

I ask the Prime Minister to explain why he has not yet asked the Secretary of State for his resignation since the Secretary of State has not had the courage to hand it in.

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the implications raised by this issue will be looked at very closely by the people of Quebec. Quebecers are taking a closer look at the way the Liberal MPs are formulating their questions. The position I have taken on behalf of the federal Government is clear and constitutes an ongoing, coherent policy on the protection of minorities.

The Secretary of State made a few statements on the use of the notwithstanding clause. It is true that the Secretary of State considers the notwithstanding clause to be a key, or vital, means of protection for the Government of Quebec, which is responsible for the protection of the French fact, not only in Canada, but across North America. In my opinion, his position is a legitimate one since the clause was allowed by the previous federal Government.

The position of the Secretary of State is that the clause is vital because Quebec, having been excluded, has not yet been reintegrated. Once the Meech Lake Accord is signed and Quebec integrated in the constitutional fold, Quebec will enjoy the same protection as that enjoyed by other minorities across Canada. In view of this, the Member from Shefford will undoubtedly want to encourage all federal Liberal MPs to actively support all of the provisions contained in the Meech Lake Accord.

POSITION OF SECRETARY OF STATE—GOVERNMENT
POSITION

Hon. Jean Lapierre (Shefford): Mr. Speaker, I have no problem. When there was a vote in this House on the Meech Lake Agreement, I stood up like the great majority of my colleagues and supported the Agreement. But in fact, Mr. Speaker, I hope the Prime Minister does not want to link the two things, because he himself yesterday said there should be no link between Bill 101 and the Meech Lake Agreement. I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether he changed his views since yesterday.

Mr. Speaker, I am asking the Prime Minister how he can accept that his Secretary of State squarely contradicts him, despite the bonds of friendship, all the so-called cabinet solidarity, and why he lets the Secretary

of State try and sing the tune of his pro-PQ wing while he speaks otherwise? What I want to know is this: Is there one truth or is there two truths—one for the Prime Minister and another to suit his Secretary of State?

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, in 1981—82, after the Constitutional negotiations, Quebec was left out, isolated and humiliated by the then Liberal Government. Since that time, Quebec has been coping with that reality. One of the realities is that in the course of that unfortunate constitutional negotiation, the then Central Government granted provinces the “notwithstanding” clause. Premier Peterson had not asked for it, Premier Bourassa had not asked for it—it was granted by the Government at that point. With Quebec still excluded from the Constitution this Government, with the support of the other Party Leaders, tried to find a formula that would bring Quebec back into the Canadian constitutional fold, that would allow Quebec’s full participation in the Canadian constitutional decision-making process. Once—

An Hon. Member: We supported that.

Mr. Mulroney: Yes, you are right. The Hon. Member supported that. Once it has achieved its goal of cultural security within a united Canada with full participation in the constitutional decisions, there is no doubt, as its Premier indicated, the Province of Quebec will be ready of course to review the “notwithstanding” clause that was granted to it in 1981, because once Canada is unified, with Quebec playing its full role in the Canadian decision-making process, there will be no more need for override provisions such as the clauses that were granted in 1981—1982.

* * *

[English]

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

NEPAL—DETENTION OF CANADIAN CITIZEN

Mr. Joe Fontana (London East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. About two months ago Mervin Budd of London, Ontario, was arrested in Nepal for preaching Christianity and has been held in prison since that time. Mervin Budd is a prisoner of conscience. He was not smuggling drugs. He did not kill anyone. All he did was express his belief in Christianity.

Oral Questions

● (1450)

In light of the fact that the Government of Nepal has endorsed the Helsinki Accords and the human rights resolution providing for the freedom of religion, will the Minister please assure the House now that everything possible is being done to ensure that this Canadian citizen will be released from prison in Nepal as quickly as possible?

[*Translation*]

Hon. Monique Landry (Minister for External Relations): Mr. Speaker, we are aware of Mr. Budd's detention. He has retained a lawyer. We asked the American consulate to offer him yesterday . . . and we are still waiting for answers.

[*English*]

REQUEST THAT GOVERNMENT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE

Mr. Joe Fontana (London East): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Minister for the answer and her assistance thus far.

Reports indicate that he may be in prison for two years before trial. Mr. Budd in a recent letter to his mother states that he is not satisfied with the help he is getting from his own Government. The Minister says that there is someone from the American Embassy perhaps assisting.

I ask the Minister again to reassure Mr. Budd's family and all Canadians that no stone will be left unturned by his own Government to make sure that this innocent man is freed? We need not the Americans to help us with this individual but our own Canadian Government.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Hon. Monique Landry (Minister for External Relations): Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell my hon. colleague that, when we do not have a consul in a given country, the normal procedure is to act through a foreign consul who has offered to help us.

The American consulate was supposed to meet with Mr. Budd yesterday and to report to us afterwards. But, after experiencing communication problems in that remote area, we will probably get more information today.

I would also like to tell my hon. colleague that he can rest assured that the Canadian Government will assume

all its responsibilities and give Mr. Budd the help he needs.

* * *

[*English*]**AGRICULTURE****DROUGHT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM**

Mr. Ray Funk (Prince Albert—Churchill River): Mr. Speaker, my question is addressed to the Minister of Agriculture. Given the fact that thousands of farm families are still waiting for their drought assistance cheques which he promised them so that they could pay the bills piling up on their kitchen tables, and given the fact that not a dollar of the \$850 million promised to grain farmers by the Minister of Agriculture appears in the Supplementary Estimates for 1988-89, could the Minister please tell the House whether he is still haggling with his provincial counterparts over this money? Or is he finally able to tell us when farmers and their bankers will be getting this money?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, we announced and signalled to the agricultural community as soon as we possibly could, the extent of the magnitude of the drought program and the need to have it put in place as quickly as possible so that farmers could arrange their financial affairs in an appropriate fashion.

The forms are close to being ready for being sent out to the producers. We hope that they will be out in the next week or 10 days. Everything is proceeding as it should, consistent with the program that was announced.

TIMING OF PAYMENTS

Mr. Ray Funk (Prince Albert—Churchill River): Mr. Speaker, since obviously the Minister of Agriculture does not have much more idea today about when this money will be coming out than he did 10 days ago, I would like to address a supplementary question to the Prime Minister.

In light of the genesis of this program which was announced ten days before the election, and which was reconfirmed in the House two days before the Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, by-election, could the Prime Minister tell us when he is planning to call the Beaver River by-election so that farmers and, indeed the Prime

Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, will know when this money is coming?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I must say I find the Hon. Member's representations somewhat inconsistent. As I recall, New Democratic candidates all over the country during the election campaign were calling for an announcement for drought. We gave them the announcement for drought, and now they are complaining about it.

As I said in a reply earlier to another member of the New Democratic Party, I regret they are disappointed that we made the announcement and that we are helping farmers. I really regret that very much.

* * *

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S SCHEDULED MEETING WITH FEDERATION OF MUNICIPALITIES

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Deputy Prime Minister as well. It relates to the fact that the Deputy Prime Minister is going to be meeting next month with representatives of the Canadian Federation of Municipalities to discuss the funding of municipal infrastructure.

I would like to ask the Deputy Prime Minister if he would advise the House whether this meeting is an indication that there has been a change in policy on the part of the Government, whether the Government is now prepared to fund municipal roads and sewers? Or is this meeting merely a public relations exercise?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, no, there has been no change in government policy on this matter. I and the Minister of Finance and other Ministers stated our position very clearly, that believed that this was a provincial and a municipal responsibility, and we could not provide the kind of funding of the magnitude that the Liberal Party could fund. That was made consistent right across the country.

I indicated to the President of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities that I was prepared to meet with him, but at no time was there ever any commitment

or suggestion of a commitment for funding. That remains the position of the Government.

* * *

HOUSING

ONTARIO—EXTENT OF FEDERAL COMMITMENT

Mrs. Beryl Gaffney (Nepean): Mr. Speaker, I wish to return to the matter of federal support for housing in Ontario. My question is for the Minister responsible for housing.

On Tuesday the Minister said, and I quote from *Hansard*:

Let me say at the outset that my predecessor did not make a commitment to add an additional 7,000 subsidized housing units. That statement is factually incorrect.

I have in my hand a copy of the official news release of January 28, 1988, by the former Minister responsible, the Hon. Stewart McInnes, and the Housing Minister of Ontario, Chaviva Hosek, and I quote from it: "121 non-profit housing groups in 79 Ontario municipalities have received approval to develop 6,990 residential units in 1988 under the federal-provincial non-profit housing program".

Will the Minister responsible for housing admit that his statement on Tuesday was wrong? Will he make the commitment today to provide the funds for the number of housing units promised to the Ontario Government and the people of Ontario?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr. Speaker, no, I will not change my statement from Tuesday. In 1986 this Government in co-operation with the provinces decided how they would handle the funding of the non-profit housing situation. At that time there were certain moneys allocated and dollars allocated to the social program aimed at those most in need. That was a decision of the Government at that time.

I notice that it is the provincial Government that makes the commitments. It makes the commitments based on the moneys available. The provincial Government made the commitments, used up all the money, and is now back asking for more money. It knew exactly what the amount of money was, as indicated by a letter from the Deputy Minister of Housing from the Ontario Government in January. If the Minister of Housing in

Oral Questions

Ontario made those commitments, she should meet them.

FEDERAL COMMITMENT

Ms. Beryl Gaffney (Nepean): Mr. Speaker, that is simply not good enough.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Gaffney: The news release that is right here was a joint news release by both the Minister of Housing and Ms. Hosek. Why will the Minister and the Government of Canada not keep its promise? Surely the Government has a responsibility to keep its word. It is not doing it.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr. Speaker, that is not factually correct.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Copps: It is your own news release.

Mr. McDermid: This Government committed dollars to the social housing program across this country, and every single dollar has been spent.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for LaSalle—Emard, and I ask a single question given the time.

Mr. Masse: The new chief.

Mr. Martin (LaSalle—Émard): I would not join your Party, let alone become your Leader.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

● (1500)

Mr. Boyer: We do not want you and we do not need you.

Mr. Speaker: Given the constraints of time, I would ask the Hon. Member to put his question directly.

* * *

[Translation]

FREE TRADE

DEFINITION OF SUBSIDY

M. Paul Martin (LaSalle—Émard): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of International Trade.

Yesterday, in answer to a question by the Hon. Member for South Western Nova on the possibility of obtaining a definition of what is a subsidy in the context of free trade, the Minister said, and I quote:

[English]

“The omens are not good about agreement... Perhaps over the next five to seven years we will be able to”.

[Translation]

My question is as follows: Does the Government agree to terminate the agreement if a definition acceptable to Canada is not agreed to within seven years?

[English]

My second question, in case the Minister has a little difficulty understanding me—

Some Hon. Members: Order.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister.

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the hon. gentleman for his election to the House. I can advise him that he is neither wanted in our Party nor would he be needed as Leader, as we have a Leader for the rest of the century.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: The hon. gentleman may find a vacancy at the top of his own Party. It has been vacant now for four years.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, in response to the main body of the Hon. Member's question, we do not know whether the negotiations to find common definition of trade distorting subsidy will be successful or not. In the history of the world there has never been a successful negotiation to that end, but we will give it our best effort.

I am delighted to see that the Hon. Member got his Party's chief financial officer to work on his leadership campaign. He will need him.

Mr. Speaker: I know that, given the fact that one issue took up a great deal of time, Hon. Members will co-operate in letting the Hon. Member for New Westminster—Burnaby have her first question in this session.

SOCIAL SECURITY**FAMILY ALLOWANCES**

Ms. Dawn Black (New Westminster—Burnaby): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. The Minister is aware that there are more than one million Canadian children living in poverty. He is responding to their desperate need with a miserly 36-cent increase in family allowances this January. In fact, that is a cut in the real value of family allowances.

During the election my Party called for a 20 per cent increase in family allowances and the refundable child tax credit. Will the Government consider making that increase as a real first step in dealing with the desperate problem of child poverty?

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I answered a similar question earlier in this session. Let me point out two things to the Hon. Member. The reduction of poverty, particularly as it affects Canadian children over the last four years, is obviously what the Government and I think Canadians generally are pleased with. We would like to see more, but that statistic is something I want to point out to the Member.

Second, the other day I gave figures on the increases for Canadian families, particularly those low income groups, relating to the family allowance and the child tax credit. I was incorrect in some of those figures because they were, in fact, higher than the ones I gave to the House. The total benefits that the Hon. Member refers to, from 1986, with actual full indexation, was an increase of \$370.32.

While it was not in the legislation, there was a substantial increase in the child tax credit included in the terms of the budgetary provisions of the Minister of Finance. I think every social policy agency argues that the child tax credit is the way to go. We have expanded that dramatically.

The Hon. Member should look at that side of the ledger. She will find a substantial increase well beyond any inflationary figure.

Mr. Speaker: I regret to advise the Hon. Member that, given the time, I will do everything I can to get her second question in, perhaps tomorrow. She might discuss this with her Whip.

Business of the House

Mr. Friesen: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. May I ask unanimous consent of the House to table a report?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

INTERPARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

TABLING OF REPORT OF CANADIAN GROUP OF
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Mr. Benno Friesen (Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 101, I have the honour to present to the House in both official languages the report of the Canadian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, report of the official parliamentary delegation which represented Canada at the Interparliamentary Conference in Sofia, Bulgaria, September 19 to September 24.

I want to add that the Canadian group is proud of the notable accomplishments by our delegation led by Senator Nathan Nurgitz. Canada's proposal to amend the rules to ensure that the Union's executive committee always includes at least two women parliamentarians was adopted unanimously.

Second, Senator Joan Neiman was elected to the union's committee which monitors and investigates violations of human rights of parliamentarians throughout the world. The essential work of this committee, which will now have direct Canadian input, deserves the support of all parliamentarians.

* * *

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

WEEKLY STATEMENT

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order to ask the Deputy Government House Leader the usual question which will enable him to give us a statement of government business for the next period of days.

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I wish to advise the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

House that for the balance of the day the House will continue consideration of third reading of Bill C-2, the legislation to enact to Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

The Opposition has quite properly stated its intention to prolong debate at third reading. Therefore, I give notice that at the next sitting of the House, immediately before the Order of the Day is called for resuming debate on the motion standing in the name of the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) for third reading of Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, and on any amendments proposed thereto, I will move that the debate shall not be further adjourned.

Tomorrow we will proceed with the motion of closure and complete debate at third reading of Bill C-2, probably at one o'clock a.m. Saturday, December 24.

During Motions under Routine Proceedings tomorrow, after discussion with my colleagues opposite, we will propose a motion without debate, the effect of which will be to adjourn the House to the call of the Chair for the purpose of receiving a Message from the Senate respecting the giving of Royal Assent to the said Bill, and that immediately following Royal Assent on the said Bill a motion to rescind the Order of the House of December 16, 1988, respecting sitting hours shall be deemed to have been moved by a Minister of the Crown, and the Speaker shall forthwith deem such motion adopted, in keeping with the undertaking we gave during debate, and shall adjourn the House for a reasonable time.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

[English]

**CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT**

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed consideration of the motion of Mr. Crosbie that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be read the third time and passed.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): When the House rose at one o'clock, the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy) had the floor.

• (1510)

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Thank you, Madam Speaker. The Government has just brought in another motion of closure. The Deputy House Leader in his former life must have been a doorman in a steam bath. He is using closure so often, he does nothing but close the doors and not open them.

One of the initial casualties of this agreement has been the rights and obligations of this Government to act as the trustee and guardian of parliamentary procedures. This has been thrown to tatters and shovelled into the dustbin of history. Other precedents have been established in the last week and a half that will substantially distort future proceedings of this House for many generations to come. We regret that the haste and indecency with which the Government has proceeded upon this legislation has forced it to use these measures.

I keep coming back to the question that many Canadians have, "What was the point of these measures? What was the motivation that prompted this intense, unfeeling and insensitive distortion of the parliamentary system?" We were told it was because the Opposition would stop it all. There was a paranoia on the other side that there would be a wholesale onslaught from the trenches. The Government never gave us a chance to present the amendments we wanted to present so that it could see there was nothing in those amendments that was designed to contradict the agreement but simply to improve it. We recognize that there is a majority. We are not subject to any illusion, but we felt there were deep concerns on the part of many Canadians that had to be answered. We constructed amendments in that light. If the Government had given us a chance, followed the normal procedure and opened up report stage so we could have had the opportunity to table those amendments, it would have seen that the whole intent and purpose was not to obstruct but to improve.

I want to indicate to the House, the Government and Canadians what they are missing. This could have been a much improved piece of legislation without doing any damage to its intent.

Where do we begin? We begin with an amendment that called for the establishment of a special committee of the House that would have the responsibility of examining the implementation of the Bill. It would provide a forum for Canadians to come forward and make their concerns heard. It would lay before the House an annual report as to the effectiveness of that

implementation. Is there anything subversive in that? Is there anything designed to place dynamite under Parliament by asking that there be a parliamentary committee established to monitor and watch over what is taking place? We had evidence today of why it was necessary. The Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) said he was not sure that the negotiations on subsidies would be successful. Surely we have a right to understand why, to have officials come forward to set out their concerns and parameters. The only response we heard back was that they could send it to one of the standing committees.

Let me pass on my experience in those standing committees with a government majority. Last summer the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade was seized with the examination of Bill C-130. When we put forward a motion to ask that the committee be allowed to travel throughout Canada in order to give Canadians the opportunity to make their case, it was voted down by that majority. That is what this Government wants us to trust, a majority on the committee that knows no restraint and simply follows the bludgeoning hammer designed to run legislation through.

That is why we felt it was essential that there be a committee with a stated mandate as part of the legislation. That is not so unusual. We have done it with the intelligence security committee where we had a mandate. We have always provided an assurance that on something as important as this there would be an opportunity to be heard. That was accompanied by another amendment that there be a form of sunset clause, that after three years this Parliament be seized with the full scope of the agreement and be allowed to judge its impact, ramifications, and consequences for Canadians.

We heard the Minister for International Trade this morning wax incomprehensibly. He tried during his presentation to indicate that there were going to be benefits. That is a judgment call. He ended his comments by saying that the committee should be allowed to judge. Let us take that at face value. If they are going to be allowed to judge, then they need to have facts upon which to make a judgment. The only way they can get facts is if Parliament has an Opportunity to examine those issues and determine whether the agreement is working the way the Government said it would.

There is nothing in this amendment that in any way subverts the legislation. It makes it better. It gives Canadians an opportunity to be heard. It ensures that

Parliament will be the ultimate judge as to whether this agreement is working.

I say to the Conservative Members of Parliament, to the back-benchers, do you see something highly treasonable in that particular amendment? Is it so bad that the Government had to bring in closure to prevent us from bringing it to the floor of the House? Is there something so iniquitous about Parliament looking at this important agreement that would motivate the Government to use Draconian measures to prevent any debate whatsoever? Any fair-minded person would have to say no.

Here are other examples of amendments that are important to submit. There is an amendment which said that under Clause 4, for greater certainty, nothing in this Act or agreement would preclude the continuation of existing or the establishment of new adjustment programs to help firms and workers adjust to the changing results from the implementation of the agreement. Horrors! Imagine the nerve of the opposition putting forward an amendment that Canadians have the right to choose whether they will help workers or communities that are dislocated by this agreement? Is that not an awful thing to do? Is it not terrible that this will not see the light of day on the parliamentary table because it was so contrary to the spirit of the agreement?

There is awfully good evidence as to why it is necessary. We have seen it in front of us today. Colleagues of mine have brought to the Speaker's attention a series of dislocations already taking place. My friend from High Park has already talked about a factory in his riding. My friend from Winnipeg North Centre has had Canada Packers close down in his riding. We have the horrible example given by the Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) and the close of the Gillette plant. Those are examples. They are *prima facie* evidence.

Of more concern is the underlying fallacy in the argument of the Government that this agreement will create so many jobs that we will have no need for adjustment programs. That has been the defence they have been using. Let me counter that with a couple of specific points. First, the Macdonald Royal Commission which, in a sense, fathered or mothered this agreement, whichever term one would like to employ, said that essential to any trade agreement with the United States would be a massive undertaking of adjustment programs. Do you know why it said that? It is because in testimony before the Macdonald Royal Commission, one Simon Reisman, the mouth that walks, had suggested clearly that if we were to sign an agreement with the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

United States, we would need to have a transition adjustment insurance program for workers.

• (1520)

I have heard Simon Reisman's name used in sacred terms by members of the Government, St. Simon himself, the author of this agreement, the man who will win the humanitarian of the year award from the B'nai B'rith for his felicitous, kind words during the election campaign, that great public servant, of course, not interfering in a partisan way in the election campaign. St. Simon himself has said that one of the essential ingredients of any trade agreement is the inclusion of an adjustment program, but the Government did not see fit to include it. Why would it have even the slightest hesitation in accepting an amendment of this kind? The Americans presumably would not be upset, but maybe they would.

Then I take you to the testimony of Gordon Richard, the deputy trade negotiator, who when he appeared before the committee last summer, was faced with a question on the very same amendment. He explained to the committee that one of the reasons the amendment could not be accepted is that under the agreement, future adjustment programs would be vulnerable to counterattack by the United States. We would be subject to countervail by any industry or group that received a new adjustment program.

Now we understand why the Government does not want amendments dealing with adjustment. It did not want to face the truth and reality which is, in the words of its own official, that the agreement itself would preclude the establishment of new adjustment programs. I say in all honesty, it is cruel not to have an amendment like this in the Bill because workers will be affected, people will be put out of jobs and communities will be closing down.

That Mickey Mouse program that the Minister of Employment calls the Canadian Jobs Strategy has been criticized by the House of Commons committee itself. The Tory members of the committee said it is not working. Its budget has been cut back by 30 per cent or \$500 million. It is a total failure in providing decent training for Canadians from one coast to the other. Its unemployment insurance program has new severance rules which prevent older workers from getting decent training. It is not a proper support for those workers and it is cruel and inhumane to throw workers on the scrap heap simply because this Government is afraid of what the United States might do to it under this agreement.

Similarly, we moved other amendments, and we would have moved others given the opportunity. Have you seen anything so far that upsets the apple cart, Madam Speaker? Hardly. We wanted to put forward another amendment which said that for greater certainty, nothing in the Act or agreement shall be so interpreted as to affect the continuation of existing or the establishment of new Canadian social programs including health care systems, unemployment insurance, child care, pensions minimum wage, labour law, maternity benefits and so forth. Is there something wrong with saying that in the Bill, greater certainty should be established to ensure that this agreement would not lead to the suppression of those programs? We have heard statement after statement made by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) indicating that no such programs will be affected, so what is wrong with entrenching in the legislation his own words? What is the Government afraid of? Why would it not want to have the Prime Minister's own words in the legislation itself?

Mr. Keyes: Maybe the U.S. does not want it?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I am receiving a great deal of assistance from my colleagues. They are a wonderful source of inspiration.

If we start looking at the evidence, we begin to know why. We already know that there have been trade actions which take direct target at many of our social programs. To wit, the United States trade law passed last August, the omnibus Trade Bill, includes within it a new definition of subsidy, something the Minister for International Trade never talked about, which said that any Canadian industry that receives a grant that is specifically targeted or can be construed to be a wage subsidy would be countervailable. That would include things like guaranteed annual incomes, even maternity benefits and assistance to the working poor. Those are the kinds of programs that any decent, humane Government may want to consider.

In order to give some protection for those programs from action by the United States, there should be something in the legislation to say this was the clear meaning of the Government of Canada. Once again, we received from the Government nothing but a deaf ear. I suggest that that makes all those brave promises and commitments made by the Prime Minister during the election campaign ring hollow. That shows just how unwilling he and Members of his front bench are in living up to their word. This has not been a strong point

of the Prime Minister. No one will ever accuse him of maintaining sacred trusts.

I believe that we have in front of us now in the commitment the Prime Minister gave during the election campaign the same kind of double dealing, the same lack of honesty that we received during the last election campaign when he said that he would not touch social programs. We have the same commitment and unwillingness to give a guarantee.

I could spend more time on that issue, but there are many of my colleagues more qualified than I to speak to this specific point. Let me go on to another form of amendment which I think is very important, an amendment which says that notwithstanding Article 103 of the agreement, the federal Government shall not compel municipal or provincial Governments to the use of override legislation to comply with any provisions of the agreement with respect to health care facilities, the management services enumerated under industrial classifications Nos. 861, 862, et cetera.

Why would that amendment be important? There are several reasons. First, the Province of Ontario has already moved legislation, Bill 147, to retain discretionary powers in this field, to ensure that under its constitutional right to decide on the form and nature and character of its health services, it could not be interfered with by anything under the agreement, but as we know, Section 103 is an override clause in the legislation giving the Government the right to come to Parliament and say that anything that contradicts the agreement, even in provincial jurisdiction, can be overridden. That effects a fundamental change in constitutional jurisdiction and the division of power without even having had a constitutional conference.

Once again, all we asked was for the Government to live up to its word and to ensure that there would be an amendment that would give clarity to the declaration of the Government that this particular part of the Bill dealing with health management services would not prevent provincial Governments from protecting the sanctity and integrity of their own health management programs. This amendment as well was not allowed to be tabled in Parliament. I suggest that once again, we have weakened the defence of Canadian provinces and Canadians in general from that kind of incursion.

I go on to suggest as well that a further amendment in the area of services is worth considering: Notwithstanding Article 1405 of the agreement, the inclusion of additional health, education or social services to the list

of covered services or the increased access provided under the terms of the agreement is subject to ratification by Parliament. Under Article 1405, Canada is committed to negotiating new services to be included under the agreement.

I am not sure how many Canadians were aware that in this new round of negotiations we are entering into, there will be a whole new list including educational services and transportation services. Anything is on the table to be included. That is important because there is a real potential for putting not only our health and social services in jeopardy but also our educational system. Under this agreement the Government could negotiate to include a whole range of educational services. That is a big part of the service industry. We know that education is absolutely crucial to the question of the Canadian identity, Canadian textbooks, software, the right to establish who teaches our children, who provides adult education and who provides those kinds of services.

• (1530)

Mrs. McDougall: Free.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The Minister of Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall), who should know these things, is all of a sudden finding out. On goes the lightbulb in the Minister's head. A Minister who is in the area of providing support for adult education should be aware of this program. I would suggest that if she is now perturbed by the knowledge that has just dawned upon her perhaps she should go back to her colleagues and say, "Maybe its time we brought in an amendment. Let us go back to committee and amend it to make it correct".

There is another example of why amendments are crucial. I want to draw to the attention of the House a series of amendments. I will not take the time to read them all but I point out that these are amendments to provide for the protection of farm marketing boards. We would ensure that all processed agricultural products containing the sum of not less than 10 per cent of Canadian farm products would be covered by the Import Control List. We would set up an inquiry board to look into the whole impact of this agreement in the horticultural, agricultural food processing industry. We would reserve the right to have import restrictions on chickens, eggs, all the feathered products. We would ensure that nothing in this agreement would alter in any

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

way the rights, the duties and the powers of the Canadian Wheat Board. We would apply certificates to the import question.

There is a whole series of amendments relating to agriculture. How was that important, Madam Speaker? First, agriculture was never supposed to have been on the table. Again the Macdonald Royal Commission said it should not be. Once again, the Macdonald Royal Commission, the bible of the trade agreement, clearly said that agriculture should be exempted because agriculture was not just a commercial enterprise. It was so mixed up in the social fabric of this country, in the stability of our rural economy, in the sense of the family farm and the kind of small town community life that to apply pure commercial criteria to it would be a serious mistake. But the Government did not listen to that. It went ahead and did it.

Now the Government has put in jeopardy a whole range of issues. If you think I am kidding, Madam Speaker, you only have to go back to the words of the Minister for International Trade today or to the GATT meetings in Montreal last week. What did he say? He said that the Western Grain Transportation Agreement, perhaps the most important subsidy to western Canadian farmers, is now on the negotiating table. He is prepared to wipe it out. He is prepared to negotiate it away. He does not care. That is part of the commercial judgment.

He does not understand, even though he is a former Minister of Transport, how essential that is to the continuation of a certain way of life in western Canada, to say nothing of our grain economy. Because the Government has committed itself in an agreement very explicitly to follow without hesitation the line of thinking and the ideology of the United States in this area, it has committed itself to wholesale attack on a large number of programs that provide real stability in our agricultural sector.

Members opposite may protest that, but I say to them, "don't protest. Accept the amendments". That is all they have to do. They can show good faith. Accept these amendments and we know that the Government will be able to live up to its word. We will not argue. All the Government has to say is, "Okay, those amendments are once again reflective of commitments that were made during the campaign". Is it not interesting that what was said up to November 21 has been quickly forgotten in late December? All those fine protestations seemed to have vanished like the winter wind. We know the reason. There is an agenda for a wholesale attack on

these programs. One by one they will be picked off; first the cherry plum pickers. Off they go, one by one.

I go back to the point I made earlier. Where can Canadians find out? Who will they be able to talk to about these secret negotiations that are going on, negotiations on services, on subsidies and on technical standards? These are all things that my friend the Hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Crawford) spoke to last night in a very effective way. Because this Parliament has not been given any right to consider it, once again we are being denied those privileges.

I have a few more examples, Madam Speaker. One, I think, is absolutely crucial, and that is the role of the Canadian International Trade Tribunal. That will become a very important agency in this Government. It will be responsible for undertaking all the various action disputes between ourselves and the United States. One of the real fantasies perpetrated during the campaign was the concept of secure access. I read all those documents from the Business Alliance and from the Canadian multivariate conglomerate for the preservation of corporate culture in Canada, whatever it was that was spending all that money on newspaper ads. What was the headline? "John Turner is lying, the Liberals are lying. This is a great agreement because it gives security of access to Canadians".

An Hon. Member: The Minister said the opposite.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Now who is lying? We had the Minister in the House this morning admit that there is no security of access. In fact, U.S. trade law will still apply. U.S. trade organizations will still have the right to countervail, to take action. All we have is a puny, minor, miniscule little review agency which is simply going to do the job that is already being done by the International Court of Trade.

In return for that Rube Goldberg machine that was introduced by this Government as part of the agreement, what did we give up? Access to the GATT to challenge U.S. trade law. We gave up perhaps the most important protection for Canadians, one that we would not simply have the right to challenge whether the law was fairly applied. We have given up the right to challenge U.S. trade law itself. Is that what this Government calls secure access? Let me give some mechanics. Under this review mechanism the U.S. industry will have enhanced powers to attack Canadian industry. The omnibus Trade Bill gives the Americans the right to petition the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government will do all the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

research for them. It does not cost them a cent. Harassment will have a field day. Why bother having to compete with Canadians when all you have to do is go to your friendly U.S. trade commission and say, "We want to take a trade action against a Canadian exporter" and the commission will do all the work for them, pay for all the research, the high-priced lawyers, run it through the commission, all expense-free?

Mrs. Finestone: And Canadians have to pay themselves.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): That is exactly the point. We do not have a similar kind of role. That is why our amendments give the right of Canadian industry to petition the International Trade Tribunal to get the same kind of assistance to examine U.S. imports into Canada to determine whether they are being unfairly subsidized. At least we should have equal power, equal status and equal rights to those of American industries. If the Americans are going to harass us, we should have the same right to harass them.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Center): This Government, as it has shown in the past four years, negotiates on its knees. It is not prepared to give Canadians the same right or grant them the same kind of assurances that they are prepared to let their American counterparts give. We have seen it so often in so many ways. My colleague from Mount Royal in the field of communications can tell you just how unfair a balance that is.

What do we recommend, Madam Speaker? One of our amendments state that the International Trade Tribunal be given that right. Is there something horribly treasonous about Canadian business people having the same right as their American counterparts to go before their own trade tribunal to examine whether the U.S. is unfairly subsidizing American products and then asking for the Canadian Government to help them out?

I would plead guilty in a court of law if I really thought that was an act of criminality. All I say is that it demonstrates why we as Liberals have a much better understanding of how the trade process works. We are not motivated simply by this subservient, servile kind of attitude that if the American Congress says it is right we simply say, "Yes, Sir, Mr. President".

• (1540)

There was a further amendment of direct concern to my colleague from the Thunder Bay area. On two occasions this week that new Member has brought to the attention of the House and of the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) the fact that the softwood lumber tax is now having a devastating effect upon the entire industry in northern Ontario, and that could be expanded to right across the country. That is a 15 per cent tax.

I will not tire the House with memories of Christmas past, but I do recall with some nostalgia the former Minister for International Trade who, during the election campaign, was a well paid commentator for the CBC. During the Christmas season two years ago, when faced with an American challenge on our softwood lumber products, rather than going to GATT and challenging it to prove that its law was accurate, went down to Washington to negotiate. We were hanging on every word out of Washington over the Christmas season to see what type of miracle would come forward on Christmas Eve. Unfortunately, when the cameras beamed in on Washington, the Minister was not there. She was in Hawaii on the beach negotiating in long-distance terms. The end result was clear to see. We got one of the most curious, strange and unorthodox solutions in the history of Canadian trade. The Minister emerged from a beach hut to announce a major victory for Canada. She said: "Ladies and gentlemen, we have put a 15 per cent tax on ourselves". Canadians rose up with wild hurrahs and said: "What a brilliant move by that Minister of Trade".

At that time the price of the Canadian dollar in relation to the American dollar was 75 cents. It is now 84 cents. Not only have we added a 15 per cent tax, but an extra \$700 or \$800 million of additional cost in lost markets to the softwood lumber industry. As a result, they are closing down.

The Minister of Trade sees no evil, hears no evil, and believes no evil. He walks around like a three-headed monkey saying: "I do not know what is going on. Why should I care?" All we suggest in our simple amendment is that Article 2009 in the agreement shall be deemed to be of no force or effect in Canada. That would simply eliminate the grandfathering of the softwood lumber tax. That means that we would have an opportunity to renegotiate or, even more importantly, challenge the United States in front of the GATT. We know full well that the trade law upon which that decision was based would be struck down by the GATT. It is an unfair

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

trade law, and simply because the United States asserts it to be fair in its own jurisdiction is no reason why we must accept it. This grandfathering prevents us from doing it. It prevents Canadian softwood lumber producers from getting fair and proper appeal to an iniquitous tax which is forcing people out of work.

I say to Members of the House, why should we not at least move an amendment to take this out of the agreement, in order that we can put our own softwood lumber producers back in the ball game? Give them a chance, and at least get back at the negotiating table, and if that does not work, at least go back to the GATT and challenge it there. This closes the door forever and ever.

All economists predict that the exchange rate will continue to rise once the agreement goes into place because there will be pressure for harmonization. Mr. Cohen, the former Deputy Minister of Finance, stated after the election—he did not quite get to say it during the election—of course we will be harmonizing exchange rates, tax rates, and social programs. The end result will be that the type of desperation faced by softwood lumber producers in northern Ontario will be shared by British Columbia, the Maritimes, Quebec, and all other places where that most important industry is in the country.

We are only a few hours away from a Christmas season where perhaps even Tory hearts are somewhat sensitized. The Member for Thunder Bay—Nipigon (Mr. Comuzzi) points out that close to 420 workers will be affected by the Great West Forest Products lay-off on Christmas Eve, and there will be more to come.

Here we have an accommodation: no new adjustment programs, grandfathering of the softwood lumber clause in the agreement, and locking in a new negotiation on subsidy. Talk about putting handcuffs on the Canadian industry. The Government states that it wants Canadian industry to go forward and compete, to thrive, and to show its entrepreneurship. It is the Government that is putting a padlock on its fortunes. It is the Government that is putting it into a box. It is the Government that has bound the softwood lumber industry to a form of perpetual damnation in the tax system.

Those are only a small selection of amendments that we are dealing with. My friend, the Hon. Member for Davenport (Mr. Caccia), and others, will deal with the question of how it affects the environment. My friend, the Hon. Member for Algoma (Mr. Foster), will be dealing with the question of agriculture. My friend, the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone), will

be dealing with questions of culture and communications.

Under the agreement textiles were to be a great breakthrough. I can remember meeting with the Canadian apparel manufacturing institute and others here who stated that the Government had told them if they signed the agreement that it will be open sesame, and there will be all these new markets. Once again the Government talks about having confidence in your country, go forward and multiply, be smart, and be competitive. What did the Government do in the agreement? It signed an agreement which put quotas on the amount of fabric that the apparel manufacturers could use from Third World countries, even though it knew that one of the underlying basic foundations of the apparel industry is its ability to bring in fabrics from Third World countries, process and manufacture them here in Canada to put a strong fashion imprint on them, and then be able to sell them abroad.

The Government of free enterprise and entrepreneurship has said it will not let the industry buy those fabrics, and that it will put a quota on them. If the apparel industry goes ahead and attempts to avoid any form of duty remission, the American Government will have the right to apply a penalty against our manufacturers. That is written into the agreement.

Mr. Flis: That is their concept of free trade.

Mr. Foster: They took the shirt off our back.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Then the Government states that if we go before the International Trade Tribunal maybe we will try to get a little lowering of that capping. Nothing has been heard since.

Of course, in the agreement it is open season for American garment manufacturers to come into Canada on their own products and do what they want. We will end up with the interesting and illogical position where Canadian apparel manufacturers will have to use American textiles, bring them into Canada and try to sell them back to the United States. That is a wonderful case of Tory economics.

The rhetoric is denied by the facts. The rhetoric and the reality do not match. The Government can use all the language that it borrows from Mrs. Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, but when it gets down to it in the agreement itself the Government has put a series of strait-jacket on Canadian industry and enterprise. That is why we wanted to move amendments to try to clarify

and at least give the Canadian textile and garment people a fair chance.

Some Hon. Members: A level playing field.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): A level playing field is the correct term, and I thank my colleagues for that suggestion.

Before I leave, Madam Speaker, I can see that you are deeply engrossed in the examination of the Bill, I wish to recall for the newer Members of the House that we had an interesting exchange, over approximately two years, about whether culture was on or off the negotiating table. We were given assurances, including assurances by way of sworn testimony, that that would never even be considered; that it would never be accepted. But the Government then played a little sleight of hand. They said: No, we didn't negotiate culture, but we did negotiate cultural industries.

• (1550)

By changing the terminology, they make it right.

And we have, therefore, a whole series of impositions—impositions that will have a direct impact upon our printing industry, among others. We have eliminated the tax exemptions which prevail for that industry, with the result that a large amount of job printing will now take place in the U.S. The same applies to advertising, to transmission rights, and so forth.

There is a whole host of very important ingredients that are essential to the maintenance of the Canadian communications industry that have been bargained away.

Also threatened is the manufacture and production of records and discs.

And then we have Clause 2005, a clause which gives the U.S. the right to countervail and counteract any future initiatives in this area.

As we have come to learn, these are not simply dead letters in the agreement. They already have an active life. We know now that government Departments are already applying standards and judgments on various programs based upon what is in the Free Trade Agreement.

The Western Diversification Office is already screening all applications for regional development grants based upon what it considers the Americans will or will not be able to countervail under the wording of the Free Trade Agreement. And you can bet that the Department

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

of Communications is doing the same thing in any planning that it is involved in. In terms of future cultural initiatives in this country, any planning will now have to be monitored and considered in accordance with the parameters set by the FTA.

This agreement sets up Jack Valenti as the new tsar of the Canadian cultural industry. It is no longer a question of simply saying "Yes, Mr. President". After the "Yes, Mr. President", we will be told: "Go to Hollywood and check with Jack." That is going to be the rule of thumb from now on for our Department of Communications.

It is not simply the legalese that is important; what is absolutely critical is the result.

In the amendments that we presented, we endeavoured to provide greater certainty, such that when and if Jack Valenti and his cohorts and colleagues and the other cadre of media moguls in the U.S. decide that they want to challenge a new Canadian initiative—for example, an initiative in respect of video tapes or books—we would at least have words in the legislation implementing the agreement that could be taken before the trade commission or the review panel to support our view of the law. In that way we could present our interpretation to the adjudicators in black and white.

If we had that type of wording in the legislation, we might have a better defence when we appear before the adjudicators; we might have greater ability to offset the countervail initiatives. But this Government refuses to even consider such an amendment.

For the life of me, I do not understand why it is this Government is prepared to give up so easily the defence of our own interests. It would be an easy matter to include in the legislation the words "for greater certainty". That is not the type of amendment that would do damage to the essentials of the agreement. And if down the road there is a challenge to a Canadian initiative in this area, we would at least have something written in the legislation reflecting the intent of the Parliament of Canada, reflecting the interpretation of the Parliament of Canada.

For the life of me, I cannot understand why this type of an amendment was not given honest and open consideration. At the very least, we should have had the opportunity of hearing the arguments from the government side as to why such an amendment should not be made.

Mrs. Finestone: It is because of Clause 2011.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Axworthy: The Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) is quite right. Under Clause 2011 we are prevented from using many of those forms.

It is evident to me that what this Government said during the election campaign is not reflected in this legislation. There is a large leap between the commitments and guarantees that were offered to Canadians and what this Government is prepared to enshrine in the Statutes of Canada to give life, meaning and force to those commitments.

This Government has been entirely negligent in refusing this Parliament the opportunity to consider amendments which could at least give some modicum of reference to the commitments the Prime Minister so gallantly made during the election campaign.

The Prime Minister was scornful in his castigation of the church groups, the women's groups, and the Opposition generally, saying that those in opposition to the Free Trade Agreement did not know what they were talking about.

The refusal by this Government to accept this type of amendment will mean that those concerns will remain. Those groups will take no assurance from Bill C-2 in respect of the deep anxiety they feel in terms of what the Free Trade Agreement means for their future. The legislation before us will in no way satisfy their concerns.

[Translation]

One must understand that the Free Trade Agreement will have a negative impact on the cultural, farm, textile, agricultural and food sectors throughout Canada and on all organizations that made representations to the Committee and to Parliament during the last Session of Parliament. The hearing process is over, finished. There is no reason to disregard the amendments proposed by these organizations.

Also, Madam Speaker, I am appalled by the indifference of the Conservative Government *vis-à-vis* these organizations.

[English]

The purpose of the amendments was simply to provide some support, some succour, some sense of assurance to the organizations which have these concerns about the Free Trade Agreement—and they are in the majority.

The flavour reflected in the amendments is only one indication of the near inability on the part of this Government to understand what is going on out there.

While they like to pride themselves on being the hard two-fisted representatives of the business community, they don't understand what is going on out there. Perhaps they turned their hearing aids off as they went door to door during the election campaign. Whatever happened, they were not listening very well. They weren't listening to those Canadians who were lamenting for our nation.

These are not Canadians who are motivated by partisan feelings. Those to whom I spoke were ordinary Canadians, people not having particular ties to one Party or another. I heard high school students saying that, in the light of the Free Trade Agreement, they were mourning for their country.

When you have an 18 year old telling you that he is mourning for his country, that he is feeling that his future is being mortgaged—and those were the words they used—

Ms. Dobbie: Only because you are telling them that their future is being mortgaged.

Mr. Axworthy: I hear the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South (Ms. Dobbie) saying that they held this view mainly because of what they were being told. Well, it shows a great sense of confidence in the young people of Canada to think that they could be so easily manipulated!

I say to the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South that she will find out soon enough that Canadians cannot be manipulated. In fact, if any manipulation did take place, it was by Hon. Members opposite. I saw the kind of literature that she put out, and I can tell the House that she is going to pay a big price for that.

An Hon. Member: A one-time Member.

Mr. Axworthy: I saw the Chamber of Commerce literature that was flooding Winnipeg South, claiming that we have secure access—and oh, what a total lie that was; what a total fabrication that was. Talk about manipulation!

An Hon. Member: What about the stories to seniors?

Mr. Axworthy: We are hearing now remarks from the Tory back-benchers. They will not face the fact that many Canadians did turn against them. They cannot understand how it is that they lost so many seats; how it is that they lost so many cabinet Ministers. In the light of the fact that they lost so many votes across the country as a result of the Free Trade Agreement, one

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

would think that there would be some slight twinge of conscience on their part.

The Free Trade Agreement is not an act in and of itself. The Free Trade Agreement and its implementing legislation do not stand in isolation; they are part and parcel of a new course that has been set by this Government, a course taking Canada away from its historical course, uprooting the traditions, beliefs and feelings we have held about the way in which this country can best govern itself. For some reason or other the Conservatives have seen themselves over the last two years mainly as Republicans. I guess they were sort of influenced through our media by President Reagan or Margaret Thatcher. They said: "Isn't that wonderful?" Not wanting to think about complicated matters, they followed the pattern in a simple way.

● (1600)

That is dangerous because one of the results has been that this country is being divided. This country is divided. One of the ironies is the Prime Minister saying this week: "I am the great conciliator. I am the great harmonizer". I have never seen this country more divided than it is today under that Prime Minister. Not just along traditional language or regional lines but increasingly along economic and social lines.

There is a growing underclass in Canada which feels totally unrepresented by the Government. One million children live in poverty in this country and we cannot get the Government to lift its eyes to pay attention. What is the Government's answer? Food banks. In a modern society, with the belief we have that the public sector can do something, we are prepared to tolerate widespread poverty among our children, and our only answer is to say go and visit a food bank.

That people are prepared to take food to the food banks is a wonderful tribute to volunteerism. My little boy has for four days raided the pantry for Kraft dinner and canned vegetables to go to the food bank through his daycare centre. It is a wonderful spirit. Yet that is not the way we should deal with poverty.

As Disraeli said, this is a country divided into two nations, rich and poor. What is happening here is happening in industrialized societies around the world. It is almost a revolt of the privileged. They are fighting a major action to protect their privileges and power, status and wealth, and they are not prepared to share any longer, and it is the Government that speaks for that privileged class.

Many Canadians are concerned about the role we will play in the world. I found it fascinating that one of the trademarks of the Prime Minister and others during the campaign was to talk about how this trade agreement represents Canada's coming of age, our new maturity in the world. What happened? The week after the election, the Minister for International Trade goes to GATT and gives in to the Americans. He totally adopted their position on agriculture, on trade, and we lost our role as broker. We lost our ability to provide a bridge to Third World countries. The Minister had no interest in Montreal in trying to open up links to the countries of Central or South America or East Asia. His point on agriculture was that the Americans are right, the Europeans are wrong. That is all we have heard from the Minister for International Trade and the Minister responsible for Grains and Oilseeds.

That was a signal. It means the Government is going to start snuffing out our horizons. It is inevitable that over time our horizons will shrink. The signals we send and receive will be one-way signals to Washington. Can you imagine what it will be like ten years from now?

Mr. McDermid: When you were in there the percentage of our exports to the U.S. went from 60 per cent to 80 per cent.

Mr. Axworthy: Ten years from now when a U.S. Government in the future tramples on the rights of a small country like Nicaragua or Grenada and an MP gets up and asks our Government of the day to take some stand on the fundamental rights of a small country, do you think after this trade agreement we will have the ability or will to do that?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Axworthy: They say "yes". They will not even do it now. How many times have we asked them to stand up against the economic embargo of Nicaragua and the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark) has refused time after time after time?

Mr. Boyer: You heard the Minister's position on ice cream today!

Mr. Axworthy: We have the Minister's statement on ice cream. It had all the quality of his campaign style, which was to go to university and tramp on a kid. I say to the Hon. Member that there is a difference between words and action.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: I have seen you in debate before.

Mr. Axworthy: The day that Minister actually takes some action against the Americans will be a miracle. It will make the three wise men going to Bethlehem pale by comparison simply because it will never happen. It will never happen.

Mr. Boyer: Terrible analogy.

Ms. Dobbie: Listen to the Messiah.

Mr. McDermid: Pink Lloyd.

Mr. Axworthy: We have never seen one example of that Minister or his Government standing up. Not on shakes and shingles, softwood lumber, pharmaceuticals, film distribution or cultural industries. Not once.

Mrs. Finestone: They got knee-capped.

Mr. Axworthy: They could not be knee-capped, they were on their knees. They got hit in another vulnerable part of their anatomy. I can understand why the Minister for International Trade said this morning he has an aversion to cucumbers. I fully understand why he said that. He spent too much time sort of pulling them out of various—oh, well, that is enough.

Mr. Boyer: That was going nowhere.

Mr. McDermid: You stopped just in time on that one.

Mr. Axworthy: We recognize very clearly that the horizons of this country, its ability to really play a mature role, will be snuffed out. You cannot integrate yourself economically and socially and not begin to integrate yourself politically.

Mr. McDermid: Here we go! The American hordes are coming over the 49th parallel.

Mr. Axworthy: I read a famous old text written by a great conservative philosopher, George Grant, called *Lament For a Nation*. He talked about continentalism and its impact upon this country. He talked about foreign ownership. He is not a Liberal. The Tories love to trot out Don Macdonald. I am trotting out George Grant. He is probably one of the most fascinating and interesting and fertile minds in the history of this country. He even happened to be a Tory.

Last summer, before Mr. Grant succumbed to cancer, which we all regret, he had lunch with the Leader of our Party. Guess who Mr. Grant supported in the trade debate? The author of *Lament For A Nation* said: "I

lament for my country even more in 1988 than I did back in 1964". He could see it dying on the vine. He understood what it all meant. He understood that the modern Mulroney Party no longer believes in the traditions of the Progressive Conservative Party that used to stand up for Canada. Under the leadership of people like John Diefenbaker and others, it knew what independence meant. He was not always right but he certainly knew what it meant. This particular crowd has no understanding of that concept. They have no ability to meet that kind of question.

What they are doing in this trade agreement opens the door to continentalism such that we will never be able to recover if it goes ahead.

Ms. Dobbie: The removal of trade barriers? Come on, Lloyd.

Mr. Axworthy: The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South (Ms. Dobbie) is once again showing her deep knowledge of the agreement. She is saying we are just taking down a few tariffs. That is all that is in the agreement, she says. Madam Speaker, Exhibit A is the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. I recommend it to the reading of the Hon. Member. She could probably get some help from the Minister of Trade who today admitted that he had begun reading it.

• (1610)

The Hon. Member has said that this is a matter of reducing a few tariffs, or words to that effect. Why is there Chapter Nine on energy with a whole series of changes to the National Energy Board and to the rules regarding the pricing mechanism? What does that have to do with energy?

There is another interesting chapter on investment. Somehow investment has now become tariffs.

Here is another part of the agreement. It is entitled "Financial Services". It deals with the application of national treatment toward banks, trust companies and credit unions. There is no protection at all under the rules for them. There are new negotiations opening up for inclusion on the list. This is the Hon. Member who prides herself, as a former President of the Chamber of Commerce, on really understanding business. Yet she does not know what is in the agreement. She does not have the slightest idea. She has not even read the index yet. She has not bothered with the fact that it relates to about 101 other items not dealing with tariffs.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

That is a difficulty in which Hon. Members opposite are being caught out in terms of their fabrications. They have tried to sell this, on the one hand, as a simple few changes to tariff duties. We have said all along that if it were simply some changes in the tariff duties then we would not be here today. No one would be opposing that. As Liberals we have a far more effective record in bringing down tariff duties than anything the Tories could think of. In the last 40 years the average tariff range was 50 per cent in our trade in goods with the United States. We brought it down by 2 per cent, 4 per cent and 5 per cent, depending on the commodity. That is a pretty good record.

We have had free trade in commodities such as softwood lumber until the Government imposed an export tax on it. We have never had any trouble bringing down tariffs, of carefully managing the ability of Canada to bring down trade barriers around the world. We have been a very successful interlocutor at the GATT meetings to make sure that that happened.

Mr. McDermid: What about the Auto Pact?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): The Minister for the homeless cannot remember the commitments made by his predecessors. Let us talk about the Auto Pact for a moment.

Mr. McDermid: The tariff rates came down on the Auto Pact, too.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I do not want to take up the time of the House to talk about the impact. The Minister for trade and the Minister for the homeless and other Members opposite have a habit, a bad habit which is sort of like falling hair, of treating the Auto Pact as if it were free trade. It was not. Any fool knows that the Auto Pact that was signed back in the 1960s was not free trade but a managed trade program. It had guarantees built into it. We retain the right to reapply a tariff as a penalty against any U.S. manufacturer who did not live up to the guarantees of that agreement.

Under the Free Trade Agreement we take away the tariffs and the penalties. We give an indication of open hunting to the U.S. North American manufacturers to blow us out of the water any time they want. That is what they call free trade.

Members opposite say that we have debated this for so long and that we have had so many meetings on it. Yet they show total and abysmal ignorance of what is in the agreement and what it can be used for.

In this kind of debate the ability or the willingness to respond with an important series of constructive amendments has been snuffed out. It has been thwarted. We lament that. We mourn that. We see in this agreement not just a series of economic and commercial matters but a fundamental change in the way the country is going to be governed. The agreement takes away the ability of the Government to provide for a way to respond to regional initiatives, new cultural programs and new agricultural requirements. Who knows what the future will bring? We know that the most precious instrument available to Canadians, the ability through their elected representatives in Parliament to take action on their behalf, has been eroded. It has been given away.

If we combine that with the type of decentralization that is going on through the Government's constitutional proposals, and the giving away of programs such as housing and regional development, we see that we are turning the country into a nation of shopping centres. There is no longer any central focus to it. There is no longer any dynamo at the centre to take initiatives to provide for the form of initiatives that are required.

Mr. McDermid: What total poppycock.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): All I can say to the Minister for the homeless is that he has become a motor mouth. If he would only start thinking and stop talking he would be a lot better off.

We have this type of fundamental restriction. That is one of the real dangers of the agreement. It is that it is giving away the substantial ability of ordinary Canadians to participate in decisions that will affect them.

Ms. Dobbie: Tell us how.

Mr. Harvard: Give her a short lesson.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I will give a lesson to the Hon. Member if she wants to know how. Let us start first with the area of foreign investment. It is very important for any country to retain some ability to manage investment flow into its own country. The flow of capital is absolutely essential, and also what happens to that capital.

Any self-respecting country would retain at least the right to intercede if it felt that foreign capital were simply being used as a mechanism for takeover and acquisition, and for stripping Canadian businesses of their technology, research or development. Every country does that. Even the U.S. under its various

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

defence security measures retains controls in all those vital areas, something which they are debating now.

What has happened with this agreement? We have given it away. Close to 20 per cent of industries will no longer be covered. Therefore they will no longer have the right as Canadians to say: "Wait a minute", whether it is a small business firm in Winnipeg that comes up with a new product or some group from Kansas City which wants to buy it up and say: "We will take it over". We have no right any more under this agreement to say: "But keep the technology here and the jobs here". They can strip it within 24 hours, move the technology and research back and we will never see it again. That, I say to the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South, is how this country is losing its ability to manage itself.

Mr. McDermid: I rise on a point of order, Madam Speaker. Will the Hon. Member entertain a question?

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): No, Madam Speaker. The fact is that the Minister for International Trade was less than forthcoming this morning. We simply want to follow in the example of his leadership. The fact is that the Minister for the homeless and the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South do not like what they are hearing. They cannot accept the reality of what they are hearing. They find themselves uncomfortable and uneasy. They have a bad itch where they are sitting. That does not mean to say that we will stop talking. We still have something like 36 hours, and they will hear it all. They will hear every word of it.

Mrs. McDougall: We have heard all those lies before.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Speaker, I draw your attention to a matter of privilege. The Minister of Employment has said that these are lies. That is against the rules of the House. I think we either ask the Minister to withdraw or have her withdraw from the House. I am raising that first point as a matter of privilege.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I did not hear the comment. If the Hon. Minister feels that she has said something that is unparliamentary, she will withdraw. I did not hear it personally. I cannot ask her to withdraw something which I have not heard personally.

• (1620)

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I will have the opportunity to check the "blues" or the videotapes to

see what the Minister had to say. We will reserve the right on that for tomorrow. I would say that for all the lament we have raised, there are still some very important and positive things that have come out of this debate. It has been an important experience for the Liberals as a Party. I have been proud to be in this Party with the leadership of the Hon. Leader of the Opposition and the way he conducted himself during the campaign in providing leadership to all Canadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): That is a sign for the future. That is no temporary circumstance. The election was a rare, unique, and difficult experience. The Party was able to define clearly some very important standards and objectives for itself. We were able to understand very clearly the threat we raised and some of the new contours of this society of ours. We were able to see the visible, naked exercise of power in a way that we have not seen before.

The communications industry and the media in this country have become very concentrated. Virtually all the newspapers in the country are being run by four or five large corporate empires whose owners supported free trade. The fact that their newspapers did so may not be entirely coincidental.

That should be a sign of some danger. As a Liberal Party, we felt the wrath of that kind of corporate concentration. We understand what kind of danger it poses, not just for our Party but for all future political Parties. It puts a brand new element of power in our society that seems not to have any accountability, control or sense of responsibility. There is no law that says how it can be used.

We saw the enormous weight of that power in terms of being able to spend millions of dollars of advertising without being responsible to anybody. The tax system of Canada encourages that to happen. They can write it off. The taxpayers of Canada help pay for it. It has become so concentrated. It is in the control of such a small group of people. That is one of the new contours and new characteristics of our country that we as Liberals, who have always fought for the dispersal, accountability, and responsibility of power, will have to face in the future. We will have to take a look at the laws of competition, elections, and other areas to make sure there is a measure of accountability.

Mr. McDermid: I saw Mel Hurtig's ads. I saw Maud Barlow's ads. Good old Maudie.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): It is amazing that the Minister for the homeless is so sensitive. Now he is saying that somehow the Council of Canadians, which has an individual membership of 3,000 or 4,000 people, is comparable to Alcan, American Express, or the BCNI who have enormous corporate treasuries and a tax-exemption status to draw upon. We go back to that basic standard. Do they understand what is going on in the country? Do they have any comprehension of what is taking place? The Minister has not the slightest understanding that there is a difference between groups of private citizens in this country coming together in terms of voluntary association and the power of many corporations with vast treasuries dictating and determining what is going on in this country. That is not surprising. That is why we understand what the trade deal is all about. The trade deal is a way of establishing and incorporating that power and that privilege as far as the governing structure of this country is concerned.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): This election, in defining clearly some new issues, talked about the concentration of power and how it is now being irresponsibly used to effect political decisions. It also points out the real damage we have done to this country in terms of its entrepreneurial and economic opportunity. We are beginning to see the denial of many small businesses and regions in being able to share in the wealth of this country. The impact and consequence of this agreement will be to further consolidate power in terms of the magnetic field of the market-place. It will not ensure a fair sharing throughout this country. That is a total denial of the history of Canada.

I go back to Mr. Grant's book, the conservative philosopher, who said that in a way Canada is an exception to the rules of economics and geography, working against those rules. It has been a political entity. It has been shaped by decisions of people through their own publicly-elected, democratically-elected institutions. People have had to exercise real will to decide what kind of country they want. It is that institutional opportunity that we are surrendering and giving up.

We as a group believe we have a continuing mandate in this issue, not confined just to Bill C-2 or to this particular trade agreement, but to maintain an ability to offer a different opportunity, a different set of views and

values to this country. We think they are far more in keeping with what Canadians want.

We believe that in the next four years this Government will have to look over its shoulder every step of the way, because there will always be a Question Period. There will always be a demand that it show accountability and responsibility for the act which it is incorporating in this legislation. If government Members have the slightest illusion that this is the end of the debate, that they are home free, then I say they had better go home and have a few more dreams of plum trees and Christmas trees. This is just the beginning.

We believe we have come out of this election as a stronger Party with a better definition and better able to offer Canadians a real alternative and choice for the future. We are placing this Government on notice that this is what it will face in the House.

We hope the Government recognizes that we are trustees for many Canadians who say they want Canada to come home again. They want to end the divergent, destructive course that this Government has initiated by moving into foreign waters and down pathways that it does not belong. We want to bring the country back to its roots and back to its historical traditions. We want to provide a real opportunity for all the young people who were foreign to this election, who realized for the first time they had to make a choice of what kind of country they wanted. They made a choice in large majority for the Liberal Party of Canada.

That is where young people were voting. It is that generation which will provide the next impetus, initiative, and sense of force as to where this country will go. That is why we have confidence and are fully committed to continuing to offer the kind of trusteeship for that generation to ensure the group opposite will pay the price and suffer the consequences of their actions. They will be faced with a group of people who have come here armed with far more Members and stronger voices to be able to offer that kind of comment.

By way of conclusion on this third reading, it has been a privilege for me to be a part of this debate, to help shape some points of view and to ask the questions. In light of the debate we have been through and the fact that Canadians have been denied the opportunity to have their voice heard, I would like to move, seconded by the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier), that the motion be amended by striking out all words after the word "That" and by substituting the following:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

"Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be not now read a third time, but that the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole for reconsideration of Clauses 3 through 150, inclusive."

If this amendment is accepted it will give Canadians a chance once again to be heard.

• (1630)

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Robinson: Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of order. In view of the seriousness and importance of the debate on Bill C-2, particularly at third reading, I would ask that the House grant permission to our official spokesperson, the Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon), to have equal time with the two previous Members who had the floor previously.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Speaker, the critic with the New Democratic Party has had private discussions with his colleagues in other Parties and requested extra time, but to grant equal time with the opposition Party and the Government is a little unrealistic. He made a certain commitment to us as to the extra time, but made it very clear to the House that he would not take advantage of that. I think we will just leave it at that.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Speaker, I think it would be proper and right that my colleague, the Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon), be given proper opportunity to express the case of his Party at third reading, and we would certainly be in agreement that he use the time allowed to him, subject to discretion.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Chair is in somewhat of a quandary. Is there unanimous consent to give the Hon. Member extra time, or is there a time limit? I would like the House to help me on that point.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Speaker, I suggest that the Hon. Member take his 20 minutes which he is allotted and, when that is up, ask for extra time—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

An Hon. Member: It is Christmas.

Mr. McDermid: We are following the rules of the House. Relax. At that time it will be given to him, with discretion, to which he has committed himself to us. So we will carry on as required by the orders of the House.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I do not have unanimous consent at this time. I will give the floor to the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon).

Mr. Langdon: Madam Speaker, the last time this situation arose in the previous Parliament I was told that it was not possible to ask for extra time at the end of one's 20 minutes. That is why I make the request to the House. If you were to apply a limit of 40 minutes, I think that would be certainly satisfactory to me.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Whether the Hon. Member asks for it at this time or a later time, the Chair would still need unanimous consent to grant the Hon. Member more than 20 minutes, which would now be his according to our rules.

As I do not have unanimous consent at this time—

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I understand the dilemma facing the Speaker. I would simply propose that Parties grant unanimous consent to the Member for 40 minutes to give his speech at third reading.

Mr. McDermid: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I do not have unanimous consent at this time. The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon).

Mr. Steven W. Langdon (Essex—Windsor): Madam Speaker, I regret that the Minister of State for International Trade (Mr. McDermid), despite our earlier discussions, has not giving unanimous consent to that suggestion.

I want to begin with what I believe many Canadians feel as this debate comes to a close, that is, a lament for a nation. It is a lament which was summed up not by New Democrats, not by a socialist, not by a Liberal, but by a Conservative by the name of George Grant in 1965. He said:

To lament is to cry out at the death or at the dying of something loved. This lament mourns the end of Canada as a sovereign state. Political laments are not usual in the age of progress, because most people think that society always moves forward to better things.

Lamentation is not an indulgence in despair or cynicism. In a lament for a child's death, there is not only pain and regret, but also celebration of passed good.

'I cannot but remember such things were that were most precious to me.'

Grant goes on in his opening chapter to say that he laments Canada's death as a celebration of memory:

In this case, the memory of that tenuous hope that was the principle of my ancestors. "The insignificance of that hope in the endless ebb and flow of nature does not prevent us from mourning". At least we can say with Richard Hooker: "Prosperity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream".

That is why we in this Party throughout this debate have refused to accept the silence which the Government has consistently attempted to impose not just on us as a Party, not just on the Opposition in the House, but on the people of this country.

It is a silence which it has attempted to impose through every possible rule in the book.

It is silence put upon the people of the House through the most Draconian use of the rules of closure. It is silence put upon the people of this country by the most constraining use of hearings across this country, which should normally in the course of a decision so vast and crucial to our country's future have been simply taken for granted and organized as a matter of course, so that every community across Canada would have had the chance to ask the questions, make the representations and put the points of view they as Canadians felt they had the right to put forward. We have faced not just an attempt to silence the voices of Canada. We have faced as well betrayals on the part of the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) at every stage of this debate. These betrayals have been so clear, so evident, so absolutely forthright, that they will live black throughout the rest of the history of our country.

● (1640)

In April 1987, the Prime Minister said, and I quote him exactly: "The trade remedy laws the United States cannot apply to Canada, period." Yet we find in this agreement that these trade remedy laws still apply, despite the Prime Minister's absolute commitment.

Second, quoting from *Fortune* magazine, the Prime Minister said, after he was elected: "If somebody wanted to buy a little of our water, somebody wants to buy some oil, someone wants to buy some wheat, hell, we're in business. That's what it's all about." Yet this same Prime Minister has claimed that he and his Party were attempting to do everything possible to stop the sale of water to the United States, despite those comments. I call it a betrayal.

Finally, perhaps the most unfortunate, the saddest, the blackest of his statements was: "Free trade with the United States is like sleeping with an elephant. It is terrific until the elephant twitches, and if it ever rolls

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

over, you're a dead man. Canadians rejected free trade with the United States in 1911. They would do so again in 1983."

In his campaign literature, the Prime Minister said he intended to "pursue bilateral discussions with the United States in specific sectors". That is precisely the policy of the New Democratic Party, which we were consistent in following and the Prime Minister was inconsistent in rejecting, leaving to the people of Canada a legacy of betrayal.

I do not want to fight the last election campaign, tempting though it is. I want instead to pay tribute to all our new Members who have spoken in this debate. These Hon. Members, each of them from previous Conservative constituencies, have brought to the floor of the House the concerns of Canadians. The Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands (Ms. Hunter) talked about the environmental problems which face our country as a consequence of this deal. The Hon. Member for Timmins—Chapleau (Mr. Samson) has talked about the problems which face the forests of Canada and the workers therein as a consequence of the Government's refusal to insist on a Memorandum of Understanding with respect to softwood lumber being eliminated before any trade deal is signed with the United States.

The Hon. Member for The Battlefords—Meadow Lake (Mr. Taylor) talked in detailed, effective terms about the agricultural problems which we face as a country as a consequence of this agreement. The Hon. Member for Prince Albert—Churchill River (Mr. Funk) talked with passion of the social problems which face our country in the future as a consequence of the trade deal.

Finally, the Hon. Member for Edmonton East (Mr. Harvey), the first Alberta voice speaking from other than Conservative ranks, has spoken from this caucus and has told this House that unlike what we have heard from all the Conservatives from Alberta, the energy consequences of this deal will hurt not just Canadians in central Canada, in eastern Canada and in British Columbia, but in Alberta itself.

There is not a commitment in this deal, search as the Hon. Member for Calgary Southwest (Mrs. Sparrow) might search, to guaranteed access for Alberta energy to the American market, nor is there a commitment that in the future, Canadians will be able to count on security of supply for our energy needs. That is shameful, and I

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

am proud that we have somebody from Edmonton East who can speak about it so effectively.

All of these people and many more I could have talked about have given their maiden speeches on this deal in the past week. All of them defeated Conservatives and, if I were a Conservative, I would want to listen and understand why and try to do something about the reasons which led to those defeats.

Instead, the Government has not listened. Its Minister said, before any amendment was even presented, that there can be no amendments to this Bill, before he even heard what was to be suggested by the Opposition. There was no chance to even present an amendment on behalf of this Party or the other opposition Party, because the Conservatives kept the debate at Clause 2 and imposed closure yet again on that stage of parliamentary proceedings.

We had amendments to help with all of these concerns, amendments to see to it that there was an attempt to set up a definition of Canada within the definitions clause, rather than just defining the United States.

• (1650)

A definition to deal with the override clause permits the federal Government to undercut any provincial law in the future which contradicts this trade agreement, something which will be constitutional poison in the future of this country. We had amendments to present which would have set out that there has to be something in the agreement, not just in the legislation, which prevents Canada from exporting water to the United States. We would have had an amendment to present which would have said for greater certainty, nothing in the agreement should be interpreted to adversely affect Canada's social, cultural, environmental, agricultural and regional development programs.

We would have had a very clear and explicit reference to Articles 2010 and 2011 to make it quite clear that they could not prevent social initiatives in the future as they do at the moment. We wanted to present an amendment to stop any future granting by this Government of further increases in import quotas to the United States for dairy, poultry, eggs and other marketing board products. Yet we did not have a chance to present these. We had an amendment to suggest that the Canadian Wheat Board had to be defended, that assurances had to be given by the Government, as has been requested by the prairie pools. Yet that too was not given a chance to be debated on the floor of this House, let alone the chance for representatives from the prairie

pools to testify, as should have been possible on a Bill as crucial as this one to their future and to the future of all Canadians in western Canada.

We had suggestions which we wanted to present as amendments to ensure that nothing would prevent any party, provincial, municipal or federal from taking action to protect the environment. We also wanted to see to it that the subsidies negotiation was given some constraints so that the Government could not simply run off and give away more of the country as it has given away so much in this present trade deal. That was not possible to present.

We had amendments to set up a special committee of the House to oversee what happens with these negotiations in the future on subsidies. We had amendments to suggest ways in which it would be possible to set in place legislation which would give workers who were hit in vulnerable sectors, vulnerable communities, vulnerable firms as a result of the trade deal, the chance to be able to obtain special help, something which was obtained in the context of the Auto Pact, something which we fought for as a Party to get in the context of the Auto Pact and something after we achieved permitted us to accept and support the Auto Pact.

We had other suggestions which dealt with energy which said to Canadians right across this country that energy in Canada has been paid for by tax breaks from every Canadian from east to west. Everyone has paid for the development of energy in this country. We do not have the right, for the sake of our children and our grandchildren, to give away what Canadians in the past have paid for through their taxes, the right to self-sufficiency in this country before we export to the United States.

Mr. McDermid: We are not giving away anything.

Mr. Langdon: All of these commitments we would have liked to put forward in amendments, Madam Speaker. I think it is time, as the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) said, to look ahead, to look at some of the questions that will be faced in the future. Very tough questions will have to be faced by Canadians over the next 10 years. These questions include the whole problem of adjustment.

What adjustment is going to be possible for workers? There has been no response. There has been no development of the program of older worker adjustment which was supposed to have been in place months ago and yet is not in place. What about the subsidies discussions?

These have not been reported to the House. We have no sense of which direction we as a country are taking on these discussions. Then there are threats to the Wheat Board. Again we have no suggestions from the Government in its response.

Since you have reached the 20 minute mark and the suggestion was that I ask for leave to complete my remarks which would go for another 10 or 15 minutes at this stage, I would now like to ask for unanimous consent to make that completion.

Mr. McDermid: Madam Speaker, if I ask the Hon. Member a question he would have another 10 minutes. Can I ask him to carry on with what he was going to explain to us about the future?

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Questions or comments. The Hon. Member for Essex-Windsor.

Mr. Langdon: I am sorry the Minister has not been prepared to see that his side give unanimous consent.

Mr. Barrett: On a point of order, Madam Speaker. Am I clear in interpreting that the Hon. Member was given the 20 minutes that he requested by asking leave of the House.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Once the 20 minute period expired, the Hon. Member could benefit from a 10 minute question and comment period. One question was put and the time was given to the Hon. Member for Essex-Windsor, which I have given him. We are now in question and comment period. The Hon. Member for Essex-Windsor has the floor.

Mr. Barrett: Madam Speaker, on a point of order—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): On a point of order, the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca.

Mr. Barrett: The request by the Hon. Member was leave of the House to continue for 20 minutes. That question was not put to the House before the Minister spoke. That is the request of the Member. I suggest that be put to the House first.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): If the Hon. Member had, as I did, listened to the comment made by the Minister, it was obvious that we did not have unanimous consent of the House for the Hon. Member to continue his speech for another 20 minutes. I think this has been ruled upon. We are now into the 10 minute

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

question and comment period. The Hon. Member for Essex-Windsor has the floor.

Mr. Barrett: It was not put.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The question was put.

Mr. Barrett: It was not put.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Order, please.

Mr. Barrett: The Minister stood up and made a decision before—

• (1700)

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I am sure the Hon. Member will understand that once the Hon. Member was recognized on a point of order, it gave leave for the Hon. Member to use a 10 minute period for questions and comments to continue and finish his speech. There was no doubt in my mind that there was not unanimous consent of the House for the Hon. Member to get an extra 20 minutes, which is why I ruled the way I did.

Time is moving along. I am sure no one would like the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor to lose this very useful time. The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor.

Mr. Barrett: That is a threat from the Chair.

Mr. Merrithew: Sit down. The Speaker is up.

Mr. Barrett: Do you not hear points of order? You did it on a supposition. You did not ask the House.

Mr. McDermid: You are in the big leagues now.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Chair has attempted to explain to the Hon. Member for Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca that it was obvious from the Hon. Minister's comment that there was not unanimous consent.

Mr. Barrett: You did not put the question.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor.

Mr. Langdon: I would simply echo the points made by my colleague. The usual procedure is to ask if there is unanimous consent.

Mr. Barrett: Correct.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Langdon: If there is not unanimous consent—

Mr. Mazankowski: There is not unanimous consent.

Mr. Barrett: That is what we want to know. Jackboot government, that is what you are.

Mr. Langdon: If I could respond—

Mr. Barrett: The Government brings in closure and then will not let the Hon. Members speak on top of it. That is jackboot government.

Mr. Langdon: Let me respond, if I could, to the speech of one and three-quarter hours by the Minister, and slightly longer by the Liberal critic, although the Liberals have been willing to accept a slight extension of my comments by making a number of final points.

First, one of the points the Minister made this morning is absolutely and directly inaccurate. He suggested that hospitals in Canada were government-owned. In fact, only 13 per cent of hospitals are actually owned by provinces. A further 41 per cent are owned by non-profit corporations. A significant portion of hospitals, in excess of 5 per cent, are owned by profit-making corporations. That is a reality the Minister should bear in mind.

Mr. McDermid: What is the point?

Mr. Langdon: I want to make one brief comment with respect to the Auto Pact that the Minister once again trotted out. I would have thought that dead horse was one that even this Minister would have ceased riding. The reality of the Auto Pact is that the conditions which exist within it make it something completely different from the Free Trade Agreement we are discussing today.

I wish to conclude with some final pledges on behalf of our Party. First, I want to say to the United States that it may feel that it has succeeded in capturing what it wanted from Canada. There will be at least one Party in the House of Commons that will watch every step the United States takes, every pressure which it exerts on Canada, and will fight for Canada at every stage, despite what the United States might wish to do.

I wish to make a second pledge. We as a Party may have lost this battle. However, Members on the Government side of the House should understand that the fight continues. As a Party we believe in an independent Canada, unlike either the Liberals or the Conservatives when they are in office. I believe that this must be a central fight and a central commitment for our Party.

Another pledge I want to make on behalf of our Party is that we shall watch-dog the Government as closely and completely as we can, and as relentlessly as possible, to protect our country and our people as the negotiations take place with respect to subsidies, and as the Government enters into harmonization discussions which can harm so much of our economy.

The fourth pledge that I wish to make is that this Party shall fight as hard as possible for the victims of this deal. Whether or not the Prime Minister wishes to believe that there are such victims, there will be, and they must be protected. As a country we have always done so in the past when we put trade changes into effect, and for us not to do so this time is shameful.

Finally, I want to say that, in my view, ultimately Canadians must decide in more than this election about the trade deal. I accept the fact that they have voted to give the trade deal a try. That is the nature of our parliamentary democracy. Despite the fact that only two provinces gave majorities to the Government, that is enough to give the Government the capacity to put this deal into effect.

Canadians have voted to give this deal a try, but they will also vote in an election or in some other from to give this deal a judgment when it has been tried for some period of time. I suspect that that judgment will come after many of the problems which we on the Opposition side of the House have identified as certain to flow from the trade deal.

I believe that those problems will come, and the judgement of the Canadian people will take place on the basis of the deal, on the basis of the problems, and not on the basis of the millions of dollars which big business poured into the last election campaign. Ultimately, the people of Canada will win, and I believe that it will be the New Democratic Party which will represent that victory by the people of Canada over corporate capitalism as typified in this deal. That is the reality of the future.

• (1710)

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Right Hon. Brian Mulroney (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Members of the House for their vigorous participation in this very important debate, and I thank them for the courtesy of listening to me speak very briefly to an issue that has been quite thoroughly debated in this House of Commons. In fact, as of December 12, 1988, I am informed, the Free Trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement had been debated for 331 and a half hours over the course of 64 days, and I think we can now add to that another 40 to 50 hours. The finest tribute that can be paid to Canadian democracy is the extent of debate that can take place in a free Parliament on an important issue such as this, a Parliament whose sittings have been extended to accommodate the debate.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Langdon: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Essex-Windsor on a point of order.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, I am wondering whether the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) can explain the number of uses of closure in this debate as part of parliamentary democracy—

Mr. Speaker: I must point out to the Hon. Member that his remarks do not constitute a valid point of order but, rather, a question, and it is one which will have to be saved for another occasion. The Right Hon. Prime Minister.

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, to respond to the question raised by the Hon. Member, and any implications arising therefrom, probably the most eloquent and sensible answer was delivered one month ago today by the very distinguished Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent), who said, and I quote: "The people of Canada have taken a decision and Mr. Mulroney has the right to continue now with his free trade legislation."

Because the Leader of the New Democratic Party is widely regarded as a democrat, he then went on to say something that I would ask the Hon. Member to bear in mind, and it is as follows: "Given the election results, it would now be churlish and inappropriate in my thinking, right now, to say something more that should be done in terms of the law at this stage. It should pass."

Those were the words of the Leader of the New Democratic Party one month ago today. I believe the Hon. Member would agree that there has been adequate discussion. This sense of democracy was expressed as well by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), who has said many times in this House and elsewhere: "On a matter of this importance, let the people decide." And, Mr. Speaker, the people have decided.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: May I, *en passant*, deal with one of the more specious arguments ever raised on the floor of this House of Commons, and it is in connection with the latest theory of some Members of this House that the election was won by someone other than those sitting on the right hand of the Speaker.

The argument seems to be that the British parliamentary system no longer exists, that somehow there is a new system, a referendum/republican system in place somehow, somewhere; that it is the majority of the number of votes on the other side that counts, and not the number of seats, as we have believed since the founding of this nation.

Well, for those who hold that view—and nothing could be more spurious, or unfair, or in violation of the fundamental principles of the British parliamentary system—let me just deal with it on the basis of our most recent history.

In the Twenty-eighth Parliament, elected in 1968, a Parliament of which the Leader of the Opposition was a Member, the Government of the Day, a Liberal Government, obtained 45 per cent of the vote; in 1973, the Liberal Government of the day obtained 38.5 per cent of the vote. In 1974, an election in which the Leader of the Opposition participated actively, the Liberal Government obtained 43.2 per cent of the vote and introduced wage and price controls.

In 1980, the Liberal Government obtained 44.3 per cent of the vote and introduced the National Energy Program and patriated the Constitution, with the problems that that has given rise to. And while I disagree—

Mr. Gauthier: You all voted for it.

Mr. Mulroney: While I disagree very fundamentally with the National Energy Program, and while I disagree with some of the problems inherent in the Constitution, I never once quarrelled with the legitimacy of the Liberal Governments in those periods to proceed with those measures, the reason being that in each case the Government had received, not in terms of popular vote but in number of seats, a clear majority from the people of Canada.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, I rise with pride to take part in the final chapter of this important debate in the history of our country. On November 21 Canadians expressed their confidence in Canada and in their future together. They gave our Government the mandate to take Canada

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

proudly and boldly into the future. They wanted a government that was prepared to deal with change positively and constructively, that looked forward with confidence to the future and outward with self-assurance to the rest of the world.

I want to conclude my participation in this debate, which has now been going on for a few years, by reflecting on some statements which I consider to be important. The Free-Trade Agreement is an affirmation of a strong and sovereign Canada. The Government pledged to ensure that the continuing negotiations called for in the agreement will further contribute to making Canada a stronger and more confident and sovereign nation. Our two-track approach to trade policy puts Canada in a unique position to advance Canadian interests. Canadians are ready and enthusiastic to use the Agreement to renew and strengthen the Canadian economy.

Over the course of the election campaign, Canadians came to a momentous decision about the future of Canada.

[English]

Canadians thought long and hard about who they are and where they are going and, upon reflection, having considered it all, as Canadians do, they liked what they saw: a Canada aware of its identity, its potential, its role in the world; a Canada which has led the industrial countries in economic growth over the last four years; a Canada that has generated 1.3 million new jobs; a Canada which has provided brand new opportunities for our youth, and new trading opportunities for the future.

Canadians took a look at all of this, compared it with the alternative, and said: Yes, we want more of this for Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: We live next door to an energetic superpower. That is a fact of geography, and it is a fact about which we can do very little. Some people see it as a threat. We see it as an opportunity.

Canadians and Americans have lived in harmony for more than two centuries. We agree on many things. We pursue many of the same goals. We share a continent and we share a love of freedom. But we are profoundly different in many ways. Our affairs are organized and managed as a constitutional monarchy, while theirs is a republic.

• (1720)

We have a unique legal heritage of British common and French civil law. We are an officially bilingual country. We have embraced the multicultural reality of Canada. Although we are staunch allies of the United States in NATO and NORAD, we do not always view the world in the same way. In fact, we have very many important differences of policy and substance which we have expressed time and time again in fora around the world.

However, we do not believe in stridency as a substitute for policy in the conduct of our relationship with the United States of America. Nor do we see isolation as a prerequisite to sovereignty. Relations with the United States of America today are sound. Ours is a policy of building up and not tearing up. Ours is a policy of co-operating across the table and not shouting across the table.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: When neighbours quarrel, everyone suffers. When neighbours co-operate, everyone benefits. We prefer the politics of co-operation to that of confrontation. I think we are proving it works in Canada's interests.

Canada is a trading nation. Nearly one-third of all our economic activity is generated by trade, and three million Canadian jobs depend directly upon trade. Trade is one of the largest challenges facing this Government, this Parliament, and I suspect it will remain the largest challenge that will face Governments for some time to come. The world is shrinking. Nations are becoming increasingly interdependent. The internationalization of business is intensifying. We have to come to grips with these rapidly changing facts of modern international economic life. They cannot be ignored.

One way that Governments can help is to make life less uncertain through international co-operation and agreements that substitute rules for power politics, to try to bring some order out of chaos.

Canadians have long been champions of international co-operation, whether multilateral or bilateral. Few countries have Canada's institutional reach around the world, in the United Nations, in the Commonwealth, in the "sommet de la francophonie," the Economic Group and other fora of economic co-operation such as GATT, the OECD, the IMF and the World Bank.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Because we live next door to each other, Canadians and Americans have over the years negotiated a wide range of agreements with each other, either on a one on one basis or collectively with others. For example, to protect our essential security interests we both became charter members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the United Nations. We also forged the permanent Joint Board of Defence in NORAD to look after the special needs of our shared responsibility for North American security.

To promote environmental protection and human health, Canada and the United States are active participants in the United Nations Environment Program and the World Health Organization. We also have bilaterally the IJC and the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement. Just as we stayed at the table until we achieved a mutually beneficial trade agreement, one that stands, according to the G-7 leaders, as a model to the entire trading world, so, too, will we stay at the table until we achieve a mutually satisfactory agreement that will solve once and for all the problem of acid rain.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: As all Members know, the habit of bilateral and multilateral co-operation between Canada and the United States is widespread and longstanding. I think most people, irrespective of where they sit in the House, would agree it has been largely beneficial to us, to our economic well-being, and to the manner in which Canada has surged ahead economically in the world.

Over the years we have negotiated some 200 treaties and protocols and arrangements and understandings with the Americans. Yet we are still here, more Canadian, more confident, and more prosperous than ever before. I believe that years from now the Prime Minister of Canada will stand in this House of Commons and he will be able to say that because of the Free Trade Agreement, Canada, at that time, is even more prosperous, more independent and more sovereign than ever before.

[*Translation*]

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, all these agreements, multilateral and bilateral alike, protect and advance Canadian interests. They strengthen Canadian sovereignty, for every international negotiation is an expression of sovereignty. The levers of economic management that symbolize sovereignty are not those that lead to protectionism. They are those that promote a strong and

outward-looking economy. Years of experience have demonstrated that policies that discriminate, ultimately impoverish; those that allow the winds of competition to blow, result in prosperity.

The FTA eliminates the tariffs on trade between Canada and the United States, tariffs both Canadian and American, that made Canadians poorer. Throughout the Agreement, the principle is the same, and quite simple: Canadians and Americans will treat each other fairly. But in Canada, Canadians alone will decide how Canadian economic life will be regulated while in the United States, Americans will decide how their economic life will be pursued. The real levers of economic power remain fully within Canadian hands. We can be confident of more open and less arbitrary trading conditions. We will no longer have to go to Washington to plead for special treatment or exemption. We can now rely on the rule of law and a dispute settlement process in which we have an equal voice. Where then is the threat to sovereignty? The answer is simple and very direct, Mr. Speaker; there is none. Our sovereignty will be re-inforced by the dynamic expression of the modern and prosperous Canada which will result from the Free Trade Agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*English*]

Mr. Mulroney: The Free Trade Agreement continues the process of making trade more and more secure. It also provides for continued negotiation or evolution because, as the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) and others have pointed out, future negotiations are more than the matter of subsidies. We will continue to work with the Americans to improve the rules and reduce barriers affecting government procurement of goods and services. We will continue to work on more rational industrial and health and safety standards.

We will continue to seek to bring greater order to agricultural trade practices which are so debilitating for farmers across Canada, western farmers and those in the East, who have suffered so dramatically because of trade distorting agricultural subsidy practices adopted at enormous expense by countries in the European economy, and responded to by the United States. These hurt Canadian farmers unfairly.

We want to build a better system to deal with discriminatory cross-border pricing practices. We both want to introduce greater protection for owners of intellectual property, as well as fairer ways to share access to new technology. This Government will pursue

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

these issues not only between Canada and the United States under the Free Trade Agreement, but whenever progress can be made and wherever Canadian interests can be advanced.

Earlier this month in Montreal, GATT ministers reviewed progress in tackling these questions on a multilateral basis. I think all Canadians had an upfront view of just how difficult it will be on some of these complex issues to reach a broad consensus.

• (1730)

Progress in the GATT is often limited. It is always painfully slow. Sometimes, on some important issues, years go by without the slightest movement.

We have too many millions of jobs. We have too many young people crying out for economic opportunities. Unemployment is too high in places such as Newfoundland, Labrador and British Columbia. People want economic opportunity. They cannot wait year after year. They are saying yes to the kind of dynamism that comes from a bilateral trading agreement with our largest trading partner.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: That is all the more reason to draw some satisfaction from the results negotiated bilaterally by Canada and the United States. For Canada the issue of subsidies is of critical importance in both our bilateral and multilateral trading agendas. We are particularly concerned about subsidies that distort trade in agriculture. We are also pressing for greater clarity and consistency in the use of countervailing duties in free trade.

What will not be discussed in any forum is Canadian social programs. They are simply not part of the agenda. Programs such as medicare or pensions are not at risk, never have been—nor will they ever be jeopardized in any future negotiations. One of the most unfair events that ever transpired in this election campaign, or in any other, was the suggestion that some elderly person who is helpless or sick might lose her pension by voting a given way when everybody knows that Canadian social programs never were on the table, and never will be. The only thing that will happen is that they will be better as a result of the wealth that will come from more trade in Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: When the elderly receive their cheques in January, February, March, June and July, and those pension cheques are going up, and when they go to the hospital and the state continues to pay 100 per cent of the freight, they are going to say after a period of time: "What were the Liberals and the NDP telling us? Why were they telling us this?" To their shame and eternal regret Canadians will remember what was said. They will penalize those who tried to abuse their trust and their confidence.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: The Member from Winnipeg said today in his speech that he had a tough time even though we had received by far the largest number of seats. He said that he had a tough time accepting the verdict, that he was not sure what Canadians meant. As Canadians watch these events unfold they will teach the Hon. Member from Winnipeg what democracy really means, if they have to give it to him time and time again until he gets it straight. When one wins an election, one has won and one has the confidence of the people to proceed with the mandate.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Mulroney: Mr. Speaker, the election of November 21 was a ringing vote of confidence by Canadians in themselves. They voted for the future rather than the past. They chose to take up the challenge of competitive excellence. They have answered a clarion call to build a stronger nation in a new decade and a new century.

Canadians want to look forward and outward. This Government is doing that. The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement does that. But economic renewal is not the sole responsibility of the Canadian Government. It is the joint responsibility of government, business and labour. It requires cooperation and consultation, and is very seldom successful when there is confrontation.

The challenge to government is to create a climate conducive to success. The challenge to business is to seize new opportunities. The challenge to labour, with its ideas and its leadership, is to help make it work.

If all three pull together, all Canadians will benefit as new and better jobs are created and a deeper pool of natural and national wealth results for Canada.

All experts say that over the next 10 years the Free Trade Agreement will create about 250,000 new jobs.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

This means 250,000 new jobs for young Canadians, over and above current predictions, and I think that if we can create that many new jobs for Canadian youth, it is good for Canada and we must do even more.

Parts of the Canadian economy will undergo reshaping and restructuring in order to meet the challenge of world competition and to seize the opportunities for growth, for innovation and for greater prosperity in all regions of Canada. Mr. Speaker, this challenge must be met head on and to the benefit of all Canadians.

The trade union movement has an important and constructive role to play. I believe Canada's labour leaders will take their place at the table and join the dialogue in order to advance the interests of their members and contribute to the national well-being.

I have had conversations with some of Canada's labour leaders and look forward to meeting with them in the new year. Every independent analysis indicates the FTA will create thousands of new jobs across every region of Canada, particularly in the most disadvantaged regions, if I am not mistaken.

But there will be some dislocation and change and governments must be ready to accommodate this reality in an innovative and productive way.

[*English*]

In general, properly handled and sensitively dealt with adjustment is a positive process indicative of a workforce that is responsive to change, seeking a better life for themselves and their children. We already have one of the most highly skilled and highly mobile forces in the world. Some four million Canadians change jobs every year. They move up. They move ahead. They move on. New and better jobs are created when positive adjustment takes place.

For those of us who represent far flung regions of Canada—and I see Members from Newfoundland, British Columbia and north-eastern Quebec, for example, in the House—as a result of new industries and new jobs created in the regions of Canada, thousands of our young people will be able to work at home rather than moving to other provinces in search of work. When we have created jobs in regions in those areas far removed from central Canada, we will have done the country a service because we will have strengthened the nation by bringing prosperity to the outer regions of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: Over the next 10 years not all adjustments in the economy by any means will result from implementation of the Free Trade Agreement. It is quite to the contrary. Adjustment is going to come to this House, to all its Members and to all of us from technology, from changing tastes, from changing demands, from changing international competition and from changing policies here and around the world. The agreement was designed to accommodate some of these fundamental realities and fundamental Canadian interests and special adjustment problems.

• (1740)

Some industries, such as cultural industries and transportation, were exempted entirely. In other sectors, all current practices were grandfathered, such as the beer industry and all the service industries. Marketing boards for our dairy and our poultry producers are fully preserved, and special safeguard provisions were made for our horticultural industry.

Perhaps most important, the agreement provides for a phasing-in period of 10 years, precisely to allow time for industries to adapt and adjust; a decade, a 10-year period for labour and management and Governments of all stripes to work together to prepare not only for the changes but for the tremendous opportunities economically that can come to Canada and to all our regions.

Through our comprehensive consultations program with industry, throughout the negotiations, representatives of each sector in effect chose voluntarily the pace at which they could live with tariff reductions.

[*Translation*]

However, Mr. Speaker, should even the measured phasing-in of the FTA prove too difficult for some industries, its safeguard provisions allow either government to re-impose the tariff on a temporary basis. More generally, the federal and provincial governments have a variety of programs in place to ease adjustment for individuals, for companies and for communities—such as unemployment insurance and re-training and relocation programs, and so on.

In addition, The de Grandpré Commission will identify what more is needed specifically to meet the adjustment challenge of the FTA. Its primary focus is to look at the need for more people-oriented programs, training and education programs intended to ensure that Canadians have the skills necessary to compete, to produce and to excel.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[English]

Before we entered into the trade talks, we consulted widely with Canadians, building on the consultations undertaken at the time by the Macdonald Royal Commission, chaired by the Hon. Donald Macdonald, a former Minister of Finance and one of Canada's most distinguished sons who today serves us proudly as our High Commissioner in London. During the negotiations, we consulted closely with business and other affected interests through the International Trade Advisory Committee and the sectoral advisory groups. We sought the advice of labour and Canadians, and we benefited from the participation of the Canadian Federation of Labour in the consultative process. We worked closely with the provinces.

Apart from all the meetings with the Ministers of Trade and their officials—and there were countless dozens of those—I personally had the occasion to meet no less than 11 different times with the First Ministers for meetings lasting up to 14 and 15 hours, seeking their advice and their support.

I am proud to say today that in large measure, because of the hard work that went into the consultative process in making a federation work the way a federation should, that no less than eight premiers out of ten supported then and support today the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the U.S.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: Parliamentary committees studied the issues and consulted Canadians before, during, and after the negotiations. I believe the trade debate of the last several years has raised the awareness of all Canadians as to the importance of trade in the life of our country. I believe it is important for that discussion to continue, and I know that it shall.

Members from all parts of the House have indicated the intensity with which they propose to continue the debate and the vigilance they propose to exercise with respect to the application of the treaty. That is a very commendable and appropriate attitude for all Members of Parliament. I wish them well in this. I offer them my full co-operation.

I just say, *en passant*, that it will be interesting to look back and read *Hansard* some years from now, because 25 years ago, when the Government negotiated the Auto Pact, a lot of people were opposed to it then who today say that they actually fathered the same agreement. If I happened to be looking at the Hon. Member for Essex—

Windsor (Mr. Langdon) of the NDP when I said that, it was entirely by accident.

I believe it is important for that debate to continue. Government, business, labour, the universities, and public policy institutes need to co-operate in developing a wider and deeper understanding of the challenges of trade. As a step in the right direction, the federal Government will soon announce details of a special fund to help the development of greater understanding, not only of the agreement itself, but also of Canadian trade policy.

I have asked the Minister for International Trade to be in touch with officials at the University of Ottawa and at Carleton University, as well as business and labour leaders, regarding the establishment in Ottawa of a world-class Canadian centre for the study of international trade policy.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: We would propose that the Ottawa centre become a world-class centre for the teaching and the research and the analysis of trade issues, not only around the country, but around the world. I think all Members of the House of Commons will not only applaud and encourage this kind of initiative, but I hope they will participate actively in its building, its encouragement, its design, and in its support.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: After the next election, there might be a job as a visiting professor for the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor. There will always be a place for the Hon. Member in Canadian trade policy debates.

Mr. Gauthier: After Simon Reisman, I suppose?

Mr. Mulroney: No, Simon Reisman will be there too. I can assure you of that. Canada has all kinds of extraordinary and impressive people who have served Canada through the public service. None has been finer and none has made a more durable contribution than Simon Reisman.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: I can say that about Simon, because I know he would never say it himself.

In a phrase, the Free Trade Agreement is a major insurance policy for two million Canadian jobs. It represents more secure access to the United States market and new opportunities for economic expansion.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

It is clearly a good deal for Canada, and it is a fair deal for both countries. Most important, all remaining tariffs on U.S. imports will be removed over 10 years. As we all know, about 80 per cent are gone already. Tariffs remain in value-added products like petrochemicals and finished goods like urban transport equipment, auto replacement parts, textiles and clothing. That is where the jobs are.

There is now, because of the tariff removal, the potential for substantially increased employment. The removal of tariffs means Canadian consumers and producers will pay less for American products. It is a bonus as well for production costs at plants across Canada. We will—and this is the history of all liberalized trade initiatives—be more efficient, more productive, and better able to compete. It enhances productivity. It strengthens market ties. It boosts innovation. It increases research and development. It compels us to be better traders.

Any time that challenge has been there, any time those markets have been available, Canadians have responded to the challenge, provided they get fair and secure access to those markets. What we have done is to give Canadians the kind of access they need so that the youth of Canada now being challenged and now being given the opportunity can go out and compete with the very best in the world and win, because we believe the youth of Canada are the very best in the world.

● (1750)

There will be no more U.S. quotas on Canadian uranium or steel exports, no more import taxes on Canadian oil or gas exports, no more customer user fees on any Canadian exports.

We will have a genuine shield against new U.S. protectionism, whether from Congress or from the administration. There will be a binding dispute settlement mechanism which ensures that United States laws are applied impartially on Canada and vice-versa. Canadians exporters will have a shield against harassment by their American competitors. This dispute settlement feature of the Free Trade Agreement is unique and has attracted the interest as well as the envy of the Japanese, among others.

It was reported in November of last year in the *Washington Post* that when the mechanism in the treaty was examined, the leadership of Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan all were seeking the same kind of treaty that Canada had signed with the United States, particularly the dispute settlement mechanism.

When I saw all of those countries lined up seeking the kind of privileged access that Canada had obtained, I knew what I had always known, that this kind of treaty would serve Canada's interests well.

There will be new opportunities for duty free and more secure access by Canadian exporters and more incentives to produce finished goods in Canada before export. There are new provisions regarding services which affect architects, consulting engineers and computer scientists, Government procurement and business travel, investment as well as new trade remedy rules which, together, as the Leaders of the G-7 nations expressed at the Toronto Summit, serve as a model for the trading world.

I have indicated before but I think it is probably worth repeating, at Toronto there were representatives of the seven industrialized nations, including the European Community whose economies produce 55 per cent of the GNP of the entire world. They ranged in the political spectrum from Mrs. Thatcher in the United Kingdom who is a Conservative to Francois Mitterrand in France who is a socialist. All of them together in one voice said that this Free Trade Agreement is beneficial and it is a model for the trading world.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mulroney: I will be getting the translation of those remarks to my friend from Essex who has a great interest in following the evolution of socialist ideologies elsewhere. I am sure he was impressed, for example, by the recent statements of the Prime Minister of Spain with regard to their adhesion to the European Common Market and the importance for all economies to seek secure access to large trading markets.

The competition in 1992 is not down the street, the competition which, incidentally, is being led by socialist governments, is in Europe with 320 million people, which will be the largest, most dynamic, most powerful market in the world. That is our competitor and we will be there to compete with them evenly and effectively so that Canadians will win.

We will have better rules of the road for \$200 billion a year in trade, which is the largest bilateral trading arrangement in history. That is a very important consideration. We will have more certain application of those rules. I believe this will ensure that our trade will be more secure. It will protect the jobs in Canada and give us larger access to jobs of the future which themselves will increase.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Something which the Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy) said in his comments today, with which I certainly agree, was that as a politician he did not like to lose. I believe all of us as parliamentarians feel the same way. Everyone of us here, I suppose, has run for election or office and has lost at some point. It is never the most pleasant experience. I think we all accept that as part of the democratic process.

I do not suppose any disrespect is intended by the voters toward anyone. They are confronted with the realities, they make up their minds. They throw them in and they throw them out. That is the way Canadian democracy has always functioned. That is the way it worked in the past and that is the way it will work in the future.

Even though I sympathize and understand the sentiment expressed by the Member from Winnipeg, in the last election Canadians indicated the direction they wanted to move. They chose the path to prosperity over a path of continued protectionism. The margin was decisive and the mandate is clear. Once this Bill is passed into law we can proceed to implement the agreement on schedule.

Somebody once said: "Let the people decide". The people have decided and all Members of Parliament, as democrats, agree with the verdict and the supremacy of the verdict of the Canadian people.

I believe Canadians chose the broad avenue of confidence over the blind alley of fear. They chose an instrument which promises more jobs and more wealth for future generations of Canadians instead of the poverty of protectionism.

[Translation]

Canadians and Quebecers alike gave it very serious consideration. They examined the matter very carefully and listened to the provincial governments. They heard various interest groups and assessed the economic impact it might have, be it in British Columbia or in Quebec. They looked at it with great care and attention. They chose greater security in our most important market, they decided that lower cost for consumers and increased productivity were more compelling than hollow appeals to anti-Americanism. Canadians know we cannot compete in the world by withdrawing from it. Canadians know we cannot claim better access for our exports while we erect walls around our own market. That is not the way it works. We are all proud of the values that distinguish us as Canadians. To remain totally distinct, we need the means to do things our way.

[English]

The Free Trade Agreement will in substantial measure ensure our prosperity and help our well-being as Canadians. Canadians have in effect decided. They want their Government and their Parliament to get on with it.

As the Leader of the Opposition said on many occasions, and I agree with him, the people are always right. The people have said yes to a more prosperous Canada. They have said yes to the international competitive challenges of the 1990s. Years from now it will be said of this generation of Canadians that we made the right choice for Canada, that we faced the future with abundant confidence in our country and in ourselves.

I believe that the next century will see a remarkable coming of age of this country, that we will be celebrated at once as a nation for our competitiveness and for our compassion. When the world looks to Canada, people will say as they reflect upon this time, the challenges and manner in which they responded: "There indeed is a nation of people who chose to build. There is a land of opportunity, there indeed, with its imperfections, is a land of tolerance".

I think and I hope it will be said of us that we kept faith, not only with ourselves, but with the place destiny has reserved for our country, Canada. Clearly, all Members of the House of Commons, irrespective of our backgrounds, irrespective of our partisan views, agree that above everything else there comes the national interest and in our own way, in our own democratic dialogue, and disagreements, each of us is promoting his or her view of the national Canadian interest.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (1800)

Hon. Roger Simmons (Burin—St. George's): Madam Speaker, I want first to commend the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) for recognizing the terrible gaffe his Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) made earlier today when he gave one of those nothing speeches. The Prime Minister has done a remarkable job of covering up for him.

The Prime Minister said a moment ago that this Free Trade Agreement would mean a stronger, more sovereign nation. I say to him that this country could not survive with a policy of unfettered free trade. We would be swamped. We have in many ways here in Canada a branch plant economy in certain important sectors. I say

to him that all that would happen with that kind of concept would be the boys cranking up their plants throughout the United States in bad times and shutting down their entire branch plants in Canada. It is bad enough as it is. I say that to him with conviction, because I have it on very good authority.

These lines I just read about a branch plant economy, about our inability to survive unfettered free trade with the United States, these words are not mine originally. I cannot claim credit for those words. No, they were said by a fairly prominent public figure in Canada, a man by the name of Brian Mulroney, the Prime Minister, when he was Leader of the Opposition. That same gentleman who just gave us his usual guff, word for word I quote him, his 1983 version of free trade. I challenge the Minister—

Mr. McDermid: What was the date?

Mr. Simmons: It was June 1983 when he knifed the former Prime Minister. It was the same time.

Mr. McDermid: He wasn't Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Simmons: He was about to be in a day or so. The Minister for homelessness can interject all he wants. He ought instead to go out and read up on his portfolio so he can figure out what he is supposed to be doing. In the meantime, this quotation will stand the test of time. It is from a gentleman who was in the process of jumping the former Prime Minister for the leadership of their Party, and he said: "This country could not survive with a policy of unfettered free trade. We'd be swamped. We have in many ways a branch plant economy in certain important sectors. All that would happen with that kind of concept would be the boys—"

He would know all about the boys because he was one of them. He was one of the branch plant managers. He was the fellow who shut down Schefferville on behalf of the boys back in the States. When he says the boys, he says it in a very collegial way. He knows whereof he speaks. He is one of the boys. He goes on: "All that would happen with that kind of concept would be the boys cranking up their plants throughout the United States in bad times and shutting their entire branch plants in Canada. It's bad enough as it is." That was said by the very same gentleman who just gave us all these sugary phrases about a more sovereign, stronger nation. How can we believe a word he says?

He said also a moment ago that social programs are not at risk. The impression left is that because he says it, because the Prime Minister of this country says it, it

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

therefore has to be right. That same Prime Minister, in September 1984, said almost the same words. He said, "Old age pensions are not at risk. I would never touch old Age Pensions, not me". That was his assurance then. It was a sacred trust in 1984.

It was not very sacred the following spring when the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) got his hands on the idea and got his budget draft approved by the Prime Minister, the same Prime Minister who in 1984 was talking about sacred trust. Six months later, in the Budget of February of 1985, he was allowing the Minister of Finance to take the initial steps to gut the old age pension program, to deindex it. A more graphic word is "gut" but it means the same thing to the old people who do not have enough to live on now.

When the Prime Minister stands in this Chamber and gives me his assurances of a more sovereign nation, I have to hearken back to another day when he warned us about unfettered free trade with the United States. When he gives me the assurance about the sanctity of social programs, I remember another day four years ago when he talked about the sacred trust. I very quickly come to the conclusion that I can take his word just as about as much now as I could then.

The curious thing about the Prime Minister today is that he protests too much. He is still trying to convince himself that he won the election. We know he won the election. We understand that. We can read. We can count. Nobody in this Chamber is disputing that point.

Of course the Tories got more seats than the Liberals or the socialists on my left, but the point that the Prime Minister is missing or completely skating around is that there are an awful lot—forget percentages if you wish—there is a large body of people with some pretty gut-wrenching concerns about the Free Trade Agreement. At the very least, they want to be assured, not bamboozled by the Prime Minister. They want to be assured, and he could put his money where his mouth is by simply allowing an amendment to this resolution.

• (1810)

As the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy) has proposed, nothing in this agreement will invade the sanctity or will disrupt social programs. If he is as concerned about the seniors of this country as he pretended a few moments ago, let him put his money where his mouth is. Let him allow at least one amendment. We have proposed several. The Prime Minister would put a lot of minds at ease tonight if he,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

instead of giving blind assurances—which blind assurances have not been worth the paper they were written on in the past as we know—would allow that one amendment from the Member for Winnipeg South Centre, which would have the backing of every Member of this House I am sure. It would say that nothing in this agreement could ever touch our social program package here in Canada. He says: “Don’t worry. It is all under control”.

I represent a riding called Burin—St. George’s, with 158 communities stretched along the south coast of Newfoundland and up part of the west coast. Included in the riding are many people below the poverty line. We have many people who are aged. We have many people whose mother tongue is English and quite a few whose mother tongue is French. All of these people would be very much at ease tonight if they could have the assurance that their social programs will not be interfered with.

I find it curious that the Prime Minister and the negotiators over the last couple of years did not think it needful to protect social programs. By the way, the assurance in the negotiations that nothing will be done to impede social programs is not worth an awful lot when you realize that while these negotiators did not have time to put in a caveat to protect social programs, they had a lot of time to protect the beer and the wine industry. They had a lot of time to put in a caveat that provides a *de facto* factor subsidy to Americans in terms of our energy.

Do not give me this guff and puff about “Well, there was no need to protect social programs because the Americans are our friends. They have always been our friends and they would never do anything like that to us”. Tell that to the lumber people. Tell that to the people in the shakes and shingles industry. See what they will do when they get a chance and go behind your back. If there was no need to protect social programs because of that great American propensity for fair play, why was there a need to rush in to protect the wine and the beer industry? Why was there a need to subsidize our energy to the Americans?

I heard the Prime Minister talk about not believing in stridency as a substitute for policy. He does not believe in stridency. He believes in acquiescence. He would make a deal with anybody as long as that person loves him. He would give the shop away as long as he can smile through it all. It is the arrogance, unmitigated gall, to come in here with a straight face and tell us that this Free Trade Agreement is the best thing since sliced bread.

Incidentally, the Prime Minister has discovered acid rain. After four years, he has actually discovered acid rain. He is going to solve the problem. Where has he been for the last four years when our lakes have been polluted because of the industrial plants in the north-eastern United States? Our fish are dying in Newfoundland. Where has he been, Madam Speaker? Finally somebody told the Prime Minister—one of his speech writers dropped a new phrase on him—acid rain. I bet he has gone out to buy a bottle to see what it taste like.

Liberals support free trade, Madam Speaker. I am going to give you the names of a few people who did and do support free trade long before the leadership candidate of 1983 from Baie Comeau was telling us of the evils of free trade. Men like Mackenzie King, Louis St. Laurent, Lester Pearson, Pierre Trudeau, John Turner, five Liberal Canadian Prime Ministers in this country who believed so much in free trade between Canada and the United States that they among them during their respective terms of office achieved a free trade agreement with the United States whereby 80 per cent of all the goods moving between the two countries moved without barrier. That is how much we believed and still believe in free trade.

We believe so much that we have facilitated free trade movement of 80 per cent of all of our goods between the two countries. What is this fuss about? What is it that brings us here a couple of days before Santa Claus time? We would all be home with our families if we had any basic common sense. Why is it that the Pearsons the Kings and the St. Laurents of this world did not allow that 20 per cent to move without trade barriers, without tariff? They recognized, as we recognize in this Party, that the price was too high.

I say to the Prime Minister, you can have 100 per cent free trade. Nobody has ever begged that question. The question we ask is at what price. Is the price worth it to get the other 20 per cent? The answer is no.

Embodied in the answer are a lot of other questions. Yes, about social programs. Yes, there are questions about regional development. You have only to look at the plant closings, Gillette, P.G. Canada, British Footwear, Northern Telecom, Canada Packers, and Ortho Diagnostic. You have only to look at the closures since November 21—closures since November 21 in terms of the announcement but decisions made before November 21 and sat on. Get used to it. You will hear more about it, Madam Speaker. That is why we have not rushed in to give away the shop for the sake of the other 20 per cent. We realized then and we realize now

the silly trade-off, the unconscionable trade-off, the unjustifiable trade-off that would be involved thereby. Yes, we support free trade in this Party because we invented free trade. We are the Party that allowed 80 per cent of our goods to trade between the two countries free of tariffs. Liberals know a sell-out when we see one. We see one.

The retired judge in Alberta Marjorie Bowker was quoted often during the election. She found in her study of the Free Trade Agreement that half of the chapters in the agreement had nothing to do with free trade at all. They talk about economic union with the United States of America.

An Hon. Member: She was a family court judge.

• (1820)

Mr. Simmons: Why this unseemly rush three days before Christmas? In real terms, why do we find ourselves in this Chamber?

There is nothing magic about the date of January 1. The whole world will not come tumbling down if the agreement does not go through the House by January 1. That is only a ruse in order that the Prime Minister can ram this legislation through when the people of the country are out buying Christmas gifts and putting up trees.

It could have been done in a much more orderly fashion, if the Prime Minister had the compassion and concern for the business and the future of the country that he endows once in a while when he comes in here. He could have had it done in a more orderly, more honest, and less hypocritical fashion if he had allowed Christmas to take its course, and then in January he could have called us all together and had a sensible debate about an issue which affects the very future of the country.

In conclusion, in many respects it is a seriously flawed agreement. I wish to mention the job that has been done on the shipbuilding industry as a result of the Free Trade Agreement. I have here an industry profile published by the Minister of State for Industry Science and Technology (Mr. Oberle). It mentions in here that the United States protects its domestic shipbuilding through the Jones Act. The following is a quote from the document that the Minister put out this week: "Under the FTA tariff barriers on commercial vessels will be eliminated over a 10-year period". That means that

boats can be brought into Canada free of tariff. However, the major obstacle for the Canadian marine industry, the Jones Act, will remain unchanged.

That sums up what we have been saying about the Free Trade Agreement. It is a one-way deal. It is a win-win situation for the United States and a lose-lose situation for Canada. Nobody will feel that more than the people in Marystown in my riding.

I could also talk about my concerns in terms of the basic sovereignty issue, the regional development issue, job losses, and all this talk about job gains. They will be marginal, low quality, low-wage jobs. We will be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the Americans if this thing really gets rolling.

In conclusion, of course we accept the verdict of the electorate. However, we are under no obligation to accept the policies of the winning party, particularly when those policies involve the sell-out of a way of life, and the sell-out of a country. The real winners in this election were not the Tories. The real winners were big business. They bought this one and we are going to pay for it.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): Questions and comments.

Mrs. Finestone: Madam Speaker, I sincerely hope that following the celebrations those of us Canadians who are very interested in what is going on in the House of Commons, as we sit here on the eve of a very important holiday for the people of this country, will take advantage of this moment and re-read the well articulated remarks of the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy). He outlined for all of us the type of concerns we have as Canadians, which we have every right to express in the House. They are the types of concerns which agree that, fine, the people of Canada spoke.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): I wanted to ensure that the Hon. Member knew that she was on questions or comments.

Mrs. Finestone: Excuse me, I was on debate. However, I would certainly be pleased to ask my colleague a question.

Does the Hon. Member feel that the absence of any clear enunciation in the Free Trade Agreement was the cause for anxiety felt by many seniors, and by many people who are concerned about the social network that we have in place in this country? Was it the absence in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the agreement of any clear definition that those programs are not to be touched that caused many of those concerns?

Mr. Simmons: I thank my colleague, the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone), for her question. Of course, she is correct. Let us think of the anxiety that could have been avoided had the Government and the negotiators the same concern for social programs as for the beer and wine industry.

I say to my friends on the government side, who seem to be amused that we should put the minds of senior citizens at ease, that the Government should have included a single sentence and got the signature of the American negotiator on that point. That is what it is all about. We have seen the Americans before on those issues. The shakes and shingles is the latest case.

In Atlantic Canada we saw the reaction and the manner of the Americans in terms of the fisheries issues. They told us one thing, and the next morning they stopped all our fresh produce, all our fish, at the border. In my riding alone there are 15,000 jobs—I think that the Minister of homeless is blowing again. Once in a while he comes awake and surfaces, and then luckily for all concerned he goes back to sleep.

Mr. McDermid: That is like you. Every four years you surface.

Mr. Simmons: I have been active during the last four years. I had good term in the Newfoundland House of Assembly, spent a year as the Leader of the Opposition, missed my friend from Brampton, and decided to come back and keep an eye on him.

Mr. McDermid: That is funny. You never wrote, you never called.

Mr. Simmons: My friend, the Hon. Member for Mount Royal, puts her finger on the very nub of the issue. That one sentence in the whole agreement, a sentence no longer than that which protects the beer industry, as the one that protects the wine industry, a sentence only half as long gives the Americans the whole shop in terms of our subsidizing energy so we can give it to the Americans. I say to the gentlemen opposite that a sentence that short would have relieved a lot of minds and would have avoided a lot of concern during the campaign.

Mr. Young (Gloucester): It would have meant no deal.

Mr. Simmons: My friend, the Hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Young), makes the point. That is exactly it. But had that phrase been insisted upon by the Prime Minister and his negotiators, would there have been a deal at all? That is what Members opposite are skating around with their fine phrases about social programs.

I ask you to decide, Madam Speaker, whether their phrases are worth the paper that they are written on, given the fact that in the September 1984 election the Prime Minister said the same type of phrases about old age pensions.

As the Hon. Member for Mount Royal so nicely pointed out, not only were the seniors concerned because of the absence of any assurance in the agreement, but they were concerned for another reason. They had had bitter experience with this Prime Minister. They had learned not to take his word, and they were not about to be led down the garden path twice in a row by the same guy.

Mr. Parent: The Hon. Member from Newfoundland was talking about the negotiations which had just taken place. I know the Member was present when the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) gave his speech today. The Prime Minister had glowing words for our chief negotiator, Mr. Reisman. In view of that fact, would the Hon. Member comment on the manner in which the negotiations were carried on by Mr. Reisman?

• (1830)

Mr. Simmons: Hon. Members will recognize that I was not at the negotiation table. I was, however, before the television set watching the public manifestations of those negotiations.

I am not sure of the degree to which we can blame Mr. Reisman. He had his instructions. It is his political masters who ought to have hemmed him in a bit more, who ought to have told him: "Simon, you sign no deal unless our social programs are specifically protected. Simon, you don't sign that agreement if our long tradition of regional development is violated".

An Hon. Member: Simon says.

An Hon. Member: Simon left.

Mr. Simmons: That is the point. Who was doing the saying? Was it the political masters, or was it Simon who was doing the saying?

I want to say one more thing about Simon, whatever his credentials, and I believe that they are considerable in the area of negotiation; I will not downplay that. However, as a public servant, he has much to learn.

One of the most galling aspects of the last campaign was not only did we have to run against Canadian and American big business with their millions, with the Tories and the socialists thrown in as bystanders, we had to fight Simon as well. We were fighting the armchair expert, the person who was accountable to no one, save for the Prime Minister. We had to contend with his blow by blow analysis of what ought to be the case in terms of the governing of this country.

What a sham! The Prime Minister, had he had any understanding of the institutions of government at all, would have given the guy the flick for opening his mouth.

An Hon. Member: Give him the hook.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The Hon. Member for Elk Island, on debate.

Mr. Brian O'Kurley (Elk Island): Madam Speaker, it is indeed an honour and a great privilege to have this opportunity to speak in the Parliament of Canada during this historic free trade debate.

Before entering into my remarks in support of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, let me express my sincere appreciation to the fine people of the new constituency of Elk Island for their tremendous support of me and of the Progressive Conservative Party during the recent federal election.

The new federal riding of Elk Island was formed by combining sections of three other ridings: Vegreville, Pembina, and Wetaskiwin. Elk Island includes a special blend of agricultural, industrial and urban interests. The riding of Elk Island has a population of over 77,000 people. The people of Elk Island are a diverse, strong and vibrant people. They are hard working people, with high standards and values. Many are pioneers or descendants of pioneers who, through determination and hard work, have built the modern thriving community in which they live.

The main population centres in Elk Island are Sherwood Park, Fort Saskatchewan, and Beaumont. Elk Island also includes the communities of Lamont, Chipman, St. Michael, Bruderheim, Josephberg, Ardrossan, New Sarepta, Looma, Rollie View, and Hay Lakes.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I am honoured, Madam Speaker, to represent the good people of Elk Island, all of whom contribute to a very rich cultural mosaic. In addition to a large number of people of British descent, over 7,000 of the residents of Elk Island share German ethnic backgrounds, and nearly 6,000 are of Ukrainian heritage.

We are also proud to have a significant French component and a significant Dutch component.

We are indeed culturally rich in Elk Island, with fine people from many cultures in addition to those I have already mentioned, including Poles, aboriginal people, Chinese, South Asian, and others.

As we are in the Christmas season, Madam Speaker, let me offer to all of the good people of Elk Island, on behalf of my wife and our children, my sincere best wishes for a healthy, happy and peaceful holiday season. As well, on behalf of all of us in the riding of Elk Island, please let me extend our very best wishes to all Canadians from coast to coast for a joyous and pleasant holiday season.

It is a great honour for me, Madam Speaker, to speak in the Parliament of Canada today, and I should like specifically to express my appreciation to my parents, Nicholas and Mary O'Kurley, who helped me to develop a respect and a love for Canada.

I will be speaking in favour of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Madam Speaker. I believe it is an agreement that is good for Elk Island, and we in Elk Island believe that it will be good for Alberta and for Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. O'Kurley: We, the people of Canada, have just come through one of the most important elections in Canadian history. The voters in my riding, as in other parts of Canada, were faced with a major issue. The issue was not necessarily just free trade; the real issue in the election campaign was economic management. Free trade was only a part of the larger over-all issue of managing Canada's economy.

Canadians from sea to sea elected a Progressive Conservative majority Government because they believe that this Party is the one most capable of maintaining economic stability and managing Canada's economic future.

In Elk Island, 85 per cent of eligible voters turned out to deliver their message, and the message was a resounding "yes" to Prime Minister Mulroney's Progressive

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Conservative Government and a definite "yes" to free trade.

The United States is by far Alberta's largest export market, accounting for about 75 per cent of total exports. In 1985, the value of exports to the United States exceeded \$10 billion, with natural gas and crude petroleum exports accounting for 50 per cent.

The Economic Council of Canada suggests that Alberta's output could increase by 3.5 per cent, more than the national average of 3.3 per cent. According to the Canada West Foundation, Alberta could have the most to gain of all of the western provinces, and perhaps of all provinces.

The Free Trade Agreement creates a long-term stable environment, an environment which will help Alberta's energy sector plan for the future. As Hon. Members will be aware, Alberta's energy sector fears the possibility of American protectionism. Under the Free Trade Agreement, the U.S. is prohibited from implementing energy import fees, surcharges, taxes, and quotas in the future. The United States, further, is committed to consultation and disputes settlement procedures on regulatory rulings.

Alberta's exports of natural gas to the United States represent 35 per cent of total Alberta production. Crude oil exports to the U.S. amount to \$3 billion, or 25 per cent of total Alberta production.

Canada's energy future depends upon oil and gas projects such as the oil sands megaproject. The Free Trade Agreement will provide the assurance of access to a large market, something that is necessary to support such projects.

• (1840)

Allow me to speak briefly about agriculture. When I speak about agriculture, I speak not only about farmers. When I speak about agriculture, I speak about jobs in fertilizer plants. When I speak about agriculture, I speak about small businesses and small towns that depend on a healthy farm economy. When I speak about agriculture, I speak about farm implement dealerships, grocery stores, restaurants, service stations, and many other small businesses that depend upon a healthy farm economy. When the farmer has a dollar in his pocket, they all benefit.

Canadian farmers are among the greatest traders in the world. It is vital to our economy that agricultural producers be allowed to sell their produce in Canada, the United States, and around the world. That is why it

cannot be over-emphasized that Canadian agriculture is a big winner under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. That agreement will greatly benefit Canada's farmers, food processors, and consumers.

One of every ten Canadians is involved in the food production chain. Canada exports almost \$3 billion every year in farm products to the U.S., our largest export market. Including grains and oilseeds, over half of our food product exports is to the U.S.

Throughout the free trade negotiations the concerns of the agricultural community were of utmost importance to the Government. Canada went into the negotiations insisting that we would maintain our marketing boards and that is exactly what we achieved. We have ensured that our supply-management systems will remain intact. Nothing but nothing in the agreement jeopardizes the continued operation of Canada's supply-management systems, including those for dairy products, poultry and eggs. Other supply-management systems can be added, if desired, in the future, provided that they are in accordance with our rights under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The FTA will provide more assured and predictable access to the U.S. market for Canadian agriculture and food exporters. Hog and cattle producers, meat packers, and other groups who have been the target of U.S. countervailing duties, anti-dumping and safeguard actions will appreciate the provisions that the FTA creates. For the first time a process for settling trade disputes that develop between Canada and the U.S. will be established. On that I would like to be a little more precise, so let me give an overview of some of the benefits of the agreement by sector.

For dairy producers, the made-in-Canada arrangement for producing, marketing and pricing milk, our milk marketing boards, is secure. Our import control list is secure and no increases were granted in the import quotas for dairy products. Ice cream and yogurt were added to Canada's import control list earlier this year. For egg and poultry producers, Canada retains its import quotas for poultry, eggs, and related products. For beef, veal and pork producers, access to the U.S. market for their exports is improved and secured under the FTA as both countries have agreed to exempt each other from meat import laws.

For wheat and grain producers the agreement will not jeopardize the continued operation of the Canadian Wheat Board. The agreement by both countries not to impose import restrictions in the future will provide

security of access for grains and oilseeds. Finally, both Canada and the U.S. have pledged to further their efforts to seek solutions to the ongoing international problems of agricultural subsidies through multilateral negotiations.

Both Canada and the U.S. have much to gain from an improved trading environment for agricultural products. While there will continue to be protection for producers who choose to concentrate on serving only the Canadian market, our export oriented farmers and food processors will gain guaranteed access to the biggest and fastest growing agricultural market in the world.

Farmers for Free Trade, an organization made up of 36 agricultural groups and food processors, summed it up best recently when they said: "When you produce some of the best quality farm products in the world, don't you want the freedom to sell to the wealthiest consumer market in the world?" Of course, you do. That is why most Canadian farmers and processors want free trade with the U.S. Americans will pay for that unique quality.

Alberta's largest market for agriculture and food products is the U.S. It is a key to the future development of this industry. Alberta agriculture and food product exports to the U.S. totalled \$372 million in 1986.

The U.S. is a relatively small market for Canadian grain and oilseed exports. Under the FTA there is room for growth in certain areas such as rapeseed, oil, high quality oats, malting barley and wheat. The removal of U.S. tariffs on these products will benefit Canadian producers.

Canada has obtained access which is more secure and free of tariffs and other barriers for agriculture and food products of major export interest. The existing marketing systems for dairy, poultry, and egg products are maintained. The right to implement new supply-management programs and import controls under the GATT is retained. The creation of an open investment climate and a free energy market, the elimination of the damaging constraints of federal policies like FIRA and the NEP, will result in a resurgence of investment in the oil and gas sector. Furthermore, this new activity in the energy industry will stimulate Alberta's service industries. This will mean that an expanding western economy in western energy translates into more jobs for steelworkers and equipment manufacturers.

Interest in and support for the FTA in Alberta is very high. The business community is excited about the challenge and by the opportunity to compete in a more

secure and open atmosphere. Albertans have known a lot of challenges in the last few years. The devastation of the ill-conceived National Energy Program was compounded by the rapid decline in world oil prices. Since 1984 Alberta's industries have been streamlining and restructuring. With the many challenges the Alberta economy faces, the free trade legislation at least offers some security in that it provides stable and beneficial bases on which to move into the 21st century.

Merci beaucoup, Madame la présidente.

Mr. Brewin: Madam Speaker, the Hon. Member may wish to defer being congratulated for just a second, although I do join with his colleagues in congratulating him on his speech.

I have a question for him. I always thought that Alberta Conservatives were strong defenders of provincial rights, particularly on energy.

Given that Section 92 of the Constitution Act gives provinces control over development, conservation and management of non-renewable energy, how does the Hon. Member square what I presume to be his concerns about provincial jurisdiction with the Free Trade Agreement's clear interference with provincial rights in the energy field, particularly the restrictions that it imposes on the rights of provinces to intervene in exercising their jurisdiction under the Constitution Act?

• (1850)

Mr. O'Kurley: Madam Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his very good question. In his question he referred to our obligation to share our energy in times of declared energy shortage. What should be brought to the attention of the House is that our position with regard to Canada's obligation to share our energy in times of shortage was not established under the Free Trade Agreement. That obligation was established in 1974 by Prime Minister Trudeau and the Liberal Government in an agreement that was made with 21 other industrial countries to share energy during times of world shortages.

With respect to provincial control of resources, they still have control. We do not have to sell one spoonful of oil to the United States if we do not want to. The only thing that there is an obligation with respect to sharing is during times of a declared energy shortage.

With regard to pricing, if we have in Alberta a producer who can find a consumer in the United States willing to pay twice the world price of oil, then he can

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

sell it. There is nothing in the agreement that limits that.

Mr. Caccia: Madam Speaker, the Hon. Member for Elk Island (Mr. O'Kurley) has spoken eloquently and at length about agriculture. I notice that he did not once mention pesticides. I am sure he is aware of the fact that there is a difference in the management and the administration of pesticides in Canada and the United States. Basically, in essence, in Canada we have a system whereby pesticides are licensed pursuant to the pest control products legislation. That legislation places the emphasis squarely on demonstrating the safety of the product on human health.

South of the border in the U.S. pesticide legislation requires a balancing of risks and benefits. In the risks are also included health risks sometimes related to carcinogenic consequences. Considering the uncertainties in terms of quantifying risks our system is a much safer one than the American one.

The Hon. Member is interested in agriculture and must know about pesticides. Would he support an amendment to Schedule VII in Chapter Seven of the trade agreement which would give the Government of Canada the powers to ban, restrict and regulate pesticides in Canada in order to protect public health? Is the Hon. Member aware of this serious shortcoming? Would he support an amendment to that effect?

Mr. O'Kurley: Madam Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his question. With respect to pesticides, they would fall under the environment. There is a specific clause in the agreement that states that there is nothing in the agreement that limits Canada's ability, or for that matter, the ability of the United States, to bring in any legislation that would protect the health or the environment of either country. Thus the amendment seems not to be necessary in that regard. This is a trade agreement on trade and tariffs. If we want to speak about the environment then we will have an agreement on environment.

Mr. Karygiannis: Madam Speaker, 57 per cent of the Canadian people said no to the deal, yet our friend from Elk Island stands up to try to defend it.

An Hon. Member: Is that a question?

Mr. Karygiannis: I will put the question to him. The Tories always liked for Canada to make money. They have always been supporters of profits. In the last three

days of the federal election they spent millions of dollars through their friends in order to buy their mandate.

If the Hon. Member is such a great supporter of profits my question is this: Why has the Government made it impossible for Canadians to make a profit from our energy resources? Why should the Americans pay the same for our resources as we do? Why should we not make a profit from them?

Mr. O'Kurley: Madam Speaker, my assumption is that the Hon. Member opposite was referring to a differentiated price for energy. As I mentioned, we have no obligation whatsoever to sell any energy at all. If we can find a buyer in the United States who will pay twice the price for any of our energy, we can go ahead and do that.

Mr. Pagtakhan: Madam Speaker, I would like to ask the Hon. Member some short interrelated questions. Given the principle that any quality assurance program has to be monitored to study the impact on citizens, would the Hon. Member agree that when implemented the trade deal has to be monitored by Parliament to ensure that Canadians are not impacted negatively?

Second, given two honest differences of opinion in the interpretation of any legal document such as the Free Trade Agreement, does the Hon. Member not agree to the principle that a good lawyer and a common man would ask that a clarification of the agreement be put into writing?

Third, if at the end of the seven-year review of the subsidy program the United States gives Canada an ultimatum, surrender subsidization or terminate the agreement, what would be the Hon. Member's stand?

Mr. O'Kurley: Madam Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his question. With respect to subsidies and the suggestion that our subsidies are threatened, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade provides protection for our social programs so that any social programs such as family allowance, medicare, seniors' pensions, or unemployment insurance are generally available.

If we learn from the fisheries case in 1985, which issue was taken to court, we will remember that unemployment insurance was challenged as an unfair trade subsidy. In fact, the case was thrown out of court on the basis of the GATT legislation which states specifically that any social program which is generally available is not considered to be a trade subsidy.

Mr. MacWilliam: Madam Speaker, with regard to the Hon. Member's comments that Canadian agriculture is a winner under free trade, I wish first to advise the Hon. Member that independent studies have indicated that in British Columbia over 30,000 agricultural jobs may be on the line with the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement. For the Hon. Member's information, Mr. Gerald Geen, who is the President of the B.C. Tree Fruits Association, has publicly stated that the tree fruit industry in British Columbia will be wiped out by the Free Trade Agreement.

There are grape growers throughout the Okanagan and here in Ontario whose crops will be eliminated once free trade is implemented. The Government has as much as admitted the loss of the grape growing industry with the \$28 million subsidy applied to the B.C. grape growers so that they can pull out their vines and ease their way in to oblivion.

One of the policy advisers to the Government, when he was in the Okanagan and being pressed by farmers with regard to the impact on trade, said: "When it comes right down to it some things are more important politically than they are economically". I was there to hear the remark and I wrote it down.

• (1900)

My question in regard to the devastating impact this trade deal will have on the tree fruit industry, the agriculturalists of the Okanagan Valley, and the grape growing industry is: How is this trade agreement beneficial to those grape growers who are having to pull their vines out because they will no longer be competitive?

Mr. O'Kurley: I thank the Hon. Member opposite for the question. With regard to adjustments and moving from one walk of life to another, there is a normal rate of adjustment with or without the Free Trade Agreement. It has been said that if there are 100 firms or companies, 18 of those would normally change. Under the Free Trade Agreement there will be one extra. With respect to the significance of changes that will result from free trade, that is not a serious problem.

With respect to the grape growers, the Niagara fruit belt where there are many grape growers, they gave strong support to Progressive Conservative Members, which indicates that grape growers were in favour of the Free Trade Agreement. It indicates that free trade was not the major issue in the campaign.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The major issue in the campaign was that of economic management. They put their trust in the Conservative Government because they knew what the alternatives were.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs. Champagne): The time for questions and comments has expired. Resuming debate, the Hon. Member for Mount Royal.

Mrs. Sheila Finestone (Mount Royal): Madam Speaker, I am glad to be back in this House participating in this free trade debate. We as parliamentarians are fulfilling our responsibilities and the honoured traditions of this House by representing the people who elected us to come back here and ask questions. The most important aspect of the exercise we are presently involved in is the need for clarification, assurances, and understanding. There is definitely no consensus out there. People are confused and concerned. People have questions.

We would be well served if the House had been of better humour. We would be well served if many of the questions posed in this House by the Opposition could get answers that would make people feel good and know that the future will be as prosperous as the Government has held it to be.

I will not argue the merits or the lack of merits of the Free Trade Agreement *per se*. The Liberal Party is a free trade Party. I am a free trade person by spirit, background, and training. I am a free trader from my family, my husband, and from my own inclinations.

When I sat down to study this Free Trade Agreement, many questions arose. Many concerns surfaced. It is only in the best interests of harmony, peace, justice, and equity that those questions be answered and many of the concerns laid to rest.

It is true that this is a living document. It will be defined over the next five to seven years. While that is being done, we must keep in mind the concerns that are fundamental to our future and to the future of our children.

We came to this House because we are proud as Canadians. We wish to retain that pride of self, that particularity of person, and the persona that we have developed as a result of the social and economic contract which we have developed as Canadians over the history of this wonderful land. It is a young history. It is only 120-odd years old. We are flourishing in terms of our cultural development and whole ethic of management. We have a social contract that is different from that of our neighbours to the south. I call the Americans

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

neighbours and friends because they are. I do not particularly care for the language which indicates an anti-Americanism of spirit on any side of the House.

This country has developed a culture that is indigenous to itself. On the one side we have a scale that is held on two sides by a balance. It is that balance, the economic prosperity which is brought by good business heads, a fine labour force, by able people who are prepared to work—

[*Translation*]

—in both languages. It makes no difference which language is used, but the desire to work, to be proud of oneself—

[*English*]

That is part of our Canadian culture.

On the other side are the aspects of the life we have put together, the social contract and the social fabric that are so key. Those things are called medicare, pensions, unemployment insurance, and workers' compensation. These are perceived to be the kinds of fair balance—

[*Translation*]

Social equity, equality under law, an even balance. That is what Canadians want and need to express their cultural identity. That is what Canadians hold dear.

[*English*]

The cultural, economic, and social fabric are intimately interlinked in this country. That makes us different from our American cousins. It is that fabric that we must maintain here in Canada. It is that fabric that is being questioned. I see my colleague from Calgary where?

Mr. Edwards: That is an unkind thought.

Mrs. Finestone: Anywhere. Wherever.

Mr. Edwards: Edmonton.

Mrs. Finestone: Edmonton. I forgot about that competition. After visiting both those cities, I certainly would have an interesting choice in your fair city.

Those are the contracts that we want to assure. If you listen in a dispassionate, pragmatic, cerebral way and remove the emotion, the questions posed by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy) are well-founded, plausible questions. The recommendations he wished to present for inclusion as part and parcel of the agreement that was signed, the exemptions

that would have allayed the fears, were well thought through and well-founded.

Having spent part of the summer on the free trade committee, a lot of the question marks would have disappeared had those clarifications been brought forth in the legislation. I would like to read some of them into the record. They are important. When this Centre for International Trade which the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) announced tonight is established here in Ottawa, I would hope that some of these matters will be carefully surveyed and supervised and that we can be assured that they will be maintained and kept in place.

Some have said that the negotiations were done by candle-light. Some were very upset when Simon Reisman, the ambassador, walked away and when the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), and Mr. Burney of the Prime Minister's Office ran down to sign that document finally and to save this agreement. The questions still remained. Mr. Reisman walked out for a reason. That reason, I hope, will be proven unfounded.

Let us look at the type of negotiations that must be kept off the table, kept clear, neat, and clean as part of the contract. This agreement must prevent, limit, and restrict the Government of Canada for allowing the exercise of loss of authority in any of the following areas: In social policy, including but not limiting the continuation and existence and establishment of new health care, unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, child care, pensions, minimum wage laws, labour law, and maternity benefit programs.

• (1910)

The Prime Minister waxed eloquent about development and people being able to live a full and wonderful life outside the centres of this country, whether in the hills of Nova Scotia, in the North, or on the islands. By what means will regional development programs be assured? We only wanted an amendment stating quite clearly that there would be an exemption with respect to regional industrial development.

The amendment concerned the use of Canadian natural resources, including but not limited to energy, mineral, and water resources. We wanted a clarification.

We wanted clarification of Canadian cultural industries, including but not limited to the performing and visual arts and new cultural technologies and forms as they may emerge.

Another concern is the maintenance and development of a viable food production and processing industry. There is the protection of the environment and health of Canadians, and any and all other matters essential to the health and security of Canadians.

The Government told us not to worry, but for the sake of assurance I would ask the Government to include it in the agreement as an exemption. The Government has not been sufficiently open-minded or concerned about the views of its constituents, if it does not understand that including these exemptions will avoid the concerns that over 50 per cent of the electorate has expressed.

I accept that the Government has a legitimate right to govern. However, the majority of Canadians did not vote for the Government, and it has a double obligation to answer to them in a clear, unequivocal way.

[*Translation*]

—unequivocally, by including these exemptions in the Agreement.

[*English*]

I want to deal with an area in which I have had a great interest in the last four years of my mandate. I am talking about the cultural sector.

The agreement should have included a much stronger clause than what is contained in Article 2005 dealing with the supposed elimination of any concerns about cultural industries. There must be a much stronger clause which expressly states that no retaliatory measures may be taken against any Canadian government initiatives in the interest of the protection or promotion of cultural businesses in Canada.

The fact that the Government has not taken such action is disconcerting.

Some of the documents produced by the American Government in this area caused great concern. For instance, let me refer to a document that I brought to the attention of the House in May, 1988. It contains the recommendations of the American Finance Ways and Means Committee to the President of the United States on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. It was tabled and released on May 27, 1988.

The Senate committee chairman was the Hon. Lloyd Bentsen and the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means was the Hon. Dan Rostenkowski. The report stated with respect to the relationship of the Free Trade Agreement to American federal law that in the event of a conflict between U.S. law and the Free Trade

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Agreement, U.S. law shall prevail. At that point the Minister was forced to remove a very obnoxious clause contained in the original Free Trade Agreement. Article 8 stated that the Free Trade Agreement would prevail over all Canadian law. Fortunately that ridiculous and poorly conceived clause was removed.

The recommendation with respect to Article 1610 dealing with international agreements was to authorize bilateral negotiations, to liberalize investment rules, to require consultation with diverse U.S. interests, and to establish certain negotiating objectives.

One was the elimination of direct investment screening, which they achieved. Another was the extension of Free Trade Agreement principles to energy and cultural industries to the extent not now covered. This suggests to me that our cultural fabric, the expression of ourselves as a people through our writers, singers, dancers, or those involved in the performing or visual arts, should not get too much exposure. We should not see more of ourselves but more of the American presence. That is not our purpose nor is the policy of the Government.

Shortly after the Americans passed the Free Trade Agreement in June, 1988, the U.S. Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, sent an official business communiqué which included a list of questions, answers, and clarifications.

For example, it asked: "Why aren't cultural industries included in the FTA?" The answer is:

The United States is sensitive to Canadian interests in fostering its distinct cultural heritage.

That is very nice. It goes on to say that certain cultural industries are exempt. It goes on to state:

Furthermore, the United States retains the right to rebalance concessions with measures of equivalent effect if future cultural policies are detrimental to our commercial interests.

The American entertainment industry is interested in the bottom line while here it is true that we wrap ourselves in the flag. What is wrong with that? It makes for part of our distinctiveness as Canadians. The answer goes on to state:

The agreement does not require invocation of its dispute settlement provisions in order to take such countermeasures.

Not only are we supposedly exempt, we cannot even go through the dispute settlement mechanism if we have a complaint because we are exempt from it according to Article 1607.

The next question asks: "Doesn't the cultural exception adversely affect U.S. firms?" The answer states:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

No, the FTA improves Canadian treatment of U.S. commercial interests in the cultural area. It provides for tariff elimination (e.g., on videos, records, printed material)—

The Government should have read the Donner report. While the Government stated that it carefully listened to the SAGITs, one of the most important reports the SAGIT heard was made by the recording industry. The recording industry indicated through the Donner report why it was not pleased with what would happen to the industry.

Our smaller printing and publication industries cannot enjoy the economies of scale and therefore will lose their power to produce some of our own materials.

The answer goes on to state:

In addition, the Free Trade Agreement allows the United States to take measures of equivalent commercial effect in the event that Canada enacts additional restrictions which impair U.S. access to the Canadian market.

In other words, if our attempt to recover our indigenous Canadian culture and access to Canadian culture affects their bottom line, no matter what the industry it will be unacceptable. We cannot even make a cultural impact on the world because the Bureau of Public Affairs goes on to state in its answer:

This right should serve as a dis-incentive to the use of cultural exceptions for measures that, although nominally cultural, have significant commercial effects.

Something nominally cultural would just happen to be our films, books and music. Those are the nominally cultural things which, through the Canada Council, we have seen fit to support. Various other programs, including Telefilm Canada and programs supporting a Canadian concept to the broadcasting industry, are the things that have Canadianized us through the communications industry. Instead, we have gone to a continentalist North American approach which is totally unacceptable.

• (1920)

I know there is not agreement on the part of my colleagues with this vision. We read American documents which indicate to American businesses that they do not have to worry. I suggest that we had better start worrying pretty darn quick.

I have come to the end of what I have to say, I see. I suggest that it would have been in the best interests of this country and of the Free Trade Agreement had the amendment we wanted to propose been debated and accepted by the House. That amendment provided that for greater certainty, nothing in the Act or agreement

shall limit or restrict the support of the Government of Canada for the development of cultural industries or cultural business in Canada.

I am speaking not only for myself. The artists and members of the performing industry in Canada are very seriously concerned. They have grave reservations about this Bill. Take a look at what has been done with respect to cultural industries under Article 1607.4. Investment in Canada and the purchase of Canadian cultural properties after 1992 is perfectly allowable under the deal we have now signed. I find that extremely regrettable. I cannot wait for your question, dear friend.

Mr. Edwards: Mr. Speaker, it is a treat to which I had looked forward throughout the election campaign, because I had, in spite of what was happening elsewhere in Québec, very little doubt that our hon. friend would be back with us. I know that like many of us, she wondered at one point whether it would be worth doing again. We all have those moments of doubt, but I am delighted, for Mount Royal and for our country, that she is back, and I am sure she will serve very well.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Edwards: Now then—

Mrs. Finestone: First some soft soap, and then what?

Mr. Edwards: I find that the artists with whom I have spoken are far more interested in access to the Canadian market than in worrying about what may be happening external to them in a continentalist approach or a commercial approach.

My friend is more precise and more honest than the vast majority of them, but many opposition critics have said that the entire artistic community is rejecting this trade deal.

Just four names come to mind of people in the visual arts field who have embraced this trade deal as having the potential to create more wealth and thereby give us better business to support the arts. They are Ken Danby, Alex Colville, Christopher and Mary Pratt, all well-known, distinguished Canadian visual artists.

To come to my good friend's question and the point that she made about the statements of Congressman Rostenkowski and others, I would ask my hon. friend opposite how U.S. legislators or the U.S. administration would react to each of the statements that have been made in this debate in the House of Commons over the last two weeks.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

If the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy), for example, were taken seriously by the U.S. administration and by the congressional leadership as being representative of a significant body of Canadian thinking, whose view might prevail, would we not think that there might be some kind of a shrinking back and horror on the part of the U.S. administration?

In fact, there are those who have asked, when they have pointed their cigars at the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre, if there is anything on God's green earth that that man is for. My hon. friend, I know, is for Canada, as I think I am, and I would like to ask her whether she sincerely believes that our Canadian sense, that sense that I know she has of being proudly Canadian, has in any way been eroded or impaired over the past shall we say 35 years during which our trade and our close relationship with the United States, largely under the regime of her Party, have grown closer and closer. Is it not true that many of the Canadian cultural and other institutions which we hold so dear have flourished and grown during that period? Is there not truly in this agreement nothing to impair that—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, please. I recognize the Hon. Member for Mount Royal.

Mrs. Finestone: Mr. Speaker, I would be pleased to try to answer in a more global sense the questions of my colleague and friend from Edmonton Southwest. At the outset, though, I would like to suggest to him that the remarks of my colleague from Winnipeg South Centre were genuine. He has a son and he is anxious to pass on to his son the same kind of love of country that the Hon. Member has instilled in his children and I have and have instilled in mine.

Over the last 35 years, there has been incredible growth and development in Canada. I said we are a young country. Through the Canada Council and our broadcast policies, we have fortunately put lots of money into trying to promote our artists and their ability to find a medium of expression, whether in the visual or the performing arts.

The Broadcasting Act allows for a great deal of Canadianization, and my concern is that that forms opinions and thoughts. If our children and grandchildren are constantly exposed to American programming, they will not necessarily turn out to be bad people, but they will not turn out to be people with a concept of a Canadian reality.

I am concerned that the capital cost allowance, which was a way to incite the private sector into investing in

film distribution and production, was cut out because of pressure from Jack Valenti. The watering down of our film distribution Bill embarrassed the former Minister of Communications whose arm was twisted, as did the Baie Comeau policy and the concept of buying back our own products and distribution potential for our products. All those are now compromised.

All I wanted was assurances. I would recommend that Hon. Members look at Article 1607.3, Article 1607.4, and Article 2011. I do not want to go into the nullification clauses or the divestiture clauses. The concepts were there. The philosophies were there.

• (1930)

The Minister of Energy (Mr. Masse) did a good job. They have all tried but nothing has happened. The Government is now in a position of losing all the effort and initiative that was started by Liberals and carried on by the Conservatives. Cultural protection is an ongoing commitment of which we do not have enough in this House. If we are to be concerned about who we are, the money, support, political policy and political will—not just throwing money but having a vision of where we want to go—must be integrated into the political philosophy and the legislative action of this country. That means a film and a book distribution policy, all the policies that concern marketing, distribution, and exhibition for ourselves first. For the stranger at the gate, 97 per cent of our market they have in filming and 80 per cent they have in film distribution. I do not have to give the Hon. Member the figures. He knows them. Yes, I have serious concerns.

Mr. Brewin: Mr. Speaker, I know the time is brief. Let me just pick up the theme of the Member who has been addressing us. It seems to me that the whole thrust of the free trade initiative taken by the Government is to further commercialize Canadian life. When one discusses and addresses the cultural themes as has the Member, one has to look at the global picture in that sense as well.

What we have, as the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said during the television debate, is just a commercial agreement. He honoured tonight all the virtues, in particular that of competitiveness. It strikes me that we hope to have a society in Canada that has somewhat different values. One of them that we ought to be cherishing and giving a higher place to is that of a broadly based cultural policy in which all Canadians can share. The only way we can have that is to have a strong

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Government that gives support to cultural activities across the board. That is undermined by this agreement.

Mrs. Finestone: Mr. Speaker, I would say it is in jeopardy. I do not say that it is totally undermined. We need a clarification so that we can be assured that the exemptions are there. That is what I called for. I agree with what the Hon. Member said.

Mr. Caccia: Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) on her fine intervention. Would she care to comment on the fact that this week we were not given an opportunity to put forward, discuss, examine, and vote upon amendments which could have improved the quality of this agreement in order to protect culture, the environment, and the health of Canadians?

Mrs. Finestone: I thank the Hon. Member for the question. If there is anything that has made me very sad, it is the fact that the Government has used the guillotine procedure called closure. It is totally unnecessary, not in the interests of Canadians, and is only exacerbating the great difference of opinion expressed through the vote.

Mr. Larry Schneider (Regina—Wascana): Mr. Speaker, thank you for the opportunity to address Parliament on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, an agreement whose prime purpose is to manage the future growth of a financial agreement that has recently grown to become of increasing interest to United States politicians who wish to save their political skins by relying on trade protectionism.

During the election campaign in my constituency of Regina—Wascana the New Democratic Party, the Liberal-Communist coalition, time after time attempted to frighten our aging population. The opposition was simply out to scare the people with emotional drama and mistruths. It just about worked. As a Progressive Conservative candidate elected from Regina—Wascana I am the first one to represent these citizens in 26 years on the side of government. It took a very special effort to become elected.

It was a very close election running against a high profile Party and a high profile individual in the form of the previous Leader of the Provincial Liberal Party. He is no more. However, I was supported with an extremely strong and well organized campaign team.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those voters who supported my election. I wish also to assure those who chose otherwise that as a result of my election I will continue my commitment to all as I have the past

nine years as mayor of the City of Regina. I commit to the maintenance of a real and genuine concern for the citizens of Regina, my birthplace, my home, and my family's home. I wish also to convey my commitment to the residents of the entire constituency, that of Regina—Wascana, the breadbasket of the world up until this past drought stricken summer.

The recent election campaign is one that I am sure most of Canada regarded with a certain degree of amazement. The campaign provided this amazement in that I am sure that, at least in recent memory, there has not been an election conducted by members of the Opposition who have their statements strongly ridiculed by the media and yet have gone unchallenged. I view this as quite appalling for people seeking public office, to make the kinds of statements that members of the Opposition have made and expect the Canadian public to have any respect for members of those political Parties.

The Opposition said, in attempting to frighten the voters, that in five to seven years our social programs would be considered subsidies. They seem to have this clairvoyant trait that eludes those who are responsible for providing government. They say that five to seven years from now these matters will be singled out and eliminated with some future agreement. If we just listen to that argument, it reaffirms that our social programs are not subject to this agreement. This agreement is what we are signing, not something which is to be determined five to seven years down the road. It is absurd that this agreement should have written into it matters not relative to it.

It is the Opposition's duty to oppose and that it did. They provided opposition to the extent that the media called much of it to task. I quote from an article printed in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on Thursday, November 3. On page 7 the article is headed "How John Turner misleads on trade", and reads:

The Leader of the Opposition has been lying about the content and impact of the Free Trade Agreement. Statements he makes on the subject, almost without exception—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I would just remind the Hon. Member that what a Member cannot say in the House directly should not be said indirectly and I refer precisely to the word "lying".

Mr. Schneider: I am sorry, Mr. Speaker. I thought in quoting from a news article that was permitted. I will withdraw that. I will proceed:

Statements he makes on the subject, almost without exception, are fundamentally untrue.

It seems to me that Canadian citizens would have to ask themselves where is the defence of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) to this statement? How can anyone call anyone else—a word I cannot use in this Chamber—in our society without having this slanderous statement pursued through the courts? Where has this pursuit been? I have not seen it. I have not heard it and, therefore, I can only conclude that the statements contained in this newspaper article, effectively, are true. In the event that someone may be under the mistaken impression that the New Democratic Party is exempt from these tactics, let me quote from another article I have entitled “Liberals and NDP wrong about trade deal: Canadian Federation of Labour”. It goes on to state:

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has won an unexpected backing from the Canadian Federation of Labour for his charge that opposition Parties are misleading voters about free trade in the federal election campaign. Federation President Jim McCambly said the Liberals and New Democrats are suggesting things that are simply not true in their attacks against the free trade pact with the United States.

If industry and media are making these kinds of statements and telling Canadians that the Liberals and the NDP are telling the public things which are not true, are saying to the public that people are doing things that I cannot say in this Chamber, making statements that are fundamentally untrue, who are the public to believe? The Free Trade Agreement has claimed to be or will be responsible for everything from bad weather to mongolism.

The Opposition went on to say that this agreement would motivate Americans to take over our hospitals and make a profit, that we would have a two-tier health system, one for the rich and one for the poor, but we already have hospitals and health care services in Canada that turn a profit. In Ontario alone there are 16 such private profit making hospitals including Hawkesbury. Some are even owned by Americans. Extendicare, a private facility in Saskatchewan and Canada, operates more than 100 high level care homes for senior citizens.

While we are speaking of private profitable health services there is one that operates in the backyard of the Leader of the New Democratic Party with the full knowledge and support of the New Democratic Party, I trust. No, sir, I do not know what kind of deal they have made with Dr. Morgentaler.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Let us talk about why we entered this trade deal, what is in it for us, and why we should enter into a long-term contract to trade with our closest friend and neighbour. Why is it so important now that 80 per cent of our trade is already tariff-free? We entered the agreement for two reasons. We wanted to assure access to the United States for our goods and we wanted exemption from protectionism.

The Free Trade Agreement gives us both. The Free Trade Agreement places the two countries on more of a level playing field for our goods and theirs. It makes us more competitive. It tears down the barriers that inhibit trade. It gives us guaranteed and full market access to a market of 250 million people. Without it we would be the only country in the developed world without an ensured market of at least 100 million people. We would be left out in the cold. Tariffs are not the only form of protectionism. There are quotas, technical barriers, and other artificial irritants at the border.

• (1940)

This agreement eliminates many of these barriers and gives us a binding dispute mechanism to deal with those that are left. Some of the Canadian and American countervail and anti-dumping laws remain intact with the Free Trade Agreement, however we are now equal partners in settling disputes and have a mechanism to deal with them fairly, quickly, and impartially.

On the other hand, any new U.S. trade legislation must be submitted to Canada for formal inspection and negotiation, with the trade deal itself on the line. This was a landmark concession given to Canada by a country which always holds its cards close to its chest.

Perhaps, most important, the Free Trade Agreement exempts us from the omnibus Trade Bill. That is a frightening piece of protectionist legislation passed by the American Congress that imposes quotas and tariffs on other countries which export to the United States. If any American industry thinks that a foreign export is injuring it in any way, the President and the Congress of the United States are mandated to impose a penalty that is a quota or a tariff, unilaterally, to protect that American industry. The Free Trade Agreement gives us an exemption to the omnibus trade Bill.

The Liberals say that they believe in free trade, but that they do not believe in this deal. What would they replace it with? First, they say that they would modernize and strengthen GATT, and amend the mechanism within GATT for reaching decisions. GATT is a 96-Member agreement. How can we, as one country,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

achieve a modernization and strengthening to our trading arrangement of something to which 96 nations are a party. Let us be realistic. GATT has been evolving since 1947. How could we amend GATT by ourselves when we cannot cut a deal with our best friends and biggest trading partner within GATT? Come now, who would listen?

The second strategy of the Liberals would be to go after multilateral rather than bilateral agreements. Although this would involve a number of nations, my Liberal friends in Regina estimate that it could be accomplished in the short period of time of two to two and a half years.

We are already doing multilateral and bilateral deals as GATT members. The Free Trade Agreement is a model for GATT. It will help speed the GATT process along. However, how would two and a half years be feasible when some of the decisions taken at the time of the Kennedy Round of negotiations in the 1960s still have not been implemented.

Saskatchewan trades around the world. We are looking to expand those markets, particularly in the Pacific Rim. Our largest trading partner is the United States, followed by Japan. After that our next 10 trading partners, in descending order, do not even speak our language.

Third, and perhaps most significant, the Liberals trade strategy calls for sector by sector trade negotiations consistent with GATT. Unfortunately for Canada, GATT frowns upon sector by sector negotiations. It simply will not permit them. GATT considers them sweetheart deals, and they are simple unacceptable. GATT would not tolerate the Auto Pact today, if it had not previously been negotiated. However, that has been protected by the Free Trade Agreement.

What is the NDP's vision of a trade policy for Canada? Is it a call for monetary reform, again reform of a policy which involves all major nations of the developed world? If we cannot do a free trade agreement, then why would anyone in the world listen to us as the voice of reason when it came to establishing a monetary policy?

Members of the NDP state that they are against free trade. They call for managed trade on a sector by sector basis, like the Auto Pact, consistent with GATT. I have previously commented on what GATT thinks about sector by sector arrangements.

The previous Liberal Leader tried it and the protectionist wall around the United States became strong. That is why the Government initiated the Free Trade Agreement in the first place. Members of the Liberal Party say that we should reduce tariffs multilaterally. That is what we are doing through GATT. We are one of 96 nations which include the United States. However, as I said before, it is an extremely slow process that will not give us special access to the U.S. market. It certainly will not protect us from the omnibus trade Bill and growing U.S. protectionist sentiment. The policy of the NDP would inhibit foreign investment, and discourage foreign corporations from setting up shop in Canada and employing our workforce, ordinary Canadians.

A loss of foreign capital would lead to a further drop in the Canadian dollar, higher interest rates, and ultimately a larger deficit. The Free Trade Agreement will entice foreign companies to manufacture in Canada in order to take advantage of our open and secure access to the huge United States market. Foreign investment in manufacturing means jobs for Canadians.

Finally, the NDP wants us to negotiate through GATT using the GATT appeal process. That is tremendously slow and much more cumbersome than the dispute mechanism currently in the Free Trade Agreement. Even with the Free Trade Agreement we are entitled to us the GATT appeal process over the bilateral Free Trade Agreement approach, if we so wish.

In the past GATT, unlike the Free Trade Agreement, has given Canada no protection or reprieve from being side-swiped in the subsidy war between the United States and the European Economic Community. That war has forced our grain prices through the floor, and deficiency payments to farmers have cost Canadian taxpayers billions of dollars.

I have heard much in the House this past week and throughout the campaign about big business and the role that they play with respect to the promotion of the Free Trade Agreement. If one studies the make-up of the shareholders of many big businesses in Canada, one will find that the major shareholders, to good degree, are pension plans. Those pension plans belong to the average Canadian citizen.

It has been said that there has been no consultation in this process. I have documents that indicate that 59 groups appeared as part of the Saskatchewan Public Consultation Process on Trade Negotiations covering a period from August 6 to August 29, 1986, and October 21 to November 23, 1987. On 20 dates hearings were

held for 20 different trading sectors. There were an additional 35 town hall meetings covering a period of November 16, 1987 to March 1, 1988.

Perhaps public opinion could best be said by the Ottawa taxi driver who drove me to the airport last Saturday morning. He said: "I voted for Brian Mulroney because Canada needs free trade and he can be trusted".

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Schneider: That taxi driver has the wisdom to know that wealth means sovereignty. Why do the Liberals and the NDP not have that type of intelligence?

There have been comments made that the Free Trade Agreement is bad for agriculture. Why are the Premiers of our agricultural provinces pushing so hard to get it passed? Do they know something that we do not? Why are the hog marketing boards, the stock growers, the barley, Canola and wheat growers, taking ads out in newspapers across Canada calling themselves "Farmers for Free Trade"? Do they not know what they are talking about?

The Free Trade Agreement will shelter us from American protectionism which is largely aimed at agricultural products: livestock, animal feed, Canola, and grain. Do not take it from me, take it from Fletcher's Meats, flax growers, the United Grain Growers, the Saskatchewan cattle feeders, and Farmers for Free Trade. It is their business and they are very vocal in their support. They are not big business. They are ordinary Canadians.

What about the business community? The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Consumers' Association of Canada, the Retail Council of Canada, the Life and Health Insurance Association of Canada, the Canadian Association of Small Business, and the Manufacturers' Association are among 31 associations that strongly endorse trade in a brochure entitled "Free Trade—Good for Canada". There is much to do about big business benefiting from the Free Trade Agreement.

I have been in contact with the owner of a small furniture business in the City of Regina. He has been in business for 25 years making hospital and hotel furniture, computer tables, and the like. He is anxiously looking forward to free trade and getting into that bigger market. Just let us give him a chance. He feels that he is able to compete and in anticipation is planning a growth strategy for the next few years. Many feel that,

because the United States population is 10 times our size, we would have great difficulty competing in an open and free market.

Let me talk about Sweeprite Manufacturing of Regina, a manufacturer of street sweepers. In speaking to the owner, a Hungarian immigrant, Les Hulicsko, he advised me that in the manufacture of a street sweeper he must bring component parts into Canada from the United States and pay a duty. Once the street sweeper is completed and exported to the United States, there is another duty levied. He said that if both those duties were eliminated not only could he provide better wages for his employees but he could expand his operation, be even more competitive than he is in the United States, and create more jobs. In fact, 75 per cent of his street sweepers are already sold into the American market.

There are not many in the House who know that adjacent to my constituency is the constituency of Moose Jaw—Lake Centre previously served extremely well by Mr. Bill Gottselig in the previous Government.

Moose Jaw—Lake Centre is now left without government representation, but that does not bother me. I investigated a small clothing manufacturer in the City of Moose Jaw called CanaDay's. It is a manufacturer of leisure wear, employing some 125 people. It was suggested by the NDP Member for the riding in which CanaDay's is located that CanaDay's is fearful of the Free Trade Agreement.

• (1950)

He must have been speaking to someone other than those to whom I spoke, because the indication that I got was that the major concern of CanaDay's with respect to ability or inability to compete in the United States relates to technological advances. It seems that a major U.S. competitor of CanaDay's has acquired computerized laser cutting equipment. This laser cutting process is one that CanaDay's will have to watch closely, Free Trade Agreement or not. It is a manufacturer of quality products, and it feels that, by keeping its quality standards high, as Canadian manufacturers are known to do, it will be able to maintain its current share of the market.

The Free Trade Agreement does not pose a threat to CanaDay's.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Schneider: We also have in Moose Jaw a small meat packing plant employing 28 people. If growth

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

continues, as is predicted under the Free Trade Agreement, that plant will have to increase its staff by 55 per cent. That is 15 union jobs generated because of the Progressive Conservative initiative as it relates to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

I have a photograph of my father taken during the 1950s, at a time when he was walking the picket line. The placard he was carrying at the time had words to the effect "Protect us from Technology".

As much as that fear was in place then, Mr. Speaker, I suggest to you it exists today, but not to the same degree. We have learned to work with technological advancements and to use technology to provide us with greater social benefits, a greater standard of living, and a better workplace.

The debate throughout the past few days and months has centred on who supports and who does not support free trade.

Three months ago the annual meeting of the Municipal Economic Development Officers of Canada was held. In attendance at that meeting was the Municipal Economic Development Officer for the City of Moose Jaw and his counterparts from all cities in Canada. And what did they do? Every city in Canada unanimously agreed that the Free Trade Agreement was good for Canada.

Premier Grant Devine and Mr. Fred Mitchell, President of Intercontinental Packers, in a joint statement issued recently, announced that in late January of 1989 Intercontinental Packers will embark upon a \$8 million modernization of its beef processing facilities in Saskatoon.

I bring that announcement to the attention of the House today because I rather suspect that the New Democratic Party Members from Saskatoon, Regina's great sister city to the north, would likely find it convenient to overlook.

The project in question represents phase 2 of a \$24 million four-phase expansion by Intercontinental Packers, which itself is one of Canada's top four meat packers and the largest industrial employer in Saskatchewan.

The modernization of its beef processing facilities, to be completed in October of 1989, will double the plant's kill and chill capacity to 5,200 head per week, creating 148 new union jobs in the process.

Intercon is the third largest pork wholesaler in California, and you can bet that it supports the Free Trade Agreement.

The media, Mr. Speaker, have contributed to some of the mistrust that exists in the minds of Canadians as well. Allow me to quote from an article produced by a research bulletin called "On Balance", a division of the Fraser Institute, a national non-partisan research organization.

The Archive sponsors and conducts research on the fidelity of the public information function performed by the national media. The methods employed to do the analysis were described by Ms. Lydia Miljan, Archive Co-ordinator, who said, and I quote:

Researchers analysed thousands of individual statements made by reporters and those who were interviewed by the *Globe and Mail* and the CBC. In all, statements made between 407 journalists and 1,318 interviewees were examined.

Ms. Miljan, an expert in communications noted, and I quote:

Since 70 per cent of the resulting news coverage was based on partial or clipped interviews or paraphrasing of comments by interviewees, we infer that the resulting news coverage reflected decisions made by journalists as to which clips or which paraphrased comments to include in the final news item.

The choices made by journalists about content were consistent with the views they expressed themselves. While journalists confined their comments to statements of fact eight times out of ten, CBC reporters, when they did express an opinion, presented anti-free trade statements two out of three times.

This contrasts with *The Globe and Mail*, wherein reporter expressions of opinions were almost equally balanced at 56 per cent against and 44 per cent in favour.

Is it any wonder, Mr. Speaker, that, thanks to the CBC and the scare tactics employed by the Opposition, the public were misinformed and improperly informed during this campaign?

Time does not permit one to vent one's frustration fully, Mr. Speaker, with respect to the process that has taken us this far, and I know I must conclude. But before I do, I must tell you and the citizens of Canada that I, as the Progressive Conservative Member for Regina—Wascana, will do everything in my power to represent a truly progressive attitude, an attitude that embraces a positive vision of my city and of my country.

I represent a strong, free and independent Canada, a country that stands on its own in the trading world. I

represent a Party that believes in a strong economy, a Party that believes in strong job creation and strong investment, both of which will help pay for the caring society that we have all built together.

I and my colleagues in the Progressive Conservative Party love our cities, our towns, our villages; and, above all, we love our country. Our citizens can count on our commitment, regardless of how long it takes to shed ourselves of the dubious and negative statements aimed at preventing us from obtaining our goals.

It is our commitment to reduce our national deficit, to broaden our tax base, and to provide for the highest living standard that can be obtained by any citizen in this world.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Prince Albert—Churchill River on questions or comments.

Mr. Funk: Mr. Speaker, I have a number of questions for the Hon. Member who has just spoken. First of all, he was concerned about accuracy of fact. While he was speaking I went out and checked and in fact I am unable to find where Canada is exempted from the omnibus trade Bill in the U.S. In fact, I thought one of the issues was that Canada is not exempted from the U.S. omnibus trade Bill.

I would ask the Hon. Member to point out in the agreement the clause under which Canada is exempted from the U.S. omnibus trade Bill.

Mr. Schneider: Not having the agreement in hand, it would be extremely difficult for me to cite chapter and verse in that respect. However, as has been explained many times in this place, the Free Trade Agreement is a bilateral agreement between Canada and the United States, and that fact itself will exempt Canada from the omnibus trade Bill, which is aimed at those trading communities that do not have a trade agreement with the U.S.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Prince Albert—Churchill River, on a supplementary.

Mr. Funk: There are a few other questions that I would ask the Hon. Member to address. I asked the Trade Minister of Saskatchewan whether Clause 1603 of the agreement would make illegal the surface lease agreements that we have in northern Saskatchewan, agreements which guarantee 50 per cent local labour, local content. The Saskatchewan Minister was unable to answer my question, and I would ask for the Hon. Member's comments on it.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Second, I refer the Hon. Member to Clause 2010, which deals with monopolies. If in fact the Devine Government in Saskatchewan privatizes SaskPower and SaskTel, my interpretation is that we would be restricted from buying those back without compensating Americans.

Third, under Clause 1304, the procurement clause, and specifically the American appendix thereto, minority owned businesses are exempted from free trade across the border, whereas the Canadian schedule does not exempt such businesses.

I should also like to refer the Hon. Member to Clause 701, which has to do with not subsidizing into each other's agricultural markets. At page 308 there is a stand still letter in that respect.

Given the export subsidies that we have seen coming from the U.S., I would ask for the Hon. Member's comments on that.

I would also like the Hon. Member to comment on the opposition to this agreement of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, bearing in mind that the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool represents the vast majority of Saskatchewan farmers.

Furthermore, I would ask him why Regina and Saskatoon would not take the same view as Fargo, a city of one-third their size, if it is such an advantage to be close to that American market and a part of it.

Mr. Schneider: Mr. Speaker, I would be only too happy to answer the Hon. Member's questions if I could understand them. Perhaps the Hon. Member could put, in more precise form, his third and fourth questions, and perhaps even his sixth.

Mr. Funk: Are you referring to the local content question? I didn't number my questions.

An Hon. Member: Just ask your questions again, one at a time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Chair recognizes the Hon. Member for Prince Albert—Churchill River.

I might say that the procedure is not generally that the Hon. Member who has completed his speech asks questions. However, as I understand it, the Hon. Member for Regina—Wascana is seeking some detail in respect of the questions asked.

Perhaps the Hon. Member could rephrase his questions.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

● (2000)

Mr. Funk: Mr. Speaker, should I ask them one at a time? Can I sit down between questions and continue with the series?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That can be done but only if the Hon. Member putting the question is the only Hon. Member standing up. If other Members stand up during this question and comment period, the Chair would have to go to that other Member. So far the Hon. Member has been the only one to stand up. If it continues, there will be no problem in following that procedure.

Mr. Funk: Of particular concern to people in the Prince Albert area is Article 1603, Performance Requirements, which states:

Neither Party shall impose on an investor of the other Party . . . a requirement to:

- a) export a given level or percentage of goods or services;
- b) substitute goods or services from the territory of such Party for imported goods or services;
- c) purchase goods or services used by the investor in the territory of such Party or from suppliers located in such territory or accord a preference to goods or services produced in such territory;

We have surface lease agreements in northern Saskatchewan which are very important to the economy. They require that 50 per cent of goods and services be purchased locally. To my mind that kind of arrangement is illegal under the FTA and I would ask the Hon. Member to comment.

Mr. Schneider: Mr. Speaker, in that I am expected to give an answer from memory, I defy him to ask the question from memory. In fact, the question almost seems to defy answering. If I can paraphrase the question, it essentially seems to say—

Mrs. Sparrow: Give him some help.

Mr. Schneider: He is from Saskatchewan and we help each other out there. He needs some help. He is from northern Saskatchewan. I love that part of the province. I should tell the Hon. Member, while I have his undivided attention, that the greatest fishing in the world, and the coolest, freshest water I could ever hope to find is in northern Saskatchewan, the area the Hon. Member represents. I am extremely delighted that he is here to represent northern Saskatchewan. We find it to be an extremely sparsely populated area. As a matter of fact, that area generally referred to as northern Saskatchewan occupies the top northern two-thirds of the province so it is quite a vast area. Of course, surface rights are

certainly something we are all very intrigued by. Certainly we are interested in following the rights that natives have in that area. There have been gold discoveries in northern Saskatchewan.

Mrs. Sparrow: Uranium.

Mr. Schneider: Gold shares have just shot up. I know the lake I go fishing at has quartz evident right on the surface and where there is quartz there is usually gold. I think we are going to find that northern Saskatchewan in the very near future will be deemed to be the gold capital of Canada.

An Hon. Member: Then they change their MP.

Mr. Schneider: Isn't that funny? Things roll along and then they change things.

However, it certainly is in Saskatchewan's and Canada's best interest to have the right to access the world's richest uranium beds. As a result, we are able to export that uranium from Saskatchewan to the U.S. unprocessed with a minor duty. If we were to enrich the uranium, a value added component, the tariff would be at least double or triple. The Free Trade Agreement will have a tendency to alleviate that problem.

With respect to the rather wordy question that my friend attempted to float down to this part of the chamber, if one was a lawyer one might be better able to understand it. As well, I understand the Hon. Member put that question before a provincial Minister. Therefore, I would say that in his initial concept he conceded it was a provincial matter and I ask him to direct the question back to that Minister.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The period for questions and comments is over. Debate.

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, I am really pleased and privileged to again represent Vancouver East as a Member of Parliament. I think that area is one of the most dynamic in Canada, with people from many different backgrounds, many families who have struggled with a great deal of hardship to raise their children. The vast majority of those people are, of course, opposed to this trade deal. I know they sent me back to Ottawa with a considerable majority and I thank them for that support. I know they have sent me back with a mandate to continue to oppose this deal which will be so hard on people like themselves, and particularly on many of the industries and jobs in our community.

When we tallied up the votes, the Conservatives should take note of the fact that 87 per cent of the voters in Vancouver East voted against the deal. Only 16 per cent voted Conservative.

Like many Members of this House, I have been receiving letters from constituents and I would like to have been able to read some of their comments into the record. It is the people of Canada who are saying so strongly that the Conservatives must pause, take another look at this, and at least consider amendments. One of the women in my riding said: "I do not think adjustment programs are adequate compensation for victims of the trade deal. I believe there is no way to compensate for our loss of control over Canada's economy which would result from this agreement". Another letter from an immigrant man who came here from Germany 30 years ago said: "I have learned to love this country and its people. I worked very hard in the last federal election to beat the Progressive Conservatives and their Free Trade Agreement. Please don't be discouraged by the majority of seats the PCs have won. It is only 43 per cent out of 13.5 million". He went on to say: "The sum of the anti-free trade voters is 12,195,000. That is a lot of Canadians". He says: "No, Mr. Mulroney does not have a mandate".

I hope the Government realizes that this Party has fought this deal night and day and is going to continue to fight. We are certainly going to continue to make sure that we watch very carefully for its impact on people and we will be fighting for its victims. Believe me, there will be victims.

A number of times in this House, and of course in the recent election, I have summarized the concerns we in the NDP and many Canadians have about the trade deal. First of all, the Government admits, although it does not always agree with the objective figures, that many workers will be dislocated.

Mrs. Sparrow: Some.

Ms. Mitchell: Literally thousands in the fish processing industry alone. I should say there are several thousand jobs that are at risk this month. By the beginning of the year, many, many workers will be out of work in that industry. As my seat mate, the Hon. Member for Skeena (Mr. Fulton), said in his very eloquent speech the other night, we know the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans is unable to even protect the rights of Canadians to gut their own fish. That Minister, and the former Minister for International Trade, have

not protected the jobs of the B.C. workers in the fishing industry.

Workers in the garment industry will find themselves literally being phased out. There are a number of such industries in my riding. The women employed there are largely from Asia. Many of them do not speak English. Many of them are struggling to try and support their families. I think a lot of them are single parents. They will be without jobs. They do not have language skills and they certainly do not have adjustment programs available through the Canadian Jobs Strategy, I can tell you that, despite what the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall) tries to tell us here in this House. People are becoming increasingly concerned. The whole impact of the trade deal on the service industry is of great concern to women. We have many concerns in Vancouver East, as do other workers across the country.

● (2010)

We have said repeatedly how deeply concerned we are that this deal locks Canada into a continental energy policy, something that the United States has wanted for a long time. It limits our ability to serve Canadians first and to give favourable energy prices to Canadian secondary industries. My colleagues from British Columbia and Alberta also know how important it is that we in our resource based economies are able to diversify more. This deal inhibits that potential.

The removal of restrictions on U.S. investment in Canada opens the door even wider to U.S. control of our economy. We see now some of the things that have been developing even before the trade deal is signed, sealed and implemented. Since the election, as my Leader pointed out when he asked for an emergency debate, there are at least eight major companies in Canada which are moving jobs to the United States. We know very definitely that this is the result of the trade deal.

We also know that, unfortunately, jobs in the shake and shingle industry in British Columbia are not going to be replaced. The Government made practically no protest when President Reagan said that he was going to keep the tariffs on shakes and shingles, the very item which was to initiate the trade deal and which was to end such protectionism.

We are already seeing the impact. I would like to speak a bit about social policies since I am the critic for social policies for my Party. We have a very deep concern that this trade deal will change the social fabric of Canada and that it will erode our social programs.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some of this will happen through specific provisions in the trade deal. I think much of it will happen as a result of the long range impact. Of course, the Government continues to deny this. There is evidence right in the Bill.

I would like to mention quickly several of the sections. I refer to Chapter 14, "Services", Article 1408, which covers a long list of health care and social agencies, a total of 296 service industries that will be covered by the deal. It allows for United States profit-making companies to come into Canada to manage health services and social services. We know that this includes general hospitals, psychiatric services, nursing homes, community health clinics, home-making services, blood banks, ambulances and many other types of services.

When I was looking at this matter today I realized that most of those services were services for the elderly. We do not want our older people to be victimized by profit-making commercialized industry.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Mitchell: We know that there are steps that have already been taken. I heard a Member from Alberta referring to private health services. Of course they are here. That is what Conservative Governments are encouraging, just as they are encouraging privatization of child care. We do not want an Americanized profit-making medical system in Canada. Article 1408 will lead to that.

Chapter 19, Article 1907, provides for the definition of subsidies over the next five to seven years. We all know that we have higher social benefits and universal social programs which are much better than anything that is offered to American citizens. American businesses and American traders feel that these are unfair subsidies. We have heard of businesses putting the pressure on already in this regard.

We also know that the pressure is coming from Canadian businesses. The Macdonald Commission talked about a review and a change in social programs which would have offered us guaranteed poverty.

There will be pressure from United States businesses. There will also be pressure, which has started already, from Canadian businesses, to reduce regional development subsidies and to reduce social programs and programs such as medicare, family benefits and, yes, even pensions in the long run.

Why were these programs not excluded? The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said that we do not have to worry, that we should stop using these scare tactics, that we are just fear-mongers and those who do not agree with him are a bunch of liars. Why did he not put exemptions in the Bill?

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Mitchell: Why did he not exempt social programs? Why does he not do it now? We have amendments that would help him to do that. But, once again, the Government refuses to listen to Canadians as it does not want to listen to members of Opposition Parties. It refuses to put in the kind of protections that would help people feel that their social programs are protected. Canadians, regardless of politics, feel very serious about this.

Chapter 20 on monopolies, particularly Article 2010 and 2011, is another section that has a serious implication for social programs. It restricts Canada's right to establish Crown corporations or to introduce public social programs in the future. These would be viewed by the United States as monopolies. It means that if we had not had medicare, we would not have any opportunity at all to introduce it. We would not be able to introduce pharmacare, denticare or other programs that are universal in nature and would be regarded as monopolies.

This means that we will not be able to have a control over the development of our own social policies in the future. I will refer to that point a little later.

The level playing field, harmonization and the equal treatment concepts in this nefarious trade deal will all have a negative downward pressure on social programs in Canada, and our ability to develop our own social policy.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Mitchell: I wish to make one other point before I leave the question of subsidies. There is a very interesting coincidence here. Those of us who have been working on the child care programs and have studied the government program should note that this is just a seven year program. It is grandfathered at the end of seven years. Is it not interesting that at the end of seven years the subsidy situation in the United States in our trade deal will also be decided? I think there is a very interesting coincidence here which we must look at. I would be very surprised if under the Conservative regime, locked into this trade deal was that the child care provisions

would be likely to proceed beyond that. We want to go forward in terms of achieving equality. We have a long way to go yet. Women and minorities would certainly agree with that.

We do not want to go backward. We have a Charter of Rights and we are proud of it. We believe very strongly that as Canadians in a large country such as Canada we have an obligation to contribute to subsidies for the poor regions, or for the poor communities. We feel very strongly that we have an obligation to our neighbours, to children, no matter whose they are, to make sure they get a good start in life, as well as to older people to ensure that they are secure and do not have to worry about their later years.

Authorities state that this really will jeopardize regional development subsidies in the future.

It will be difficult to maintain programs on employment equity. I am telling Hon. Members that after today's report on employment equity it is evident that we must strengthen it. We do not have enforcement. In the United States there is not any type of program that is similar. Thus women, minorities, native people and disabled people in Canada will be told: "Sorry, we have to get down to that lower level playing field. It is away down in the basement". These social rights are not something that are compatible with our commitments to the trade agreement.

● (2020)

There are many different aspects. The Government refuses to amend unemployment insurance benefits to conform with court decisions that say it must change those benefits to conform with the Charter. I am referring particularly to provisions for parental leave, older workers, and spouses. Surely the Government, which said it would amend all legislation to conform with the Charter, should have immediately said: "We will do this. We will get a good start on a parental leave program." But no, it is not going to do that. The Government is going to challenge it and appeal it to higher courts. There is a definite relationship there which shows how little it cares about social programs and how willing it is to try to reduce them.

Mr. Milliken: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I hesitate to interrupt the Hon. Member's speech. It is an excellent speech. I am concerned that here we are in this House hearing this excellent speech, and this is a Government Bill, and there is not a single Member of the Government to hear this speech.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mrs. Sparrow: I am here. What do you mean? We are all Members of the Government.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: That is not a point of order. The Hon. Member for Vancouver East has the floor.

Ms. Mitchell: Thank you. This is not unusual, I would like to say to my friend. Sometimes we are thankful. Sometimes it is a blessing.

If I may continue, the Prime Minister told Canadians not to worry, that he would look after them, that social programs would be protected and that the opponents to free trade were only a bunch of fear-mongers and liars. Remember how often we heard the word "lies"? I can tell you, people did not like that language.

Let us hear what is happening now. What is happening to his Bay Street friends, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce? Just this week these organizations that financed his campaign are pressuring the Government to establish a royal commission to reduce social spending. Interesting, is it not? What is also very interesting is the language they use. They say they are concerned about "non-wage compensations". Does that sound familiar? That sounds like there is a real connection with the trade deal. Of course, it is part of preparing for the trade deal. Of course, the Prime Minister wants to hide that fact. Again, we have got to be watching him every step of the way.

I want to warn this Government on behalf of New Democrats, the people of Vancouver East, and Canadians across the country that we will not tolerate cuts to essential social programs. That is a given in Canada.

I see the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) has just honoured us with his presence. It is a very timely entry. I want to ask him why the Conservatives have not mentioned a very important report from the Canadian Council on Social Development which was published last September. It was not mentioned at all in the campaign, and it is very important. The CCSD says that the FTA will have far-reaching and unpredictable effects on Canada's economy, on social programs, and on the social policy process through which Canada responds to the needs of its citizens.

The CCFC is not satisfied that the FTA will safeguard Canada's existing social programs. More important, it may encumber future social policy development. They go on to talk about harmonization which will affect public policy in Canada by hampering our ability to develop social programs to respond to Canadian

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

needs. They talk about monopoly provisions which I referred to. They talk about social programs that will be considered unfair subsidies to Canadian labour costs. They talk about a number of other things. They talk about management of social services and the rights of aboriginal people who are very worried that this trade deal will mean they cannot proceed with aboriginal treaty rights.

I want to say that everyone in this House cares very deeply about our country, Canada. It is the most beautiful country in the world. When I say beautiful, I do not mean just our scenery or the fact that we have reasonably fresh air, fresh water, and space.

The most important thing is that we are a caring society. Our people have struggled over the years. We come from many different backgrounds and continue to come from many parts of the world. We care about each other. We do not put the market-place first. We must make sure that in the future we respect these desires and social rights which I say our Party is largely responsible for. That is one of the reasons Americans do not have it in the United States.

We do not want our economy based on military spending. We do not want our social services to be privatized and operated for a profit. We cherish medicare, and we want to make sure it is extended, not cut back. We want all our citizens to have a right to decent, affordable housing, to incomes above the poverty line, and to opportunities for our children to grow. We are very concerned that the free trade deal will inhibit these goals and, therefore, we will be continuing to oppose it along with many millions of Canadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. White: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I would like to welcome the Hon. Member for Vancouver East (Ms. Mitchell) back to the House. I would like to mention that we spent several years working together on the health and welfare committee in the last Parliament. I know her to be a reasonable person, so I have a comment and a couple of questions I would like to ask her.

First of all, my background is in health care. I spent 12 years working in the health care field. I would not support any agreement I thought would be harmful to health care. What is covered in the agreement and what is mentioned are health care facilities and management services; not the level of service, not the type of service, but the management of those services. The services themselves are under provincial jurisdiction and come

under Government procurement by the provinces. They are outside the jurisdiction and scope of the Free Trade Agreement.

I have two questions, Mr. Speaker. According to international trade law, any social program that is generally available to the entire population is not considered a subsidy. I would like to know if the Hon. Member for Vancouver East can cite one precedent in international trade history where a social program has been successfully challenged as a subsidy.

The Hon. Member for Vancouver East mentioned that under the Free Trade Agreement there would be pressure from U.S. businesses on social programs because they would be considered unfair subsidies. I would like to point out briefly a couple of matters and then ask a question.

If one were to have a hip replacement operation today, it would cost five times as much in the United States as in Canada. If one were to have a heart by-pass operation, it would be roughly double the price in the U.S. as it would be in Canada. The cost of health care in the U.S. is 10.5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product, whereas in Canada it is between 8 per cent and 9 per cent. I ask the Hon. Member, rather than the argument she gives, would the pressure not be on the U.S. to adopt a system like ours rather than vice versa?

Ms. Mitchell: I want to thank my hon. friend who has been a very pleasant participant on the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare. I know him to have a very sincere interest in this subject. I would like to thank him for his question.

I must say, for someone involved in the health care field as well as in the political field, such a question is a little hard to comprehend because of the sheer volume of the pressure in the United States. I am sure he was paying attention to the recent American election where the idea of a minimum health program proposed by the Democrats was thought to be a communist conspiracy by most Americans.

● (2030)

That may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but there is no question that there is not the same philosophy in the United States toward the state responsibility to provide for the social need of its citizens because of the whole free enterprise market based society in the United States.

I strongly believe that the reason for the difference is that there are people like Tommy Douglas, Stanley Knowles and many other pioneers who came out of the CCF and the NDP who fought very hard for this. There are also people like John Diefenbaker and others who responded to these challenges. This has become the mores of Canada. It goes beyond political partisanship.

It would be extremely naive to expect that Americans would try to achieve the kind of social programs that we have in Canada, such as medicare. My husband recently had an accident in the United States. He was taken to hospital where he spent about an hour. He received a bill for \$1,000.

There are millions of Americans who have no coverage at all. People can lose their life savings if there is an illness in the family. That is why we are concerned.

I know how Conservatives feel about privatization and profit. The committee on child care found that commercial services generally do not have as much an obligation to provide top quality services because their goal is the profit margin. Therefore, they move in at the minimum standards established by the provinces.

This Bill opens the door for much greater American style services to come to Canada. As we said earlier, we do not want that, and I do not believe senior citizens want that.

Mr. de Jong: Mr. Speaker, I enjoyed my colleague's comments very much. Coming from Saskatchewan, medicare is a very important topic to me. It played a major part in the campaign.

I was in Saskatchewan during the medicare crisis when the doctors went on strike. I found it interesting to say the least that many of those who opposed medicare at the time, including Senator Barootes, who was a member of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons and led the opposition to medicare by helping organize doctors to go on strike, and the American Medical Association which helped fund that strike, were out there during the election assuring that this Free Trade Agreement would not affect medicare.

One of the reasons why so many Government Members were defeated in Saskatchewan was because the people of Saskatchewan did not believe them. Mr. Emmett Hall made some contribution to the debate. He was described as the father of medicare. Many people have claimed to be the father of medicare. Certainly the Liberals and Mike Pearson claimed to be the fathers of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

medicare. John Diefenbaker and Mr. Emmett Hall claimed to be the fathers of medicare.

I was in Saskatchewan during the doctors' strike. Is it not true that the people of Saskatchewan, like Allan Blakeney, Woodrow Lloyd and Tommy Douglas and the NDP in Saskatchewan who really are the mothers of medicare because they had the birth pains of this important social innovation to North America?

Ms. Mitchell: I am not sure whether Tommy Douglas would have thought himself as a mother, but he was a caring person. I guess fathers as well as mothers can be that.

My colleague has described the situation very well. He was much closer to it than I. Certainly we are proud of the movement that started in Saskatchewan and which is now established as an institution in Canada.

During the last Parliament when the Standing Committee on National Health and Welfare reviewed Canada's health programs, something I hope we continue, I was impressed with the figures that refuted some of the myths, that our programs cost more than American programs and were not as adequate as many European programs.

We also found that the cost of medicare in Canada as a percentage of GNP is much lower. We get better value for our health care dollar. It is a very sound economic as well as social investment. We do not want it threatened by a trade deal or by the pressures that are bound to come from the huge country to our south which does things differently.

Mr. Felix Holtmann (Portage—Interlake): Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure to address the Thirty-fourth Parliament on an issue with which I have some familiarity, having been here in the previous four years.

I have made acquaintance with some Members of the Opposition. I want to welcome the new Members of Parliament from all Parties and I look forward to vigorous debate with all Members of the House in the years to come. I look forward to the kind of progressive legislation that this Government has brought forward under the leadership of our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

There has been much discussion about this subject in the last two years. The Opposition complains that there is only a limited amount of debate during this, the Government's second effort to bring forward this legislation after the election. Let me explain to new

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Members why it was probably wise for the Government to limit the debate.

My colleague, the Hon. Member for Timiskaming (Mr. MacDougall), related some of the suggestions that were made by candidates in his riding during the election concerning the effect of a free trade agreement.

I had a similar experience in my riding. Let me illustrate the kind of intelligent debate we heard from opposition Parties in my riding. At the first all-candidates meeting I attended, the New Democrat candidate stood up in front of 170 constituents and told me that on the day we sign this Free Trade Agreement the 22 million unemployed Americans in the United States today will come to Canada and take all our Canadian jobs. Talk about intelligence. That gentleman lacked some.

The Hon. Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. Epp) will recall the episode of the New Democratic candidate in Manitoba who went to a school in Winnipeg and told the young students there that if we signed the Free Trade Agreement, the United States would send the Marines to Canada to take our energy. Is it possible to imagine a New Democrat suggesting such a preposterous thing?

Another candidate, a Grit, I believe, claimed that if we signed this Free Trade Agreement, the Americans would take our blood banks. Now get this. We would probably be getting some of our blood from Los Angeles and San Francisco, probably resulting in an increase in AIDS. That is the kind of nonsense that the Liberals opposite should take a good, keen look at.

● (2040)

Here is a new one. I checked with some of my colleagues who are here today just to get an idea of what was being said during the election campaign. One gentleman who ran for the New Democratic Party claimed that young Canadians would all be drafted into the U.S. Army if we signed this Free Trade Agreement.

The opposition Parties had a concern about water, and many of us in this House recall the water problem. I think some have had water problems, as the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) indicated earlier on, but here is what Americans were going to do with our water if we signed the Free Trade Agreement: They were going to suck the Hudson Bay dry.

During the election campaign, the Hon. Member who is a New Democrat from the former riding of Winnipeg—Bird's Hill and I went to an environmental

debate. I thought he had an interesting line. He suggested that because of free trade, we would have more pollution in Canada. I always considered him to be a fairly intellectual individual, but that particular campaign got to him, I am sure. His logic was that there would probably be an expansion in some of our primary industries, and as a consequence thereof, there would be more smoke-stacks and more pollution.

Let me give a more down-to-home example of what happened during the election campaign. Back home in an area I used to represent called Selkirk—my hon. friend who got elected from Selkirk is with us tonight—there is a gentleman who took on that bastion of New Democrat power. We remember him well, that bastion of the New Democrats. They said: "Come and run for us, Uncle Howard". Remember Uncle Howard? "My goodness, you are going to be in the front-benches of the New Democratic Party in the House of Commons".

An Hon. Member: In the Government.

Mr. Holtmann: In the Government? Anyway, he was the force of socialism in Manitoba, brought Manitoba to its knees, lost the Manitoba Government and ran in the federal election. Before he ran, the Prime Minister said: "Thanks, Howard, but no thanks". That is what happened to dear old Howard, and when I introduce my new colleague, I introduced him as the man who saved Canada from Howard.

In that wonderful constituency was a place called the Manitoba Rolling Mills, not Dofasco, not Falconbridge, just nice, little Rolling Mills owned by an United States company employing 700 people.

An Hon. Member: Ordinary people.

Mr. Holtmann: Last election they were average, this time they are ordinary. The suggestion was that the company would fold and another would open in the United States. I am glad you Liberals are listening because the New Democrats do not want to hear this. They promised that that plant would close and Howard would stand behind all the workers and make sure they had a compensation package. What happened? A Canadian company from Québec bought out the American company. Now are competing with these big American companies and our steel is just moving in droves southward. I am terribly excited about that.

A little earlier on, we did hear from the Hon. Member for Regina Qu'Appelle (Mr. de Jong). I notice that his riding changed. He is probably happier than the dickens about that because he got back here. Some of them

rehashed what all those former Members said about free trade and about getting on with an election. I would like those new Members way across in the corner to listen to this.

The Hon. Member for Regina Qu'Appelle said on June 20:

However, if the Government did not insist on passing the free trade legislation and held it back until after an election, it could call an election in mid-September or the end of September. We could then proceed and hold an election during the campaign of which this issue would be widely debated and all the ramifications would be explained to the Canadian public and they would have an opportunity of voting and deciding upon such a major reorganization of the power structure of the country. If the electorate decided to elect a majority of members of the Conservative Party, the Government could then reintroduce this legislation—

Look at the kind of nonsense that they debated during the campaign, and they want to come down here and start this nonsense all over again?

It is amazing that we are not out shopping. I have not done my Christmas shopping but it is worth holding off for a little while because there are a couple more things that I want to tell you, Mr. Speaker, and the rest of this House, about this particular Free Trade Agreement. The Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) talked about McCain's. The Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner) and the Member for Winnipeg—

An Hon. Member: Soft centre.

Mr. Holtmann: God bless him. The Leader of the New Democratic Party talked about McCain's in June. Before the election I happened to have a McCain's plant in my constituency. It is a big employer. We happen to have a Campbell Soup Company plant too.

By the way, our candidate in the New Democratic Party was supported by a pretty heavy labour movement. They started a little rumour in these two plants that the plants would disappear. We heard what the president of McCain Foods said at that time. Those rumours, they were nothing but rumours, all of a sudden faded away. In *The Globe and Mail* of December 1, I could not believe what I read about Campbell Soup. During the election, they were going to cut down, close down, slide out, slip out, no more soup for you and I, we could not even go to the soup kitchen any more according to the Liberal candidate running against me. According to the New Democrat over there, there was going to be no more soup, we were going to be on water and tea. Why are they not now saying "Holtmann, you

were right," because this is what the president of the company said:

Campbell Soup Co. Ltd. will double its spending in Canada next year, and that, the chairman says, would surprise all those people who predicted the U.S. multinational would pull up its stakes after the federal election and go back home to Camden, N.J.

Exactly the opposite will happen. It will double its production, and thank goodness you folks over there can eat soup again.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Holtmann: The article goes on to say:

Mr. Clark also denied persistent reports that his company would privatize the Canadian operations if the free-trade agreement with the United States went ahead.

He will not privatize anything. They will continue to manufacture and produce the best soup in the world in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. That is what they are going to do.

Let us get on to McCain's. Yes, I understand from our good friend, the Minister for International Trade, that the McCains are Liberals and good Liberals. They are probably more sensible than any we have seen in the House of Commons.

Two days after the election, this just jumped out at me:

McCain also added its name to national advertising opposing the deal during the federal election campaign.

"We talked quite sincerely about the deal, our views were well known," Fredstrom said. "But the idea of linking this directly to the closure of any facility was not even remotely mentioned."

He said, and this was in my constituency, that he was not aware of any change or cut-backs planned for the Portage la Prairie plant. As a matter of fact, McCain's Food will do its very best and intends to expand its business under these changed conditions.

• (2050)

Don't you find that just about the most hypocritical thing that happened during this entire election campaign and free trade debate, Mr. Speaker? One would believe that the United States is taking over this country and we would have to go to the U.S. and add to the unemployment lists. In one case the Americans were coming here to take our jobs. Maybe now in the New Democratic Party they think it is great to be unemployed.

This will just rock the NDP right out of the House of Commons. Something happened just before the election. A letter was sent to me by an American. If this is

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

offensive to anyone on the other side, he or she may leave the House of Commons. This is from one of our neighbours to the south where people will be basking in the sun about a month from now.

An Hon. Member: In 24 hours.

Mr. Holtmann: In any event, this gentleman is the president and chief executive office of a company called DOSCO, Inc. The company deals in precision machinery and manufacturing in San Antonio, Texas. I have had a conversation or two with the gentleman since but not prior. A constituent brought this letter to my attention. Let me read it into the record. It regards the Canada-U.S. free trade issue:

Dear Mr. Holtmann:

I have watched with great interest the various Canadian political parties debate Canada—U.S. free trade issues. I understand that the Progressive Conservative Party is attempting to implement free trade. Hopefully, after receiving a strong mandate in the coming federal election, your Party will be able to implement free trade between our countries immediately.

DOSCO Manufacturing, Inc. is an old time "Aerospace Manufacturer." We have a 152,000 square foot facility on 33.5 acres. We support all U.S. departments of defence weapons systems utilized throughout the free world. I have tried (unsuccessfully) to sub contract several million dollars worth of contracts in Canada over the past couple of years.

The reason that I have been unsuccessful with the Canadian firms that I have been in touch with is that these firms are not able to obtain the funding required to support my contract requirements. The Canadian banks in the past were reluctant to grant adequate "lines of credit" to these firms to support U.S. contracting requirements. Nor were these firms able to obtain assistance from the Canadian Government to assist them in start-up costs, equipment purchases, etc. DOSCO Manufacturing, Inc. is prepared to provide several million dollars worth of manufacturing contracts to Canadian firms if these firms are able to support our effort in terms of quality, on time delivery and price.

For those of you in the New Democratic Party that is probably too complicated for you to understand. This is business talking, real business. The letter goes on:

A free trade agreement with the United States will not Americanize the Canadian people. I strongly believe that it will open new markets for all kinds of manufactured and related products for both countries. All business interests in Canada and the United States must rally and support this critical effort. We must become partners and together we will prosper in the years ahead. It is in the best interests of all concerned to ensure this trade agreement is finalized. The erosion of both Canadian and American industries must be stopped. Together we must become more aggressive in our markets. We must become more competitive and place continued emphasis on the "Quality" of our products "Quality" of service we provide.

Another area you might as well close your eyes and ears to because the NDP has never understood things like that. The letter goes on:

We must take "deep professional pride" in our day to day efforts towards these goals. Canadians and Americans are survivors. We must remain strong and flexible.

The fears which Canadian businesses have of large U.S. corporations are not well founded. Located at your own constituency is a business that is flourishing while, at the same time, competing with huge U.S. manufacturers such as FMC Corporation, Hobart Bros., Stewart and Stevenson Services (the largest Detroit diesel operation in the world) and many others.

I know for a fact that in 1983 this business consisted of one man working out of his home in his kitchen and today employs probably in excess of 20 people. For more information concerning this great company, please contact Mr. Doug Eryou, President, Mid-Canada Equipment Sales. I have done business with Mr. Eryou since his company was founded. The quality of Mid-Canada's Manufacturing efforts and over all services is second to none. I have used his company "as a role model" for my own.

Mr. Holtmann, I believe in Canada-U.S. free trade and I comprehend the inherent unlimited benefits to both Mid-Canada and DOSCO. Accordingly, I wish you the best of luck in your campaign.

As I view this, there is an American company looking to Canada to find a manufacturing base for its products. We can compete. We are competing and we have done a tremendous job. We are a mature country. As the Prime Minister said earlier, we are not afraid to take on the world. We have the ability and we have the proven ability. We are not going to hide in a shell like the New Democrats and the Liberals want us to do.

Mr. Milliken: Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Hon. Member and it concerns his opening comments. He extensively discussed the risk of threats and scare tactics in the campaign. He had a litany of complaints against the members of the New Democratic Party in particular, whose actions I would not pretend to justify, but also members of my Party who were alleged to have scared members of the public during the course of the campaign as though somehow that scared them into voting against the Government.

I was a candidate, as the Member well knows in the election, and I heard some things too. The Member should know that I heard of Conservative candidates saying that if the general public did not vote for this trade agreement, we would lose millions of jobs in Canada.

Mrs. Sparrow: That is true.

Mr. Milliken: And things were going to go to pieces. The extraordinary thing is I have lived in this country for a little over 40 years. We have not had a free trade agreement such as that on which we are voting tomorrow and we have not lost millions of jobs. Why suddenly would jobs disappear if we do not sign this agreement?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Hockin: Because of protectionism.

Mr. Milliken: Does the Government know something the rest of us do not know? If so, I would invite the Hon. Member to tell us.

Some Hon. Members: Protectionism.

Mr. Milliken: They must have some secret economic studies that show the country is going downhill under this administration. That was not made public in the election campaign and we were told millions of jobs were about to be lost if we did not sign the agreement.

I would like to hear the Hon. Member explain to the House why we were going to lose all these jobs if this agreement were not approved. It is one thing to suggest that there might not be certain jobs created but that was not the statement made. The statement made was that millions of jobs would be lost. I suggest to the Hon. Member that was striking terror into the hearts of Canadians in a desperate attempt to get them to vote for the current Government. It influenced the outcome of the election far more than any scare about any risk to pensions, medicare or anything else that was mentioned, certainly more than any of the stories with which we were regaled in the early part of the Hon. Member's speech.

• (2100)

Mr. Holtmann: I am glad I have heard from the replacement of the Hon. Flora MacDonald, and, Sir, I do not think you will ever get your feet into her shoes, fill them well, or understand what you are doing.

Let me return to the subject. I wish to take the Hon. Member back and give him a little history. Four years ago in 1984 when the Conservatives were elected, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) promised "jobs, jobs, jobs". The Hon. Member shakes his head, obviously he remembers it well.

Mr. Milliken: We have heard it all before.

Mr. Holtmann: In every Budget brought in by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Turner), and the Leader of the New Democratic Party rose in their places in the House and predicted the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs. In every case they were wrong. The reason the Liberals lost the election is that they have no credibility, and the Liberal Party has no credibility because it has never predicted anything right in the House of Commons.

We have not been wrong in the prediction of jobs created by the Government in four years. We have created 1,000 jobs every day since we were elected. Canadians understood that. If the Hon. Member checks back through his campaign, it was probably his Leader they did not believe any more. It was probably the New Democrats that they did not believe any more, because it was absolutely ridiculous.

The two opposition Parties basically think that Canadians are stupid. The Member accused this Party of promising to create millions of jobs over the years to come. He states that that is fearmongering. With all due respect to the Member opposite, when the United States Marines come in to take our energy, perhaps that is a little fearmongering; or that we are going to pollute all of Canada because there might be some new primary production, that is a little bit of fearmongering. That is really grasping for some reason to oppose the Government.

That is why we do not need a long debate on Bill C-2, because it is nonsense what Members opposite have been telling the House of Commons and the Canadian people for the last week and a half. They have heard it all before, and they do not want to hear it again. It is as simple as that.

I do not know if I am allowed to make a wager, Mr. Speaker, but if we called another election tomorrow we would fill up half those seats on the other side as well.

Mr. MacWilliam: Unlike the Hon. Member on the other side of the House, my colleagues and I, including our Liberal colleagues, like to deal with facts rather than with hyperbole, inflammatory statements, and personal accusations. I wish to turn to some of those facts tonight.

The Member mentioned how good free trade will be for McCain Foods. I have an ad that was placed in major papers across the country that stated: "Free trade should be fair trade. The U.S. would not have signed the present agreement if their farm and factory workers were treated like our Canadian farmers and factory workers. There is nothing wrong with the concept of free trade, but this contract is a disaster for the agri-food industry in Canada". One of the signatories to that was a representative of McCain's.

I suggest to the Member opposite that his comments regarding the industry in Portage la Prairie may be modified somewhat. Through discussions with the representatives of *The Western Producer*, Mr. Archie McLean indicated that the McCain's plant may very

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

well be closed down in that area if the Free Trade Agreement is passed.

The Member also indicated the job creation potential regarding the Free Trade Agreement. Early in the discussions on the agreement the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) stated that free trade would create 350,000 new jobs. He then reduced that to 250,000. I believe it was further reduced.

The Prime Minister did not indicate that more than 800,000 Canadian workers were expected to lose their jobs. He said that approximately 7 per cent of the workforce could be expected to be dislocated. That translates into 800,000 job losses. It is simple arithmetic that when 800,000 is taken away from 350,000, it is not a ringing endorsement of the Free Trade Agreement.

How can the Hon. Member justify the job creation potential of the Free Trade Agreement when, in fact, John Orr of the Council of Canadians used Statistics Canada figures to indicate that the job loss potential of the Free Trade Agreement may amount to approximately 500,000 jobs. In fact, those figures were also suggested when the Minister of Employment stated that there could be a job loss that could exceed half a million jobs.

How can the Hon. Member justify his statements regarding the job creation potential when so many Canadian workers are facing job losses with this Free Trade Agreement?

Mr. Holtmann: I will have to return to an issue that was discussed often in the House. When members of the NDP objected to the Auto Pact and suggested that that was going to cost hundreds of thousands of jobs, exactly the opposite happened. There is a very simple answer to the problem faced by the two opposition Parties. I would love it for them to predict once something that turns out right instead of wrong. It has never come out the way they have predicted in the last four years. With all due respect, through the Speaker I say to the Hon. Member that you are going about the same thing you did when you lost the election. You are trying to scare Canadians. Have a nice evening.

Mr. Dennis Mills (Broadview—Greenwood): Mr. Speaker, first I would like to thank my constituents of Broadview—Greenwood. This is the second time in 50 years that they have elected a Liberal in Broadview—Greenwood. I would also like to let my friends know at the Pride of Erin, where we are holding our Christmas party tonight, that the reason I am not there is obvious.

My researchers put together a pretty good speech for me about three days ago. In the last few days I have listened to so many speeches that have been repetitive that I have decided to throw most of it out of the window.

I want to talk about my Liberal colleague, the Hon. Member for Western Arctic (Ms. Blondin). Two nights ago she made a terrific speech. It was one of the best that we have heard in the House. As reported at page 369 of *Hansard* the Hon. Member stated:

But there are those who wish to work and live out their days as true and proud Canadians, under the protection of a Government in control of their political and economic destinies.

Without being facetious or sarcastic, I say to the Hon. Members on the other side of the House that I hope they are right. Certainly I would not object to being wrong in this instance. I do hope, for the sake of Canada and its people, that they are right.

What was fascinating was that the Minister responsible for housing, for whom I have a lot of respect, was sitting across the hall and he said: "So do we hope we are right".

• (2110)

It was only when I heard that comment that I began to feel there was some real sincerity on the other side of this House in connection with this whole debate.

Like a lot of members on the other side, I am a businessman, and this place, for me, represents the nation's boardroom. And while I realize that Hon. Members opposite have won the election—and I do not want to re-fight it—we on this side are also board members; and even though you on the government side control the board, we have an obligation to state what we have been told by our constituents.

We have heard statistic after statistic about the number of votes received by one Member or another. The combined vote against free trade in my riding was almost 80 per cent. In fact, 10 days before polling day, it stood at 90 per cent, and then Mr. d'Aquino rolled in with his business sponsored ads, and I must tell you that they were very effective. It was a great job of communication.

An Hon. Member: They told the truth.

An Hon. Member: Nonsense.

Mr. Mills: I am not sure that they did tell the truth, and I think the Minister of State for Housing (Mr. McDermid) alluded to that the other evening.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

My point is that we on this side have a legitimacy in putting forward in this place the views of our constituents.

Some two hours before listening to the speech of the Hon. Member for Western Arctic, I listened to the speech of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), and I must say that I could not get over the man's logic. He talked about the fact that we on this side, in not supporting this deal, are showing a lack of confidence in Canada.

There are some parts of the Free Trade Agreement that I do like. One part that I do not like, however, is Chapter 16, which deals with foreign investment in Canada. By 1992, we will have unlimited, unregulated foreign investment on any acquisition under \$150 million.

From 1980 to 1984, we saw almost \$27 billion in investment come into this country, and that in the middle of the worst recession in our history and in the middle of the National Energy Program. That was regulated investment, where Canadian jobs were guaranteed and where investors were obliged to put a certain amount into research and development in an effort to get a world product mandate going.

We had all sorts of investment during that period. While we lost some deals, 99 out of 100 that were put across the table from us were accepted.

From 1984 to 1988 was a period in which we had the new spirit of Investment Canada. Quite frankly, I think that Investment Canada, as a public relations gesture, was a good thing. But, in four years we had some \$40 billion worth of foreign investment come into this country, almost all of it unregulated. We were still doing all kinds of business, and now we go to a trade agreement with the U.S. under which investment will be virtually unregulated.

I do not understand the logic of the Minister of Finance when he makes the statement that we on this side have no confidence. To my mind, we show more confidence when we use the leverage we have to negotiate for senior management positions, where we negotiate for R and D, versus his approach where we throw all the regulations out the window.

The Minister of Finance then went on to compare the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement with the agreement between Australia and New Zealand. I couldn't believe it. He was talking about two countries that operate under the same British law. There is no comparison to

be made between the situation which exists as between New Zealand and Australia and that which will exist between Canada and the U.S., the U.S. being one of the greatest powers in the world. I simply could not understand the man's logic.

That is one of the things that has troubled me about this whole debate. This Government loves making deals. However, when legitimate arguments are brought forward, it refuses to talk about the possibility of any amendment to those deals.

I know that many Hon. Members opposite are businessmen, and I respect the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) as a businessman. I know that he has been involved in many board meetings. We all know that when agreements are being discussed in such meetings and the legal advice is that the agreement under discussion is unclear, it is suspended while clarification is sought.

Why wouldn't we suspend the Free Trade Agreement until we got that clarity? Hon. Members on the government side represent two-thirds of the board. They control the board, but almost 60 per cent of the shareholders of this country, the citizens of this country, have some concerns about this Free Trade Agreement. They are voicing concerns about it, and I cannot understand why we do not take the time to clarify some of those concerns.

Most of the people in my riding are not anti-business. If they were anti-business, I would now not be sitting in this place. Neither are they anti-free trade, nor anti-investment, nor anti-American. They are Canadians who realize that a deal can be cut two ways; that all investment in fact doesn't pay off. In any event they do not want it at any price. They want to take a look at the price.

The Minister of Finance, in his speech, said that Gerald Regan supports this deal; that John Bulloch supports this deal. I don't know whether Hon. Members opposite have looked at John Bulloch's survey, a survey to which only one-tenth of the membership responded. I have looked at it, and I can tell you that one of the first questions asked was something to the effect: "If you had the potential of increasing your business by almost 50 per cent, would you be in favour of free trade?"

Well, come on! Let's get serious. I saw that survey, and quite frankly I do not think that Allan Gregg would approve of it as being something on which one would base qualitative or quantitative analysis.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I go back to 1984, when this Government was fresh in terms of its mandate. At that time the Business Council on National Issues, in one of its research papers, suggested to the Government that it should deindex pensions. I remember the attempt by the Minister of Finance to do that, and I also recall, as Hon. Members opposite will recall, that when things hit the fan, the first to desert the Government was Thomas d'Aquino and the Business Council on National Issues. That is something that was discussed in their caucus. They didn't want to hear anything further from him.

The point is, sometimes the hurt and the pressure of big business can take us on a course that we have not fully thought through.

I have talked to many of my business colleagues about this free trade deal, and I am finding that many have not in fact read the deal; that all they have read are selected excerpts.

An Hon. Member: Not unlike the Minister for International Trade.

Mr. Mills: It is for that reason that I think we are getting ourselves into a little trouble.

The Government always refers to the view of the Economic Council of Canada.

• (2120)

I took a look at the committee hearings where Judith Maxwell appeared, and she admitted that this was a hypothetical model. She could not absolutely confirm that those 250,000 jobs would be guaranteed.

My point is that no one really knows how many jobs will be lost or gained, but we know that in the 1970s, Michigan, New York, and Ohio lost 17 per cent, 10 per cent, and 11 per cent of their manufacturing sectors respectively, while California and Texas gained 21 per cent and 31 per cent respectively.

We know of all kinds of people in this country who are looking toward those markets in the southern parts of the States where there are no corporate income taxes, no personal taxes, no payroll taxes, low unemployment insurance premiums, and so on. How will our companies compete when 12 American states paid minimum wages last year ranging from \$1.40 an hour to \$3.00 an hour; when nine sunbelt states have no minimum wage laws at all; and the lowest paying province in Canada, Alberta, pays \$4.50 an hour?

We all know the statistics but, ladies and gentlemen, I want to make this point. I listened to the Prime Minister attentively today. He talked about our signing over 200 protocols and agreements with the United States. Why could he not pick up the phone to the President, and we know he has this tremendous access to the President, and say to him: "Mr. President, I want to talk to you about another protocol or agreement. It would go something like this. In light of our general election there are a few areas of this free trade deal where we need some simple clarification. These areas include regional subsidies, social programs, and the environment. The Minister of the Environment spoke specifically about water being excluded. We have told Canadians repeatedly that these areas are not affected by the deal, and by way of a one-page special protocol agreement attached to the Free Trade Agreement we can accomplish what we were mutually trying to do, with minimal confusion".

My sense is that the Prime Minister could probably make that happen, and I cannot understand why there is this incredible reluctance to get a one-page protocol attached to the Free Trade Agreement. I cannot understand it. We can quote selectively, repeatedly, and then we can all walk away from this. You who control the board would have done your duty, but even though we are the minor players on this board, we still speak for over 50 per cent of the Canadian public and we could at least say we have done our duty.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Questions or comments?

Mr. Jordan: Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate my colleague on a fine speech, one of the best I have heard in the House in the short time I have been here. He used an interesting statistic, and I wonder if I could get him to elaborate on it a little.

He was talking about 250,000 new jobs which are supposed to be created over the course of the next ten years. I wonder if he has thought how that would apply to a town of about 5,000 people. Could we put it on a mathematical basis and see how many jobs that would create? If he has not done that, I have done it for him.

If that were done for the Town of Gananoque, in my riding, we would see a total of six new jobs being created. I have cautioned the town. I said that they should not go out and expropriate a lot of new land in neighbouring municipalities because they are not going to need it on the basis of six new jobs in the Town of Gananoque, assuming we can even keep the number of jobs we currently have.

I want to ask my colleague if he has extrapolated any of those figures to any of the municipalities in his jurisdiction? If he does, I am sure he will find the figures to be exactly the same. That is not really a great reason for jubilation in the ranks of the unemployed.

Mr. Mills: Mr. Speaker, I cannot understand why the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) keeps referring to all these think tanks, economic councils, and so on. When we get into committee these people all admit that these are hypothetical situations. I have not done the calculation my colleague talked about, but I want to go back to the Minister of Finance and his speech the other day, when he said the standard of living in Canada would never be higher than after this deal.

How can he make that statement and in the same breath be constantly preoccupied with adjustment programs? It is not logical. I cannot tell you specifically, but I think we are fooling ourselves by quoting selectively.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Jean Corbeil (Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies): Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I take part in the debate today because I know that my remarks will faithfully reflect the mandate given to me by the electors of the riding of Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies.

I say that with conviction, Mr. Speaker, because I also know that the decision made last November 21 by the people of Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies shows how very aware they are of the importance to us in Montreal East of the innumerable benefits which will flow from the free trade deal with respect to the revitalization of our sector.

On that glorious day of November 21, Mr. Speaker, my constituents chose to spend their efforts and energy to work towards a more prosperous future by voting massively for the Progressive Conservative candidate. This is because their instinct told them there was only one team qualified to steer Canada towards the harbour of prosperity over the competitive sea of North American trade. Of course, that team could only be the Progressive Conservative Party!

Therefore I want to express my sincere thanks to the residents of the beautiful riding of Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies for honouring me with their support. I can assure them that I will work tirelessly on their behalf during this first mandate and during all the others to come.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I did not remind our colleagues of the Liberal Party and of the socialist Party that the riding I represent in this House is highly industrialized. In fact, in the city of Anjou where I was mayor for 15 years, there is an industrial park where more than 350 industries of various sizes are located. In the district of Rivière-des-Prairies, which is home to more than half of the total population of my constituency, there is also a lot of industrial activity.

Before making a final decision about leaving the comfort of a mayoralty which had given me so much satisfaction in the past 15 years I wanted to find out the business community's reaction to the free trade deal which was to be the main issue of the impending election.

Mr. Speaker, I met with dozens of manufacturers full of the entrepreneurial zeal typical of modern Quebec and free of any past economic inferiority complex. They are builders set out to conquer America, Mr. Speaker, not industrial barons or social magnates descending on Earth from some mysterious galaxy. They are the children of ordinary folk who worked hard to educate this new generation, a generation of determined, self-confident and dynamic university graduates, primed to take on the exciting challenges of today's world.

• (2130)

Mr. Speaker, I discussed free trade with these owners and managers of small and medium-sized businesses. Not one of them feared free trade. On the contrary, these men and women wanted to see the agreement implemented as soon as possible. The previous Parliament suffered through 350 hours of pessimistic rantings by opposition prophets of doom and gloom. These same prophets later conducted a 51-day scare campaign, a veritable assault on the minds of Canadian men and women. The people of Canada rejected their allegations with a majority vote. Now, the present Parliament is again being made to suffer through an incongruous medley of lucubrations which has lasted days already.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, the media and the public have become embarrassingly indifferent to the business conducted in the House of Commons as a result of negative ravings which have emanated from the two opposition parties since the start of the session.

In the face of this behaviour, Mr. Speaker, the people in my riding of Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies and throughout Quebec, have clearly indicated to the Liberals and the NDP that they did not believe their bogeyman stories and would never believe them.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I am particularly proud, Mr. Speaker, to be one of the 63 members that Quebec has elected to the Parliament of Canada to ensure the rapid passing of the free trade legislation. In my opinion, the men and women of Quebec showed new confidence in their ability to compete, not only east and west across this vast and beautiful country of ours, but also south to that captivating land called the United States of America.

In an effort to reassure our sorry detractors and attempt to convince them to overcome their baleful distrust, might I remind them, Mr. Speaker, that before the free trade negotiations began, our Government gave its expert negotiators explicit instructions in regard to our social and regional development programs. These programs were absolutely not to be negotiated under the Free Trade Agreement because they are distinguishing and essential features of Canadian society and constitute the fabric of our specificity.

During their many arduous meetings, the Canadian and U.S. negotiators attempted to draw up a code to regulate various subsidies and thus create an appropriate setting for healthy bilateral trade relations between their respective countries.

Since an understanding to that effect could not be reached, Section 119.07 of the deal provides that we will attempt to develop rules on the use of Government subsidies over the next five to seven years. On a number of occasions, the Prime Minister of Canada, our Prime Minister, has been extremely clear in repeating that Canadian negotiators will be under the same instructions for future negotiations of the subsidy code. In brief, Mr. Speaker, no compromise is nor will be considered concerning our social programs and our regional development initiatives. In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, either country may of course implement any internal trade laws it may pass. However, decisions concerning countervail and antidumping duties from now on will be reviewed by the binational dispute settlement tribunal. This is a worthwhile achievement because it must also be stressed, Mr. Speaker, that in order to obtain a favourable ruling on a countervail case, a country must show that the subsidies offered by the exporting country are unfair and may cause serious harm to an industry in the importing country.

We have been deluged by the sinister rhetoric from Hon. Members opposite since the beginning of this session, Mr. Speaker. Our colleagues often neglected to mention, inadvertently I should hope, that those rules are absolutely in line with those under the GATT. Because under the GATT, there are specific tests and a

rigid procedure on those matters, and those structures are included unchanged in the Free Trade Agreement. A countervail case is extremely difficult to substantiate, as demonstrated by the fact that although the United States always had the right to argue that social and regional development programs were unfair trade subsidies, they could not succeed even once in proving their case. There is a whole world of difference, Mr. Speaker, between having the power to exercise that hypothetical right, and the cold reality of court decisions.

The history of current trade between Canada and the United States is ample proof of that, because we only experienced a single case of that sort. It dates back to 1985, when an action brought against the Canadian fishing industry claimed countervail duties against Canadian fishermen and the unemployment insurance program for fishermen. The action was dismissed by the lower trade tribunal of the U.S. Department of Trade.

And as supplementary information, I would stress that on May 1st, 1988, the American trade representative, Mr. Clayton Yeutter, stated he did not believe the matter of subsidies or social programs would ever become a problem. Although that question was raised in Canada by we know who, it is his contention that this was never raised at the negotiating table and should not be raised in the future. Mr. Yeutter also added that subsidy decisions must be made under the framework of what has always been acceptable at the international level. Moreover, Mr. Speaker, under international law, programs are not considered to be subsidies if they are of universal application. There is hardly any need to emphasize that our social programs, including medicare, unemployment insurance, pensions, etc., are offered to everybody in the population, which means they are in no way subject to countervail, unless in the view of certain warped minds.

Mrs. Judy Bello, Advisor to the U.S. trade representative Mr. Yeutter, also is of that view. According to her, American firms would be losing their time with such allegations of trade distorting subsidies. The Government of Canada, as a whole, and our Prime Minister, in particular, have been very clear in setting out Canadian objectives for negotiations regarding subsidies.

The Agreement shall respect our commitment to eliminate regional disparities and promote economic development throughout Canada. As the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) has repeatedly stated and proven in this very Chamber, Canada's economy is remarkably flexible. It is constantly adapting to social

changes, developing new approaches to remain internationally competitive and seeking new opportunities.

Over the past four years, Mr. Speaker, this Progressive Conservative Government has recorded achievements in the area of job creation which have made it the envy of the entire industrialized world.

During the last election campaign, many voters in my riding asked me about two specific points in the Free Trade Agreement. The first thing they wanted to know was what effect the involvement of U.S. firms on Canadian soil would have on the Canadian economy. Secondly, they wanted to know whether the Progressive Conservative Government could maintain the job creation record it had achieved between 1984 and 1988 if re-elected and for how long. To the first of their questions, I replied that about five million Canadians changed jobs each year and, of those, over one and a half million do not go back to their former employers. In 1986, for example, 381 plants each employing more than 100 people, were shut down, leading to 49,000 lay-offs. During that same year, thousands of new jobs were created through the opening of 326 new plants as well as the expansion and modernization of existing plants. The end result was that many more jobs were created than were lost.

• (2140)

Retraining and adjustment, Mr. Speaker, are natural occurrences in our economy. Managing change is the key to increased prosperity provided by this Progressive Conservative Government. Since our party came to power in 1984, the unemployment rate has dropped steadily, year after year.

In addition, our worker adjustment programs such as the Canadian Jobs Strategy, proved most effective in helping people laid off as a result of plant closures. All government adjustment programs are currently being reviewed by the Advisory Committee on Adjustment to ensure that they meet the needs of Canadian workers who may be affected by transfers.

In reply to the second question, I told the men and women of my riding that all of the skilled economists who had examined the various aspects of the Free Trade Agreement admitted that some foreign firms might decide to shut down their Canadian operations and others not to open a Canadian branch because of the phase-out of tariffs under the Agreement. However, each and every one of them stated that these possibilities should not be assessed through the grossly distorted

prism that is created when one examines an issue with a closed mind.

Historically, foreign firms did not open branches in Canada simply to avoid high tariffs. They did so also because of the growing Canadian market, the proximity of certain U.S. markets, lower production and distribution costs and higher productivity rates of Canadian workers, and in doing so, created thousands of jobs.

Foreign subsidiaries, Mr. Speaker, are just as active in international trade as Canadian companies: they export 25 per cent of what they produce. In fact, the multinationals account for 70 per cent of trade between Canada and the United States. Furthermore, Canadian firms established in the United States buy five times more from their Canadian parents than what they export to Canada through their production facilities in the United States.

The Free Trade Agreement will afford Canada greater and more secure access to the American market and this, Mr. Speaker, will encourage plants here in Canada and foreign plants of Canadian companies to modernize their operations, to take advantage of economies of scale and to specialize to meet the needs of an enlarged market comprising over 250 million consumers rather than one restricted to 25 million consumers. And we must not lose sight of the fact, Mr. Speaker, that southern Ontario, the heart of the Canadian manufacturing industry, is closer to New York than are Detroit and Chicago.

Those who oppose the Free Trade Agreement lost no time in pointing out that it was to blame for the Gillette plant closure. However, Mr. Speaker, any honest observer will recognize that Gillette was obviously rationalizing its operations globally by closing plants in the United States, in Europe and in Latin America as well as in Canada.

Mr. Speaker, this Government expects that over 150 billion dollars in new investments will be made in Canada by Canadian businesses in the course of the coming year.

For example, Du Pont Canada has recently announced a 50 per cent increase in capital spending, which will reach 156 million dollars in 1989, in anticipation of the Free Trade Agreement.

R & M Metal of Montreal has decided to go ahead with investment plans totalling some 19 million dollars for 3 new plants in Ontario and Quebec, thus creating

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

225 new jobs. The company is doing so in anticipation of the Free Trade Agreement.

In Toronto, Canadian Thermos will create 102 new jobs by expanding one of its plants at a cost of 2.5 million dollars, also in anticipation of the Free Trade Agreement.

In *La Presse* of Tuesday, December 20, 1988, Mr. Jaime Benehimol, CEO of Ogivar, a Quebec manufacturer of IBM-compatible top-quality micro-computers, said, and I quote:

The Free Trade Agreement scheduled to take effect on January 1 will give my company a more secure access to the American market. I predict that Ogivar will do 15 to 20 per cent of its business south of the border.

And those are only a few examples of the kind of statements we can expect to hear in the months and years to come.

If every plant opening and plant expansion cannot be directly attributed to the Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that, by the same token, the Agreement cannot be blamed for every plant closing. However, it will encourage most American-owned manufacturing companies established in Canada to increase their investments in our country. They will stay here mainly because it is a good place to do business.

It is the kind of environment that the Government led by our Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Brian Mulroney, has been creating for the past four years and it is in that direction that he intends to guide our country on the eve of the 21st century.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, for the edification of the depressed Hon. Members opposite, I invite them to read in the December 26 issue of *MacLean's* magazine an article written by seasoned journalist Peter C. Newman and entitled:

• (2150)

[English]

"A study in contrast between two at the top".

[Translation]

The last paragraph of that article is particularly important and reads as follows:

[English]

"It is difficult to compare two such different politicians, Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Trudeau, and Brian Mulroney's historical record is far from complete, but so far he has earned much higher political marks than his

predecessor and this year-end seems like an appropriate moment to give him due credit".

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, that is why Canadians gave such strong support to the Progressive Conservative Party and why, on November 21, 1988, they decided to renew the 1984 mandate they had given to Brian Mulroney and his team, which was to steer a challenging course for this country. Mr. Speaker, our destiny is too noble to be left in the hands of mistrusting people who are unable to entertain a positive outlook. In return, the Government of the Progressive Conservative Party has asked the people of Canada to face up to the challenge of realism, dynamism and confidence.

[English]

"Let the people decide," someone said. The people have decided, so we are going to move along with free trade and build a better Canada for our sons and daughters.

[Translation]

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) has the floor for a question or a comment.

Mrs. Finestone: Mr. Speaker, first I should like to welcome our new colleague in the House. Back home, the former mayor of Anjou is a well known and highly respected personality. His presence in the House is a plus.

I would like to ask him a question concerning the Gillette workers. You mentioned the fact that free trade did not have anything to do with that change, with the closing of the plant, but that it is the result of the rationalization of Gillette's work force on a world-wide scale. I agree with you.

But there are still two questions about this kind of situation. First, what is the responsibility, the political will with respect to the major companies, the multinationals which have cornered more than 72 per cent of our market? Canadian consumers like Gillette products, they readily use them, and these best selling products are made by Canadian workers.

Is it not time for the Government to express its political will to the effect that the companies which have grabbed more than 72 per cent of our market have a responsibility towards the workers who made these products, and with respect to the well-being of our society, of our workers, and that responsibility would be to keep their plants operating? That is the first part of

my question, now comes the second part: What are we going to do about the 560 people who have now been laid off or dismissed? What have we done to prepare for this sudden influx of jobless people on the labour market? Do you not believe that we ought to have plans of action for the men and women who have now been laid off?

Mr. Corbeil: Mr. Speaker, whenever a plant shuts down in Canada and that Canadian men and women are thrown out of work, whatever region of the country they inhabit, it is a sad situation and, of course, our society must respond to such issues and attempt to find solutions.

However, there was a Prime Minister whom the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) would know, I am sure, and who once said that the Government has no business in the bedrooms of Canadian men and women.

I would suggest that the same thing applies at the commercial level. If the Government of Canada were to be expected to go in each plant and each company to take over management . . . And I do not think that that is what the Hon. Member for Mount Royal (Mrs. Finestone) wants because we would be forced to conclude that the Liberal Party has adopted both the philosophy and the methods advocated by the socialists. I do not believe we have reached that point yet.

Mr. Speaker, it is the responsibility of the government to ensure that businesses in Canada comply with Canadian laws. The responsibility of the government remains the same regardless of the location or size of these business, of whether they employ 10, 50, or several thousand people, or whether they belong to Canadians, Americans, Japanese or Europeans.

Sometimes a business decides that it has to close down. I do not know of many businesses and certainly not of any the size of Gillette that would close down a plant, branch, head office or sales office simply on a whim. Such decisions are business decisions the purpose of which is to avoid bankruptcy or the closure of all operations and the lay-off of an even greater number of workers.

The Government must ensure that these companies comply with Canadian laws and regulations and that workers who are temporarily laid off have access to the various social programs, such as unemployment insurance benefits and adjustment programs, which are not threatened by the Free Trade Agreement. This, the Government has done admirably. Displaced workers must have access to all adjustment programs available

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

in Canada so that they can rejoin the labour force and maintain the dignity that comes with employment and a valid contribution to the prosperity of Canada.

[*English*]

Mr. MacWilliam: Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member mentioned Clayton Yeutter in regard to the discussion on subsidies. I remind the Member that Clayton Yeutter, as Trade Representative, was also the individual who said after Canada signed the deal that Canadians did not understand what they had signed and that in 20 years Canada would be sucked into the U.S. economy. I think the comments he made show very clearly the U.S. agenda.

The Hon. Member commented on subsidies specifically with regard to regional development programs. The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) stated earlier that Canada's regional development programs would remain untouched under the trade deal. That is at least a half-truth.

Admittedly, the trade deal does not name specifically these programs. It does call for the two countries to establish over the next five to seven years a comprehensive definition of just what constitutes an unfair trade practice or an unfair subsidy.

Members of the House know very well that the United States has already challenged many of our regional development programs as unfair trade practices. They are very likely to continue to do so in the next five to seven years of negotiations. Let me mention a few: The industrial regional development programs; federal and provincial agricultural programs, such as the Farm Income Insurance Program in British Columbia; agricultural marketing boards; export development programs; and even the concept of interest rebates and loan guarantees, low interest loans for small businesses.

In light of the fact that this deal has so many loose ends attached with regard to the comprehensive definition of what constitutes a subsidy, why has the Government gone into a trade negotiation when so much is left to be determined over the next five to seven years? It should have been locked up before that deal was signed.

• (2200)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Corbeil: Mr. Speaker, I do not pretend that I can persuade the Hon. Member opposite that the Government took the right decision since this matter has been discussed here in this House for over 350 hours in the previous Parliament. There was an election campaign

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

that lasted 51 days during which these people carefully avoided discussing specifically about the Free Trade Agreement. Instead, they launched an assault against the very minds of adult men and women of Canada, and especially the most vulnerable people, Mr. Speaker, by using scare tactics on the issue of old age security pensions and social benefits. So, during the few minutes I have left, I will not try and persuade him that it was indeed justified. However, our Government successfully concluded this Free Trade Agreement that the Canadian Parliament will officially ratify in a few hours.

I would simply like to tell him that with respect to the negotiations—

[English]

With respect to the negotiations on subsidies, the Government has made it clear that an essential Canadian objective will be to conclude an agreement which takes full account of our commitment to eliminate regional economic disparities and encourage economic development in all regions of Canada.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, this Government is firmly committed to ensuring economic prosperity in Canada from coast to coast and to ensuring that each and every region of Canada benefits from this economic prosperity. This will only be achieved with the implementation of a free trade agreement. This is the central thrust, the cornerstone of our party's program and we will have it adopted. We only have a few hours left during which we will be subjected to the hogwash of these people who stubbornly refuse to understand.

[English]

Mr. Len Hopkins (Renfrew): Mr. Speaker, I am glad to be here tonight to deliver a speech on the trade Bill. Before I start that, I want to congratulate the Speaker on being re-elected to the chair. It is a position that he certainly deserves. He has done a remarkable job and has been extremely fair at all times.

I would like to congratulate you, too, Mr. Speaker, on your appointment as Deputy Speaker, and to congratulate the other two Speakers associated with committee stage. I want to say to the new Members who have been elected to this Thirty-fourth Parliament how impressed I and the Members who have been around here for a while are with the quality and the talent that has been elected to this Thirty-fourth Parliament.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Hopkins: They have certainly been an example to us in this debate by being willing to stand up and express the views of their constituents. I am sure that many of them will have a good, long career in the House.

I want to say to the new Members at the outset, do not let hateful partisan politics destroy some excellent friendships that they will have the potential to build here in the House of Commons. I see at the end of the Chamber on the other side the Hon. Member from the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia. He was elected for the first time the same day I was. He is still here. The Hon. Member for Victoria Haliburton (Mr. Scott) was elected on the same day, as was Hon. Member for Notre-Dame-de-Grace (Mr. Allmand). I think we have carried on good friendships over the years, and we make more as new Members come into the House. I say to them, cultivate that because they will be long-lasting, valued friendships.

The new Members can build bridges in this place with a great sense of decency. When there is a crowd of people together every day, there is always room for a sense of decency. They have the power to set that example and to build decorum in the House of Commons.

I am very mindful of the time I gave my maiden speech in this House. I was followed by the Right Hon. John Diefenbaker, who praised me for my remarks. As a result, I got national coverage. There was another reason why the right hon. gentleman did that. One of my uncles was a poll captain for him in Prince Albert, and I am sure that John, in his good, old political style, wanted to impress the good people to whom I was related in his riding of Prince Albert.

I think all of us have to take a look at the decorum in this House. I noticed in this debate that new Members no longer have been granted the right and the privilege to rise in the House to speak for the first time without interference or interruption. I think that is something we have to take a good look at and try to improve, because they should have that right.

Emotions, as we all know, have been riding high in this House since December 12. That is only natural, coming off the hustings and being back here with only three weeks off in between. The cooling-off period from now until we come back will, I hope, have a positive effect on the decorum in the House.

I want to comment on the heat of the election campaign and on the Canada Elections Act. The trade

debate throughout the election created a lot of heat, a lot of strong debate and, of course, a lot of emotions in the business community. On Tuesday last, 30 days following the election, the Members of this House had to submit a record of donations to their campaigns. While we are all required to live within the parameters of the Canada Elections Act, we all know very well that there were millions and millions of dollars poured into advertising in the latter days of the election campaign and that those people who spent that money will not have to report that to Elections Canada.

Are we to have an elections Act that will allow multi-million dollar corporations to slap ad after ad, regardless of quality, on national television to swing elections while the candidates running for public office must themselves remain super clean? There must be a formula worked out whereby interest groups will have to either funnel their funds through one of the political parties or be accountable in some other way to Elections Canada. Otherwise we will not have fair election campaigns, regardless of what legislation we pass with regard to election reform.

I want to thank my own constituents in the Ottawa Valley in the new riding of Renfrew. In my view, it should still be called the riding of Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke because that is precisely what it is. Sometimes you have a hard time explaining this to people who make these decisions. I certainly did on two occasions.

● (2210)

I want to thank the people of the federal riding of Renfrew for returning me to this House. I have always taken this job very seriously. I appreciate mixing with people who are interested in the future of this nation. I have met some very interesting and intelligent people in this place.

At the age of 14 my greatest desire was to be a Member of Parliament. The people of the riding of Renfrew and the riding of Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke before and the riding of Renfrew-North, and Nipissing-East and prior to that, the old riding of Renfrew North have given me the privilege of having that lifetime wish. That makes it all the more reason that I am so grateful to them at this time.

We have a great chance as Members of Parliament to relate to the people across this nation. We have a great responsibility as we hold that public office to make them

feel that we are their representative, that we are interested in their problems and in their aspirations which they express to us from time to time.

I am very concerned at this time about the path that our country is now taking. The election is over and a majority has been elected to bring in the trade deal. I still hold very deeply the concerns that lie ahead. In matters of sovereignty, in matters of regional development at which a serious look must be taken now that we are into this new process, because no matter how you spell it—I am glad the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) is here tonight—it is going to affect regional development in Canada because of that famous word “subsidization”. He knows as we do that forest industries have been affected and cannot get regional development because if they receive money to start up, it means, in the eyes of the Americans, that they were being subsidized. The Americans would complain and take action.

I suppose too, Mr. Speaker, as a Canadian nationalist I am concerned about the continentalism nature of what we are doing here in this Parliament during these two weeks. This nation was built on an east-west transportation system. Quebec itself was very anxious to join Confederation in 1867 because it did not want to be usurped by the then gung-ho American nation in its very rambunctious mood following the years of the Civil War in the United States. Quebec wanted to preserve its language, religion and culture. Quebec willingly came forward and joined three other provinces to begin the nation Canada.

Today as we see the east-west roots given up in favour of north-south continentalism, it will be interesting to see how this affects the social fabric, the culture and so on of that province in Canada.

Sectors of the forest industry are suffering because of what I would like to call the tinkering and manoeuvring of the Government in relation to trade. I am speaking here about the 15 per cent export tax placed on softwood lumber. This deal was brought in overnight without warning. The former Minister for International Trade was patting the Government of Ontario on the back saying: “Way to go, fellows. You are really hanging in there for us and putting up a good fight.” They were willing to take it to court. At midnight, on the news, the rug had been pulled right out from underneath the Province of Ontario. A Memorandum of Understanding had been signed which resulted in a 15 per cent export tax on softwood lumber in Canada.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Crosbie: The provinces all agreed except for Ontario.

Mr. Hopkins: The Minister is starting to shout across the floor. I am not going to get into that debate with him.

Mr. Crosbie: I am not shouting at all.

Mr. Hopkins: I have a case to present to him tonight that I think he should consider very carefully. I am delivering it to him in the sense of a representation on the floor of this House because there are several Members on this side of the House who have met with our business people in the softwood lumber industry. They are hurting, and this message has to be taken seriously.

Mr. Crosbie: Take it to the Government of Ontario where it belongs.

Mr. Hopkins: The Ontario Government did not create the problem. This Government created the problem and it better get on with solving it.

Mr. Crosbie: This Government did not.

Mr. Hopkins: If you are going to increase stumpage fees in the Province of Ontario to make up the difference of that 15 per cent export tax today, the Province of Ontario which now collects \$25 million on stumpage fees per year would have to increase that to \$80 million, a more than 300 per cent increase. That is totally unacceptable and unreasonable. The Minister should renegotiate the Memorandum of Understanding.

The Government, it seems, no longer speaks for Canada. The agreement speaks for Canada. The trade agreement speaks for Canada.

We had more freer trade and less small business set asides in the defence field with the United States in the 1950s than we have today. The Pentagon only allows certain contracts to go outside the United States. Supply and Services officials say nothing has changed under this agreement, that it is still the same. Americans can still bid on our defence contracts. We had more free trade back in the 1950s than we have today.

Let us take a look at the farm community. I will give just one example. I picked this one out because it deals with the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act. If my memory serves me correctly—I stand to be corrected because I am not absolutely certain—the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act is another Act passed about this time of the year. A group of us came back between Christmas and New Year's and passed the farm Bill.

This one set up the various farm marketing agencies. In any case, we had an amendment which was put off because of closure, time allocation, on second reading of the Bill. We wanted to amend Bill C-2 by adding thereto immediately after line 7 on page 4 the following clause:

For greater certainty nothing in this Act or in the agreement shall in any way diminish, reduce or alter the objects, duties and powers of the bodies established or pursuant to the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act.

The amendment would protect national farm marketing agencies or supply-management in Canada by maintaining the authority of the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act and not give it away. The Act currently provides supply-management policy for poultry and dairy products. The Act can also be used to introduce supply-management and national marketing for other commodities if and when a majority of the producers of the commodity in question so desires.

• (2220)

I want to go immediately from that example of the farm community to the lumber issue. In 1972 the Canadian and United States Governments agreed to remove all lumber tariffs and establish common species, grade and engineering specifications for their lumber.

In the mid-1980s the United States lumber industry called for countervailing duties against Canadian lumber on the grounds of low stumpage rates—the fees that companies pay to provincial Governments for the right to cut trees on public land—were a form of disguised subsidy.

The signing of the softwood lumber agreement on December 30, 1986, also known as the Memorandum of Understanding, resulted in a 15 per cent tax on the export of certain softwood lumber products from Canada to the United States. The effective date of the export charge was then set at January 8, 1987, and that is when the problem started. However, the agreement contained so many exceptions that most lumber enterprises were confused. This confusion pushed 25 lumber manufacturers to form a coalition to sue the federal Government. That coalition claimed that it was economically discriminated against under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The coalition stated that its members had to pay the tax, while 20 of their competitors got exemptions. It asked for damages and compensation in excess of \$10 million. In that instance there were some who did not have to pay, and others who did. Obviously, that is what

the Minister for International Trade calls justice, if we are to take seriously what he stated tonight.

I have here an example from one of my industrial people who stated:

You and your colleagues have certainly heard enough from the solid wood industry across Canada regarding the devastating effect of Bill C-37 on their industry. We as a company do not promote the abdication of replacement measures to satisfy the U.S. protectionists. The inequities created by this legislation can only be exacerbated by this approach. We do, however, appeal to our elected representatives to find a way to stop the bleeding in the White and Red Pine industry before it is too late. The casualties are piling up.

He goes on to state:

Our . . . operation has probably been hit harder than most because we had geared our 1976-1977 rebuilding program and product policy to the U.S. market. We developed a good customer base and distribution system in the Northeastern States.

Our volume to the U.S. has dropped from 60 per cent to 39 per cent and the effect of our redirection of volume to the domestic market has caused a glut here at home and prices have dropped to unacceptable levels for everyone.

You are giving me the high sign, Mr. Speaker. I have some other things that I would like to put on the record. Eastern white pine has a traditional distinct place in the United States market, and that is a case for white and red pine product exclusion from the proposed U.S. duty on Canadian softwoods.

I would be glad to give this list to the Minister for International Trade to help him fight the battle.

The volume of eastern white pine exported to the United States is diminishing, and in effect is insignificant. It is \$72 million, over \$14 billion, or one-half per cent. That is what is being fought over in the United States. It was never the intention—and this is the important thing that I want the Minister for International Trade to hear—of the petitioners for countervailing duty to have the duty applied to eastern white pine. Eastern white pine does not impact on the price of U.S. pine species. This is evidenced by the fact that the United States pine prices did not increase upon the imposition of the preliminary 15 per cent duty on October 16, 1986. Wood costs to eastern Canadian white pine mills is comparatively high, and cannot be regarded as subsidized.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is there unanimous consent in the House to give the Hon. Member two more minutes to complete his speech?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Hopkins: I thank all Members of the House for allowing me to put two more items on the record.

The unwarranted U.S. duty is causing unnecessary and devastating injury to the eastern Canadian producers. The already tenuous margins in this business are eliminated and the survival of the industry is at stake. Because of the insignificant volume and co-mingling of species, red pine should also be excluded from any duty.

I thank Hon. Members of the House for allowing me to complete my speech.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On questions and comments the Hon. Member for Okanagan—Shuswap.

Mr. MacWilliam: Although it may be presumptuous of me, as a new member of the House I wish to thank the Hon. Member for his comments regarding the challenge faced by new members in the Chamber. It has been a fairly active two weeks. Certainly, with regard to maiden speeches, it has been rather difficult for some Members to deliver those. It is a daunting challenge for all of us. I appreciate the comments made by my Hon. colleague in that regard.

I share the concerns of the Hon. Member regarding the third party advertising and political activity that has obviously taken place in this past campaign.

Mr. Crosbie: Like the union movement.

Mr. MacWilliam: The Member indicated that money does speak very loudly, and that certainly was the case in this campaign.

Mr. Crosbie: Yes, from the CLC and all your union buddies.

Mr. MacWilliam: Big money made itself very well heard in the 1988 election. In future, changes must be made to ensure that fairness does prevail.

With regard to the rather vituperative and inflammatory rhetoric that has often dominated this Chamber in the past two weeks, I am sure that many Canadians watching must wonder what they are paying us to do. When they listen to the discussions and the tenor of the debate, it gives them every reason to tend to lose confidence in the proceedings in the Chamber.

Earlier the Hon. Member mentioned that it is an honour to serve the House. It certainly is an honour for all new Members. I feel excited about it. In the election campaign many of us were called liars throughout the campaign. I agree with the Member that that type of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

rhetoric has no place either in the Chamber or anywhere in the political forum.

In conclusion, on behalf of the new Members, I wish to thank the Hon. Member for his comments and to reflect upon them tonight.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On questions and comments, the Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Mr. Crosbie: I want to congratulate the Hon. Member, certainly not on his maiden speech, but on his remarks. He mentioned a problem that is one that we certainly need to look at, which is the question of extra-curricular spending by other than political parties during the course of an election campaign.

As I remember the situation, the Government attempted to make some moves in the direction of reforming the Elections Act before the election took place, and it could not receive any co-operation from the two opposition Parties. Perhaps my memory is a little rusty, but there was no agreement between the three Parties as to what changes should be made to the Elections Act.

On this occasion the Hon. Member does not agree with the position taken by most Canadian businesses and industries with respect to the question of free trade, and because most Canadian businesses supported the Free Trade Agreement and did the right and patriotic thing by demonstrating their support, the Hon. Member does not agree with that, and he feels that it should be looked into.

• (2230)

Well, I think it should be looked into as well—not just because of abuses by the corporate community but because of the abuses by the Canadian labour movement, which forks over a large part of the dues collected from union members to the New Democratic Party, a Party heavily supported by the labour movement.

Just imagine Canadian businessmen and businesswomen daring to express their views during an election campaign. Why, if one is a business person, one shouldn't have a view at all. Business people should just creep around the country apologizing for being industrialists, apologizing for creating employment. One certainly shouldn't express one's views publicly or pay for advertisements if one is a business person. No, that would be a terrible thing to do. But one can be a member of the labour movement hierarchy in this country and do just that. The labour movement does not get the

permission of its membership, the rank and file of the unions in this country, as to what it does with the funds collected.

The unions take the dues of their members, many of whom are Liberals, many of whom are Progressive Conservatives, and turn around and contribute to the New Democratic Party, and to the New Democratic Party only, for campaign spending. As well, the union hierarchy travels around the country making speeches on behalf of the New Democratic Party.

These people can be at the bargaining table with the Government negotiating a collective agreement while coming out publicly in support of candidates who are running against the governing Party.

We had Daryl Bean, the PSAC representative, involved in the election with my old friend Captain Morrissey Johnson. It is perfectly all right for the union hierarchy to get involved in that sort of thing. There is no conflict of interest involved in that. They can take the dues paid by the membership, and turn over a portion to the New Democratic Party. Yet, we never hear a word of protest from the New Democratic Party against that kind of injustice, against that kind of arbitrary treatment of moneys paid by the union rank and file in this country, moneys forked over to the New Democratic Party without any authorization whatsoever on the part of the union rank and file.

Some Hon. Members: Shame.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I hope the Hon. Member for Renfrew (Mr. Hopkins) will agree that when we do have a look at this, that we have a long look at the abuses perpetrated by the labour leadership in this country, the abuses perpetrated by the Bob Whites and the Shirley Carr and the Nancy Riches of this country.

Nancy Riche was threatening to come into St. John's West and run against me, Mr. Speaker. I was expected to quake in my boots that this virtuoso of the Canadian labour movement, an individual originally from Newfoundland, was going to come down to St. John's West and run against me.

An Hon. Member: Here comes the rhetoric.

Mr. Crosbie: She thought better of it, Mr. Speaker; she did not come to St. John's West. But she was everywhere else in the country campaigning for the New Democratic Party.

Who was paying her salary? Why, it is paid out of moneys paid by Liberals, by Progressive Conservatives,

by Libertarians; out of moneys paid by people not interested in politics at all.

Their money is taken by the hierarchy of the labour movement and forked over to the New Democratic Party for use in election campaigns—and we see the results in the tattered remnants of the New Democratic Party that we see on the other side of the House. There are not too many of them in the House this evening because their Leader has lost all control over them. There is not even a handful in the Chamber this evening.

But, I digress.

Some Hon. Members: Ho, ho!

Mr. Crosbie: The Hon. Member for Renfrew has raised a serious point. He is concerned about the softwood lumber industry, the plight of which certainly has to be reviewed.

That industry did well in 1987, but is not doing well now, and the prospects for 1989 are not as good as one would like them to be. As the Hon. Member will understand, there was a Memorandum of Understanding entered into between the provinces and the Government of Canada, with the Province of Ontario only disagreeing. While there was not over-all agreement, it was felt that, rather than incur a countervail tariff in the order of 15 per cent in the U.S., the moneys involved, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, should be retained in Canada through the imposition of an export tax imposed by the federal Government, with the proceeds of that tax being turned over to the provinces, or an increase in the provincial royalty.

British Columbia, which accounts for 70 per cent of all softwood lumber exports to the U.S., chose to go the route of a royalty increase, and it can adjust that royalty to account for exchange rate fluctuations. If the exchange rate changes, a quarterly adjustment can be made to the royalty rate.

However, the federal export tax cannot be adjusted to take account of exchange rate fluctuations.

Ontario opted for the export tax as opposed to going the royalty route, and it now seems that it might be more advantageous for Ontario to have gone the royalty route. I suggest that the Hon. Member approach the Government of Ontario on this as well. Certainly if the industry and the provinces wish to enter into discussions to review the situation, that can be done. It seems to me that it is something that will have to be reviewed in the next month or so.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Hopkins: I am pleased to hear the Minister's offer to review it. Certainly, the Memorandum of Understanding should be reopened and discussed further. I point out that the industry was quite prepared to fight the legal battle on the countervail action, as was the Province of Ontario.

There is concern in British Columbia today because of the course of action chosen. It is not considered to be a perfect solution. There is a great deal of concern in the softwood lumber industry in British Columbia today about the course taken.

I appreciate the remarks of the Minister—and certainly I am glad I created such an interesting debate on the subject of the Canada Elections Act. It may be that we can get some action on that in the not too distant future as well.

The Minister insinuated that I was of the view that industrialists and corporate people should not have a view to express—and that is not what I said at all. Any Canadian citizen, regardless of his/her walk of life, can express a view, whether during an election campaign, or at any other time. That is a basic freedom. My point is that one should not have the right, and does not have the right, to go out and buy the views of other people during the course of an election campaign.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Macleod on debate.

Mr. Ken G. Hughes (Macleod): Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the opportunity of participating in the debate on the motion for the third reading of Bill C-2. At the outset I should like to thank the voters of the new, although historically significant, federal riding of Macleod.

It is a real honour to have been chosen by the people of Macleod to represent them in the House of Commons. It is the area in which I was born and reared, and where my family roots are deep.

I welcome the opportunity to speak in this historic debate. I look forward to sharing with my colleagues in this place some of the history of my corner of Canada, the southwestern corner of Alberta, tucked up against The Great Divide.

I share this not for any narrow political purpose but because the people of Macleod are a great example of the kind of people who will take advantage of the opportunities created by the Free Trade Agreement.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The people of Macleod share a strong sense of history with many other Canadians. But because of our history, we Albertans appreciate certain values—which we hope all Canadians will seize and once again hold dear.

We in the riding of Macleod are close to our history. As a younger man I can remember marvelling at the depth of history in other parts of this country. I recall reflecting upon the fact that buildings can be found in St. John's, Halifax, or Montreal that are hundreds of years old. The oldest buildings remaining in my part of Canada are less than a century old.

I came to appreciate the value of being so close to our own history. I grew up in the company of people who, when they were building their lives, were building the history of my corner of Canada.

The advantage we take from that history is that we have acquired the values of our immediate forebearers, and it is those values—values of practical self-reliance, of courage, of perhaps bloody-minded determination—which will carry us through the years ahead.

As the son and a grandson of cattle ranchers who built their lives in the foothills of southern Alberta, I cherish those values—values which so many of us share. Above all else, we treasure the fierce spirit of self-reliance characterized by the hunters, the farmers, the ranchers, the oilmen, the lumbermen, and the coal miners who opened up our part of the country.

Let me go back first to the people who inhabited the mountains and the plains and the foothills, those who have so strongly influenced those of us who live in the riding of Macleod. The native peoples, primarily of the Blackfoot confederacy, lived a nomadic life which today is recognized in such historic sites as the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, near Fort Macleod. With a first class interpretive centre, this location is recognized by UNESCO as a world heritage site.

● (2240)

I should add that the natives of the plains benefited from unfettered trade with their neighbours long before other races arrived on the scene. Further, after the arrival of the non-natives, our communities had free trade with our American neighbours to our mutual benefit. That was when the means of supply was oxen wagons from Fort Benton, Montana, long before the CPR arrived.

As the new Member for the renewed historic riding of Macleod I cannot fail to mention Colonel James F.

Macleod who helped lead the Royal Northwest Mounted Police to the West. On behalf of the Dominion of Canada this force established law and order. It wasn't easy. The Americans had nothing to teach us, we did it in our own fair minded but determined Canadian manner using tact and diplomacy.

After Fort Macleod was founded in the autumn of 1874, a second fort was established. This second post, which has always suffered in the shadow of Fort Macleod, is that small community on the northern outskirts of my riding, locally known as Fort Calgary. Some of you may have heard of it.

Along the Macleod Trail between these two centres grew the communities of Dewinton, Okotoks, High River, Cayley, Nanton, Stavley, Claresholm and Granum. One of the landmark events in western development was the signing of treaty seven between Her Majesty the Queen and the native peoples of our area. Today the descendants of those natives have four reservations within the riding of Macleod. The Blackfoot are at Glietzen, the Peigan at Bocket, the Sarcee near Calgary and some of the Stoney or Assinaboine at Eden Valley. These people have had a proud but at times troubled history. However, I believe they have a strong future and I look forward to working with them to build our future together.

I mentioned many communities of Macleod and they are now looking forward with eager anticipation to implementation of the Free Trade Agreement. We need the economic diversification and the manufacturing jobs. The opportunities this agreement will bring are so important to our young people. We want to give them the choice to come back to our small communities and work where they were raised.

We all know the future will not necessarily be an easy ride. It never has been easy. We recall the loss of more than 60 lives when, at 4.10 a.m. on April 29, 1903, the face of Turtle Mountain in the Crowsnest Pass came tumbling down on a sleeping mining town. Today, the Frank Slide interpretive centre commemorates that tragedy, as well as the Hillcrest mine disaster and other significant events. It also pays tribute to the people from so many diverse nationalities who suffered through the trials and tribulations, the booms and busts of international coal markets. The people of the Crowsnest Pass understand perhaps all too well what tough times are. Many look forward to the FTA which will decrease the cost of mining equipment, making our coal more competitive in international markets.

We the people of Macleod are accustomed to taking risks to pursue our future and build our dreams. It was in May of 1914, in Turner Valley, when the well named "Dingman #1" came in, establishing the first major oil and gas discovery in Alberta. It was the richness of that field which built the foundation of the energy industry in western Canada. In the years that followed, self-reliant, risk-taking Albertans seized their opportunities and the communities of Turner Valley, Black Diamond, Naptha, Hartell, Little Chicago and Little New York grew and prospered. Little New York subsequently became Longview, and I am very proud of that community near which I was raised.

My point is those oil wells were not discovered by people who tried to hide behind protectionism or subsidies. Many of those wells, and much of our oil and gas industry, were built by ordinary Canadians, using money from wherever they could get it. They dared to take the risk and they dared to be successful.

I do not have time to elaborate on the colourful history of ranching in Macleod or on the achievements of dryland and irrigated farming such as is found in the County of Vulcan where wheat is king. However, I would like to pay tribute to some of the artisan talent which flourishes in many communities such as Bragg Creek and Pincher Creek. Many Members of this House have had the pleasure of eating good Alberta beef, or perhaps Glenwood cheese from my riding. The people of Macleod look outward for markets, ideas and challenges. No better example could be cited than the hosting of the Winter Olympic ski events at Nakiska in Kananaskis country last February.

The story of the people of Macleod is a story of people who have made the best of what they were given, who have a strong belief in themselves and their neighbours, who face risks with courage and conviction. It is my greatest aspiration that all Canadians will cherish these values as have our forebears. If all of Canada does that, then the world will be ours. We will eat the Americans for breakfast, and then look up for lunch and dinner.

In my riding more than 80 per cent of the constituents voted for candidates supporting the FTA with the U.S. For the information of the socialists of two stripes opposite, that is a clear majority.

In the future, Canadians will look back on this debate, which has engaged our nation for nearly three years in one form or another, as one of great significance. It has been a watershed. It should remind us all of other great historic times in this Parliament. For example, one of

the most historic steps for us in western Canada was the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway. That was a very positive step and this may well be the only time that I as a western Canadian politician will speak favourably of a railway. However, at the time of that great initiative in 1872, Sir George Etienne Cartier said: "All aboard for the West!" Now, in the closing days of 1988, there is a new train waiting ever so patiently in the station. It is the free trade train. It is called "The Spirit of Canada Future", not the "Ghost of Canada Past" as Members opposite would wish it to be.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Hughes: That train is getting ready to move forward to the 21st century and a future of new challenges and new prosperity.

I would like to draw to your attention one of the less well known advantages of the Free Trade Agreement. In 10 short days, after it has been passed, a Canadian tariff of 9.5 per cent will be removed from a critical piece of equipment used throughout my riding. That is, a saddle. Yes, a saddle for riding horses. We, the cowboys from Alberta, cowboys from all across Canada, will ride high in our new saddles which will cost us 90 per cent of what they do now. One of the first things we are going to do is round up the Opposition, throw on the saddle, tighten the cinch, and ride them until they figure out for themselves which way the rest of the herd is going.

• (2250)

As I indicated earlier, more than 80 per cent of the voters in my riding supported candidates favouring free trade. We are on board the free trade train. We are on board the spirit of Canada's future. I know the West is on board. I know Quebec is on board. We say to the rest of Canada, to the Maritimes, to Labrador and Newfoundland, to our friends in Ontario: "All aboard, the train is pulling out".

Mr. Kaplan: Just do not take the night train from Ottawa.

Mr. Hughes: Members opposite can continue to wallow in the slough of despair and backward looking self-pity at the side of the tracks. Or they can get a ticket to the future on the train to prosperity. There is still room for all Canadians before we pull out of the station. All aboard Canada. Look out, America, here come the Canadians.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Kaplan: Mr. Speaker, I want to ask the Hon. Member if his ringing endorsement of rail transportation means that the overnight train service from Ottawa to Toronto, which is about to be cancelled without this Government taking any steps to restore it, is going to be reversed.

Mr. McDermid: Ask him if he rode the goddamn thing the odd time.

Mr. Hughes: Even though I come from the Prairies, I can recognize a red herring when I see one. I would say that that is one.

Mr. McDermid: He has never ridden it in his life. He doesn't even know where the train station is, for Heaven's sake.

Mr. Kaplan: Mr. Speaker, the record may show a totally uninformed allegation made by the Minister for the homeless to the effect that I have never taken the overnight train. I have taken it. However, more important, members of my family use it, and use it frequently.

Mr. Funk: Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the Hon. Member who just spoke of the train might have mistaken the light at what he thinks is the end of the tunnel for a train coming. There is a joke about a horse, but I will not tell it.

Rather, I would like to speak about the mandate from the West. The mandate the Conservative Party got from the West is restricted to the Province of Alberta. The Reform Party is nipping at the heels of the Conservative Party throughout the West. I think my Leader probably regrets by now having spoken of the two-party system. However, it might be the New Democrats and the Reform Party in the next election if the Government keeps treating western Canada the way it has been.

Mr. Siddon: You have 50 seats in the West. What are you talking about?

Mr. Funk: Twenty-two in Alberta. Take those seats out—

Mr. McDermid: Why would you take out Alberta? What do you have against Alberta?

Mr. Funk: Very little.

Mr. McDermid: The NDP hates Alberta.

Mr. Riis: What have you got against Alberta? You are devastating the economy out there.

Mr. Funk: There has been a lot of talk about mandate. It can be argued either way, that with 43 per cent there is a majority of Members. Yet 53 per cent voted against free trade, which has also been argued here. If the truth were known, neither that side of the House nor this side of the House has the absolute certainty with which we can bat each other in this forum.

After the debate we went through during the campaign, I hoped there would be some movement by the Government to set up a legitimate monitoring process that every Member in the House and every person in the country would have some confidence in, both those who support free trade and those who oppose it. I have not seen any movement toward that kind of monitoring.

If we are to get out of the impasse and the bad feelings that have been created to make this House work, then perhaps some serious attention will be paid to a monitoring process in which some people have some confidence. Hon. Members opposite might not agree with that, but if they have as much confidence in this deal as they say they have then they would want a monitoring process to demonstrate that.

My question is this. The Hon. Member mentioned that there are four Indian bands within the boundaries of his constituency. The Indian bands in my constituency were very concerned about the effect of free trade on their tax status. For example, would that be considered a benefit that could be grieved? They were worried about third party interests when it comes to settling matters such as land entitlements. They had a study done which stated that since they are at the bottom end of the wage scale they would be the first ones to lose their jobs.

What kind of assurances has the Hon. Member received from his own Party that I might pass on to the Indian people in my riding regarding how this deal would specifically affect them?

Mr. Hughes: Mr. Speaker, if I might just answer one of those 20 questions. The Hon. Member should understand that the fundamental concept behind the Free Trade Agreement is that it does not discriminate against any Canadian. It provides equal opportunity for every Canadian regardless of where they live, whether they live on an Indian reserve in my riding, a small town in southern Alberta, Calgary, Montreal or St. John's East or West, or anywhere else in the country. It provides

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

them with an equal opportunity and equal benefit. It is up to people to take advantage of that opportunity. I know that this Government has done more in the last four years for western Canada than any other Government has done in the last 50 or 100 years.

Since we are talking about trains, I would like to share something with the rest of my friends here. I would like to talk about the beauty of the mountains we share with British Columbia. I am getting a signal from the Speaker that perhaps I should be wrapping up.

As a gesture of friendship I invite the Speaker and Members of the House out to Alberta to see the beauty of the Rocky Mountains for themselves. Perhaps they can then go on to British Columbia to enjoy the wonders there.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On the last question or comment, the Chair recognizes the Hon. Members for LaSalle—Émard.

Mr. Martin (LaSalle—Émard): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member has shown such incredible insight—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Martin (LaSalle—Émard): It really is a nice place, Mr. Speaker. I am having a lot of fun.

The Hon. Member has shown incredible insight into free trade interspersed first, of course, with his travelogue. I wonder if he might answer the question that the Minister for International Trade was unable to answer this afternoon, that is, in his opinion, would the Free Trade Agreement be vitiated if we were not able to obtain a definition of subsidies acceptable to Canada?

Mr. McDermid: You are so far off base. What a jerk. I cannot believe that.

● (2300)

Mr. Hughes: I do not have to answer that question. He was perfectly capable of answering the question himself. He has answered the question a thousand times across this country already. We do not need to give him one more time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle has the floor on debate.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Minister for International Trade.

Mr. Crosbie: This is a unique point of order. What I want to find out from the Chair is this: Is a Member of the House, just recently elected, allowed to make comments from Florida where he is spending a few days of repose as is reported today in *Le Droit*?

The Hon. Member for Hull—Aylmer (Mr. Rocheleau) is giving certain opinions from Florida. I wonder whether it is permissible, when we are here together in an emergency session debating a very important issue, the new Liberal Member for Hull—Aylmer should be in Florida giving his opinions about Herbert Marx, Clifford Lincoln, and Richard French. What are his opinions on what we have been discussing here in the House for the last 10 or 12 days? Mr. Speaker, I suggest that this matter be referred to the committee on privileges and holidays.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The matter may be one of concern to the Minister for International Trade, but I am sorry to say that is not a point of order. On debate, the Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle.

Mr. Simon de Jong (Regina—Qu'Appelle): Mr. Speaker. I wish to participate in the debate. I know that the hour is getting late. It is the silly season, especially with the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie). It is also getting late in this long debate on the Free Trade Agreement.

As Parliament continues to debate this agreement, which will be put before the House some time in the next day, one phase of this debate comes to an end. This debate will continue for many more years to come as Canada enters into a new period of its social and economic development. Due to the action of the Government, all Canadians will be concerned about the effects this will have on our nation. We will monitor it closely to determine exactly what effects the action of the Government will have on us all.

There is a certain amount of speculation. As is the duty of the Opposition, we are obliged to show the weaknesses of the Government's legislation. The Government is anxious to show the positive aspects of what it is introducing. The part I find distressing in such an historic and momentous decision is that the Government is intent to ram through this piece of legislation. The Government says and claims that this certainly has been debated enough. In the last campaign, it became the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

major issue. It was the major topic of debate in the previous session of Parliament.

There are some important pieces of information that the Government has never released to the public. The Government has conducted intensive studies on various sectors to determine economic impact.

Earlier this year I attempted to get copies of those studies, as did *The Globe and Mail*. What the Government released to us was inadequate. It was only partial information. The Government knows. At least some of its Departments have done projections to determine the impact this legislation will have on various sectors of the economy. If the Government was honest with the Canadian people, it would make that information public. It has chosen not to.

I suspect what motivates the Government is more ideology rather than economic thinking and projection. The Government is ideologically motivated with a neo-Conservative agenda which is quite different from the historic Conservative agenda. In the neo-Conservative agenda, it is the market-place that has become the primary motivating force. Earlier considerations by former Conservative Prime Ministers and leaders have always balanced the consideration of the market-place with other considerations; the social consideration, the cultural consideration, particularly as they pertain to the development and maturity of Canada as a nation.

It has been a Canadian tradition that there be an acceptance of some form of mixed economy. We have always debated what the mix should be. Former Conservative Governments have introduced Crown corporations, believing as well that the public sector has an important role to play in a country like Canada, a country with vast resources, a vast land mass, a concentration of people in few areas, next to a very powerful country, the United States. There has been an agreement among all political parties that the public sector has a role to play in order to maintain a Canadian identity. Through that, we developed the CBC, the arts board, and various cultural organizations to foster and strengthen our cultural identity going east and west.

We realized that the public sector was needed in order to have economic development occurring throughout our country so that a Canadian living in Newfoundland, northern Quebec, Saskatchewan, or British Columbia would have basically the same type of opportunities. This was a vision shared by all political Parties. With the introduction and eventual passage of the government Bill, that tradition will come to an end.

We can debate in this House whether regional subsidies and medicare are to be threatened by this agreement. Government Members indicate that there is nothing in the agreement which says that medicare has to go. They are right. There is nothing specific in there, but when we listen to government Ministers speak, they admit that with this agreement we will become more of a market oriented economy.

Mrs. Sparrow: It creates jobs.

Mr. de Jong: It creates jobs. Hear, hear!

This is the confirmation. I am not standing in the House today and saying that market factors are to be ignored. No, far from it. In a mixed economy, the market plays a very important role. It is our tradition as a country that we recognize certain hearts outside the market forces. That is why the development of health and medicare in this country has been done on bases other than just market forces.

There is a recognition that if health services were developed based on profit motives, we would have a system similar to that of the United States, an inequitable, unfair, and very inefficient system. As a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product, the health system in the United States is much higher than the one in Canada. We have developed a public system, one that is equitable, fair, and efficient.

• (2310)

Of course, our tradition has been one of mixed development in which health should remain in the public sector. Everything in the American system is market driven and market oriented.

That is also true of culture. Culture in the United States is called the entertainment industry: that which can make a buck is developed and that which cannot make a buck is not developed. The bottom line test is profitability in a pure market economy.

The health system in the United States was developed in terms of its profit capacity. The entertainment industry in the United States has developed in terms of its profit capability.

We have done something different in Canada. We developed our cultural policy with the national interest in mind, in order to maintain and foster the Canadian identity, not because it happens to make a profit. We have developed a health system in Canada that is based on human needs, not on the need to make a profit.

Conservative Members have agreed that with this agreement we will have a more profit driven economy.

Ms. Dobbie: Would that not be sad?

Mr. de Jong: Would that not be sad? Those Members cannot see beyond the ideological blinkers of the new right. It is the philosophy of Margaret Thatcher, our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), and Ronald Reagan, as well as Grant Devine in my province. There is no end to where they see the eventual erosion of much of the public sector.

Margaret Thatcher is even going to privatize the sewers and the waters in Great Britain.

Mr. Malone: Hear, hear!

Mr. de Jong: The new right shouts: "Hear, hear". I maintain that the new right runs counter to the history and philosophy of this country. It runs counter to the essence of what Canada is all about. We have seen this not just with this legislation but in terms of tax reform and the Drug Patent Act. We see the elimination of the public sector, but the public has a role to play. An increasing number of the economic decisions on the Conservative agenda in this country will be made in the boardrooms, the boardrooms of multinational corporations.

Mr. McDermid: The big bogey man.

Mr. de Jong: There are very few Progressive Conservatives left on the benches. They should really be called the neo-Conservatives, or the new right.

Their vision is one in which the top 20 per cent of the population receives some 42 per cent of all personal income while the bottom 20 per cent receives some 4.1 per cent of the total income. Of course, this is acceptable according to the Conservative philosophy. If you help those at the top they will eventually create the new wealth and the new industry and direct that wealth and new industry to plants, thereby creating employment and so on.

There are alternative visions. There are two distinct economic models within the OECD countries. One model followed to a certain extent by the Japanese, and certainly by most European countries which have had social democratic Governments on and off throughout the post-war period, has been what I would call a co-operative capitalist model. In that model, capital, labour and the public sector work in co-operation and focus the energies of the nations. They receive certain social

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

contracts within the nation and have developed one of the highest standards of living in the world.

There is a fair and equitable distribution of wealth. There is low unemployment, low inflation, low public debt in countries like Sweden and Norway.

Mr. McDermid: The highest suicide rate in the world.

Mr. de Jong: Mr. Speaker, I will ignore the childish interjections of the Minister opposite.

There is that co-operative model. On the other hand there is what I would call the Rambo economics of North America. This American model which my friends opposite so slavishly worship has been totally dependent on the arms race and foreign public borrowing. The United States has become the biggest debtor nation in the world, with over \$500 million per day going into paying the interest on its debt.

The Americans require foreign borrowing and, as such, require the highest interest rate in order to attract offshore capital to maintain their economy. Of course, the higher interest rate creates a strong U.S. dollar which prices them out of the market. This creates a catch-22 situation, and the American economy is indeed on very thin ice. The crash that occurred in October, 1987 is an indication of the weakness of that economy.

Mr. McDermid: Economics 25.

Mr. de Jong: My friends opposite may think it is funny. Indeed, it is funny if you have a sick sense of humour.

The American economic model has been totally subsidized by public spending, mainly on arms production, creating one of the highest deficits in the world.

The irony of it all is that the one element which might save it is Mr. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union proposing arms reductions. In fact, the visit of Mr. Gorbachev to New York resulted in the rise in the stock market. I realize that Conservatives have great difficulty dealing with that fact.

The point is that there are different economic models. The North American Rambo economic model which has created such environmental, social and economic crises cannot continue. In order for us to survive, we must begin to develop an alternative model that is based essentially on co-operation.

In preparing for our remarks, I found a very impressive document. It is "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis", prepared by the Canadian Conference of

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Catholic Bishops in 1983. They were reacting to the recession that had set in, yet when one reads the comments that the bishops made then they still make a lot of sense today. They said:

We are now in an age, for example, where transnational corporations and banks can move capital from one country to another to take advantage of cheaper labour conditions, lower taxes, and reduced environmental restrictions.

Incidentally, the Free Trade Agreement further fosters that. The bishops went on to say:

We are also in an age of automation and computers where human work is rapidly being replaced by machines on the assembly line and in administrative centres. In effect, capital has become transnational and technology has become increasingly capital-intensive. The consequences are likely to be permanent or structural unemployment and increasing marginalization for a large segment of the population in Canada and other countries.

They then spoke of a new direction and an alternative vision and said:

Yet, in order to forge a true community out of our present crisis, people must have a chance to choose their economic future rather than have one forced upon them. What is required, in our judgment, is a real public debate about economic visions and industrial strategies involving choices about values and priorities for the future direction of this country. Across our society, there are working and non-working people in communities—factory workers, farmers, forestry workers, miners, people on welfare, fishermen, native peoples, public service workers and many others—who have a creative and dynamic contribution to make in shaping the economic future of our society.

The bishops talked about community control, alternate technologies and production for human needs rather than for export and for profit. They talked about an ethical society in which people worked together in harmony and with a sense of community of interests.

• (2320)

This is the direct opposite of the economic model of which my friends across the way are such strong advocates, an economic model of purely market forces in which the race belongs to the swift and the battle to the strong. The bishops talked about an economic model in which the economy is subservient to the meaning of human needs and not to the making of profit.

When everything is said and done about the legislation that this Government is introducing, it is not so much an economic document as a political document. What it will put into effect and help to foster is not a caring society but a society that I abhor, a society in which the wealthy will get wealthier and the masses will become poorer, a society that will benefit only a few and

is not in the interests of our fellow Canadian citizens. Therefore, I do oppose this motion.

Mr. Pagtakhan: I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I am using this as the entry to a discussion.

Some Hon. Members: Order!

Mr. Pagtakhan: Please do not prejudge my thought. I am asking for your help, Mr. Speaker, as a matter of privilege and parliamentary inquiry. I heard the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) refer to the absence of an Hon. Member in his remark earlier, and I would like to be guided. Is it in fact within the rules of this House to do that? As a new Member I would like to be guided.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is a rule in the House that an Hon. Member should not talk about the absence or the presence, for that matter, of a particular Hon. Member. The rule does exist. I do not recall the incident that the Hon. Member refers to. However, I will look at *Hansard*, and if need be, I will return to the House on the matter.

In the mean time, on questions and comments, I recognize the Hon. Minister of Fisheries and Oceans.

Mr. Siddon: Mr. Speaker, I have, together with my colleagues in this House, listened for many minutes now to the Hon. Member for Regina Qu'Appelle (Mr. de Jong) expound on these special theories of economic philosophy, this model that he tends to focus on which has done so much good for the world.

I want the Hon. Member to understand that I am proud to be part of a caring Government that cares for the people of Canada. I am proud that we have a caring Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) and a caring Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney).

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Siddon: I think we too often hear this notion that the socialists of the country have a monopoly on caring, and that is the greatest hypocrisy one can imagine when one puts it in the context of the disinformation campaign they used throughout the preceding election campaign to confuse Canadians and to try to somehow suggest that members of this Party and this Government do not care about the future of our children in this country we all love so dearly.

We have heard the Hon. Member talk about models as if he were an academic. I would like to suggest to him that I thank the Lord that this Hon. Member is not

teaching my children in a Canadian university. He is essentially saying that the models of neo-socialism—he did not use that phrase but that is what he is preaching—have somehow been the great success story of history when the exact opposite is the truth. Communism is an unnatural form of economic management, as is the form of socialism which the Hon. Member advocates.

One of the two questions I want to ask the Hon. Member this evening is: Why have these neo-socialist theories, which have been tried in Canada by several provincial Governments, led by the Party of which he is a member, and imposed upon Canada by the recent Liberal Governments of former Prime Minister Trudeau, failed so miserably to deal with the poverty and the regional disadvantages in Canada? Why is it that the more we pump regional equalization and redistribution of wealth into the more impoverished parts of Canada, the more their incentive, productivity, and economic well-being have been reduced? Why have these neo-socialist Governments driven up the deficit, creating more poverty in the regions of Canada that need help the most.

Before the Hon. Member responds, I would like to ask a second question. The second question has to do with the unprecedented turnaround in the Canadian economy which has occurred over the past four and a half year tenure of the Government of which I am proud to be a member.

I want the Hon. Member to tell the Members of this House and the people of Canada why he so denounces the very economic theories which have created the greatest increase in productivity, employment, opportunity, and confidence in our future that this country has seen in this century.

The Hon. Member is a member of a Party that came into this House in November of 1984 and decried the policies of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), saying they would produce 150,000 more unemployed Canadians. Then, in the following four and a half years, we found that 1.3 million Canadians went back to work, 80 per cent of them gaining full-time employment. We saw Canada rise from being seventh among industrialized nations—

Mr. de Jong: Are you going to let me answer? Are you going to sit down or not?

Mr. Siddon: Perhaps the Hon. Member will allow me to complete my remarks. We saw this country rise from

being seventh among the industrialized nations of the world to being number one, becoming a leading member of the G-7. The second question which the Hon. Member will want to answer—

Mr. de Jong: All you are doing is giving a little speech.

Mr. Siddon: You just made a little speech yourself.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, please. The Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle now has the floor.

Mr. de Jong: Mr. Speaker, it is a slippery Minister we have. No wonder he is the Minister of Fisheries. What a slippery Minister he is.

Mr. Siddon: Answer the question.

Mr. de Jong: Well, many questions were asked by the Minister. Let us start off with the Minister saying that they care. The question is: What do they care about? What does this Government care about?

Mr. Siddon: People.

Mr. de Jong: He says "people". I really wonder. When the Minister for International Trade was in Newfoundland politics, when Newfoundland was trying to decide where to go, he wanted Newfoundland to join the United States. That is our Minister for International Trade.

• (2330)

The Prime Minister was the head of an American company and shut down a Canadian branch plant, so that is what the Prime Minister cares about. In Saskatchewan we have a Premier and a Tory Party. In fact, the former Leader of that Conservative Party in Saskatchewan left the Conservative Party and started the Unionist Party. The Unionist Party wanted Canada to join the United States.

We see this hidden strain within the Conservative Party that has been there for many years. What it really cares about is for us to become another state of the United States. We have seen it in the actions of the Prime Minister and the Minister for International Trade. We certainly know all about it in Saskatchewan where we have seen provincial Conservative Members sitting in the Legislature, starting a Unionist Party and advocating that we join the United States.

In Saskatchewan we know what those people cared about. That is why we defeated so many of them. The

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

people of Saskatchewan did not want anything to do with what those people really cared about.

Members opposite talk about the economic wonders of the Government. Let us step back a second. When it got into power in 1984, it got into power at the end of one of the most severe recessions, a recession that had been deliberately done by the western economies in order to put an end to the high inflation. The western industrialized nations jacked up interest rates, threw their economies into reverse, which resulted in very high levels of unemployment. Of course, with the nature of Canada's economy mainly being a branch plant, and one that is very dependent on raw resources, it was one of the first to be hit by the recession. Canada was also one of the last to get out. The Tories were lucky that they came into power at the end of that recessionary cycle.

When one looks at where things are today compared with 1981 before the recession period, family income has not gone back to where it was before. The reason family income is higher now than it was in 1984 is that more families are now two-income families. In fact, the average young working family needs two incomes to put a roof over its head and supply the basic necessities of life.

There is more employment now than there was in 1984, but certainly things have not come back to where there were in 1981 before the recession started. We still do not accept levels of 7 per cent, 6 per cent, or 5 per cent unemployment. I suspect that the Tories like to have a little bit of extra unemployment, because after all it does keep wages down and it does help their corporate friends.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton, on a question or comment.

Mr. James: I wish to make a comment to the Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle (Mr. de Jong) who talked about studies not being conducted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, on a point of order.

Mr. Siddon: I wanted to offer an observation that the Hon. Member has not answered either of the questions posed. The fact of the matter is that the Government that gave Canada good economic management is also giving Canada free trade, and he is afraid to admit it.

Mr. de Jong: I rise on a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Let the record also show that what the Minister stated was not a point of order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I think we should proceed with the question and comments of the Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton who has been seeking the floor for some time.

A point of order from the Hon. Member for Burlington.

Mr. Kempling: I wanted to make a comment or a question to the Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On questions or comments the floor will be given to the Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton.

Mr. James: I wanted to make a couple of comments in connection with the comments made by the Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle. He made mention that studies have not been done, or that he did not receive studies. Perhaps the Hon. Member did not go over to the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion. It conducted a number of studies. One was done on petrochemicals and how they would be affected by the Free Trade Agreement. For the information of the Hon. Member, I would like to mention what the study states about the petrochemical possibilities under free trade.

It states that the FTA will have different impacts upon the gas based and oil based segments of the petrochemical industry. In addition, there could be investment opportunities for a range of aromatic products where the historically higher U.S. tariffs have prevented access to the U.S. market. It states that over all the FTA will have a positive impact on the industry. The elimination of tariffs will increase existing exports and will open the U.S. market to a range of oil-based products now excluded by high tariffs. Investment prospects for additional facilities to supply the North American market have been improved. These opportunities will include products based upon competitively priced primary petrochemicals such as polypropylene and aromatics.

Many studies were conducted by the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion that indicated the positive impact of the Free Trade Agreement. I cannot imagine why the Hon. Member has not taken the time to read these important studies.

The Hon. Member also mentioned public support of our social services, our identity, and our sovereignty. The socialists never want to talk about history, but if the Hon. Member looks at the historical events in Canada from 1935, as we have ever liberalized trade with the United States, he will find that those are the very same

years that the public sector introduced veteran's allowance, unemployment insurance, family allowances, old age security, spousal allowances, and medicare. The socialists never want to talk about history.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On a point of order, the Hon. Member for Gloucester.

Mr. Young (Gloucester): Could the Chair indicate to the House whether or not we are continuing with debate on this matter, or are we still in the period for questions and comments? It seemed to me that, under the rules, there was a time limit on the period reserved for questions and comments.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member is in the question and comment period.

Mr. Young (Gloucester): What is the time period allocated for the speech, as well as for questions and comments after those speeches?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The time for the speech is 20 minutes. The time for questions and comments is 10 minutes. At the discretion of the Chair, sometimes the 10-minute period for questions and comments is extended. For instance, if a member commences in the ninth minute, the Chair does not intervene and limit the question or the time for the person to answer to 30 seconds. That is discretionary, and the Chair will do its best to make sure that the rule is enforced.

The Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton.

Mr. James: I wished to mention to my hon. friend in speaking to his concern about social policy development in Canada that through the years from 1935 to 1988 we have liberalized our trade with the United States, lowering tariffs from an average of 30 per cent down to an average of 9 per cent or 8 per cent, and have entered into additional major trading agreements with the United States—for example, the Auto Pact and defence sharing.

Over the years carrying on through until child care was introduced, at the same time as we were negotiating the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, we have ever built that social policy and that social safety net in Canada.

That has been done by the Liberals and the Conservatives, certainly not the socialists because they were never in power to do that. If we followed through those very same years we would find that the economic wherewithal in Canada has ever increased and that our cultural

development has increased through those very same years.

● (2340)

Mr. de Jong: I think the point made by the Hon. Member goes against the free trade legislation, rather than supporting it.

The point I made earlier in my remarks is that this country, from the point of view of its culture and its economy, regardless of the Government in power, has evolved as a mix.

We recognize that there is a need to have both the private and public sectors involved in the economy, though there may be disagreement as to degree.

The Free Trade Agreement will restrict the public sector to a degree to which all previous Governments in this country would have taken exception. It is the economic philosophy of the neo-right, the near right, that will change the political-cultural mix of this country, and that is what we find so unacceptable. We are becoming more market oriented. Our health services and other services will be more and more determined by market forces, as opposed to a system based upon taking care of human needs, as was recommended by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops and others in this country.

That was a statement made by the Canadian Conference of Bishops in 1983, and it is one that I think continues to be valid today.

Of course, it may be that the Minister is not at all concerned with what the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops has to say.

Mr. Arnold Malone (Crowfoot): Mr. Speaker, every Parliament has its own emotion, and certainly that is true of this the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

I concur with the statement by the Hon. Member for Renfrew (Mr. Hopkins) that this Parliament has in it some extraordinary talent. The speeches thus far have been excellent. That is obviously the result of an election campaign that had a single issue, an issue which has prepared Hon. Members for a unique session of Parliament, a session dedicated to that same issue.

Like the Hon. Member for Macleod (Mr. Hughes), I should like to start with a brief background of my riding.

The constituency of Macleod, I might say, takes its name from Colonel Macleod of the Northwest Mounted

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Police, an individual who is a part of the prairie heritage dating back to the mid-1800s. The same is true of Chief Crowfoot, after whom my riding is named.

Crowfoot was born a Blood, in what is now Montana. He migrated into the northern part of southern Alberta and was adopted into the Blackfoot tribe, becoming a chief of the Blackfoot Nation, and eventually becoming the most powerful and the wisest of the chiefs of the Blackfoot territory, taking in the full lands of the Sarcee, the Peguis, and the Blackfoot.

Crowfoot was recognized on several occasions by Sir John A. Macdonald. Because of his wisdom, his counsel was sought by Ottawa. He was a person who, in his early years, was a nomad who followed the buffalo herds.

As I said at the outset, every Parliament has its own unique emotion. We are all here to do what we can and what we feel is best for our constituents.

Perhaps before I go any further, I should take a moment to extend my sympathies to those from among us who are ill and hospitalized.

As all Hon. Members will be aware, one of the successful candidates for the Progressive Conservative Party died within days of his having been elected to Parliament. His only desire was to have the opportunity of serving his constituents and his country.

I also note that an Hon. Member from the Liberal benches is also quite ill and is in fact hospitalized at this moment.

I hearken back to the time that Colonel Macleod and Chief Crowfoot met at what is now Gleichen, Alberta for the signing of Treaty No. 7. Here was Chief Crowfoot, a person born a Blood and raised a Blackfoot, an individual who did not know the English language, and yet we can see from annals of the Northwest Mounted Police the words of wisdom he imparted to us. On the occasion of the signing of Treaty No. 7, it was recorded in the annals of the Northwest Mounted Police that he made the following remarks:

In a little while I will be gone from amongst you. Whither I come and whither I go, I do not know. What is life? It is like the flash of the firefly in the night; it is like the breath of the buffalo in the wintertime; it is like the little shadow that races across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.

Those are poetic words. And here we are as Members of Parliament with our own "flash of a firefly in the night"; an opportunity to do something in the time that

we are here, an opportunity to act in accordance with the reasons for which we were elected.

I feel privileged to have served in this House during a period when our Constitution, imperfect as it might be, was patriated, and I believe that in the same way the trade arrangement that we are about to enter into with the United States of America will change the nature of our country. It brings with it for my part of the country the enormity of hope that has been heretofore lacking.

Western Canadians felt alienated from the mainstream of Canadian life as a consequence of the unfair and discriminatory freight rates favouring central Canada. Those discriminatory freight rates led to western Canada exporting its raw materials as opposed to upgrading them, enhancing them.

While the grain was grown in Saskatchewan, the flour was milled elsewhere. We had the coal, but we did not have the industries that used the coal; we had the forests, but we had no upgrading facilities. Our products were all exported in raw form.

The other major impediment to the betterment of western Canada has been tariffs. Let me give some examples that I believe can be easily understood.

Malt barley is grown in western Canada and exported to the U.S. I am one who advocates that we ought not to be exporting malt barley in the volumes that we are. All that needs to be done to malt barley is to add energy and water, and the result is malt. But why don't we export malt to the U.S.? It is because raw product attracts no tariff, whereas manufactured or processed products do.

Looking at the latest figures on that, in July of 1988 malt barley was selling for \$80 a tonne. If you add energy and water, it sells for \$160 a tonne. How could either a Liberal or socialist then want to give up the right to bring down tariffs?

• (2350)

What about the natural gas and petrochemical industry? When we convert the natural gas to methane and ethane products and sell them in the U.S., we have to climb over 16 per cent and 18 per cent tariffs. Natural gas is tariff-free and it is going down the pipeline to the U.S. every day. And every day along with the natural gas go the jobs of our sons and daughters. That has made us and continues to make us the producers of raw materials without the capacity to value add, to process, and to manufacture.

We have the enormous advantage of the Auto Pact which in its 23 or 24 years has seen \$500 billion of foreign investment in southern Ontario. We want that kind of investment to bring stability to the western basin.

I could hardly believe what happened in the 1972 economic summit in Tokyo where Canada agreed to sell shiploads of whole logs, mostly from British Columbia, to Japan. Having detopped and debranched those trees, we loaded them on ships and sent them to Japan. Each of us knows intuitively that if the Japanese had the forest they would be selling us prefabricated homes, labelled on the side in five languages for shipment around the world.

That is the kind of advantage Canada has and must have. We are the only nation in the western industrial world that does not have a guaranteed market of 100 million people. We have only 25 million. What an unnatural market it is, stretched out across 5,500 miles. It is only in southern Ontario and western Quebec that it is a real, normal market. Yet just below Alberta, just below Saskatchewan, just below the Atlantic region, exist large markets where we can ship our value-added products.

To what purpose? My friend from Regina—Qu'Appelle talked about social programs. It is not a case of one Party caring more than another Party. We all care. However, if you are a Progressive Conservative, you can afford to care. We must have the wealth. It does one no good at all to care, to say I love these people. If you cannot generate the wealth to help those people, one is simply whistling past the graveyard.

Through the course of the election we heard all these funny arguments about how this agreement would destroy our sovereignty, our nationality, and take away our social programs. Then toward the end of the election we heard how it would ruin our environment.

I want to make the point that I believe precisely the opposite will happen. It will help our environment to have a trade relationship with the U.S. We are about 15 years from the baby boomers becoming the senior citizens of our country. When that happens, you will be able to draw a very interesting graph which will look like an upside down thermometer with a narrow column of workers and a big balloon on top of senior citizens who require social services and medicare. If we do not take our raw materials, process them, turn them into manufactured goods, thereby creating more jobs, then the only way we can shoulder the burden that will start

15 years from now is to sell even greater and greater amounts of our raw resources. We will have to cut down more trees, destroy more forests, and sell them abroad. It is time to pause and say "Let's get smart like the Japanese".

For those in the NDP who get so nervous about the notion of foreign investment, I ask them: Is Germany threatened in some way because of the foreign investment that put that country on its feet after World War II? Japan was devastated in World War II. It was foreign investment for an extended period of time that put that country on its feet. They welcomed foreign investment. It made them an economic power today.

One-third of the wealth of this nation is dependent upon trade. We are more dependent upon trade than any other nation in the world with the exception of West Germany. Unlike the beginning of this century when most of our trade was with the mother country, Great Britain, almost 80 per cent of our exports go to the U.S. Yet, when our Government came to office in 1984, there were over 400 pieces of protectionist legislation on the table in State Legislatures and in Washington which would, in whole or in part, impact negatively on Canada.

Those who like to say that the Free Trade Agreement is not the answer have to tell us what they would do for a nation so dependent upon trade for its wealth. If they do not respond to that question in a specific way, then they commit the citizens of this country to diminishing social programs, weakened sovereignty, weakened identity, and weakened culture. It is trade that allows us to grow and develop the richness of our culture.

I want to address for a moment the question of "they are so big and we are so small, therefore the U.S. will always win". First, bear in mind that in the 14 trade associations in the world, in virtually every case, the smallest country has grown the most. All the economies involved grew but the smallest one grew the most. Bear in mind that Canadians are better educated. We have better health delivery systems. If Japan is going to build a Toyota plant in North America, why would they not locate in Canada and take advantage of our education and health systems? Those systems will attract foreign investment from around the world. We raise better pork and beef, and cheaper, too. We have better telecommunications systems than the U.S. does. We produce automobiles cheaper than it does.

We do many things better than the U.S. because we are competitive. We can compete and this notion that we are so small and they are so big is exactly the same

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

argument we heard when the Auto Pact was introduced. We were told they would run over us, and here we are exporting two out of every three cars that we build.

My time is up, Mr. Speaker, and I thank the House for giving me its attention. I apologize to the Hon. Member for Regina—Qu'Appelle (Mr. de Jong) because he did not have an opportunity to ask his question, but I do feel somewhat relieved.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It being one minute past midnight, pursuant to the Order agreed to on Friday December 16, 1988, the House stands adjourned until 10 a.m. today.

The House adjourned at 12.01 a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday, December 23, 1988

The House met at 10 a.m.

Prayers

(Division No. 17)

YEAS

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

Members

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MOTION THAT DEBATE BE NOT FURTHER ADJOURNED

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That the debate on the motion for third reading and passage of Bill C-2 and on any amendments proposed thereto shall not be further adjourned.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: All those in favour of the motion will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

Mr. Speaker: All those opposed will be please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Mr. Speaker: Call in the Members.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Lewis), which was agreed to on the following division:

Anderson	Gibeau	Nowlan
Atkinson	Greene	Oberle
Attewell	Guilbault	O'Brien
Beatty	Gustafson	O'Kurley
Belsher	Halliday	Paproski
Bernier	Harvey	Porter
Bird	(Chicoutimi)	Pronovost
Bjornson	Hawkes	Redway
Blackburn	Hicks	Reid
(Jonquière)	Hogue	Reimer
Blais	Horner	Ricard
Blenkarn	Hudon	Richardson
Boyer	Hughes	Roy-Arcelin
Brightwell	Jacques	Schneider
Browes	James	Scott
Cadieux	Jelinek	(Victoria—Haliburton)
Campbell	Johnson	Scott
(Vancouver Centre)	Joncas	(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Cardiff	Jourdenais	Shields
Casey	Kempling	Siddon
Chadwick	Kilgour	Sobeski
Champagne	(Edmonton Southeast)	Soetens
(Champlain)	Kindy	Sparrow
Chartrand	Koury	St-Julien
Clark	Langlois	Tardif
(Yellowhead)	Larrivée	Tétreault
Clark	Layton	Thompson
(Brandon—Souris)	Leblanc	Thorkelson
Clifford	(Longueuil)	Tremblay
Cole	Lewis	(Rosemont)
Collins	Littlechild	Tremblay
Cook	Loiselle	(Québec-Est)
Corbett	Lopez	Tremblay
Côté	MacDonald	(Lotbinière)
Couture	(Rosedale)	Turner
Crosbie	MacDougall	(Halton—Peel)
(St. John's West)	(Timiskaming)	Valcourt
Darling	MacKay	Van de Walle
DeBlois	Malone	Venne
de Cotret	Martin	Vien
Della Noce	(Lincoln)	Vincent
Desjardins	Masse	Weiner
Dick	Mayer	White
Dobbie	Mazankowski	Wilbee
Dommm	McCreath	Wilson
Dorin	McDermid	(Swift Current—Maple
Duplessis	McDougall	Creek—Assiniboia)
Edwards	(St. Paul's)	Wilson
Epp	McKnight	(Etobicoke Centre)
Fee	McLean	Winegard
Feltham	Merrithew	Worthy—139
Ferland	Mitges	
Fontaine	Monteith	
Fretz	Moore	
Gérin	Nicholson	

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

NAYS

Members

Angus	Guarnieri	McLaughlin
Axworthy	Harb	Mifflin
(Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing)	Harvard	Milliken
Axworthy	Harvey	Mills
(Winnipeg South Centre)	(Edmonton East)	Mitchell
Barrett	Heap	Murphy
Bélair	Hovdebo	Nault
Bellemare	Hunter	Nunziata
Black	Jordan	Nystrom
Blaikie	Kaplan	Pagtakhan
Brewin	Karpoff	Parker
Broadbent	Karygiannis	Peterson
Butland	Keys	Phinney
Caccia	Kilger	Pickard
Callbeck	(Stormont—Dundas)	Proud
Campbell	Kristiansen	Prud'homme
(South West Nova)	Langan	Rideout
Catterall	Laporte	Riis
Comuzzi	LeBlanc	Robichaud
Copps	(Cape Breton High- lands—	Samson
Crawford	Canso)	Simmons
Duhamel	Lee	Speller
Ferguson	MacAulay	Stewart
Fisher	MacDonald	Stupich
Fontana	(Dartmouth)	Taylor
Foster	MacWilliam	Vanelief
Fullon	Maheu	Volpe
Gaffney	Manley	Walker
Gardiner	Marleau	Wappel
Gauthier	Martin	Whittaker
Gray	(Lasalle—Émard)	Wood—86
(Windsor West)	McCurdy	
	McGuire	

● (1040)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I declare the motion carried.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed from Thursday, December 22, consideration of the motion of Mr. Crosbie that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be read the third time and passed and the amendment of Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre):

That the motion be amended by deleting all of the words after the word "that" and by substituting the following therefore:

Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be not now read a third time, but that the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole for reconsideration of Clauses 3 through 150 inclusive.

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing)): Mr.

Speaker, today is an historic day. Today the representatives of the people of Canada decide whether to say yes or no to free trade. The Canadian people by choosing the Members of this House as their representatives decided in favour of free trade on November 21. What the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) did on July 20—I remember it well—was to seek to force an election which offended important conventions of Canadian Government. After listening to him in the last few days he seems not only unrepentant but proud of what he did that day. But the election having been held, the issue of free trade having been central in the campaign, and the Government having been returned with a majority, the decision has been made; yes to free trade.

Over the last two years I have been involved in the Free Trade Agreement, first, as Parliamentary Secretary, and then as Minister of State. I have travelled from coast to coast. I have been in some 100 ridings speaking on free trade.

I have been involved in debate, attending conferences both here and in the United States. It has been a fantastic experience. Not all those conferences, not all those debates were easy ones. The appearance before the labour council with 450 union workers in attendance made it very difficult for speeches that evening, but it was a very interesting and challenging experience which I shall not forget for a very long period of time.

This agreement with which we are dealing today talks to the change that is going on in the world. Change happens all the time. It has happened since the Industrial Revolution where industries have come and gone because they became outmoded. They could not keep up with modern technology. When you think that children in school today will absorb more knowledge in about five years than their grandparents did in their lifetime, that gives you an idea of the rapid change we are going through in this country.

● (1050)

I should like now to take a moment to talk a bit about the community that I come from.

When I was a young boy growing up in Brampton, its population was 5,000. In those days, rush hour commenced when the workers were released from the one industry that we had in town, and lasted all of one and one-half minutes.

At that time the two main employers in Brampton were Dale Estates and Calvert Estates, which were then two of the largest flower growers in Canada. In fact, in

those days Brampton was known as the "flower town of Canada".

It was a one-industry town, with a population of 5,000.

We had over 60 acres under glass, and produced some of the most beautiful orchids ever produced in Canada, and of course the world famous Dale Estates rose.

Today, the flower industry in Brampton has disappeared. Dale Estates is now a real estate development company. Its property became too valuable, and it could no longer compete with what was going on in the world today, given the cost of energy, and so forth. And so that industry disappeared. But other industries came in to take its place. When Dixie Cup first came to Brampton, it was considered to be quite a revolution. As well, we had Williams Shoes and Hewitsons Shoes, both of which have closed down because they could no longer compete. But other industries came along and took their place. Today the community that I and the Hon. Member for Brampton—Malton (Mr. Chadwick) represent is the community of some 200,000 people, a community growing at 5 per cent a year.

I have in my hand a list of the businesses created just in the last 11 months—and it is a significant list. In fact, it is some 25 pages in length, and while I do not intend to read the full list, I should like to highlight a few.

In the last 11 months the businesses established in Brampton include High Frequency Systems Ltd., a manufacturer of high frequency equipment, employing six people; Presscraft Litho Finishing, die cutting, employing five people; Carleton Cards-Rustcraft, employing 600 people.

In fact, Carleton Cards-Rustcraft erected a building in my community which could accommodate five football games all at the same time without fear of one interfering with the other. It is a phenomenal operation.

We also have Palco Telcom, a company involved in the refurbishing of telephone equipment, employing 30 people; Burnemann Pumps, a manufacturer of motor pumps, employing 10 people; Warren Publishing Company, employing 10 people; JI Trimming, cabinet makers, employing 20 people—and on it goes, page after page of industries being created by entrepreneurs, people who are accepting the challenge of the future and who have addressed this thing called change.

These people are prepared to meet the challenge. They are creating jobs in Ontario.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

And we in Ontario have been very fortunate. Brampton is a 24-hour truck drive from 60 per cent of the Gross National Product of the U.S. What a fabulous opportunity! And other regions of this country want to have the same opportunities.

Hour after hour we listen to the opposition Members talk about the threat that the FTA presents for our regional development programs. Well, the Free Trade Agreement in itself is the most significant regional development program that this country has ever seen.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: To say that there are no regional development programs, or there are not going to be in the future, is nonsense. Of course there are. But this agreement, what a fabulous opportunity it presents for Canada, what a magnificent opportunity for Canadian entrepreneurs, for the creators in this country, whether it be in the arts or any other endeavour. What a fabulous opportunity for them.

We cannot do it for them. As parliamentarians, we cannot do it for them. But Canadians have indicated to me time after time after time that they are prepared to meet the challenge; that they want to develop their businesses; that they want to see their businesses expand here in Canada. They want to sell into the U.S. market.

As I keep saying to people, we are good; we Canadians are very, very good. We can compete, and we will compete. We have in the past, and we will in the future.

The kinds of things we have seen happening over the past couple of years have been encouraging. By way of example, I received the following letter from a resident of my riding. It starts out with "Dear John", as most letters directed to me do. It reads:

I have for many years, as you are aware, been active in my support of the Liberal Party.

And not only has he been active, he has been the chief bagman for the Liberals in my area. He continues:

However I believe that your party's position on free trade with the United States is the correct stance and a wonderful opportunity—

I repeat, "a wonderful opportunity".

—a wonderful opportunity that, as the Economist magazine states again this week, any country in the world would leap at.

John, you and your Party have my support and my vote for this election.

And it is signed "Peter O. Montgomery".

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

S. O. 31

Mr. McDermid: I met with that type of thing time and time again as I travelled across this country of ours. People are prepared to take the opportunity, to grab the challenge, to get involved in the changes that are going on. They are not interested in being protected.

We know the opposition Parties want the industrial sector to be subservient to Government. That is their *raison d'être*. It is for that reason that they want to keep them in a little cocoon, only letting them out the odd time. When things go wrong, they should be running to Government to be propped up and to be coddled. The opposition Parties like that. They love to be able to pull the strings.

This Party doesn't like that philosophy. We want to see the entrepreneur, the creator free to meet the challenges that are presented by the 21st century. The Free Trade Agreement speaks to that change.

The Hon. Member for Parry Sound—Muskoka (Mr. Darling) delivered a very eloquent speech in the House the other day, a speech in which he talked about the changes taking place in his riding, where Domtar has an expansion coming on which will create 130 more jobs—and that in a part of Ontario that is well north of the Golden Horseshoe area.

Even our friend Frank Stronach is expanding his operations. Does anyone remember Frank Stronach?

An Hon. Member: Frank who?

Mr. McDermid: Frank has said time and time again how devastating this Free Trade Agreement will be for Canada, how terrible it will be. And what is he doing? Well, he is going to build another of his auto parts manufacturing plants in Bracebridge, in the Muskoka region.

The Hon. Member for Parry Sound—Muskoka is doing a tremendous job for his riding. He is attracting more and more industry to his riding. It is little wonder that he was re-elected. He is doing just a marvellous job for his riding.

Some Hon. Member: Hear, hear!

Mr. McDermid: These companies have accepted the challenge of change; they are prepared to run with this thing.

I see that we are getting close to eleven o'clock, Mr. Speaker. I will just cite the example of one other company, a company that is a prime example of a success story and one which is very supportive of the

Free Trade Agreement. I refer to Husky Injection Molding Systems Ltd.

The Hon. Member for Halton—Peel (Mr. Turner) will be very familiar with this particular company as it operates within his riding. It is a company that I have followed for a number of years.

Husky Injection Molding Systems Ltd. has 1,600 suppliers world wide. In 1987, it shipped into the U.S. \$64 million worth of product, representing 69 per cent of its total production. Because of the tariffs and other barriers to trade into the U.S., this company was looking at the possibility of expanding within the U.S. The Free Trade Agreement will ensure that that company stays in Canada, creating more employment and doing a bang-up job for Canadians.

I see that it is eleven o'clock, Mr. Speaker. I look forward to concluding my remarks following Question Period.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It being eleven o'clock, we will now proceed to Statements by Members.

STATEMENTS PURSUANT TO S. O. 31

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

FORECAST OF CONSEQUENCES

Hon. Chas. L. Caccia (Davenport): Mr. Speaker, we are closing the year with a false sense of security. The so-called Free Trade Agreement will, in essence, lead to economic union between Canada and the U.S., which in turn will mean becoming less Canadian and more American. It will mean relying more and more on the export of our natural resources, instead of adding value at home. It will mean a weakening of our environmental standards, losses of jobs, and more American investment. The list is long.

• (1100)

Equally serious is the weakening of Canadian federalism as proposed by the Meech Lake Accord. Such poor leadership has resulted in the the weakening of the respect for minority language rights. In addition, Charter rights are eroded. Prospects for native people are dim. The definition of Canada is outdated.

Ironically, we will be indebted to provincial Premiers for the demise of Meech Lake. All this adds up to one

bottom line. Canadians will bring an end to this Tory regime which has done so much to weaken the fibre of this nation. Canadians look forward to doing so in 1992.

* * *

[Translation]

FINANCE

FLOWTHROUGH SHARES—INCREASED TAX DEDUCTION

Mr. Guy St-Julien (Abitibi): Mr. Speaker, the Government of Quebec announced yesterday that it was increasing the tax exemption for flow-through shares, which it had reduced in December 1986, from 133 1/3 per cent to 166 2/3 per cent. The Minister of Finance of Quebec emphasized that the aim of this new increase in the deduction for investment in mining exploration was to sustain growth in Quebec's mining sector, particularly in the Abitibi—Témiscamingue region.

Individuals who incur exploration expenses will, moreover, be able to claim the additional deduction announced, even if the exploration project is being carried out under the new Canadian Exploration Incentive Program, the CEIP, which comes into effect on January 1, 1989.

Mr. Speaker, this represents a victory for the *Association des prospecteurs du Québec* and for all economic agents in Abitibi—Témiscamingue and I am pleased to see that our investors will benefit from this measure.

* * *

[English]

HOUSE OF COMMONS

TRIBUTE TO STAFF

Mrs. Mary Collins (Capilano): Mr. Speaker, this has been an eventful year for all of us, a year of achievement for this Government and this House. We have spent hundreds of hours in this House debating vital issues such as tax reform, abortion, language issues and, of course, the crowning achievement, the Free Trade Agreement.

None of this would have been possible without the faithful work of all those who work to make the operation of this House so successful. I think it is appropriate that all of us today pay a special note of thanks and recognition to all those who make it possible—the Pages

who keep our messages going, the Table Officers who give us such good advice, the Library staff, the security guards who keep us safe, all the translators and the *Hansard* staff who listen to every word we say, those who work in the cafeterias and the restaurants to keep us well fed, the messengers who send our messages and, in particular, all our own office staff who keep us going.

To all of them I think we can say that, with the cooperation of the House they will be home for Christmas. To all of them a *Joyeux Noel* and a happy 1989.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

COMPENSATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA GRAPE GROWERS

Mr. Lyle MacWilliam (Okanagan—Shuswap): Mr. Speaker, last August the federal Ministry of Agriculture announced a \$28 million federal-provincial bail-out package for B.C. grape growers to help ease their way into oblivion in light of the trade deal.

As of yesterday, representatives of the B.C. Grape Marketing Board confirmed that this agreement had not yet been signed. B.C. grape producers are waiting anxiously to receive this compensation so that they can either pull out their grape vines and move into other areas of production, or get out of farming altogether.

In light of the Government's zealous commitment to ram this trade deal through before January 1, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Mazankowski) should also make a commitment to sign the financial compensation package for B.C. grape growers also before January 1 so that these grape growers are at least assured of some financial help in an industry that will be killed by the trade deal.

* * *

DISASTERS

CRASH OF PAN AMERICAN JUMBO JET—CANADIAN FATALITIES

Mr. Geoff Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that we learned that one of my constituents, Mr. Paul Freeman, was one of

S. O. 31

two Canadians who went down with a Pan American jumbo jet in Scotland a couple days ago.

I am sure that Members of the House would want me to extend our deepest sympathies to Paul's family in Dundas, along with the many other families and friends of victims of this horrible Christmastime tragedy.

I know that the preliminary investigation into the crash is being handled by Scotland Yard and the U.S. State Department. But because Canadian citizens were involved I am asking Canada's External Affairs Department to keep us posted on the international intrigue surrounding the disintegration of Flight 103.

More immediately, I am grateful that External Affairs has already been in touch with the Freeman family. I am aware that the Government of Canada is providing all possible assistance in their time of sorrow.

* * *

AGRICULTURE

PROGRAM TO ASSIST TOBACCO FARMERS

Mr. Bob Speller (Haldimand—Norfolk): Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Mazankowski) visited my riding during the election campaign and promised a \$35 million redux program for tobacco farmers. This program was to begin in early December.

We have yet to see this program begin. The program is designed to assist tobacco farmers leaving the business as a result of changing social patterns and adverse government legislation and tax policies such as we saw during the last sitting of the House.

This program was promised for early December. Tobacco farmers want to know when they might expect the program. I call on the Government to start this program immediately, and assure tobacco farmers that they will continue to have a future in farming.

* * *

[*Translation*]

FESTIVE SEASON

BEST WISHES TO CANADIANS

Mr. Jean-Guy Guilbault (Drummond): Mr. Speaker, the holiday season is a special time to extend good wishes to those whom we love and appreciate. I would

like to take this opportunity to extend my best wishes for Christmas and the New Year to all Canadians, and in particular to the people of the federal riding of Drummond.

We are one big family and I wish only the very best for all of us.

Together, we have accomplished some great things over the past four years and I am confident that the future will be very bright for all of us. I am proud and honoured to have represented you in the House of Commons over the years and I will continue to prove myself worthy by working on your behalf and with you.

In closing, I hope to see all of you in 1989.

[*English*]

God bless all of us. Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. *Buon Natale. Felices Navidades.*

* * *

THE DISABLED AND THE HANDICAPPED

INCOME TAX DEDUCTIONS TO ASSIST ACQUISITION OF NEEDED EQUIPMENT

Mrs. Pauline A. Browes (Scarborough Centre): Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of Members of Parliament a recent government initiative which provides important tax breaks for disabled Canadians.

Eight items will be eligible for deduction under the Income Tax Act. They include electronic devices to help disabled persons control home heating and lighting, and electric track systems to enable those confined to wheelchairs to move around their homes. As well, electronic insulin pumps, and expenses involved with bone marrow and organ transplants will now become deductible.

I would like to point out that the introduction of these much needed income tax deductions has received praise from the Canadian Paraplegic Association. The Association says that these measures will help the financial burden of paraplegics and quadriplegics.

I am sure my colleagues will join me in commending this initiative which demonstrate genuine concern to help meet the special needs of Canada's disabled persons.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

SIZE OF WORKFORCE

Mr. Bill Blaikie (Winnipeg Transcona): Mr. Speaker, many Members may recall that during the election I released an internal document of the CNR which talked about downsizing the railway from a level of 43,000 employees to 26,000 employees. At that time I was accused of being alarmist in predicting a 17,000 person lay-off.

The fact of the matter is that we are not talking about a lay-off in the traditional sense. We are talking about a systematic downsizing of the CNR. The figures that I used were used earlier in an article in the *Report on Business*, in an interview with Mr. Lawless, the President of the CNR. Those figures of going down to 26,000 thousand were used in that article in February of 1988. So the concern is real.

It is reinforced by an article in a magazine called *Trains* which talks about the scheduled delivery of locomotives in 1990, shortly after the easing of duty on imported locomotives, likely the result of the Free Trade Agreement, which would include a 15-year service contract for these locomotives.

What we are looking at is the overhaul and maintenance of locomotives being done in the United States in the future, the contracting out of this work which should be done in Canada.

I call on the Government to make sure that that kind of work continues to be done in Canada.

* * *

TRANSPORT

ROUTE CANADA—SITUATION OF LAID-OFF WORKERS

Mr. George S. Rideout (Moncton): Mr. Speaker, workers laid off by the closure of Route Canada have yet to receive any adequate satisfaction from the Government.

During the last election campaign the workers were promised by the Government that their problems would be dealt with. CN promised to do a study of costing. To date, neither the Government nor CN has done anything.

At the time of privatization of Route Canada the CN employees made major concessions in the area of benefits and rights due them in the belief that an honest

attempt was being made by CN to save their jobs through the sale.

Less than one year after the sale 50 per cent of the workers were laid off. To avoid further payments for severance and hospital benefits, the company went bankrupt.

CN and the Government knew that the operations of Route Canada had been mismanaged and run down far too far to survive. The only people who did not know were the unfortunate workers who acted in good faith, and who at this Christmas season are still without a settlement.

This Conservative Government must take action for these workers. Rhetoric and words are not enough. A settlement is needed. These men need the Government to intervene to assure a just settlement for Route Canada workers.

* * *

● (1110)

THE ECONOMY

DEFICIT REDUCTION URGED

Mr. Ken James (Sarnia—Lambton): Mr. Speaker, the rise of high inflation most definitely leads to high interest rates. That situation would have negative effects in Canada unless our Government soon takes steps to reduce our high budget deficit, an OECD expert on Canadian affairs has warned.

The Economic Council of Canada urged our Government in a recent report to tighten our fiscal policy and reduce our deficit, which would allow the Bank of Canada to lower interest rates.

We have had the warning signs of inflation and the Government has certainly stayed the course to curb this rise. It is now time for an all-out assault on the deficit, the EEC and the OECD tell us.

What is more important, my constituents have been telling me to reduce the deficit. Many could not or would not vote for the Liberals or socialists in the last election due to their display of indiscriminate spending plans. The free trade debate is behind us. We must bite the bullet and tackle the debilitating deficit problem.

Oral Questions

[Translation]

TRADE

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Mr. William C. Winegard (Guelph—Wellington): Mr. Speaker, our recent elections centred on free trade. The people decided. Now let's implement the Agreement. Every argument that the Opposition has raised has been rejected. The time for talking is over and the time for taking action is now. Unfortunately, we must continue to respond to the objections raised in the House.

[English]

Oh, well, thank goodness Bill C-2 will soon be passed. We will be glad, and the country will be glad.

* * *

[Translation]

THE CONSTITUTION

NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE

Mr. David Berger (Saint-Henri—Westmount): Mr. Speaker, it's a shame the Prime Minister has not arrived because I wanted to say to him indirectly that it is false to assume that Pierre Trudeau agreed to the "notwithstanding" clause in 1982 simply because it had always existed in Canada.

In our parliamentary system, governments enjoy unlimited powers in so far as they act within their respective jurisdictions. With the Charter, the Liberal Party wanted governments to defer to a higher authority, namely the rights and freedoms of Canadians. We were only partly successful, Mr. Speaker. However, when a government invokes the notwithstanding clause, we revert to the *status quo ante*, that is to the situation that existed before we had the Charter.

The real question we have to ask, Mr. Speaker, is this: Why did the Prime Minister not demand the withdrawal of this clause at Meech Lake, when he conceded everything to the provinces?

Mr. Speaker, there is no choice but to conclude that it's Brian's fault that we have the "notwithstanding" clause today!

THE ECONOMY

ADVANTAGES OF FREE TRADE

Mr. Marcel R. Tremblay (Québec-Est): Mr. Speaker, the population of the new riding of Québec-Est, which I am proud to represent, is made up of young families and of a significant number of senior citizens. The majority of these people benefit from social programs that are in place as a result of existing legislation and the prevailing economic situation.

We are all in favour of protecting, and even improving, the social programs that are available to Canadians. However, before we enhance these programs, it is vital that we protect what we already have. We cannot achieve our goals by mortgaging the country further, as the NDP and Liberal parties have suggested we do in their programs.

On the contrary—it is by stimulating the economy, by increasing productivity and by maintaining a high level of prosperity that we are going to be able to fulfill our social obligations! The Free Trade Agreement, signed thanks to the initiative of our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), and to a climate of confidence generated by the policies of a truly responsible government, is going to enable us to protect our existing social programs. Because more Canadian men and women have jobs, because our productivity is going up, we are spending less money on unemployment insurance, we can reduce the national deficit, a legacy of the Liberals and the NDP, and the result is that we are making the future and the value of our social programs more secure.

On November 21, the voters of Quebec-Est understood this, and today I ask you to respect their will. History will show that we are right!

ORAL QUESTION PERIOD

[English]

THE CONSTITUTION

NOTWITHSTANDING CLAUSE—POSITION OF SECRETARY OF STATE

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, may I direct a question to the Deputy Prime Minister?

It has been a disturbing week for Parliament. We have seen rights trampled in Québec. Equally disturbing has been the Prime Minister's refusal to deal directly

and frankly with the Secretary of State. That man categorically contradicts the Prime Minister on the notwithstanding clause which was used this week to override minority rights. The clause can be used in the same fashion in the future by any province, or by this Parliament.

Does the Deputy Prime Minister not recognize the signal the Prime Minister is sending to Canadians by leaving that man in that job in our country?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, as the country knows, there is no contradiction.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Dick: What is your position, John?

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): The Prime Minister says he wants to eliminate the clause. The Secretary of State says the clause is essential. Yet the Secretary of State for External Affairs can see no problem. I very much regret that he is being asked to carry the can for a very indefensible case.

[*Translation*]

QUERY WHO WILL NEGOTIATE FOR GOVERNMENT

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the question is more serious because the Prime Minister is talking about holding a conference with his provincial counterparts to negotiate the elimination of the notwithstanding clause.

But who will be the Prime Minister's negotiator in this matter? The Secretary of State, who doesn't believe in minority rights?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State of External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the Leader of the Opposition is well aware of the impact that a First Ministers' conference can have, here in Canada. We had a success with the Meech Lake process. It was very clear at the time that it was the Prime Minister who was the catalyst of that historic consensus. The same will hold true of any future conference.

GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY

Right Hon. John N. Turner (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, does the Secretary of State for External Affairs honestly think that Canadians can

really believe in a conference to negotiate the elimination of the notwithstanding clause when the Secretary of State is in favour of retaining it?

[*English*]

On the Prime Minister's constitutional agenda there must also be for early consideration constitutional recognition of the inherent rights of our aboriginal peoples.

How confident can the first peoples of our nation feel about success in obtaining justice as long as the Secretary of State remains in the office he holds?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I assume that is a straight question, requiring a straight answer. The straight answer is they can have full confidence not only in the Secretary of State but also in this Government. I will remind the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition that it was as a result of an initiative of this Government that we came within an ace of getting agreement on those illusive and fundamental problems not very long ago.

• (1120)

Indeed, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition would know that had Meech Lake been in effect at that time, had Quebec been at the table rather than excluded, we would have achieved that type of agreement.

That is one more reason why it is so important for the aboriginal people, for language minorities across the country, and for Canadians who are interested in the integrity of the country, for us to find ways to get on with the adoption of the historic agreement reached at Meech Lake.

[*Translation*]

QUERY WHETHER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER HAS MET SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Deputy Prime Minister, in the absence—which is now habitual—of the Secretary of State and given the latter's offhand attitude to this matter and to the obligations entrusted to him as a Senior Minister in this Government. We as members of the Opposition have an obligation to question Cabinet Ministers in this House. In his absence, I ask the Deputy Prime Minister whether he has met recently with the Secretary of State, today perhaps, to explain to him his duty, his obligations to the House of Commons? Did he

Standing Order 31

ask him to show up today, or is he too busy, as the press inform us, with his little meetings and his trips to Toronto? I would like an answer, please!

[*English*]

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Secretary of State is also the Acting Minister of the Environment. My understanding is that he is attending to some very urgent matters pertaining to the environment, which I am sure Hon. Members believe is a matter of major importance to the future of Canada, and very much a national priority.

MINISTER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. Jean-Robert Gauthier (Ottawa—Vanier): Mr. Speaker, I would remind the Hon. Minister that we had a difficult week in Canada, and the Secretary of State, the Minister responsible for protecting and promoting minority groups in this country, has been absent most of the week.

The Prime Minister has put a gag on all Members and said that he is—if we are going to believe the Hon. Member for Richelieu—the sole spokesperson on minority language rights.

The Secretary of State is quoted in the press as stating on September 20, 1988: "I want to speak with Anglophones. I would like to understand them. We have to talk to each other. They told me they had apprehensions about me".

Is the Minister trying to favour himself with Canadians by staying absent from the House, or is it not his responsibility to be here to answer questions from Anglophones and Francophones concerning this very important subject of minority rights?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I find the Hon. Member's observation rather odd, inasmuch as the Prime Minister has been in the House every day this week with the exception of today, responding in detail to all the important issues. The Prime Minister speaks for the Government, on behalf of the Government, and on behalf of Canadians in this issue.

I would remind the Hon. Member that perhaps he should heed the advice of the Prime Minister when he stated yesterday: "How we resolve this issue will clearly demand reason, fair mindedness, and tolerance".

Rather than attempting to escalate the political nature of this issue, the Hon. Member should practise what the Prime Minister told him to practise yesterday.

* * *

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

MEMBERSHIP OF DISPUTE SETTLEMENT PANEL

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister for International Trade. Given the Minister's detailed knowledge of the trade agreement he will know that Article 1901.2 provides, prior to the implementation of the deal, for the selection of a panel of some 50 individuals, 25 of whom are to be named by Canada, who will make up the roster of individuals to be used to make decisions when trade disputes arise after the deal comes into effect.

This list of names was supposed to have been announced prior to the implementation of the deal.

It is to include such people as lawyers in good standing, of good character, of good reputation, and chosen strictly on the basis of objectivity.

Since the workers at Northern Telecom, Gillette, Pittsburgh Paints, and other places will have a real interest in this list, could the Minister tell us if that list of names is available, and who is on it?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, I assume that the Leader of the New Democratic Party himself might be interested. He will be looking for a job shortly. We will certainly keep him under consideration.

Under the Free Trade Agreement, and of course we cannot start to implement it until it is passed by the House, and the very questioner is a person who is preventing it from being passed by the House, there has to be a panel appointed, as the Hon. Member has indicated.

There is no decision yet as to who will comprise the 25 Canadian nominees. That is being worked on. We have sought names from across the country. These will have to be experienced people, and excellent persons who will be able to put forward the Canadian case strongly and well. That is the type of person we are looking for, but we have not yet made a final decision, nor has the United States.

By the way, Mr. Speaker, they do not all have to be appointed by January 1, but there has to be sufficient appointed so that if there is any dispute it will be resolved early in the term of the agreement and there will be panel members available.

As soon as the names are selected, we will certainly make them public.

SELECTION OF CANADIAN NOMINEES

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, we have seen the meaning attached to the word "objectivity" by the Government before. We have seen the selection of Mr. de Grandpré as chairman of the blue-ribbon committee. We have seen Jim Fleck selected as a member of the trade advisory committee, and then immediately shut down jobs in Canada.

Canadians, and particularly those workers who are affected by those decisions, have an interest in knowing how they are being selected.

Will the Minister tell us who is selecting these people, and when we will have an opportunity to see the list of names? According to the agreement they are supposed to be selected before it goes into effect.

Is the Minister saying to the House that he is waiting until the House rises, and when it is in recess after Christmas the Government, noted for its partisanship in the past, will provide us with a list of names?

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, one of the hallmarks of the Government has been the many appointments of opponents of the Government we have made, and the gratitude they have shown after they have served their time, such as Mr. Stephen Lewis who was our U.N. Ambassador for three or four years, and then spent the weeks following his leaving that post campaigning against the Government.

Mr. Turner (Vancouver Quadra): You could not buy him.

Mr. Crosbie: You could not even rent him.

Mr. Nunziata: You should have appointed your son, John. He would have been grateful.

Mr. Crosbie: He would have been a hell of a lot better than Stephen Lewis, believe me.

Mr. Broadbent: Mr. Speaker, for every former New Democrat or Liberal, as the Minister knows, including members of his family, we have seen 10,000 Tories.

Since the Minister has suggested that he would be open to the idea of a monitoring committee, independently to review what is happening with the implementation of this deal—

[Translation]

OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS

Hon. Edward Broadbent (Oshawa): Mr. Speaker, my question for the Minister is a very simple one: does he intend to accept the idea of an independent committee of MPs who would be responsible for overseeing who get chosen to sit on this Panel, which would give them a chance to support or contest the appointment of these lawyers? It is the Members of this House, not the current Government, who should decide whether the Panel is an objective body or not.

• (1130)

[English]

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, the Leader of the New Democratic Party has fought for 14 months to prevent the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement from going ahead. Now he is showing an unusual interest in who may be appointed to serve on panels.

Mr. Broadbent: Only a Tory would see a contradiction in that.

Mr. Crosbie: The Minister of Finance and I have an extensive search under way across the country to see that we get 25 people, women and men, with first-class qualifications in the trade area to serve on these panels. When we have them we will be proud to announce their names.

* * *

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Employment and Immigration. Yesterday the Department of Employment and Immigration released the first annual report on the implementation of the Employment Equity Act.

The report found that visible minorities make on average 93 cents for every dollar whites make, women earn 10 per cent less than men, disabled women make 4

Standing Order 31

per cent less than other women, and native people made no inroads at all into the workforce.

In other words, systemic discrimination still exists. The report tells us exactly what we already knew when the Government tabled the Act for the first time. What action does the Minister intend to take now to correct the situation?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for her question because there will be a very important process come out of this reporting.

This is the first stage following the passage of the legislation whereby there is not just sociological information, but information by companies and occupation.

The process from here on is that these reports will be turned over to the Human Rights Commission which will then monitor the progress that is made in the future. There has been a certain amount of finger-pointing in these reports, which I think has been valuable. It means that employers are now looking at their own practices and trying to upgrade them.

In the annual reports over the next few years, as the Human Rights Commission follows this, we will see considerable progress.

Ms. Blondin: Mr. Speaker, as the former national manager for *Action Positif*, let me say that the report proves that the Act simply does not work. That is what Liberals and every interest group in the country told the Government when the Bill was first introduced.

REQUEST FOR AMENDMENT TO REQUIRE EMPLOYERS
TO MEET TARGETS

Ms. Ethel Blondin (Western Arctic): Mr. Speaker, the Act has no teeth and it is ludicrous to pretend that it does something to help put an end to discrimination. Does the Minister intend to amend the legislation to require employers to meet targets, and to set timetables along the lines that we have asked for on so many occasions, or is the Government, in other words, still throwing political cotton balls that fall short of consequence to Canadians who need their help?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, it simply is not true to say that the legislation does not work. This is the first stage of the implementation of the legislation. No legislation could proceed until we know what is happening, not just from some sociological study of who is doing what and what discrimination there is, but from

the different companies. What will happen from now on is that it will be monitored, not by the Government but by the Human Rights Commission.

Of course, we are prepared to go further at some future point if this does not work.

We have done other things. We have the job accommodation network for the disabled. We have integrated this with other programs we have made for other clearly disadvantaged people.

We will continue to ensure that this is a better Canada as we head into another decade.

* * *

FISHERIES

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT OF NEW MINISTER

Ms. Coline Campbell (South West Nova): Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Prime Minister my question is directed to the Deputy Prime Minister. Will he ask the Prime Minister, when he reshuffles his Cabinet over the holidays, to keep in mind the clear message that was sent to him by the Atlantic fishing communities who showed their complete dissatisfaction with the policies of the present Minister of Fisheries and Oceans toward the inshore fisher?

Will he ask the Prime Minister to appoint a new Minister of Fisheries and Oceans who will look after the interests of the many communities that are so dependent on the prosperity of the inshore fishery?

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, neither I nor the Prime Minister share the Hon. Member's interpretation of that message.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I cannot help it if you lost so many Members, including the former Member, because of fishing policies.

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT OF ATLANTIC MINISTER

Ms. Coline Campbell (South West Nova): Mr. Speaker, considering that the fishery management plan for 1989 again favours the large offshore companies and it is clear that it will work against the inshore fisheries, will the Deputy Prime Minister ask the Prime Minister to appoint, as he did in the Canada-France negotiations,

an Atlantic Minister to consider the disastrous consequences that will face the inshore fishery if the proposed fishery management plan goes into effect on January 1?

Would he ask that some Minister from the Atlantic discuss and review with Members of Parliament, no matter if they are Liberals or Conservatives, and with members of the Legislatures, and concerned communities, what will happen to the inshore communities if this management plan goes ahead?

Two trips a month—

Some Hon. Members: Question.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Minister.

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker—

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): Appoint him. You only have a week.

Mr. Crosbie: He is the greatest Minister of Fisheries in our history, except for somebody else whom I should not mention.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Speaker: I can say that I understand the problem.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Mazankowski: Mr. Speaker, I find the Hon. Member's comments most unfortunate indeed. I think all Members of the House would agree, indeed the fishing community would agree, that we have in the current Minister of Fisheries and Oceans a hard working, dedicated Minister who has worked diligently on behalf of the fishing community.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Mazankowski: Mr. Speaker, you might want to allow the Hon. Member another supplementary so she can explain to the Canadian people what she has against western Canada.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands.

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): A supplementary, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

Standing Order 31

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Saanich—Gulf Islands.

* * *

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT

REQUEST FOR INCLUSION OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Ms. Lynn Hunter (Saanich—Gulf Islands): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Employment and Immigration. Yesterday's employment equity annual report confirmed that systemic discrimination persists in the federally regulated workforce and that women, the disabled, visible minorities, and native Canadians are not being given a fair chance to compete equally in the Canadian workforce. Free trade will only exacerbate this trend.

Since the present Act is just a front for inaction, and since the Minister said there is no provision later for enforcement but will only monitor, will the Minister amend the Act to incorporate real enforcement measures? Will the Minister set an example for all employers by including the Government's own Public Service in greatly strengthened employment equity legislation?

• (1140)

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, we are the first Government ever to have taken employment equity seriously. I think the Hon. Member might also be interested in talking to some of her fellow NDPers.

Here is a comment from one of the employers: "We are a highly unionized employer, approximately 87 per cent of our workforce. Of these unionized employees, some 97 per cent are covered by collective agreements which have union hiring hall provisions. The unions operate a manpower dispatch system, thus leaving the employer with little actual control." So I suggest she join with us in helping some other segments of society to make this work.

REQUEST THAT GOVERNMENT INTRODUCE PAY EQUITY LEGISLATION

Ms. Lynn Hunter (Saanich—Gulf Islands): Mr. Speaker, a lot of myths are being passed around this House this week, and that is another one. One thing this report confirms is that a large wage gap exists between women and men in the federally regulated sector. In light of this fundamental unfairness, will the Government bring in pay equity legislation, as has already been

Standing Order 31

done in four provincial jurisdictions, to correct this basic inequity in Canadian society?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, this Government has pay equity provisions and affirmative action in the Public Service, as well as employment equity. Let me tell the Hon. Member that other countries are looking at this.

We are the first country in the world to have national standards on employment equity and there are other countries looking at it.

Of course there may be other provisions that we will need, but we have to get at every sector of society and not just make rules that will be impossible for people to follow. That is what has happened in those jurisdictions with that legislation. It hasn't worked.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Mr. Alan Redway (Don Valley East): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of State for the Treasury Board. This morning the Minister released a report, the first report, I believe, on employment equity in the Public Service of Canada. That report indicated that visible minorities and the disabled are drastically underrepresented in the federal Public Service and that visible minorities, the disabled, women, and native people are seriously underrepresented in the senior levels of management. What do the Minister and the Government intend to do to put our own house in order?

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to reiterate that we are the first Government to set targets for employment equity for women, visible minorities, and the disabled. One aspect of the question we might zero in on is the visible minorities, and one has to remember that a large percentage of visible minorities reside in the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, whereas the number of federal positions in those cities is correspondingly lower.

I think the important thing to remind my friend of is that we now have the first report and we can take action on the figures that flow from that report. I am sure that, when we report next year, the figures will be better.

AIR SAFETY

CONDITIONS AT PEARSON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. Jim Karygiannis (Scarborough—Agincourt): Mr. Speaker, despite the reported near midair collision at Pearson International Airport Tuesday, only last week the Minister of State for Transport made statements to the effect that everything is now fine at Pearson. She is either unwilling or unable to take action to make sure that this holiday season remains a time of happiness and not a time of sorrow.

I would like to ask the Minister responsible what it will take for the Minister finally to do something concrete, instead of taking haphazard measures to correct this horrendous situation. Lives are in danger as we speak.

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, safety is number one at the Pearson Airport as it is across the country. Yes, there have been near misses, but the legislation was brought in to ensure that the reporting system was more secure and more stringent allowing for more representation as far as responses are concerned.

Mr. Nunziata: That is nonsense.

Mrs. Martin: The nonsense is on the other side of the House today. I can assure the Hon. Member that all necessary steps are being taken, and in fact the incidents at Toronto have dropped by 40 per cent in a year—

Ms. Copps: Oh, my God, that is even worse.

Mrs. Martin: —in a year when traffic has increased by 10 per cent. Therefore we are taking the appropriate action, and we will continue to take the appropriate action.

REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL STEPS TO ENSURE SAFETY

Mr. Jim Karygiannis (Scarborough—Agincourt): Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is directed to the Prime Minister. In light of the unwillingness of the Minister to take action to bring in steps in order to avoid the four near misses in the last 50 days and to assure the travelling public of their safety, would the Prime Minister announce today additional steps to ensure public safety?

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, initial steps have been taken. Future steps will be taken. Safety is number one and will continue to

be number one, regardless of what the Hon. Member opposite may say.

VIA RAIL

PROPOSED RERUTING OF CORNWALL SERVICE

Mr. Bob Kilger (Stormont—Dundas): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Minister of State for Transport. The lobby group, Transport 2000, is calling for a rerouting of VIA Rail trains Nos. 58 and 59 which currently pass through Cornwall.

Train 58 is an important commuter link for many Cornwall residents who work in Montreal. It is also used by people who wish to make airport connections at Dorval. Train 59 connects Cornwall with Toronto and is an inexpensive service used by many people in Cornwall and the surrounding area, especially low income travellers. I would like to ask the Minister of State for Transport if she will guarantee that these trains will continue their present operation and not be rerouted.

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Hon. Member for his concern for the constituents of the Cornwall area, and I will certainly take notice of his question, look into the situation, and reply to him.

TRAIN SERVICE IN EASTERN ONTARIO

Mr. Bob Kilger (Stormont—Dundas): Mr. Speaker, this answer is not helpful.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Kilger: The Government has promised in the past to maintain rail passenger service in Canada. We have just witnessed the cancellation of overnight train service between Ottawa and Toronto. I ask the Minister of State for Transport if she will today honour the Government's commitment to preserving train service in eastern Ontario.

Hon. Shirley Martin (Minister of State (Transport)): Mr. Speaker, I answered that question with the first answer.

HEALTH

TESTING OF NERVE GAS ANTIDOTE

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. Dr. Somers, the Director General of the Drugs Directorate of Health and Welfare, today confirmed that the green light has been given to the Department of

National Defence for human guinea pig testing of HI-6, a nerve gas antidote.

Since we learned this fall that Canadian servicemen involved in chemical tests at Suffield were not informed of the possible side effects of tests they were involved in, will the Minister assure this House that any servicemen or civilians who participate in HI-6 tests will be fully informed? In some tests on animals, this drug caused death, and in many cases extreme birth deformities.

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, the assurances that the Hon. Member asks for are the assurances that the Department of National Health and Welfare required of the Department of National Defence. I believe the Hon. Member had a conversation, possibly within the last 24 hours, with officials of my Department relating to HI-6.

The situation is that informed consent will be necessary, that an ethics committee will have to be in place, that no one has to participate, that it will be used as an antidote only to test tolerance, and that no nerve gas will be involved.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

CHEMICAL WEAPONS—REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

Mr. Jim Fulton (Skeena): Mr. Speaker, I thank the Minister for that answer, but this Conservative Government has endorsed the production by the United States of a new generation of chemical weapons, and Health and Welfare confirmed today that an East bloc country has published a study in support of human guinea pig testing of HI-6.

Will the Minister give his support to the striking of an all-Party committee of the House to evaluate Canada's role in the development of nerve gas, chemical weapons and antidotes, and report those findings to the House in 1989?

• (1150)

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, this is only the most recent example of the Hon. Member attempting to inspire fears among the public.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Beatty: The House will recall that the Hon. Member made very irresponsible allegations earlier in the year with regard to Suffield. When we asked him to give the Department names of individuals whom he had

Standing Order 31

alleged had been affected by nerve gas or by chemical testing, he refused to do so. That was simply an irresponsible action on his part.

The House will know that I have asked Mr. William Barton, a former disarmament ambassador, the Chairman of the Canadian International Institute of Peace and Security, to conduct a full study of all of the aspects of chemical and biological research in Canada. That study will be completed by the end of this year. It will be made public. It will be made available to all Members of Parliament. If any Member of Parliament, for example, serving on the National Defence Committee wishes to pursue the issue, we will be pleased to see it pursued.

* * *

CRIMINAL CODE

WAR CRIMES—KINGSTON NEWSPAPER ALLEGATIONS

Mr. Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Islands): Mr. Speaker, my question is directed to the Minister of Justice in his capacity as the Attorney General of Canada. On December 10, *The Kingston Whig Standard*, a newspaper published in my constituency, published a major investigative report which alleges that one Joseph Kirshbaum was involved in activities in Slovakia in World War II which could render him liable for prosecution under the Criminal Code provisions respecting war crimes.

When will the Attorney General make his decision as to the prosecution of this Joseph Kirshbaum?

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I have seen that special edition of the *Whig Standard*. The Hon. Member will know that these are questions about which the Attorney General should exercise care and public comment. I think in the circumstances I will not reply directly to that question here on the floor of the House today.

Mr. Nunziata: Consult your lawyer.

MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. Peter Milliken (Kingston and the Islands): Mr. Speaker, I have a supplementary question, Mr. Speaker. When will the Attorney General take seriously the allegations contained in this article?

Some Hon. Members: Come on.

Mr. Milliken: The information contained in this article has been in the public domain for some time.

Mr. Crosbie: You cannot discuss possible prosecution.

Mr. Milliken: The Attorney General has a responsibility to make up his mind. Simply, when is he going to make a decision? I think that is a reasonable question, Mr. Speaker.

Right Hon. Joe Clark (Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, I take my duties sufficiently seriously that I do not propose to discuss potential hypothetical prosecutions here on the floor of the House.

* * *

VISIBLE MINORITIES

CHINESE HEAD TAX ISSUE

Mr. Mac Harb (Ottawa Centre): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Deputy Prime Minister.

In August, 1984, the Chinese Canadian National Council received a letter from the Conservative Party which said:

The Progressive Conservative Party supports the introduction of an all-Party parliamentary resolution which would recognize the injustice and discrimination of the head tax and the Chinese Immigration (Exclusion) Act.

Would the Deputy Prime Minister live up to his promise and take immediate action to resolve this painful issue in a fair and appropriate manner?

Hon. Gerry Weiner (Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship)): Mr. Speaker, following the settlement of the Japanese Canadian issue which had been a dark stain on our reputation for some 45 years, we indicated quite clearly to the Chinese community that we would be very prepared to meet with them.

Indeed, I did meet the leadership of the community in Toronto. We had a very extensive meeting. We explored the situation very carefully and clearly, and the information has been very helpful.

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT OF ALL-PARTY COMMITTEE

Mr. Mac Harb (Ottawa Centre): Mr. Speaker, it is now almost 1989 and the Chinese National Council has

gone through four Multicultural Ministers trying to get some sort of action.

Would the Deputy Prime Minister promise today to the House that he will set up an all-Party committee to ensure that the Chinese-Canadian community gets a fair and just resolution to its concern?

Hon. Gerry Weiner (Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship)): Mr. Speaker, for too many years we had seen a Prime Minister and previous Prime Ministers refuse to address themselves to any previous injustices that might have existed in this country. By coming forward with our historic settlement, by redressing a wrong that we faced for far too long, we have said clearly that, if there are any other injustices, we have not closed the door to addressing ourselves to those issues. On the contrary, it gives others the opportunity. But certainly they must be examined very carefully and in an appropriate way to see if redress is necessary.

* * *

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

REPORTED LAUNDERING OF MARCOS FAMILY FUNDS

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Solicitor General. It is related to Ferdinand Marcos and also the question of laundered money.

There is a story breaking in Vancouver where a firm known as the Vancouver Securities Incorporated has been a conduit for money to be laundered by the Marcos family. As everyone knows, a U.S. federal grand jury has instructed that the Marcos funds be frozen but there appears to be a loop hole in allowing these funds to be laundered here in Canada.

Is the Solicitor General aware of this case, and are the RCMP looking into this matter that has now been exposed in Vancouver?

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, although I thank the Hon. Member for his question he will know that it is not practice to disclose in the House whether an RCMP investigation is under way. Certainly the RCMP read newspapers, just as the Hon. Member does.

If the Hon. Member has any information that would be of use to the RCMP, I would invite him to present it to the RCMP directly.

Standing Order 31

Mr. Barrett: Far be it for me to underwrite a subscription to the *Vancouver Sun* for the RCMP.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

REQUEST THAT MINISTER INVESTIGATE

Mr. David Barrett (Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca): Mr. Speaker, could I have an assurance from the Solicitor General that he will personally look into this matter and assure all Canadians that no funds from the Marcos family that have been frozen by the U.S. courts will be laundered here in Canada, and that Canadians will not be used as a haven for ill-gotten gains by people like ex-President Marcos?

Hon. Perrin Beatty (Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General of Canada): Mr. Speaker, what I will do is ensure that the RCMP are fully aware of the Hon. Member's concerns.

Further, he has every right as a Member of Parliament and as a citizen to contact the RCMP directly to bring to their attention any concerns he has, or any information that he has.

* * *

INCOME TAX ACT

AMOUNTS SPENT BY CORPORATIONS ON FREE TRADE ADVERTISING

Mr. John Manley (Ottawa South): Mr. Speaker, nobody likes to think too much about taxes this close to Christmas but I do have a question for the Minister of National Revenue.

During the recent election campaign, advertising by groups other than political Parties really made a mockery of the election expense limits contained in the Canada Elections Act. I would like the Minister's assurance to this House that Revenue Canada Taxation will ensure that corporations do not deduct for income tax purposes amounts spent on advertising in favour of or against the free trade agreement.

Hon. Elmer M. MacKay (Minister of National Revenue): Mr. Speaker, I have listened with care to my colleague's question, and I can assure him that I will take it as a representation.

I think he will understand that practices are pretty well established in this regard, and let me say that so far

Privilege—Miss C. Campbell

I have not had any other representations except his. We will look into the matter.

MINISTER'S POSITION

Mr. John Manley (Ottawa South): Mr. Speaker, I think the practices are established under the Income Tax Act—

Mr. Crosbie: Under the Liberals.

Mr. Manley: —and I think there are limitations on what can be deducted. It is clear individuals cannot deduct amounts which they might have spent on advertising against the free trade deal because they wanted to protect their jobs.

Mr. Crosbie: What about the unions?

Mr. Manley: Unions do not deduct for income tax purposes but corporations do.

Mr. Crosbie: They take it from their members.

Mr. Manley: Is the Minister willing to ensure that these amounts spent on advertising which have nothing to do with the business of the corporations which are advertising, will not be deducted?

Mr. Beatty: There is a lot to do with the very survival of their businesses.

Mr. Crosbie: You would have ruined their businesses if you had gotten in.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

• (1200)

Hon. Elmer M. MacKay (Minister of National Revenue): Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the question of my colleague. I remind him that previously the Government corrected some inequities and inadequacies in Liberal legislation, and we will continue to look at it and see if it is appropriate.

* * *

PRIVILEGE

ALLEGED BIAS AGAINST WEST COAST

Ms. Coline Campbell (South West Nova): Mr. Speaker, it is good to be back.

Mr. Speaker: Is the Hon. Member asking me to agree with that?

Ms. Campbell (South West Nova): I rise on a question of privilege. Earlier in Question Period I was invited by the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski) to explain my bias against the West Coast. The Deputy Prime Minister is using what I consider offensive measures of defence to a major problem on the East Coast.

We will take any Minister of Fisheries from any coast, and we enjoyed having you, Mr. Speaker, in that role at one time. We are not biased against the West Coast because of this Minister Fisheries. We are biased against this Minister of Fisheries.

Members of the inshore communities on the East Coast are certainly showing that they dislike this Minister of Fisheries.

When Robert Stanfield came down to South West Nova and stated that the people had to accept the Prime Minister “warts” and all, I do not think that he meant that we had to accept this Minister of Fisheries. We may have had to accept the Prime Minister “warts” and all, according to the *Chronicle Herald* the next day, but I must say that we do not have to accept this Minister of Fisheries.

It is unfair to accuse me of bias against the West Coast when we do not like the Minister of Fisheries. Name anyone else from the West Coast. Name someone from Alberta, and we will take that Minister of Fisheries. However, we do not want this Minister of Fisheries.

Mr. Speaker: The complaint of the Hon. Member arises from a comment made by the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski) which, as I remember it, was putting the question of whether or not the Hon. Member might or might not have a bias against the West Coast.

I find it difficult to find that it is a question of privilege. It is not a matter that has arisen for the first time in the House. As Hon. Members will recall, there was an exchange some months in which a similar complaint was brought by a Member the New Democratic Party concerning an alleged or imputed bias against one part of the country or the other.

I doubt if either of those are questions of privilege. However, in view of the fact that there have been complaints, I am sure that all Hon. Members would want to take this matter into account, and keep in mind that all Hon. Members in the Chamber are here to serve the entire country. Suggestions of bias against one part of the country or another perhaps ought not to be made.

I have to say to the Hon. Member that it does fall short of a question of privilege.

* * *

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

ARRANGEMENTS BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK

Mr. Hawkes: Subsequent to the vote this morning there was an opportunity for the three Party Whips to review the balance of the day. During the course of that review we considered the arrangement we have had for the supper hour this week. It seems to have worked well. We think that there might be unanimous consent within the Chamber to adopt that understanding for the balance of today, which would be that there would not be any tactical manoeuvring, including quorum calls, or dilatory motions. The restaurant will be open this evening from 6 p.m. until 10 p.m., rather than from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. for the convenience of Members.

If all Members are in agreement, it would allow all Members of the House, as the debate goes on today, to have a little more flexibility to do the hard work that remains to be done in their offices before the Christmas break.

I believe that you will find, Mr. Speaker, such a predisposition in the House, if the Whips have a good feel for the will of their caucuses, and that they be given the opportunity to bring their work up to date before their leave for Christmas.

Mr. Prud'homme: This Bill will be passed tonight and next week we will wait for Royal Assent. Would Your Honour see to having at least a minimum of services at the disposal of Members next week, since most likely some will stay behind. Officially the House does not adjourn until after we are called in at your request, Mr. Speaker, to go to the Senate for Royal Assent.

Therefore, I am very skeptical that there may not be as many services for those Members of the House who will stay here at the call of the Chair. Would Your Honour see to it that at least some minimum services such as those provided by the restaurant be made available to all Members.

Mr. Speaker: First, I wish to thank the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) for bringing this matter to my attention. There has been some consideration, and I want to assure the House that I myself and others will make every effort to ensure that appropriate

facilities are available for the comfort and use of those Members who are here.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, I would like to get back to the matter under consideration, namely whether we can agree on a ceasefire as far as the procedural wrangling is concerned. I agree that it would be appropriate, today at least, in order to allow as many Members as possible to make their speeches, that we do not resort to any stalling tactics. We should also agree that for the lunch and dinner hours, Members should have an opportunity to use the dining room.

I would prefer, Mr. Speaker, that we agree on the length of the speeches. I would agree to limiting the length of speeches, to allow as many Members as possible to speak on such an important issue. I am always open to any suggestions from the government and, if it was possible to limit the time allocated to each Member to perhaps 15 minutes, instead of 20 minutes, it's as you wish . . . I'm open to all suggestions!

[*English*]

Mr. Riis: In an effort to allow Members to complete their necessary work before the break, we would certainly be prepared to agree that we will not do anything to prohibit that.

Perhaps having some services next week would be in order, because we are still attempting to think of some way to expand the debate into next week. I do not think there is any way to do that beyond the closure motion at 1 a.m. tomorrow.

As far as limiting the length of speeches, I would not suggest that we would be in agreement with that at this point. Perhaps after some further discussion, but at this point I would like to discuss it more before we agree to limit speeches.

Mr. Hawkes: I would be quite happy to undertake those discussions at an early point. In the normal course of events, and in the absence of the motion this morning, very soon speeches would have reached the 10 minute mark, and that might be the place to start discussions. However, I look forward to those discussions and we will report back to the House.

Mr. Speaker: I might take the opportunity while Members are present to indicate that later on this evening, certainly from 10 p.m. onwards, there will be a reception for Hon. Members in Room 16 which is the traditional way in which we meet with each other at the

Privilege—Mr. Plamondon

end of a busy several weeks. I invite all Hon. Members to join me at that time.

If events should so transpire in the House that it would be necessary to adjust the time of the reception, I shall of course do that in due course.

* * *

• (1210)

[Translation]

PRIVILEGE

WORDS ATTRIBUTED TO MEMBER FOR HAMILTON EAST

Mr. Louis Plamondon (Richelieu): Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) uttered a word that outraged several of my constituents. I received many telephone calls about this incident.

I'm sure the Hon. Member wasn't thinking straight when she referred to an individual who was speaking French as a slime-bag.

I would just like to let the Hon. Member know that she shocked a great many people. However, I know her well enough to realize that these cannot surely be her true feelings.

Undoubtedly, the Hon. Member for Hamilton East was caught up in the emotion of the moment and, with all due respect to her, I hope that she would wish to apologize to the voters in my riding who were shocked to hear her use this word.

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mr. Speaker, the first time I heard the word slime-bag was here in the House. I heard it from two Ministers of the Crown who used it on several occasions to characterize the goings-on in the House.

Mr. Speaker, the Honourable Member claims that I was asking the Prime Minister to speak in English when he knows full well, as does the Prime Minister, that I was asking him to speak in English because he was saying one thing in French, and something quite different in English. I do not accept this kind of duplicity from the Prime Minister, no more than I can accept it from any other Member of the House.

[English]

An Hon. Member: Why don't you try apologizing for once.

Mr. Speaker: I shall refer to the *Hansard* record and, if necessary, report back to the House.

The Hon. Member for Windsor West (Mr. Gray).

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a comment on the point of order, and in doing so I draw your attention to—

Mr. Speaker: I will of course hear the House Leader for the Opposition, if he feels that it is necessary to offer some remarks. It may be that it will not be necessary.

Mr. Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, I will be very brief. I merely want to draw to the attention of the Chair and the House that there is a well established principle referred to in Beauchesne's Rules of Order to the effect that the proper time at which to raise a point of order with respect to unparliamentary language is when the words are used, and not afterwards.

If the Hon. Member opposite had a concern about language that was allegedly used by the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) yesterday, he should have raised the point of order immediately. Not having done so, I respectfully submit that the point of order, whatever the words might have been, is not valid.

Mr. McDermid: That is the only defence you have.

Ms. Copps: I learned it from you.

Mr. Speaker: I will take the matter under consideration. The incident about which the complaint has been raised has attracted considerable publicity, and it is for that reason that I urge upon all Hon. Members that restraint at times, no matter what the provocation, is probably in the best interests of order in this place.

I will consider the matter and, if necessary, report back to the House on it.

I thank the Hon. Member for Windsor West for his remarks.

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, without wishing to prolong the discussion, I would like to advise the Chair that we will be reviewing the "blues" as to the recent comments of the Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) in order to determine whether or not, in this

latest intervention, there has been a Question of Privilege that should be followed up.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

ROUTINE PROCEEDINGS

[English]

IMMIGRATION

TABLING OF ANNUAL REPORT ON FUTURE IMMIGRATION LEVELS

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Standing Order 32(1), I have the honour to table, in both official languages, copies of the annual report to Parliament on future immigration levels.

* * *

INCOME TAX ACT

EFFECT OF CHANGES ON SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMS

Hon. Jake Epp (Minister of National Health and Welfare): Mr. Speaker, I wish to inform the House that certain changes under the Income Tax Act will not have an adverse effect on the benefits paid to recipients of the Guaranteed Income Supplement and Spouse's Allowance, which are based on a definition of income originating in the Income Tax Act.

Because this definition has been changed, a consequential amendment to the Old Age Security Act will be needed to ensure that recipients with employment earnings who claim or renew these benefits in April, 1989 will be protected from unintended reductions in their benefits.

At the same time, and on behalf of my colleague, the Minister of Veterans Affairs (Mr. Merrithew), I wish to point out that this will provide identical protection to recipients of the War Veterans Allowance.

Specifically, for purposes of these programs, the same deductions for unemployment insurance premiums, Canada and Québec Pension Plan contributions, and employment expenses will be available as before.

The necessary legislation to maintain this protection will be tabled at Budget time.

Statements by Ministers

Ms. Sheila Copps (Hamilton East): Mrs. Speaker, the Minister's statement, brief though it may be, was only delivered to my office at 10.26 this morning.

The information contained in this release, from what I can gather, Mr. Speaker, represents a real blow to senior citizens.

What the Minister is saying, even though he is unable or unwilling to clarify it in this House, is that the Income Tax Act has been changed to redefine the definition of earnings, and that could potentially have a negative impact on 40,000 Canadians receiving the Guaranteed Income Supplement and Spouse's Allowance and 4,500 war veterans receiving the War Veterans Allowance.

In order to mitigate the impact of the changes that are going to be brought in under the Income Tax Act—which he fails to explain either by way of his release or by way of his statement—he is going to bring in enabling legislation to change the requirements specifically for senior citizen recipients.

The reason it is of concern, Mr. Speaker, is that each and every Member of this House, usually in the month of April, receives telephone calls from irate and distraught senior citizens who have not had their Guaranteed Income Supplement renewed.

In his statement, the Minister should be far more explanatory as to what income is being redefined and how it is going to affect senior citizens immediately.

He calls it a benefit, saying that an amendment will be introduced to safeguard current levels of the Guaranteed Income Supplement.

Well, who is being cut back, and what is the redefinition under the Income Tax Act which will negatively affect senior citizens and the war veterans?

The Minister states that as many as 40,000 people will be affected but that they do not have to do anything as the Department will initiate whatever action is needed.

It is simply not good enough, Mr. Speaker, two days before Christmas, to tell seniors that the Income Tax Act is going to be changed, that the definition of "earnings" under the Income Tax Act will be changed; to state that there could be a potential negative effect on 40,000 seniors, as well as 4,500 war veterans, and then to say: "In the future, we are going to bring in legislation which will vitiate against the negative effects of the

Interparliamentary Delegation Report

changes to the Income Tax Act which we are now bringing in."

I think the Minister owes the seniors of this country an explanation which is far more precise. I should like to know precisely what changes to the Income Tax Act are proposed to be brought in and why it is that he is coming in with this statement at this time, a statement which is going to frighten senior citizens and frighten war veterans.

An Hon. Member: You are the one who is frightening them.

Ms. Copps: And then he says: "Don't worry about it, because the Department is going to get in touch with you individually."

Well, Mr. Speaker, we know that—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Copps: I am sorry, but this a very important issue. It is an issue that deals with the Guaranteed Income Supplement for senior citizens. I think the Minister needs to give more information to our seniors as to the kinds of changes that have been made and how it is that we can be assured that the Department is going to be able individually to contact the 40,000 senior citizens whose livelihood depends upon the Guaranteed Income Supplement.

The Minister's statement is uninformative and needs to be expanded.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, while we agree with the intent of the Minister's statement, I can say that, like many Members of this House, I have had telephone calls and letters from senior citizens who do not understand why their benefits have been cut when they have had employment earnings—earnings that they desperately need in order to survive.

• (1220)

We certainly support the intent to ensure that recipients of old age pensions, spouses' allowance and veterans' allowance will not have their benefits reduced as a result of the income tax measures. However, I agree with my colleague that it is important to have a much broader and detailed explanation of this matter, particularly for our senior citizens. I would think it would not be too difficult to have some kind of statement sent out

with the next cheque mailing. Certainly all of us in this House will be most anxious to have further information as well.

Those older people must have protection. They have planned their lives with the idea that they would receive full benefits under the existing laws and not have them reduced due to Income Tax Act changes.

I note that the Minister in his press release stated that the move is "consistent with this Government's commitment to protecting pensioners and veterans with limited incomes". Why did the Minister and his Government not have the same concern about families raising children on limited incomes? Why does the Minister continue to tolerate the reduction in family allowances and benefits as a result of the deindexation policy of his Government which was imposed on family benefits? The Tory tax system does not treat families with children fairly and I hope the Minister will be reviewing and correcting this in the next Budget.

I urge him to bring forward measures to reindex family allowances and child tax credits fully. I know veterans and other pensioners and their spouses will want their grandchildren and other children to be fully protected from poverty. Therefore, I ask him to work on those two measures which are most important to the youngest and oldest of our society.

* * *

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF COUNCIL OF EUROPE

HOSTING BY CANADA OF SEVENTH PARLIAMENTARY SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Mr. Terry Clifford (London—Middlesex): Mr. Speaker, as Chairman of the Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association, I would like to bring to the attention of the House, particularly in light of the fact we have so many new Members, that Canada, more specifically the Canadian Parliament, will be host to a very important conference from June 8 to June 15, 1990.

This conference is the seventh parliamentary scientific conference organized under the auspices of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. It is expected that 150 parliamentarians and scientists from 21 Council of European member countries, as well as the remaining six OECD countries, will be in attendance at this Ottawa conference.

The conference will give Canada an opportunity to increase the awareness of the international scientific community as to what Canada has to offer in various specific scientific fields. Quite apart from the meeting itself, we would like to focus the attention of the delegates on Canada's technological advances, and show them evidence of this around Ottawa. We really have a story to tell with respect to technological and environmental development which is unheralded and unmatched anywhere in the world.

Because of the importance with which the Canadian Government and the Canadian people regard questions related to the environment, the Canadian Executive Committee has requested that Canadian participants lead a discussion on the subject of global environmental change, focusing, among other aspects, on the problems of monitoring and evaluating and the technological adjustments urgently needed in industry, energy and agriculture. This request was approved by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly last week.

This conference will further signal to the world that Canada and Canadian parliamentarians are prepared to move forward and meet the challenge presented to the Governments of the world by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) at the Toronto conference in June on the changing atmosphere. The challenge: To create an International Law of the Atmosphere by 1992.

The world needs environmental leadership. Canada and its parliamentarians have responded.

* * *

PRIVATE MEMBERS PUBLIC BILL

NOTICE OF INTRODUCTION

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I understand the Hon. Member for York South—Weston (Mr. Nunziata) wishes to introduce a Bill. However, we do not have it at this time.

Mr. John Nunziata (York South—Weston): If I may, Mr. Speaker, it was my intention to introduce a Bill today which would have amended the Criminal Code to protect the innocent unborn. I have been advised by the Table that although the Bill is listed on the Order Paper, it is not yet at the table, which precludes me from introducing it today.

However, I am also advised that once that matter is dealt with it may be introduced later this day with the consent of the House. I ask that I be allowed to do that.

Motions

Mr. Lewis: Fair enough.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Very well.

* * *

CRIMINAL CODE

REFERENCE TO STANDING COMMITTEE OF MEASURE TO AMEND

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board)): Mr. Speaker, there have been discussions among the Parties and I think you will find there is consent to move the following two motions, which I will do one at a time, immediately without debate. Therefore, I move:

That, pursuant to Section 195(2)(1) of an Act to amend the Criminal Code (Prostitution), Chapter 51, Statutes of Canada, 1985, the Standing Committee on Justice and Solicitor General be the committee to review the Act.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Does the Hon. President of the Treasury Board have the unanimous consent of the House to move the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, we are disposed to accept the order but I want to draw to the attention of the House a potential problem which has just been brought to my attention.

Contrary to the rules, the Striking Committee of this House has not met. No committee has been constituted as a result. I think it should be noted that the Government has been remiss in carrying out this responsibility placed upon it by the rules. While I want to see the obligation placed on this House by the statute carried out, I think it should be noted that as yet the Justice Committee has not been set up.

Mr. Lewis: Mr. Speaker, just immediately prior to your putting the motion, I would suggest to my hon. friend that we are making an effort to comply with the legislation by designating the proper committee, and we did so on that basis. The question of when the striking committee will be set up is one that will be looked at in the very near future.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The House has heard the terms of the motion. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

*Motions***BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE**

DISPOSITION OF BILL C-2

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board)): Mr. Speaker, the second motion will probably be of more interest to the House. I move:

That immediately following the vote on third reading of Bill C-2, the Speaker shall adjourn the House to the call of the Chair for the purpose of receiving a message from the Senate respecting the giving of Royal Assent to the said Bill; and

That immediately following Royal Assent on the said Bill, a motion to rescind the order of the House of December 16, 1988, respecting sitting hours shall be deemed to have been moved by a Minister of the Crown and the Speaker shall forthwith deem such motion adopted and shall adjourn the House until eleven o'clock a.m., Monday, March 6, 1989;

Provided that, in the case of any other message from the Senate on the said Bill, the Speaker shall within 48 hours of receipt of such message call the House into session for the purpose of considering such message, and recorded divisions on which shall not be subject to provisions for deferralment.

While the Page is taking the motion to the Chair I might undertake to the House that since the date of March 6 will shorten the time allowed to the House to consider Estimates, I undertake on behalf of the Government that in this case we will provide an additional week to allow the House to consider the Estimates.

• (1230)

Hon. Herb Gray (Windsor West): Mr. Speaker, we have heard the motion. We have been consulted about it beforehand. As I have indicated to the Deputy Government House Leader, we are ready to accept the motion in the form it has been proposed in the light of the undertaking given by the Deputy Government House Leader.

One of the most important duties of members of the Opposition in the House—in fact of all Members—is to give due and proper consideration to the spending plans of the Government and what they say about the over-all policy of the Government. Ordinarily, the final date for submitting to this House the Main Estimates would be, I think, around March 1. If we agree without the undertaking being offered by the Deputy Government House Leader to begin on March 6, then the time offered by the rules for the studying of Estimates will have been rather seriously abridged, which I do not think would be in the interests of the House or of Canada as a whole.

Because the Deputy Government House Leader has given the undertaking that he has just made, we are

willing to accept the order by unanimous consent in the form in which it has been proposed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Does the Hon. President of the Treasury Board have the unanimous consent of the House to move the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The House has heard the terms of the motion. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Motion agreed to.

* * *

PETITIONS

REVIEW OF LAWS GOVERNING PROSTITUTION

Ms. Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, I think it is particularly appropriate that I present this petition following the statement made just a few moments ago by the Deputy Government House Leader. The petition I have the honour to present comes from many residents of Strathcona, a residential community in Vancouver East which has a very large school population.

The residents of this community have said that, whereas their neighbourhood is now seriously at risk of being destroyed by prostitutes, their johns and the filth, disease, violence, crime and disturbance they bring with them; whereas they, the residents of the neighborhood, are the victims of this outrageous activity, suffering increasing break-ins and verbal abuse and threats of violence on their neighbourhood streets such as that they no longer feel safe; whereas the current laws governing street solicitation for the purposes of prostitution are completely inadequate and ineffectual; whereas victimization, destruction and disturbance of residential neighbourhoods can be substantially reduced or eliminated, and the excessive costs of policing and court processes could be more effectively applied or reduced, therefore they call upon Parliament to review the laws governing street solicitation for the purposes of prostitution, particularly in locations in or around residential neighbourhoods, day care centres, schools, churches, parks and playgrounds for the health, safety and welfare of citizens.

There are many signatures including those of many representatives of the Chinese community of Strathcona. I hope that we will get on with the review of this legislation very quickly.

ADDITION OF EGGS TO IMPORT CONTROL LIST

Mr. Ralph Ferguson (Lambton—Middlesex): Mr. Speaker, I rise today to present a petition from some residents of Canada and southwestern Ontario in particular representing the hatching egg producers from across Canada who have organized themselves into a Canadian Hatching Egg Producers Marketing Agency under the provisions of the National Farm Products Marketing Agency Act in a sincere attempt to tailor their production to meet the demand of the Canadian market.

However, their efforts will be of no avail unless chicken hatching eggs are added to the import control list. Therefore these petitioners call upon Parliament and the Government to honour this commitment to the Canadian producers and announce the addition of the product to the import control list so as to provide stability for these farmers whose industry will be destroyed if no action is not forthcoming.

Please make this a merry Christmas for this sector of Canadian agriculture.

[*Translation*]

Hon. Doug Lewis (Minister of State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting President of the Treasury Board): Mr. Speaker, I ask that all questions be held over.

Mr. Speaker: Is it agreed?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

* * *

POINT OF ORDER

APPLICATION OF STANDING ORDERS 33(2) AND 57

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On a point of order, the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier (Mr. Gauthier).

Mr. Gauthier: Mr. Speaker, our Standing Orders provide that when a Minister rises and makes a statement under routine Proceedings—and we have had such a statement today—an MP from the official opposition, or from each of the opposition parties, may take roughly the same amount of time to respond.

Petitions

Standing Order 33(2) stipulates, and I quote:

A period of time corresponding to the time taken for the proceedings pursuant to paragraph (1) of this section shall be added to the time provided for government business as follows:

On Fridays, the time is added to the end of the day, and so today if we are going to respect Standing Order 33(2) we should add on the time that has been used for the Minister's statement and the response from the opposition parties.

I noticed that you did not indicate to the House that there was a provision to this effect. Normally you say so just before the call for Routine Proceedings or Orders of the Day.

I wonder, in the opinion of this House, or of the Chair, whether we are to take it that Standing Order 57, which stipulates that questions must be decided without delay, closure having been invoked, overrides Standing Order 33(2).

I would ask the Chair to direct us on this matter, so that it will be clear that when I and my caucus a few minutes ago asked the House to restrict the time allotted to each member, which is 20 minutes per speech, so that more Members would have a chance to speak, it doesn't mean we have to add on extra time tomorrow morning at one a.m. because of a Standing Order that is interpreted perhaps somewhat differently from the way I see it.

I would ask the Chair to tell us which Standing Order, 57 or 33(2), takes precedence here.

Mr. Hawkes: Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Member, with his usual intelligence, knows the Standing Orders, and I congratulate him. I believe his question is a valid one. From the government's point of view there is no problem regarding the interpretation of Standing Order 57, which in my opinion is the one that should apply.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I thank the Hon. Member for Ottawa—Vanier and the Hon. Member for Calgary West for their remarks.

There is indeed a conflict between Standing Orders 33 and 57. I shall take the following position: in my opinion, Standing Order 57, because this is an exceptional case, ought to take precedence over Standing Order 33. However, I think it might perhaps be a good idea if the Committee on Procedure were to consider the question, and once they have reported a conclusion one way or the other I am sure the House will act on it.

I thank the two Members for their comments.

*Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement***GOVERNMENT ORDERS**

[English]

CANADA-UNITED STATES FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

MEASURE TO ENACT

The House resumed consideration of the motion of Mr. Crosbie that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be read the third time and passed; and the amendment of Mr. Axworthy (p. 640).

Hon. John McDermid (Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing): Mr. Speaker, in the few minutes I have left to me there are two or three points that I would like to cover. I think the first point that should be made for those people who are watching this debate is that we are on an amendment that was introduced by the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy). The Liberals have come back to the House to debate the Bill but have obstructed all along the way. They have called for votes for leave to introduce a Bill and first reading. It became very clear that we had to take action to ensure this legislation passed the House in a reasonable amount of time with reasonable study. That was accomplished. We are now into third reading. This amendment is another stall tactic by the Liberals. We will be defeating the amendment by voting against it. That is point one.

● (1240)

The second point is the campaign waged by the United Church against the Free Trade Agreement. The United Church of Canada, of which my father was a minister for a number of years, put little inserts in church bulletins during the campaign opposing the Free Trade Agreement. We have heard objections to corporations advertising in support of free trade, but unions such as the CLC and the CAW advertised. Mel Hurtig and Maud Barlow advertised. Did that not count?

From the proceedings of our committee on Bill C-130, let me read the position of the United Church. It reads as follows:

The United Church of Canada has found that the agreement limits our democratic ability to use our capital and resources for worthy national purposes and has declared that the agreement is not, on balance, in the overall interest of the people of Canada. It has called upon the Government of Canada to suspend further steps toward the implementation of the agreement until such time as the people of Canada may be democratically consulted.

Well, they have now been democratically consulted. I have not heard a word from the United Church supporting this move.

I went to church last Sunday, and I brought the bulletin from our church along with me today. It is interesting that the United Church is attacking the Free Trade Agreement, saying how terrible and bad it will be for Canada. The United Church's standard Christmas bulletin, "Rejoice, the Lord is Coming", was printed in the United States of America. This is the hypocrisy that has plagued this debate.

Ms. Copps: What have you got against the United Church?

Mr. McDermid: When I saw this on Sunday, I could not believe it. I am calling on the United Church of Canada to come out and support the agreement and make it work. That is all we are asking for. We will pass it tonight. We will go into the Senate next week to get Royal Assent so that entrepreneurs and creative people in this country can get on with their lives and create a better and more prosperous Canada.

I wish to thank some people for the work they have done over the last three years. The three Ministers involved, the Hon. James Kelleher, the Hon. Pat Carney, and the present Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), have spent considerable time on this agreement and have done a fantastic job. They also allowed me to participate actively, for which I am thankful.

I want to thank Ambassador Reisman, Ambassador Ritchie and the staff of the trade negotiation office who spent countless hours working on the agreement, negotiating and consulting with the sectoral advisory committees, the International Trade Advisory Committee. I want to thank myriad other people. Our bureaucrats are often criticized for being lazy and not going that extra mile. These people worked many nights and weekends. They travelled extensively to the United States during these negotiations. They are to be commended. I learned a tremendous amount from Ambassador Reisman, Ambassador Ritchie, and those in the trade negotiation office who offered such good advice.

Finally, I want to thank the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney). I want to look back at four decisions leading to free trade, four crucial decisions taken by the Prime Minister, four decisions in which he showed courage and leadership.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The first decision, taken in 1985, was the decision to seek free trade with the United States. The Prime Minister as a candidate in 1983 had given the conventional wisdom on free trade. We were too weak economically. Canadians were not sufficiently confident as a nation. It was a political graveyard. But as a Prime Minister in 1985, with all the evidence presented from a myriad studies, he realized the opportunity for free trade, the threat of protectionism without a Free Trade Agreement, and the maturity of this great country called Canada.

The Prime Minister had a choice. He said "yes", in spite of political risks. He decided in favour of what would be good for Canada.

The second choice was in May of 1986 when the Senate foreign affairs committee split 10-10 in the vote to start free trade negotiations with Canada. Politically, was this not the time to quietly bury the free trade initiative?

Again the Prime Minister had a choice and he said "yes", in spite of the political risks. He believed that free trade with the United States was what Canadians needed to grow to become stronger and more prosperous as a nation.

The third decision was in August of 1987. There was one month left at the negotiating table. Mr. Reisman told the Prime Minister that the U.S. side had not offered what Canada needed to make a good deal. The Prime Minister authorized Ambassador Reisman to break off negotiations.

That took political courage. That was one of the Government's major initiatives. Walking away rather than staying at the table to the end was risky. The decision paid off when, in the final days of negotiations, the United States side brought forward the proposals needed to make this a good deal for Canada.

The Prime Minister had a choice. He said "yes" to Simon Reisman, "Walk away", when the U.S. offer was not good enough, and "yes" to the Americans when the walk-out produced what we needed for a good deal.

The fourth decision was made during the election campaign, the day the Gallup poll came out after the televised debate. To the pundits and the political seers and seasoned observers like the head of the CLC, the Prime Minister's commitment to free trade would be his Waterloo. The Prime Minister did not buy that.

The Prime Minister knew that free trade was a good deal for Canadians. He knew that he only had a few

weeks either to turn back the Opposition's baseless allegations on free trade or to try to turn to other issues. He took the Opposition's free trade allegations head on. He decided to fight on the issue, to stand up for what he believed in, to defend that which was in the national interest. He and his Party won because of it.

Those are the four crucial decisions for free trade. They were decisions by a Government and a Party, but in the end, they were the Prime Minister's decisions. He took the risks. He made the right decisions. He demonstrated courage and great leadership. Because of that, Canadians will benefit from free trade for decades to come.

I look forward to the vote tonight, to the passage through the Senate and receiving Royal Assent next week, so that Canada can be a leader going into the 21st century.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Resuming debate with the Hon. Member for Cardigan.

Mr. Lawrence MacAulay (Cardigan): I would like to congratulate the Speaker on his re-election as Speaker to the House of Commons.

I would like to thank the people of Cardigan for the confidence they placed in me. I consider it an enormous privilege to serve as a Member of Parliament. I want to thank the people of my constituency for their recognition and to say it is an honour for me to take part in this important debate on Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, better known as the "Mulroney-Reagan Free Trade Deal".

A majority of people in this country are opposed to this deal. In my riding of Cardigan, Prince Edward Island, there was an overwhelming turn-out of about 90 per cent who voted against this deal.

Mr. McDermid: Ninety per cent voted against it?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, please. I would ask the Hon. Member for refer to the deal as the Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. McDermid: Exactly.

Mr. Blackburn (Brant): You can call it anything you want. Wait until I get up!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: You can use the words "President Reagan", but when you refer to the Prime Minister, you must refer to him as the Prime Minister.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Blaikie: The "Prime Minister's-Reagan deal". That is okay.

• (1250)

Mr. MacAulay: This trade deal will pit Canadian farmers against American farmers for the benefit of the corporate sector. The end result is that the lowest seller establishes the market price for the commodity at the farm gate. Farmers will be forced to undercut each other and farm incomes will decline. This agreement caters to large corporations while ordinary farmers on both sides of the border will be sacrificed.

Farmers, however, are not the only ones threatened by this deal. Our fish exporters also understand the threats of their American competitors. Over the past three years, our fishing industry has had to fight American protectionism twice.

In January, 1985, the American Department of Commerce slapped a 24 per cent duty on our exports of dried salt cod. This was only a sign of things to come. In March, 1986, a duty of 5.8 per cent was levied on our exports of fresh groundfish. There is little doubt that had the Americans ruled seasonable unemployment insurance benefits were an unfair subsidy, the duty would have been at least 15 per cent. Because our unemployment insurance benefits are available to other Canadians they were not considered an unfair subsidy under existing American law. But should the Americans change those laws, our fishermen would pay a heavy price.

Before leaving the subject of fisheries, I want to quote from a press release dated February 7, 1986:

The Minister of International Trade also noted that the termination of the FVAP eliminates a program identified by the U.S. Government as a countervailable subsidy.

Of course, I am referring to the Fishing Vessel Assistance Plan which the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans (Mr. Siddon) cancelled. As we see, one program has already been slashed. We did not jeopardize our primary industries of farming and fishing to get 80 per cent free trade, so why in the name of common sense should we put these things on the table to get the remaining 20 per cent?

Another concern I have is for our social programs. Unemployment insurance benefits are one of Canada's social programs. Do American fishermen receive unemployment insurance benefits? No. Will Canadian fishermen receive unemployment insurance benefits

after our economies are harmonized? No. These programs are not protected under the trade deal. Subsidies will be defined after the deal is signed as our economies are harmonized into a level playing field. Let us not kid ourselves, the population of the United States is 10 times that of Canada, and harmonization simply means doing it the American way.

I want to touch briefly on the potato industry. Being a seed potato farmer, I have a vested interest in the industry. I want to stress very strongly that I am opposed to potato inspection fees. Harmonization of the laws in the seed potato industry with the United States will lower our standards. For example, many states in the United States do not have proper ring rot control measures. As everyone in Cardigan and Prince Edward Island is aware, without these measures an end will be put to our offshore markets. The bottom line is that it would mean Prince Edward Island would lose its European markets.

Another concern is the dairy industry. Under this deal there will be reduction in the prices of fluid and industrial milk in line with U.S. levels.

Mr. T. K. Warley, Professor in Agricultural Economics at the University of Guelph, wrote a paper entitled, "What would Free Trade Mean to Agriculture"? In it he says that there will be a 20 per cent to 40 per cent reduction in price as Canadian prices harmonize on U.S. border-state levels. There will also be corresponding reduction in profitability and loss of about \$1.5 billion in quota values, as well as an end to supply management.

With respect to industrial milk, Mr. Warley writes that the prices will fall at least 20 per cent to lower U.S. support levels. There will be lower profits and a loss of about \$3.5 billion in quota value as well as an end to national supply management in provincial market sharing.

I would also like to touch on the issue of regional development. Regional development programs are of vital interest to the Atlantic Provinces. This agreement does not specify which kinds of government subsidies will be permitted.

Premier Joe Ghiz of Prince Edward Island warned that our province will not support any agreement that undermined agricultural marketing boards. A background study by the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion entitled *Regional Adjustment to Free Trade* had projected that potatoes would be a big loser under free trade as U.S. potatoes would be expected to grab the southern Ontario market.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In no way does this deal protect traditional government programs for regional development. Will the free trade deal help in regional disparities in Canada? Liberal Leader John Turner gave an indication during a speech in Halifax in December, 1987:

If access to the U.S. market is going to solve regional disparity, why hasn't it solved regional disparity in North Dakota or Montana or Idaho or Mississippi? They have access to that market and they had since then joined the union and they still face very dramatic regional disadvantages.

I could stand here all day and go on about the issues involved in this debate, but I realize my time is limited.

In conclusion, as the Member of Parliament for Cardigan, Prince Edward Island, I recognize the importance of international trade. Our agriculture and fisheries, to name but two of our largest resource industries, depend on international markets. The Liberal Party has always supported more liberalized trade, but certainly not this deal. This trade deal is bad for Canada.

Canadians are proud of their culture and heritage and Prince Edward Islanders are doubly proud. Prince Edward Island is the birthplace of this great country.

I was elected to represent the people of Cardigan who voted overwhelmingly against this deal, and I pledge to uphold this right.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Lee Richardson (Calgary Southeast): Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my congratulations to the Speaker on his re-election to the House. Members are grateful for the sentiments expressed so eloquently by the Member for Vancouver Centre (Ms. Campbell) in her maiden address to the House last week. I join with her and all those who have paid tribute to the Speaker, to his contribution to our country and to his patience and dignity in bringing decorum and civility to this Chamber.

May I also congratulate you and the other chair officers. Perhaps you will allow me a particular note of congratulations to the Deputy Chairman, the Hon. Member for Edmonton North (Mr. Paproski), who in his 20 years in the House has served Alberta with distinction. That is quite a tribute coming from a guy from Calgary to a guy who played football with the Edmonton Eskimos. I would also like to thank the Table Officers for their assistance, particularly to new Members of this House.

• (1300)

I begin by thanking the people of Calgary Southeast for giving me the privilege of serving them in this, the Thirty-fourth Parliament. Calgary Southeast is a new and diverse riding reflecting the dynamism of a maturing nation, formed from parts of the constituencies, ably served in the last Parliament by the Hon. Member for Calgary Southwest (Mrs. Sparrow) and the Hon. Member for Calgary Northeast (Mr. Kindy), Calgary Southeast has inherited a legacy of exemplary service to Canada. Hon. Members will recall the strong western representation of John Thompson and Peter Bawden, to whom I am grateful for their encouragement and counsel.

My riding has also been distinguished by the service of Carl Nickle, Senator Harry Hays and Arthur Smith who have contributed so much to my native city. Notable too was the representation of the Right Hon. R. B. Bennett, former Prime Minister of Canada, and later, by Judge Manley Edwards whose son Douglas, one of my dearest friends, carries on a family tradition of service to our community.

There is a great spirit of pride, of entrepreneurial endeavour, of caring for others and of participation in the community in Calgary Southeast. We shared the pride of all Calgarians and all Canadians earlier this year in the "Best Ever" winter Olympics. We showed the world a friendly, vibrant city, dedicated and determined to strive for and achieve excellence.

My constituents know what they want and are prepared to work hard to achieve their goals. While knocking on over 25,000 doors during the election campaign, the people of my riding told that me they want to participate in the mainstream of Canadian life, that they want to be involved in the making of decisions that affect their lives and that they have the confidence to compete with the best, and over 32,000 voters in my riding said, "Yes, we want free trade".

I have listened, as have all Hon. Members, to speech after speech on the subject of free trade, each Hon. Member's speech reflecting a part of Canada, each providing a perspective of his or her riding, experience and vision of our country. There are differences to which I will refer later, but there is also a remarkable consensus. There is on both sides of the House, both sides of the debate, above the rabble, a sense of fairness and tolerance. It is to be Canadian, to respect the views of others, to consult, to debate and to find the consensus.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada's Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson), in his speech to the Americas Society in New York last week, said:

There are times in a nation's history when it must make important and difficult choices if it is going to take charge of its economic destiny. Our recent election was just such an occasion. Canadians were given an historic choice: either to continue the march of history toward freer and more efficient trade or to slip backward toward increased protectionism.

We in Calgary know from painful experience, as our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) has said, what happens when we make the wrong choices, when we try to swim against the tide, for example on energy policy or investment policy, or to resist the global trend toward more open trade. One had only to walk through the western Canada of the late seventies or the early eighties to see the devastation inflicted on western Canada by the wrong policy choice in energy. That will not happen again.

During the election campaign, some argued that a vote for the Free Trade Agreement was a vote for a Canada that turns its back on distinctive cultural and social values that help to define our country. On the contrary, we believe the Free Trade Agreement will strengthen our capacity to enhance those values through increased economic prosperity and growing national confidence.

After a thorough and energetic debate, Canadians boldly opted for the opportunities and the strengthened prosperity that will accompany the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. It was a decision based on our national confidence in our ability to compete and compete successfully in an increasingly competitive market-place and on our maturity as a distinct and dynamic nation.

We in Canada have debated this subject for over 14 months. Prior to that the, Macdonald Royal Commission held hearings, conducted interviews and heard from Canadians in all parts of the country. It was a healthy exercise. However, the debate has also involved hypothetical notions and hysterical emotions and has left many Canadians asking what it will do for them, what happens when the Free Trade Agreement is implemented.

When the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement enters into force on January 1, 1989, a number of changes will immediately come into effect. Among them, tariffs will be completely removed on about 15 per cent of dutiable bilateral trade. Upon entry into force of the agreement,

such items as computer equipment, fur and fur garments, frozen fish, animal feed, skis and skates, and, as the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) has noted, whisky, will cross the border duty free if they are of Canadian or U.S. origin.

On the same date, tariffs will be reduced by 20 per cent on about one-third of dutiable traded goods. Such goods include machinery, paint, furniture, paper and paper products, hardwood, plywood, petroleum and after-market auto parts. Each January 1, another 20 per cent of the tariff will be removed until these goods become duty free on January 1, 1993.

On the remaining goods, consisting of about 50 per cent of dutiable bilateral trade and including such items as clothing and textiles, appliances, most processed foods, footwear, drugs and cosmetics, et cetera, tariffs will drop by 10 per cent on the date of entry into force and 10 per cent each year thereafter until they become duty free by January 1, 1998. Canadian consumers will be the first to benefit.

Of more specific interest to the people of Calgary Southeast, the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement provides Canada with the opportunity to maintain control over our energy future. Canada's energy industry will flourish in a competitive environment while we maintain Canada's ability to control ownership and regulate the industry.

Today Canada has a thriving and developing energy industry. Nearly 275,000 Canadians work in the field, and that number is growing. In 1985, we produced over \$60 billion worth of energy and energy products. Energy is our third largest export, and more than 20 per cent of our total production goes to the United States. In fact, we did over \$12 billion worth of energy business with the United States last year.

It is simply not true and completely misleading to suggest that Canada has committed itself to a "continental energy policy". Under the energy provisions of the Free Trade Agreement, the federal and provincial Governments maintain their unassailable right to implement distinctive Canadian energy programs. The producing provinces will continue to exercise all rights of ownership, to determine rates of production and to levy royalties.

The agreement specifically allows for government incentives to industry to develop new energy supplies, to increase conservation measures and to implement policies that ensure the maintenance of a strong and viable oil and gas industry. Under the Free Trade

Agreement, neither country will be able to impose an export tax or duty on energy unless the same tax is applied to domestically consumed energy. Canadian energy producers can still extract a higher price in the United States market than charged to a Canadian customer if the market will bear it.

The removal of tariffs will also have a dramatic effect on the petrochemical industry that is so important to our province. Alberta alone exports 75 per cent of our production to the United States. Canadian methanol presently faces an 18 per cent U.S. duty, and polyethylene a 12.5 per cent duty. The removal of these tariffs will provide the petrochemical industry with a major incentive to further process our raw products here in Canada for export to the United States. Further processing of our resources in Canada means a broader and more diverse economy, and that means more jobs.

• (1310)

Many of the past energy policies have proven to be destructive for this important industry and for the thousands of people in my riding, in Calgary and in Alberta who depend on the energy industry for their livelihood and for Canadian energy consumers. The free trade agreement is good for the energy industry and it is good for Canada.

Before leaving the subject of energy, allow me to dispel the myth that the Free Trade Agreement gives the U.S. unlimited access to Canada's energy reserves. In fact, there is absolutely no obligation under the Free Trade Agreement for Canada to supply energy to the United States on demand. Resources are owned by the provinces, and the provincial Governments will continue to decide when and how these resources are developed. Canada remains free to determine when and where to allow energy exports, to monitor and license such exports and to sell energy to the United States at whatever price the market will bear. Existing Canadian ownership policies applicable to the energy sector will not change.

Under Chapter Nine of the Free Trade Agreement, Canada has retained the right to impose export restrictions on energy for a number of reasons, including short supply, conservation or domestic price stabilization. All that the Free Trade Agreement does is to require Canada to ensure that the U.S. is provided access to its normal proportion of Canadian supply if we impose export restrictions for any of these reasons.

This is nothing new, Mr. Speaker. We have long been committed, under our membership in the International

Energy Agency, to share oil in a period of short supply. This notion is also fundamental to international trade law under the GATT. Furthermore, it is only fair.

Free trade will also benefit the agricultural industry in my province with enhanced export opportunities for beef, veal and pork producers. With the removal of tariffs, prairie livestock producers and producers of grains and oil-seeds will be more competitive in the United States. Exemption from U.S. meat import laws will give prairie beef producers greater and more secure access to the U.S. market.

Under the Free Trade Agreement we have preserved the right to use our marketing board systems and we have kept intact the supply-management system for dairy, poultry and eggs that is so important to Canadian agricultural producers.

Services are the fastest growing part of the economy in both Canada and the United States. The prairie provinces are strong in petroleum, chemical and mining engineering, resource science, management consulting, accounting, computer services and insurance and banking. The services agreement guarantees the service sector its current high level of access to the U.S. markets.

For the West's manufacturing sector, the Free Trade Agreement will lead to further diversification of western industry and increase the competitiveness of the strong manufacturing base already in place. The Canada West Foundation estimates that over half a million jobs in western Canada are in industries which can expect positive benefits from the Free Trade Agreement.

The Free Trade Agreement will ensure the long-term viability for our energy sector, give our farmers a sure and equal access to the huge U.S. market and create jobs in sectors such as mining, forestry and metal production. Every reputable report from the Canada West Foundation to the Economic Council of Canada has documented the potential which the Free Trade Agreement offers Canada. The Free Trade Agreement is the type of policy which western Canadians have sought from the federal Government for years. After so many years of economic mismanagement and destructive policies, the Free Trade Agreement offers real opportunity and benefits for the West.

During the recent election much attention was paid to the divisions that seemed to open before us. Observers here and abroad claimed that we Canadians were split as we had never been split before. In the days immediately after the voting the most important question being

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

asked across the nation was: How can the nation be healed? Like many here on both sides of this House I spent too many hours knocking on doors, talking and listening to the people in my riding to stand here this afternoon trying to minimize the serious differences we have with opponents of the Free Trade Agreement. I do believe, though we were and are divided on this most important issue, Canadians share a basic notion of themselves and their country.

This vision, I believe, emerged clearly from all parts of Canada, from all segments of our society and from those on both sides of the free trade issue. It is a vision that grows out of Canadian history. It was born with the Conservative Macdonald, advanced by the Liberal Laurier, nurtured by the Social Democrat Woodsworth and brought to fruition by men and women of their Parties represented in this House today. It is a vision of a society that takes great pride in its social programs, that believes in fairness and equity and that has combined individual enterprise and skill with caring community values in one of the world's few democracies.

We Canadians know who we are. We know we can take on the world with our brains, our drive, our energy, our enterprise and our entrepreneurship. Our culture is flourishing. Our standard of living is increasing. Our productive capacity is growing and we are becoming more united, whatever momentary setbacks we seem to face from day to day. We have flung a transcontinental nation into the teeth of adversity and we are winning the battle.

We have built one of the world's great nations not on might but on justice and tolerance. Tolerance is the basis of a civilized society.

The Free Trade Agreement is no capitulation to anyone. It is rooted in Canada's historical development and it is made possible by the pride of accomplishment we Canadians rightfully feel. It is a reward we owe ourselves because of the success we have enjoyed in rebuilding our economic strength since 1984 and in restoring confidence in ourselves.

In the recent election some of my colleagues asked the Canadian people if we can afford to go it alone, to stay aloof from the great trading blocks of the world, Europe, Japan, Southeast Asia and the United States. I prefer to put this in another way. Why should this great people deprive itself of the opportunity to compete in the toughest markets in the world? Why should we settle for second best in anything? The people of Canada answered loudly and clearly on November 21 that they

should not settle for second best. We in this House have a democratic duty to accept that judgment. The people have decided.

Mr. James Jordan (Leeds—Grenville): Mr. Speaker, I find as the debate rages on that it is becoming more and more difficult to say anything that is very original or try to say it in an original fashion, but I will try anyway.

As a novice Member of Parliament I was hoping that we could have had a typical discussion with something as major as this Bill is to Canada and to Canadians. I was looking forward to what you might call a typical day in the House of Commons. I think after being here a week I am not sure there is such a thing, but no doubt we will learn about that.

I never deny that the Government has the power to do what it is doing. I do not question that it has that right, but I do question this urgency, this obligation it seems to feel that it has to impose upon us what it is imposing. We, however, will leave that to be judged by the Canadian people in the course of time.

• (1320)

Most Members have referred back to the recent election, and I suppose that is normal because it is current and on our minds. I think it is safe to say that in all instances we referred to the Free Trade Agreement in the last election. Most of us went to our people and told them sincerely and honestly what we thought was good for Canada and Canadians. I believe that we all did that. We did not win the election, but we went with principle about us and carried our message forward.

The questions were and still remain who is going to be helped in the free trade deal, and who will be hurt in the free trade deal. I am still looking for some answers. I will admit that I have only been here for a few days, but there are not many answers coming forward.

I want to talk briefly about the dairy industry. I come from a community not too far from here. My constituency embraces Carleton County. The dairy industry is of vital importance to the riding of Leeds—Grenville. We have done a lot of pioneering in that riding. A gentleman by the name of Talmage Stone, who made the best cheddar cheese in the world, was buried about a week or ten days ago. The late Mr. Stone did a lot of pioneering in the artificial insemination industry. He started his own farm, and when it became impossible for him to carry on because of the growth in the industry, he moved and became Eastern Breeders in Kemptville.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I mention that to illustrate that there have been pioneers in the dairy industry in the riding of Leeds—Grenville. We are trying to protect the dairy industry. The people of Leeds—Grenville sent me here, in large measure by support from the dairy industry, to speak for them.

Great advances have been made in the dairy industry. No longer is the dairy farmer the man standing under the apple tree wearing a straw hat. It is now a much more sophisticated industry. The dairy farmer no longer goes up the lane with his collie dog to bring in the cows.

I am not against the milk marketing boards. They have stabilized the industry. I know what used to happen in the dairy industry. When prices fluctuated and increased, milk flooded the markets, people got out of the industry. Then prices would escalate because too many got out, so we were on a roller-coaster. How could a man advance his industry, buy a tractor, and have any consistency in his level of income in order to pay for the tractor? The milk marketing boards have put some stabilization in the industry, although I am a free enterpriser.

I am as concerned as was the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), and disappointed that at the GATT round in Montreal absolutely no progress was made when talking about world subsidies for food. It bothers me to visualize how Third World countries will ever be able to afford basic food at the largely elevated prices. The food is too expensive for them. Perhaps we can determine some third level of pricing so that we can supply the Third World countries. In the direction we are going at the moment, I do not see how it is at all possible.

I know those who have all the answers will say that GATT protects our dairy industry. Perhaps it will. I hope they are correct. However, the Canadian dairy industry should not take on the United States dairy industry in a bilateral fashion, because the Canadian dairy industry will lose.

Two months ago yesterday six inches of snow fell in the Ottawa area. That happened on Saturday, and at 10 a.m. on Monday morning I visited a farm. I wondered why the young cattle were up at the barn and all the cows were in the barn at ten o'clock in the morning. The farmer told me that the winter season had now started, on October 22, and that he was using his winter silage as of that day. He said that his pastures had an excessive amount of moisture, and that he could not put the cattle out because they would punch the pastures full of holes,

and his problems were just getting more complicated. If a farmer starts using his winter silage on October 22, he will run out of winter silage by about March 22, and then he has to use expensive grains to feed his cattle to carry them over to the time when they can return to the pastures.

Weather and soil conditions were not on the table. They were not negotiated, and they never will be. That was out of reach. That is why I am saying, do not let the dairy industry of Canada take on the dairy industry of the United States, because we will lose. Approximately 40 miles as the crow flies from where I live one could find a herd of 1,500 milking cattle. There are two international bridges in my riding approximately 40 kilometres apart, however if one wanted to travel by water one could go a little quicker than that.

The dairy industry in Leeds—Grenville was watching that situation with great care. One can approach an international bridge and be golfing in 12 hours. One can travel to where it is warm in 12 hours. No one can tell me that there is not going to be a temptation, if nothing else, to bring fresh milk over those bridges. One tank truck contains 80,000 litres of milk. With a pup trailer added, enough milk could be transported to give every man, woman and child in the riding of Leeds-Grenville one litre of milk. One truck load of milk will give one litre to every man, woman and child in Leeds—Grenville.

Members opposite cannot say that the dairy industry had no right or reason to be afraid. Of course, it had. Remember that the dairy industry is a private enterprise. Usually the dairy farmer is a small businessman. Too often I have heard it said that if an individual is in trouble because of free trade, do not worry about it, your industry will look after you. If it fails, the Government will look after you. Who is going to look after those small dairy farmers? Usually it is a man, his wife, and perhaps a son and his wife, or two sons and their wives. Without exaggeration, there are \$500,000 or \$600,000 sitting around that barnyard. Perhaps some other uses could be found for tractors, or some other use might be found for a truck. However, much of that equipment was designed for a special reason and it cannot be converted to other uses.

If the Government has that type of money to help people out, do not forget that the dairy farmer will need some of that assistance as soon as the deal starts to slip, and I am sure that it will.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The difficulty that I see in competition with the bilateral arrangement is not only the proximity of the United States. It does not have to spend money on storing silage, to the same degree. It does not have to spend money on ventilating barns, to the same degree. When the calves are coming it does not have to worry about heat lamps, to the same degree. Let us not get into a war in a bilateral fashion with the United States dairy industries, because, knowing enough about it, I know who will lose.

If people are going to be retrained to work in new industries, do not forget that the dairy farmer may be living in the house in which he was born. It is not the same as moving someone from one side of a factory to another and retraining that person. What is the Government going to do with a 55-year old dairy farmer? That has to be thought about. It is a very fragile industry. Much of what has been said here this week has put dairy farming in a very broad, basic category and called it agriculture.

It is a highly technical aspect of agriculture, and it has to be addressed separately. In the beef cattle business there is a little leeway. I am not sure it will come out well either, but at least the cattle can be held over a little. It is pretty difficult to hold over fresh milk.

• (1330)

While I am being told by farmers that they are not doing too badly at the moment, they do stress that they cannot afford to miss one cheque. It is for that reason that I refer to agriculture as a delicate industry. It is one about which there has been simply too much flippancy. There has been flippancy about most aspects of the Free Trade Agreement, with the Government simply saying: "Don't worry, we will retrain you. And if we don't, somebody will look after you."

Well, I can tell you that I am not going to see the dairy industry in the riding of Leeds—Grenville put at risk.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Jordan: All through the election campaign we heard: "Don't worry, we can get out of it in six months."

In a conversation I had with a 58-year-old dairy farmer in my riding, I asked him how long it took him to put his holstein herd together, and his reply was: "All of my life."

If that individual loses his herd as a consequence of the Free Trade Agreement and, six months later, when

the agreement is terminated, he wants to get back into dairy farming, he would not live long enough to be able to do so, and in fact nor would his children.

He now has his herd with just the right strains in it, and it has taken him his whole life to achieve that. If anything happens to his operation, there is simply no way in which, in his lifetime, he could get back into dairy farming.

So, to say that we can get out of the deal on six months notice is of no comfort to the farming community. In fact, it got to be a bit of a joke among the farming community.

It is my sincere hope that the Government is proven to be right about this whole deal. While the fact of an industry or sector of the Canadian economy being adversely impacted by the Free Trade Agreement would make for great ammunition for Question Period, it is not something that anyone would want to see happen. It is my sincere hope, and that of my constituents, and I am sure everyone in the country, that the Government will be proven right.

It is something that will have to be closely monitored, and one of the reasons that it will have to be closely monitored is the lack of a definition of what constitutes an unfair subsidy.

The Minister for International Trade, in *The Globe and Mail* of July 26 last, admitted that there is no definition of what constitutes an unfair subsidy. "It is too bad", he said, "we haven't been able to agree on what constitutes an unfair subsidy."

It seems to me that the whole idea would have been to get that established before entering into the Free Trade Agreement.

Hon. Members opposite are continually throwing out the name "Donald Macdonald". It may be that because he is a Liberal, he has some credibility. However, Donald Macdonald, one of the early architects of the free trade deal, wanted the agri-food industry excluded. I imagine Donald Macdonald was a long way away when the deal was signed.

During the election campaign, I had occasion to watch a televised panel discussion involving a senior cabinet Minister and two opponents of the Free Trade Agreement, and I can recall that senior cabinet Minister saying: "You know, it was twenty to twelve and we had to have a deal. It was twenty to twelve and we had to have a deal by midnight."

They were waiting for the dreaded knock at the door.

I have been dickering for a car, Mr. Speaker, for about four weeks now, and while the first dealer was ready to make a deal, and the next guy was ready to make a deal, I wasn't ready to make a deal—and I am still not quite ready to make a deal.

Imagine the pressure that was on the chief negotiator when it was ten minutes to twelve. He had to make a deal, and he had to get it through by midnight.

Where I come from, we wouldn't buy a necktie or a pair of shoelaces under that type of pressure. Yet, here we had a representative of our Government who was willing to put the nation at risk, and in fact did put the nation at risk, by entering into a deal in order to meet a time deadline.

Whether it turns out in fact to be a bad deal, only time will tell. I hope the Government is right in its view. I hope the country has not been put at risk. But only time will tell.

No right thinking country in the world would put the quality and quantity of its basic food supply at the mercy of another. It just isn't done. The first thing a country must do to get itself on its feet is to guarantee itself a basic food supply. It is not something that is handed over to another nation.

As I read the Free Trade Agreement, I think we are running the risk of putting the quality and quantity of our basic food supply at risk.

I hope that turns out not to be the case, but certainly those of us in opposition will be closely monitoring the situation and doing what we can to prevent it.

I am a free enterpriser, up to a point. I do not feel that a country's basic food supply should be subjected to the whims of the market-place. Rather, it is something that needs to be stabilized, and that can only be done through government intervention.

During the campaign I was surprised to find that high on the list of priorities of the young people of Canada is the environment. Canada's youth is very concerned about the environment; they are concerned about their quality of life.

The U.S. is the largest consumer nation in the world. It constitutes less than 5 per cent of the world's population but consumes 20 per cent of the world's consumable goods, and experience has shown that there is a direct correlation between the goods consumed and the lack of

respect that one has for the environment. That is a known; that is a given.

We recently had a company establish itself in my part of the country, a toxic waste disposal company whose headquarters are in Arkansas. That company, known as EMSCO, has established itself near the international bridge in my part of the country, and it has done so because, like many Americans, it considers Canada to be a great vast land with lots of empty spaces wherein a lot of garbage can be dumped.

In taking up the fight against this company, I found its representatives to be a rather arrogant lot. It is a company that has taken out an option on some land in my area, and it is saying that it is here to stay.

This is a company that is headquartered in a foreign country—though I am not sure that they will be foreign to us for very much longer.

Here we have a company setting up in the Thousand Islands region, one of the most beautiful and picturesque parts of the world, an area which relies heavily on tourism, and its desire is to set up a toxic waste disposal plant.

Now, wouldn't that make the Thousand Islands region a great place in which to spend one's holidays? Heck, you could take the children with you. In fact, perhaps you could go and have dinner at the toxic waste disposal plant in Leeds—Grenville.

Over my dead body. I am going to ensure that that whole situation is closely monitored.

As well, Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that the Government will bring research and development up to previous levels.

A farmer friend of mine visited a food processing plant in Australia and found that, in one corner, duck feet were being processed. While we do not have a great market for duck feet in this country, I mention it to illustrate the value of research and development.

If we are going to enter into this trade deal with the U.S., we had better start pursuing world markets fiercely. We can no longer consider duck feet to be a useless by-product.

It is only through research and development that we can learn about this type of thing. Certainly, the Government will hear no complaint from this quarter should it increase research and development funding.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

If there is a market somewhere in the world for duck feet, Canadians should be going after that market. In that way, we will not end up with all of our eggs in one basket.

After the devastation of the Second World War, Japan had nothing. I understand now that it spends about 2 per cent of its Gross National Product on research and development. We spend something like .7 of 1 per cent. Looking at Japan and Canada, one can immediately see the reflection between the amount of money invested in R and D and the benefits reaped therefrom.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would ask the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) to appoint a full-time Minister of Agriculture with dispatch, for three reasons: to reassure the people of Canada that agriculture is important; to allay any ideas that Americans may have that they are going to corner our domestic market; and finally, to generate confidence within the farming community, permitting them to move ahead and expand their operations.

I see the Chair signalling that my time is up. I thank the Chair and the House for its indulgence in allowing me to complete my remarks.

• (1340)

Mr. Bill Blaikie (Winnipeg—Transcona): Mr. Speaker, perhaps I should extend my congratulations to the new Member for Leeds-Grenville (Mr. Jordan) on his first speech in the House of Commons. This is not my first speech in this House, but it is my first speech in this House as the Member representing Winnipeg—Transcona.

As Members will recall, some with regret I am sure, at least on the other side of the House, I have been a Member of this House for the last nine and a half years. At that time I represented a riding called Winnipeg—Birds Hill. I am very happy, with all respect to the Town of Birds Hill and the name Birds Hill, to be the Member for Winnipeg—Transcona, because Transcona happens to be the name of my home town. It comprises a good third of the riding of Winnipeg—Transcona and I am particularly pleased that the name has now been incorporated into the name of the riding I represent.

I would like to take the name of Transcona as a departure point for my remarks on the Free Trade Agreement. The name comes from two sources, the word "transcontinental" and the name of Lord Strathcona who was responsible, as many of you will recall, for

the first transcontinental railway. The Town of Transcona was created in 1911 as a place for the railway shops involved in the building of a second transcontinental railway, at that time the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, I believe. So it is in that context that I begin by saying that for me the passage of the Free Trade Agreement puts my faith, if you like, in my self-understanding as a Canadian in triple jeopardy.

Of the three things most important to me, the first is, of course, the background from which I come, that of a railway family from Transcona, concerned with railway matters and with the future of a community which, understandably, is now not only a rail community but also a bedroom community for part of the greater City of Winnipeg.

The second is my self-understanding as a United Church person and a minister in that church. I will also have something to say about what the Minister of State for Housing (Mr. McDermid) said about the United Church earlier. The third is my self-understanding as a New Democrat. I would like to deal with all three of those things and say why, for me, this election campaign, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and the vote tonight are a source of, to put it bluntly, depression for me.

I feel many of the things I have valued most about the country that I live in and was brought up in are being put at risk tonight, finally and firmly, by the vote on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. I had occasion to raise in the House earlier today under Standing Order 31 a concern I have about what has happened to the railways, particularly the CNR, and what is predicted to happen even more so in the next few years. I talked about the document which came into my possession during the election which dealt with a down-sizing of the CNR to some 26,000 employees.

When I was born in 1951 the railway had 151,000 employees. The aim of the Government and of Mr. Lawless, President of CN Rail is, within a very few more years, to bring the level of employees at CN down to 26,000. That is of concern to me coming from Transcona and having a great many supporters in the CN shops, the one remaining whole back shop for the CN, because in order to do that it becomes obvious that the railway is planning to contract out work which should be done in the Transcona shops I just completely fail to see why the railway would want to put itself in a position where it had no back shop capacity of its own to do its work. Yet we read that the CNR is contemplating the purchase of new locomotives from General Electric

in the U.S., and that the deal may well include a service contract. People in my riding are concerned, as I am, that that will mean that the major overhaul and repair of these new locomotives will be done in the U.S. by General Electric and not by the CNR itself. You can understand that it is a major concern to the machinists, electricians and other tradesmen who work in the CN shops.

We have seen the fruits of free trade already in the transportation sector. We already have deregulation there, which is the equivalent of free trade in transportation. We have seen that it does not mean more jobs. We have seen that it means a compromise of safety and public service as companies like the CNR and the CPR try to undercut each other, and the trucking industry in turn tries to undercut them. We know from our own experience, those of us connected with the transportation sector, that deregulation is not the wonderful thing the Government pretended it would be when it brought it in. I might add that it was started by the Liberals, as were the free trade discussions.

As I said before, I wanted to speak about three different ways in which I find myself depressed today as we move into the final hours of this debate about the end of this country as we have known it.

The second way in which I find myself morose, moved to lament rather than attack, has to do with my self-understanding as a person involved in the United Church. I go back to what the Minister of State for housing, formerly the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Trade, said when he got up and quoted some of the things that the church had to say about the Free Trade Agreement. He then went on, too clever by half, to say that because the United Church had asked that the people be consulted about the Free Trade Agreement and because they have now been consulted in the process of a general election, he wondered why the United Church was not now supporting the deal.

I ask him: Had the Government lost the election, would the Minister change his view of the deal? He might have said that the people had spoken against the deal and therefore the new Government had the mandate not to proceed with it. However, I am sure he would not have changed his mind about the agreement. I find it rather scurrilous of him to suggest that the United Church should somehow have changed its mind about the deal because the Conservatives happened to win the election.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The fact of the matter is that the history of the United Church, which in some sense parallels things happening in the social and political life of Canada through the CCF and the NDP, since 1925 has been to say to Canadians that the market-place does not make the kinds of decisions about human life that are called for by biblical tradition. The market-place does not and has never by itself protected the oppressed, the fatherless, the needy and all those who the prophets called upon society to treat justly if they wanted to be called a fully human community. The movement within the United Church has been to say to Canadians that the more we want to be a fully human community, the more we will make decisions based on human criteria rather than purely economic criteria, rather than purely market economics. The Member across the way from Mississagua belongs to the United Church, and I know that. I will get to him in a minute because I have him in mind.

● (1350)

The fact of the matter is that the theological leadership of the United Church—who may not always be able to penetrate the thick skulls of the parishoners like the Hon. Member from Mississagua—has been trying for decades to make this point, that the more we take things out of the market-place and allow them to be decided on the basis of human need rather than on the profit motive, the more we become the kind of community that we are called upon to be.

That is why for me and for a great many other United Church people—not all because obviously there are people in the United Church like the Hon. Member from Mississagua, the Hon. Member from Brampton and probably many others in this Chamber who have different views—we have found that we have had to oppose the Free Trade Agreement because the Free Trade Agreement elevates the market-place and makes it, in my judgment, not just an idol in the pantheon of idols that we have before us but the idol in the pantheon of idols that we have before us.

I entered politics both as a Christian and as a New Democrat because I felt that the market-place already made too many decisions. So it is absolutely inconceivable for me, both out of my religious self-understanding and my political self-understanding to have anything to do with an agreement that so changes the political and social cosmos, if you like, that we are going to live in from here on in. That is what I think a great many people do not realize.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I think the Hon. Member from Mississauga realizes it. I would have to be unparliamentary if I were to quote what I know the Hon. Member from Mississauga has said about the Free Trade Agreement. I remember him saying to me in an elevator one day: "You know, when this Free Trade Agreement comes in you socialists are—" I will leave it up to your imagination, Mr. Speaker, to determine what the expletive was that the Hon. Member then went on to use.

The Hon. Member from Mississauga, unlike some of the other back-benchers here who really do not know what they are doing, knows, as does the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and many of the cabinet Ministers—I do not think the Hon. Minister of State for Housing knows because I think he is just a kind of acolyte of others in that Government—that this Free Trade Agreement, and we ought to be frank about it, is a comprehensive philosophical defeat for everything the CCF and the NDP has stood for—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Blaikie: Celebrate it if you will, but be honest about what is being celebrated. That is all I ask. Members opposite tried to pretend throughout the election that this is just about trade, or that this is just a contending among political Parties who are basically the same about contentious facts pursuant to a Free Trade Agreement. It is not that. It is a battle for the very way we understand the world. That is what a handful of Conservatives realize, particularly the Hon. Member from Mississauga. I give him credit for that. One thing I like about that Hon. Member is that one always knows what he is about. He is an honest man. He never tries to stab you in the back; he is always running right at you with his spear. I give him credit for knowing what is really at stake in this debate, and for admitting it. But what I despise about some of his colleagues is that they have not been willing to admit that this is exactly what the Free Trade Agreement is all about.

I would now like to move on to another Member of the House who spoke in this debate who is not here at the moment, the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy), formerly the Hon. Member for Winnipeg Fort Garry who lamented the fact that the NDP had the nerve to criticize his Leader, the Hon. Member for Vancouver Quadra (Mr. Turner), in the dying days of the campaign. Why could we not have seen—those of us in the NDP—that the thing to do was to elect Liberals in order to save the country from the Free Trade Agreement? I did not hear Liberals in the

early part of the campaign when the NDP was running second advising their troops to vote NDP.

One of the things we asked Canadians to remember was that it was the Liberals when they were in power who started deregulation. It was the Liberals when they were in power who started privatization. It was the Liberals when they were in power who started the comprehensive bilateral talks with the United States. It was the Liberals, had they been elected, who would have proceeded to go ahead with this Free Trade Agreement. That would have been worse than having these people over here implementing it honestly. The Liberals would have found a way to have implemented it and to have blamed it on somebody else because we know that there are many high-powered Liberals in the Senate, in the business community and in their caucus who are secretly and sometimes not so secretly in favour of the Free Trade Agreement.

Canadians decided that they could not trust the Liberals to be telling them where they were really on this agreement. That was part and parcel of the problem. There were other problems, and we all have to take some responsibility for the fact that the Free Trade Agreement will now go through. But the fact of the matter is that it was Liberals who could not be trusted. Why? Because the Free Trade Agreement is not for the Liberals what it is for the NDP. It is not a comprehensive defeat because Liberals never really had a notion of what kind of country they wanted anyway. They are always just trying to find their way in the context of: "How can we get into power in this context, or in that context"? When the context changes, they will change. No problem. By the time the next election rolls around they will be talking about the opportunities that present themselves in the Free Trade Agreement and what we need to do and what the Conservatives have not done. It is only members of the NDP who know truly what is at stake in this Free Trade Agreement because it is the NDP—and before that the CCF—who fought for the very things that are most at risk as a result of this agreement.

We talk about medicare.

Mr. Blenkarn: It is not at risk.

Mr. Blaikie: The Hon. Member says that it is not at risk. I believe that it is. I believe that it is at risk in that five to seven year period when we define what is an unfair subsidy. Of course one of the problems with the next election is that by the time it comes along we still will not have completed the five years, let alone the

seven years of that negotiation. So the Government will be in a position to say: "Has anything changed"? Of course with respect to subsidy nothing will have changed because the negotiating period will not have come to an end.

• (1400)

When it comes to regulating foreign investment, managing energy resources for the well-being of Canadians instead of multinational corporations, when it comes to orderly marketing, and things threatened by this agreement, who fought for those?

Mr. Nunziata: Liberals.

Mr. Blaikie: It was the New Democratic Party who fought for those. It was the Liberals who promised them. The Liberals promised medicare in 1919 and delivered in 1966. Tommy Douglas promised it in 1944 and delivered hospitalization in 1945. That is the difference between the Liberals and the New Democrats. Had it not been for minority Parliaments and New Democrats pushing Liberals and others to do the right thing, we would not have the kind of country we have today, the kind of country we are going to lose because of this Free Trade Agreement and a deliberate plot on the part of the more intelligent Tories—Father forgive the rest for they know not what they do—to achieve through this Free Trade Agreement what they could never achieve directly if they went to the Canadian people and posed an honest question.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On debate, the Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton.

Mr. Ken James (Sarnia—Lambton): Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I would like to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, on your appointment. I also want to thank my constituents, the voters of Sarnia—Lambton, for my re-election. It was a decision based upon the candidate, myself, being full out and positive about the Free Trade Agreement. We have struck a decisive victory in Sarnia—Lambton and throughout the country.

I want to publicly thank the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) for his diligence, supreme strength, and commitment to this important treaty when many less strong would not have persevered.

It is important to note some of the speeches which have been made in the House today. We had the Hon. Member for Leeds—Grenville (Mr. Jordan) talking about doom and gloom in the agriculture area. I was concerned. I can imagine what he was saying in the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

campaign. It was almost as though somebody were coming with jackboots on to the farmers' kitchen door, to rip away their milk quotas. I have great concern for those kinds of tactics used in an election. I do not think it is fair. I also know of incidents where candidates for the Liberal Party were going to the kitchens of the farmers and scaring their wives by telling them untruths.

An Hon. Member: The wives are not necessarily in the kitchens.

Mr. James: It is less than being forthright.

The Hon. Member for Leeds—Grenville mentions talking to the farmers, so I assume he is not one. I raise purebred Holstein cattle, was raised on a farm and spent most of my life there. My brother, myself, and our company have a milk quota. We have absolutely no concerns about the supply-management system being maintained. It is enshrined now in the Free Trade Agreement. It is maintained and protected under Article 11 of the GATT. It is of concern to me when individuals attempt to scare the farmer and his wife.

I took an article from an agriculture magazine. The headline is, "Wither the Milk Business:?" It talks about a Mr. Bruce Whale, and he is described as a "bottom-line man". He knows how much milk each of his 275 workable acres produces. From feed run through his 85-cow herd, he knows he can store one and three-quarters years supply of hay and an extra half year of corn cob meal. Like most farms west of Toronto, he knows he is going to have to do things differently on his farm because things do change.

He was asked this question at a seminar: "Some farmers are concerned that Ontario may be forced to import milk from the U.S., resulting in increased pressure toward free trade in milk. Do you see our supply management system in jeopardy?" Mr. Whale said:

Not really. The drought is most serious from Toronto west. In the past, in time of shortage Quebec has been a traditional supplier. Butter (milk) powder will move. Last year there was some old powder brought in from the U.S., but that was done by the Canadian Dairy Commission. The U.S. may be taking first steps toward supply management. A joint committee of all states has been looking at the option and recommending options to Congress including another buyout program... This would be a first step toward supply management.

Why are we concerned? They are looking at supply management because they have seen how well it works in Canada.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. MacAulay) talked about this 80-20 principle. Eighty per cent of the tariffs are going and only 20 per cent are remaining. What they failed to explain to the public is that there are many other aspects to the Free Trade Agreement that eliminated other irritants at the border. I will name a few of them.

In this agreement, we will have clear rules of origin, which we did not have before. That will remove the uncertainty currently associated with the customs officers in making ad hoc decisions. By 1994, the United States will limit the use of customs user fees, which we did not have before. The right of the national treatment gives blanket assurance that the United States will not discriminate against Canadian producers in any activities covered by this agreement. Internal taxes, such as sales and excise, no longer can be used as concealed trade barriers. The agreement eliminates various non-tariff barriers to trade such as the common misuse of standard requirements. This is another aspect that our Loyal Opposition forgot to mention to the people in Canada when they talked about 80-20.

An Hon. Member: It was very convenient what they forgot.

Mr. James: That is right. They tended to forget an awful lot. They did not really know, because they had never really studied the agreement.

The United States will allow unlimited access to its U.S. market for Canadian food products containing up to 10 per cent sugar. We could not get anything with a granule of sugar in it before. They forgot about that.

The tariff agreement restrains the use of technical regulations. There are non-tariff barriers to agricultural trade, for example, relaxing U.S. meat inspection laws. They conveniently forgot to tell the farmer that.

The United States will recognize Canadian whiskey as a distinct product and will not permit the sale of any product labelled as Canadian whiskey unless it has been manufactured in Canada. They conveniently forgot to tell the Canadian people that.

Under the national treatment principle, the United States will allow British Columbia Hydro fair access to the distribution lines of the Bowville Power Administration. They forgot to tell the people in British Columbia about that.

The agreement also opens up some government procurement markets that we did not have access to

before. Temporary entry for Canadian business people and service personnel is another aspect of the agreement that was never mentioned by members of the Opposition because they did not know about it or did not want to know about it.

● (1410)

I was in Peterborough some months ago where some people told me that when they had to service products which were sold into the United States from Canada, they had to pretend they were going on vacation in order to get into that country to service the equipment. That situation will be remedied by this agreement.

As well, personnel from the United States will be able to come to Canada to service equipment that we buy from them.

National treatment is extended to Canadian business enterprises established in the United States covered by the agreement, thus increasing access for those businesses where physical presence is needed.

All of these subjects were never discussed when the Opposition talked about the fact that 80 per cent of tariffs are gone and only 20 per cent remained.

During the election, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) said that he would tear up the agreement. He also said he would go back and negotiate with the Americans on a sectoral basis. I and most Canadians, certainly those in my riding, would like to know what sectors he meant.

The Leader of the Opposition complained about secret negotiations. He did not even want to talk about what areas of sectoral trade he would discuss. When I was travelling with the committee on the East Coast, Mr. Gerry Regan, a former Cabinet Minister in the Trudeau Government, appeared before the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade. He stated most emphatically that the comprehensive trade agreement was much more meaningful and workable than the sectoral policy of the Trudeau Government. While the Trudeau Government realized we needed more access to the American market, it tried to do this on a sectoral basis.

It is difficult to imagine sectoral trade in the steel industry, where the carbon steel sector would be traded off against the specialty steel sector. They would certainly have serious concerns with that type of negotiation. It would not work. It would be far too

secretive, misunderstood and misguided in its application to ever work. Mr. Regan was certainly correct about that.

We talked about the importance of removing tariffs. Some people are concerned about how it would affect small business. Small and large businesses in Canada have traditionally been able to carry on in the face of the removal of tariffs. We have done that since the end of the Second World War in an ever-progressive fashion. Our industries have been able to compete in a very positive way.

Between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s, the transportation industry which had no tariffs had a net job increase of 37,977. The chemical industry, which had an average of 5 per cent and 9 per cent tariffs saw an increase of employment of 8,615.

However, when we look at the furniture industry which had a 12.5 per cent tariff, there was a decrease of 3,348 jobs. The textile industry saw tariffs of 20 per cent and a decrease of 4,000 jobs. Knitting mills had a 20 per cent tariff and a decrease in employment of 4,000. Tariffs did not necessarily increase employment in Canada.

Sarnia—Lambton is the petrochemical and refining centre of the East. We are at the end of the pipeline. The business community in Sarnia—Lambton was very enthusiastic about the Free Trade Agreement. Even union leaders, while they were fairly silent during the election, because are NDP Members and belong to the national executive, they knew the importance of the agreement to Sarnia—Lambton. In fact, Mr. Kwinter, the Liberal Minister of Industry for Ontario even came to Sarnia and stated in the newspaper that the agreement was good for Sarnia—Lambton.

Some of the companies located in Sarnia—Lambton include Esso Chemical, Esso Refinery, Shell, Dow Chemical, Du Pont, Cabot Carbon, Ethyl, Sun Chemical, Novacor, Polysar, Welland Chemical and Chinook Chemicals. They believe the five-year countdown on tariffs to the U.S. is tremendously important to our area. It gives them a better profit margin and makes them more competitive in the American market.

The people of our area remember what the former Government did to us with the national energy policy. The petrochemical industry task force in the late 1970s presented its report to this Government when we took over in 1984. The national energy policy removed 2,400 jobs in Sarnia—Lambton.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Members opposite ask for an emergency debate about job loss. I did not hear them come forward when we were losing thousands of workers in Sarnia—Lambton because of the National Energy Program.

I did not hear any concern about that from Liberals or New Democrats who were in support of the National Energy Program. When we were elected in 1984, we removed it, and Sarnia—Lambton is building and prospering again. They elected me in 1984 to fight against and get rid of the NEP. We got rid of it. They elected me in 1988 to fight for the Free Trade Agreement and put it into effect. At 1.15 a.m. tomorrow morning we will be doing that very thing.

We need it because we need jobs in our area. Sarnia—Lambton is on the border of the State of Michigan. Southwestern Ontario is within one day's trucking of 10 of the top 13 U.S. industrial markets. Fifty-four per cent of the manufacturing activity is within a 500-mile radius of the U.S. manufacturing activity. Forty per cent of the total U.S. population and 48 per cent of all retail sales are within one day's trucking of southwestern Ontario. The people of my riding are very excited, as all should be in southwestern Ontario and Ontario about this important opportunity. I have a list of those who are positive about this deal. The Sarnia-Lambton Economic Development Commission wrote me a positive letter about the Free Trade Agreement. An article states that most Sarnia area businesses favour free trade with the U.S. They include retail and service industries.

The Sarnia Construction Association, which includes the contractors and the tradesmen who do the actual work, are positive about free trade. The Chamber of Commerce repeatedly declared its support of free trade. The City of Sarnia backs the free trade deal even under some pressure not to do so by some municipalities that were less than enthusiastic about it. The college students from Lambton College were positive about free trade, according to their newspaper. Novacor, the largest petrochemical company in all of Canada promises an election boom. Jim Butler, Novacor's President, says that Sarnia's future economic outlook for this area is exceptional.

• (1420)

We do not have to worry about protecting people's jobs. There will be jobs for their sons and their daughters too. He was one of the several speakers who referred enthusiastically to the opportunities a free trade deal

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

with the U.S. will mean to Sarnia. Polysar, the Economic Development Commission and the Sarnia—Lambton Chamber of Commerce were very positive. No wonder I am here.

The small business community is very positive about trade. We are interested in promoting tourism but, of course, that is not talked about by many people. The Free Trade Agreement is certainly of importance for tourism. Restrictions on travel agents and hotel managers will be removed and tariffs on the very important equipment needed for the hospitality industry will be reduced.

I want to end by saying to all Hon. Members that the voters of Sarnia Lambton have spoken and the voters of Canada have spoken after having an exhaustive debate on free trade, and they have spoken in favour of free trade. We as a Government accept the responsibility for implementing this very important agreement.

Ms. Catterall: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege. I think the Hon. Member who just spoke caused some problems for all the women Members in the House. He spoke about speaking to the farmers in their fields and going to the kitchens to talk to their wives. As any farmer worth his salt, his plough or his fields knows, the women on the farms are as likely to be found in the fields as they are in the kitchens, operating the same equipment, doing the same work.

On behalf of an organization known as Women for the Preservation of Agriculture, I want to say that anyone in this Chamber with any association with agriculture knows that that organization is making an extremely valuable contribution to the recognition of agriculture as an important industry and an important way of life in Canada.

The Hon. Member's remarks were a direct reflection on my privileges as a Member of this House. During the election campaign, I suffered the indignity of putting up with a gentleman who walked into my campaign office and told me that women belonged in one of two places, in the kitchen or in bed. As long as those stereotypes of women persist, neither I nor any other woman in this House, or indeed working anywhere in Canada, can expect to be respected for her competence, her ability and her dedication to her job in the same way as a man.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The matter raised by the Hon. Member is no doubt important. However, unfortunately for the Hon. Member, I cannot consider it as a question of privilege according to the rules of the House.

Mr. Bob Wood (Nipissing): Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people of Nipissing for the support and confidence they have shown in me by electing me to represent them for the next four years. The people of Nipissing, like most Canadians, are not opposed to freer, more liberated trade as such. They recognize fully the benefits which have accrued to Canada because of the liberalization of trade laws between Canada and the United States. The people of Nipissing realize that they must live in the real world and cannot isolate themselves from others.

I must point out that the people I represent resent the suggestion that they are fearful and timid by nature because of their concerns regarding this trade agreement. These people are self-reliant, independent people who are quite accustomed to standing on their own two feet. They do, however, look to Government to protect and to nurture those things that are important to them, namely their jobs, their families, their environment and all aspects of their lives that are uniquely Canadian.

The concerns of the people of Nipissing are concerns directed to the great uncertainties inherent within the proposed Canadian trade agreement with the U.S.A. These people do not regard the Canadian-American trade agreement as a mere commercial treaty. They view it as a document that has the potential for going right to the very heart and nature of Canada and what it means to be a Canadian.

These concerns are not unique to Nipissing. I would point out to the Government that only two of the 11 Members elected to the House of Commons last month from northern Ontario were government Members. The concerns of the people of Nipissing and northern Ontario are very real and deeply felt. I urge the Government to recognize these concerns as valid and to take them into consideration in the upcoming negotiations with the United States.

The number one fear of the people in my area stems from the fact that the definition of the term "subsidy" has been purposely left up to negotiations with the United States. The Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) said earlier this week in the House that he is still not sure if they will be successful in those negotiations over the next few years.

A succession of federal Liberal Governments has recognized regional economic development grants as legitimate economic tools for fostering economic growth in underdeveloped parts of the country. Nipissing and all

of northern Ontario has benefited from federal government initiatives. Fednor is the latest example of this type of program. Even though this program has failed up to this point to make a major impact in our area, we are still concerned about the future of this and other similar programs.

Will regional economic development grants be considered subsidies? Again, the Minister for International Trade is still not sure if he will be successful in these negotiations. The problem is that we just do not know. I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that my constituents will not accept a "trust us" approach. We recognize fully that whenever an international agreement of any kind is signed, some of our sovereignty is lost. Will we lose regional economic development grants and will they be considered subsidies? We still do not know.

The quality of our environment is critical to us. Nipissing is blessed with an abundance of clear, clean water, beautiful lakes, forests and wildlife. Tourism is a major aspect of life in Nipissing and the economic benefits of tourism spread throughout the whole area. We fear acid rain. On the other hand, we welcome the Prime Minister's comments yesterday afternoon when he assured us that he is finally going to get off his "assid" rain moratorium and do something.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Wood: We also fear pollution from the American heartland and from our own industries. Government programs are in place and we will be urging the adoption of others to minimize industrial pollution of our environment. Will the government subsidies to industry for pollution abatement be considered unfair subsidies? Once again, a "trust us" answer is really not good enough.

Canadians in general and my constituents in particular feel close to the land, the water and the out of doors. We want guarantees that this Government will not negotiate away any protections that we demand.

There are many job skills shortages. Skilled tradesmen are required desperately in fields such as automotive, electrical, electronic, machining and other trades associated with the mining and the forestry industries. This Government has steadily reduced the funding for job skills training in my riding. Further cut-backs have already been announced for 1989. Are we now facing the risk of losing funds completely for skills training? Will the Americans argue that this funding represents unfair subsidies to business and industry? Will this

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Government be able to stand up to American pressure for harmonization? I worry for the workers who will be dislocated by the Canadian-American Free Trade Agreement.

• (1430)

The Government is fond of quoting the Economic Council of Canada. The Council admits that thousands of workers will be dislocated in a wide range of industries. If workers are dislocated in Nipissing, can the Government guarantee them equivalent jobs in our area? Can the Government guarantee them jobs at all? How is the Government planning to differentiate between jobs lost because of free trade and those lost for other reasons? What specific programs has the Government in place to assist those workers who are dislocated? Can the Government guarantee the workers of Nipissing that they will not suffer?

I worry about the workers in Nipissing who have negotiated reasonable union contracts with their employers. The new buzz word, as I said before, will be harmonization. Management will argue that we must harmonize with the Americans' labour costs, that the cost of benefits must be in harmony with those in the United States if we are to compete. We will hear this argument many times over in the next four years.

What does this Government plan to do to protect workers from unjust contract stripping? The overwhelming majority of Canadians reject the Reagan-Thatcher approach whereby the only thing that matters is a market-driven economy. Canadians believe in fairness, compassion and a balance between the needs and goals of business and the needs and goals of individual citizens. Business does not exist to be compassionate. Its legitimate goal is profit. It is the role of Government to ensure that legitimate social concerns are heard in our society and at the same time acted upon.

I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, that hard-won legitimate gains by labour and others will be lost as pressure is placed on them to harmonize. I urge the Government to be ever vigilant in its negotiations with the U.S. over the next few years.

Everyone recognizes that the impact of the Mulroney-Reagan agreement will be swift and immediate. The Economic Council of Canada states that the benefits to the U.S. are immediate, that the adjustments required of Canadian workers in many industries will be immediate. Will the protection to Canadian workers also be immediate by this Government?

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) both before and repeatedly during the campaign assured us that workers affected by the Canadian-American trade agreement would be compensated. Unfortunately, in spite of repeated questioning, the Prime Minister has failed to bring forward any program to substantiate his promises. When you talk about the dislocation of workers and the adjustments required to improve our access to the American markets, you are not talking about academic abstractions, you are talking about people, workers and their families, businessmen who have invested and taken risks, workers who have contributed their labour and their skills. You are talking wages and benefits which have been justly earned.

What the Government will achieve will be achieved for Canadians and Canada. What will be lost will be at the expense of Canada and at the expense of Canadians.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I cannot recognize the Hon. Member for Sarnia—Lambton as he has already spoken in the debate.

Mr. James: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a question of privilege.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On a question of privilege.

Mr. James: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that I was involved in speaking to another Member and I did not realize that the Hon. Member for Ottawa West (Miss Catterall) was saying some things about women on the farm. I am not taking any lessons from the Hon. Member. My mother is 85 and she feeds the calves yet today. She has worked on the farm. She has dug sugar beets, topped them and picked potatoes. I do not need to take any sort of lesson from the Member for Ottawa West about women working on the farm. In addition to that, there was mention about the kitchen. If the Member knew anything about the farm, she would know that most meetings take place in the kitchen.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Resuming debate with the Hon. Member for Cariboo-Chilcotin.

Mr. Dave Worthy (Cariboo—Chilcotin): Mr. Speaker, this is the first time I have had an opportunity to address all the Members of the House. I would like to thank the people of Cariboo-Chilcotin who gave me the honour of sending me to this House. If you will allow a pun, Mr. Speaker, I will attempt to be "worthy" of it.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Worthy: I represent a population of more than 70,000 people who live in a most beautiful part of Canada. It is 40,000 square miles of plateau nestled between the coast range on the west and the Cariboo range on the east. The powerful and historic Fraser River bisects my riding. Mine is a riding well known for its gold rush and its rodeos. The world famous Gang Ranch even occupies a corner of my riding. There are many things that attract the tourist to the Cariboo—Chilcotin.

The old historic Cariboo Gold Trail winds its way primarily following the Fraser until it reaches the recently restored historic towns of Wells and Barkerville. The rivers and lakes lure thousands of fishermen. Big game hunting is very popular during the fall.

Besides tourism, ranching and mining contribute much to the economy and especially to the lifestyle of Cariboo—Chilcotin. But the primary resource of the Cariboo-Chilcotin, of course, is the forest industry. In fact, the sawmills in my riding produce over 10 per cent of all of the lumber produced in Canada. The forest industry affects either directly or indirectly everybody in the Cariboo. In fact, it affects everyone in British Columbia and I would also say probably everyone in Canada. It is important for all of us to know and understand what the forest industry is saying about the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Many would have you believe that because of the shingle and shake tariff imposed by the U.S. and the softwood lumber situation, the forest industry is not supportive of the Free Trade Agreement. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is precisely because the industry has been mugged twice already by the protectionists in the United States that it is so strongly in support of the Free Trade Agreement. This industry, better than anyone else in Canada, understands the need for the protection offered by the Free Trade Agreement.

The forest industry in British Columbia is a good industry to look at in terms of free trade. Some would have you believe that we Canadians cannot be competitive when dealing with the United States of America, but that is not true as far as the forest industry is concerned. Nobody in the world can produce lumber like they do in the interior of B.C. No one anywhere can produce as much, as fast or as efficiently. This is so in spite of many adverse conditions that many maintain. Canadians cannot be competitive because of cold weather, because of great distances from the market, because we are highly unionized, we receive high wages

and because we have the best benefit packages of any forest industry in the world.

There has been so much talk, Mr. Speaker, that high wages and benefits will suffer under the Free Trade Agreement. In the forest industry the experience has been the opposite. As it has traded more and more with the United States, it has become more competitive, and wages and benefits have become better, not worse. In fact, I believe that this is the experience across Canada.

● (1440)

As we have reduced our tariffs with the United States over the past 50 years, our standard of living has gone up, not down. Reducing tariffs has resulted in increased trade. Wages and social programs have benefited. Why should this trend change? It definitely will not change. Free trade will not destroy our social programs. On the contrary, it will make it possible for us to improve them.

Although securing the existing U.S. market and protecting current jobs is the primary motivation for the forest industry, it also recognizes that the Free Trade Agreement will provide new opportunities for value-added processing. There is no doubt that over the years we will see many new plants and jobs in this area.

However, there is a more immediate opportunity for secondary industry. That will be the creation of businesses based on the experience and creativity of our own people. In spite of the fact that the forest industry in the interior of British Columbia is the best in the world at producing lumber, much of the equipment and technology comes from other parts of the world, for example, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Washington, Oregon, and California. This does not have to be. We have the people, the experience, the knowledge, and the ideas.

Many small companies in the Cariboo have struggled to establish themselves. They may be small, some companies with 10, 20 or 50 employees, but they are very important to us. They represent our opportunity for growth. They represent our future. These are Main Street Canadians from the Cariboo. They want to compete. They are confident in their abilities and are looking forward to the future.

For example, Brigden Manufacturing is a company with a unique design for a log grapple and arch which allows multiple use of the crawler tractor. It is a small company just beginning, but it has potential.

Bradeco Fab and Welding is a company with an innovative cutting head for automatic falling of trees. It

is lighter, less complex, and requires less maintenance than the traditional cutting head. It has been under way for six months and currently has eight employees. It has recently received three new contracts with the United States and Oregon, and the potential is definitely there.

Exco Manufacturing is a small company that has been growing rapidly over three years. It started off producing automatic lumber and log handling systems for the sawmills. Currently it has 65 employees, and the potential is to triple that number of employees in the next four years.

Those companies all started producing for local requirements. Invariably they discovered that there was a very large market just to the south. It is the U.S. market that will produce the incentive for new growth. We need all of these companies. In fact, we should have many more. There is a real opportunity for Canada to become a world leader in development of forest industry technology and equipment. We, the Members of the House, must encourage industry to grasp the opportunity and make it happen.

There are other opportunities for my riding provided by the Free Trade Agreement. For example, totally new secondary industries assembling or manufacturing products for the U.S. market. The investors may be Canadian, but it is very possible that we will attract new investors from the Pacific Rim and Europe. It is curious that these offshore investors recognize the opportunities of the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement better than many Canadians. We do not care where the investors come from. We desperately need the jobs, and we hope to have some of those jobs in the Cariboo.

A respected British Columbia Senator, George Van Roggen, was chairman of the committee conducting hearings across Canada on the Free Trade Agreement. He said: "If B.C. wants the prosperity that they enjoy in central Canada then B.C. must have the same secondary industry they have in central Canada. This is only possible under the Free Trade Agreement".

For the people in British Columbia, for the people in western Canada, for all of the people in Canada who live in areas outside the industrial belt of central Canada, we can finally say that it is our turn for fairness in economic opportunity.

I accepted the concept of the Free Trade Agreement very naturally. To me it was something whose time had come. In the same manner as a young person must eventually leave home and find his or her own way in the world, so must Canada find its way with all the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

industrialized countries of the world. This agreement with the United States, our closest neighbour and largest trading partner, is the natural step to take.

Our young people have no guarantees when they leave the security of home. No one can say for sure how they will succeed. However, even the most protective of parents knows that the time has come and they must do it on their own. It is for them a step of faith. So it is with us. As we step into the free trading relationship with the United States, there are no guarantees. The studies are promising, but we must make it on our own. I have total confidence that our industries can compete. I have total confidence that we will succeed.

All Members in the House recognize that this has been a unique election. Never have the electorate of Canada wrestled with such a major issue. It has created a divided population. When campaigning door to door, it was not unusual to find a husband and wife on totally opposite sides of the free trade debate. Members of the House were fiercely engaged in this election and developed firmly entrenched positions. Normally once legislation is in place that is the end of the battle, but this is not normal legislation. When it is enacted on January 1 it will not be the end of anything. In fact, it will only be the start. It will be the initiation of a new beginning for Canada. Remember that there are no guarantees. Canadians must make this work. Our businesses and industries must respond to the challenge.

I do have a concern. Surely the direction, the leadership, and the motivation should be coming from Hon. Members of the House. Yet, many Members of this House have been violently opposing the Free Trade Agreement. Their concentration and focus has been on why it will not work, why industry will suffer, and why jobs will be lost. They have been conditioning themselves and their constituents to the failure of the Free Trade Agreement. My concern is that, if they are not careful, they could find themselves with a self-fulfilling prophecy in their ridings and perhaps elsewhere.

• (1450)

When the Members of the opposition Parties in this place next address their Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade, will they continue to put down the Free Trade Agreement? Will they, in effect, encourage their constituents to invest elsewhere, in effect telling them to relocate in the U.S.? It would be so easy to continue the fight—but at what cost? From a political point of view, it could be to their advantage were the Free Trade

Agreement to fail. But at what cost to their constituents, and at what cost to Canadians?

If Hon. Members opposite take a few minutes in reflective thought, I am sure they will recognize the point I am trying to make.

There has been a lot of concern expressed in the media that those areas which did not vote Progressive Conservative will suffer. The answer, of course, is that this Government will treat all areas with fairness and equality. But, those areas which have elected a representative who, because of a lack of confidence in the Free Trade Agreement, a lack of vision, or for reasons of political expediency cannot or will not provide the positive leadership required, if we are to grasp the opportunities of the Free Trade Agreement, may have cause for concern.

I am proud to have had the opportunity of participating in this historic debate, and I am confident that the people of Canada made a good decision in their choice of Government.

Mr. Ron MacDonald (Dartmouth): Mr. Speaker, I wish to begin my remarks today by expressing my sincere thanks to the constituents of the riding of Dartmouth for having afforded me the great honour of representing them in the House of Commons. I consider the privilege to be able to stand in this great Chamber and speak on behalf of one's fellow citizens to be one of the greatest honours that a single individual can have bestowed on him.

On Tuesday last, when I first spoke in this House, I felt that special sense of history, of awe and of respect that I am sure every Member feels when first rising to add his/her voice to the record of *Hansard*. I thank the people of Dartmouth for allowing me to experience that very special feeling. I shall never forget them for having given me that moment.

The riding of Dartmouth is one of the fastest growing regions of Atlantic Canada, and for good reason. The riding itself is comprised of the beautiful City of Dartmouth, known all across North America as the City of Lakes. It is a family oriented community, a community in which people from all over Nova Scotia and all over North America have chosen to live and raise their families.

And there are other great communities in my riding that deserve special mention, among them being the community of Eastern Passage, with its fishing traditions, located on the shores of Halifax Harbour, and the

community of Cow Bay, located on the rugged shores of the Atlantic, as well as the communities of North Preston and East Preston, the largest black communities in Nova Scotia.

All of these communities add to the cultural diversity and richness which is the riding of Dartmouth.

I should also like to congratulate my colleagues from Nova Scotia on their successful election and re-election to Parliament, and as well I extend my congratulations to the Speaker on his re-election to the chair and on his re-election in the riding of Vancouver South.

For the past two weeks I have listened carefully to the debate that has taken place, first on the procedures in this Chamber and then on the substance of the Government's motion to put into effect the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America.

As a new Member but not a rookie to politics, I shudder at the attempt by this Progressive Conservative Government to once again stifle a full and unencumbered debate on a Bill that would initiate the economic union of this great nation with the United States of America.

As I listened and watched, I remembered quite clearly that it was exactly this type of disregard for the House of Commons and for the people of Canada that convinced me to run as the Liberal candidate in the riding of Dartmouth. I did so because I saw a Government led by a Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who cared less about the preservation of the unique fabric of this country than he did about building his so-called special relationship with the President of the United States.

I saw a Government which refused to listen to any point of view on the trade issue but its own; I saw a Government that would close down debate in the House of Commons by wielding its majority to block a full public hearing on the proposed deal, a hearing which could have taken place by way of extensive committee hearings held across this nation. I saw a Government that refused to allow its own studies dealing with the potential negative impacts of the trade deal to see the light of day.

I stand in my place today to voice my opposition and that of the people of Dartmouth to the trade legislation, Bill C-2. I, and the overwhelming majority of the people of Atlantic Canada, believe that this deal, if passed unamended, will negatively alter the very structure of this nation.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The reality of Canada, Mr. Speaker, is that it is a nation of regions, each distinct, each with its own strength, but collectively forming the unique fabric that is Canada.

Our forefathers saw the potential of what Canada could be. They believed, as I believe, that a great nation could be forged on an east-west axis, and they resisted the pressures of continentalism. They believed that there was a better way than the American way. They recognized that the vast resources and wealth of this nation could be used to overcome the obstacles of geography.

Successive Governments have used national programs and policies to redistribute wealth from the have to the have not regions of this great nation.

I and my colleagues in the Liberal Party believe that every Canadian should have the right to make a decent living in the region in which he/she chooses to live and that he/she should enjoy the same level and quality of social benefits regardless of income and choice of location.

We have used the richness of this great nation to create fairness and equality of opportunity—in the Atlantic, in the North, and in the West. In short, Mr. Speaker, we have used regional development as a tool for nation building.

Anyone who submits to the reality of Canada as a nation of distinct and vibrant regions should be concerned about the implications of the Free Trade Agreement on regional development programs. This Government is asking us to approve the Free Trade Agreement, knowing full well that it is a flawed document, a document that puts at risk the very ability of the national Government to use regional development programs to bring about level playing fields within Canada.

We have before us, Mr. Speaker, a deal that has no exemption for regional development programs, a deal that has no definition of "subsidy", a deal that trades away our very ability to have made-in-Canada policies for the future development of this nation.

It is a deal that stipulates that once we integrate our economies, the United States and Canada will negotiate the definition of a subsidy and will work toward the elimination of same. These things are all still on the table, Mr. Speaker.

How does this Government explain this outrageous deal? How many more concessions will Canada have to make? The Government says: "Trust us."

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

This is the same Government that told us that it would get a deal that would guarantee Canadians full access to the U.S. markets, a deal that would exempt our exporters from harassment under U.S. trade remedy laws, a deal that would protect our regional development programs.

How can we possibly trust this Government to negotiate for our country over the next five to seven years in respect of those matters that remain outstanding? The record is clear. What was promised is not what this Government got in this deal.

We know that the Americans are already starting to clamour for the dismantling of our regional development programs, as well as some specific programs in our forestry and our fishing industries. Indeed, the Americans have already said that some of our Government's investments in silviculture and reforestation constitute an unfair subsidy and should be countervailable. That is what they have said.

I have in my hand, Mr. Speaker, a document from the United States Department of Commerce, and it lists such things as the Economic and Regional Development Program, ERDAs—and they are not icing on the cake in Atlantic Canada. That money goes to pay for the flour that bakes the cake in Atlantic Canada. It is an important regional development tool.

Also listed is the IRDP, the Industrial Regional Development Program, a tool of nation building that was first put into place by a Liberal Government. Also listed is the Fishing Vessel Assistance Program—and I do not think there is one Member in this House representing a riding in which the fishery plays an important role who would say that the Fishing Vessel Assistance Program constitutes an unfair subsidy and should be countervailable in the U.S.

These are the types of programs that the U.S. Department of Commerce wants eliminated, and it is these very programs that will be on the table over the next five to seven years. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that these programs do not constitute subsidies; rather, they are tools of regional development, tools that we have used for years in this country to redistribute wealth and create economic opportunity and fairness across this nation.

I submit that the trade deal, if brought into force and effect, will lead to the systematic dismantling of the regional development programs in this country, thus ensuring that Atlantic Canada will never become a full partner in the economic development of this nation.

• (1500)

Simply put, we in Atlantic Canada cannot support an agreement that does not fully protect these vital programs. Already we have seen this Tory Government slash its deficit on the backs of the poorer regions. In his first two Budgets, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Wilson) cut over \$1.5 billion from the regional development envelope. That is on the record. Atlantic Canada should shudder when the Conservative Government makes a commitment to maintaining these programs because its record speaks otherwise.

Time and time again Ministers opposite have shown a complete lack of knowledge of Atlantic Canada and its legitimate concerns about the impact of this trade deal. We recall the former Minister of State for International Trade, the former Member from Sault Ste. Marie who, when asked about the impact of the free trade deal on the textile industry in Nova Scotia said: "Nova Scotia shouldn't worry because it doesn't have a textile industry". This came as quite a surprise, not only to the Stanfields, a name that should be well known in the Conservative Party, but also to the hundreds of workers in Nova Scotia who are employed in the textile industry.

Perhaps the former Minister was shedding a little light on what would happen once the deal comes into force. I think he was right. Under the deal Nova Scotia will not have to worry about asking questions like that because it may not have a textile industry five years down the road. During the election he was asked about a statement made by Tom Stanfield, who said that his company would survive free trade, but it may mean that they would have to relocate their operations to the U.S.

When the Minister of Finance was travelling through Nova Scotia telling people they had to vote for the deal or they would lose thousands of jobs, he was the expert on everything dealing with free trade, and he was asked to comment on Tom Stanfield's statement, he said: "I am not an expert on textiles. Don't ask me about that". That was the same Minister who said in this House that we are not to worry, that he and his Government will protect our regional development programs. However, we saw his attack on the pensions of senior citizens after the 1984 election. After all, those pensions were supposed to be the sacred trust of the Prime Minister. I think we in Atlantic Canada have a right to be very concerned over the Minister of Finance and his commitment to protect these programs over the next five to seven years of negotiations.

I have also listened with a great deal of interest to the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), the Hon. Member for St. John's West. He has a stand pat response to every question he is asked in the House. He comes back with the same phrase by rote: The people of Canada have decided and the Government has a right to proceed with this free trade deal. I am sure if you asked him where the washroom was he would give you the same answer. Perhaps he is right. The people of Canada have decided.

We have a Government in this House today debating free trade legislation. However, the people of Atlantic Canada have also spoken and even the entertaining effusiveness and huffery-puffery of the Minister from St. John's West cannot deny the fact that Atlantic Canadians have said no to this free trade deal. All you have to do is count the numbers. Twenty out of 32 seats said yes to the Liberal Party in Atlantic Canada.

As one of those Members, I made a commitment to the people of my riding that I would fight as hard as I could to ensure that the interests of Atlantic Canada are not trampled on by the Government's indecent haste to implement a deal that fully 57 per cent of the Canadian electorate said no to.

I say to the Hon. Member for St. John's West, who is not in the House, in fact I do not think there are any Ministers of the Crown to hear this particular debate today at this point, the people of Atlantic Canada saw through his cloud of smoke and they have not forgotten the comment he made in 1986 when he said that Atlantic Canada was well off compared to Bangladesh. Only that Minister could have uttered such an insensitive statement to the people of Atlantic Canada. That shows why Atlantic Canadians cannot, will not and did not rely on him to represent their concerns in Ottawa. They elected 20 Liberals out of 32 ridings to do that for them.

What has happened since the election? Have there been any attempts by the Conservative Government to allay the concerns expressed by 57 per cent of the Canadian electorate, people from northern Ontario and people from Atlantic Canada who have said no to the Government? No, and for a Government which has refused to listen, this is truly indicative of its style over the last four years.

I say its attitude is of no comfort whatsoever to Canadians. We have seen plants and factories close. We have seen people thrown out of work. All the while the Government refused to announce any assistance for

those workers, none whatsoever. We hear every day in Question Period about some of the problems with industries closing down. My colleagues from Thunder Bay—Nipigon and Nipissing got up in this House and raised concerns about job losses in the forest industry, and the Government has shown it has no compassion at all.

For Atlantic Canada, however, the Government's negligence is particularly worrisome. Just last week or the week before we heard Mickey Cohen, former Deputy Minister of Finance and now a senior business executive, say this about the future of regional development in Canada: "This is not pleasant stuff. You've got to say: Atlantic Canada, you're on your own; northern Ontario, you're on your own". I submit it is the right and duty of this House to ensure that does not happen.

If the Government had the legitimate concerns of the north and east and parts of the west of this entire nation at heart, it would have allowed our amendments on regional development programs and we would have had a Bill, while still flawed, which would have at least given some basic protection for the people that do not live in the centre of this great nation.

It is no wonder that we on this side of the House wanted that type of protection for regional development programs built into the Bill. Atlantic Canada has much at stake. We cannot afford the risks of this so-called leap of faith. The Prime Minister talked about winners and losers under free trade. I believe the people who need the assistance the most in the regions most at risk will be the first to suffer and will suffer the most.

The Government has let the people of Dartmouth down. It has let the people of Nova Scotia down. It has let the people of Atlantic Canada down. It has traded the unique fabric of Canada for a few bolts of cheap U.S. cotton and a sing-along with Ronald Reagan.

I recall when the Tory Government began the trade discussions. The principal objective was to obtain guaranteed access to the American market. In Atlantic Canada we know the importance of the U.S. and our producers were concerned about harassment of our products on the U.S. market. As the Prime Minister stated in an interview with the *New York Times*, "U.S. trade remedy laws can't apply to Canada, period". We know he will say one thing one week and another thing the next week, depending on what the polls tell him.

Does this trade deal protect Canadian exporters from American trade remedy laws, namely their countervailing duties and anti-dumping actions? The answer is no.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The trade deal, in my opinion and in the opinion of many across this nation, is a dismal failure. Americans will still be able to harass our exporters and they will still have to fight these cases before American trade bodies. The Conservatives claimed victory when they got a binding dispute settlement mechanism. Really, what is it? Nothing more than a panel to decide whether or not Canadian or American laws have been properly applied. The Prime Minister did not win any protection from trade remedy laws.

We know some of the things the Government put on the table, but what other concessions have been made under the table? We remember Bill C-22, the drug patent legislation, a bargaining chip given away even before negotiations began. We remember the softwood lumber tax and the shakes and shingles tariff where the Prime Minister kowtowed to Mr. Reagan. In fact, this Bill goes even further than that, it grandfathers the lumber tax.

Before I conclude I want to touch on one or two other areas which show the Government was out-negotiated by the Americans. Under the Prime Minister's deal we have traded away forever the ability of the Province of Nova Scotia to use its own oil and natural gas resources as a tool for regional development.

Under this deal, should the Government of Nova Scotia encourage new business ventures through a preferred energy pricing policy on some of its own resources, the Government is obligated to offer these same rates to Americans. To make matters worse, we have guaranteed the U.S. a fixed percentage of our oil and gas production. Canada has become nothing more than a gigantic natural resources reserve for the U.S. This is deplorable and must be condemned as a sell-out of our very birthright.

The Government has agreed to harmonize, some call this a euphemism for Americanize, our technical and environmental standards. I am sure the people of Dartmouth and Nova Scotia are very concerned about their environment. They see this deal as a sell-out of our children's natural heritage. Acid rain is one commodity that the U.S. has traded too freely in with Canada and Atlantic Canada in the last dozen years.

• (1510)

Over the past four years the Prime Minister has completely failed to obtain a comprehensive agreement to combat this very serious problem. But then what can one possibly get for a bad rendition of *Irish Eyes are Smiling*?

The more we compare past Liberal Governments achievements and the liberalizing of international trade, the more obvious it becomes that this trade deal is a very bad deal for Canada.

I wish to conclude by telling the Government that over the next week, months and years we in the Liberal Party will be keeping a very close eye on the implementation of this deal. We will continue to fight the battle for Canada, for its independence and for its sovereignty. I serve notice that this battle has just begun.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[Translation]

Mr. Allan Koury (Hochelaga—Maisonnette): Mr. Speaker, first let me thank my constituents in Hochelaga—Maisonnette for putting their confidence in me on November 21. I am proud to represent these people who have shown their faith in the future by supporting the Conservative Party and thereby the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. This Agreement, as our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) pointed out so well when he spoke in this debate yesterday, opens opportunities for all Canadians in Canada; that is, central Canada and the main urban centres will not be the only ones to benefit from it. All regions of this country will be able to benefit from it and for Quebecers, it is also recognition of the regions that will gain from this boost to the economy.

The Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Speaker, is not strictly speaking a policy like the National Energy Program which had more to do with the problems of regional representation in Canada of the previous administration than with a rational approach to developing this country's potential.

This Government is the first one in years to pursue really national interests. The interests of the West, the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Ontario are well represented by all the Members of this Government.

Think of initiatives like the Meech Lake Accord, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Western Economic Diversification Initiative, the Quebec Regional Development Program and of course the Free Trade Agreement. These are a few examples which show that the Government is sensitive to the needs of Canadians and Quebecers. And these needs clearly expressed by all Canadians have remained a priority objective throughout the negotiations which led to the signing of the Free Trade Agreement.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We must not forget, Mr. Speaker, that protectionism is a threat to Canada and particularly in regions like Quebec where free trade has been a long-desired goal. The Free Trade Agreement is widely recognized as an essential element of this country's regional policy.

The natural resource sectors such as energy in Quebec and the West and fisheries on the East Coast will no doubt benefit considerably from this agreement. The manufacturing and industrial sector, so important to the development of my riding, Mr. Speaker, will benefit directly from this new economic environment in which the agreement puts us.

The fact that eight out of ten premiers have given their support to this agreement and that a majority of Canadians have returned to power the party that defended it is living proof that this agreement will provide balance in that the economy of all regions of Canada will benefit from it.

This Government also allowed the regions of this country to take charge of their own regional development. Indeed, the new regional development agencies like the one for the Quebec development plan are designed so that the sectors which benefit from the regional development programs will be controlled by those who live in the most affected areas. And it is important to point out, Mr. Speaker, that it is now possible to focus the effort of these new agencies in a way that will make the most of the agreement itself.

In the spirit of national reconciliation which this Government has pursued since 1984, this historic Free Trade Agreement will be implemented with policies to help all regions of the country tap the immense potential of the agreement. With this in mind, the Government has said from the beginning that there would be no agreement if Canada's ability to promote regional development were hindered. And we know more than anyone in my constituency that this commitment was respected. There is no restriction on the Government's power to create jobs and facilitate growth in any region of Canada. National reconciliation implies the need to face the challenges posed by this vast and diverse nation by ensuring that all Canadians benefit equally from the national potential, from coast to coast.

The Free Trade Agreement guarantees that the economic growth required to maintain our high standard of living will be shared by all Canadians. This trade agreement in no way prevents reaching Canada's regional development objectives. On the contrary, it contributes to reaching them.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, it was alleged during the election campaign that many Canadian companies, subsidiaries of American multinationals, would move to the United States because some states have no minimum wage or occupational health and safety laws. This allegation is more than misleading and my constituents were not taken in by such blatant demagoguery. For a company or an industry, the workers' pay is only one aspect of its competitive position. Closeness to markets, labour productivity and overhead such as energy costs also contribute to production costs.

A vehicle made in a Canadian manufacturing centre is within one day's travel of 150 million Americans. Canadian labour is usually more productive than American labour. Mr. Speaker, that is not mentioned often enough. Furthermore, our health insurance system helps reduce the number of working days lost due to sickness.

All these factors combined, Mr. Speaker, make Canada an excellent place to do business. The American states that have no minimum wage are in non-industrialized regions where labour is generally less skilled. Indeed, industrialized states like Michigan, Massachusetts, New York and California have a skilled work force and a minimum wage similar to ours. The industries are not going to move to and set up shop in areas with an unskilled labour force and dismal economic and transport facilities, merely to take advantage of a reduced pay scale. Mr. Speaker, this did not happen in the United States and will certainly not happen in Canada with the Free Trade Agreement.

That is exactly what the people in the Hochelaga—Maisonneuve riding understood on November 21. That is the reason why they put their trust in a responsible Government. As you know, Mr. Speaker, Canada is and has always been an exporting nation. Compared with the seven most industrialized countries, Canada is the most dependent economically on its export trade. As much as 31 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product depends on its export trade, and that is the reason why we can enjoy such a high standard of living. Eighty per cent of our export trade is with the United States which represents for us the most natural trade market. Moreover, in Canada, three million jobs depend directly on our external trade.

Faced with this reality, Mr. Speaker, the Government had to assume its responsibility to Canadian men and women. The rise of American protectionism represented a threat for the Canadian economy. With the Free Trade Agreement, the Government under our Prime

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Minister (Mr. Mulroney) has taken the necessary steps to obtain for Canadians a secure access to the greatest export market in the world.

In this connection, Mr. Bernard Landry stated: "Canada is practically the only major industrialized nation without a secure access, directly or through association, to a market of over 100 million people. This limits considerably its ability to compete especially for the most sophisticated products. The United States is offering us access to a market of 250 million people."

The business people in my riding have stated on many occasions that they are anxious to see this Agreement become a reality and this, because they have confidence in their ability to compete and because this access to the American market would open up for them the way to prosperity. Take for instance the initiatives taken by the Quebec business people during the election campaign to convince the people of the usefulness of this Agreement. For instance, Mr. Bernard Lamarre, President of Lavalin, stated, and I quote: "I just cannot understand how people can oppose the notion of having free excess to the American market."

In addition to providing us with a secure access to the American market, the Free Trade Agreement ensures that Canadian exporters will no longer be at the mercy of a trade bill used for political purposes. The disputes resulting from the application of anti-dumping and countervail legislation will be settled by a panel made up of Canadian and American trade and commercial legislation specialists who will rule as equals and whose decisions will be final and binding, something which will make the settlement procedure much more expeditious.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, our representatives will no longer have to go to Washington to try and settle disputes which can arise between two trading nations and be submitted to the whims of American politicians. That is another expression of our sovereignty.

It is because of our Prime Minister's perceptiveness, his confidence in the potential of Canadian men and women, and his vision of a more equitable Canada that we have obtained this Agreement. All we have to do is take advantage of this instrument to enter the 21st Century.

Mr. Speaker, today being the 23rd of December 1988, I will probably not have the opportunity to offer my best wishes to each and everyone individually. So, if I may, I should like to wish the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his family, yourself, Mr. Speaker, and your family, as well as my colleagues from both sides of the House,

all my Hochelaga—Maisonneuve constituents, and all other Canadian men and women, a Merry Christmas and a Most Happy New Year.

• (1520)

[English]

Mr. John F. Brewin (Victoria): *Merci, monsieur le président.* Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I might begin by paying a special word of tribute to my predecessor from Victoria, the Hon. Allan McKinnon. Mr. McKinnon represented Victoria for 16 years with diligence, dignity, and honesty. I know that the people of Victoria would ask this House to join with them in wishing him and his wife a very long, happy, and productive retirement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Brewin: May I also take this moment to mention my father, the late Andrew Brewin, who served in this House from 1962 to 1979. I know he treasured his time here, and I honour his memory on this occasion.

This is an historic vote. I hope that tonight, we in this Chamber are not making an historic mistake. I happen to have two great grandfathers who served in this House, both of them Liberals. It shows that generations do advance as time goes on.

Mr. McDermid: Or slip back.

Mr. Brewin: I am sure the Minister responsible for housing would agree with me at least on that, although there are a few Members who appear not to agree with the proposition.

My mother's grandfather, James Lyons Biggar, who represented East Northumberland in the Canadian Assembly, had the honour of voting against Confederation. History will judge that he was on the wrong side of that issue. I truly hope history will judge that I am on the wrong side of this issue tonight, because it will be an important decision for this country.

In this debate, we have heard a great deal about the seniors in Canada and how they were terrified by the exaggerations of the Liberals and New Democrats during the election into voting against the Free Trade Agreement. Victoria has more than its share, happily, of seniors. We are the retirement capital of Canada. I had the opportunity to speak to seniors frequently during the election campaign. The suggestion that they were terrified into voting against the agreement does not do them justice. My experience is that the seniors and others in our community who came to the conclusion

that this agreement was bad for Canada did so because they took the long view, the historic view of what this agreement would do to our country. It was their view, and mine, that there was a truth about Canadian history that the Government has neglected. Ironically, it was a truth that has over the years been expressed by the Conservative Party, first by one of the early Members for Victoria, Sir John A. Macdonald.

• (1530)

Sir John A. Macdonald is associated in Canadian history with the National Policy. The essence of that policy was that if we were to build a distinctive nation in Canada, we had to have an economy which was independent of the larger economy of the United States. If we were to have an independent economy, we needed to build certain protections for our business and manufacturing sectors. We had to have tariffs. We had to have other protections which included the creative use of government to assist in building an infrastructure across the country from east to west to withstand the natural pulls from north to south.

From the beginning this policy has won the overwhelming support of the Canadian people. It has been the issue in a number of elections, most famous perhaps in 1911, when the Conservatives under Sir Robert Borden, won re-election on the slogan: "No truck nor trade with the Yanks".

During the election campaign I had the privilege of meeting someone in my constituency who actually heard Sir Robert Borden in that election during 1911. She was most eager to vote in this campaign because she was not able to vote in 1911 on two grounds—she was under the age of 18 and she was a woman.

She said she had been a Conservative all her life but that she was eagerly looking forward to voting in this election against the Conservatives because she felt this agreement and this policy was a betrayal of what she believed Canada stood for.

The critical questions that underline this debate are the issues of the future and nature of Canada. As it has been said more than once in the last two weeks, we have developed a distinctive set of social and economic programs, programs which have helped us to develop a caring society. We still have a long way to go, but it is a society which has a capacity to deal with fairness, justice and equality with people in our own land, and to give us a basis for speaking internationally for social justice and compassion.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Let me address, in that context, one particular element of the agreement and the legislation before us, which has not been addressed much. That is the impact on provincial jurisdiction. This agreement interferes in a number of ways with what has traditionally been viewed as provincial legislative jurisdiction. This agreement and the legislation interferes in the area of energy policy.

Our Constitution has given to the provinces the responsibility for development, conservation and management of non-renewable energy resources. Yet this agreement, without the official consent of a single province, restricts our capacity at both levels from dealing in a number of respects with our energy resources. This agreement further makes substantial inroads in the capacity of provinces to regulate services and to develop distinctive policies for local economies.

The agreement undermines provincial jurisdiction and responsibility in the area of investment, including, for example, control over decisions as to who may even own land, a matter of great sensitivity in many parts of Canada. As a result of this agreement, the provinces are now bound not to intervene in these areas, or Canada will be in breach of the agreement.

Perhaps most significantly, the section of the agreement, Article 2010, dealing with monopolies, goes a long way to undermine provincial responsibility and capacity to deal with new social and economic innovative programs. For those of us in western Canada public automobile insurance is not a particularly innovative program. In the Province of Ontario, however, it is a very active issue.

I wish to draw to the attention of the House a report in *The Globe and Mail* on December 13, 1988. It states:

... Philip Dewan, director of policy in the Premier's office, says that under Ottawa's free-trade deal with Washington, the province might be obliged to compensate U.S. insurance companies for the loss of business that they would suffer if the provincial government were to create a public monopoly over auto insurance.

The Ontario Liberals are, in effect, laying the groundwork for breaking another political promise. But it does suggest how this agreement is going to be used by Conservative minded Governments to avoid doing what has been so productive over the last 50 or 60 years in this country, the expression at the provincial level of that innovative social and economic spirit of which the Member for Winnipeg—Transcona (Mr. Blaikie) spoke earlier.

We have had innovative programs like hospitalization and medicare because provinces have had the opportunity to do so. I submit that this agreement and its

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

legislative variation Clause 6 in the agreement undermines that capacity. That is to be severely regretted.

One thing that has been instructive to me as I looked at the election results and listened to this debate is the profound division that we are building in this country on fundamental issues of the future and vision for Canada.

It has been said that only the winners in this election are properly interpreting the view of the Canadian people. But let us break that down on a regional basis. As has been said, eight of the ten provinces, taken on that view, voted against the Free Trade Agreement. If we consider which provinces and which areas of Canada voted against the agreement, we find ourselves at an historical oddity.

Traditionally it has been the regions which have tended to object to protectionism and the National Policy to the extent that they did, and it has been the so-called heartland of southern Ontario and Quebec that have tended to favour the National Policy and tariffs. Yet we have seen in the recent election results that it is the regions of Canada, including the Atlantic provinces, northern Ontario, the West and British Columbia, that have voted most strongly and forcefully against this Free Trade Agreement.

I believe from my own experience that these sections of Canada voted against the Free Trade Agreement because it was their perception that the protections which had been built in over the last 120 years for an independent Canadian economy were essential to their vision of this country. It is a matter of deep resentment, in our part of the country at least, that this has not been understood, particularly in the Province of Québec. While we may not have expected a lot better of Toronto and the Golden Horseshoe, we did hope that our brothers and sisters in the Province of Quebec might have been more sensitive to the perspective that we were offering to Canada. It is a perspective that we were prepared to pay a price to be Canadian. We are prepared to pay a price to be Canadians. We do not insist on goods at the cheapest price. We recognize that if we are to be an independent country and if we are to speak with an independence in the world, we need to have these protections. We need to have an independent economy in Canada.

It appears that within a few hours the House will pass the free trade legislation. Within a week it will become law. In doing so, we in this Parliament and in the legislatures across Canada will give up substantial rights. We will give up rights to regulate our energy

policy. We will give up rights to regulate investment. We will give up rights to regulate our own economy and to develop innovative social and economic experiments. We will give up rights to have policies that favour Canadian or local businesses in Government purchasing.

● (1540)

This is to be regretted on a number of grounds. It is to be regretted because of its impact on confederation. It is to be regretted because it will leave us with only military spending as the main vehicle for regional development in Canada, to add further to militarization of our economy. It is to be regretted because in selling so much of what we have, we have failed to get the guarantees the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) promised. We have failed to get protection against American countervailing duties and legislation.

The Prime Minister and the Conservative Party paid a price to get this deal. During this election campaign, they were forced to make a series of commitments to the Canadian people. Chief among those commitments was the Prime Minister's view, as he said in a speech during the election campaign, that the re-election of his Government would ensure the enhancement of social programs. He made his solemn pledge again that a Conservative Government would not dismantle our social networks. That price may have gone against the grain, but it was a price the Government had to pay in order to get this deal.

We will, over the next four years, remind the Prime Minister of that commitment. If for a second time he betrays the Canadian people in their trust, the Prime Minister can count on hearing from these benches.

There will be three points of observation for us during the next four years. Under the terms of the agreement, there will be five to seven years of negotiations surrounding countervail. Those negotiations will, I hope, begin immediately. We will be watching those negotiations.

Second, the Government has again made a solemn commitment that it will protect workers who have been dislocated. The depth and generosity of that commitment, as we have heard it in the last two weeks, may yet be tested. We have heard words with no action, but we will be watching.

Finally, the Government will have opportunities to strengthen our social programs. The Government will have an opportunity to build regional economies across Canada. The Government will have an opportunity to

work with the provinces to build a better, fairer and more equitable Canada.

As the Government faces those opportunities, often, we hope, presented to it by those of us on this side of the House, we will be watching the extent of the Government's commitment. If we see one part of these programs eroded, we will alert the Canadian people. It will be our responsibility during the next four years to stand as watch-dogs for Canada over the future of this country.

• (1550)

There is a six-month cancellation clause in this agreement. During the television debate, the Prime Minister referred to this as just a commercial transaction. He invited Canada to exercise that six-month cancellation clause should any of his commitments be undermined. It will be our responsibility in the months and years ahead to stand in this place for Canada and to ensure that the hope that the Prime Minister expresses for this agreement is in fact realized and that history will not regret tonight's moment.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Maurice Tremblay (Lotbinière): Mr. Speaker, this is my first time to address this House since our election. First of all, I would obviously like to thank my fellow citizens from the wonderful riding of Lotbinière.

Mr. Speaker, my constituents, like those in the 169 Conservative ridings in Canada, on November 21 chose the way of prosperity by giving their support to the only political party in this country proposing a trade agreement with our largest trading partner, the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I will tell you quite humbly that I really enjoyed the last election campaign because the voters were faced with an extremely straight-forward situation.

The three parties in the race offered the people a program. On the one hand, the New Democratic Party, being for virtue, changed its policies and programs to suit the opinion polls. On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, the Liberal Party in this election campaign insisted that the debate be essentially on one issue, the Free Trade Agreement.

As for us, Mr. Speaker, we had to answer for the last four years of our mandate, from 1984 to 1988, and for the next four years. Our record for the past four years was extremely prosperous and full of accomplishments. You will recall that the polls conducted at the beginning

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

of the election campaign showed that the outgoing Government was extraordinarily popular. Never had there been so many favorable polls for a government.

Mr. Speaker, a government's role is to give the people something to strive for, a challenge. The only party in the running that had an attractive plan for the people was the Progressive Conservative Party. All the Official Opposition, the Liberal Party, could say was that what the Conservatives were offering was no good; that was negativism.

In the end, Mr. Speaker, faced with this situation, the people on November 21 realized that they had had a competent government for the past four years. Remember that in 1984, we had inherited a deteriorating, disastrous situation, with a \$38.3-billion deficit, let me remind you. It was frightening!

So on the basis of these facts, seeing that we had given the country good government again, the people obviously wanted to hear what the future government could give them over the next four years. Mr. Speaker, we had achieved a most masterful agreement in the present circumstances, an agreement for prosperity. That is what our business men and women achieved.

Mr. Speaker, my riding of Lotbinière essentially is quite representative of the social and economic dimensions of our immense country. I have many dairy farmers—more than 1,100—with their wives and husbands, children and friends, and also many small and medium-sized businesses that have not only achieved tremendous economic development but also have developed an expertise that enables them to reach the markets of the United States, Europe and even Africa.

Mr. Speaker, you certainly know the Vibec Group in Victoriaville, a highly competent engineering firm, which has managed to use its expertise beyond the limits of the riding, the province and the country, by opening up new markets in both Europe and Africa.

We also have—I want to salute it now because it has just established itself in my riding—the Cascade Corporation in Kingsley Falls which is administered with dynamism by the Lemaire brothers whose leadership is only equalled by the great dimensions of this country.

There are also in my riding quite a number of furniture-making businesses which for years have had subsidiaries in the United States. May I remind you also, Mr. Speaker, that in the City of Princeville alone, there are five major boat-building firms which also must

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

export their products to be able to prosper and create jobs for our people back home, in Lotbinière. These people have realized that by taking their cars or trucks and driving a few hundred kilometres to the south of the Lotbinière riding, they could reach a concentration of over 100 million consumers. They have managed to understand that, these businessmen and women back home. On the other hand, they have realized that by covering the same distance, not southward, but eastward or westward, they were still within the Quebec borders. In this respect, Mr. Speaker, the project proposed by the Conservative Party to our businessmen and women certainly made sense.

These men and women include Mr. Guy Boulanger, from the Boulanger corporation in Warwick which specializes in making doors and mouldings, and which in its field has become one of the most important manufacturer in Quebec, if not in Canada. These people have realized that free trade was already a "fait accompli".

The fact is that for the past twenty-five years, more specifically since 1963, which is not so long ago, Mr. Speaker, the average duties collected by our Canadian custom officers on all goods imported from the United States decreased from 10 per cent to 3.5 per cent, a reduction of over 6 percentage points. I wish to emphasize that the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement will bring about a reduction of these duties from 3.5 to 2.5 per cent, only a 1 percentage point.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, over the past twenty-five years, we have demanded from our businesses, for their modernization, expansion and consolidation much more than we are going to ask for during the next ten years following the full implementation of the so-called Free Trade Agreement. But again, that is something that the people in Lotbinière, the businessmen and women, as well as the producers fully realize.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, you certainly remember that in 1986, we were forced by the Americans to levy a 15 per cent tax on our softwood lumber. Unfortunately, at the time, there were about a dozen items which were affected by this tax. Do you know what the next item would have been? Mouldings. You can understand that the Boulanger corporation in Warwick, among others, was keeping very quiet about this situation. It was afraid that the negotiators would finally reach that item. Thanks to the Free Trade Agreement, they can breath more freely today, because they used to have no protection whatsoever against

American protectionism. Thanks again to this Agreement, we now have a number of mechanism to block the extension of protectionism.

This may be a sign of the times, Mr. Speaker, but do you realize that for its mouldings, the Boulanger corporation in Warwick must purchase its raw material in the United States? It has to bring this raw material home and transform it. It creates jobs for our people and sells its finished products to the Americans.

That is the kind of ability and foresight our business people and citizens in general now have, Mr. Speaker. I would like to say here, Mr. Speaker, that we as a party never claimed that the Free Trade Agreement as such was the end of all our problems. This Agreement, Mr. Speaker, was always presented as a challenge, one that we believed our business people, our producers, and, I repeat, our workers, could meet. But that, Mr. Speaker, obviously depends on the Government being able to give them appropriate policies. So again, in the last election campaign, it was important to be credible. Now what party in recent years could show such credibility? Is it a party that was in power for 25 of the last 30 years and ran up a total debt of \$38.3 billion a year, not a decade, or a government that in four years has reduced the debt by \$10 billion?

At the same time, Mr. Speaker, we gave our business men and women, our producers, support policies so that they could consolidate, modernize and, in short, meet the new challenges that we were offering them. And if we did so over the last four years, obviously we can continue to do so. Besides, we already have some policies in place. The Department of Industry, Science and Technology has just implemented programs to follow up the consolidation and modernization we began. That is foresight. That is what we offered the citizens, the people in my riding, and they answered yes.

Mr. Speaker, I have been listening to the various speakers for some time. Not that I claim to bring anything new, because I think that everything has been said. But you will agree with me that the Hon. Members opposite have not brought anything new either. But I would nevertheless like to point out some things that are unfair, Mr. Speaker. I recently listened to the Hon. Member for "Arctic Power", Mr. Speaker, and I congratulate her for her election, but certainly not for her positions. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, on December 19, she said, as reported on page 367 of *Hansard*:

During the campaign, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) stated that regional development programs were not at risk.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

His attitude was one of "trust me". Many people in the North believe that they were forced to trust the Prime Minister, our federal political representative, when he met in secret in the middle of the night with ten Premiers to finalize the Meech Lake Accord. Many of my constituents believe that the Accord makes northerners second-class citizens in this country. They also state that the provincial Premiers protected their constituents, but that the Prime Minister, our sole representative, did not do the same for us.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the Hon. Member for "Arctic Power" forgot two very basic things. First, Mr. Speaker, I would respectfully remind her of the First Ministers' conference with the native people in 1985; I was there myself. This conference almost resulted in an agreement, except for internal problems with the native people themselves. Secondly, I would remind her that she belongs to the Liberal Party, Mr. Speaker, the same one—imagine—that imposed repatriation of the Constitution in 1982 without the agreement of not only the native people but also, Mr. Speaker, the Province of Quebec, the birthplace of the French-speaking people, one of the founding nations. She belongs to a party . . . She criticizes us for not having included the Indians in the Meech Lake Agreement. But back in 1982, Mr. Speaker, her own party imposed the Canadian Constitution without the consent not only of the Indians, but of the French-speaking people of Canada. That is no mean feat! That is really something! That is why the people of Quebec, in 1984, told them: "Get out! Enough is enough!" Enough is enough, indeed! In 1988, it was no fluke, Madam. Last year, in Quebec alone, the people realized that we were capable of governing them well. They realized that we were able to identify with and respond to their true aspirations. We don't have any magic solutions, but we have an open attitude, we are able to listen and to discuss. We don't impose things. We don't want to go down in history as a party which says: "This is how it's going to be. And that's that. We're the boss." A country does not work like that. That is no way to govern. But that's what the Member from "Arctic Power" tells us. Surely there are limits, Mr. Speaker.

She has forgotten, just like the Member from LaSalle—Émard (Mr. Martin). How terrible . . . He says he is going to watch us. But how long has he been a member of that party? I don't know if he remembers—in any case, his father was there at the time—when Mackenzie King actually told the Canadian people, the people of Québec in particular—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would ask the Hon. Member to confine himself to the amendment.

Mr. Tremblay (Lotbinière): Mr. Speaker, I am simply quoting the words of other Members and trying to show that their assertions are false and misleading.

Mr. Speaker, as I was saying, the Member from LaSalle—Émard warns us that he will keep a close watch on us as we implement not only the agreement but our policies. I want to remind him that—if he was not a Member of this House, his father was—Mackenzie King told French-Canadians that there would be no conscription. We voted him in power, and the first thing he did was to impose conscription on French-Canadians. You will recall, Madam, that, in 1972, Mr. Trudeau made fun of the then leader of the Conservative Party, Mr. Stanfield, because his French was poor. Mr. Stanfield had, in fact, proposed wage and price controls, and Mr. Trudeau made fun of him at the time. In 1975, the first thing he did was to control wages, not prices, mind you, but wages! In 1979-1980, Madam, the Opposition defeated the Clark government over an increase of 18 cents per gallon of gas. When Mr. Trudeau got back in power, he increased the price of a gallon of gas to a whopping \$1.80, and during that time, he imposed the Constitution without the consent of Quebec. Imagine that, Madam. That is what Quebecers and Canadians in general have finally understood. That's why they voted like they did on November 21.

Mr. Speaker, as I was saying, and this is important, there are a lot of farmers in my riding. As you know, the United States is by far the most important market for our agriculture. And the Free Trade Agreement gives us a better access to that market while at the same time protecting our supply management systems which are essential to our agricultural sector. Remember what the leaders of the agricultural sector did, at least in Quebec. They asked for additional guarantees with respect to what was originally proposed in the agreement. We agreed with them, first by adding to the list of protected goods milk products like yogourt, ice cream, and so on. We then specifically included in the agreement article 11 of the GATT in order to protect our supply management boards. We not only protected them, we retained the right to create additional ones.

That is what our farmers in Lotbinière and in 45 rural ridings in Quebec understood because they also knew that Canadian sales of farm produce to the United States total \$3,7 billion and that it is important to them to secure or increase their access to that market. That's what they voted for on November 21!

Mr. Speaker, some people want to tear up the Agreement in order to improve it! You cannot improve on an

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

agreement that doesn't exist. The only party who had the courage, because we did not invent free trade . . . You will recall that an election was held on that issue in 1911. Fortunately, we have come a long way since then . . .

That is what we are doing again today, but we needed the political courage to do it in all sectors, otherwise . . . Mr. Trudeau was quite aware of it, he even confided in his then lieutenant, Mr. Lalonde, you remember, and he wanted to negotiate on a sector by sector basis. Imagine, we are going to put agriculture on the table! We get all the advantages, and then we think that we are going to put agriculture on the table and get all the advantages. Besides, Mr. Trudeau tried to muddle the issue at the time by appointing the Macdonald Commission because he did not have the courage to negotiate an all-sector agreement. Our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) had that courage.

And that is what we have proposed to the Canadian people and what they have responded to. That is where the future stands. How could we forget, Mr. Speaker, the Armenian earthquake, a terrible catastrophe which shocked the world recently and by which few were left untouched.

I see that my time is almost up, Mr. Speaker, so I will conclude.

The only positive element, if any, about this unfortunate event is that it did show, for the first time, that all countries of the world were capable of compassion in the face of such a situation. For the first time, the Soviet Union accepted international aid from all countries! And this shows precisely that we have taken a step forward in terms of co-operation, and that is what it is all about for Canada in the economic sphere. What is true with regard to incidents or accidents is also true in terms of economy and that is what we have told the Canadian people. And that is why they gave us a massive majority on November 21.

Mr. Speaker, I will conclude briefly and to follow upon what my colleague has just said, I will take this opportunity on December 23 to wish you, Mr. Speaker, and all Hon. Members of this House, as well as all my constituents in the riding of Lotbinière, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

● (1600)

[English]

Mr. Bob Speller (Haldimand—Norfolk): Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to speak on this very

important issue. It is particularly important for a rural constituency such as Haldimand—Norfolk. I am somewhat surprised that there are no Ministers of the Crown present, but I suppose they have taken their lessons from the Minister of State.

I wish to thank the people of the riding of Haldimand—Norfolk for giving me their support. As I stated in the election, I will work hard on their behalf and attempt to make sure their concerns are heard in Ottawa, and that the Government knows of the solutions that they want to propose, especially on the very important issue of free trade.

In this vein, I rise to talk on Bill C-2 because I think it is important for the House to hear the concerns of the people of the riding of Haldimand—Norfolk. For those Members who do not know anything about my riding, it is in southwestern Ontario. It stretches along the north shore of Lake Erie from Lowbanks on the eastern end, down through St. Williams, up through Delhi, and along to the City of Brantford town line.

My riding contains a significant number of towns and cities for example, Simcoe, Hagersville, Caledonia, Port Dover, and Jarvis. The majority of people in those towns elected me because they wanted a voice to be heard in Ottawa on the issue of free trade.

My riding is an agriculturally based riding, therefore I will talk about the effects of free trade on agriculture. Earlier, many of my colleagues spoke on how it would affect the environment, energy, and important social programs.

● (1610)

I shall concentrate solely on how it will affect the farming community, and I will be brief as there are a large number of Members who want to have the opportunity to participate in this debate.

As I travelled throughout my riding during the course of the election campaign, I heard from a large number of my constituents, mostly farmers, who were genuinely concerned how the Free Trade Agreement would affect their livelihoods.

I listened intently to the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Mazankowski), and I was somewhat surprised that he did not make reference to the concerns of the farming community in respect of the Free Trade Agreement. In fact, I was shocked that he did not seem to recognize that a large number of farmers throughout Canada were very concerned about how the trade deal would affect the farming sector.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In the Township of Charletville in my riding there are a large number of vegetable producers, with the main crops being tomatoes, cucumbers, and the like, and all are concerned about how the trade deal will affect their operations. Many are concerned that the commitment in the Free Trade Agreement to phase out seasonal tariffs will eventually lead to the demise of the vegetable producing sector in this country.

There are some 27,000 farmers employed in horticulture in Canada, and processors of horticultural commodities employ another 24,000 full and part-time workers. We are talking about a large number of jobs and the effect that the loss of such jobs could have on employment levels generally.

With our shorter growing season, we produce very much less in the way of fruit and vegetables than is produced in the U.S. U.S. growers, under the Free Trade Agreement, will be able to sell their products into Canada. Granted, there are provisions in the agreement to minimize the effect on Canadian fruit and vegetable growers, though I do not think they will help the farmers in my community.

It is difficult for Canadian fruit and vegetable growers to compete with the American growers given the much lower cost of production in the U.S.

Archie McLean of McCain Foods Ltd.—and I do not know what his political persuasion is—has come out and said that well over 100,000 jobs in the agri-food sector could be lost as a result of this deal. That is scary.

The elimination of tariffs in this sector will, I believe, lead directly to lower returns for Canadian farmers, brought about by increased competition from American growers and producers. The only protection would be in the snap-back provisions. In order to reactivate duties for a temporary period, the formula is a complex one, and especially so in respect of fruit and vegetables.

Let me review the formula for Hon. Members, in an effort to help them understand just how complex it is. The snap-back provisions can only be activated if prices fall more than 10 per cent below the weighted five-year average for the month in question for a specific commodity for a period of five consecutive days, and our own acreage in that commodity has not increased over its five-year average.

A temporary duty can be imposed in respect of each commodity only once in a 12-month period and must be removed as soon as the price climbs.

As can be seen, it is no easy task to reintroduce duties in respect of these commodities and is not something that I think will work. In fact, it seems to me that the cost of the monitoring imports, prices, and domestic acreage with sufficient accuracy and speed, would be such that the time, effort and money would be better spent elsewhere in the agricultural industry, perhaps in agricultural research or in reducing farm debt.

The Liberal Party has proposed amendments which we feel would go a long way toward minimizing the adverse effects of the Free Trade Agreement. By way of example, one amendment would establish a government board which would review annually the impact of the elimination of the tariffs on fruit and vegetables, as well as the impact of the special provisions for fresh fruit and vegetables under Article 702 and on the food processing and horticultural industry. It would also give the Government of Canada the right to impose a temporary duty on fresh fruit and vegetables when advised by the board that a horticultural or food processing sector is in jeopardy.

We tried to have this amendment and others considered, but the Government would not accept them. For that reason, I should like to take a moment to read the amendment we had in mind. It is as follows:

That Bill C-2 be amended by adding thereto, immediately after line 7 on page 4 thereof, the following clause:

“8. (1) There is hereby established an inquiry board composed of three members appointed by the Minister and representing the Canadian horticultural and food processing industry.

(2) The Board shall review annually the implementation of Article 702 of the Agreement and the impact of such implementation on the Canadian horticultural and food processing industry.

(3) Upon the finding that the Canadian horticultural and food processing industry is adversely affected by Article 702, the Board may, with the assent of the Minister, recommend that specific measures be taken pursuant to Section 59 of the Customs Tariff in order to correct such adverse effects.”

This amendment would establish a board to review Article 702 of the agreement and, as such, minimize the adverse effects that it may have.

The Government has refused this amendment; it has refused to even consider it, and it will have to suffer the consequences.

I should like to talk for a moment about Article 706 of the agreement, the effect of which is to increase the global import quota for poultry product coming into Canada.

I have a large number of chicken and turkey producers in my riding, and in fact the whole range of the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

feather industry, all of whom are genuinely concerned about the impact of Article 706 on their industry.

I would think that probably half those who supported me in the election came from the ranks of the chicken and turkey producers, and they did so because of their fear about what this agreement will mean for their operations. Specifically set out in the agreement are increases in the import quotas in respect of poultry product, the increase being somewhere in the neighbourhood of 2 per cent.

As it happens, Eugene Whelan came to my riding to campaign on my behalf, and he informed us that that 2 per cent increase could translate into \$70 million of product.

When quoted in percentage terms, it may not seem like all that much; but when given in dollar terms its impact is more readily understood.

We also have an amendment which seeks to preserve the right of the Government of Canada to place quantitative import restrictions on the import of poultry product from the U.S. We believe it is necessary to protect our domestic industry. Again, I shall read the amendment for the record:

That Bill C-2 be amended by adding thereto, immediately, after line 8 on page 6 thereof, the following clause:

"13. Notwithstanding anything in the Agreement, the Government of Canada reserves the right to impose quantitative import restrictions on chicken and chicken products, turkey and turkey products, eggs and egg products, as these products are defined in the Agreement."

That amendment, Mr. Speaker, would merely retain the right of the Government of Canada to protect Canadian poultry farmers. Yet, the Government would not accept it for consideration; it would not even accept it for debate. We feel that these sorts of things were needed in the deal. Again, the Government will have to pay for it.

• (1620)

The FTA provides for a one-time increase in global import quotas on poultry and, as I said, increases the levels allowed into the country. I do not know if you realize the size of the industry I am talking about. In 1986, Canadian production totalled 582.2 million kilograms of poultry meat and 491.5 million dozen eggs. The farm gate value totalled \$1.4 billion. Added value for processing and retailing was \$536.3 million and \$628.8 million. The estimated retail value was \$2.41 billion. We can see the significance of the industry for

Canada, yet this agreement throws open the doors to competition.

As I said, a lot of my constituents worked on my behalf to elect me to this House and I thank them for that. I want to be able to go back to them and say that in this debate we were able to do something for them, we were able to change the Government's mind on certain things. However, I am afraid I will not be able to go back and give them a Christmas present like that because the Government has consistently refused to address these questions.

Every supply managed commodity group in this country is very concerned about this deal. Our supply-management policy was established in the 1970s in an effort to stabilize previous large variations in product supply and price. This would introduce some certainty into the market. I believe it has worked very well since the 1970s, and I am afraid this deal just throws it out the window. We cannot have an open-door policy and supply management. They are just inconsistent.

I do not know if you have been to upper New York State, but if you look at the dairy industry there, which is not supply managed, you would realize how well supply-management works in Canada and how well off our dairy farmers are compared to New York State farmers.

With this agreement, and without the supply-management system, our farmers will not be as well off. Granted, the Conservatives say that supply-management is protected in the Free Trade Agreement, but I do not believe it is. In fact, from what I have heard, the Canadian Government does not care. Even if it is in there, the Government is working with the Americans at the GATT negotiations to get rid of Article XI, throw it out the door. Eugene Whalen worked hard to get that article into GATT and every country in the world would like something like it, but it has been said by people at GATT that our Government is supporting the Americans in their effort to throw it out.

I do not agree with that. I do not think the people on this side agree with it. I think we will find that the Government will learn, probably not for four years, what the people think about how this free trade deal has been going.

If the food processing industry leaves the country, as McCain Foods has said, if they go to the U.S., the associated farming industries will go, too. I have dairy farmers in my riding who ship milk to Waterloo. It makes the milk into cheese, puts it on pizzas. Mr.

McCain says most of these people will go to the States and they will be forced to go for those reasons. What do they do with the milk? This will put pressure on the supply-management system and on the farmers to try to bring down the price in order to compete with American milk products.

We have proposed an amendment to this deal which we feel addresses the concerns of the supply managed farmers. I want to read it into the record:

For greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the Agreement shall in any way diminish, reduce or otherwise alter the objects, duties and powers of the bodies established by or pursuant to the Farm Products Marketing Agencies Act.

The Government would not accept that. We feel something like this will help protect our supply managed industries.

I wish to conclude by repeating something I said earlier in this House. Our Party has put the Government on notice. We will be watching every little sector of our economy in order to ensure that the Government keeps its promises—and it might be one of the first times—to the farmers of this country to put programs in place to help farmers overcome the adverse effects of this deal.

Mr. Stan Wilbee (Delta): Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues have said, it is indeed a real pleasure to stand before this teeming throng today to make my first speech in the House of Commons.

I wish to extend my congratulations to the Hon. Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Fraser) on his election as our Speaker. I had the privilege of being born and raised in his riding. As a matter of fact, I spent the first 25 years of my life on Fraser Street. He had the opportunity of running the most unique election campaign in the country this year. We are all aware that he campaigned on the basis of not having a campaign. However, I knew he was in good shape a couple of weeks prior to the election when I talked to my Uncle Jimmy, a Scottish socialist from way back. He assured me that he was going to do something he had never done before, vote for a Tory, because he was a good "man". I am sure that my colleagues in the House recognized the qualities of the Hon. Member for Vancouver South when they elected him Speaker of the House. If you would convey those greetings to him I would appreciate it.

I would also like to thank the people of Delta for electing me. It was a very hard fought campaign and I appreciate the confidence they have shown in me by electing me as their representative and the first Member

of Parliament for Delta. I would like to repeat the pledge I made to them on November 21, to serve them in any way I possibly can and to the best of my ability as their new Member.

Delta is a new riding resulting from distribution. Around here when you say you are from Delta, people look at you with a very blank expression. They think that it is probably somewhere in the MacKenzie Delta, in the Northwest Territories, but it is just 17 miles south of Vancouver. Those are very significant miles in that, because of the distance from the mountains, we have only one-third of Vancouver's rainfall. We are known as the home of the sun god, and we take great pride in that.

To the south of our municipality we have a very beautiful beach called Boundary Bay. Beside Boundary Bay, which has the largest salt water beaches in Canada, we have a small area of the U.S. called Point Roberts. It is only a few square miles and completely isolated from the rest of Washington State. To the natives of Delta it is most famous for its milk, beer, and gas, not necessarily in that order.

• (1630)

On the west side of our municipality and district we have the Straits of Georgia, the Gulf of Georgia. Here is located the Tsawwassen ferry terminal, which is a major terminus for the B.C. ferry system to Vancouver Island. It makes me think of the Free Trade Agreement. I remember when that terminal was first built. Everyone predicted dire things. They said that it was foolish to build a terminus way out in the middle of nowhere, out in the country. Yet today it is one of the most successful ventures in B.C. We started off with two capital ships. We now have over 20. The ferry system is planning two more giant ferries to operate out of the Tsawwassen ferry terminal.

I suggest to the opponents of free trade that 25 years from now they will look back on this debate just as we are looking back on the debate on the Auto Pact and saying to ourselves: "What a great thing it was for Canada".

Just north of the Tsawwassen ferry terminal there is Roberts Bank which illustrates a great act of faith in the future of our country. At Point Roberts there is a freight port. The sand was dredged up and the major coal exporting site on the West Coast was established. The port has the potential of shipping over 30 million tonnes of coal every year. This is a tremendous boost to the economy of B.C.. Without it that money would not be flowing into our British Columbia economy. It has a

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

great potential as well for the shipping of concentrates and potash. Containers can be put there, and it can be developed as required in the future.

As we see the results of free trade, greater commerce and economic prosperity in British Columbia, this port will be developed as it is required. It is also capable of receiving the lead and zinc concentrates which will be taken into the interior of the country and developed at the smelter at Cominco.

North of Roberts Bank there is a tremendous delta from the Fraser River estuary. It is an excellent environmental feature which is so important to the life of young salmon. It is important to the wild fowl of the area. Where the Fraser River empties into the Gulf of Georgia there is a very beautiful and unique island called Westhame Island. It is a very rich part of this farming area and is separated off to form the Reifel Bird Sanctuary, a wild bird refuge. Every year at this time thousands and thousands of snow geese migrate to spend the winter in Delta. They come from Siberia. As we see the great flocks of these birds we are reminded that even the goose knows a good place when he sees one.

To celebrate the return of the snow geese the small town of Ladner has a festival every year. It is called the Snow Goose Festival. Everyone is welcome to attend next year in about the third week in October.

As we go up the mighty Fraser we are reminded of the history of the whole area. As the Hon. Member for Cariboo—Chilcotin (Mr. Worthy) mentioned, this was the original traffic artery into the interior of the country. The gold seekers of the Cariboo gold-rush used it as their transport. We think of the Fraser River and the tremendous fishing industry that has been on its banks for a number of years.

As we travel along we see the evidence, the fishing boats, the fish plants, and the processing plants that are there, but there are other things there as well. A unique floating home community is being developed in Delta. The technology being developed in this floating home is now being exported to all parts of the northwest as people recognize the beauty and charm of being able to live in a first-class home. These are not shacks but first-class facilities that were built on water. They are environmentally sound, beautiful to live in, and beautiful to work in.

We also have a lot of very mixed type of industry from the heavy industries of petrochemical plants to cement plants. We also have the sawmills which are so prevalent in British Columbia.

There are two major industrial areas in Delta. First, there is the Annacis Island area. We also have the Tilbury industrial area. The residents of these industrial areas are looking forward to the advent of free trade.

Delta has three railroads. We have some excellent highway systems. There is water transport on the Fraser River with the Fraser Port Authority rapidly developing an excellent container cargo as well as a general cargo terminus. It is also the terminus for the importing of automobiles from across the ocean, as well as for the exporting of logs and finished lumber.

Just two weeks ago I had the opportunity of attending the opening of a new industry in the Fraser wharf area. What is being done in this particular industry is that we are taking alder logs which were previously burned or discarded. They are chipped up and the product is sent to Japan. Fine papers are made from it.

In the future as we develop our own capacity I would expect that these chips would be used in our country. Instead of exporting the jobs, I believe that the paper manufacturing will be done here because we will have an adequate market to make it profitable in our country.

Our people are getting geared up to take advantage of the free trade movement. During the recent election campaign we heard a great deal about an industrial park in Bellingham, which is just across the border from us. It was being said that property was being sold to Canadian companies which were planning on going down there to take advantage of the low labour rates, et cetera. I suggest, and I believe it is true, that any exodus that we may see at the present time would be nothing to the exodus that would occur if the Free Trade Agreement was not put into place. The trade barriers would go up. Tariffs would be put on Canadian goods and there would be no way that we could compete in the American market. Rather than an industrial exodus from our municipality, we will see an industrial influx with the Free Trade Agreement.

We have three prime residential areas called Tsawwassen, Ladner, and North Delta. In between these three residential areas we have a very large natural bog which was mined for years for its peat products. We also have a very large agricultural area. Because of this variation in the soil from the peatmoss to the clay in the Fraser River, we have a vast variety of crops which we can grow in Delta. I will speak on the agricultural subject in a few moments.

The types of products that we can grow in Delta are products such as cranberries, blueberries, raspberries,

and strawberries. We have poultry and dairy farms. There are riding stables. There are all the horticultural crops that one can think of. We have peas, beans, corn, Brussels sprouts, cabbages, cauliflowers, and potatoes. We are also developing a tremendous greenhouse industry in Delta. We have been very successful in using waste wood products to heat them and the latest hydroponics and chemical techniques. These greenhouses are making a real inroad into the market for tomatoes, cucumbers, and various types of plants.

I would like to talk about a few specific areas that I think have been badly abused during the whole election campaign in areas which I am working. The first is health care. I first ran into the fear campaign that had been mounted by the Opposition at a senior citizens' complex in North Delta known as Kennedy House. We were attending a sod turning ceremony for some co-op housing. The elderly people in this community expressed to me the fact that if they voted for a Conservative candidate they were voting for the Free Trade Agreement and that because of that they were going to lose their medicare, their pensions and all the other social benefits which they have. There is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement that could back up these arguments which they have been made. Simon Reisman, the man who wrote the agreement, has said that health care is not included in the Free Trade Agreement. Justice Emmett Hall, that noted Canadian father of medicare, has looked at it. He said that there was no way medicare was threatened by the Free Trade Agreement.

● (1640)

As I listened to all-candidates meetings to find out why they said our health care system was in jeopardy, the ultimate explanation was that the Americans would say that this was an unfair subsidy to the producer. In other words, because we received so-called free medical benefits in Canada, this would be considered a subsidy to the producer. It is a well proven fact in American and Canadian law that something universally available to all citizens is not considered a subsidy in any way.

That argument does not wash, so they had to flip it over. Instead of being an unfair subsidy, they say that Canadian producers would complain that it was an unfair penalty. The Canadian producer would say that because he had extra costs as a manufacturer in Canada he was being penalized.

The fact is that Canada spends only 8.6 per cent of its Gross National Product on its health care system. In the United States, 11.4 per cent of its Gross National

Product is spent on health care. The Canadian producer, instead of being punished because of our medical system, is paying 3 per cent less than our American neighbours. There is no valid argument to suggest that our health care system is in jeopardy.

The second area that they have talked about is our hospitals. I have worked in hospitals for the last 35 years. I loved it when the opposition members mentioned this topic in the all-candidates meetings, because they did not know what they were talking about. I could never get them to say why our hospital system is threatened. They would tell us horror stories they heard about indigents who could not access the American hospital system—if we vote for free trade, that is what will happen in the Canadian system. They gave us horror stories about exorbitant costs that our American friends contend with in their hospital system. If the Christmas story was written today, the fact there was no room in the inn would be attributed to the Free Trade Agreement.

Hospitals in Canada are under provincial jurisdiction. Our method of operation of hospitals is entirely different from that in the United States. Hospitals in Canada are non-profit organizations. There is no reason why the Americans would want to be involved in our hospital system.

There are provisions in the Free Trade Agreement which say that services can be contracted out, such as laundry, cleaning, and food services. The American companies can bid on this. At the same time, Canadian companies have an equal opportunity in the United States.

A few years ago, every hospital in Vancouver had its own laundry. This was tremendously inefficient. In my riding, we now have one hospital laundry for the greater Vancouver regional district. Many services offered there can be contracted out at a great saving to the taxpayers of Canada.

Another area dealt with by the Free Trade Agreement is that Americans can come to Canada and open nursing homes. They can work in this area. If they are providing a service which we as Canadians are not providing, we should welcome them.

The last area I would mention relates to blood transfusion services in Canada. We have heard horror stories of what would happen. The Canadian Red Cross has provided the best possible services. Blood is not a commodity. In Canada, it is freely given. It is freely received. It is not sold. It is not bought. The medical

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

community, as well as the community as a whole, would rise up in arms if there were any change to that system.

There has been a problem in Canada with haemophiliacs who have received blood. After the session resumes, I intend to make a statement in the House on that particular subject. I believe it is of significance to the whole country.

As a family physician of 30 years, if I thought there were any threat to our health services, I would certainly not endorse the Free Trade Agreement.

I would like to say in closing that I have four grandchildren. Their future is the future of Canada. If free trade was not good for my grandchildren, it would not be good for Canada, and I would not support it. It is not a panacea, but we as Canadians must recognize that we are living in a changing world. If we are living in a changing world, we must change with it. We must be willing to change. We must be willing to work and work hard. We must be creative. We must use our natural resources to the best of our ability.

One of the best tools we have is the Free Trade Agreement. Let us use it wisely. Let us use it carefully to craft a better Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Hon. Member for Sudbury.

Ms. Diane Marleau (Sudbury): *Monsieur le président*, I would like to thank the people of Sudbury and tell them I appreciate the trust placed in me. I want to say to my children, who are here in the gallery today, "It is nice to have you here and to be able to speak to you". To all my colleagues here, it is great to be representing Sudbury.

The people of Sudbury have given me a strong mandate to come here and speak on this trade deal. It is the trade deal we are talking about. We are not talking about free trade *per se*. We are talking about this flawed trade deal. My riding voted over 75 per cent against the deal. That is a mandate. One may say that the people of Canada have spoken; in my riding they have spoken.

Yesterday I was listening to the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) speak on third reading, and I honestly thought I had died and gone to heaven, things are going to be so great in Canada. Honestly, he must have thought he was Santa Claus, we are going to have so much money. I really want to believe this. I am so happy.

In Sudbury, we want things like four-lane highways. We need a new intermodal transportation system. We want a new federal building, which had been promised before and has not come about. I am thinking how great it is going to be. We are going to have so much money. We are going to build all these roads and have all these trucks. We are going to ship the money up and ship the goods out.

Come on. Who are we kidding? It is not going to be that great. The deal is flawed. When one thinks about it, one has to go south of the border to the United States. Life is not heaven down there. When you are poor in the United States, you are very poor, and there are many very poor people there.

• (1650)

I want to talk a bit about Sudbury. Sudbury is a very unique place in this country. It has a very unique history. It began as a resource based town with minerals like nickel and copper in great abundance. It developed a boom and bust type of economy so that when the demand was high there were jobs and money. When the demand declined there were no jobs; there was unemployment and a massive exodus of people. This has happened a number of times in the last 100 years.

Today Sudbury has a sustainable urban economy. People find this so unusual because they have never seen such remarkable turnaround in an economy. It was not easy but we did it. Today Sudbury is booming. We no longer rely on two major employers; we have an industrial base of which we are proud. That is what has made us different. People from all over the world come to our city and ask how we managed it. We did it because we worked together and we worked hard, with all levels of government, with business, and with unions. The people of Sudbury are gutsy, tough and hard working people.

On November 21, in northern Ontario, there was a massive Tory sweep. One seat was held by the Tories, and that was retained by a margin of less than 800 votes. Believe me, in northern Ontario we know what free trade and this particular deal could do. We have experience behind us.

I want to deal with what happens in a resource based economy. I was born in Kirkland Lake, another mining town. At the turn of the century and the early 1920s and 1930s, Kirkland Lake was another boom town, with lots of people. There was gold mining. Mine shafts were everywhere. One could not walk down the main street without seeing a mine shaft.

When the ore became more difficult to extract, the demand lessened and the money left. One can guess what the people of Kirkland Lake were left with—the shaft. Those mine shafts have since disappeared.

Cobalt is another mining town that had the same problems. The same is true for Elliot Lake. We know what happens when there is no industrial base. The question that was always asked when these towns faced those problems is: Why did you let it happen? It is as if the people knew what was happening to them. The fact is that we had no control over our economy.

The people of northern Ontario are concerned that we are giving up control of our economy with this particular trade deal. That is what is happening.

If there had been a way to retain a measure of control, the deal would have been much more palatable. That is what bothers us the most. We know the difficulty in creating jobs. We know what happens when resources are shifted to the south. The jobs were not created in our town when we had the resources; they were created elsewhere. We are telling Canadians that this is what will happen now. The jobs will be shifted south and that is what worries northern Ontarians, especially the people of Sudbury.

There is no doubt that the deal is flawed. The Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) said that he did not get a definition of subsidies but would work on it. He did not know whether he would be able to get a proper definition of subsidies because that has never been achieved.

The Government has signed a contract without being able to negotiate a certain part of it. It concerns the definition of subsidy, about which no one in history has been able to agree, yet the Government says that it will do so in the next five to seven years.

It is my understanding that a Progressive Conservative is usually a business person. I submit that any business person who signs a contract without finalizing a clause like that would be gone. A contract containing a clause like that eventually comes back to haunt you. I am worried that the clause in this deal will come back to haunt us.

The Conservative Government asks us to trust it. As parents, we do not tell our children to trust everybody. We ask questions and make sure before we trust anyone. I do not want to trust the Americans. They are not bad people, but they are like us. They want what is best for

themselves. I want what is best for my children, my family, and my town. There is nothing wrong with that.

Sudbury has gained good control of its destiny and has been able to do so with the help of all sectors in our town. If we are turning our destiny over to the Americans, which is essentially what is happening, I beg the Government to be especially careful and helpful to those regions that will be affected.

I believe that when the definition of subsidies is discussed, our regional programs will be judged unfair. The pressure will be on the Government to cut back on the subsidies. We must be firm.

The Government has given us guarantees. The Prime Minister gave us all kinds of guarantees in his election speeches. He said: "Trust us, we guarantee there is nothing in the trade deal that will affect social programs". The problem is that there is nothing in the deal.

We asked the Government to include some amendments. If it is clear that nothing will affect our social programs, would it have been so difficult to include a clause stating as much? The Government stated throughout the election campaign that there was no problem. The reason it would not add an amendment is that it knows it cannot do so because it does not have permission from the Americans.

The Free Trade Agreement will make regional subsidies a thing of the past. This must not be allowed to happen. All regions in our country must be given the opportunity to prosper.

• (1700)

[*Translation*]

Why would the multinationals ever want to continue operating in Canada if they can have the same benefits elsewhere? Think about it. In Canada, businesses have to pay the cost of all our social programs, we have minimum wages, all sorts of things. We take all those programs for granted. We say: Yes, we have them, all our very own.

In Canada, corporate taxes are used to finance bilingualism. After all, one thing is clear, we are a bilingual country.

Do you think that, given the choice, businesses will want to locate here instead of in the United States, where they could avoid those taxes and costs.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[English]

Think of what happens in terms of control over our gas and oil. We have given the Americans unlimited access to our gas and oil in good times, and in bad times, they still have access to our oil and gas and we cannot even give ourselves a better deal. How will we attract all these industries that will create all these jobs if we do not charge them less than the others if they locate in our country? That is a good incentive to set up a plant in Canada. Why should they bother coming to Canada now? They can go to the States and get our energy at the same price as we sell it to ourselves without paying any social costs whatsoever.

If I were in business and looking for new territory, I would not bother expanding into Canada; I would expand into the States. The reasons are all there. I could then sell my goods both in the States and in Canada.

Let us face it, we did not get the security of access that we were promised either. The Americans will still levy all their countervailing duties and other subsidies against us. There is no doubt in my mind about that. Look what happened with the softwood lumber industry. We have just elected a Government that got the mandate to implement free trade, but did it bother taking the extra tax off? No, way. Hey, it does not care. So long as things go its way, it is great for the Government.

This deal should have been amended to build in the missing guarantee that would allow us to retain control over our destiny. The Hon. Prime Minister, during the election campaign, through the multi-million dollar ad campaign financed by the large American and Canadian multinational corporations, guaranteed Canadians that there would be no problem with protecting social programs. He guaranteed that there would be no problem with protecting regional subsidies. He guaranteed that there would be a quarter of a million new jobs created, that there would be unprecedented growth, and that there would be programs in place to protect the people who lost their jobs.

Now is the time for the Hon. Prime Minister and his Government to make a New Year's resolution; that is, to guarantee to keep that promise. We have all been aware in the past of nice promises made but never kept. It was quite easy during the election campaign to say one thing but do another. We got that throughout the last four years, and I am just worried we might get it again next year.

Now is the time. It will soon be the beginning of a new year. We realize that the free trade deal will be

passed tonight or tomorrow morning some time, and I would like the Government, before it passes the deal, to make that New Year's resolution and to keep that New Year's resolution. In this country, the people should come first, and all regions of the country should come first. I will hold the Prime Minister and his Party to task if they do not.

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity—Spadina): Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to have this chance to point out the basic flaws in Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. I do thank the voters of Trinity—Spadina who sent me back to Parliament to help defend Canadians against this bad deal.

We New Democrats oppose this so-called trade agreement, Free Trade Agreement, because it will not only cut the real incomes of wage earning and salary earning Canadians and the incomes of many self-employed Canadians as well, but it will also increase the expenditure on war preparations and the risk of war. It in fact chiefly serves a dictatorship, a dictatorial economy ruled by a few great owners and managers of investment capital, essentially for the goal of profit, the sort of people just referred to who spent millions of dollars advertising the trade deal during the election.

I am here to say that this is not the only way that we can go, and not the way we should go.

There are in fact a great many Canadians who would prefer a quite different way, a way that extends the principle of democracy which we have in our political institutions, extends that principle into everyday working life, into the economy, and into international affairs. This way is traditionally called in western Europe and North America democratic socialism, and it is, I am proud to say, the way to which the New Democratic Party is committed by our constitution. I will explain that further in a few minutes.

As to the trade deal, more than anything else, this trade deal is an affront to the kind of democracy that Canadians are still trying to build in Canada. We built it part way and we have a long way to go, and this trade deal is an attempt to stop us.

The trade deal is not fundamentally about trade or about increasing the efficiency of the economy. It is primarily about seizing power to lower wages, to reduce the quality of working conditions and working life, and to transfer costs from the owners of certain industries and the recipients of profit to the general public including, of course, their employees. It is secondarily but

quite importantly also about strengthening the power of the largest corporations to increase their profits through investments in war preparations and in active war as is going on in the southern hemisphere where a good many of our arms will go.

The direct lowering of wages and working conditions through this trade deal will be made easier by transferring jobs to low wage, non-union areas of the United States, primarily in the south. It is hard to beat a \$1.74 minimum wage in Texas or no minimum wage in some other States.

During the election campaign, we saw an ad from the State of Georgia which said to our companies: "Come to Georgia because only 18 per cent of our labour force is unionized, we have no minimum wage, and we don't worry about the environment". That is the direct wage lowering and that is what James Fleck followed except that he carried it to a further logical extreme. He went down to Mexico where it is a 50-cent wage. He did that during the election campaign while he was telling us how many more jobs would be created in Canada.

The indirect lowering of wages will be pushed by using the threat of rationalization, the runaway shops, to blackmail Canadians into accepting wage cuts. This is particularly noticeable in my own constituency of Trinity—Spadina, especially among the workers in the factories making women's clothing. There has been an unprecedented rate of shutdown as the trade deal comes closer, banks, for example, refusing loans because the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) has said that this is not one of the industries that is expected to do well.

It will wipe out Canada's tariff and non-tariff import restrictions so that Canadians must compete with workers in the southern U.S., as I said, whose wage is very often \$2 or less. You may be able to live in Georgia on \$2, but you cannot live in Canada on \$2 a hour because, for one thing, we have some heating problems here.

In fact, Mr. Nygard, the millionaire manufacturer of clothing who was the Government's chosen chairman of the SAGIT, the committee for negotiating in that industry in the trade deal, has quit the chairmanship of it in protest earlier this year because as the deal came out it was a bad deal for Canada, so he said, and bad for his industry.

• (1710)

The trade deal, in fact, is intended to protect the power of the owners of these industries by making it

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

more difficult for any future Canadian Government to act so as to create a democratic, full employment economy. That is why the Deputy Prime Minister (Mr. Mazankowski) went to Alberta a year ago to tell the executives of the oil companies that this trade deal would protect them from a future NDP Government.

In other words, this agreement is to protect the profit and the power of the owners of industry operating in Canada from the Canadian workers who produce that profit and who might vote for a political program that would get them a better share of it. Another indirect way of lowering wages is to transfer production costs to the public. Economists have a nice word for this. They call it externalization. It is: "Don't let our company pay for it. Let someone else pay. Let the taxpayers pay."

Reducing environmental standards is an example of externalization. We have barely begun the struggle in Canada to make the polluters clean up the poisons which they dump into our rivers and lakes and other parts of our country. Low health and safety standards are another way of transferring the costs of doing business to working people, so also is low severance pay. The pressure to transfer costs from owners to workers will increase with the trade deal. Harmonization, as Chapter Six lays it out in the Free Trade Agreement, will be the chief means of lowering both working and living conditions for Canadians.

The second round of the so-called free trade negotiations will begin to establish common standards from everything from the quality of plywood used in housing construction, to health and safety requirements for pesticides and food additives. It is only reasonable to expect that the business dominated Governments of both Canada and the U.S. will choose the cheaper standard for each country. The American law is to balance profit and health. If it is a danger to health, the Canadian law is: do not use it. We will get the American standard. The Americans will get the profit. We will get the danger to health.

In this country there are two sources of power. There is the power of ownership and wealth and the power of the workers through their unions and political movements. The Free Trade Agreement advances the power of the owners over the power of the workers. It has more to do with promoting unrestricted mobility of investment capital than with trade. Increased mobility of capital is only a means to an end. The end is decreased wages, externalized costs, and increased profits. That is why Chapter Sixteen of the Free Trade Agreement opens our investment industry to control by U.S. corporations.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Recently Thomas D'Aquino spoke in the United States arguing that the U.S., by which he means U.S. workers, must accept a decrease in their living standards to solve the economic problems facing the U.S. We are going to unite with a country, according to D'Aquino, that has to decrease its living standard. Thomas D'Aquino is the head of Business Council on National Issues. That organization is promoted by the American Ambassador and is a leading advocate of free trade in Canada, spreading the lie that it will defend or increase the living standards of Canadians. The same man tells the Americans their standard will go down but promises Canadians that ours will go up if we join them.

That is what the free trade is all about. Who shall have the right to decide the future of Canada? Does the Canadian economy exist to serve the drive for profit or the needs of people? During the campaign it became fairly evident that the Liberal Party does not seriously offer an alternative different from this on the trade deal. The Liberals' alternative is a slightly different route to the same end. For example, trading with more countries than just the United States.

A free trade agreement with more of the specifics nailed down, or with more countries, is simply another way of encouraging the dominance of our lives by the logic of profit. Whether we sell to the United States, Japan, Europe, or Chile, the rule will be the same: cut wages, working conditions, and living conditions directly or indirectly. In other words, cut anything that stands in the way of profit.

There is no basic difference between the convictions and principles of the Liberal Party and the convictions and principles of the Tory Party.

The only real alternative to this is democratic socialism.

That is why Canadians have created a democratic socialist Party through which to defend ourselves from the kind of big business control this trade deal would impose. Democratic socialists oppose the economic system that puts the needs of people second to the goals of big business that says: "What is good for General Motors is good for Canada". Instead, we recognize that we have to put the needs of the working people first.

Our Party's constitution has a preamble which sets out our principles as follows:

The New Democratic Party believes that social, economic and political progress of Canada can be assured only by the application of democratic socialist principles to Government and the administration of public affairs.

It goes on to set out some of the principles:

That the production and distribution of goods and services shall be directed to meeting the social and individual needs of people and not to the making of profit.

To modify and control the operations of the monopolistic productive and distributive organizations through economic and social planning. Towards these ends and when necessary the extension of the principle of social ownership.

Another principle reads:

The New Democratic Party holds firm to the belief that the dignity and freedom of the individual is a basic right that must be maintained and extended.

By the way, we pledge respect for individual human beings, not the fictitious corporate persons so beloved by corporation lawyers. The third principle reads:

The New Democratic Party is proud to be associated with the democratic socialist Parties of the world and to share the struggle for peace, international co-operation and the abolition of poverty.

Upon these principles, Mr. Speaker, we base our programs which can be grouped roughly under three general heads: programs for full employment, programs for social efficiency, and programs for world peace. These are not the goals of the great corporations which provide the drive behind this trade deal. The Deputy Prime Minister said a year ago that the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal would protect the owners of large corporations by blocking the people from voting in a democratic socialist program. Let me give some examples.

Under full employment we aim to ensure that everyone able to work has the opportunity to make his or her contribution to work under good conditions and to be recognized with fair pay and a share of responsibility for the conduct of the enterprise, be it public or private. This would require intervention by publicly elected representatives, federal, provincial or municipal, such as this trade deal would either prohibit or hinder.

• (1720)

The New Democratic Party demands that the direction of our country be shared among Canadian Governments, public institutions, employers, unions, and communities, without having to ask the permission of multinational corporations or the Government of the United States, as this trade deal in many cases would require.

Our next principle is social efficiency rather than economic efficiency. We aim to be redefine the main goal of enterprises by social efficiency. Neither profit nor Gross National Product alone or together can truly

measure the health of our country and economy. They do not tell us whether the goods and services are distributed fairly so as to maintain the health, well-being, and morale of the people, without which no economy can last for long.

We must have a democratically responsive program of training and retraining and mobility grants, in order to help workers progress from the declining job opportunities to the growing and better ones. This is what the Prime Minister promised before the election and during the election, and now he wants to forget that he promised it because he does not believe in it. We do. This is why we are committed to working people and we accept their support.

Security of income, as it is practised in Sweden, is needed to give workers confidence that they will not be victimized by long spells of unemployment. Past United States attempts to attack Canadian programs for unemployment insurance, social assistance, health care, and regional development warn us that the trade deal will further endanger these necessary measures of justice.

The New Democratic Party demands that capital which is generously produced by Canadian labour in Canadian enterprises be mobilized under either elected Canadian representatives or localized representatives in Canada to meet Canadian needs. We need the legislative ability to control foreign exchange, to control foreign investment in Canada, and to control the conduct of employees' pension plans. All those controls would be subject to foreign attack under the investment provisions of this trade deal with the United States.

Under the heading of world peace the New Democratic Party follows the ancient teaching of Jews, Christians, and any others that there can be no peace that is not founded on justice. We cannot enjoy the benefits of a democratic socialist society in Canada unless we are actively supporting the same principles and goals for the peoples of other countries.

For example, in the age of nuclear and other indiscriminate weapons of mass slaughter, we must nourish and build the principle of common security. We must negotiate with our political opponents, or our enemies, to find political solutions. We must abandon plans for offensive armaments such as nuclear powered submarines. We must withdraw from threatening alliances such as NATO and NORAD which are locked into the type of thinking that governed warfare in the years before the Hiroshima bomb.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We must make Canada a nuclear weapons-free zone and negotiate with other Arctic neighbours a nuclear weapons-free, pollution-free Arctic. We must withdraw from the obscenely profitable arms export trade in which a few people seek to grow rich and powerful by helping the peoples of Europe's former colonies slaughter each other, or by increasing the danger of nuclear war between NATO and the Warsaw Bloc. We must ban the export of Canadian uranium and nuclear reactors which continue to be used for purposes of war.

All this runs against the thrust of the trade deal with the United States.

The trade agreement, by threatening attacks on unfair subsidies in Article 1907 but expressly exempting defence contracts in Article 2003, would encourage investors with Canadian Government subsidies to fill Canada's regions of low employment with projects in military goods and services. You call that a nifty solution to unemployment, Mr. Speaker? I do not. Hitler did that in the thirties and led the German people into a savage dictatorship and horrible deaths for millions of people, not to mention for tens of millions in other nations.

Therefore, we reject the trade deal, partly because it would tie Canada's economic growth to what President Eisenhower called the military industrial complex, and what the Tory Minister of National Defence (Mr. Beatty) calls the North American Defence Industrial Base.

There are other important concerns to cover, if I had time, such as the environment and the people of the former colonies in Latin America, Africa, and Asia who are being destroyed by the external debt system. I believe that the Canadian people will find themselves more and more in the same boat as those people, and we will have to join forces with them against the people who promoted this trade deal.

Mr. Harry Chadwick (Brampton—Malton): Mr. Speaker, recently I accepted the challenge to serve the people of the riding of Brampton—Malton. Before redistribution the Brampton—Malton area was represented honourably by two well-known Members of Parliament, colleagues who now represent the ridings of Brampton and Mississauga West. It is my hope and intention to serve the constituents of Brampton—Malton in an equally responsible and conscientious manner.

Today, on behalf of the people of the twin communities of Brampton—Malton, I wish to go on record in favour of the Free Trade Agreement.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Brampton—Malton represents a large workforce made up of diversified industries as well as large employer industries. It encompasses a large commercial and transport centre, including the Canadian National marshalling yards of Brantford and Pearson International Airport.

With all this considered, the people of Brampton—Malton wish it to be known that they are in favour of the Free Trade Agreement and that they want the prosperity that free trade will bring to them.

The people of Brampton—Malton are not afraid to meet the future. They are not afraid to meet new challenges and to benefit from these efforts. I am proud to say that the people of Brampton—Malton are a fine example for the rest of Canada, for they know that the Free Trade Agreement will keep a bright and prosperous future in sight.

Perhaps the confidence my constituents and I share in the Free Trade Agreement comes from the fact that a deal with the United States is not new to us. Many of my constituents are auto workers, and like myself are card carrying members of the Canadian Auto Workers Union. We are very familiar with another U.S.-Canada agreement, a forerunner of the Free Trade Agreement, the Auto Pact.

That agreement between Canada and the United States successfully provided incentives and safeguards which guaranteed Canada's share of production. That agreement continues to fuel the growth of auto production in Canada. That agreement has not sold Canadians down the river as the NDP and Liberals threatened it would. That agreement is a perfect example of Canada's ability to maintain a strong identity while standing face to face with the largest industrialized country in the world.

Auto trade is essential to Canada's over-all economy. From 1985 to 1987, \$3 billion was invested in auto assembly and parts plants in Canada. More than 140,000 Canadians earn their living directly from the auto industry. Many work for firms that supply auto makers with steel, rubber, textiles, plastic, and glass.

In fact, for Ontario, auto trade with the United States is the province's biggest export, amounting to over \$30 billion per year, some 50 per cent of Ontario's exports to the United States, cars, trucks, auto parts, tires, and trailers make the automotive sector Canada's biggest single business. Much of this prosperity stems from 23 years of success under the Auto Pact.

The opposition Parties would have Canadians believe that the Auto Pact has been weakened. The opposition Parties would have Canadians believe that free trade does not increase access to the U.S. market. The opposition Parties would have Canadians believe that Canada will not be able to adjust to free trade with the United States. By misleading the Canadian public under the thin guise of truth, it is my belief that the opposition Parties have put Canada in jeopardy more so than a trade deal with the United States will ever do.

• (1730)

The truth is, the Auto Pact and all existing safeguards remain in place. The Big Three must maintain a one-to-one manufacturing-to-sale ratio in Canada in order to qualify for tariff-free imports of vehicles and original equipment parts.

Once the Free Trade Agreement is phased in and the tariffs have been eliminated on products of U.S. origin, the Big Three will have to continue to exceed the safeguard levels so that they can bring cars or parts into Canada from third countries duty-free, a provision worth \$300 million annually and growing rapidly. That means big business for Canada's highly efficient, productive and competitive parts manufacturers. The Free Trade Agreement enhances the Auto Pact. That is what it does.

Another myth which I feel needs to be dispelled is that free trade does not increase access to the U.S. market. The truth is, the Free Trade Agreement is all about improving Canada's access to the U.S. market. The FTA increases the access of Canadian producers to the U.S. market through the elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers such as quotas, import restrictions, customs requirements and barriers taxes, and through stricter rules of origin and non-discrimination for goods and services.

It makes that access more secure by imposing further limitations on the scope of U.S. safeguard actions against Canada and by exempting Canada from American protectionist measures aimed at goods of other countries.

It will also ensure the fair and equitable settlement of trade disputes through the creation of a binding trade disputes settlement procedure.

Finally, the Free Trade Agreement will add to the security of access, requiring continued consultation between Canada and the U.S. on the issue of subsidies—

a process that would have been unlikely without the Free Trade Agreement.

Critics have suggested that Canada did not gain exemption from U.S. trade law. But, it should be noted that the U.S. did not get an exemption from our countervailing and anti-dumping laws either. However, the trade liberalizing provisions of the Free Trade Agreement will ensure that American protectionism will not be used to hinder Canada's competitive advantage.

Finally, I should like to address the myth that Canada will not be able to adjust to free trade with the United States. The truth is that the adjustment to free trade will be a key feature of the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement over the next 10 years.

This Government has a proven commitment to job creation and of easing the process of employment adjustment. Since 1984, over 1.3 million jobs have been created, and the Economic Council of Canada predicts that another 250,000 new jobs will be created due to the Free Trade Agreement. This Government has also established the Advisory Council on Adjustment, which will make recommendations to the Government on the effectiveness of these programs and advise as to what changes may be necessary as the Canadian economy adjusts to meet the challenges of free trade.

The federal Government will also work closely with the provinces to ensure the effectiveness of Government programs and to ensure that Canadian workers and business take full advantage of the new opportunities provided by the Free Trade Agreement.

I know, and the people of Brampton—Malton know, that with new challenges we can expect change. I am proud to say that the people of Brampton—Malton are not afraid to meet that challenge.

If the Free Trade Agreement means prosperity for Canadians—and I believe it does; if the Free Trade Agreement means more jobs for Canadians—and I believe it does; if the Free Trade Agreement means a more secure future—and I believe it does, then we need the Free Trade Agreement implemented immediately.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

[*Translation*]

Mr. Douglas Young (Gloucester): Mr. Speaker, it is an honour for me tonight to rise in the House as Member for the Gloucester riding. First of all, I want to thank my Gloucester constituents for having put their

trust in me. I must admit that I am somewhat disappointed, as we are dealing with such an important issue, not to have been able to move amendments to a Bill which will have such a tremendous impact on the future of Canada. We have, of course, discussed several items of this bill over the past few days, but always with the same response.

Before dealing with the ideas which I wish to express on behalf of my constituents, I wish to pay tribute in a particular way to Mr. Roger Clinch who preceded me in the House as the Conservative Member for the Gloucester riding. May I take this opportunity to offer him and his family my best wishes, for we all know that political life is always difficult and, in his case, he was a worthy representative of the Gloucester riding. He has always represented all the groups in the riding in a reasonable and responsible manner.

[*English*]

I want to say that my predecessor in this House, Roger Clinch, deserves a lot of credit for the gentlemanly manner in which he conducted himself and the exemplary manner in which he represented the people of Gloucester.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Young (Gloucester): Politics is never an easy career, and with that in mind I want to express to Mr. Clinch's family the best wishes of all of us here. As well, with Christmas so near, I wish to extend the best wishes of myself and those in this place to the people of Gloucester County, the City of Bathurst, and the Acadian Peninsula. With Christmas so near, I know that they have many things to think about besides politics, but I hope that, after we have gone through this process, the people of Gloucester and the people of Canada will be the better for it.

In listening to Hon. Members on both sides of the House discuss the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, it became apparent that there is a general belief that because one votes for a given candidate, one believes in everything put forward by that candidate.

That is not my experience. In my experience, one does not necessarily agree with all of the positions put forward by the individual for whom one casts one's vote. One can think of a great many issues that have come before this august Chamber in the past, and will come before it again, such as abortion and capital punishment, on which there is a great divergence of views.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I believe that the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the U.S. falls into that category, a category in respect of which people have to address the issue on the basis of their own individual beliefs.

When I hear people discuss the Free Trade Agreement from the perspective of business, it makes me nervous. I understand as well as anybody why the Thomas d'Aquinos of Canada, why big business in Canada came down in favour of the deal—and I do not blame them for that. I am not one who believes that big business should be prevented from speaking out. I am always disappointed when I hear my friends to my left talk about their fear of profits. I believe in profits; I believe in business. But, I also believe in Canada. I believe it is a charade to suggest that anyone who questions the free trade deal as constituted in its present form is somehow letting down capitalism, is somehow letting down the market-place and the businessmen and businesswomen who make this country tick. I do not believe that for a moment, and with that in mind I want to address my remarks to those who believe that fear was an element in this campaign, fear generated by the Parties sitting to your left, Mr. Speaker.

I want to assure members of this House, through you, Mr. Speaker, that I never once had to raise the question of fear during the campaign.

When I decided to leave provincial politics and be a candidate for a seat in this place, I had already had a number of people speak to me about their fears. It was not an issue that I had to raise. My experience in the campaign was that people asked me to explain the free trade deal and address the question of whether their fears were founded, or not. That was the question. The fear was there. But why was it there? Who put it there? What brought that fear to the fore? It was mainly fear on the part of those in Canada who would be the most vulnerable under this type of a trade arrangement.

I think it is a shame that we were not able to address those fears over the course of the past two weeks. All we have done is to fan them. I do not think that any man or woman sitting in this House now wants the free trade deal to fail. I cannot conceive of people who hold themselves out to be servants of the people and want to do what is best for Canadians who would now get the smallest pleasure out of seeing one person lose their job or one business close because of the Free Trade Agreement.

• (1740)

What I believe we must do, and obviously we are not going to get a chance today or tonight, over the next year or two is to ensure that does not happen. We have to ensure every effort is made to support business in Canada, to ensure that people recognize that Canadians will stand up for our rights, for our traditional values, and we will fight those elements and concerns which have caused fear among our population.

The reason people in New Brunswick have fears is perhaps because we are not as dominated by *The Globe and Mail*, Southam and other news services, and those who interpret the news and politics in this country, as other parts of Canada may be. The Bangor *Daily News* today has an article in which Republican Senator William S. Cohen congratulates Democratic Senator George Mitchell on his election as Senate majority leader, one of the most powerful positions in the western world. The President of the United States is powerful but the Senate majority leader is also extremely powerful. He is from the State of Maine, a state with which we in New Brunswick are very familiar. Senator Cohen, who also happens to be, by virtue of the American system, a very influential senator, said, in response to a question about the Free Trade Agreement, that he and Mitchell will continue to lobby the new administration to start negotiations immediately with their Canadian counterparts about reducing Canadian subsidies.

I have listened for days to people on both sides of this House tell me that medicare is not a subsidy and regional development agreements are not subsidies. What I want is what I think most people in Canada want; I want the Government to tell me what a subsidy is. It is incredible that a sophisticated lawyer and successful businessman, such as the Prime Minister of Canada is, can really believe that I and others can accept that we can enter into a deal where the single most fundamental element of the deal with respect to the Canadian social fabric is undefined.

It was suggested that the chief negotiator for Canada, and I will come to him because I am reserving some time for him as he reserved it for me in the campaign, would not have the time to conclude some of the negotiations because of a limitation imposed probably by the people who paid his bills. That is legitimate because when you are given a mandate and time frame and you have a job to do, you must do it. However, we are being told we must accept a deal that was put together in two years, with last minute withdrawals by the chief negotiator and a rushing to Washington by

senior elected government representatives, and then we should wait for both parties bilaterally to decide what subsidies are for five to seven years.

Throughout the American election campaign the Democratic presidential candidate and the vice-presidential candidate, who incidentally was thoroughly familiar with the purported free trade deal, never once to my knowledge, and I doubt any Member of this House is able to say otherwise, raised the issue of free trade. Even though the Democratic ticket was in a desperate situation they never once said the President or the Vice-President, now the President elect, were taken to the cleaners by the Canadian negotiators. Yet we fought an entire election campaign on it in Canada.

I know Canadians are good. I know we are strong. I know we are competitive. I know we can get things done with the best in the world. However, would you not think that at some point someone would have suggested that maybe, just maybe, there was some kind of a flaw in this agreement as it relates to the U.S.? Michael Dukakis or Lloyd Bentsen could have said this is not as good a deal as it appears for the U.S. Not a peep, and I think that is worrisome to Canadians, as it should be.

The fact of the matter is that we have to go on from here because one o'clock tomorrow morning this Bill will be passed. It will become the law of the land. Then it becomes a question of what do we do with it. How do we ensure that what we have put forward as legitimate concerns will be addressed? Are we going to leave it, for example, to someone like the chief negotiator for Canada?

When I run an election campaign, I am prepared to confront legitimate argument. I believe the participation of the chief negotiator for Canada during the election campaign was absolutely atrocious and irresponsible. I think Simon Reisman did a disservice to the Public Service of this country. He was paid by the taxpayers of this country for years and years. He worked in the most sensitive of positions, and was given a mandate to negotiate a deal. All of that is legitimate because he had been given those kinds of mandates before. However, to come back into the give and take and the heat of an election campaign and sit there in a mean-spirited way and defend his own work as a Public Servant of this country on the payroll of the Government of Canada was one of the most despicable actions ever undertaken by a Public Servant in the history of this nation.

Many of us know how little tolerance the chief negotiator for Canada has for people who oppose his

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

point of view on anything. We know what he thinks of anyone who does not agree with him. We know what he purportedly thought of the chief negotiator for the U.S. He was a little red-headed kid still wet behind the ears. In years to come a hard assessment will be made of the disservice that Simon Reisman did to this country. If he behaved in the negotiations on behalf of Canada as irresponsibly as he behaved during the election campaign, we can only fear the worst.

I have some difficulty with the perception which has been created, that to question the free trade deal is to drive business out of Canada or discourage Canadians from continuing their entrepreneurial spirit, or that somehow those who question how this deal will impact on our way of life are letting down the side from an economic point of view. The fact is that Canada, regardless of the Free Trade Agreement, will have to continue to act multilaterally. If everyone to your right believes we should have all our eggs in the American basket, I think that is a very dangerous road to follow.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said that Canada could not survive without this deal, at least at the level to which we have become accustomed. Yet in the same breath he painted a glowing picture of his and his Government's accomplishments on the economic front over the last four years. It begs the question as to why we had to move bilaterally when traditionally nations like Canada are always safer and better served when dealing, in trade and other matters, on a multilateral basis.

• (1750)

The fear Canadians have is not just a fear that has been raised that senior citizens are concerned about their pensions. Senior citizens have a commitment to the country that they feel viscerally. They understand. They comprehend. They have been through it. I think it belittles senior citizens in New Brunswick and in Canada to suggest that because legitimate concerns and questions are raised that they are not able to make a serious judgment based on their own knowledge, their own capacities and experiences. Senior citizens have always understood the necessity to protect the vulnerable in this society because that is the way that Canada has developed for many, many years.

The Prime Minister and the free trade negotiator have promised prosperity in our time. They have returned from Washington with a document. All we can hope is that prosperity in fact will be the result. There was no will on the part of the Government to recognize

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

that maybe in the haste there were some mistakes or some oversights. My hon. colleague proposed, as have many others, a series of amendments that we would like to put forward, to have them discussed and responded to. That has not been possible.

We have made those comments and suggestions in the light of what we perceive to be a need to ensure that there be some bench-marks, some capacity on the part of ordinary Canadians to assess where we are going, to be able to judge for themselves whether or not the free trade deal is unfolding as the universe should.

In closing, I would like to say this. I wish to be clear on it. I have tremendous respect for people who are loyal to their friends. I have had the pleasure and honour of knowing the Prime Minister since we were both boys. He is a man who values friendship, who gives it, who respects loyalty and values it as well. In the case of this Free Trade Agreement I would only point out that the chief negotiator may have had an agenda of his own. I do not know what it was. I hope that the Prime Minister and his Government do not feel that they are honour bound or in some way restricted in their capacity to assess on an ongoing basis what this Free Trade Agreement is doing for and to Canada.

With all due respect to Peter Newman and the people who quoted the article in *Maclean's* magazine about the assessment of the performances of recent Prime Ministers, if this free trade deal is a good thing for Canada and for its people, business people, senior citizens, the poor, the working people, then everybody in this House and everybody in this country will be very happy. Most likely, as with most deals, there will be good sides to it and less interesting sides to it.

I ask for the Prime Minister and the Government to make sure that mechanisms are in place to take into consideration many valid concerns raised not just in the House but more and more on a daily basis outside the House by thoughtful people. They must ensure that regardless of what Peter Newman thinks, when history judges the Prime Minister and this Government on free trade that in fact it is a forward-looking and progressive instrument of economic development, and that his contribution to history be remembered in a positive light and that he not go down as another R. B. Bennett. When one does not have the economic tools, when one does not have the economic capacity or the economic sovereignty, it is difficult to maintain the social programs that has made Canada a distinct and a great country.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Willie Littlechild (Wetaskiwin): Mr. Speaker, it is certainly with the greatest of pride that I rise in this Chamber today. First, because it is with great honour that I can thank the Great Spirit for this historic occasion. It is an occasion that allows me to serve as a Member of Parliament for Wetaskiwin, but especially as the first treaty Indian to be elected to this House.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Littlechild: As it is my first speech, I would like to add on behalf of our constituency belated congratulations to you, Mr. Speaker, and to your colleagues for being re-elected to a very important job.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to on this very special occasion for me and my people say a few words in Cree.

[English translation from Cree]

Thank you very much to my family: Omahikan Pimotayo, the late Chief Dan Minde, Mrs. Justine Littlechild, Oskinikee's brothers, sisters and other relatives for continued support throughout this new challenge.

I would also like to thank all the leaders and members of the Four Nations, especially the elders for their guidance and prayers.

This is a great day. For the first time we will be able to have direct input into matters that affect us. I am proud to represent Hobbema.

[English]

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Littlechild: At the outset, I want to take this opportunity to thank all of those people in Wetaskiwin who made a positive statement by their support and confidence. Thank you to all my campaign volunteers, a team of winners like the Wetaskiwin Relics. This is a responsibility, Sir, that I take very seriously.

Also, I thank my family: Helen, Teddi, Neil and Megan. On their behalf I want to wish all our constituents in Alberta, Indian country and all of Canada, the very best of the Christmas Season and, certainly, the very best in the New Year.

If I may I would like briefly to introduce to Hon. Members my constituency of Wetaskiwin, one that has been very ably served for four terms by my predecessor, Mr. Stan Schellenberger. I want to register our sincere

thanks for his service and dedicated leadership during that time.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Littlechild: Westaskiwin is a microcosm of Alberta. When one thinks of Alberta—oil and gas, agriculture, hard-working optimistic westerners come to mind, people of all ages, cultures and ambitions, optimistic ambitions, which leads me to a second reason why I believe my first presentation is one of very great honour. Our riding is a rural, urban and multicultural constituency with major centres including Leduc, Wetaskiwin, Ponoka and Lacombe.

I am particularly happy to address Bill C-2 and present for the record my support for the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. This agreement, like everywhere else in the country, became the central issue in the election campaign.

Let me then make some comments on how we perceive freer trade. The election was one of determining our future. It presented us all a challenge to shape a stronger economic future. We welcome that challenge. As previous Members have stated, trade with the U.S. is very important for Alberta. The U.S. is by far Alberta's largest market, accounting for about 75 per cent of its total exports. Much of this is in the energy sector, both natural gas and crude petroleum.

A part of our constituency includes Leduc No. 1. Since that time energy development has become a very vital source of our livelihood. It is important, then, for our constituency to develop a freer, more predictable and secure relationship with our single largest and most important trading partner. The Canada-U.S. agreement presents us all with potential economic growth.

Let us look closer for a moment at the petrochemical industry. With 75 per cent of Alberta's exports going to the U.S. duty-free entry will be advantageous. The proposed elimination of tariffs over five years will be a significant factor. It will help the industry remain competitive.

● (1800)

This House has heard from the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) and other colleagues—Members from Red Deer, Wild Rose, and Calgary Southwest—during the past few days about the Joffre gas plant. I am happy to say that the Joffre gas plant is in my constituency. It currently employs 500 people and 100 contractors. With freer trade, they will expand

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

business and hire 250 more people and 30 more contractors. There is potential for even more from the spin-offs that will result in the various products that can then be marketed in the United States. They will save \$40 million this year from tariffs, money they can invest locally.

In Wetaskiwin, Denim Drilling Ltd., a company involved in exploration and seismology, anticipates the implementation of the Canada-U.S. agreement because they know freer trade will benefit their company.

In Leduc, Mr. Brian Hughes, a businessman in the oil and gas industry for 25 years, and the owner of the Leduc Inn, believes "that freer trade is the best thing to happen in 100 years". He believes that his oil business will benefit due to his trading with the United States. In addition, with regard to the hotel industry, he believes that tourism will also have positive benefits.

In Nisku, J.L.M. Tanks and Equipment Ltd., a company that competes internationally, now feels it will be better able to negotiate and compete with the United States.

These are but a few examples of constituents who are looking forward optimistically to passage of the free trade legislation. The conventional oil and gas exploration and the related service industries are vital to the economy of our constituency.

Agriculture, from a business perspective, whether it is farming, cattle, dairy or poultry, must have a fair shot at surviving. The new Canada-U.S. agreement will greatly benefit the Wetaskiwin area farmers. Some recent American actions have hurt our agricultural exports.

Under the Free Trade Agreement, the new Canada-U.S. Trade Commission and special panels will be a place to solve such disputes quickly and fairly. Benefits like the greater access to U.S. markets that farmers will enjoy will, in turn, benefit consumers.

I want my constituents to be able to take advantage of the opportunities under the Canada-U.S. agreement. I want my constituents to become involved in a positive development of our economic future in Canada.

People like Mr. Ken Pohl, who is in the cattle business in Ponoka, and hog producers in the Lacombe area feel their companies will benefit from freer trade as they buy and sell cattle and hogs to the United States. Mr. Pohl says it will be easier for him to deal with the United States.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Throughout the debate, we have heard many comments on mandates. In the constituency of Wetaskiwin, it was a tough election, and a tough decision had to be made. Although there were other very serious concerns like the environment, deficit reduction, job creation, the criminal justice and parole system, all of which I am sure this House will address in due time, the major question was the Free Trade Agreement. On November 21, Wetaskiwin decided. The Progressive Conservative Party lost one poll, tied one and won 170.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Littlechild: I believe I have a mandate, as we won more votes than all of the other six candidates combined.

Let me now address a matter of which I am particularly proud to mention. A small but important part of my constituency, 6 per cent in fact, includes the Four Nations of Hobbema. I am a member of the Ermineskin Tribe of Cree Indians in Hobbema.

During my first campaign, I referred to a quote by one of our country's greatest patriots, Chief Dan George, when he said:

Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on. Like the thunderbird of old, I shall rise again out of the sea; I shall grab the instruments of the white man's success—his education, his skills. With these new tools, I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society. I shall see our young braves and our chiefs sitting in the houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of our great land.

One of the great leaders of the Four Nations of Hobbema, Chief John Samson, started this dream along the path of reality in the early sixties when he hitchhiked here to Ottawa with Mr. Stan Daniels to bring native concerns to Canada's attention.

I would like to indicate that many of those concerns, for example as they relate to energy, health, agriculture and others, are very similar to areas outside of the Four Nations of Hobbema. I must, however, indicate to the House that I was dismayed, to put it politely and mildly, when anti-free traders came to our reserves. They came to scare our people, as they did in other areas, whether it was about social programs or sovereignty.

An Hon. Member: What a lot of rubbish.

Mr. Littlechild: On the reserves they said: "You will lose the Indian Act. You will lose your treaty rights if you support the Free Trade Agreement." This was proliferated without any substantiated arguments whatsoever. Perhaps it was because they knew that the

Constitution Act, Section 25 and Section 35, entrench those treaty rights, and the Free Trade Agreement has nothing to do with that whatsoever.

The Four Nations of Hobbema have been doing business in the United States for the last eight years at least. They have not lost their sovereignty. They have not lost their social services. They have not lost their treaty rights. They now have a chance to continue maximizing on those economic opportunities in the United States as they work toward self-reliance.

With the mandate expressed in Wetaskiwin, including Devon, Calmar, Thorsby, Warburg, Breton, Bentley, Rimbey, Buck Lake, Alder Flats, Ferintosh, Mulhurst, Ma-Me-O, Nisku and all points in between, we want to register support for the Free Trade Agreement and, in particular, Bill C-2.

Last, I want to refer to youth because a significant part of our population is 25 years of age and under. As future employers, employees and consumers, we should provide as secure an economic environment as possible. According to the Economic Council of Canada, the Canada-U.S. agreement will lead to the creation of an additional 30,600 jobs in Alberta. I want to ensure Wetaskiwin gets its share. The Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) said in this House on October 5, 1988:

We go forward with confidence in our future, confidence in our country and, most of all, confidence in the youth of Canada . . . We have set a course for a stronger, a more united and a more prosperous Canada.

We want to ensure to those youth in the Wetaskiwin constituency that there will be a positive opportunity for them to become nation builders, nation builders as all of our elders, parents and senior citizens have been in the past.

In conclusion, I would ask the pessimists of this agreement to consider: What if it works? Are we as Canadians afraid of success?

An Hon. Member: If it works, that is fantastic.

Mr. Littlechild: As a Golden Bear, I learned early that the only limits we have are those we place on ourselves.

I want to return with a gift to my constituency this Christmas season: Yes, Wetaskiwin youth, you can have those jobs because you can compete. Go for it, Hugh Denim, Derrick Thorne, Ralph Vold, Four Nations, because you can compete. The Free Trade Agreement

will allow us to shape a stronger economic future. Madam Speaker, Wetaskiwin supports Bill C-2.

[*Translation*]

Finally, Madam Speaker, I want to thank the Progressive Conservative team with which I am anxious to work towards making our native land a strong and united Canada.

• (1810)

[*English*]

Mr. Jim Peterson (Willowdale): Madam Speaker, I rise to speak on the eve of this trade deal becoming law. It is now cast in stone. It has been made evident to us that no amendments will be permitted and that no amendments can be debated.

In spite of my tremendous misgivings about this deal, all of us in this Chamber and all Canadians hope that it will work. We hope that the expectations of those supporting it are met, and we hope that their promises to Canadians about this deal are kept.

We remind the Government of what its promises concerning this deal have been: More jobs, better jobs, secure access to the American market, greater prosperity for all Canadians, security for our social programs including medicare, unemployment insurance, health care, and pensions.

The Government promised an adjustment and retraining program. It has promised us that our programs to create regional economic opportunities in Canada will be protected. It has said that we will maintain our ability to preserve and promote Canadian culture. The Government has indicated that we will be able to create new social programs, such as child care and maternity leave.

Canadians are watching. Canadians will not let the Government forget its promises. They will keep these promises tacked to their refrigerator doors.

Because further negotiations are continuing with the United States concerning the implementation of this deal, it is important that the Government does its homework. It is important that it does its homework much better than it has in the past.

For example, the Americans have already created this long list of what they consider to be Canadian trade practices that they find offensive under the terms of the deal. Where is our list? We have undertaken with the Americans to review their laws and our laws in terms of

trade to see if they might be harmonized. I hope we bargain astutely.

There is also the important definition of subsidies. We implore the Government to do its homework. We do not want these issues negotiated as if they are just the closing of one more Canadian branch plant.

According to this deal, I think Canadians will find themselves in a different type of business world. First, American firms are given national treatment here in Canada. They must be treated the same as Canadian firms. We can no longer require that subsidiaries here in Canada produce jobs, hire Canadians, create exports or do research and development here. We can no longer require productivity gains that come from procedures such as world product mandating.

What will happen to our plants here in Canada? Already we have more foreign ownership of our industries in Canada than in any other developed country in the world. Under this deal we will see further rationalization of branch plants on a North American basis, such as with Gillette, Catelli, and Northern Telecom, where the plants move out of Canada. We will see them being phased out in Canada because the bigger plants in the United States can simply put on a few extra runs, a few extra shifts and service the entire Canadian market.

An even greater concern is where new plants will be established in order to take advantage of this new North American market. Let us pretend that we are rational business people and the board of directors of a company that is called upon to make this type of decision. Let us consider the advantages that the United States has as a base for these new plants.

First, the U.S. climate is more amenable and construction costs are less. Second, establishing in the United States means being closer to the biggest part of the North American market. Third, wages in the United States, in many cases, are much lower than here in Canada. In nine U.S. States the minimum wage law is \$3 or less per hour and 12 states have absolutely no minimum wage laws.

In addition, if we establish in the United States, we have the advantage of a free trade zone with Mexico, the so-called Maquiladora Region. It is a band three kilometres to four kilometres deep that runs along the entire border inside Mexico. Goods produced in that area come into the United States totally duty-free. The wages paid in that Maquiladora zone are less than 80 cents U.S. an hour.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

General Motors has 24 plants in the Maquiladora zone of Mexico, employing 27,000 workers. If we are talking about a level playing field, that is not it.

Let us look at another advantage. Industries which relied on cheaper Canadian energy, industries that are energy intensive, no longer have to come to Canada to get it either for the consumption of energy or for the transformation of energy into a further by-product. They can now take our abundant Canadian energy and use it to produce and sell back the finished goods into Canada.

We have given up one of the great advantages we were given at the time of creation. While we got the distances and the cold weather, we were given the energy. But we have now given away that one advantage.

When we consider further as a board of directors where we would locate our new plant, we must consider, as more of our Canadian financial institutions are taken over by American firms, whether we would want to be closer to the head offices where the real decisions are made.

Finally, we have not defined subsidies under this trade deal. U.S. trade law will still apply so that we have no exemption from Section 301 of the 1974 trade Bill and no exemption from the omnibus trade Bill. The U.S. trade laws can still apply, and will apply, as they are amended by the Americans from time to time. We did not get that exemption.

If we are going to establish our plant, we are going to put it in the United States so that if Canada applies its trade laws we would lose only one-tenth of the market. It will not be put in Canada where the U.S. can still apply its trade laws and wipe out nine-tenths of our market.

I despair under this trade deal as to whether we will get those new jobs, those new industries that have been promised to us.

I think we have an even greater challenge in Canada in terms of our economic destiny. Canada is largely a resource based economy. In 1930, Argentina, a country similar to Canada in many ways, had the fourth highest standard of living in the world. It is now thirtieth.

Are we going the way of Argentina? How do we learn to compete head-on with the great manufacturing powers such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, the Common Market countries and the United States? They did not do it simply through trade

deals. In Canada it will require a concerted effort and a new way of looking at things. Simply allowing the market-place to determine the types of jobs we have in Canada will not give us what we need. I suggest that to be world leaders in this fight for competitiveness, Canadians, over the next few years, will have to start looking 20 and 30 years down the road to see where we want to be. We will have to start planning what type of economy we will build.

● (1820)

For those in the House to whom planning is an anathema, take a look at successful businesses. They plan their futures. They have five and 10-year plans and work toward them. If we are to be successful the way many of the newly-emerging industrialized countries have been, we too will have to plan. We will have to put together our best management, labour, entrepreneurs, financial institutions and educators, and set directions for where we want to be and then work toward those plans.

One very major component of anything we will achieve has to be education. We in Canada are falling behind our major world competitors in the way we educate our people. We have the fewest scientists and engineers being graduated of any industrialized nation. In terms of skills training, only 30 per cent of the people who graduate from high school either go on to post-secondary education or have actual skills training. That means that 70 per cent of our young people are going into the workforce untrained. We have to address this problem immediately.

I commend to Hon. Members of all Parties the National Apprenticeship Council that was recommended in our platform for this election, bringing together Government, business, labour and educators to set in place a national apprenticeship program. I believe that we can learn extensively from Local 183 of the International Labourers Union and Local 506 of the Operating Engineers Union, which in Toronto have entered into cooperative arrangements with the businesses they work with. The unions and businesses are working very closely together to set up their own training programs to meet the needs that are not being met in any other fashion.

On September 16, Jean de Grandpre the head of the Prime Minister's Industrial Readjustment Council, indicated in a speech to the Montreal Neurological Institute that in Japan, 8.6 per cent of the Gross National Product is spent on education. In Canada, it is about

half that at 4.8 per cent. No wonder Japan has had such spectacular economic success.

Another aspect for incorporation into our planning is the need for research and development here in Canada. We know that technological innovation is the single greatest factor in determining economic growth. In the 1984 election, the Government promised to double research and development here in Canada by the end of its first term in office. In fact, the level of research and development in Canada has actually decreased. It is now at the abysmally low rate of 1.35 per cent of Gross National Product.

In Canada, through Government support, we provide for 20 per cent of the industrial research and development that is done. In the U.S.A., it is twice that rate at 40 per cent. Again, as leaders such as Jean de Grandpre have said: "And to continue the bad news for Canadian technology, Government support last year was less than it was the year before". There is great concern over the Budget that has again cut incentives for R and D.

Last, we have to look at the new approaches in many other countries that have succeeded in creating productivity and competitiveness. In Japan, for example, through MITI and other institutions that co-operate with financial institutions, labour, the Government and business, they have a plan whereby robots are leased to businesses so the businesses can afford them. In Taiwan, a Dr. Casper Shih, a Canadian, has been running a program which has targeted 1,500 small businesses. They send in experts at government expense to study how they can increase productivity and exports. The businesses, if they accept these suggestions, can pay for the new products they require, such as computers or robots, out of increased productivity, and that is the only way they pay for them. It is an imaginative approach which has worked tremendously well in that environment. Programs like these are worthy of study.

In addition, we will need financial support. A person in my riding of Willowdale told me the other day that he wanted to start a new business. He was prepared to put up farmland in eastern Ontario as collateral. The financial institutions would not lend on it because they do not want farmland in that part of the country. This is a travesty.

We have to set our own course to create an economy in Canada which is competitive and strong. The trade deal will cause us some problems in setting our own economic course and our own economic goals.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Because of the provisions regarding investment, we can no longer require performances on exports, R and D and jobs in Canada from certain firms. Our energy is no longer an advantage to us alone. We have given up the right to use certain types of tariff policies such as drawbacks in order to assist the establishment in Canada of competitive world-class manufacturing operations. We can no longer have any sort of managed trade such as the Auto Pact, lauded by all sides of the House as a deal that worked for the benefit of Canada. It was not free trade, it was managed trade. One car had to be produced in Canada for every car brought into Canada duty free.

In conclusion, we on this side say to the Government, Canadians are watching. They expect the Government to honour its promises. We beg of it, in the continuing negotiations with the Americans on implementation of this deal, negotiate better than it did in forming the deal.

Start with the real issues. The issue is not who we trade with, the real issue is what we trade with. Start with education. Start with research and development. Start planning a national approach for the benefit of all Canadians. That is what Canadians expect. That is how we are going to get our economic growth through the years.

[*Translation*]

It is a great honour for me to sit again with you in this Parliament.

[*English*]

I am very pleased to once again be the Member of Parliament for Willowdale. It is a honour for me to have returned and a great pleasure to be with you.

Mr. Al Johnson (Calgary North): Madam Speaker, I am honoured to have the opportunity to address this House on an issue of such national significance as the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America. The agreement will play a vital role in the development of my constituency of Calgary North as well as the whole of Canada.

• (1830)

As so many others have done, I would also like to extend my congratulations to the Hon. Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Fraser) on his well deserved re-election as Speaker. His reputation as a member of this house for fairness, wisdom, and effectiveness is known to us all. It is with pleasure and respect that I recognize

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

him as Speaker and you, as his representative, in this venerable House today, Madam Speaker.

It is with a complex mixture of humility and pride that I have taken my seat in this Chamber and with which I address you today. I am deeply indebted to the people of Calgary North for the confidence they have placed in me and for the overwhelming support they gave me on election day. I intend to ensure that they are effectively represented while I have the opportunity to serve them here.

I would like to extend my warmest congratulations to the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and his Cabinet for the outstanding leadership they provided in the recent election.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Johnson: It was leadership that Canada needed, leadership that Canada wanted, and leadership that Canadians once again have. I am proud to be a part of the Progressive Conservative team that will lead Canada into the 21st century. I would also like to thank members of my family who worked so hard to help me achieve my lifetime goal of being a representative here. My sincere appreciation to June, Cynthia, David, and Thomas; to Keith, Mark, and Nickie.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Johnson: Calgary North is one of the oldest constituencies in Alberta. It has its roots in the original constituency of Calgary East, and it was created by redistribution in 1952. The citizens of Calgary North have shared the Progressive Conservative vision for more than 40 years, having been represented by Mr. Paul Gagnon who, as you know, brought clarity and integrity to the deliberations of this House for the last four years.

It is an honour to follow in his footsteps and those of such other dedicated servants of the people as Bill Wright, who represented Calgary North with determination after succeeding Eldon Woolliams, who is still remembered on the Hill as an outstanding member and a hard-working contributor to the activities and committees of this House. This vital Canadian constituency was first represented by the late Hon. Douglas Scott Harkness, who made a substantial contribution to this House and to the nation as the Minister of Agriculture in 1957 and later as the Minister of National Defence in the early 1960s.

Calgary North is essentially a residential constituency and the people who live there are ordinary Canadians who, under the leadership of dedicated Members of Parliament, have, as I have indicated, guarded the Progressive Conservative vision of Canada for more than 40 years. These people work in the oil and gas industry as geologists, engineers, geophysicists, technicians, drillers, foremen, technologists, secretaries, clerks, accountants, lawyers, administrators, salesmen, rough-necks, and labourers. They work in the oil and gas service industries providing computer services, well logging, consulting, catering, well serving, pipeline construction, operating and maintenance services. They teach in schools and universities, such as the University of Calgary and the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology. They operate day care centres, work in stores as sales clerks, supervisors, and managers. They serve in restaurants and motels. They drive trucks, build homes as carpenters, electricians, dry wallers, and labourers. They work for the telephone and communication companies, for newspapers, and for printing companies. They work for Governments providing social services, health care, and administrative support. They process meat and agricultural products. They sell real estate and insurance, and they provide financial services and computer support for industry. They work in a wide variety of manufacturing industries; most important, in manufacturing high-technology products.

Calgary North is a constituency that makes people welcome. This is demonstrated by the great diversity of ethnic and cultural backgrounds that are represented in our communities. Calgary North is home to native Canadians, to people of British, French, Irish, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Indian, Chinese, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, and German backgrounds. Indeed, Madam Speaker, virtually every culture, ethnic group, and race is represented in this community where all thrive and share the vision of a land of opportunity.

These people are the quintessential ordinary Canadians and free trade is important to them. It is fundamental to them in achieving their vision of Canada. On November 21, they decided what course they wanted their future to take.

It is with the vision and convictions of my constituency that I address this House today. Not only am I privileged to represent Calgary North with its heritage of hard work, hospitality, and free enterprise traditions, I am also proud to be a member of the Progressive Conservative team that has developed a vision for

Canada that is consistent with this heritage; a team with great leadership already in place and ready to start implementing its decision by implementing the Free Trade Agreement.

This is a vision which sees a nation bold enough not only to compete with the best in the world but to allow people the maximum opportunity to act freely and reach their full potential. It is a view of Canada as a caring society, one which provides a safety net for all those who fall, but a safety net which is taut enough to allow them to bounce back. It is not a socialist vision of a country so complicated by government regulations and bureaucracy that the very people it tries to help become entangled in its mesh, their lives and opportunities smothered in debilitating red tape.

The Canada which I and my constituents envisage cannot come about unless we have a healthy, dynamic economy. The Free Trade Agreement is a fundamental cornerstone in making this vision a reality. This agreement promises a nation which is sovereign, competitive and resourceful. It releases Canadians to trade freely. It permits Canadians to hone and perfect their skills. It allows Canadians to prosper.

Let us take a look at why the Free Trade Agreement is so important to the people of Calgary North. For the oil and gas industry, the Free Trade Agreement provides assured access to our largest export market. Calgary North has suffered too often from boom and bust cycles. Once the Free Trade Agreement is in place, we will no longer have to worry about waking up one morning and discovering that our exports have been cut off or that we have a made-in-Canada price for oil, a made-in-Canada price that sucks \$60 billion out of the Alberta economy. That is right, Madam Speaker. Hon. Members on the other side may be upset that this Progressive Conservative Government has put a stop to the practice of ripping off Alberta. They are not happy with the concept of market prices for our resources, but the people of Calgary North have made their position clear.

During the recent election as a newcomer to politics I was shocked at the depth to which the opposition Parties would stoop. I had numerous calls from elderly constituents, some of them literally in tears because they had been told they were going to lose their pensions and their medicare. There is nothing which can excuse the development of this abject fear in our senior citizens. The stories we have heard, that we cannot compete with the U.S. because of our medicare costs, are completely ridiculous. It costs a Canadian company only \$18 per

month per employee for complete medicare. An American company trying to compete would have to pay up to \$100 or more for the same type of coverage. Even if there were such a condition in the Free Trade Agreement, there is no way that we would have to consider lowering our programs in order to be competitive.

• (1840)

The Free Trade Agreement means a stronger economy and the ability to work on eliminating the deficit and reducing the national debt. It is only then that we will be able to pay for better services, not only for pensions and health care, but for education where there is a real need for expanded programs and the development of enriched curricula.

For the people of Calgary North who work in the retail and wholesale trade, the Free Trade Agreement means increased economic activity, greater consumption, growth in sales, and more jobs. Under the Free Trade Agreement, with the elimination of tariffs, there will be a better selection of goods and lower and more competitive prices. Not only will owners, managers, and employees in the retail and wholesale sectors benefit, but the ultimate beneficiaries will be ordinary Calgaryans and ordinary Canadians.

In manufacturing, the larger market provided by the Free Trade Agreement will mean opportunities for increased efficiency and product specialization. This is particularly important in high-technology industries, such as the manufacture of telecommunications and electronic components.

In the petrochemical industry 75 per cent of our products are exported to the United States. At the present time tariffs on polyethylene are 12.5 per cent and 18 per cent on methanol. Under free trade these will be removed. I can assure Hon. Members that we will see significant expansion and diversification, and many more jobs for people in Calgary North in this important oil and gas-based industry. This is an important point. It is essential to have diversification and expansion of industries that process and upgrade our natural resources, if the people of Calgary North are to avoid the boom and bust cycles I mentioned earlier.

The Free Trade Agreement will also contribute substantially to increases in construction activity. The increased economic activity will require more residential and more commercial building. This will mean more jobs for our carpenters, electricians, and trades people. Less expensive materials will be available and therefore there will be opportunities to purchase buildings and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

building materials at lower prices. I could go on. However, from my perspective the most important thing about the Free Trade Agreement is what it says about Canada and the world.

The world is changing. Many trading blocs have been and are being established. We are all familiar with the European Economic Community, OPEC, and the Australia-New Zealand pact. It is not that simple. Other informal blocs exist or are forming, and they will eventually become formalized. For example, Canadian coal companies do not have a free market in Asia. There is an informal agreement that every year no country in the Pacific Rim will discuss coal purchases until the Japanese have met with Canadian coal producers and hammered the price as low as they can get it. Then other customers, such as Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong will come in and negotiate their terms. These tactics, and many others, conspire to isolate Canada to its disadvantage.

South American and Malaysian countries are also discussing the establishment of trading blocs. This is the new regime in international trade, and Canada must develop its own alliances. In my view, the Free Trade Agreement is the first step in this process. Canada is a trading nation with some 30 per cent of its GNP directly related to trade, as compared with approximately 15 per cent in Japan and 10 per cent in the United States. We have 25 million people strung out like a string of beads across the Arctic Circle. They cannot afford to be isolated from world trade and the substantial market these new trading blocs represent.

Unlike the EEC agreement, the Free Trade Agreement with the United States does not prevent us from negotiating similar deals with other countries. This must be our future goal, but first let us get on with the Free Trade Agreement.

[Translation]

Madam Speaker, as I said earlier, my riding of Calgary North is a most friendly and neighbourly area. The ordinary Canadians who live there are the same who were hosts last Winter to the world during the 15th Olympic Games. In my opinion, these people are far from being self-centered, because several thousands of them worked as volunteers to entertain the world during this prestigious event. They show the same kind of friendship and enthusiasm whenever they welcome other Canadians in their midst, no matter their race or colour, not only to live and prosper together, but to share their hospitality.

We are an open and warm community with diverse origins and traditions. We believe that the Free Trade Agreement with the United States is a concrete manifestation of our openmindedness and desire to meet the world community on an equal footing.

[English]

The people of Calgary North have decided. They have a vision of Canada that embraces not only free trade with the United States of America, but one which looks outward to the whole world, and a vision that within Canada there would be less regulation and more freedom and opportunity.

In closing, Madam Speaker, may I take this opportunity to wish you and your family, and most particularly the Right Hon. Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner), the Hon. Leader of the NDP, all my colleagues in the House, my constituents, and their families, all the blessings of the season.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Dawn Black (New Westminster—Burnaby): Madam Speaker, I am pleased that the people of New Westminster—Burnaby have given their confidence to me to represent them here in the House of Commons. My constituency has a long history of sending men and women from the New Democratic Party here to represent its interests.

In fact, a portion of Burnaby was once represented by a great parliamentarian, former Leader of our Party, and distinguished Canadian, Tommy Douglas. It was Tommy Douglas and the CCF who had the courage to lead the political fight to bring universal medicare to Canadians and Canadian families.

In recent years the new riding of New Westminster—Burnaby was ably represented by the present Hon. Member for Burnaby—Kingsway (Mr. Robinson) and by a woman who has been at the forefront of the struggle for world peace, Ms. Pauline Jewett.

The overwhelming concern of the people in the riding of New Westminster—Burnaby is the trade deal that we are debating tonight. This is an historic debate for Canada, a debate that will affect the future of our country. The men and women who came here before us have ensured that Canadian social and cultural values were protected and have built our country on a co-operative model.

In contrast, the society in the United States has been driven mainly by market principles. We in the New

Democratic Party are simply saying that our Canadian traditions, our social policies, and our values should prevail. We must maintain our own political independence.

• (1850)

The major industries in New Westminster—Burnaby are fishing and forestry, and there is fear in the hearts and minds of the men and women who work in those industries because of this Free Trade Agreement. They have watched, as we all have watched, the President of the United States reimpose the unfair tariff on shakes and shingles, and they know that the Progressive Conservative Government in Ottawa imposed an unfair 15 per cent export tax on softwood lumber. There is no protection in this legislation against further punitive action by the United States.

B.C.'s fishing industry, according to the B.C. Fisheries Council, generates \$733 million a year in sales and employs up to 8,000 men and women.

The trade regulation exempts regulations in respect of the east coast fishery. Why not for the west coast fishery? Where is the fairness in this deal for British Columbia?

The Fisheries Minister is now asking for new regulation that will only provide for landing. The Fisheries Council has already said that some of the major employers in British Columbia will move to Washington State if there are no proper grading or gutting regulations to ensure that Canadian fish can go to Canadian ports and plants to be processed. Thousands of B.C. men and women will lose their jobs. Where is the fairness for B.C. workers and their families? Next week Canada presents this proposal, and it must protect the B.C. fishery.

While a majority of Canadians stand to be hurt by this trade deal, Canadian women will suffer disproportionately. This Tory Government has given no consideration to the economic crisis facing Canadian women today.

Working women are concentrated in the very sectors that will be hardest hit by the trade deal. Almost 85 per cent of working women work in the service industries: health, education, telecommunications, and computer services. All are directly affected by this deal.

The pressure to compete on a level playing field will also put pressure on our minimum wage laws. Canadian women will pay the price, because too often they are

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

concentrated in jobs that pay as little as the law requires.

Women's organizations from across Canada have told this Government of their very real concern. But once again, Canadian women have been ignored by this Progressive Conservative Government. Where is the fairness for Canadian women?

I have listened again and again, and most recently to the preceding speaker, to government Members saying that we New Democrats frightened Canada's older citizens during the recent election campaign.

I find this to be a very patronizing attitude toward our seniors. Older Canadians built this nation. Older Canadians have defended Canada in two world wars; older Canadians struggled through the Great Depression and the hungry 1930s; older Canadians, Madam Speaker, can and do think for themselves.

One Voice, the Canadian Seniors network, made a presentation last July to the legislative committee considering the trade deal. I should like to read the closing paragraph of that presentation. It is as follows:

One Voice does not want us to close without stating that Canada's seniors, some 2.7 million persons, have a huge stake in this country. They have worked, fought, argued, voted, volunteered, saved and enjoy Canada. They don't want it to remain the same. They see it as a vibrant, progressive, evolving, participatory nation with sound basic principles stated through our provision for those who need special consideration, recognizing differences in regions, cultures and experiences. This Canadianism is worth protecting. It is our identity and seniors want to remain independently, uniquely Canadian.

Those are the words of the seniors. I do not think that we frighten them.

My final point relates to the issue of subsidies. The Government failed to reach agreement in this most critical area. During the next five to seven years the Governments of Canada and the United States will negotiate what constitutes a subsidy. Already Ronald Reagan has told the U.S. Congress that his administration has no higher priority than the elimination of Canadian subsidies which adversely affect U.S. industries.

Of course our social programs are in jeopardy, if not directly by the Americans, then indirectly as Canadian big business demands lower costs in order to compete on the so-called level playing field.

Already, only one month after the election, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is calling for a royal commission on social programs.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

This confirms the prediction by New Democrats that business groups will apply pressure to reduce social spending in Canada. But there is one exemption on subsidies. If any government subsidy is "sensitive to the defence of the country" it will be permissible. The result of this exemption may well mean an increased focus on military industries. This is not what the majority of Canadians want for our country.

A former Deputy Minister of Finance recently made other points about the negotiations, as reported in the *Financial Times* of November 28, 1988. I quote the words of Mickey Cohen, a former Deputy Minister of Finance:

We will face greater pressures to harmonize, either because the Americans are asking for it or because our own businessmen are saying, "If we're going to compete, we have to look more like the guys we're competing with. Our cost structures have to be more sound." That all along has been the valid criticism of the responsible people in the Liberals and the NDP. The problem isn't in the four corners of the agreement. It's in the pressures that will come indirectly from it.

It is not just New Democrats who are concerned about this disastrous trade deal; it is health care workers, nurses, older Canadians, teachers, church groups. In fact, a majority of Canadians are opposed to this disastrous trade deal. The Government must listen. This Government must address the deep felt concerns of Canadians.

New Democrats in this place and New Democrats right across Canada will continue the fight to protect our social programs; will continue to push for environmental protection; will continue the fight for fair regional development programs now and after the implementation of this deal.

Hon. Charles Mayer (Minister of State (Grains and Oilseeds)): At the outset I should like to congratulate the Speaker of the House on his re-election as Speaker, as well as his re-election as a Member of Parliament. As well, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, on your reappointment as Deputy Speaker of this place, an office you discharged so well in the previous Parliament.

I also want to thank the people of Lisgar—Marquette, a new constituency arising out of redistribution, who saw fit to elect me as their representative in the House of Commons of Canada.

It was the fourth time that I sought election to this place and the fourth time that I have been successful. Given that it was a new riding in which I offered myself for election for this Parliament, I want to express a

particular note of thanks for those who supported me in that election.

I believe that I found support among the voters for several reasons. Elections are not simple affairs. People in general pay a lot of taxes to government, which governments use, in turn, to provide more and more services to the people of the country, and elections are held so that people can pass judgment on the performance of government and what it proposes for its next mandate.

• (1900)

There were many issues in the last election. I do not think very many of us would disagree that one of the most important issues, if not the most important, was trade. That is why we are here tonight. That is understandable because Canada is very dependent on trade.

It has been said many times but I think it bears repeating. Roughly 30 per cent of everything Canada produces has to be traded. Agriculture, which is part of my responsibility in this Government and has been my life as a farmer and continues to be, is very obviously part of that. In fact, somewhere between 40 cents and 50 cents of every dollar a Canadian farmer earns comes from trade. Trade is very important to us.

That tells you a couple of things. It tells you first that we produce in surplus, and we have to be thankful for that. Second, when we export that much, it tells you that we better be good at what we do. In fact, we are. We export about 80 per cent of the wheat we grow because it is high quality and because we are reliable suppliers with a good reputation. We export, on average, close to 70 per cent of all the Canola we produce, either in raw form or as oil. We export something like 50 per cent of the barley we produce. We export 40 per cent of the hogs we produce, so you can see from those numbers that agriculture is very dependent on trade.

What this trade agreement with the U.S. does is simply provide us with an opportunity to continue to be able to sell into the largest and richest market in the world on a more secure basis. It is just that, an opportunity. It is not a guarantee. It is not a perfect deal. It provides us with a much better opportunity to continue to sell in that market.

To use Canola as an example, people have talked about the fact that we lose the Western Grain Transportation Act immediately with respect to that product shipped into the U.S. through the West Coast. On the other hand, tariffs on Canola oil going into the U.S. are

being phased out over a ten-year period. Those people say that that is not right. We should not have signed the deal on that basis. That is an example of where we did not get everything we asked for and would have liked to have had. They are right, it would have been better to phase out our transportation assistance over the same ten-year period.

However, if you look at the numbers you will find that after three years we are net beneficiaries so that we have the next seven years we enjoy a net gain. In fact, from the figures I have, the Canola industry stands to benefit to the tune of \$25 million over that ten years. Even though it is not a perfect deal, you can see that on balance we are better to have the arrangement than to be without it.

We firmly and freely admit, up front, that it is not a perfect deal, but it is much better to do those kinds of things with that agreement than not to have it and face the possibility of the Americans using one of the sections of their Agriculture Adjustment Act to restrict us even more.

The Hon. Liberal Member for Willowdale (Mr. Peterson) talked about planning. We are going to have to plan. We agree with him. Certainly one of the things we must have when we plan is certainty. If we are to sell into a market, one of the things that gives us certainty is a set of rules. That is what this arrangement is. He asked: "How are we going to get our own agenda if we do not have certainty of access?" This agreement provides us with much more certainty of access than we would have without it.

The Opposition says we cannot compete. The Americans have a longer growing season than we do. They are able to produce two crops a year. Their yield per acre is higher than ours. In some cases they are right but understand that because of our climate and because of the shorter growing season, we have long days and cool nights during the summer which allow us to produce a different and we like to think a higher quality product. It is for that precise reason that Canola is in demand in the U.S. We should not be fooled by people who say that we are uncompetitive because of our northern climate. It is exactly the opposite.

We produce probably the highest quality milling wheat in the world. Last year the Americans bought almost one million tonnes of wheat from Canada. I understand, as well, that last year the U.S. was the largest wheat exporter in the world. It exported over 40 million tonnes. Why would they buy from Canada at the

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

same time that they are exporting 40 million tonnes? Not because we are good fellows and they want to do us a favour, they bought it from us because we produce a high quality product.

If you read the agreement it provides that we shall have more certainty of access to that market. That gives us a chance to plan. It gives us a chance to invest for a more certain return over a long period of time.

The Opposition has said that the U.S. will put our vegetable growers out of business. Again, do not be fooled by that. People should know that there are substantial food processing industries in Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York State. You would think if anyone was going to put those three states out of business it would be California. Look on the map. Compare the latitude of southern Ontario to that of Wisconsin. It is roughly the same. In fact, southern Ontario is farther south than the northern parts of Wisconsin. You want to know something? Some 25 per cent of the canned vegetables in the U.S. come from Wisconsin. That does not mean we are going to have any kind of guarantees in that market, but it sure tells you that with a better set of rules we will have more certainty of access.

We did not elect any Members from Prince Edward Island. That province is well known for growing potatoes. I come from Manitoba and we like to think we produce some pretty high quality potatoes. We do. Yet, I think it is fair to say that P.E.I. has a reputation for producing probably the highest quality potatoes in Canada. I visited the province during the election campaign and went into the Cavendish Farms processing plant. They told me that 30 per cent of their production went to the U.S. They want the trade agreement because it gives them more certainty of access to that market. Look at the map again and figure out how far it is from Charlottetown to New York and then compare that with the distance from Charlottetown to Toronto. Look at the population down there and the tremendous potential that represents for a high quality product to be processed here and sold in the U.S.

If you look at the value added side of agriculture, in percentage terms Prince Edward Island has the most value added agricultural sector in Canada. That means investment, jobs, transportation. If you are in Prince Edward Island and produce a high quality product, which they do, and you have a large market closer than Toronto, the largest market in Canada; if you have a market in the U.S. which is larger than the biggest market in Canada and you are closer to that U.S.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

market, does it not make sense to put in place an agreement that provides a set of rules that gives you more certainty of access to that market? That is all this agreement does.

When you start looking at some of the things we are doing in this agreement, it makes you wonder what the people in the Opposition have been saying. Why should we as Canadian farmers—and I speak as a Canadian farmer—be afraid when we have a product second to none around the world?

• (1910)

As I said, 40 per cent of our hogs are exported. That is a pretty impressive record. It speaks to the quality of the product that we export. There is an outfit in Saskatoon called Intercontinental Packers. It began selling into the U.S. market four years ago. To be more specific, it began selling to the California market four years ago. At that time it had very little product moving into the United States.

During the election campaign I had a chance again to visit with one of the people who manages the company. He told us that they, out of 28 brands, are now number three in the California market. This company has 200 jobs in Saskatoon. It is a value-added type of situation. The hogs are produced in the province, as is the barley. The barley is fed to the hogs. The hogs are taken to the slaughtering plant. They are processed and then shipped to California. That is good for us. He thinks that within five years, with the trade agreement, he can create an additional 500 jobs in Saskatoon selling what we produce in Canada to the United States. The agreement gives him certainty of access, or more certainty of access, so that he has the confidence to go to talk to his bankers, to expand his production, and to buy more hogs from farmers. The farmers buy more barley from their neighbours. It is good for us. Members have talked about being hewers of wood and drawers of water. This is an example in agriculture where we do not have to do that any more. We can provide jobs.

There are other opportunities in the United States. We produce in Canada the highest quality Durum wheat in the world. It is pasta wheat. It is used for making noodles, for lasagna, spaghetti, and those kinds of things. The United States has a \$1.5 billion market for noodles. I wonder what is wrong with the noodles sitting on the other side of the Chamber when we hear some of the doom and gloom that they come up with.

That pasta market from 1972 until 1984 grew at a compound rate of 11.6 per cent per year. Do you know

what Canada's share of that market is, Madam Speaker? It is two-thirds of 1 per cent. Italy sells three times as many pasta products to the United States as do we. Japan and China together sell as many pasta products to the United States as do we. Why? It is incredible when we look at the quality of product. We have the best quality wheat, good people, and good transportation. This agreement provides security of access to that market. It will encourage our people in Canada to build plants to produce these products to send to the United States.

In 1986, there was a \$6.8 billion market in the U.S. for cookies and crackers. Imports grew at 13.2 per cent over the last 12 years. I ask Hon. Members to think about that. It is not 2 per cent or 5 per cent. It is over 10 per cent per year on the import side. Canada's share is 1.1 per cent, yet we produce the best quality wheat in the world. There is a rich market next door to us. This agreement gives us more security of access, a better opportunity for us in the West to grow things we are good at growing, to process, and to provide jobs, yet the Opposition is against it.

We are not saying that there are any guarantees. All we are saying is that there is an opportunity. That is why people came to the country in the first place to farm. They did not come here with a guarantee. They came because there was an opportunity. They had some vision. They were willing to work and sacrifice. It was the same thing with my family. I am the first generation in my family born in this country. Why did my parents come here? They came because there was an opportunity. They did not come because there was a guarantee. They believed in themselves and the country. They worked hard and they have made it what it is. That is what we are doing today—providing more certainty of opportunity to give not only this generation but the next a better opportunity. That is simply what it is.

We face a large accumulated debt in Canada. There are two ways to get out of it. We either produce our way out of it, which means packaging it, transporting it, and marketing it. A big part of what we market, especially in agriculture, means export. Or, we print and we borrow it. We know what printing and borrowing have done to us. They gave us 22 per cent interest rates in the early 1980s. It does not work.

What are Members opposite proposing as an alternative? Instead of standing up to say that we think this part is bad, but this is good, they say that everything is bad. Tell us what the options are. They say: "Go to the GATT".

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I spent 10 days, as did the Minister of State for International Trade (Mr. McDermid), at the GATT. Some of us were down there. We know what that is like. It is very difficult to deal with 95 countries to get agreements. We provided an opportunity for members from the Liberal Party and the NDP to be part of the process. They are such enthusiastic supporters of GATT. We never heard a peep out of them. We could not find hide nor hair of them. Where were they?

Mr. Nunziata: That is not true.

Mr. Mayer: They did not show up. We would have done everything we could to have made them part of the process. I asked about them. Where were they? They did not come near the place.

What are their alternatives? Do they want to print and borrow it? There are 25 million people in the country. Better access and more secure access—and I am talking about agriculture and other areas of opportunity to us—that is what this agreement is all about.

The NDP members want to tear up our NATO agreement and our NORAD agreement. They want to ignore or to pretend that we do not have allies in defence and that we do not need them.

The Liberals want to tear up the trade agreement. I do not understand why these people are afraid of our allies. Why should they be afraid of our allies? There is a large country to the south of us with which we have very good relations. It does not mean that we will always have everything our way and that there will not be disputes. Sure, there will be disputes. When as much trade is done between Canada and the United States as we do, there will be disputes. But, with the dispute settlement mechanism in place we are provided with a much better opportunity to deal with disputes in the future than we have had in the past.

Mr. Nunziata: It is not binding.

Mr. Mayer: When there is a large market, the agreement provides us with better access and more secure access.

Mr. Nunziata: It is not guaranteed.

Mr. Mayer: I did not say that it was guaranteed. There are no guarantees. When there are better opportunities to deal into that market on a more secure basis, why are Members opposite so nervous about entering into the agreement?

What I find discouraging about the process that we are going through here tonight, and we have been going through it for almost the last year, is that there are no alternatives offered. It is an interesting ploy that when one cannot offer an alternative one stands up and misrepresents, distorts, twists, and exaggerates. One tries to frighten people. One says that everything will be awful and that everyone will lose their pensions and their identities. They say that the Americans will come up here to take our medicare cards out of our pockets. When people are afraid hopefully they will do what is wanted of them. That is not what we are as Canadians. We are good at what we do. We are good in so many areas.

Mr. Nunziata: It was Brian Mulroney who tried to deindex pensions.

Mr. Mayer: The Hon. Member has mentioned pensions. One of the reasons we can have those kind of programs in this country is that we generate wealth. We produce. A big part of our production has to be exported. With the agreement we have a much better opportunity to continue to generate the type of wealth that we need to go on with our social programs.

As I pointed out, the only alternative that we have ever heard from the opposition benches and in their being critical of this deal is to print the money and to borrow it. We know that that does not work. We know that this country was not built like that. It was built by people who wanted to make the country productive. It was built by people who came here for an opportunity to make it productive. That is what this agreement does. It provides us with an opportunity to continue to be productive by giving us better and more secure access to a large market. That is what the agreement does.

I look forward to the results of this agreement. In terms of agriculture we have protected our marketing boards. There is nothing in the agreement that in any way changes the way the Canadian Wheat Board will operate. There is nothing in the agreement that does anything but provide a better opportunity for our farmers to sell. With the high quality product that we produce, that has to be of a benefit to farmers. If it is of benefit to farmers, it is of benefit to the whole country. Farmers are important to this country, which is why this agreement is so important as far as agriculture is concerned. The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) who negotiated this deal did it on the basis of providing opportunities. We in agriculture have very significantly

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

improved our opportunities to sell into the U.S. market with this agreement.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Tom Wappel (Scarborough West): Madam Speaker, it is with a sense of pride, coupled with humility, that I rise to address this House for the first time. I am deeply thankful to the people of Scarborough West for having considered me worthy of their trust and confidence. Indeed, for me it is quite literally the fulfilment of a life-long dream.

• (1920)

Scarborough West is one of the five federal ridings comprising the City of Scarborough in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. In my view, it is a classic microcosm of urban Canada, containing upwardly mobile professionals, blue collar workers, many generation Canadians, immigrants, low income families and a large population of senior citizens.

During the election campaign, as I am sure most if not all Members did, I spoke with many thousands of people, although, with a population of over 90,000, it was unfortunately not possible to meet with all. I promised the people of Scarborough West that, if elected, I would represent them forcefully and with honesty and integrity.

The people of Scarborough West know that I hold strong convictions on most issues which affect us all and that they can count on me to make those convictions known in the House.

One of those issues about which I hold a strong conviction is this trade agreement, not free trade as a concept but this Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Gustafson: Be sure now.

Mr. Wappel: I am 100 per cent sure. During my quest for my nomination and during the election campaign, I made it crystal clear that I am opposed to this agreement. I do not oppose it for partisan reasons. Rather, I believe it is fundamentally a bad agreement. Why? Because the foundation of it is anchored in weakness, and thus, if the foundation is weak, the agreement built on it is fragile at best.

As a new Member, I listened carefully to the proceedings in this Chamber last week. However, I did not partake in the procedural debates which I felt were a waste of the time and the money of the Canadian people, a waste forced on us by the arrogance of a

Conservative Government which, heady with an election victory, refuses to acknowledge the great schism in Canada between those in favour of this agreement and those opposed or unsure. This arrogance caused the procedural wrangling which has been perpetuated by the petulance of the Members of the NDP.

To return to the weak foundation of this agreement, I want to point out to Hon. Members the three weaknesses upon which I believe this agreement is founded. First, the Government which negotiated this agreement is led by a Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who, while campaigning for his Party's leadership, was an outspoken opponent of free trade with the United States.

He has never explained to Canadians why he did a complete about face. Was he forced to change by big business and some of his colleagues, almost pushed into the deal? It appears so to me, since he never told any of us why he changed. What kind of commitment from the top is that to this agreement?

Second, it is a cardinal rule of negotiation technique that one outlines the objectives to be obtained and makes no concessions unless those concessions are returned with the ultimate goal of obtaining the objectives.

The Conservative Government had two very clear and public objectives: first, to obtain an exemption from United States protectionist law; and, second, to obtain a binding dispute settlement mechanism included in the agreement.

The negotiations failed on both these counts. We did not get an exemption from American trade law, and the so-called binding dispute resolution mechanism is a toothless tiger. It is a mechanism without prescribed remedies in the event of default.

Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, of which I am a part, has tried to move that the agreement be amended to rectify this latter situation by adding to Bill C-2, immediately after line 29 on page 36 thereof, the following:

Notwithstanding any provision of this Act or the agreement, Canada may refer a bilateral trade dispute with the United States arising out of the implementation of the agreement to the dispute settlement mechanism of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to which Canada and the United States are a party.

Under the present interpretation of the agreement, Canada is not allowed to have trade disputes ruled on by the GATT. Article 1801 proposes that this agreement will deal exclusively with U.S. trade laws, laws which

our U.S. counterparts may revise and/or strengthen at any time, now or in the future.

Under this provision Canadians are linked to U.S. trade law. I suggest that Canadians do not want to be tied to American law and thus the amendment proposed by my Party is a reasonable and constructive proposal which the Government should consider. It has not done so.

The third weakness in the foundation of this agreement, in my view, is that it commits Canada to negotiations over the next five to seven years to define the definition of subsidies. How can anything so uncertain lead to stability?

The Government of Canada expected the Members of this House, and indeed the people of this nation, to sign an agreement that does not contain set definitions.

I would ask the members on the government side if they would purchase a house and have the lot size determined later, or perhaps purchase and pay for a new car and have the dealer later decide on the model, make, and colour. I do not think it is unrealistic to say that no intelligent individual would enter into such an agreement. Why would the Government of Canada expect Canadians to sign an agreement that contains no definition of such a contentious topic as a subsidy?

The Prime Minister had, as one of his intentions, that a free trade agreement with the United States would provide certainty and stability to the Canadian economy. To this proposal I say bravo. However, as the Bill now before us stands, it requires polishing by way of amendment to provide the utmost certainty.

We know this Bill will pass at approximately 1.15. But what is so frustrating and irritating is that we have put forward literally a bookful of amendments which this Party believes would be helpful in protecting the concerns of Canadians. Those amendments have simply been totally ignored by the government side. Is the Prime Minister not big enough to accept the amendments or at least some of them proposed to the House? No. Instead, he allows himself to be outnegotiated and refuses to correct his mistakes or even admit them.

The true nature of this agreement was deliberately hidden from the Canadian people. The Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition (Mr. Turner) pointed this out during the election campaign. Now we are seeing first-hand the Government's attempt to blur the true focus of this debate by holding hostage this legislative

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Chamber right up until literally the day before Christmas and by constantly invoking closure to limit debate and constructive criticism.

In my view, this is a poor example of democracy. An excellent example of democracy is that of the election results in Scarborough West, where the Progressive Conservative incumbent met defeat by a margin of almost two votes cast against him for every one cast for him. The people of Scarborough West issued a stinging rebuke of this agreement. As their representative, I have the privilege and the duty to deliver their message to the House.

Government Members have been quick to point out what they perceive as the virtues of this agreement. Yet, as the deal comes under closer scrutiny, the risk far outweighs the return. Original employment projections by the Economic Council of Canada have been drastically reduced to the point where it is now projecting estimates of 250,000 jobs newly created by the year 1998. That is an impressive figure, no doubt, at first glance, but one must understand that, to achieve this figure, manufacturing productivity must increase by 3.6 per cent per year.

Is the Prime Minister trying to tell Canadians that they do not work hard enough already? If productivity does not increase, then the Economic Council predicts that an increase of only 76,000 new jobs may be possible over a 10-year period. That is what we have given up.

Contrast this to the projections of a study done by the University of Maryland which states that Canada could very well experience a loss of up to 131,000 jobs by 1995 under the trade deal. This projection is not difficult for me to believe as we have already seen mass lay-offs at several plants across this nation. To date, if the figures have not grown since yesterday, over 1,800 Canadians have been laid off. It will not be a very merry Christmas for some.

• (1930)

During the election campaign, the Government told Canadians that this agreement would save every household \$800 a year in consumer expenses. That sounded like a very attractive offer. However, the Government did not tell Canadians that this suggested saving is calculated on items that are very, very infrequently purchased, such as refrigerators, stoves, air conditioners and the like. The Consumers Association of Canada disagrees with this estimate. It insists that individual savings are not likely to exceed one-tenth of 1 per cent of a person's annual income. Surely this

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

negligible gain is not worth the larger price paid, namely the sellout of our country.

During the election campaign and indeed in the House since, Members on the opposite side have scoffed at the suggestion that our social programs are in jeopardy. Yet, if they are so sure that our neighbours to the south do not wish to tamper with these programs, why will they not commit this to writing in the agreement?

Yes, we have heard the argument from the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) that universal social programs are protected under GATT. However, pressure from big business will be felt by this Government. There will be no need for the U.S. Government to force an end to our social programs. Big business has already proven itself capable of forcing the Prime Minister's hand.

My riding contains a large number of senior citizens. These are the people who worked to make Canada what it is today. They are entitled to a reward for that hard work and legacy. They are entitled to a secure knowledge that our social programs are not in jeopardy.

We have heard Hon. Members opposite orally guarantee that seniors are not in jeopardy, but talk is cheap and broken promises are the motto of this Government and its predecessor. What seniors in my riding and indeed all Canadians want is a guarantee in writing placed in the agreement, a few words to ensure peace of mind, but the Government will not listen.

My Party has proposed that the following be added to the Bill in order to complete the initiative of the Government. Let the Bill clearly and succinctly state "that for greater certainty, nothing in this Act or in the agreement shall be interpreted so as to affect the continuation of existing or the establishment of new Canadian social programs, including the health care system, unemployment insurance, child care, pensions, minimum wage law, labour law and maternity benefits". By adding this important amendment to the Bill, social programs are thus removed from the bargaining table and the Canadian social safety net remains intact.

Why will the Government not listen? Its philosophy is, "Our way and you pay". The attitude appears to be that any agreement is better than no agreement at all. I say to the Prime Minister and his Government, amend this deal to reflect the initial goal desired, or, since we have already cast aside all the amendments that were suggested, at least introduce legislation to protect those

Canadians who will suffer as a result. We have already seen Canadian companies announce over 1,800 lay-offs because of this poorly negotiated deal and yet it is not even in force. What will happen in the future?

This is far more than a commercial document, as the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) has called it in debates. Indeed, this is more than just a trade deal. It is a resource sellout.

The Government has guaranteed that the U.S. will have access to Canadian oil and gas, even in times of Canadian shortage. That cannot be disputed because it is there. Canadians should have the first claim and the full control over the use and disposition of our own resources.

Mr. Mayer: They do.

Mr. Wappel: It is in the agreement. The Prime Minister has bargained this away.

In closing, I would like to thank the Ministers of the Crown for their spelling lessons of last week. On Wednesday last, the Minister for International Trade stated that he would like speedy passage of this Bill, s-p-e-e-d-y. On Thursday last, he told us of consistent decisions, c-o-n-s-i-s-t-e-n-t. During our marathon session of last Friday, the deputy Government House Leader told us that the Prime Minister was going to discuss an interim report, d-i-s-c-u-s-s. Today, I would like to return the favour by telling the Ministers and this House what the people of Scarborough West say to this trade agreement, and that is no, n-o.

Mr. Micheal O'Brien (York North): Madam Speaker, I would like to preface my remarks by saying from the outset that unlike my friend opposite, I am far more optimistic about the future of Canada. I find the statement of the Hon. Member opposite about saying no to the Free Trade Agreement somewhat ludicrous given the current circumstances as I stand here on the day before Christmas Eve and a few hours before passing this agreement.

Getting back to optimism, I would like to relate to the House and to all Canadians some facts about my riding of York North. It is a pleasure and an honour to speak to this House and the people of Canada on this historic occasion. My riding of York North, where I have lived for the last 32 years, is Canada's most populous electoral district, consisting of four large townships and a population of nearly 180,000 persons who live in a unique blend of urban and rural regions.

For many years, York North has been a bedroom community to the City of Toronto, but now the people of York North have begun to employ themselves in their own communities. Hundreds of burgeoning small businesses have grown to the point where they now each employ up to 700 local persons. These businesses have flourished and prospered within their chosen Canadian market sectors. They are modern, specialized, market-driven operations, run by Canadian entrepreneurs who are today seizing more opportunities and creating more wealth and more jobs than ever before, but they must continue to grow.

Having achieved success in their own market niche, the next step is to expand their business plans to include larger markets. The most sensible target market is the one that most closely matches their own home market-place in terms of culture, language, consumer attitudes and the monetary system. That place is, of course, the United States, and many independent businessmen in York North have already taken a decision to explore U.S. markets. The Free Trade Agreement is responding to that new direction by removing impediments like protectionist tariffs and non-tariff barriers that have hindered necessary growth.

Businessmen in York North have been disappointed in the past when they found that it is easier to cross the U.S. border wearing Bermuda shorts and carrying a tennis racket than it is to venture on a trade mission wearing a business suit and carrying a briefcase filled with samples of their companies' products.

● (1940)

When they arrived at their prospective customer's doorstep, many found that although they were presenting samples of fine competitive products those products had become burdened the minute they crossed the U.S. border. They were not competitive and were not able to win the sales order because of protectionist tariffs blocking their success.

That scenario in simple terms, Madam Speaker, explains the problem from the businessman's perspective and describes a phenomenon that has come to plague Canadian enterprise. This is a phenomenon which has had serious repercussions. Trade barriers have made us export only the things that others want, like our natural resources, for example, and has restricted the more sophisticated products which we prefer to manufacture and sell. Soon those barriers will be removed. They will be lifted by the Free Trade Agreement. Our businessmen and their employees will benefit from the free flow

of their goods and services into a market area that represents up to 10 times the sales opportunity they now enjoy.

The Free Trade Agreement is a good deal for Canada, Madam Speaker. It permits Canadian enterprise to take the next best step for market development and continued prosperity. Given that the best and the brightest of our Canadian businessmen and trade specialists were brought to the endeavour of creating this agreement, and given the fact that the Canadian people have decided in favour of the Free Trade Agreement, I believe it is now time for those opponents of the Free Trade Agreement who apparently live in a philosophical dark age, who apparently are not aware of the requirements of Canadian enterprise—many of whom sit opposite in this House—cease their outrageous tirade. They should now stand aside to let Canadians seize this new opportunity and begin the journey toward new wealth, new prosperity, enhanced employment opportunities and modern skills development. They should stand aside and allow Canadians, under the Free Trade Agreement, to build a stronger Canada.

The Free Trade Agreement establishes a set of rules, rules that work to eliminate foreign political imperatives that have hitherto been damaging to the free flow of Canadian exports. It is a commercial agreement covering trade, and no more than that. It is a crucial agreement for Canada. Over three million Canadian jobs are linked to export trade, of which two million depend on our trade with the United States. This country exports 30 per cent of its output. That is more than any other nation in the world and is why the Free Trade Agreement, a deal with our best friend and nearest neighbour, is important and valuable to all Canadians.

Industry experts agree that the Free Trade Agreement is good for Canada. It is in the national interest. For businesses in my riding, it is the next best step to ensure their future prosperity. The Free Trade Agreement is important to York North enterprises like the members of the machining and metal working industry. In an August 1988 editorial in their trade journal, *Canadian Machinery and Metal Working*, editor Jim Barnes expressed his greatest fear about the November election. He said referring to the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner):

If Mr. Turner is elected and delivers on his threat to renege on the Agreement, the effects on our international reputation as a reliable trade partner will be catastrophic, completely apart from whatever we lose by cancelling (the Agreement) itself.

That is what the experts say, Madam Speaker.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Even within that Liberal bastion we know so well in York North, *The Toronto Star*, economist Richard Lipsey wrote about free trade:

Consumers of Canada unite. You have nothing to lose but your high prices.

The Free Trade Agreement achieves four significant objectives for Canada. It eliminates the remaining tariffs over the next four years and reduces non-tariff barriers. The Free Trade Agreement liberalizes investment flows between the two countries. The Free Trade Agreement allows Canadian and American service industries to compete on favourable terms within the two countries. It establishes effective and impartial procedures for the resolution of future trade disputes, something we have been wanting for years.

The Free Trade Agreement will preserve existing jobs in York North, especially those which are dependent on trade. The Agreement will lead to more and better jobs for York North constituents, paying higher wages, putting more money in the pockets of more people and providing more and better priced goods for purchase by consumers in York North and throughout Canada.

I believe that this agreement is truly about Canada's future and today's youth. With the national debt as high as it is we all know in this House and in this country when we have a large debt to pay we have to do one or both of two things we either decrease our expenses or we increase our revenues. The Free Trade Agreement will work toward that imperative, the paying down of the national debt as we increase revenues for Canadians.

The future prosperity of our nation will some day rest in the hands of our children. I believe that the Free Trade Agreement will provide them with the foundation they need to accomplish great things and, as it should be, to benefit themselves from their own accomplishments. People create prosperity, not governments. But government must provide the people with free access to the markets they need. This Government has done that, Madam Speaker. This Government has acknowledged that Canadians are traders, that Canadians are innovators and that Canadians are winners.

For the opportunities that the Free Trade Agreement provides enterprising Canadians in York North and Canadians throughout the nation I want to thank the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie), all their colleagues and negotiators and this Government. This is the best next best step for developing our local businesses, our industries so that the people in York North, formerly

living in bedroom communities can now begin to employ themselves.

We have all heard the Opposition's arguments against the Free Trade Agreement. Time and time again we have heard the same tiresome chant about water, social programs and subsidies and about a lot of things not in the Free Trade Agreement. While the recent past election was an arduous and emotionally inflamed affair, I am, nonetheless, pleased that the matter has been given a complete airing.

Never before has an issue been so intensely debated, and now the people have decided. The people have decided that if you cannot get along with your closest neighbour, you cannot get along with anyone. The people have decided that the time has come to protect Canada's economic future and to end the trade war with the United States. The people have decided that a more secure access to U.S. markets allows us the confidence and the opportunities to enrich our manufacturing industries and increase the amount of processing we do to our own raw materials. The people have decided that Canadians can compete in the U.S. market because when it comes to export marketing, Canadians are the best in the world.

We do have industries in this country that do have the know-how and the record. Some of our industries export up to 85 per cent and 90 per cent of their output. From my perspective as a former international trade journal publisher and from this vantage point in the far corner of this House, I believe that I have found the true reason that the two opposition Parties are trying to outdo each other in their anti-free trade tirades.

• (1950)

I go back to the commencement of the last election campaign. As a journalist and publisher, I examined the machinations of the three Parties going through the process of attempting to decide what their platform would be. I believe that my colleagues on this side of the House also know that the real motivator is fear. Members of the opposition fear that the Free Trade Agreement is so good, that it will make Canada so strong, that Canadians will become so prosperous and thankful that they will elect a Conservative Government for the next 20 years. That is the real concern of the Opposition.

Representatives of industry, businessmen, and the people have spoken in favour of free trade, and given that it is a commercial trade agreement, those are probably the people to whom we should listen, We should take it from the hands of parliamentarians and

give it back to the people who will do that job, the people in whom we have confidence to do that job. I believe in their hands, as they have capably shown in the past, lies the future and prosperity of this country.

I do believe that the debate has ended. Now it is time for healing and for preparing to lead Canada into the 1990s, and for that we all have a responsibility.

I am sure that each Member in the House wants the best for his or her constituents, and is willing to work hard to achieve that end. My goal and pledge is to make certain that the people of York North have a Member who, regardless of any partisan views, strives for the benefit of the people of the riding. As new opportunities for prosperity unfold, as new quests for learning arise, and when adjustments are to be made, I will bring the maximum extent of my abilities to their endeavours. I am sure that all Members will do the same in bringing Canada into this new and exciting era.

To you, Madam Speaker, to the staff of the House of Commons, and the Members here, I wish you all a Merry Christmas.

Mr. George S. Rideout (Moncton): Madam Speaker, may I take the opportunity to thank the people of Moncton for the confidence that they have placed in me by electing me as their representative. Like many other new Members in the House of Commons, this is our first opportunity to speak in the Chamber, and I do so with a great deal of emotion knowing that both my mother and my father have stood in this House and given a maiden address.

The issues of their day were also issues of great nation building. They dealt with such issues as the flag debate, medicare, and the B and B Commission back in the 1960s, to name a few pieces of legislation going on then. Now it is my time and again we are dealing with an issue of major importance for our country.

The Government's trade legislation and the manner in which it has been handled since day one of this debate is indicative of the manner in which the Government has approached many crucial issues. There has been no information, no discussion, and little debate in the hope of quick passage of the legislation.

The people of Moncton were given an opportunity to speak on the free trade deal. In fact it was their first opportunity to vote on the deal with the result that I am very proud to be standing in the House representing the riding of Moncton.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The bilingual riding of Moncton is a centre for education, transportation, communication, and manufacturing. Its geographic location in the heart of the Maritimes makes it a natural distribution point into central Canada, Atlantic Canada and, as we say, the Boston States. We are also a tourist destination point with Magnetic Hill and the tidal bore, to name a few of the many attractions in our area.

The country we know and love as Canada was built on the twin strengths of agriculture and the railroad system. Moncton is no exception.

The future prosperity of Canada depends on a fair and equitable distribution of Canada's wealth. We must protect and support our agricultural sector, maintain our social programs, and provide the conditions for strong economic growth in all regions of Canada. The passage of the free trade deal jeopardizes these important issues.

The agricultural community has been ignored and abused by the Government, and its concerns are at the bottom of the Government's agenda. My view, and that of the Liberal Party, is that Canadian agricultural producers have not been taken care of by the Government.

The Canadian food processing industry has been taking a beating under this deal. Its concerns, expressed over and over, have fallen on deaf ears. The food processing industry processes raw materials, in this case, Canadian eggs, Canadian cheese, Canadian meats, and Canadian fruits and vegetables produced all across Canada. Under this deal, the processing sector will be trapped between the Canadian farmers and their American counterparts.

Canadian supply-management programs have stabilized production, supply, and the price of agricultural commodities for our farmers. However, the price we pay is moderately higher for basic dairy and poultry commodities in Canada than it is in the United States. Not only can American owned plants buy from American farmers cheaper than they can from Canadian farmers, certain other structural differences give these firms a definite advantage.

American owned plants can take advantage of significant economies of scale. Their plants are large and the production runs longer. Canadian based plants face certain climatic difficulty. Canada can be a cold and harsh land, albeit beautiful. The realities of our climate lead to a shorter growing season and lower crop yields. The American sunbelt growing area can deliver year round supplies of agricultural commodities.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

What are the choices facing Canadian food processing plants? Well, they can go out of business. They could rationalize their production runs and supply the Canadian consumers from their existing U.S. plants, in other words close their plant operations in Canada. They could decide to only buy from those Canadian farmers who will sell their produce at the same low price levels as their American counterparts, severely hurting and harming the Canadian farm community.

Could our Canadian farms survive this blow? Are we as Canadians willing to pay this price? The Canadian food processing plants and farmers cannot afford to wait for the Government to react to the dislocations and job losses that will occur. The Government's response to the factory closings over the past 10 days do not inspire confidence.

The people of Moncton have had a first-hand experience with the manner in which the Government deals with economic restructuring and the resulting job losses. It is easy to sit in Ottawa and forget how the closing or rather the rationalizing of a plant affects communities across Canada. The Moncton riding has already felt the harsh cold hand of rationalization with the closure of the Moncton shops. The Government promised no massive lay-offs at CN shops. It was correct in one respect, there were no lay-offs. This was closure. A small riding must now deal with the reality of the loss of 1,100 job opportunities in its future. That is not an easy task.

A similar job loss occurring in a city such as Winnipeg would put 8,500 people out of work. Could one imagine the Government tolerating that situation? This gives one an idea of what my riding has faced and will face.

When the 1,100 jobs were cut, what was the response of the Conservative Government? It gave the community \$2 million initially to create replacement jobs, and once the election was called and the hand-out of money began, we received a further \$1.6 million, the so-called final chapter in that story. If that is all Canadians who suffer job loss as a result of the Free Trade Agreement can expect, they have every right to be concerned and suspicious of this Government.

• (2000)

Earlier today I spoke about the raw deal that Route Canada employees received at the hands of this Government. Can we trust this Government to look after Canadians who are dislocated in the workplace as a result of free trade? Can we trust this Government to deal with the social costs of free trade?

We have seen what appears to be the inequitable application of compensation to workers, to communities, and to provinces. The CNR Shop was the largest of its type of facility in New Brunswick, and the total compensation received was \$3.6 million. The Newfoundland Railway closure compensation amounted to \$860 million for the loss of 650 jobs. As well, the CNR workers in Newfoundland received larger exit packages and better benefits than did the workers in Moncton.

I am not trying to pit the CNR workers in Newfoundland against the CN workers in Moncton. However, the inequity in that situation has to be dealt with. Only in that way will Canadians know exactly how this Government intends to deal with the "rationalization" of jobs.

Given that record of neglect, the people of Moncton are rightly concerned about this Government's word that it will "look after those people who will be adversely affected by this trade deal".

Another key area is that of infrastructure. If Canadians are to compete and continue to export successfully under this trade deal, we must have a modern transportation system in place. It would appear that the railroad in Atlantic Canada will be shut down. The highways in New Brunswick are old and in need of major upgrading.

Is this Government prepared to take under active consideration Premier McKenna's request for a four-lane Trans-Canada Highway? Another question which has to be asked is if the new Trans-Canada Highway is to be built, in which direction should it go?

Canada's traditional links have been east and west. Under the Free Trade Agreement, Moncton should perhaps no longer distribute goods and services, or its raw materials, west to Toronto and Montreal but south to Boston. So, will this Government contribute to the construction of the trans-Boston highway?

Substantial sums of money must be spent by this Government in other transportation areas as well. The Moncton Airport needs to be expanded and upgraded. More freezer and cold storage space is needed at the airport to facilitate the shipping of fish and agricultural products to markets in the U.S. and around the world.

Canadians do not want to return to the days when we were hewers of wood and drawers of water. Canadians do not see themselves as just exporters of raw materials to be processed elsewhere. We want to compete and we have been competing successfully in a wide variety of sectors. The Free Trade Agreement will prevent us from

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

doing that. It is the smaller Canadian-owned plants that will be hardest hit by this deal.

We have heard time and time again that the American plants can rationalize their production. It is the Canadian worker and his/her family who will face job dislocation. We have to deal with the inadequate employment programs put into place by this Government, or go through the Moncton experience.

Behind words like rationalize, relocate, employment dislocation, and government job retraining lies a harsh economic reality. These words and their effect on communities across Canada will appear more and more often in the economic dictionary of the new unwelcome environment that this deal will bring.

Canadians also do not want to see an entrepreneurial drain into American head office plants. If we are only to become a source of raw materials for the U.S., our young energetic entrepreneurs will move to where the action exits.

This could have very bad consequences when one looks at the long range effect. This is exactly what happens in Atlantic Canada with the brain drain to Upper Canada—although Upper Canada is fortunate that we are there to keep it going.

This Government must provide the producers and the consumers of Canada with specific guarantees that the adverse effects of this deal will be dealt with, and dealt with adequately and equitably for all Canadians.

By the time we are ready—and it may be already too late—we must have in place the transportation links and the other essential infrastructure. Otherwise, we will be going into this arrangement with one hand tied behind our back.

I have heard time and time again that the FTA opens up a market of 250 million consumers. But that does not deal with the reality that that market is already open to us, with 80 per cent of it being available tariff free. So, what did we give up to get tariff-free access to the remaining 20 per cent? I think we gave up a lot. I do not think we got what we bargained for. It is to be hoped that this Government will reconsider its decision.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Terry Clifford (London—Middlesex): Madam Speaker, I am very honoured to be here this evening and to be making my first speech in this the Thirty-fourth Parliament.

I should like to begin my remarks by expressing my gratitude to the voters of London—Middlesex for re-electing me to the Parliament of Canada. I might say, it is the first time London—Middlesex has returned the incumbent to Parliament. Having been re-elected by my constituents, I now have a responsibility to stand in this place and speak out on their behalf.

The November 21 election was an historic one inasmuch as it provided Canadians with the opportunity to express their feelings on the vision that they see for Canada. I think it was worth the fight—and indeed it was a fight. Up and down every street in the riding and out on the concession roads, there was a battle for votes. Clearly, it was an election in which Canadians had to make a decision about this country's future. The question was whether they would reflect upon the economic record of this Government and choose its vision for the future of this country. Clearly, the voters of London—Middlesex made their choice, and I stand in this place today to represent them.

I think it important to reflect upon why the voters chose the Progressive Conservative Party as their Government.

In the election of 1984, the concern of Canadians had to do with the lack of jobs and the lack of opportunity for our youth. Those were the important issues. When Canadians reflected upon the record of the first four years of Progressive Conservative Government, they could see that this Government clearly delivered on its promises to do something about those two main concerns, and it did so through the very innovative Canadian Jobs Strategy Program and by bringing about decreased inflation and lower interest rates.

As a consequence of this Government's management of the economy, investment was fueled and jobs created for our youth. In fact, over the course of its first mandate, this Government created 1.3 million jobs in Canada. Clearly, that provided new hope for Canada's youth, and when it came time to vote in the 1988 election, Canada's youth did not forget what this Government had done for it.

When one reflects upon why Canadians made the decision that they did, one should look at the riding of London—Middlesex, because it is a microcosm of Canada. London—Middlesex represents all that we can find in this great nation of ours. When the people of London—Middlesex considered what the Free Trade Agreement was going to do for them in terms of the workplace and their place in Canada, they responded in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

a positive way. The business community responded positively to the policies of this Government. We saw major success stories—something which the Opposition doesn't like to talk about. One can see them cringe when reference is made to firms such as General Motors Diesel, a company which, in 1984, had tremendous problems, with few prospects for the future. That company took advantage of this Government's policies, took advantage of the strong economic environment created by this Government and began to build on that, to the point where it now has a North American mandate for the manufacture of locomotives.

• (2010)

This is a success story. This company makes locomotives and competes with the finest in the world. That was recognized by General Motors management when they closed the plant in the U.S. to enhance the operation in London—Middlesex. Now, of course, with more than 2,000 workers and many small businesses involved, we are starting to see what free trade will mean to Canadians. Companies will grow and prosper and provide a future for Canadian workers.

Some people on the streets say to me: "Terry, you are right, but that is big business. What is going to happen with small business? I work at a little company. Where is my future?" That is a very good question and a very real concern because the majority of Canadians work in small companies. Indeed, we have already heard from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business which indicated a majority of the owners and managers of its membership supported the agreement, but what happens on the street? What happens to the ordinary worker?

In London—Middlesex we have overwhelming evidence that the small business cannot do anything but prosper. As a matter of fact I have one example, Knechtel Mill Works. A small company in 1984 with under 20 employees, it had some innovative technology, an innovative Government that provided the proper economic parameters to operate within, and now has over 100 employees. The business has gone sky high and there are opportunities for many, many people. The company is taking advantage of this agreement because 80 per cent of its trade is with the U.S. and it is looking for more because it knows it can compete.

That company was able to train workers to use the new technology in window-making. The Canadian Jobs Strategy provided that training and the company in turn became very competitive and innovative and went into

that market and provided jobs and opportunities and futures for many, many Canadians.

It is not just big companies that this agreement is good for, it is good for little companies that will grow and prosper and provide futures for our young people.

I think those are two reasons why the electorate in London—Middlesex said, when it got right down to the crunch, that we had better be with this Government because it has a vision for the future which ties in with our beliefs, and so they voted for the Government.

Along the way I was a little disappointed because the election campaign became so involved with the free trade issue that one of the most important issues to the electorate in my riding, indeed Canadians everywhere, the environment, was hardly discussed. Clearly our Government has delivered on the environment. It has only just begun to deliver.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Clifford: I am glad the Opposition is finally awake. I want to talk about some of these things. There is page after page of achievements. Some Members opposite are new to this House. I do not know if they have done their homework, but it is very significant that the first effects of the International Conference on Ozone Depletion will be felt on January 1, 1989. We are going to see the results.

An Hon. Member: Tell us about acid rain.

Mr. Clifford: I am coming to that. We have already seen in the Environmental Protection Act some bold new steps. We have seen a reduction and will see a further reduction in the amount of lead in gasoline. We have taken hundreds of steps that will add to the quality of life for Canadians. This was all forgotten in the election. Maybe the Opposition did not really want it to come out.

Some people recognized the situation. Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland, who chaired the UN World Commission on Environment and Development, paid tribute to Canada's leadership in June when she addressed the Canadian Government's International Conference on the Changing Atmosphere in Toronto. She said:

I thank the Canadian Government, in particular Prime Minister Mulroney and Environment Minister McMillan, for their commitment and for the example they have been setting for other industrialized countries.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Clearly Canada has shown leadership. We are out front, not behind.

Dr. Noel Brown, North American Regional Director of the UN Environment Program, said:

If there were ever to be a Nobel Prize for leadership in exploring the complexities and intricacies of sustainable development, then my submission is that Canada would have to be a candidate... the leadership that you are asserting in this field is extremely important and the world is watching.

I am pleased to see the Opposition is watching. We want them to watch. We do not want them to set fear among Canadians. Canadians had a dose of that and clearly they chose the alternative. I think it is important for the Opposition to remember that.

A couple of myths that were perpetuated in the election dealt with the environment. The FTA will in no way force us to lower standards or change our focus on preserving our environment. We have heard the fear-mongers and we are hearing them again, claiming the agreement will force us to accept American standards on products like pesticides. I am glad to say that Canada has high standards of safety and control on pesticides higher than the U.S. Will we lose the right to maintain our higher standards? Of course not. One simply has to look at the agreement.

Article 603 states that both countries maintain the right to set product standards whose purpose is to protect health, safety, essential security, the environment or consumer interests. Clearly the example has been set and high standards will prevail. Not only will we not allow Alachlor to be used in this country, any products with Alachlor will not be allowed to enter Canada. Everyone remembers when Alachlor was ruled unacceptable in Canada. Clearly this Government acted responsibly. Our officials determined it is harmful to Canadians and it is gone.

At the same time, in London—Middlesex, which is the hub of most activity in Canada, a recently built agriculture research centre, to be officially opened this spring, is currently doing work on biological control and natural methods to deal with pests. Their work will not be affected by the FTA in any way, shape or form. Their approach promotes common sense farming, where agricultural production costs are reduced while using sound environmental farming practices. Our standards will not be lowered. American producers of pesticides wishing to sell their products in this country will have to meet our stringent standards.

It is very important that that point be made clear. The Opposition has said almost all the time that we have to accept the lowest common denominator when not only is that objectionable to Canadians, it is objectionable to Americans and those who share the global environment with us. When one looks at what is going on in Europe in the common market as they struggle toward union in 1992, in every documented case of their working on harmonization of standards they have chosen the highest standard. It is the highest common denominator, not the lowest.

I know the fearmongers find that hard to accept. They would just as soon be able to capture that fear as they tried so hard and diligently to do for 51 days during the election. Clearly it did not work then and it will not work now. The people have decided.

• (2020)

One month after the election, one month after the mandate that Canadians have given to our vision of the future, particularly as it pertains to the environment or the doomsayers all said that Canada would not be a fit place to live—what are they saying now? As reported in *The Gazette* of Montreal: “Free trade could help the environment”. That was written by Lawrence Solomon, the author of *The Conserver Solution*, research co-ordinator of Energy Probe. Clearly now that the people have decided these agencies and organizations have started to see the wisdom in what the people have decided upon. I hope that it can carry across the House.

All those trips up and down the streets and the concession roads were well worth it. Those people in that riding and the others across Canada had an opportunity to reflect on what this Government has done. They have decided that they want to be part of that vision of the future. They see it as the alternative. When they see that Canada is showing leadership, it has been acknowledged that it is moving out with other countries of the world. It is not a shell any longer. It is a country whose place in history and time has come.

It is particularly fitting for the young people of our country that they do not now have to sit back and apologize for their elders' timidity. They can now say: “Gee, my Mom and Dad, my grandparents, cared about me. They included me in their vision in voting for a vision of Canada in which I will have and be able to take my rightful place. I will be able to compete. I will be able to challenge with the best in the world, in fact to make the world a better place”.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

I think that this is a monumental and historic occasion. In three or four hours from now we will have an opportunity to put closure on this motion and bring on the new prosperity, the new hope, the new vision for the young of Canada who in fact are going to carry all of us into a very pleasant retirement. By that time Canada will clearly have taken its place as the leading country in the 21st century in the world.

Mr. Stan J. Hovdebo (Saskatoon—Humboldt): Madam Speaker, across the country tonight there are many, many constituents of ours who are saying: "Forgive them for they know not what they do". They are saying that because they are knowledgeable, intelligent people who have made the effort to find out what this free trade deal is all about. They are a group of men and women who wonder why we cannot recognize that economic union with the United States to which we are committing ourselves is a change in the basic philosophy of Canada, a basic change in what Canada is all about.

This agreement alters the basic tenet of what makes Canada different from the United States. The United States believes in the supremacy of the market. The economy of the United States is basically driven by the market. Over the years in Canada we have decided that certain things which are provided by the market in the U.S. should be available to all Canadians, available even if they do not have the ability to get them in some other way. They should be provided not by the market but by the country regardless of the ability to pay or to get it from the market.

I am sure that everyone here tonight can think of an example of how Canada is different from the United States. We have chosen the Canadian way of providing service to all, not just to those who can pay for it. In this regard medicare is probably the best example. We believe that the best possible care that we as a nation can provide should be available to all. In the U.S. the best care is available only to those who can pay for it. Some 36 million Americans have no medicare insurance. Therefore only minimal care is provided for them and even then it is considered welfare. If one cannot pay for it then one cannot have it unless someone is there to give it to you.

Unemployment insurance is another good example in this regard. We make it available in quantities much greater than the contributions that were made by people to the plan.

Our public pension plans are another example, as is family allowance. These are familiar programs that we

have in place which are not in place in the United States of America. These programs are directly funded and are available to Canadians outside the market-place. It is not surprising that these are also the programs or the types of programs to which the Americans refer to as subsidies when they impose a countervail on our products. They do not understand our philosophy that everyone should have a part of the good life and that it should not only be available to the privileged few. Their philosophy is you get only what you can afford and if you cannot afford it then that is too bad.

This so-called trade deal will require the harmonization of our economies. What will that do to these programs? Does it mean that they must be harmonized as well? Nobody has said "Yes" to that question. And no one has said "No". If the Americans think they are subsidies, as they have indicated on a number of occasions, then they will demand that our levels in these programs be lowered or theirs will have to be raised. I ask Hon. Members to figure out which one will happen.

One of the main issues with respect to this deal is whether or not it threatens our sovereignty. Again, nobody can come up with a convincing "No". The Government has pointed often to the European Economic Community saying that the countries there have not lost their sovereignty. This is different. We are quite different. Why are we different? First, there are only two countries in this agreement. One of those countries, the U.S.A., is 10 times larger than Canada. Trade with the U.S. already takes up 75 per cent to 80 per cent of Canada's exports. Much of Canada's industry is foreign-owned. These are differences between us and the economic community in Europe.

Canada and the U.S. share a common language. Our nearest neighbour aside from the United States is 1,500 miles away, not just across the border to the East or to the West.

Canada's history has been one of resistance to absorption by the United States. Strong measures have been necessary in the past to stop that absorption. In 1812 the Americans attempted absorption by invasion. We fought them off. In 1867 Confederation was a response to American expansion after the Civil War.

• (2030)

The expansion was to the west and the north under the American slogan "54-40 or Bust", which would have taken in most of the western Prairies and British Columbia. Confederation was in response to that American expansionism, and it worked.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The railways that we built across Canada were expensive responses to deal with American attempts to absorb Canada. They were built to help settle and develop the West through immigration, as well as to bring British Columbia into closer contact with central and eastern Canada.

Tariffs that were in place 100 years ago were established in response to American attempts to move into our territory. They were an attempt to force east and west movement of trade rather than the north-south flow. Again, they worked.

I know that many government Members believe the CBC is an expensive way of resisting American pressure, but it was put into place to fight the predominance of American media on the airwaves. In a sense, Air Canada and the Trans-Canada Highway were used to bring Canada closer together.

We have been successful in resisting absorption by the Americans until now. It has been costly on occasion, but we have resisted. Can we continue to do so?

Until World War II we had a counterbalance to American domination. It was the Commonwealth, or British Empire as it was known then. The Right Hon. John Diefenbaker often spoke about how the Commonwealth counterbalanced the U.S. impact on Canada. He believed that the connection between Canada and the Commonwealth should be strongly supported in order to keep the American counterbalance at bay.

Shortly after the war we ceased to be British subjects. We no longer flew the Union Jack, which is something else John Diefenbaker fought against for many hours in the House. We no longer had the Commonwealth trade preference and moved to the point where we can now amend our own Constitution.

While all these are progressive steps making Canada independent, it also made us much more vulnerable to the drawing card of the United States. That Commonwealth connection was replaced by the American media. Ninety per cent of movies that we watch in Canada are from the United States. Much of the time our children spend watching television is on American programs. Some 90 per cent of music recordings sold in Canada are American, 77 per cent of the books sold in Canada are American, and 75 per cent of the magazines in Canada are American.

Our prospects for survival even before the trade deal were rather doubtful because most of our daily activities are influenced by the United States.

The United States provides more post-graduate education to Canadian students than all the other countries put together. We are already strongly influenced by the United States.

I and some 53 per cent of Canadians oppose the Government's free trade proposal. I know that over 50 per cent of my constituents do not believe in it because they elected me instead of the previous Conservative Member.

However, let us assume for a moment that the Government is right in believing we will increase our wealth. Will we win the other battles for sovereignty? Will we remain politically separate from the United States? Will we remain socially separated from the United States? Will we remain culturally separated from the United States?

We are already awash in U.S. companies, awash in U.S. investment, awash in American culture and media. Economic control is being lost in Canada. If this continues will we be able to remain Canadians?

What will happen when Canadian businesses begin complaining that the taxes they pay for environmental, regional and social programs are too high? Will the Government gradually reduce the emphasis on those social, environmental and regional programs? I believe the more dependent these companies become on the U.S. market, the more policies like medicare and unemployment insurance will have to be changed.

The pressure will come from Canadian companies that want to compete and from American branch plants that could threaten to go back to the United States where they can produce goods cheaper. Even American based companies that do not have a branch plant in Canada will start complaining because the playing field is not level. They will suggest that Canadian workers receiving family allowance, medicare, and unemployment insurance are getting an unfair advantage. They will threaten to withdraw, to refuse Canadian products unless the Canadian Governments do something about it. The pressure to maintain or increase the number of jobs in Canada will force the Government to drop those programs that make Canada different from the United States. Sometimes I wonder if we will have to return to the use of Fahrenheit, pound, feet, and miles as a result of harmonization.

Once the harmonization of economics and ideas occurs, there is little point in claiming that we can reverse it. The six-month cancellation clause becomes more useless as harmonization increases. Besides that, as

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

we become more dependent on the the U.S. market, it will soon be so important to us that we will not be able to back off without disastrous effects to our own economy.

• (2040)

Most of the adjusting to this deal will be done by Canadian companies. It takes only a 10 per cent increase for a U.S. industry to take over the entire Canadian market, but it takes a 100 per cent increase for a Canadian industry to take over 10 per cent of the U.S. market. We will be doing the adjusting here in Canada.

In many cases, those U.S. companies can probably supply our market with their surpluses. We know right now, for instance, that the U.S. can supply us with all the dairy products we use in Canada with the surplus they pour down the drains in the United States every day.

As the deal becomes entrenched, there is no way we will be able to back off. The six-month cancellation clause is a laughing matter. Ask Hawaii. Hawaii signed a 10-year trade deal with the United States, and when the 10 years was up, the United States said: "Well, there is not much in this deal for us, we are going to back away from it". After 10 years, Hawaii could not back away. It begged to become part of the United States.

Perhaps there will be an increase in trade, but where will it come from? Jacques Parizeau says that it will come from the provinces. In fact, all the hurt will go to them. He says that that is why Quebec will be able to separate. It will no longer be dependent upon the domestic markets of Ontario and the Prairies to sell its products.

I spared only one facet of this deal, the impact on sovereignty. There are many other facets of it that need to be explored. Government Members tell us that all the adjustments will be good, that it will be a win-win situation, and that Canada will always remain strong and free. I hope they are right.

Like the Hon. Member for Western Arctic (Ms. Blondin), I have to say that if the deal has to go through, I hope I am wrong and that the 53 per cent of Canadians who voted against this deal are wrong as well. I would not object to being wrong in this instance, as the Hon. Member for Western Arctic said. If we are right, the disaster that will occur and the fact that we will no longer be Canadian are something we do not want to have to face in the next few years.

Mr. Ross Stevenson (Durham): Madam Speaker, I am deeply honoured to be here in the House of Commons of Canada, representing the great riding of Durham. I appreciate the opportunity and the trust the people of Durham have put in me. I will certainly do my utmost in the months and years ahead to justify the trust they have given me in sending me with such strong support to the House of Commons in Ottawa.

When compared to many other ridings in central Ontario, the riding of Durham is a relatively large one. It consists of the regional municipalities of Uxbridge, Scugog, Newcastle, the rural part of Whitby, and the north part of the City of Oshawa.

In this riding are some of the best agricultural lands in Ontario. There are parts of Lake Ontario and Lake Scugog and the beautiful hills and ridges that run north of Lake Ontario, all across the central part of the Province of Ontario.

We have a strong agricultural sector. We have a vibrant manufacturing and service industry. Of course, most everybody knows that in the Oshawa area, there is a very strong automobile manufacturing and auto parts industry.

Here this evening, as we debate the free trade Bill, we are discussing much more than just this Bill. We are really talking about opportunities for Canada, opportunities for our young people as they look for jobs in the future, opportunities for our business people and workers to excel in a strong Canada of the future, and indeed, opportunities for Canada itself as it plays an ever growing leadership role in the economic well-being of the western world.

We have seen, of course, that Canada has obtained entry into the G-7 nations. The economic leadership shown by our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and by the Progressive Conservative Government of Canada is exemplary when compared to that of other nations of the world.

I want briefly to review some parts of the free trade Bill we are discussing at third reading stage and relate some of the significant parts of that Bill to the great riding of Durham. As I stated earlier, there is a very strong auto sector in that area. A great many residents of my riding earn their living directly or indirectly from the auto industry.

To some degree, the free trade Bill was born out of the Auto Pact or, as it is officially known, the Canada-U.S. Automobile Products Trade Agreement. This is

one of the most successful trade agreements ever negotiated anywhere in the world. The residents and businesses of Durham have thrived as a result of that trade agreement. It is more than interesting to note that Simon Reisman, who negotiated the Free Trade Agreement we are discussing tonight, also negotiated the extremely successful Auto Pact.

I think it is also interesting to note that manufacturers in the Canadian auto industry shipped a total of \$38 billion worth of products in 1987, and \$34 billion of that total was sent to export. In the Province of Ontario, \$30 billion worth of exports, essentially 50 per cent of the exports of the whole Province of Ontario, came from the auto sector. That is how important it is to the economy of Ontario, the economy of Canada, and most certainly to the economy of Durham.

Over 160,000 people work in the auto sector. In the 1980s, there will be approximately \$13 billion of investment from automobile manufacturers and parts manufacturers put into the economy of Canada. That is a phenomenal amount, and a significant proportion of that was in and around the area I represent.

● (2050)

The Auto Pact has allowed automobile producers and parts manufacturers to rationalize, specialize and increase their productivity, and to sell on both sides of the border. In fact, some of them in my area are exporting auto parts to Japan. This is very clearly a tremendous success story. Yes, the Auto Pact is somewhat different from free trade. We have heard that many times from the opponents of the Free Trade Agreement.

Still, it is a clear indication that Canadian workers and Canadian companies can compete on an international basis. They have done that extremely successfully. The people of Durham know that we can compete in many other sectors by the strength of the majority with which the voters of that area sent me here to the House of Commons.

We will see that auto sector grow in the future, undoubtedly, particularly the auto parts section. In 1982, we manufactured only 9.8 per cent of all auto parts in the North American market. In 1987, that number was up to 14 per cent, almost double, and the trend will continue. It is a trend from which the manufacturers of Durham riding will benefit. They know it and they have made that positive statement.

We have auto parts manufacturers in the riding of Durham located in Uxbridge, Port Perry, Bowmanville,

and several other towns and villages in the area. Those companies give jobs, very stable jobs, to the people of our area. They have grown to appreciate the industry and know just how important trade is to the local economy and their own livelihoods. Durham has much more than just an auto sector. We have a thriving manufacturing sector outside of the auto industry.

The Durham Region Manufacturers' Association has organized itself into an exciting group of people. Its members have marketing seminars for their several hundred members. They assist each other with management and export seminars. They have seen first-hand from the auto industry how aggressive salesmanship can help their companies. They are exporting now on a much wider scale than just in the auto industry. They have seen how the automobile industry has rationalized, specialized, and increased production. Believe me, that will continue to happen at an even greater pace as we go into the Free Trade Agreement.

I also stated earlier that agriculture is an important industry in our part of the country. We have some excellent farm land. Some farm families have been in the agricultural business for generations. Indeed, some of them have been there as long as Canada has been in existence as an organized country as we know it. We have seen, of course, the great debate in the agricultural sector relating to free trade. The attention in most of the daily media has been directed to those who were opposed to the deal, but a great many farmers are in favour of it.

This evening, in other speeches, members have shown the tremendous support that is in existence for the Free Trade Agreement speaking on behalf of the agricultural sector, particularly the red meat, grains, bean farmers, fruit and vegetable sectors. All of them have been very strongly supportive of the agreement. It is interesting to note that the soybean growers of Canada recently met with their counterparts in the United States and agreed to ask their respective Governments to withdraw all tariffs immediately from soybeans and soybean products moving back and forth across our borders; they do not want them phased out over 10 years. They want them reduced immediately. That is the other side of the story in the agricultural industry, one that has had very little attention in the daily media. Most of our urban people do not realize the tremendous support that exists for this agreement in the agricultural area.

We have heard at great length what is going to happen to the food processing industry in Canada.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Basically that it is going down the drain is what the doomsayers have been saying for several months.

I would like to draw to your attention, Madam Speaker, just what some of the companies in the food processing and the agricultural industry are doing in this country right now. Cargill, for example, which is the biggest privately owned corporation in the United States, is investing massive amounts of money in Canada this very moment. That is not being done for the Canadian agricultural industry. It is not being done because Cargill thinks the industry is going down the drain or the food processing industry is going down the drain. Cargill knows that we are going to benefit from this deal. It is a building a large new processing plant in Alberta at present. It has just bought Cyanamid and the grain division of Maple Leaf Mills.

Very clearly, multimillions of dollars of investment has been made in Canada in 1988, getting ready for a very vibrant agricultural industry that will exist here in the future. Gainers, Canada Packers, and Cold Spring Farms are all currently modernizing or building new meat processing plants here in Canada. General Foods, a major international food processing company, is going to invest \$25 million in Canadian food processing plants in 1989. Campbell's Soup is doubling its investment to \$15 million. Quaker Oats is going ahead with a \$15 million expansion of its plant in Peterborough to process more Ontario and Canadian-grown oats to send breakfast cereals into the United States market.

It is quite a different story than the one heard hour after hour from the people on the other side of the House. The Opposition is saying that the food processing industry is going to leave Canada. Much of the industry is saying exactly the opposite. We will see precisely what we have seen in the automobile industry, I suggest. We will see them, and I repeat the words I have already used twice in my speech tonight, they will rationalize, specialize, and increase their production here in Canada to markets around the world.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Stevenson: I want to draw to your attention, Madam Speaker, just briefly a report that came out in December, 1988. It is entitled *The Road Not Taken*. Maybe a better title would be "The Road Not Yet Taken—An Opportunity For The Canadian Grains and Meat Industry". The report says that we must sell wheat as bread, as cookies, and Durum wheat as pasta. We do not need to sell them as grains any more. We now have the opportunity to merchandise those products in a

value-added form and keep some of the jobs that are now outside our borders and inside our borders.

That is the future at which the Canadian food processing industry is looking, not the sort of story we have heard from the Opposition at great length. If there is such a thing as a resources sell-out, that is what we have today. We will see in future the production and processing of our resources into products, food products, furniture, petrochemicals and the processing of our fish here, as we have heard from many Progressive Conservative speakers all across the country. They have stated that our raw materials are going out of the country in raw form. In future we will see them going out as value-added products and giving jobs to Canadian people.

● (2100)

I firmly believe that supply-management commodities which have received so much attention are protected under the Free Trade Agreement. At the moment a new supply-management marketing board is being developed in Canada. That system of laws that allows farmers to determine what marketing system they want to select is still in place. They have used it in the past and, if they wish, they can use it in the future. Canada is acting to increase the strength of Article XI under GATT which allows us to have that supply-management marketing system.

Our laws still exist in agriculture which will allow us to protect all areas of that marketing system, whether one is talking about the Canadian Wheat Board or supply-management for dairy and poultry products.

It is also interesting to note that in the whole resources area, agriculture and otherwise, every single group that has had a trade dispute with the United States over the last several years is in favour of the Free Trade Agreement and the dispute settlement mechanism which exists under the free trade Bill. It is not perfect, but it is far better than what those groups have had to deal with in the past. Broad support from lumber, agriculture, fisheries, and steel clearly indicates that we have a Bill here which is a great improvement over what was available in the past.

In summary, I believe that the real issue in all our discussions tonight, and over the last days, is the fear of the future. We in the Progressive Conservative Party do not fear the future. We look at the future as challenges and opportunities. Unlike the other Parties we have confidence in our leadership. We have confidence in the men and women of our Party. We have confidence in the

business people and the workers of Canada. Most important, we have confidence in the youth of Canada who are coming along and who will be prepared to accept the challenges and the opportunities in the future.

Tonight, in approximately three hours, we will take a major step in the history of Canada, a major step into the future. I am proud to be part of that action. I look forward to the future of Canada. If we want a strong and vibrant Canada, we have the opportunity to have it. If we want a strong business community, we have that opportunity. If we want an independent Canada with our own unique culture and identity, a country with tolerance and compassion for everyone, we too will have that opportunity. The future is up to us. We can face it without fear. I am proud to be part of that future.

Mr. Derek Lee (Scarborough—Rouge River): Madam Speaker, as I commence my remarks here tonight in what I believe is a truly historical evening, I want to extend to the Speaker of the House and the Clerk of the House my appreciation for their courtesy and efforts to assist in the settlement of new Members of Parliament in what has been a relatively short period of time. As important, I want to thank the constituents of Scarborough—Rouge River for their electoral support that permits me to speak to the House tonight.

The riding of Scarborough—Rouge River is a constituency of urban Canadian multiculturalism. It is a riding where, thanks to the laws and institutions created by our people in this Parliament, the mix and interplay of culture are laying the groundwork of cultural understanding and tolerance which we hope will serve our nation in the decades to come.

My riding is one part of the country where we see at work the great Liberal principles of opportunity, tolerance, and reform. These principles are minimum government contributions to our society under what I could call the social contract that we have entered into in the Canadian parliamentary democracy. Opportunity is what trade agreements are all about. Liberals in the western world are no strangers to the concept of free trade. Liberals have been free traders for 200 years. North America was built on the principles of classic Liberalism.

In speaking of the subjects of opportunity and trade, I want to note sadly the death this week of Mr. Arthur G. Simpson, a man who manifested in my riding the opportunities present in our country with or without trade agreements. Through his company, A.G. Simpson

Ltd., Mr. Simpson operated five automobile parts manufacturing plants in Scarborough, Oshawa, Cambridge, Oakville, and Windsor. He employed more than 1,700 people. His success and that of his workers is testament to the opportunities present in our country. Mr. Simpson was an industrial builder who needed no lessons in how to think smart, manufacture, and export. He will be missed.

Economists generally accept the theory that if barriers to trade are lowered trade will increase. If trade increases then enhanced economic activity and related economic growth will occur. These principles are contained in every basic economics text.

Let us look at exactly how much trade liberalization is contained in the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement for Canadian exports. First, there are the two general types of barriers to trade. There are tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers. The principal non-tariff barriers are anti-dumping duties, "buy American" legislation, countervail duties, and regulatory barriers.

These types of tariff barriers were initially described as the chief motivating reason for entering into negotiations for a trade agreement with the United States in the first place. Exporting to the United States was beginning to become a minefield of non-tariff trade barriers. Under the proposed trade agreement they still are.

Our softwood lumber export position is deteriorating because of non-tariff barriers. Even though the Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) vaunts in glowing terms the prospects that this trade agreement will bring about, it does precious little to remove non-tariff trade barriers. Not the countervail, not the anti-dumping, not the regulatory framework; only U.S. federal purchasing regulations will be changed but not the state or municipal.

The Government's negotiating team brought back the equivalent of a consolation prize. The Government claims it has created a non-binding dispute settlement mechanism. I submit that this consolation prize is a lifeless, toothless dead fish. The Hon. Minister for International Trade will know what that is all about.

With respect to actual trade barriers, how much trade liberalization did we achieve in this area? Only one-fifth of our current U.S. trade is now subject to tariffs. While I would not underestimate the significance of this portion of our trade, the actual measure of tariff relief was small. The actual bottom line total of trade liberalization was as follows: tariff reductions to zero for only one-fifth of our U.S. exports, no relief from anti-

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

dumping or countervail or the regulatory NTBs, and only a partial rollback of pervasive U.S. buy America legislation.

• (2110)

The Government has presented this to the country, saying that these benefits constitute opportunity; and more than that, an economic blueprint for the future.

The Government states that out of these marginal trade gains will come the so-called winners and the prosperity promised by it. We shall see.

Let's look at the price we had to pay to get these so-called winners. We have given up all our tariffs, tariffs which have protected Canadian industry for decades. This is the so-called "cold shower" of competition envisaged by the pundits.

Out of this cold shower will appear our losers—industries and firms which are important, and even fundamental, to Canadian communities but which will fail to survive and, by their failure, throw thousands of Canadians out of work. We have given up our right to control for Canadians our energy sector. In this vital area of our economy, an area where already we are dominated by and subjected to a high degree of non-Canadian control, decisions on who, where, and when we develop our resources will, without question, and in total deference to corporate America, be made in the boardrooms of Dallas, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

However, the boardroom table in Calgary, in Montreal, in Toronto will sit empty, with only a vase of wilted flowers, a two-week old copy of the *Wall Street Journal*, and perhaps a fax machine for communicating with head office.

Shame on the Parliament or the legislature that abandons the worker, his spouse, and his children in Lloydminster or in Campbellton to the unrestrained business decision of a person or group outside Canada, someone who knows nothing about that man, his family, his city, his pride, or his dreams, and who has absolutely no interest in the regional and national goals of this country.

That is abdication of our responsibility as legislators, and that is what this Government is doing under the guise of the Free Trade Agreement. Not only do we give up control of the boardroom, we have agreed to pool our energy with that of the U.S.A. We have had to give up our right to decide for Canadians how and when energy resources are exploited and marketed. Washington will

now help us decide, and Washington has a guaranteed share.

We have given up our right to control our capital markets for Canadians. Now decisions on credit worthiness, commercial viability and discount rates will be taken in New York and handed down to the suitcase banker. Decisions on how and when capital is invested, and even how the non-bank savings of Canadians are reinvested, have now, by this agreement, been effectively exported to wherever the Lear jet has been parked. Canadians resent this Government permitting this fundamental tool of nation-building to be tossed into the tool box of corporate America.

In one of the more cruel ironies of this agreement our negotiators set out to claim some form of exemption for our cultural industries. Well, they got an exemption in Article 2005, but there was a price tag, a price tag defined as "measures of equivalent commercial effect".

This means that if an American enterprise is prejudiced or harmed by cultural initiatives or our Government, that enterprise will have to be compensated.

The net result is that, where our cultural initiatives stray from the American commercial norm and it costs an American money, we must compensate that American; in effect, pay a royalty.

The Canadian people, Mr. Speaker, will never pay a royalty to Americans to enable us to foster our cultural initiatives. I call this price tag the Jack Valenti royalty.

As one example of the many giveaways in this trade agreement we have agreed, in a related cultural industry provision, to remove from our Income Tax Act the provision which has influenced Canadian advertisers to place their buys with Canadian magazines and publications printed in Canada.

This provision has sustained and given new life to the Canadian periodical publishing industry, and this new life is now to be placed in jeopardy.

And what about the losers, Mr. Speaker? They are there, too. All sides of this House recognize that there will be losers under this deal. Entrepreneurs will lose their businesses; workers will lose their jobs in bankruptcies; workers will lose their jobs in branch plants when those plants close following head office decisions south of the border, decisions made because the protective tariff is gone and the fact that just one extended production run in Cairo, Illinois, or Columbia, South Carolina will produce all that is required to serve the whole of the North American market.

The one thing that the working men and women in Canada will agree on is this: if this Government is going to commit this country to an economic course paid for with the jobs of our workers, then this Government had better have the programs to assist in the adaptation and retraining of those workers, or it won't be the Government for long.

One very interesting element of this trade negotiation with the United States has been the need to look closely again at the unique relationship between our two countries, a relationship that has preoccupied Canadians for two centuries, primarily because of our relative closeness geographically and culturally.

It is, I think, because we are so close to the United States of America, because we cast a shadow on each other along the border, that we have difficulty measuring our relationship objectively. It is that confusion over our relationship which hinders our ability to address this trade agreement objectively.

It is precisely because we are so close to each other that we resist being drawn closer together under this trade agreement. This is not anti-American. This is healthy Canadian self-interest. The closer our two countries get, the more we sweat. Under this agreement we will pull our country closer to the precipice, and all on the promise of a few dollars more, a few jobs more.

I am saddened to hear some Hon. Members on the other side of this place describe this agreement as the key to prosperity or the ticket to the future, without realizing how close we are to abandoning our tools of nation-building.

If we are to maintain and improve our society and increase our prosperity, it will occur because Canadians work hard for it and not because we deal or barter for it.

My conclusion, Mr. Speaker, is in reaching this agreement we have given up far more in the bargain than we have obtained. If this trade agreement was just the mutual elimination of tariffs, which it could have been, we could freely address the future proudly as a nation. But such is not the case. This agreement is much, much more. It is that way because the Americans bargained for those other things, and we gave them away.

If we are to have this agreement, then we will not abandon our workers, we will not pay royalties to exercise our cultural sovereignty, we will not neglect rural and agricultural Canada and native Canadians, we will not permit erosion of needed social programs, and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

we will never abandon or sell our independence to continue to build this country and provide its citizens with the opportunities essential for their future.

I know that if this legislation is made law, all Members on both sides of the House will address the 10 years of transition to full implementation with those objectives in mind.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (2120)

[*Translation*]

Mr. Jean-Pierre Hogue (Outremont): It is as the first representative of the Progressive Conservative Party ever to sit in the House of Commons as a Member for Outremont in this century that I humbly rise again today. On this occasion, I wish to address my first remarks to those men and women whom I have the honour to represent in the House. I wish to thank the individuals who, through the exercise of their democratic rights, gave me a majority during the recent election campaign.

They represented every walk of life and reflected the exceptional diversity of Canadians and Québécois which we can find everywhere in our great country. My Outremont constituents have nothing in common with the nincompoops our honourable friends opposite like to describe. On the contrary, they are quite vibrant. They can breathe, think, they are intelligent, they can assess, weigh, and they have needs which they try to satisfy either individually or collectively.

As I said, the men and women in my Outremont riding resemble those you can meet in all the other provinces of Canada. They know what is good for them. They can put things into perspective. They are tolerant. That is why when the chips were down, in the evening of November 21, they chose Mr. Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Party. Like the rest of Canada, they gave the country more representatives from our party than did the other two parties together. People have decided and they gave the Government a clear mandate to govern. They elected a leader they could trust. They rejected all the candidates who did not know where to stand or who, for lack of a definite program, were involved in a witch hunt.

I want to thank them also for electing a majority government, thereby clearly expressing their support for the agreement we are debating today.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The election of a Progressive Conservative Member in the Outremont riding was not an accident of history which brought yours truly to the forefront. In fact it reflects a new orientation, a new trust and consensus which have their roots among the very diverse groups which live in that riding.

I have been able to witness that beyond the deep-rooted prejudices fed by many generations of a so-called elite, my Outremont riding is undoubtedly the most representative of our Canadian mosaic.

The Quebec men and women who live there represent the two founding nations of our country, together with representatives of about twenty ethnic groups who speak some forty languages and dialects, in addition to one or the other of our official languages. These cultural communities were particularly sensitive to what was at stake during the election campaign and they listened with their ears and hearts to the debate during these seven dramatic weeks.

My Outremont constituents expressed what a majority of Canadians from every corner of our great country wanted. These Quebec men and women expressed their confidence in the future of our country and favoured a still greater opening to the rest of the world. I should like to repeat part of what I said the first time in the House, and I quote: "My colleague from Vancouver Centre (Ms. Campbell) quoted our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) who said on a number of occasions that wealth is created by the citizens rather than by the Government". It could reasonably be said also that it is not the economy which governs the men and women of a country, but that it is they who govern the economy.

Our colleague the Hon. Member for Langelier (Mr. Loiselle) spoke in a manner which is to the credit of the Progressive Conservative Party, its leader and members. We can bear witness, through the manner in which all Quebecers participated in the national debate on the most significant issue of the recent election campaign, that Quebec fully shares this confidence in our capacity to meet head on the new challenges brought about by the globalisation of trade.

Quebeckers in large numbers joined their voices with those of millions of Canadians who feel that free trade is an expression of national affirmation based on openness as opposed to withdrawal, on self-confidence as opposed to cold panic in the face of new horizons.

Unlike the people in other parts of Canada, they were not afraid of jeopardizing their national identity. They had the opportunity earlier in this decade to reassert

their identity. To Quebecers, the enhancement of our trade relations with our southern neighbours in no way means a harmful loss of national identity.

The debate in Quebec did not amount to an identity crisis as it did in the rest of the country. I have said it before, the people of Quebec went through that earlier, during the independence debate. Nowadays, they do not fear an American invasion. Their identity is not centered on the risk of losing their language or their political status within Confederation. The issues about the French language, Meech Lake, Bill 101, or the sign language are not based on hostility, fear, withdrawal or weakness . . . as some people would like to think.

Nor are they based on a bellicose attitude, or a superiority complex, or aggressiveness against the other founding nation.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the battle of the Plains of Abraham is over, and has been over for some time. Some people may still be a little sensitive. Some people may still feel a little frustrated, but, on November 21, the people in Quebec wholeheartedly approved free trade and its impact. That was not the action of an impulsive and neurotic people.

On November 21, Quebec was not boasting. Quebec does not go around bragging and boasting. What is happening today in Quebec cannot be qualified as unrestrained emotivity or bragging. Quebec has not responded to meaningless slogans, such as the "c'est clair et net" message of the Liberal Party. Quebec has not responded to the theoretical and harmful social democracy of the NDP. Quebec responded to the Right Honorable Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), who urges us to work hard, harder and hardest.

Allow me to digress a bit, Mr. Speaker, by saying that this same Québec is defining itself with respect to signage. It still thinks Québec. It still thinks Canada. It is not hostile, aggressive, ungrateful or hateful. It does not want to be insolent. It is what it is, not more, but not less. It is different. It is more and more conscious and more and more certain of its individual and collective future.

In 1984, it voted for Mr. Mulroney and it wasn't a fad. It was a clear choice. Québec had had enough of the Liberal government's haughtiness, intolerance, pedantry, theatrics and arrogance. It had attained a maturity which gave it enough self-confidence, autonomy and flexibility to be able to say no to separation, no to this mockery of a constitution, no to schizophrenic dreams. It said yes to Mr. Mulroney just as it said yes to Mr.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Bourassa, who was once contemptuously called a "hot-dog eater".

In 1988, once again and this time more loudly, Quebec said yes to the Progressive Conservative Party and to Mr. Mulroney because Quebec is not arrogant and because it recognized our party's sincerity, simplicity and sense of values.

Today the people of Quebec have confidence in their ability to compete culturally and economically with the best in the world.

The wrenching doubts of our anglophone compatriots are due to the fact that they have steadfastly rejected all liberalization of the ties which link us to our mighty neighbour to the south. On three occasions in the past 100 years, Canadians were consulted on the possibility of free trade with the United States of America. And twice, in 1891 and in 1911, they rejected such a proposal. No truck or trade with the *Yankees*, as they used to say!

On those occasions, Quebec expressed its agreement with the rest of the country and defeated one of its greatest Prime Ministers, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Note that since 1911, no federal political party or leader has had the courage or ambition to return to the question of free trade between the two countries. And for a good reason. However, Mr. Speaker, on September 26, 1985, the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Brian Mulroney, rose in this House to make the following announcement: Mr. Speaker, I rise to inform the House (and the country) that I have today spoken to the President of the United States to express Canada's interests in pursuing a new trade agreement between our two countries. We seek to negotiate the broadest possible package of mutually beneficial reductions in tariff and non-tariff barriers between our two countries.

Two years later, after difficult negotiations between the representatives of our two countries, a free trade agreement liberalizing the sectors that were not yet subject to a treaty was presented in this House. All of Canada then had a trade treaty that sheltered our leading industrial sectors from American protectionism and gave us wider access to the market considered to be the world's most important. With such an accord, it became possible to steer and guide discussions between the two countries and to limit unilateral actions that are harmful to our industries.

• (2130)

[*English*]

What the people on this side of the House spelled for Canada was a map of our future commercial relations with our neighbours to the south. In terms of Canadian nationalism, this treaty has been arrived at because of the political will of our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) to forge ahead and build an even stronger nation.

The response of Canadians has been termed an act of faith. It is more than that. I see the results of the November 21 election as a reaction to common sense and of common sense. As a nation we cannot withdraw from international trade. We depend on it in a large measure and continue to do so in an increasingly competitive world.

Those who work against the Free Trade Agreement seem to have failed to read the consensus among Canadians. Their fears were immediately related to their own sectoral or personal concerns.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, the opponents of free trade as it is expressed in this historic agreement have tried everything to spread fear and to trouble our fellow citizens. We witnessed what was really like a hostage-taking when we heard that the most vulnerable citizens were threatened with losing their pensions, their unemployment insurance or their medicare.

What low-mindedness, what panic they showed by such actions, Mr. Speaker. It does not take much to see in such speeches repeated *ad nauseam* during the election campaign contempt for the voters' intelligence. We saw a determined, often dishonest attempt to shake the nation's self-confidence.

In this House are many Opposition Members who even today raise the spectre of our country being absorbed politically, of the progressive dismantling of our social programs, and what else besides! If they have not yet understood or accepted the Canadian people's verdict, let them at least, Mr. Speaker, refrain from subjecting us to their senseless idle talk and nonsense! They tried to make the Government take the blame for their lack of programs and alternatives. It did not work.

Their hysterical scare tactics have not passed the test of reality and they are now starting all over again as if Canadians, who have the last word, had not realized what they were up to. I have no intention, Mr. Speaker, to deprive the Hon. Members of the right to express their opinion. However, I wish they would stick to

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

constructive criticism of the Bill under consideration. Otherwise, they would have to bear the weight of a totally unacceptable rejection of Canadian public opinion.

To the new generations of Canadians, the rearguard fight led by the Hon. Members opposite will make them look like people from another century. We specifically want to give our future leaders a legacy of confidence in the future and openness to the world.

Those who don't think our culture can resist the American giant simply don't recognize the cultural vitality of this country with two flourishing languages and cultures that extend well beyond our borders.

It is easy to attack the winner and talk of arrogance, but by making such a judgement, we say that the people have elected candidates who are not up to the task. It is insulting to all voters.

At the economic level, we find the same vitality and influence beyond our borders. Isolation, introspection and an underdog mentality have long been the norm in this country. Either after Quebec went through that stage of its cultural and social development despite the demographic reality or, more recently, through the national position taken on the Free Trade Agreement, Canada has changed.

The change was for the better. Canadians are pre-occupied with real issues: quality of life, conservation, environmental upgrading, preventive health care for our elderly, technological change for our industries. Canadians of all origins want to move forward, to grow as individuals. They want closer ties with each other. They demand a healthier financial situation and a stronger economy for the benefit of all those who are a part of it.

Whatever preoccupations associated with the introduction of any treaty of this nature can be overcome. There is an implementation period for the agreement, there is a tribunal to ensure continuity in the exchange of views and to provide a forum for dispute arbitration. These features ensure that the gradual implementation of this treaty will have no dramatic or unilateral impact on the Canadian economy or one sector in particular.

Those who voted for us showed their support for the new economic opportunities which are now within our reach. And they did not do so with their eyes closed. Canadians realize in fact that adjustments will be required and that interim measures will change present habits and certainties. Change means adaptation. It will be the role of Government to manage this process of

change and the task force headed by Jean de Grandpré has the mandate to outline appropriate measures and to identify priority sectors needing assistance in the months and years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to stress that in polarizing Canadians on this issue, the debate has provided an opportunity for Canada to cross a hurdle and take a great step forward as a nation. The notion of belonging to a vigorous and sovereign nation, one open to its own people and to the world, is one that can and must be nurtured.

And finally, I would remind those who see this period of history as critical that the Chinese symbol for crisis is made up of two characters, one of which stands for "danger", the other for "opportunity". We are free to believe that the present debate endangers our country, or that it offers the best opportunity to make another step forward in our nation-building process.

The people from Outremont who elected me to this Chamber realized they were offered an opportunity to go ahead and find a new prosperity. The act of faith the people from Outremont made was an act of faith in themselves, in their capacities and their desire to move forward. In that, Mr. Speaker, they resemble the rest of the Canadians composing our national mosaic. In that, Mr. Speaker, they expect from their elected Members that we quickly bring into effect the wishes they have expressed.

What is at stake in this debate goes beyond the jobs to be created, maintained or replaced, the new markets that will open up for us to take advantage of, and even the positive trade balance that will follow.

For the third time in this century, Canadians were invited to express their views on their trade relationship with the United States and, for the first time, they chose to embrace the future without losing sight of the reality. They thus indicated which road to follow, an historical road that we now have to explore, lay out and open up. In the same way that the transcontinental railroad was, section by section, conceived as a unification symbol of our Canadian nation, this agreement can be used to help Canadians reach together new feats.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to remind Hon. Members the well known words written by Calixa Lavallée:

Car ton bras sait porter l'épée, Il sait porter la foi, Ton histoire est une épopée, Des plus brillants exploits . . .

I am convinced that with the Free Trade Agreement, our epic is unfolding and the most brilliant feats are still to come for of all Canadians to see.

Mr. Réginald Bélair (Cochrane—Superior): Mr. Speaker, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this historic Bill C-2 on behalf of my constituents in Cochrane-Superior, whom I thank for giving me their confidence on November 21.

Need I point out that this northern land is very welcoming; it is an ideal place to relax, to fish, to hunt, to go cross-country skiing or ice-fishing, etc. It has wide open spaces that ease the mind and challenge us to get to know nature better.

• (2140)

[English]

This great huge riding stretches from Hudson's Bay to the north shore of Lake Superior. Combined with the Kenora—Rainy River riding, they are more than half of Ontario. Indeed, we are on the map.

Before getting into the subject, let me just say that I would have preferred the witnessing of an agreement on the curbing of acid rain with its devastating effects on our forests and lakes. Some 14,000 lakes are already polluted in Canada.

There was some hope that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) and President Reagan would have struck a deal at the Shamrock Summit in Québec. It flickered out when Reagan flashed the Free Trade Agreement in front of the Prime Minister's eyes. We all know that afterwards the environment was no longer a priority.

President-elect George Bush allotted a mere 10-second clip on the environment issue in 15 months of campaigning. There are some reasons to be alarmed because with the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement we stand to lose a lot of ground on this issue. With the Americans having unlimited access to our natural resources, and considering their low standard on the environment, one can seriously doubt the condition in which they would leave our land once they have exploited its richness.

The natives are also seriously concerned about the possible disruption of their hunting, trapping and fishing grounds. Like any other group of Canadians, they should have a say about the economic development of their regions as much as they have a right to control their own destiny.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[Translation]

The Mulroney-Reagan agreement, Mr. Speaker, refers many times to harmonizing the two nations. What does this mean? There is a significant imbalance between our two countries today. Canada has a just, humane, compassionate society. American society concentrates on profits, leaving aside the welfare of working men and women when it comes to wages and fringe benefits.

And what about the impact of the agreement on social programs? Let us just say that the Prime Minister told the *Financial Times* that unemployment insurance and social programs might be renegotiated in the coming years.

Which country do you think will adjust to the other, Mr. Speaker? Because the Americans are extremely rich in capital, since they have ten times the population we do, it is easy to see that we will end up subject to their influence and submitting to their demands. We will suffer this harmful influence because might will make right. It will be the law of the jungle.

Mr. Speaker, rest assured that I and all my colleagues in the Liberal Party will be extremely vigilant; we will speak up vigorously every time our Canadian workers are affected by job losses due to free trade. We will see to it that the benefits they have acquired over the last 40 years will be protected, in order to preserve and maintain family well-being.

It must be borne in mind, Mr. Speaker, that 40 per cent of our workers are unionized and the benefits and protection they have acquired since the 1930s must not be eroded over the coming years. We must keep in mind that nine American states have no minimum wage law and that twelve states have a minimum wage of three dollars an hour or less.

It is also easy to conclude that fringe benefits are not a priority for their political and economic leaders.

[English]

Regional development is also a great concern of mine. The DRIE program is now considered by the United States to be a subsidization program and, therefore, existing industries which wish to adjust to increasing competition are not eligible for government help.

In relation to the forestry industry, when one compounds such an action with the 15 per cent export tax on softwood lumber, sawmills across Canada find it extremely hard to remain competitive. Their profits are greatly reduced because of a substantial increase in

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

stumpage fees and therefore the incentive, the motivation to contribute to Canada's economy is not as ardent. They question their future and, by extension, the workers do as well.

Since the Memorandum of Understanding was signed on December 30, 1986, four sawmills have closed in my riding.

What is the Government prepared to do to compensate for these losses? Is it prepared at least to screen American investment in Canada? Has it set up a mechanism where undue, unwanted and unwarranted competition would be controlled? Has the Government thought of negotiating with the Americans a system whereby the latter would have to re-invest some of their profits in Canada?

To summarize, we should not let the Americans muscle their way into Canada and do as they please. They should respect the fact that Canada is huge geographically, and since jobs are concentrated in the larger urban centres, rural areas do indeed depend on regional development incentives in order to remain competitive, and in the end, to survive. Survival can be achieved in other ways than open frontier economic policies with the United States, therefore limiting our exporting capacity to one country only. One should learn from one's past. The Government should expand its exporting markets to the European Economic Community, to China, to Hong Kong, to the Middle East and to the Soviet Union.

• (2150)

Let us not permit history to repeat itself negatively. Canadians know better. I hope the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) will at least consider selling Canadian products elsewhere than the United States.

Hon. Members opposite say that it would be advantageous to limit exports to the American market only. We are already doing 80 per cent of our trade with the United States. Is it worth unleashing American corporations, allowing them to take over our industries, for the remaining 20 per cent?

Out of respect for ourselves, let us keep Canada Canadian. Let us be the masters of our own destiny. Let us diversify our trading partners in order to ensure that American countervailing action not be undertaken. Let us not give them the opportunity to do so. Let us not adhere so blindly to the North American economic constitution.

[*Translation*]

I could not conclude my remarks, Mr. Speaker, without referring to the omnibus bill regarding the entry of foreign products in the United States and to the fact that Canada is not exempt from it. How can we consider free trade with the Americans when this protectionist bill aims at controlling foreign competition with American industries and small businesses! The Secretary of State, Mr. Schultz, admitted, during his visit to Canada last spring, that it would be ridiculous to talk about free trade if Canada is not exempt from it. And what are we to think of the record speed with which the American Congress passed its bill on free trade with Canada. We must infer that the Americans firmly believe that the agreement is largely favourable to their interests. Americans never lose out when they do business with a foreign country.

All in all, conscious as I am of the impact this agreement will have on our society and bearing in mind the uncertainties which Canadians will be facing, it is my duty and my moral responsibility to vote against this bill in accordance with the mandate given to me by the people of Cochrane—Superior on November 21 last.

[*English*]

To my constituents, and to the staff and Members of the House of Commons, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Mr. Geoff Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): Mr. Speaker, the hour is late, the Chamber is understandably sparse, it is nearing Christmas Eve, and Mr. Speaker is beginning his traditional *réception de Noël*. I am honoured to draw a speaking slot of 9.55 p.m. Eastern Time, 11.25 p.m. in Newfoundland, to address the subject we have been debating for weeks, indeed for many months, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

My position reminds me of a story that the great former Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker used to tell as only the Chief could tell it. Long ago, there was a similar marathon debate. Practically everybody in the House had spoken on the same subject and it fell to one rookie MP to bring up the rear. Well, this Hon. Member had made the mistake of giving the text of his remarks to the press in advance, so he had to forge ahead.

I will let the former Right Hon. Member for Prince Albert tell about this MP's maiden address. He went into the history of his riding dating back to biblical times. He even referred to the paternity of the dogs of his constituents. By now the sounds of tinkling glasses and the singing of carols were heard coming from the

corridor of the Speaker's chair. Hon. Members began leaving the Chamber by twos, and then by fours, and then in droves, until there was one lone MP sitting across the aisle.

The new MP on his feet kept talking, fixing his gaze on the lone MP, and when he finished his speech, he crossed the floor, and with tears in his eyes shook the man's hand and said, "I want to thank you for your presence. It gave me that something, that inspiration to carry on. Your attention made it possible. Thank you from the bottom of my heart". The man said, "Don't thank me, I'm the last speaker!"

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): I dedicate that story to my predecessor and friend, Father Sean O'Sullivan, whom we all wish Godspeed during these difficult days at this time of year.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): I want to thank the people of Hamilton—Wentworth for electing me for the fifth time. Without their trust and their confidence in me, I would not be here.

I also want to say congratulations to you, Mr. Speaker. You too have the confidence of this whole House of Commons, of Members from all sides of the House, in the position that you occupy, and you are doing a fine job, Sir.

Let me, in the spirit of Christmas and ecumenism, say congratulations to all the new Members on all sides of the House for the excellence of their maiden speeches. At least the parliamentary television groupies across the country can testify that there is a lot of talent in this Thirty-fourth Parliament, and for some of us who have been observing and participating in this place for several years, it is good to hear strongly and freshly held and expressed views in this Chamber.

I am proud of my Leader, the Right Hon. Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney), for achieving history with this Free Trade Agreement. I am proud of his great salesman for the Free Trade Agreement, the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie). I am also proud to say a few words during this debate on behalf of the city that I represent and love, Hamilton.

We in Hamilton are especially proud of the fact that we are Canada's fifth largest city and we are famous for the industry that stands to benefit most heartily from

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the Free Trade Agreement. We make steel, very good steel.

This Free Trade Agreement that the House of Commons will pass a little more than two hours from now signals the beginning of a shiny new era for Canada's steel industry. Perhaps that is why we have not heard during these long hours of debate a whole lot of mention by the opposition Members of the quality steel and quality people we have in Canada. That is why we never hear about the security of Hamilton's 23,000 jobs which are directly related to the making of steel, or of the tens of thousands more indirect jobs and spinoff products that benefit from the steel industry. I am not surprised. This is one of the innumerable and irrefutable good features of the Free Trade Agreement.

• (2200)

We in Hamilton and in Sault Ste. Marie are producing the world's finest steel. Nowhere will you find a more classic example of an industry where we not only can compete with the best in the world but we already produce the best in the world. Now we will have a market to prove it. Of course, the opponents to the Free Trade Agreement do not like to point this out, but this Free Trade Agreement will be as strong for the Canadian economy as the strength of steel itself.

Let me just turn to an article by Ken Romain of *The Globe and Mail*. He put it as succinctly as anyone could:

Because of the strength of the Canadian economy and persisting demand, the companies are operating at near capacity. The market is tight and orders from customers are on an allocation basis. The steel makers are squeezing every last pound of steel they can from their plants.

Mr. Romain goes on to quote William Wallace, executive vice-president and chief operating officer of Dofasco:

In our view if you look at our business and that of our customers, it is a really good picture. We have got customers doing a lot of really good and gutsy things.

But we have to develop and maintain the capability that keeps us in business with them and to provide value, quality and price in the product. We see the whole thing as a process of globalization.

We have got to be good enough at what we are doing and our customers have got to be good enough at what they are doing with the product that we sell them to be able to withstand the South Koreans, the Japanese, and the West Germans and the French, who also use excellent products, and are turning it into good automobiles, for example.

Going on in this article we find:

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Stelco, the country's largest integrated steel producer, has called a halt to its major spending. In the past seven years, it has invested \$1 billion in new plant and equipment.

Chairman and chief executive John Allan has said the major portion of the company's program is now completed.

Last year, it began operating two continuous casting units, which cost \$350 million, at its Hilton works in Hamilton.

All of this heavy capital spending by the industry was planned well in advance of the negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, and without any reference to what might happen after it is ratified by both countries. Under the Agreement, steel tariffs will be eliminated over the next 10 years.

The industry fully supports the pact. "We see it as part of globalization that is taking place and driving us in the direction that we are going". Bill Wallace said, "We ultimately have to be world competitive and that includes our relationships with the United States".

The Canadian steel industry does not have the capacity to make a major export drive into the United States under free trade because all of its planning in the past has been based on meeting the demands of the Canadian market. Mr. Allan told Stelco's recent annual meeting that the Canada-U.S. Agreement prevents either country from imposing import quotas on the other.

He said that the fortunes of steel companies are directly tied with those of their customers. Many of those stand to gain from the Agreement.

For example, the energy industry which buys steel pipe, gets a secure market in the United States. Steel customers in the manufacturing sector will also gain from the new U.S.-Canada relationship under free trade.

"Steel makers, therefore, stand to benefit not only from their own direct participation in the U.S. market, but also from that of their customers' participation," Mr. Allan said.

You can see, Mr. Speaker, that the steel industry is looking at a glittering market and very much welcomes the opportunity to remove the present barriers to trade. Although Canada is the only country which was exempted from the U.S. voluntary export quotas on steel, we did agree to limit our share to 3.5 per cent of the American market. The American steel industry has continued to complain about Canadian competition, although our actual share of that market has ranged from 3.0 per cent to 3.3 per cent, while the U.S. share of our steel market has risen from 4.5 per cent in 1986 to 7.5 per cent in the last quarter of 1987.

Now American firms have modernized and become more competitive in the export market in the face of stiff competition from the highly efficient and technologically advanced Koreans and Japanese.

The binding dispute settlement mechanism has also been hailed by the industry. It has been the target of a

number of U.S. trade actions. Increased economic activity under the Free Trade Agreement is expected to increase demand for primary iron, steel and aluminum products, for example, steel piping and tubing for the petroleum industry. The Free Trade Agreement will also reduce input equipment costs.

Currently the U.S. Department of Commerce is engaged in an anti-dumping and countervailing investigation against steel rail exports from Algoma and Sydney Steel on behalf of Bethlehem Steel of Pennsylvania. In fact, Algoma and Sysco's rail exports have been declining. Here is what the executive vice president of Stelco, Mr. John Hood, has to say about the Free Trade Agreement and steel.

If we fear our ability to compete against a nation with a broadly comparable cost structure to our own, how in the world do we expect to compete against such low-cost producers such as Brazil, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore?

I think that goes to prove that when we are talking about the free trade arrangement between Canada and the United States it is that, it is an economic trading arrangement. It cannot just be Canada and the U.S. alone. We do have to live within a market, a world market, and the steel industry is a classic example of how an industry can thrive and survive in a world market.

Here is what Daniel Romanko, managing director, of the Canadian Steel Producers Association, has to say:

Under the Agreement, the steel industry can continue to expand its markets both in Canada and internationally, secure in the knowledge that access to its largest export market, the United States, will be less vulnerable.

Here is what Mr. Milton Harris had to say:

After four intensive years of experience fighting off protectionist forces in the American steel industry, I was appalled to watch a TV replay of John Turner figuratively tearing up the Agreement.

That was Milton Harris, President of Harris Steel and a former Chairman of the Liberal Party National Executive Finance Committee.

Here is a quote that I draw to the attention of my friends to the left:

If there were no deal, I believe the U.S. would tighten the screws on us. When there's a glimmer of light, we have to grab on to it. We have a lot at stake.

That was said by Dennis Abernot, President, Local 2251, United Steelworkers of America, Algoma Steel, Sault Ste. Marie.

Here is what Mr. Robert Varah of Dofasco had to say. He dismisses the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition's (Mr. Turner) sectoral approach to the whole free trade proposition:

There aren't enough sectors on which you can have a balance. So you have to go with the broad approach.

Clearly the sectoral approach will not work in this industry.

I have saved one of the best for the last. This comes right from the heart of the Niagara Peninsula, deep in the heart of Welland, Ontario, from Atlas Specialty Steel, Canada's largest manufacturer of stainless steel. The article reads:

Atlas Specialty Steel, Canada's largest manufacturer of stainless steel, believes so strongly in the free trade deal that it has invested \$10 million in each of the past two years to make itself more globally competitive.

Incidentally, this is an article from *The Toronto Star*. The heading is *Steelmaker Sees Free Trade Opening Huge Markets*. That is *The Toronto Star*. The article is buried. You would never hear about it from the Hon. Member from Welland (Mr. Parent). I am just quoting for the record.

Bruce Hamilton, general manager of the Niagara Peninsula plant, Atlas Specialty Steel, says:

And that's just the beginning—"I'm talking about that rate every year—

Meaning \$10 million in each of the past two years:

I'm talking about that rate every year—

He says removing trade barriers between Canada and the U.S. will open huge new markets for Atlas, a Rio Algom subsidiary with 1,500 employees in Welland.

"Those (investment) rates are here to preserve and maintain this operation as a viable specialty steel mill in North America. We have the capability, certainly, of hiring more people but I think the main thing we're trying to do is maintain the jobs for the people that we've got."

• (2210)

That is a good place to start. The point is that it is happening. Those jobs are locked in, secure, and if anything they will be increased under this agreement. The article further states:

Without trade, the Canadian economy will wither. It's an economic truism perfectly mirrored by Atlas Steel.

"We have to be an internationally competitive mill. If we're not that, we're dead."

That statement was made by Bruce Hamilton.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Canada faces a clear choice in the free trade debate. Either we accept the challenge to compete, or we retreat like a third place athlete to defeat by default. That does not describe the Canadians I know. It does not describe any of the Canadians sitting in this Chamber who were out to win on November 21.

The type of negativism that we have been hearing from our friends in the Liberal and New Democratic Parties is beyond me when they went out and fought like hell to get their seats in the House of Commons. They made it. They were winners. They are Canadians. Canadians are winners. We can compete. That is why we have to pass the free trade Bill into law by tonight and get Royal Assent by January 1, 1989. We have to do that, and we have to win for our children, their children, and the future of this great country.

In closing, let me wish you, Mr. Speaker, a Merry Christmas, *Joyeux Noel*. I also say that to my parents in Vancouver, and special holiday wishes to all the good people of Hamilton—Wentworth.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member for Windsor—Lake St. Clair.

Some Hon. Members: Howie, Howie!

Mr. Howard McCurdy (Windsor—Lake St. Clair): Mr. Speaker, I should tell my colleagues on the government benches that I am seldom called Howie, except by my most intimate friends, and only in the most intimate circumstances.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. McCurdy: First, I wish to express my appreciation to the voters in my riding of Windsor—Lake St. Clair for having extended me the opportunity to sit in the House once more and represent them.

The fact that I was elected to the House in the riding of Windsor—Lake St. Clair reflects the fact that in Windsor approximately 80 per cent of the voters voted against the Conservatives. Although it cannot be argued, and I quite gladly admit this, not all people who voted against the Conservatives were necessarily expressing themselves specifically against the trade deal, nor would I submit the argument that all of those who voted for New Democrats or Liberals were voting against the deal. But in Windsor those who voted 80 per cent against the Conservatives most certainly were voting against the trade deal. There is a reason for that.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

In Windsor we have a much more intimate relationship, and I would say a deeper understanding, of the character of American society than do many other Canadians. That is not to imply a fundamental anti-Americanism, as I am sure you have heard me say before. Most of us in Windsor have American relatives and are engaged in constant commerce between Windsor and Detroit. We like Americans. However, we do not want to be American. We know that their society is quite different from ours. It is a society that we do not want to see replicated in Canada.

It is not only a question of experiencing those differences. We have felt the impact of the subsidiary syndrome in Canada. We have had an intimation of what will happen in this country insofar as it concerns those subsidiary plants that are owned by American multinationals. Nobody in Windsor doubts that efficiency and rationalization will mean a loss of Canadian jobs. There is no doubt about that.

I know there will be a Member on the other side, in typical ignorance not having read anything, and most particularly not having read the trade deal, who will say once more that the Auto Pact was a nice example, a prototype of this trade deal, and we ought to appreciate that what we are doing here is expanding the benefits of that type of relationship with the United States to the rest of Canada. Ignorance cannot be penetrated on that side of the House to convince those Members that the Auto Pact had within it guarantees that ensured Canadian jobs.

Insofar as it relates to something I am going to say later, there was one aspect of the Auto Pact that has not yet been sufficiently attended to in our debate. While it is true that the Auto Pact did ensure some measure of job production in Canada and a rationalization of the industry that assured production in Canada, one of the unremarked features of the Auto Pact was the loss to Canada of engineering, designing, and management. In other words, it was fine for Canadians to work on the factory floor, but not to work in the laboratories, design rooms, and offices of the Big Three. That is very important in respect of this trade deal.

I think that it is necessary to call attention to the fact that when the Government talks about competitiveness it has disregarded the importance of science and technology, and the impact of the trade deal on our ability to compete to the extent that we are able to develop the resources of development for us that will permit us to compete, not only with the United States, but with the whole world.

Let me return to the notion in Windsor, shared by many Canadians, that the inevitable result of this deal will be that Canada will become much more like the United States. Even Simon Reisman had the good sense, in one rare moment, to recognize that fact. He said that it was inevitable that a country with the population of Canada, very much smaller than the population of the United States, would inevitably become more like the United States. The implications of that are very significant.

Most Canadians have a notion of our country that it is in many respects superior to the United States. It is much more civilized and much more humane. All one has to do is live in Windsor and look across at Detroit and see the poverty and the manner in which the poor are treated, to understand that Canada is a much more humane and civilized country, and we want to keep it that way.

We do not believe that we have to sacrifice those characteristics in order to prosper. Indeed, we think that we have an experiment going in this country that would demonstrate that prosperity and social justice could go together, make us successful in the world, and make us just as able to compete as anybody else without doing it on the backs of those who are poor, deprived or oppressed.

Not long ago I had occasion to discuss the trade deal before an audience celebrating the annual meeting of the North American Black Museum in Amherstburg. I have to tell you, Mr. Speaker, that I was surprised at the passion of reaction to the notion of the trade deal. Those of us who came to Canada from the United States to escape slavery do not want to see that society replicated here. There is serious potential for harm to minority groups, because the minorities in this country who have not yet achieved equality will not achieve it in a society whose primary imperative is market forces.

● (2220)

It is not only New Democrats who have called attention to the inevitability of Canada becoming more like the U.S., and the consequences which flow therefrom. Tom Stanfield expressed it in appropriate terms when he said: "It is the cost of government, the cost of energy, the cost of human resources that will allow us to compete or not to compete, and therefore we will slowly adopt the American way, with very few modifications. Why is it that manufacturing is largely located in the southern United States, rather than in the northern

which is more comparable to Canada, when it comes to cost structures and a way of life?"

That comment is a very interesting one. It calls attention to a very interesting fact. Those who say to Albertans or to Maritimers that they will be enriched by this deal have not looked at Wyoming, or North Dakota, or South Dakota, or Maine—all of which have suffered as a result of U.S. industry fleeing to the south and to Mexico. U.S. industry is cutting back on its cost of production at the expense of the citizens of the northern states.

Let me cite one other view of the consequences of the inevitable homogenization of Canada and the U.S. I quote the words of Mickey Cohen, as reported in the *Financial Times* of November 28, 1988. He had the following to say: "I guess I would have to go after regional development and universality. I would cut out most of the industrial support and the individual industrial programs, particularly the ones geared to the regions. I would go after universality and cut unemployment insurance. I would raise the taxes as well, and I might skew the tax system back towards investment. I think we have to tax more and spend less."

That comment implies the inevitable evolution that will take place. But what has not been recognized is that it is the deliberate intent of this Government and its cohorts in the multinationals to make Canada more like the U.S. It is no accident. And the clues were there when, early in the life of this Government, it began to attack the social programs in this country. It attacked the indexation of old age pensions. It attacked the indexation of family allowances. It then proceeded to eliminate the National Energy Program and FIRA, putting Canada up for sale. Mr. Speaker, who can forget this Government's action with respect to the drug patent legislation?

Well, we were begging for an opportunity to get into this deal at that stage of the game. We wanted to show Mr. Reagan just how committed we were to giving the country away and becoming more like the United States. But that wasn't good enough. And so, Mr. Speaker, what we have is a Government that is absolutely committed to the notion that this country should have its society, its politics, its economy determined exclusively by market forces. It is no accident. This Government wants Canada to become more like the U.S., and that is why we are struggling against this agreement.

It is quite obvious, Mr. Speaker, that this Government has a mandate. And while we have had promises from

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) that the fears that many Canadians have about the need for adjustment programs, and so forth, that the concerns that Canadians have about the threats to regional development programs and the like, will be taken care of by this Government, will be addressed by this Government, one has to bear in mind that guarantees were given that social programs would not be affected, that workers who were displaced would be treated well, to use the kind of phraseology that the Prime Minister is accustomed to using.

And when we engage in this debate—not to defeat the free trade deal, because we know we cannot do that, but to get the Prime Minister to fulfil his promises—we get instead, as my House Leader put it, jackboot democracy. I would refer to it as puerile pettiness, to the extent that my colleague from Essex-Windsor, notwithstanding that it had been intimated by the Minister of State for International Trade (Mr. McDermid) that he would be given extended time, was not given the opportunity to complete his remarks.

I have never seen such niggardly behaviour in this place in my life, and that coming at the Christmas season. This Government should be ashamed of its behaviour.

We do not apologize for trying to get this Government to fulfil the promises that the Prime Minister made during the election campaign at least to address the fears that Canadians have in the face of the inevitability of this deal.

But, I digress from the focus of what I want to say.

One of the core claims of this Government is that it is trying to give Canada the opportunity to compete internationally and to do so effectively.

I will not digress again into the question of access to American markets and whether we really have that, or whether the disputes settlement mechanism will work or not. But let's consider the elements of competitiveness in the modern world economy.

It surely cannot be a part of increased competitiveness for a country that spends more money on its energy than any other country in the world, both for industrial purposes and domestic purposes, to give it away, in effect, when in fact our energy resources could be a comparative advantage.

Clearly there is something else afoot among those who suggest that we are going to be more competitive if we say that some of the comparative advantages we have

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

will not be comparative advantages, as energy resources otherwise might be.

It is clear to anybody who wants to examine the elements of competitiveness in this the tail end of the 20th century that the very core of competitiveness is the ability to produce new technology and new knowledge; that the core of economic survival for industrial nations such as Canada is research and development.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, this country has a pitiful record in respect of research and development. Only one-half as much of our Gross National Product is spent on research and development as is spent by the other industrial nations against which we must compete. And one of the reasons for this is that so much of our industry is American owned. In fact, if one looks at those industries that are Canadian owned and their commitment to research, it can be seen that they commit the same proportion of their sales to research investment as characterizes the other industrial nations, and our real problem is our foreign ownership.

One of the elements of the trade deal that has not been discussed in any great detail is in fact the ownership or investment rules. In respect of this signal fact, every single company in Canada worth less than \$150 million is open to acquisition by Americans without any review at all. None. No conditions with respect to performance; no conditions with respect to employment; and no condition that would say that, once acquired by the Americans, a company even has to stay in Canada.

And what characterizes those industries? What characterizes those industries is the fact that almost every single new net job produced in Canada in the last 10 years has been produced by companies worth less than \$150 million. Most important, virtually all Canadian research and development was done in companies worth less than \$150 million. We have put up for sale the very core of our competitiveness, assuming we understand that research and development is important to our future competitiveness. Certainly that is clear.

• (2230)

How do you stimulate research and development? You do it by subsidies, at least in part. You do it by grants to industry, at least in part. You do it by procurement. We face five to seven years in negotiations on subsidies and you know damn well that the result is not going to permit the Canadian Government to invest specifically in Canadian industry to stimulate research and development. That is going to be unacceptable. You

cannot count on it. Yet half of all research in the U.S. is paid for by the American Government.

Some \$65 billion a year is spent by the American Government on research, and two-thirds of that is for defence. In other words, the Americans have an area of subsidization for research that is not accessible to Canadian industry. And I am not even going to talk about the subsidies at the state or city level that will never be attacked. I am talking about a heavy duty investment in research by the American Government that we will not be able to duplicate and which is closed off to us.

We say we are going to make Canada more competitive in the American market. Nonsense. We put up our research and development intensive industries for sale. We are in a deal in which the Americans can subsidize their research in ways in which we cannot.

Furthermore, we have procurement rules. Oh, we have a nice level playing field in the procurement rules. Procurement is one of the most powerful methods of stimulating research and development. Do you know that our \$150 million or less industry is where one would expect to have research taking place, yet they are wounded by this agreement. Do you know that the Americans have protected their small business by a set-aside rule? There is a whole gob of contracts that the American Government puts out that will not be accessible to our industry because it is closed off to favour their industry. We will not even talk about the minority set-asides. So procurement is unlikely to be the weapon it ought to be in stimulating research and development in Canada. The importance of this aspect of this deal is such that I am tempted to ask you for extra time.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. McCurdy: However, I know the Government would not tolerate that because of course it does not want to penetrate the cloud of ignorance which has propelled speeches from Members opposite so far.

Let me say in closing that I know you enjoyed this, Mr. Speaker. I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year and I look forward to seeing you again next year.

Mr. Pat Sobeski (Cambridge): Mr. Speaker, I want to thank you for the privilege of addressing this House. As this is the first time I have spoken in the House of Commons I must first thank the voters of my riding who elected me to continue the tradition of strong federal representation for Cambridge. As many in this Chamber

know, Chris Speyer served this riding and this country as a skilled legislator. I am honoured to be the beneficiary of the contribution he made to my riding. He has established an excellent standard for me to duplicate.

The riding of Cambridge encompasses a number of communities: the City of Cambridge, comprised of the former Cities of Galt, Preston and Hespeler; the Township of North Dumfries and the addition, as a result of redistribution, of the south ward of the City of Kitchener. The riding is a combination of urban and rural, and a reflection of the nation as a whole.

This riding has benefited for the last four years because of the economically sensible policies of this Government. The voters of this area remember five years ago under the previous Liberal Government when the unemployment rate was in the 17 per cent range. Over the four years of Conservative Government the unemployment rate in the riding fell to 2.9 per cent or, to put it another way, 97.1 per cent of the working population was employed.

The workers of this region recall that, at the start of the first mandate of the Conservative Government, it established a long-term plan and agenda for economic renewal, and it is clear from the confidence expressed by Canadians that that plan is working. I am proud to represent a Government which created the economic environment that delivered jobs for the riding.

With this record of accomplishment in this riding, a riding which was experiencing one of the fastest growth rates in Canada, why would the voters elect a supporter of the Free Trade Agreement? If there was any riding that wanted to maintain the status quo, it should have been the Cambridge riding.

However, the voters listened during the three years of this debate and on November 21, when they were asked to decide, they decided on me and a second majority mandate for this Government.

Let me review for the House a few facts that convinced the voters of my riding to get on with the job of building a stronger Canada. The Macdonald Commission informed the Canadian people that we do not have unrestricted access to a market of 100 million people as do members of the European Economic Community, Japan, and the U.S. As well, the U.S. has a wide range of non-tariff barriers and regulatory procedures which prevent Canadian firms from having secure access to the U.S.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

We have witnessed the growth of U.S. protectionism with over 800 protectionist measures on the books that would have had a negative impact on plants, which means a loss of jobs. However, the workers of this riding knew that even if the riding of Cambridge was doing well, tearing up the Free Trade Agreement would not continue this golden status quo.

The strongest U.S. opponents of free trade are the United Auto Workers and the politicians from the auto producing States who want a much more aggressive negotiation on the Auto Pact to Canada's disadvantage. If we tear up the Free Trade Agreement we expose the Auto Pact by itself to a fresh and dangerous challenge. The Auto Pact has enriched and strengthened my riding and the citizens want to continue to build on free trade, not only in Waterloo region but in the rest of this nation.

Hon. Members opposite are also aware that any arrangement entered into with the U.S. must be compatible with GATT and acceptable to our trading partners. The only arrangement acceptable is a free trade area under Article 24. The Opposition has suggested it would attempt to negotiate a series of trade agreement with the Americans which are limited in scope to specific industrial sectors, the so-called sectoral approach. However, this approach was tried by the Liberals earlier in this decade and it did not work.

• (2240)

Members of the Opposition say that the Free Trade Agreement is no big deal as only 20 per cent of our exports still face U.S. tariffs. The critical point is that those remaining tariffs are primarily on manufactured and processed goods. The tariff structure makes it cheap to export raw materials and expensive to export finished or processed products made from those raw materials. Eliminating remaining tariffs gets rid of this disincentive to do more with our resources in Canada. As the President of the Canadian Federation of Labour said, or put it simply: "More pre-export processing means more jobs".

Members of the Opposition have made claims that companies will locate down to the southern States where there are no minimum wages laws. If that were the case, then why would the automobile industry invest so heavily in Ontario in the last few years? Why would Honda locate in Alliston? Why did Toyota pick Cambridge? Why did GM-Suzuki pick Ingersoll?

The answer is, first, that the Canadian labour force is well educated and capable of operating the sophisticated equipment of modern industry. Second, in the Province

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

of Ontario and in the communities of Alliston, in Waterloo Region and Oxford County, there exists a tremendous work ethic. When education is combined with work ethic one gets greater productivity. We recognize it. The workers recognize it. More important, industry recognizes it, too.

The companies are willing to pay higher wages here because of the greater productivity of Canadian workers, and that makes it a good investment for these companies. Canadian workers should be congratulated for the well-earned reputation they have achieved in the international community.

I suggest that where wages are low productivity is low. I suggest that where wages are low quality is low. In other words, one gets what one pays for.

I want to say a few words about Canada's aerospace industry that stands as a concrete example that free trade can and does benefit Canadian companies and Canadian workers. The aerospace industry is one of the only Canadian industrial sectors to have firsthand experience with and to operate a multinational free trade agreement.

The Civil Aircraft Agreement is a multinational trade agreement signed by the participating countries of the GATT which came into effect January 1, 1980, and virtually eliminated all tariff duties on commercial aviation products, including aircraft components and parts.

What have been the results between 1980 and 1987? The aerospace industry has greatly benefited under this agreement, allowing the Canadian aerospace industry to add more than 14,000 new jobs—a 30 per cent increase since 1980. In comparison, the remainder of the Canadian economy added new jobs in those seven years at the rate of 11.5 per cent.

The Canadian aerospace industry is proof that international agreements, whose purpose is to encourage export trade, can and do work. Canadian companies and their employees can and do win.

I would now like to be more specific as I review a few companies in the riding of Cambridge.

Com-Dev Limited is part of that aerospace industry that exports most of its products to the United States. The company predicts the current work force of 260, composed of young men and women from our universities and community colleges, will double over the next five years.

Com-Dev Limited is a Canadian company that sells a high tech product to the United States, Europe and Japan. This Cambridge industry is a study of excellence that is another example proving Canada can compete with the best in the world.

The textile industry also has a presence in Cambridge. Let us look at Tiger Brand, a successful Canadian company. Tiger Brand is an example of the kind of restructured and modernized garment plant that will succeed under free trade. As the president of that firm indicated:

The Free Trade Agreement is just a simple transaction between two countries. It will help this company to employ more people by expanding our share of the U.S. market. The fact is that there is not a single 'modern' sewing machine collecting dust in Canada.

This company does not make the \$1.50 T-shirts. It wants no part of that market. Let the developing countries manufacture that product.

Tiger Brand markets a high quality, colourful, fashion-oriented sportswear that is aggressively sold in the competitive North American market-place. This is a progressive company, willing to move with the times. Yet, at the same time, it has established a child care centre to assist the employees working there.

Another firm, Allen-Bradley, a major player in the industrial electrical field, supports the Free Trade Agreement because it will protect and expand its access to the large U.S. market. In fact, the president of the firm has indicated that: "When duties are removed from our medium-voltage products, we will be in an even better position to compete in the United States. By increasing our exports, we will be creating many more jobs for our area. Our Canadian employees can compete with American employees in any state, now and in the future."

Allen-Bradley is also committed to the long-term development of business in Canada with its employees. During the past two years it has spent \$14 million to improve its facilities and equipment. In 1989, it plans to spend at least \$7.4 million on new capital projects.

I might add that Allen-Bradley's record of community involvement is a model of good corporate citizenship.

Canadian General-Tower Limited is a medium-sized vinyl manufacturing Canadian company located in Cambridge, Oakville and Etobicoke that ships 50 per cent of everything it makes to the United States. According to its Chairman, the prospects of free trade have enabled the firm to increase its factory capacities

substantially and that means prosperity for the community, not only in taxes paid but, more important, in the jobs that will be sustained and created.

He continues:

The Canadian market is simply not big enough. Worse, without free trade, U.S. protectionist policies will limit and erode Canada's export potential. An alternative for our firm may be to service the American market from plants located in the U.S. And that loss would invariably be deeply felt by those local retailers who currently serve our 1,000 employees.

As these examples illustrate, the Free Trade Agreement will continue to bring more and better jobs to the residents of Kitchener and Cambridge.

In June of this year Prime Minister Thatcher spoke to Parliament. I want to remind Hon. Members of some of her comments. She said:

Britain has learned that it is not Government which creates wealth, but people, provided Government has policies which encourage them to do so.

We have also got away from the debilitating concept of the all powerful State, which takes too much from you to do too much for you, constantly substituting the politician's view of what the people should have, for the people's own view of what they want.

Later in the same address she said:

Protectionism is not the lifebelt which keeps an economy afloat. It is a millstone that drags you down and penalizes consumer and workforce alike. Subsidize the inefficient and soon that is all you have; you lose the competitive edge to export abroad and keep prices down at home.

In my riding of Cambridge local industries and companies have continually emphasized the need for improved productivity, with dedicated and innovative people, the superior application of technology and the new opportunities offered by the Free Trade Agreement. I am confident that the future of the riding of Cambridge is strength and growth, within a truly independent Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Jim Karygiannis (Scarborough—Agincourt): Mr. Speaker, it is an honour to stand to speak for the first time in this House on behalf of my constituents of Scarborough—Agincourt. I want to thank them for giving me the opportunity to come here.

Last weekend when I was in my constituency the people I met were continually asking about the free trade deal. One business man I know, a man who is a well known Conservative supporter, wanted to know what the fuss was all about, why didn't we Liberals just let the Bill pass and get it over with.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

• (2250)

I am sure that many of my colleagues across the floor are wondering the same. I asked the man: "Would you sell or buy a house of any kind, or any kind of property without first studying the terms of the contract and discussing it with your family? Would you venture into a major business deal with another company without first making sure that all the cards were on the table and that credit was good at the bank and that all your business partners knew what was going on? That is what we are doing." There was no argument.

I explained that as an informed businessman he may have a good idea of how the present free trade pact might affect his business. What about those Canadians who have very little or no working understanding of international trade and business? Do they have any less right to know or feel assured? What about the small local storeowners or textile factory workers who work long hours just to make ends meet, who cannot afford to pay a mortgage and may never own their own homes? What has the Government said to them, either to inform or assure them that they will benefit from free trade, other than there would be some fall-out from the gains made by multinational corporations which will be the real beneficiaries of the deal?

Again there was no argument because this gentleman knew, as we all know, that the Conservatives nearly lost the election because they arrogantly and mistakenly thought that the less the public knew about free trade the better. They wanted to believe that it was a non issue.

Before the beginning of the election campaign, I believe that 99 per cent of Canadians knew nothing about the GATT negotiations, much less their connection with free trade.

I told this man that the track record of the Government is that it has never said once, from beginning to end, what its real intentions in proposing this Bill have been. It has never come clean with the public or the House, to spell out in simple terms who will really benefit and who will really lose once the trade Bill becomes law.

Many are bewildered that our Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) now hails this deal as Canada's salvation when, prior to 1984, he insisted that he did not even want to hear mention of a free trade pact since it meant the loss of Canadian sovereignty.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Why does a loss of Canadian sovereignty no longer concern the Government? Did the Prime Minister have to go along with free trade to obtain a membership in the exclusive trading club known as G-7? Perhaps the Prime Minister was told in no uncertain times that the Auto Pact would be cancelled and a new arrangement renegotiated under GATT unless he played ball with the U.S.

What will be the impact on national markets all over the world when one of the world's richest resource nations, Canada, becomes intimately linked with the world's largest debtor nation? It is absolutely incredible. It is outrageous. Where and when has the Government, either in the House, on the campaign trail, or in any of its publications ever addressed these issues or attempted to satisfy these kinds of questions with a reasonable response?

It falls upon us, because of the unwillingness of the Government to provide the public with any sort of useful information, to make sure that all the questions are raised and every answer checked so that every opposition Member is satisfied that a reasonable accounting can be given on the issue of free trade to the people of their own constituencies who are now purposely being kept ignorant by the Government.

We have the right to ask and a right to know, but most of all we have a responsibility to the Canadian public to inform them fully of every possible consequence to their future which will result from this Bill.

Our Party has said that we would not impede the passage of a free trade Bill and we will of course hold true to our word. However, the election of the Government was hardly an overwhelming endorsement of free trade.

A better measure of the Canadian feeling on this issue was taken by pollsters immediately following the national debate among the three Party Leaders. At that time, the big corporations spent millions of dollars in advertising, buying the election for the Government.

Why was this done? Were the millions spent because free trade would benefit the average Canadian? Even the most naive would not believe that big business suddenly developed this touching concern for the little guy.

Why did most of the big business community so strongly support the Free Trade Agreement? In the past few years we have seen a number of Canadian corporations transferring their operations to the United States,

or buying on a large scale existing U.S. business enterprises. None did so because they would have access to a larger market, they did it because there are fewer effective government interventionist policies in the United States, that bastion of free enterprise where what is good for General Motors is good for the U.S.A., as a former U.S. Cabinet Secretary put it.

Yet these corporations, which one former Party Leader called corporate welfare bums, are usually in the front line at the trough petitioning the Government for special favours and hand-outs.

The concern of my constituents is over what protection the Government will afford its citizens when corporations in Canada insist they cannot compete with U.S. firms as long as they are forced to contribute to the social programs which constitute the safety net that provides a decent minimum standard of living for so many of our citizens.

Are our social services, pensions, tax system, health insurance and other programs to be changed more like those in the United States where the gap between the rich and the poor is steadily growing? For example, in Canada, over 80 per cent of unemployed workers receive unemployment insurance benefits of 60 per cent of their weekly wage for up to one year. In the United States, only one-quarter of the unemployed receive unemployment insurance benefits, getting less than 40 per cent of their weekly wage for only six months.

In Canada we have universal medicare. In the United States, 36 million people, one-third of them children, have no form of medical insurance.

Welfare assistance is readily available for all Canadians but only one-third of poor American families receive any public assistance. It is no wonder there is such a high crime rate in the United States.

Yet the Americans claim that our social programs are unfair subsidies and want compensation for profits lost to American companies if and when Canadians create new social programs like dental care or public automobile insurance.

That is blackmail, extortion and robbery.

My Scarborough—Agincourt constituents have other concerns. They want progressively higher standards in the areas of environment protection, occupational health and safety, consumer protection and minimum wages.

With respect to minimum wages, several of the states have no minimum at all and most others have pegged

minimum wages well below Canadian levels. Surely if free trade is going to make Canada a wealthier nation we should be able to afford higher standards.

Surely no one is going to be so bold as to suggest that in order to keep in world markets we must poison our environment, maim and injure our workers and consumers, and pay poverty wages to our workers.

These are legitimate concerns not only of my constituents but of most Canadians.

When Canadians were concerned that our precious water resources were being jeopardized by the Free Trade Agreement, the Government reluctantly reacted by amending the agreement. Surely since the concerns I have raised on behalf of Canadians are serious and the Government claims the agreement will not have these impacts, then the Government should be prepared to accept amendments which will reassure Canadians that their concerns and reservations on this Free Trade Agreement have been addressed.

Any attempt by the Government to limit legitimate debate and proposal of amendments will be a betrayal of the trust of citizens who have been lured into voting for the Government by the massive big business propaganda barrage.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

• (2310)

[Translation]

Mrs. Pierrette Venne (Saint-Hubert): Mr. Speaker, as a proud representative of the residents of my riding in this Chamber, and having the privilege of speaking on their behalf, I rise today to participate in this third reading debate on the Bill implementing the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. Mr. Speaker, I must take this opportunity to extend my thanks to the voters of my riding of Saint-Hubert who elected me on November 21. They can rest assured that I will always be listening to them, as I did during the 51 days the election campaign lasted.

Mr. Speaker, I have no pretension of bringing to this Chamber a completely new point of view on the Free Trade Agreement.

This is partly because, as one of my colleagues indicated earlier, an extremely impressive number of hours have already been devoted to this proposal during the thirty-third Parliament and since the opening of this session, thus allowing many of us to express their wise opinions. However, Mr. Speaker, the Opposition Parties have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the numerous newly-elected Members of the House had not participated in the previous debates. First of all, Mr. Speaker, Opposition Members seem to have forgotten that thanks

to them, and because of their lies and the fearmongering that went on, the last election was centered on free trade.

As the new Member for Saint-Hubert, I wish to state very clearly that the residents of my riding support the Free Trade Agreement.

On November 21, they clearly indicated their consent, giving me a 10,400 vote majority.

Last week-end, I went to a few Christmas parties in my constituency, and the people were both surprised and amazed that the Opposition would try in the House to delay the passing of the free trade Bill. I could see amazement, Mr. Speaker, as they asked questions, and voiced their obvious dissatisfaction with the Opposition who does not want to admit that, on November 21, the people decided, and as one of my colleagues would say, *vox populi, vox Dei*.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to briefly describe the industrial structure of my constituency of Saint-Hubert. We have mainly small, but excessively dynamic businesses which have earned for themselves a good share of the market. Some of them are already exporting to the United States and other countries.

There is a variety of manufacturing industries in my constituency, making a wide range of products, including plastic mouldings, coffee-makers, lab equipment, steel wire, stairs and ramps, condensers and evaporators, kitchen furniture, clothing, and steel and aluminum containers.

In Saint-Hubert, we also have a Pratt & Whitney plant, building engines for airplanes and helicopters. You can also find in my riding the best aeronautics school in Canada, which offers courses in manufacturing, maintenance and aviation, and creates, with the Saint-Hubert airport, a unique infrastructure ensuring our economic development in years to come.

The Free Trade Agreement can only contribute to the expansion of this industrial complex which well deserves it. Mr. Speaker, the concept of free trade between Canada and the United States is not new. As a matter of fact, it has existed since before Confederation, having been founded in 1854. Since then, many successive attempts have been made to secure comprehensive agreements, including one in 1911 proposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It is only after the Depression in 1935, that Canada and the United States would go about signing a whole series of treaties favouring free trade that would evolve in the course of the following 50 years.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The average custom tariffs decreased between 1930 and today from 38.5 per cent to more or less 5.5 per cent. This liberalization of trade occurred under the GATT and mainly under the Auto Pact.

Mr. Speaker, the Members of the Opposition, those especially of the socialist persuasion, do not like us to mention the fact that a free trade agreement already exists in the car manufacturing industry. Who would dare rise in the House and claim that Canada could have done a lot better after 1965 without the Auto Pact?

Since World War II, Canada and the United States have worked together to encourage the greatest expansion of world trade in history, and the Free Trade Agreement represents the logical conclusion of this long process.

In 1982, faced with the slowness of GATT and a succession of protectionist measures passed and the United States Congress, the Liberal Government of the time created, at a cost of \$23 million, the Macdonald Royal Commission to analyze our country's economic perspectives.

Having spent \$23 million and three years studying the matter and consulting, the Commission recommended, in August 1985, that Canada seek a bilateral trade agreement with the United States.

Liberal Senator van Roggen, who used to chair the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and who had recommended the signing of a Canada-United States trade agreement in 1978 and in 1982, resigned to protest the attitude of the Liberal majority in the Senate at the end of the 33rd Parliament. During the recent economic summit which was held in Toronto, our main trade partners demonstrated their support for the Free Trade Agreement and remarked that it could be used as a model for the changes to be made to the GATT.

Mr. Speaker, these concrete facts did not escape the attention of the Canadian people on November 21. The Opposition's attitude goes against reality. To my mind, they are reacting out of frustration at their electoral defeat.

The Free Trade Agreement, although much publicized, is an integral part of the legislative program put forward by the Government since it took power in 1984. It is part and parcel of a series of crucial measures aimed at economic renewal and national reconciliation along with the Meech Lake Agreement, the tax reform,

the national child care policy, the Québec regional development plan, competition legislation and privatization.

Mr. Speaker, this country is undergoing a process of change, of adjustment, of preparation for the twenty-first century. And I am honoured to take part in the debates in this House, in the parliamentary process leading to the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, Canada's economy is based on our capacity to export. I now wish to enumerate certain indisputable facts in order to enlighten the Opposition and perhaps alter its attitude which can only be one of stubbornness, of frustration, of lack of respect for the Canadian people. How could it be otherwise when they refuse to accept the following facts:

1. Thirty per cent of Canada's Gross National Product is made up of exports;
2. Canada is the only major country which does not have a market of 100 million consumers;
3. Seventy-eight per cent of Canadian exports are destined for the United-States;
4. Canada ranks second among the world's industrialized countries with 26 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product being composed of exports, in comparison with 28 per cent in the case of West Germany, which was the greatest exporting country in the world in 1987.

The world economy is increasingly interdependent and in the Canadian economy growth is linked to the constraints of changing international markets and even more so to interdependence with the American market, since no other two countries in the world have closer economic ties.

These are the facts, Mr. Speaker, and they should convince the liberals and socialists across the way.

The FTA will have the following beneficial effects: In the energy sector, opening up to the American market will encourage the search for new energy reserves and will ensure greater energy production in the medium term, thus making Canada less dependent on world reserves.

Increased direct investment in the United States by Canadian companies in recent years will be rechanneled to Canada, given its access to the American market and proximity to energy sources. Trade liberalization will

force firms to upgrade equipment and improve productivity and this will bring about increased exports to other countries.

Mr. Speaker, we never hear the Opposition mention the benefits which the Free Trade Agreement holds in store for consumers. The truth is that the cost of tariffs is borne by the consumer, just as the cost of any other indirect tax. With the elimination of tariffs and with increased market access, the Canadian consumer will be paying less for a wider variety of products.

During the election campaign, Mr. Speaker, the Opposition has rallied around the threat of curtailment or loss of social services in Canada. It will be noted that having practically flogged to death the issue, they have considerably toned down their attempts to intimidate the Canadian public this week and last in the House, and the reason is, Mr. Speaker, that the Free Trade Agreement will in fact ensure enhanced social services for Canadians in the future. In the past, like in the period after the war, collective enrichment was translated into a more equitable distribution of wealth in social services, unemployment insurance, health insurance and car insurance.

Before redistributing wealth, we must create it. And the best way to be able to afford our social services is not to increase personal income tax as advocated in the electoral platform of the Socialist Opposition.

The search for incentives to stimulate the economy, such as access to the American market, will generate additional resources to pay for our social programs, even with our rapidly aging population.

[English]

To conclude, Mr. Speaker, our great nation on the eve of the twenty-first century can only benefit from the Free Trade Agreement.

Ms. Marlene Catterall (Ottawa West): Mr. Speaker, the people of Ottawa West have entrusted me with an important mission, to speak out on their behalf, to bring their views to this Parliament, and to the governing of this society. It is a trust I do not want to betray no matter how late the hour or how enticing the prospect of a Christmas holiday. It is a trust I do not limit just to those who voted for me but to those who voted for someone else. It is a trust I hold on behalf of all my constituents, and it is a trust we all bring to this House.

We talk about participatory democracy and consulting the people. This election has had to be the granddaddy of all consultations.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[Translation]

I suppose that all my colleagues here spent 50 days and more, as I did, going door to door and personally meeting millions of people in their ridings.

[English]

Perhaps never before did a Parliament have such an opportunity to debate a major issue of public policy in full awareness of the views, the aspirations, and the hopes of all Canadians. It is a chance I think we have blown.

[Translation]

In our democratic system, the big question is to what extent we will be able to incorporate in the Free Trade Act everything we learned and heard so that the Agreement can be more acceptable to a greater number of Canadians.

[English]

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) talked about reconciliation. He talked about healing the nation. We had the opportunity here in the last 11 days to draw on every shred of wisdom everyone of us in this House has gained to make the best possible deal we could, and we did not do it. We had the opportunity to implement those values that unite us as Canadians, not those that divide us.

The Government has chosen not to take that path of reconciliation but to block by every means at its disposal amendments that would have satisfied and eased the concerns of millions of Canadians. The Government has chosen instead to stifle the expression of those views by limiting debate through every procedural means at its disposal, to cut off the 120 new Members who were elected to this House and who have never had the chance to speak on behalf of their constituents before.

It is not enough for a Government to say "we won the majority of seats" or for others to say "we won the majority of the popular vote".

There was, as I heard it, no impenetrable wall that separated those that voted for the Government on this issue and those that voted against. On either side of the argument there were deep concerns about this deal and what it means for the future of our country. Those who voted for the Government, and presumably for the trade deal, and those who voted against it, with few exceptions, both want to see our network of social programs maintained.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

They want the Canadian Government to retain the power to implement new programs in the future to meet new and emerging social needs. They want to know that we will continue to pursue the Canadian dream that one should be able to live in any of the diverse geographic regions of this country and not be disadvantaged by it. It is a goal that we are far from achieving, that goal of regional equality. It is one we continue to strive for. We want to be able to continue to use the wealth of the more prosperous parts of our country to invest in wealth and prosperity for the rest of our country. We do not want that investment to be considered a trade subsidy subject to retaliation.

The environment is important to all Canadians however they voted on November 21. We live with vast open spaces with lakes, forests, rivers and oceans. We want to know that we can legislate high standards of environmental protection. We may even want to compensate businesses for the extra costs of meeting those standards and still keep them competitive. We should be able to do this without being punished by our trading partners for what they may consider unfair subsidies.

We believe as Canadians in a dramatically changing economic climate, with or without this trade deal. Workers who are displaced by forces beyond their control should have access to retraining and to new job opportunities. They should have the support of their society in adjusting. We know that with this trade deal there will be winners and losers. What does that mean? It means there will be some jobs gained and a lot of jobs lost. Much personal hurt goes along with that. I have some suspicion that most of the big winners, those less than 30,000 jobs a year, less than .1 per cent of our total employment changes in the year, will be created for those who are able to interpret it and carry this trade deal into court, not for ordinary Canadians.

● (2320)

Who are the victims? We know who the victims are. Every study that has been done has told us who the victims will be. They are women, under educated, visible minorities, and the disabled. Those will be the real victims.

During the election the Minister of Multiculturalism and I were on a panel before the National Association of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women. We heard of about 600 women in Toronto who have lost their jobs. The Minister told those women: "It is because we want to give you better jobs. We do not think that minimum wage jobs are good enough for you". Tell that to those

women now when they are attempting to buy a turkey for their family at Christmas.

Did the Minister return from that panel and find out what is happening to those women? Did he talk to the Minister of Employment and Immigration and say: "What can we do for those women?" The Minister of Employment and Immigration (Mrs. McDougall) has told us time and again this week that the Government is taking no pro-active role in helping displaced and dislocated workers. It is sitting back and waiting to see, standing by.

A good adjustment program plans for change and anticipates change. It involves the employers and the businesses in predicting change so that the Government can help people to adjust to that change. Why wait until they are out of work to provide the training that they need? That is the whole new approach needed.

These values are common values held by a vast majority of Canadians. They cross Party differences, and they cross regional differences. They are the values that the Prime Minister assured Canadians were not affected by the trade deal. The Canadian people took the Prime Minister at his word.

My Party lives by those values. That is why we prepared amendments to be introduced in the House, to attempt to reconcile the views of those who voted for the deal and of those who voted against the deal, to ensure that those fundamental freedoms of a sovereign nation are not at risk. We have been prevented from putting those amendments. Why has the Government refused to put on paper the promises that it made to the people of Canada during an election campaign? There is only one answer.

The Canadian public knows that over the years Liberal Governments have taken every opportunity to expand trading links throughout the world. This remains the case today with our Party. We want to look beyond our borders, to look at bold and imaginative plans to open up huge new markets in Mexico, Central and South America, and in every corner of the globe. We should be able to do this without jeopardizing the various development and social programs which enrich life for Canadians.

During the election the Prime Minister assured Canadians that social programs were not at risk. If that is the case, why did the Government refuse even to allow an amendment to put those assurances in writing? What is so dangerous about an amendment that would have stated that nothing in the agreement shall be interpreted

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

to affect the continuation of existing or the establishment of new Canadian social programs? Is that not precisely what the Prime Minister stated the deal was all about and that those things were not threatened?

[Translation]

If the Agreement does not call into question our sovereign right to create new social programs to respond to the needs of our growing number of senior citizens, for example, or to set up a universal day care program, if that is our decision, nothing prevents us from saying so clearly in the Agreement.

[English]

The Prime Minister assured Canadians that our ability to legislate and implement environmental protection is not threatened by this deal. If indeed that is the agreement with the Americans, amendments to make it absolutely explicit should be no problem. However, the Government refused to allow us to introduce the "dangerous" amendment that nothing in the agreement applies to existing or future programs and policies to protect the environment, reduce pollution, or conserve the land, resources, and water of Canada. Now, is that not a dangerous amendment? We could not bear to have it see the light of day in the House it is so dangerous to the trade agreement.

The Prime Minister assured Canadians that regional development programs were not in jeopardy in the negotiations to come. Yet we find in the agreement that only two specific regional development programs are exempted from being considered unfair subsidies and therefore countervailable.

We are concerned about all the regional development programs. That is why we put forward a amendment that stated that nothing in this agreement would prevent the authority of Canada in any of the following areas, and I will mention only one, economic development of all regions of Canada on an equitable basis. What is the problem with that amendment, if that indeed is what the agreement allows?

The Prime Minister assured Canadians that there will be ample adjustment and retraining programs to cushion the negative effects of employment dislocation. Yet, the Government refused and prevented amendments coming to the floor of the House that would have ensured that no interpretation in the future would minimize that power of the Government.

There were other amendments to clarify the protection of our water resources and our control of water.

There were amendments to allow monitoring in order that we could put in place those adjustment programs. There were amendments specifying the sovereignty of Canada. In all those areas they were amendments not to change the agreement, but simply to put in writing what the Prime Minister said.

I shall vote against this Bill because I believe it to be fundamentally flawed on three major points. First, it does not secure free trade, it does not secure assured access to the American market, it does not secure exemptions from protectionist American trade laws, and it does not secure a binding dispute settlement mechanism. Second, there is no conclusion in this agreement on what is a subsidy. Future considerations may be an all right term in hockey contracts. It is not an all right term when the stakes are your country. Third, this is not a free trade deal when it gives away the strongest bargaining tools we have to go into those five to seven years of negotiation. What else do we have to trade with? What else do we have to negotiate? We have given up control of access and pricing of our energy, investment in Canada, and control of our financial institutions.

As I read this deal and talked about it through the campaign, I kept thinking about Kenny Rogers. I wished that he had been standing at Simon Reisman's elbow or at the Prime Minister's elbow as he signed this agreement. He said: "You got to know when to hold, and you got to know when to fold up, know when to walk away, and know when to stay". Mr. Reisman knew when to walk away, and the Prime Minister sent him back to sell a little bit more of the country.

I believe that the sell-out of investment is particularly damaging, and it puts small businesses in this country on the auction block, and not necessarily to the highest bidder. I believe that investing in Canada with its rich resources and vast potential is a privilege, a privilege that should bring with it economic opportunities, not ownership of Canadians.

The riding I represent is touched by all these issues. It is diverse and represents the full richness of urban living in Canada. I represent very wealthy Canadians, middle-income Canadians, low-income working families struggling to make ends meet, and thousands who live below the poverty line. Many are single parents raising their children on public assistance. I know the inadequacy of the present social and training programs to meet the needs of these families to raise their children and to live with dignity and hope for the future.

*Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement**[Translation]*

My riding has more senior citizens than perhaps any other in the country. During this election, I did not try to frighten them, but I was there to hear them tell of their fears about their pensions and health care and future housing and home care programs.

● (2330)

[English]

My constituents include many public service employees, people dedicated to the competent, impartial and professional delivery—in many cases right across Canada—of the programs mandated by the Parliament of Canada. My constituency includes representatives of the many and rich cultures that make up Canada.

We have in Ottawa West some of the densest urban development in North America—but we also live with the historic Ottawa River along our northern border, with beautiful parks and woods, and the world famous Experimental Farm.

We are reminded daily of the importance of protecting our environment.

My riding has a diverse and healthy business community, ranging from the very small entrepreneur to those employing hundreds of workers. In Ottawa West, appropriate to the season, we produce everything from hand-carved shepherd's crooks to sophisticated equipment for space research.

I cannot speak for the farmers, or the fishermen, or the miners, or the foresters of this country; but I can, and will, listen to their representatives when they speak, and I had hoped that the Prime Minister and the members of this Government would have done the same.

We have not been through a high stakes poker game, Madam Speaker, or a corporate takeover, or an exercise in pure market forces competition where it's "winner take all and damn the consequences for the loser"; we have been through a democratic process, a process involving not only who gets elected but what the people out there have to say and how we can best bring that wisdom into our decision making in this Chamber. And it doesn't start at 57 per cent or 43 per cent; it starts with the desire to listen to all of the citizens of this country and synthesize what they have said and reflect it in the laws that we pass.

The Prime Minister, during the campaign, gave the people of Canada verbal assurances, and he now refuses to put those assurances in writing, and he does so

because he knows that Head Office in Washington will not back up his guarantee.

I had hoped that we were not coming here simply to watch the Government ram through its legislation while ignoring the legitimate and accommodatable concerns of the many who do not support it. They may have the power; but that does not give them the right to do it.

The people have decided, yes; but the people also spoke. They spoke to all of us, whether they voted for those on that side of the House or those on this side of the House. They spoke to us about their love for a country that is different, a country that is more just, more compassionate, and more tolerant. And they do not want to lose that, regardless of how they cast their votes.

We in this House have failed in the last 11 days to accommodate those deeply held concerns. We have missed a rare and golden moment in history, a moment we could have seized coming so soon after the campaign itself.

We still would not have a deal that I or my Party think is good for the country, but we would have had a better deal, and I am sorry that we have missed that opportunity.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Rob Nicholson (Niagara Falls): Madam Speaker, I am pleased to address the Chamber and say a few words on the Free Trade Agreement. I think it appropriate, on the occasion of this my first speech in this Parliament, to thank the people of Niagara Falls for choosing me as their representative for a second term.

Of all of the riding names represented in this Parliament, I should not think that there is one that is more famous than that of Niagara Falls.

I had occasion to visit Russia with the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Clark), and during that visit an official from Leningrad, on hearing that I was from Niagara Falls, said to me, through a translator—and for once nothing was lost in the translation—that while Niagara Falls is in the middle of the continent, it is heard all over the world.

I am very proud to represent the riding of Niagara Falls, a riding which has in it the city of Niagara Falls, the city in which I was born. In addition, it has the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake.

Niagara-on-the-Lake boasts the only Lord Mayor in Canada. It was the first capital of Upper Canada—and

there are those who say that the capital of this country should have been Niagara-on-the-Lake. I say that with all respect to the Ottawa Chamber of Commerce.

I want to thank the 17,000 voters who returned me to Parliament. As well I thank—

An Hon. Member: That is a mandate.

Mr. Nicholson: That is a mandate, yes. I thank the grape growers who sent me back to Parliament; I thank the peach growers; I thank the sour cherry producers. I thank all of those in the agricultural community who sent me back with an overwhelming majority. In fact, I extend my thanks to the agricultural community on behalf of all of the Progressive Conservative Members from that area.

I see the Minister of State for Transport (Mrs. Martin) in the Chamber. She, too, benefited from the votes of all of those agricultural producers, individuals who once again stuck by the Party that has been so good to the agricultural community in this country.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nicholson: Madam Speaker, Niagara Falls is a riding that has approximately twice as many senior citizens as is the Canadian average, and I thank those senior citizens for choosing to send me to the House of Commons. They did not listen to those who were telling them that they were going to lose their pensions and that medicare was going to be wiped out. I thank them for not believing those kinds of comments and for casting their votes in my favour.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nicholson: I also want to thank the working men and women of Niagara Falls, the members of unions, those individuals I saw at the plant gate and who whispered to me as they were going by that they were not listening to the union management and that they would vote Progressive Conservative.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nicholson: To the members of the New Democratic Party, who purportedly represent Main Street, I can tell them that they lost the Main Street poll in Niagara Falls as well. If you want to see the people who are representing Main Street right across Canada, they happen to be on this side of the House, and I am proud to sit with them.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Nicholson: Madam Speaker, the people have spoken. The Progressive Conservative Party won overwhelmingly.

From the night of the election on, there have been all kinds of articles and quotes by members of the Liberal Party as to how well they had done; that they had gone from 38 seats to something like 82 seats.

All I can say to them is that if they are happy about the way they did in the election, then we are happy for them as well.

An Hon. Member: It sounds like an NDP win: a moral victory. A moral victory in an immoral campaign.

Mr. Nicholson: A moral victory, yes. I say to the people of Canada, if you want to see a moral victory, check out the win of the Hon. Member for Lincoln (Mrs. Martin). She had a moral victory on election night and she should be very proud of that.

Madam Speaker, we all know what a difficult election this was. Everyone who participated knows that those who oppose the Progressive Conservative Party and who oppose the Free Trade Agreement used every tactic at their disposal in an effort to defeat us. But it didn't work—and I think that reflects very well on Canadian democracy. When all was said and done, *The Toronto Star* didn't get to pick the next Government of Canada. The people of Canada got to decide that.

For those who like to analyse these things, let me try to describe where I think the Opposition went wrong. I am quite sure they are not going to take advice from a Progressive Conservative but I am going to give it to them anyway because it is the truth.

• (2340) •

I admit there was a point in the election where they had many people scared. Why they lost it was, that on each successive day of the campaign they said something more and more outrageous. That played into my hands and the hands of every other Conservative candidate. As they did that, after a while people said: "That is impossible, we do not believe the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Turner) or the scare tactics of the NDP". In the last two weeks the support built up over the campaign by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mulroney) returned to where it belonged, the Progressive Conservative Party. When the Opposition have their policy conferences they should think about that. They could not scare people enough to have them reject a deal which is very good for them.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The approach was always the same. They came up with a new scare tactic saying: "Say this is not in the agreement. Show us where in the agreement it says this is so". I remember in the last week of the campaign there was an article in a very famous Canadian daily newspaper which said: "Tenancies are threatened. Nowhere in the Free Trade Agreement are tenancies protected, therefore the Free Trade Agreement must threaten them". That was the logic but that is obviously not the case. We could say there is nothing in the Free Trade Agreement that says Christmas comes on December 25, therefore that must be threatened as well. I suppose you could say there is nothing in the FTA that says the Liberal Party will ever win another federal election, therefore they must be in a position to lose the election.

Mr. Scott (Hamilton—Wentworth): Probably true.

Mr. Nicholson: The Hon. Member has been in politics longer than I, so I bow to his opinion on that.

Then after digging up these scare tactics they would say every time that we should go to Washington and get assurances that our social programs and so on would not be touched. I would be ashamed to be part of a Party and Government that went to Washington or anywhere else to have our social programs guaranteed. That is not necessary for a sovereign country like Canada.

The election brought out fundamental differences between our view of the country and the view of the Opposition. Just prior to the election the former Member from St. Catharines, Joe Reid, a man who served his country ably in war and peace in his years in this House, invited me take part in a debate in St. Catharines. The subject was the Free Trade Agreement. A union leader from the area was a speaker. We were talking about the Auto Pact and he made the point that the reason the big three automobile producers were locating companies in Windsor is because of the threat of tariffs under the Auto Pact.

There is a minimum production requirement in Canada in the Auto Pact. What you probably have not heard in this debate is that the production of automobiles in Canada far exceeds the minimum requirement. As a matter of fact, nearly 30 per cent of all automobile production in North America now takes place in Canada. However, it was the belief of the NDP, in this case through the union leader, that tariffs were forcing that production in Canada. That is absolutely wrong. That would be a terrible reason to start locating plants. Plants should be located where they make sense.

The practice of the NDP is to underestimate fundamentally the kinds of products we can produce and our competitiveness. I said then and I will say again that the reason plants locate in Canada, and I am speaking about the area of the country I know best, the Niagara Peninsula, they locate there because it makes sense, because we have reasonably priced power, we are well situated in the North American market, we have a skilled workforce, and we build a tremendous product. Yet you do not hear that in the debate from the other side. All they want to do is tell you how in some American states the minimum wage is \$4; then it went down to \$3 and \$2. I guess they are working for free somewhere in the U.S. now.

That kind of thing ignores the facts. I will tell you the facts because I know you have not heard them too often with respect to automobile and parts production. It is less expensive to build automobiles in Canada than to build them in the Great Lakes states. It is considerably cheaper to build them in Canada than it is to build them in the southern U.S. You have not heard that tonight. They continue to underestimate our ability to compete. We are asked by the Liberals to believe that we cannot compete with a people with whom we have successfully competed for 200 years. It is just not so.

Let me talk about some of these big bad American companies. I listened to some members of the NDP talk about how terrible the American corporations were. I will say to them what I said once to the Leader of the NDP. If you do not want foreign investment in your ridings, send it down to Niagara Falls. We will welcome it in the Niagara Peninsula. I know the NDP are people of principle, so tell these companies the truth, you do not want them, and you can send them down to the Niagara Peninsula. We always welcome new industry because it is a tremendous area in which to locate.

Recently, the Secretary of State for External Affairs visited my riding and we went to Thorold and visited one of the auto parts plants there. Because of all of the statements by the Liberals and the NDP about our ability to compete I asked people in that company if they thought the auto parts that they were making can compete with the Americans. They said: "Not only can we compete with the Americans, we compete with the world. Do not listen to all that nonsense about how we cannot compete in the world". Yet that is completely lost on members of the Liberal Party who are here tonight. There is nothing second-class about Canadians or the products we produce.

If anything, this debate has set the course for the next four years in this Parliament. The Progressive Conservative Party is talking about the future and what we can do. The members of the Opposition have served notice that for the next four years their job is to seek out every negative on the Free Trade Agreement. No matter how small or spurious, that is their mission. That is what they will be doing.

Mr. Nunziata: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

Mr. Della Noce: Go out for a haircut. You want my comb?

Mr. Nunziata: In the spirit of Christmas—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Nunziata: It is almost the day before Christmas and I was wondering if you could ask the Hon. Member, in the spirit of Christmas, if he could be just a little less partisan than he has been.

• (2350)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I am sure the Hon. Member will take heed and listen to the Hon. Member.

Mr. Nicholson: Mr. Speaker, I was just saying that members of the Opposition have served notice of what they will be doing for the next four years, that is, concentrate all their efforts on seeking negatives in the Free Trade Agreement no matter how small and how spurious. I guess that is why they are there and we are here.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nicholson: I bless them if that is what they want to do. Go ahead and do that for the next four years. However, whatever else it is, it is not vision. It is not courage. I say particularly to the new Members in the House, if they want to see vision and courage start to listen to the speeches of the Prime Minister of Canada.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Nicholson: Mr. Speaker, on that note I would like to close—

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. Nicholson: Before I do I would certainly like to thank all those individuals who came all the way from the Yukon to hear me speak. I certainly appreciate that.

I would like to conclude my remarks by quoting the words of a great Canadian Prime Minister who said this—

Mr. Nunziata: Pierre Trudeau?

Mr. Nicholson: —on March 16, 1987, about the Free Trade Agreement. He said: “This is a building block of greatness. What the House is considering today is the future of Canada. It is an act of faith in Canada. It has often been said that young men have visions and old men dream dreams. This is the day for Canada. This is a day both for visions and great dreams. It is a commitment to the future of Canada. It is a commitment to the youth of Canada, to our unity and to our integrity as a nation”.

With those words I entirely agree.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Jim Karpoff (Surrey North): Mr. Speaker, I am happy to rise in the spirit of Christmas to talk about the subject matter that is before us, that is, the Canada—U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Before I start I wish to thank the residents of Surrey North for their support and their faith in me. Surrey North is one of the four new ridings in British Columbia. It is a riding created out of parts of two ridings previously held by Conservatives. It is a typical suburban community. It has a higher proportion of single-parent families than any other area in the Lower Mainland. It has lower average incomes than other communities on the lower Mainland. It has a large ethnic community, particular of Indo-Canadian background. It is a community that has been changing dramatically in the last five years.

Some 60 per cent of all the growth in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia in the last five years has been in Surrey. It used to be a community that was made up of homeowners. Now, north of 104th, 44 per cent of the people are renters. Between the Newton area and 104th Avenue 40 per cent are renters. It includes the old neighbourhoods of Newton, Walley, South Westminister, Bridgeview, Johnson Heights, Fleetwood, Pinehead and Port Kels. It has some industry, but basically it is a residential community. It is very typical of Canadian suburban communities.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, that community elected me because the people living in it are diametrically opposed to this trade deal.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Karpoff: People in the community are vulnerable to this trade deal. They are not the big multinational corporations. They do not sit on the boards of directors of multinational corporations. They do not own them. The industry that is there is mainly lumber mills and small manufacturing. They were frightened of this trade deal.

Somebody said that consumers will not be hurt by this trade deal. Let me just read to Hon. Members some excerpts from a letter I received over the course of the last four days from a business in my community, Western Cablevision. Western Cablevision has 111,000 subscribers, not only in Surrey but in Langley, Clearbrook and Abbotsford. It also has the areas that cover Fraser Valley West and Fraser Valley East. I have not seen the Members from those ridings raising this issue in the House.

With the free trade deal what will happen is that the cost to those television subscribers will go up. It will go up because the free trade deal insists that they must compensate the American broadcasting systems for distinct signals. What is so peculiar about this, which we in British Columbia are beginning to understand, is that the Tories developed a definition of distinct signals and included it in the trade agreement. It means that Toronto does not have to pay. Montreal does not have to pay. None of the eastern regions have to pay. Just British Columbians will have to pay.

One of the reasons that 19 New Democrats were elected in British Columbia is because that is one of the major things in this trade deal. There will be a negative impact on British Columbia. Any benefits will be to Ontario and Québec.

I wish to talk about a fundamental part of the trade deal. The trade deal will curtail our ability to be involved in the direction of our economy. We can no longer direct and influence foreign investment. We no longer will have the ability to decide what is going to take place in our country in terms of economic decisions. These decisions will be made in American boardrooms, not in Canada.

We have to begin to look at some fundamental facts about Canadian job creation and Canadian industry. I want to read to Hon. Members some of the statistical

information with respect to job creation in the last number of years. Between 1978 and 1985 there were 872,300 net jobs created in Canada. Of those 849,000 were contributed by Canadian-owned firms, while at the same time the American firms contributed to a loss of 8,900 jobs. Other foreign companies contributed to a loss of 14,400.

Let us go back to consider the statistics. Canadian firms created 849,000 jobs. American firms lost us 8,900 jobs. Other foreign firms lost us 14,400.

● (2400)

That is a fundamental change that will take place as a result of this trade deal. We will no longer be able to control capital which will be used to take over our firms and fold them as in the past.

Another interesting aspect of job creation is to compare small business and large business. Out of 845,000 jobs, 99 per cent of them were created by small businesses, which are businesses employing less than 19 people. Large firms, those with over 100 employees, had a net loss of 50,000 jobs in that same period. The free trade deal will benefit large corporations, particularly American multinationals, and will be a disaster for small, independent Canadian businessmen.

The arrogant Tory Government has done nothing to deal with the question of dislocation. It simply said that it will form a blue ribbon committee to make some recommendations on adjustment programs. However, that blue ribbon committee has become a blue ribbon bust because it has done nothing.

The workers who will be mostly affected by dislocation will be older workers. If we recall the downturn in the economy in the early 1980s, we will know that older workers did not get back into the workplace. There are no adjustment programs for them now.

As well, women with families will not have the capability to retrain, go back to school or move to different locations. If you lose a job in North Surrey, you cannot move a family to get a job in Courtenay.

The Government said it would support job strategies. Its record is different because the budget of the Canadian Job Strategy since 1984 has dropped from \$2.2 billion to \$1.7 billion. There has been a cut of about \$500 million, which, in real dollars, is a loss of nearly \$1 billion since it was elected. Yet it still says it is committed to readjustment programs.

We must also consider one of the hidden problems in this trade deal. There will be tremendous pressure on the Canadian Government to equalize the American and Canadian dollar. It has already begun. The Canadian Manufacturers Association—a group that no one can say supports the NDP—conducted a survey of manufacturers about the competition they would be facing based on the rate of exchange between the Canadian and the American dollar. With an 80-cent dollar, 31 per cent said they would be at a competitive disadvantage. At 82 cents on the dollar, 36 per cent said they would be at a competitive disadvantage. At 85 cents on the dollar, 67 per cent said they would be at a competitive disadvantage.

Mr. McCain of McCain Foods in New Brunswick is someone who knew this very well. He said that all those talking about free trade with the United States may be singing right now when the dollar is at 80 cents, but when it goes to 82 cents or 83 cents they will be closing down their businesses. He also said that since he owned a big multinational corporation he could move his capital elsewhere, and he has already begun to do so. But he went on to say that, unfortunately, his workers and his agricultural producers could not move.

As a result of this trade deal we have lost the ability for the Government to participate in the direction of the economy. We hear much talk about the strength of the Japanese economy. The Government is a major player in economic decisions within Japan. In fact, it directs industry as to where it will invest and what it will develop. It directs industry about how it will compete nationally and internationally.

I had the opportunity to live in Japan on a couple of occasions. In 1980, the Japanese Government became concerned that American and West German computer companies were getting the upper hand. It announced that it would put \$865 million toward the industry and directed the industry to match that grant toward developing a computer within five years that would be 10,000 more times powerful than the existing computers. That is how we got the personal computers. The initiative and direction came from the Government. It was not a free market direction.

This trade agreement will mean that capital will flow to where profits can be maximized. The businesses do not care about social costs. They do not care about social responsibility. They do not care about the impact on workers, their families or the community. If a company in Canada is making a profit of 50 cents but can make 52 cents by going to the States, it will do so. The fact that a whole community is put out of work or

the country is seriously disadvantaged will mean nothing.

We have heard about the impact on social services and health care. My background is in administration in social services and health care. I have been a special consultant for the last number of years and I can say that anyone who tells me there will not be a negative impact on social services and health care is simply not telling the truth.

Marshal Cohen, President of Molson's and past president of Olympia and York Enterprises, former Deputy Minister of Finance, is reported in *The Globe and Mail* as stating clearly:

... of course the free trade agreement will affect Canada's social programs, and will force the Government to cut back or drop some.

That is what people who are knowledgeable about the issue are saying.

There are three areas in which free trade exposes our social services and health care programs to attack. The first is that American corporations will attack programs as an unfair subsidy. We are left with defining subsidies over the next five to seven years. Americans have already said that they want our regional programs, our social programs, unemployment insurance and medicare defined as subsidies. The Government tells us to trust it, those items were not on the table and it would never surrender our social programs.

Mr. Turner (Halton—Peel): That is right.

Mr. Karpoff: When the Government was negotiating the trade deal it said it had two objectives it wanted to achieve. One was a guaranteed access to the American market—

An Hon. Member: We did.

Mr. Karpoff: You did not get it because you are still under American countervailing laws and future American countervailing laws.

The second objective was a binding dispute settlement mechanism. It did not get that.

An Hon. Member: We did.

Mr. Karpoff: How does the Government expect Canadians to believe it when it asks them to trust it with respect to subsidies? I guess not.

An Hon. Member: You are a windbag.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

● (2410)

Mr. Karpoff: I would rather be a windbag and be truthful than be dishonest about it.

There is also pressure from Canadian companies to cut social programs and health care. I just want to tell Hon. Members a few little things about what the Chamber of Commerce has done, that great friend of socialism. The Chamber of Commerce, in a letter written during the election campaign to the Leader of the New Democratic Party (Mr. Broadbent) with regard to regional development and social programs, said that this agreement would not affect its existing programs, and that the Chamber of Commerce has no fear whatsoever that our social or developmental programs will be affected by the FTA, and it has said so repeatedly.

A week after the election, what happened? The Canadian Chamber of Commerce says, of course we have to have a commission to look at the high cost of our social programs, and it called on the Government to reduce spending on social programs in order to reduce the debt.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has said the same thing. It said that Canadian manufacturers face tough battles with foreign rivals who pay lower wages and do not have to pay unemployment insurance premiums. Canadian corporations, during the election campaign, were saying they would not put any pressure on the Government to reduce social spending or programs. Within a week after the election, they were demanding that the Government cut social programs and spending as a way to reduce the deficit. We in the New Democratic Party have better solutions for reducing the deficit, including not spending \$20 billion on nuclear submarines.

Mr. Dick: The people didn't buy it, though.

Mr. Karpoff: In Surrey, British Columbia, they bought many things.

The third area in which there will be an impact on social programs and health care is privatization. One of the things that we in British Columbia are beginning to understand, and all Canadians will begin to understand, is that with a right-wing Premier like Bill Vander Zalm, the leading edge in privatization, followed by Grant Devine, soon to be followed by many other conservative people right across Canada, the B.C. Premier has been privatizing highway maintenance and such things as health care and social services, including our mental hospital.

Under Article 1402 and 1403, American corporations have a right to run those services here, and they also have a right to bring their personnel here. Not only will the for-profit American corporations come up here to run our health care and social services, but we will lose jobs because they will be bringing up their own personnel.

The Conservatives keep saying that the agreement does not affect social services, but let me just read a list of the professionals who can come here without proper visas. They include accountants, engineers, scientists, physicians, dentists, nurses, psychologists, teachers, economists and social workers, and they will take jobs and turn—

Mr. de Jong: The lawyers were able to exempt themselves?

Mr. Karpoff: That's right. They were able to exempt themselves. This free trade deal, coupled with the drive for privatization, will take our health care system into a whole new area.

I have had the opportunity to travel around the world to look at health care systems, and I know what the American health care system is like. We want nothing like that in Canada.

Another thing I have told the residents of Surrey North is that I will not be like the silent nineteen from B.C. for the Conservatives—

Some Hon. Members: Time.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Order. I recognize the Hon. Member for Manicouagan.

Mr. Karpoff: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I would like to thank the Canadian public.

Mr. Rodriguez: Mr. Speaker, I rise on a point of order. I know it is Christmas Eve, and it may be that the Tories are in a more giving mood. I was hoping that the Hon. Member for Manicouagan (Mr. Langlois) might let me have a chance to make a speech since I did not complete my maiden speech in this Parliament. I know that the previous Hon. Member for Manicouagan would have given way to me.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Manicouagan has the floor.

Mr. Charles A. Langlois (Manicouagan): Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Hon. Member that my

speech will be short, so he will have a chance to speak after I do, tomorrow morning at four o'clock.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have this opportunity to tell the House what the men and women of my riding of Manicouagan think of the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. It is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that on November 21 the people of Manicouagan voted to give the Conservative party a renewed mandate. In 1984, voters in the riding had given the Prime Minister a majority which was more than comfortable by any standard and they did so again this time, and just as resoundingly. The riding of Manicouagan, Mr. Speaker, stretches westward to the town on Franquelin and along the Côte Nord to the town of Blanc-Sablon, also encompassing Ungava Bay communities to the north of Kujuuak.

Manicouagan then, Mr. Speaker, is a riding of vast expanses and those who live there are hard working people who, over the last 35 years, have contributed to the nation's economic development. Through their work in iron mines, in the forest and fishing industries, they have contributed, over these years, hundreds of millions in personal and business income tax dollars. These hard working men and women have met challenges in the past . . .

[*English*]

—and they are ready now to face a new challenge in strongly supporting free trade.

[*Translation*]

In my riding, Mr. Speaker, three sectors will benefit from the Free Trade Agreement: these are mining, forestry and fisheries.

The mining sector, iron mining more specifically, has been the engine of economic growth in the western part of my riding. Year after year since 1953, Mr. Speaker, millions of tons of iron ore extracted from Mont Wright, in Quebec, and Wabush and Labrador City, in Labrador, are shipped to steel mills in Canada and the United States. In the last few years, iron ore shipped from the ports of Sept-Îles, Pointe Noire and Port-Cartier has met with heavy competition from Brazilian ore.

[*English*]

The Free Trade Agreement will first contribute to protect our exports of iron ore to the United States. Second, large tonnages, millions of tonnes of iron ore, are shipped from Sept-Îles, Pointe Noire and Port-Cartier to the Canadian steel mills of Sidbec at Tracy,

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Quebec, and to the mills of Stelco and Dofasco at Hamilton, Ontario.

We all know that every year our Canadian steel industry sells great quantities of its steel product to the United States.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, we also know that the Americans regularly apply special tariffs and quotas on the steel products they import when they feel that their own steel industry is threatened. Most of these measures are aimed at steel goods from Asian countries in Asia but these restrictive measures also apply to Canadian steel.

The Free Trade Agreement will protect our Canadian exports against these restrictive measures and quotas imposed by the American Government. The mechanism provided for under the Free Trade Agreement will exclude our steel exports from the special tariffs imposed by the American Congress. They will make it possible for us to increase our steel exports to the United States, because our products are more competitive. By selling a greater amount of their products to the United States, our steel industry will use more iron ore from the North Shore, thereby ensuring more stable jobs and additional new jobs for the young people in my riding.

• (2420)

[*English*]

As mentioned earlier this week the danger to our iron ore and steel exports to the United States does not come from some small non-unionized mills located in the southern United States but from large non-unionized steel mills operating in Korea, Japan, India, and pretty soon now from China. That is from where the dangers are coming, not from the United States. Stelco, our largest and oldest steel manufacturing firm, knows that. Dofasco also did not hesitate to purchase the Algoma plants at Sault Ste. Marie. These people are not afraid of free trade. Members of the Liberal and New Democratic Parties from the Hamilton and from the Sault Ste. Marie areas should know about that, Mr. Speaker.

[*Translation*]

The workers in Havre-Saint-Pierre also voted massively for the Free Trade Agreement. Mr. Speaker, these people from the North Shore know that the titanium ore which they mine from the Quebec soil near Allard Lake is used in the manufacturing of a great many products, including paints and alloys.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[English]

Where is the biggest and the closest market for those products? South of the border, Mr. Speaker, that is where it is. The workers of Hâvre St-Pierre know that, and that is why they strongly supported us on November 21.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, my constituents who are employed in the pulp and paper and forest industries all voted for free trade. They saw in this Agreement new opportunities. The pulp manufactured in Port-Cartier is used to make products for hygienic and medical purposes. The Free Trade Agreement will open wide the doors to the American market by eliminating tariffs on these products. These tariff reductions will make our products more competitive, thereby consolidating the jobs for the Cascades plant workers in Port-Cartier, as well as forest workers in my riding.

Mr. Speaker, the Free Trade Agreement will also benefit the fishing industry which is very important in my riding. The fishermen, the operator and workers of the fish processing plants see new opportunities in the Free Trade Agreement. They are already considering setting up new processing units for highly specialized products in the area of preserving, vacuum packaging and deep freezing fish ready for retail store shelves. I understood the concern expressed by the fishermen in my riding when I heard the half-truth spread by the Opposition parties about the impact of the Free Trade Agreement on the fishing industry. But the fishermen have come to realize that the Agreement is not a threat for their industry, but that it will increase its growth potential.

Mr. Speaker, they know that their industry is world class, Canada being the greatest exporter of fish and fish base products in the world. They also know that the United States absorb in full 60 per cent of our fish exports.

The Canadian fishing industry employs more than 120,000 people and plays a key role in the economies of our coastal provinces, of certain areas of Quebec, of Northern communities and of the coastal communities of Manicouagan.

In the Atlantic provinces and Quebec, for example, approximately half of the 1,300 fishing communities rely exclusively on the fishing industry. In the Northwest Territories, communities have come to rely almost exclusively on commercial fishing. That is the case, Mr.

Speaker, in the area of my riding which lies between Kégaska and Blanc-Sablon.

There is no doubt that the Free Trade Agreement will benefit the Canadian fishing industry and that it will have a beneficial impact on communities which depend on this industry's prosperity.

Through the Free Trade Agreement, Canada and the United States have agreed to phase out over a 10-year period the tariffs which presently apply to fish products, thus giving Canada a considerable advantage over its major competitors. As customs tariffs are phased out, Canadian processing industries will be able to increase their production of finished products. We will then no longer export only raw or semi-processed fish, since we will be able to produce finished products at competitive prices, thus creating jobs.

Consequently, many regions in this country will be able to fully develop their natural resources. Product diversification and processing activities give rise to new jobs and create a strong economic base for the many fishing communities which are presently in a vulnerable situation.

The Free Trade Agreement will increase the value added to products by processes such as canning and preparation of ready-to-eat foods. Since the market for processed foods is growing rapidly, this sector represents new potential for growth and job creation that will result from the expected increase in exports of these products.

Mr. Speaker, the Opposition has tried many times to make our fishermen believe that many of our social programs like unemployment insurance will be affected by this Agreement. The Free Trade Agreement has absolutely no effect on social programs in Canada.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, even the Americans recognize that social programs cannot be subject to countervailing duties and when they tried to take such action against the unemployment insurance program, from which most fishermen benefit, their own trade tribunal threw the case out.

These social programs were never on the negotiating table and never will be in the future. Canadians attach as much importance to universal programs as our Government does.

[English]

The Prime Minister of Canada (Mr. Mulroney) has been very firm concerning our social programs during the negotiations. He has on several occasions made the commitment that Canada will never sign an agreement

that will endanger our social programs. Even if the Americans wish to discuss this matter during the next round of discussions, they will be told that this subject is "off limits".

[*Translation*]

The Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States will benefit fishermen as much as processing industries.

The economic viability of a fishing industry depends on the availability of resources, the quality of the raw material and a good return on investment.

As the processing industries gain a larger share of the American market, Mr. Speaker, demand for processed fishery products will increase. This greater demand in turn means a higher return on investment from fishing.

This Agreement meets these concerns and gives the Canadian fishing industry an opportunity to strengthen and improve the vital role it plays in the Canadian economy.

[*English*]

New jobs and new opportunities are there around the corner for the fishermen of Manicouagan, for their families and for the future of their children. Opposition Members from the Maritimes and Newfoundland also know that, but political blindness prevents them from seeing the real benefits of the Free Trade Agreement for the fishing industry.

• (2430)

We have heard through the debate the question of mandate.

[*Translation*]

My mandate in the riding of Manicouagan is very clear: there were 36,000 on the electoral list, of whom 28,000 voted. The NDP received 4,000 votes, the Liberal Party 6,000 and the Progressive Conservative Party 18,000, Mr. Speaker.

That is my mandate to support the Free Trade Agreement. Tomorrow, I will return to my riding and I will meet my fellow citizens over the holidays with my head held high and with pride. I will speak to them proudly about the historic decision made here tonight by the Government of Canada in ratifying the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. I will speak to them with pride for having participated in this historic event by supporting Bill C-2 without reservation.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

[*English*]

Mr. Lyle Vanclief (Prince Edward—Hastings): Mr. Speaker, I rise in the House tonight at 12.30 a.m., on December 24, one of the last speakers to take part in this great debate, a debate and discussion that will probably go down in history as one of the longest and greatest debates ever to take place in Canada. This debate has and will likely shape the future of Canada.

I come here with mixed feelings. First, I would like to reiterate the feeling of probably most of the new Members who came to Parliament in the last few weeks, and all of us in the House, the feeling that we have after winning an election, and the feeling that we have walking up to the front of this great building, not as a tourist as many of us have in the past, but as a Member of Parliament. But when I returned to the riding of Prince Edward-Hastings I said to my constituents that it was a feeling to which I could not put words. I know everyone else who sits in the House has felt the same way at one time or another.

It is a pleasure to rise in the House tonight to represent the constituency of Prince Edward—Hastings. It is a unique riding. It has a large agricultural base, a large industrial base, a large tourism industry, and we have in our riding the Air Transport Group headquarters for the Canadian Armed Forces. We are also fortunate to have the Tyendenaga Indian Reserve, a reserve of 1,500 to 1,600 Mohawks belonging to the Bay of Quinte Band.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the voters in Prince Edward-Hastings for placing their trust and faith in me to represent them here in the Thirty-fourth Parliament. I promise to fulfil that trust and faith with honesty, integrity, and enthusiasm.

My riding is made up of all of Prince Edward County in Ontario, the City of Belleville, and the three southern townships, including the County of Hastings.

I happen to live in Prince Edward County, and I suppose that I am a little biased, but it, as well as the whole Quinte area, is a great place to come from. We are cut off by a man-made canal in Prince Edward County, and frequently are mixed up with Prince Edward Island. We are also proud of Prince Edward Island, and this Party is really proud of Prince Edward Island now.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Vanclief: We in Prince Edward County have shared ourselves with different constituencies over the years, sometimes to the east, sometimes to the west, and

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

sometimes to the north, as we are now. I note with pleasure that it has not been since the year 1908 that the Prince Edward County portion of my riding has been represented in the House by a Liberal. That is 80 years, and I am proud to be the Liberal they chose to break that span.

Some Hon. Members: hear, hear!

Mr. Vanclief: We live in a great country, one that is envied by everyone else in the world. We have a tremendous resource of many nationalities, and a geography and climate that provide us with one of the most varied bases of natural resources, agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, mining, and logging. Many countries in the world cannot boast of all of those.

I would like Hon. Members to take a moment and think about my next statement. No matter what we sit on, no matter what we wear, no matter where we are, and no matter what we look at, there are four creators of wealth in the world. Those are fishing, mining, logging, and agriculture. There is nothing on the face of the earth that did not come from one of those. We have all of these in Canada, and it is our background and privileged duty as Members of the House of Commons to protect the strength of all of them.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Vanclief: If all of these are not strong, our economy will not be strong. I do not have the time tonight to discuss all of them, but I would like to discuss some of the concerns of the people in Prince Edward about how some of these are connected to the Free Trade Agreement that we have been debating for the last two weeks. I know that it is too late to make changes, but I wish to express their thoughts. I promised I would. They asked me to, and I would like to take a few minutes to do so on their behalf.

We have been told that this is a commercial document, that it can be changed in six months if it does not go well. Is this any way to instil confidence in the people of Canada? If this deal does not work, it will be very difficult to correct. I liken it to scrambling an egg and attempting to get it back in the shell.

I say to Members opposite that it better work, for the sake of Canada.

Donald Macdonald recommended further trading arrangements with the United States. He did not recommend this one. He said that there should be no deal unless we had the protection from further ability of

the United States to place countervail duties on Canadian goods entering the United States, and that we should have a level playing field. I agree with him. I would not be as concerned about this deal if we had that, but we do not have a level playing field. Unfortunately, this deal does not provide us with that benefit.

I have had a fair bit of experience in my life with the process of negotiations. I do not feel that this agreement was well made. From my experience, no matter how hard one party works to make a deal or an agreement, if another group or party looks at it, they look at it with different eyes, and they look at it in all fairness. There is always room for improvements. There is no such thing as the perfect deal. However, we have been told that this is a perfect deal. The Government has stated that it is a perfect deal, "trust us".

About a year ago now I attended a meeting in my riding chaired by the former Member for my riding who sat on the other side of the House. We had a considerable discussion about the agreement. It was a good discussion.

● (2440)

However, he continued to tell us that there really wasn't anything wrong with the deal. I finally said: "Fess up, Jack. There is no such thing as a perfect deal. There is no such thing as a one-sided deal."

However, I guess I must have been mistaken, because the U.S. Congress took less than a day to pass it. They think it is a good deal. The answer back from Mr. Ellis, on my asking whether there was anything wrong with this deal for Canadians, was: "Well, I can only make one comment, Mr. Vanclief. The grape growers in Canada are S.O.L." And I think, Mr. Speaker, that stands for "sure out of luck"—but I am not sure.

That type of answer, Mr. Speaker, did not then nor does it now, assure the residents of Prince Edward—Hastings or the people of Canada generally that good times are ahead, as we are being told by the Government of the day. We want some reassurance, and not just the statement: "Trust me."

In fact, we see very little in this deal that is concrete enough to make us feel reassured.

And then we hear people like Clayton Yeutter, the U.S. Trade Representative who negotiated this deal, make the following statement, and I quote: "The Canadians don't understand what they have signed. In 20 years they will be sucked into the U.S. economy."

Canada is already the most foreign-dominated of any industrialized country in the world. With the FTA, we give up the right to screen any new American investment. Under this agreement, by 1992 we will not be able to screen or control takeovers of any corporations in Canada of a value of less than \$150 million. And I note, Mr. Speaker, that that would include nearly 90 per cent of the corporations in Canada. We have handed the U.S. a Gold Card and told them to charge it. They will buy Canada. They will own Canada—and we will have lost control of our own country.

Big businesses like this deal. Why wouldn't they? It is full of the loopholes which corporate Canada had in mind when they encouraged it, when they pushed for it—and pushed for it they did, especially in the last few days of the election campaign, when they realized that the majority of Canadians had seen through their scheme and had realized that their corporate success in the future in North America—I didn't say Canada; I said North America—was going to be on the backs of the average Canadian.

That is when they started to buy the ads; that is when they started to buy Canadians. And that is when they, in the short run, bought Canada, and Canada will suffer for that in the future.

We all know what economic union means. It points to an economic build-up in certain areas of that union. History has shown that where economic power goes, political power will follow—and that has been true for centuries the world over. It may not happen for three years, or five years, or ten years, but it will happen. Mark my words, eventually it will happen. And the centre of the economic power in North America will not be in Canada but somewhere in the United States; and the centre of the political power will not be in Canada but in Washington.

I am sure that there are some in the U.S. Embassy right across the street looking at us right now and saying: "Give us time, we will have that building, too."

They did it in Hawaii starting in 1876, and finishing the process by making Hawaii a state in 1950. They did it in Puerto Rico starting in 1927, and now they control all aspects of Puerto Rican's defence, its foreign policy, its postage, and even its currency.

Is that what we want?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Vanclief: No, not ever.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Mr. McDermid: Tell us about Alaska, then.

Mr. Vanclief: I should like to now say a few words about energy. We are told we can compete. Yes, we can compete—but how successfully can we compete?

Mr. Della Noce: Read Luigi's letter.

Mr. Vanclief: The one main thing we had over the U.S. in terms of being able to compete successfully was our supply of energy. We had it. They wanted it. And they got it.

They do not have the resources to draw on; they need ours. That bargaining point alone at the negotiation table should have gotten us a better deal on the environment, and perhaps even an acid rain treaty.

An Hon. Member: We didn't have good negotiators.

Mr. Vanclief: We have agreed to share our energy with the U.S. They have not agreed to buy it. They will only buy it if they cannot find a cheaper source anywhere else in the world.

An Hon. Member: It is called world price.

Mr. Vanclief: Once our energy sector gears up to supply the U.S. market, who is going to hold them at ransom?—the U.S. buyers.

I would like to have a little more time in order to discuss the other concerns, including the concerns that my constituents have about subsidies. And I know they are more concerned after the Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie) yesterday, when questioned on subsidies, said: "We don't know whether the negotiations to find a definition of 'trade distorting subsidies' will be successful or not. In the history of the world, there has never been a successful negotiation to that end. But we will give it our best effort."

We sure hope that he will be successful, Mr. Speaker. If he isn't, this deal will not be successful. It rides on that.

Let me turn now to a few comments about agriculture. As I said earlier, it is the largest single industry in my riding.

I should like to state at the outset that I am a firm believer that as goes agriculture, so goes the economy of any country. The dairy farmers and all of the farmers in my riding are concerned and worried. They are being told that their supply management marketing board is protected. That they don't quarrel with. But what they

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

also know is that the market that they supply is not protected—and that is really what it is all about.

They know very well that raw products, dairy products are cheaper south of the border than they are in Canada, and they know that as time goes by and the duties are eliminated, those processed products can come into their markets and compete directly with them.

While their marketing board may be protected, if there are fewer demands for what they have to sell, what good is their board?

We wanted to propose numerous amendments to the free trade legislation, with the hope that the guarantees inherent in those amendments would provide our farmers with answers to their concerns. The Government wouldn't allow those amendments. It moved closure.

Some Hon. Members: Shame!

Mr. Vanclief: First it closed its mind, and then it closed the House.

We wanted to propose amendments that would ensure the continuation of our marketing board system, the protection of the Canadian Wheat Board, the protection of our supply management system, control over the importation of processed product so as to protect our poultry and horticultural industries.

All of the proposed amendments, if adopted, would have buffered the approaching shocks that will be faced by Canadian farmers. But no way. We couldn't even be heard, let alone vote on them. The Government doesn't want to consider any amendments. It wants to let the chips fall where they may, and it says again: "Trust us."

Well, I guess we are going to have to do just that. We only have 11 more minutes in which to debate this measure. But I promise Canadians, and I promise the constituents of Prince Edward—Hastings, that we are going to watch and we are going to keep track.

I am proud to be a Member of this place representing the voters of Prince Edward—Hastings. As a Liberal, I am for further trading arrangements, but not for this deal. I had hoped that, at the very least, our amendments would have been adopted so as to help ease the pain that is about to be inflicted on many sectors of this country.

We didn't get that, and so we will watch and we will monitor. As we have said, this part of the debate has only begun.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

● (2450)

Mr. Mayer: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, we are getting very close to Christmas and it is a tradition in this House that we take a moment to pause and say thank you to all the people who work so hard to serve this place so well. I would like to do that.

We have a new group of Pages who have served us very well. We have the Table Officers, all of the protective staff, our *Hansard* people, those who do the camera switching, our lobby staff, office staff. They have all been working very hard for the last two weeks and we need to recognize the contribution they make and that, without their efforts over the many hours we have been here the last two weeks, none of us would have been able to perform as well as we have.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Pappas): The Hon. Minister for International Trade (Mr. Crosbie).

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Some Hon. Members: Point of order!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Pappas): The Hon. Member for Mississauga East (Ms. Guarnieri) on a point of order.

Ms. Guarnieri: Mr. Speaker, I am a new Member from Mississauga East, and since the Government has declared closure I will not have the opportunity to speak.

Some Hon. Members: Oh!

Ms. Guarnieri: I would like the unanimous consent of this House to deliver my maiden speech.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Some Hon. Members: No!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Pappas): The Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Copps: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

Hon. John C. Crosbie (Minister for International Trade): Mr.—

Ms. Copps: Mr. Speaker, I heard an extremely reasonable request—

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Hamilton East (Ms. Copps) on a point of order?

Ms. Copps: Mr. Speaker, I heard an extremely reasonable request from—

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Ms. Copps: —a new Member from Mississauga. I did not hear the Chair. Perhaps the Chair did not—

Some Hon. Members: Your light is off, Sheila!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I heard a “No”. I did hear a “No”?

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Would you like to hear it again? The Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Mr. McDermid: That is the biggest bunch of sore losers I have ever seen. Sour Grits!

Ms. Copps: Scrooge!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): 'Tis the season to be jolly.

Ms. Copps: You are not going to be heard, Crosbie. Let the Hon. Member for Mississauga East (Ms. Guarnieri) speak.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Order, please. I will recognize the Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon) on a point of order.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, the Minister for International Trade has already spoken for an hour and forty-five minutes in this debate. I would like to support—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Order, please. The Hon. Minister is speaking on the amendment.

Ms. Copps: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Mr. McDermid: Sit down and shut up, Copps.

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Hamilton East on a point of order.

Ms. Copps: Mr. Speaker, I move that the Hon. Member for Mississauga East be now heard.

Some Hon. Members: Out of order!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Minister had begun his speech and the motion cannot be heard. The Hon. Minister for International Trade.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Ms. Copps: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Tobin: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Crosbie: Mr. Speaker—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte (Mr. Tobin) on a point of order.

Ms. Copps: It is a votable motion.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. McDermid: Now we understand why you lost the election.

Mr. Tobin: Mr. Speaker, I—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Now that the Member is in his seat I will recognize him.

Mr. Tobin: Of course, Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House always respects the Speaker's wise rulings because he has demonstrated over the last number of years in the Chair his great fairness in this Chamber. I submit, and I am sure the Clerks can verify this, that the Minister for International Trade had not yet said a single word. A proper motion has been put that the Hon. Member for Mississauga East (Ms. Guarnieri) now be heard. The Minister had not yet uttered a single word in this place. I submit the motion is in order.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Some Hon. Members: Sit down!

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor (Mr. Langdon) on a point of order.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, could I comment—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Some Hon. Members: No!

Mr. Langdon:—on this—

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I will come back later to the Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre (Mr. Axworthy). The Hon. Member for Essex—Windsor.

Mr. Langdon: Mr. Speaker, I think it first should be noted that a motion such as that which the Hon. Member for Hamilton East made cannot be moved on a point of order. I would therefore suggest that the motion is out of order. However, I would also suggest that the request from the Hon. Member for Mississauga East (Ms. Guarnieri) to speak was a request for unanimous consent from the House—

Mr. McDermid: And you did not get it.

Mr. Langdon:—to be heard. I ask that the Speaker put that question to the House of Commons for the sake of fairness since the Minister has already had one hour and forty-five minutes to express his point of view.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Point of order, Mr. Speaker.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): The Hon. Member for Winnipeg South Centre on a point of order.

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): Mr. Speaker, I would like to try to help you out of a difficulty.

Some Hon. Members: Oh, oh!

Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre): I notice there is not a disposition to allow a Member from our side to speak. I also notice that the Secretary of State (Mr. Bouchard) is finally in the House and I would like to move that perhaps he be now heard.

Some Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. Crosbie: Point of order, Mr. Speaker. With reference to the point of order, Mr. Speaker, I would call it one o'clock.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): In accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 57, at this time it is my duty to interrupt the proceedings and put forth with all questions necessary to dispose of the third reading stage of the Bill now before the House. Accordingly, the question is the following one:

Mr. Crosbie, seconded by Mr. Lewis, moved that Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America be now read a third time and do pass.

In amendment thereto, Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre), seconded by Mr. Gauthier, moved:

That the motion be amended by deleting all of the words after the word "that" and by substituting the following therefor:

Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, be not now read a third time, but that the bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole for reconsideration of clauses 3 through 150, inclusive.

The question is on the amendment. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the amendment?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those in favour of the amendment will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): In my opinion the nays have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

Call in the Members.

The House divided on the amendment (Mr. Axworthy (Winnipeg South Centre)), which was negated on the following division:

• (0100)

(Division No. 18)

YEAS

Members

Althouse
Angus
Assad
Axworthy
(Saskatoon—Clark's
Crossing)
Axworthy
(Winnipeg South
Centre)
Barrett
Bélair
Bellemare
Benjamin
Berger
Black

Blackburn
(Brant)
Blaikie
Blondin
Brewin
Broadbent
Butland
Caccia
Callbeck
Campbell
(South West Nova)
Catterall
Comuzzi
Copp
Crawford
de Jong

Duhamel
Ferguson
Finestone
Fisher
Flis
Fontana
Foster
Fulton
Funk
Gaffney
Gagliano
Gardiner
Gauthier
Gray
(Windsor West)
Guarnieri

Harb
Harvard
Harvey
(Edmonton East)
Heap
Hopkins
Hovdebo
Hunter
Jordan
Kaplan
Karpoff
Karygiannis
Keyes
Kilger
(Stormont—Dundas)
Kristiansen
Langan
Langdon
Laporte
LeBlanc
(Cape Breton High-lands—Canso)
Lee
MacAulay
MacDonald
(Dartmouth)
MacLaren
MacWilliam
Maheu

Manley
Marchi
Marleau
Martin
(Lasalle—Émard)
McCurdy
McGuire
McLaughlin
Mifflin
Milliken
Mills
Mitchell
Murphy
Nault
Nunziata
Nystrom
Ouellet
Pagtakhan
Parker
Peterson
Phinney
Pickard
Proud
Prud'homme
Rideout
Riis
Robichaud
Robinson
Rodriguez
Rompkey

Samson
Skelly
(North Island—Powell River)
Skelly
(Comox—Alberni)
Speller
Stewart
Stupich
Taylor
Tobin
Turner
(Vancouver Quadra)
Vanclief
Volpe
Waddell
Walker
Wappel
Whittaker
Wood
Young
(Gloucester)
Young
(Beaches—Woodbine)—
111

Scott
(Hamilton—Wentworth)
Shields
Siddon
Sobeski
Soetens
Sparrow
St-Julien
Stevenson
Tardif
Thompson
Thorkelson

Tremblay
(Rosemont)
Tremblay
(Québec-Est)
Tremblay
(Lotbinière)
Turner
(Halton—Peel)
Valcourt
Van de Walle
Vankoughnet
Venne

Vézina
Vien
Weiner
Wilbee
Wilson
(Etobicoke Centre)
Winegard—141

NAYS

Members

Anderson
Atkinson
Attewell
Beatty
Belsher
Bernier
Bird
Bjornson
Blackburn
(Jonquière)
Blais
Blenkarn
Bosley
Bouchard
(Lac-Saint-Jean)
Bourgault
Boyer
Brightwell
Browes
Cadieux
Campbell
(Vancouver Centre)
Cardiff
Casey
Chadwick
Champagne
(Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot)
Champagne
(Champlain)
Charest
Chartrand
Clark
(Yellowhead)
Clark
(Brandon—Souris)
Clifford
Cole
Collins
Cook
Corbett
Côté
Couture

Crosbie
(St. John's West)
Darling
DeBlois
de Cotret
Della Noce
Desjardins
Dick
Dobbie
Domm
Dorin
Duplessis
Edwards
Epp
Fee
Feltham
Ferland
Fontaine
Fretz
Gérin
Gibeau
Greene
Guilbault
Gustafson
Halliday
Hawkes
Hicks
Hogue
Holtmann
Horner
Hudon
Hughes
Jacques
James
Jelinek
Johnson
Joncas
Jourdenais
Kempling
Kilgour
(Edmonton Southeast)
Kindy
Koury
Landry

Langlois
Larrivée
Layton
Leblanc
(Longueuil)
Lewis
Littlechild
Loiselle
Lopez
MacKay
Malone
Martin
(Lincoln)
Masse
Mayer
Mazankowski
McCreath
McDermid
McDougall
(St. Paul's)
McKnight
McLean
Mitges
Monteith
Moore
Mulrone
Nicholson
Nowlan
Oberle
O'Brien
O'Kurley
Plamondon
Pronovost
Redway
Reid
Reimer
Ricard
Richardson
Robitaille
Roy-Arcelin
Schneider
Scott
(Victoria—Haliburton)

● (0130)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I declare the amendment lost.

The next question is on the main motion.

Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the said motion?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

Some Hon. Members: No.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those in favour will please say yea.

Some Hon. Members: Yea.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): All those opposed will please say nay.

Some Hon. Members: Nay.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): In my opinion the yeas have it.

And more than five Members having risen:

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Shall I dispense with the ringing of the bells?

Some Hon. Members: Agreed.

The House divided on the motion (Mr. Crosbie) which was agreed to on the following division:

(Division No. 19)

YEAS

Members

Anderson
Atkinson
Attewell
Beatty
Belsher
Bernier
Bird
Bjornson
Blackburn
(Jonquière)
Blais

Blenkarn
Bosley
Bouchard
(Lac-Saint-Jean)
Bourgault
Boyer
Brightwell
Browes
Cadieux

Campbell
(Vancouver Centre)
Cardiff
Casey
Chadwick
Champagne
(Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot)
Champagne
(Champlain)

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Charest	Jacques	Redway	Caccia	Kilger	Pickard
Chartrand	James	Reid	Callbeck	(Stormont—Dundas)	Proud
Clark	Jelinek	Reimer	Campbell	Kristiansen	Prud'homme
(Yellowhead)	Johnson	Ricard	(South West Nova)	Langan	Rideout
Clark	Joncas	Richardson	Catterall	Langdon	Riis
(Brandon—Souris)	Jourdenais	Robitaille	Comuzzi	Laporte	Robichaud
Clifford	Kempling	Roy-Arcelin	Copps	LeBlanc	Robinson
Cole	Kilgour	Schneider	Crawford	(Cape Breton High-	Rodriguez
Collins	(Edmonton Southeast)	Scott	de Jong	lands—	Rompkey
Cook	Kindy	(Victoria—Haliburton)	Duhamel	Canso)	Samson
Corbett	Koury	Scott	Ferguson	Lec	Skelly
Côté	Landry	(Hamilton—Wentworth)	Finestone	MacAulay	(North Island—Powell
Couture	Langlois	Shields	Fisher	MacDonald	River)
Crosbie	Larrivée	Siddon	Flis	(Dartmouth)	Skelly
(St. John's West)	Layton	Sobeski	Fontana	MacLaren	(Comox—Alberni)
Darling	Leblanc	Soetens	Foster	MacWilliam	Speller
DeBlois	(Longueuil)	Sparrow	Fulton	Maheu	Stewart
de Cotret	Lewis	St-Julien	Funk	Manley	Stupich
Della Noce	Littlechild	Stevenson	Gaffney	Marchi	Taylor
Desjardins	Loiselle	Tardif	Gagliano	Marleau	Tobin
Dick	Lopez	Thompson	Gardiner	Martin	Turner
Dobbie	MacKay	Thorkelson	Gauthier	(Lasalle—Émard)	(Vancouver Quadra)
Domm	Malone	Tremblay	Gray	McCurdy	Vanclief
Dorin	Martin	(Rosemont)	(Windsor West)	McGuire	Volpe
Duplessis	(Lincoln)	Tremblay	Guarnieri	McLaughlin	Waddell
Edwards	Masse	(Québec-Est)	Harb	Mifflin	Walker
Epp	Mayer	Tremblay	Harvard	Milliken	Wappel
Fee	Mazankowski	(Lotbinière)	Harvey	Mills	Whittaker
Feltham	McCreath	Turner	(Edmonton East)	Mitchell	Wood
Ferland	McDermid	(Halton—Peel)	Heap	Murphy	Young
Fontaine	McDougall	Valcourt	Hopkins	Nault	(Gloucester)
Fretz	(St. Paul's)	Van de Walle	Hovdebo	Nunziata	Young
Gérin	McKnight	Vankoughnet	Hunter	Nystrom	(Beaches—Woodbine)—
Gibeau	McLean	Venne	Jordan	Ouellet	111
Greene	Mitges	Vézina	Kaplan	Pagtakhan	
Guilbault	Monteith	Vien	Karpoff	Parker	
Gustafson	Moore	Weiner	Karygiannis	Peterson	
Halliday	Mulroney	Wilbee	Keys	Phinney	
Hawkes	Nicholson	Wilson			
Hicks	Nowlan	(Etobicoke Centre)			
Hogue	O'Brien	Winegard—141			
Holtmann	O'Kurley				
Horner	Plamondon				
Hudon	Pronovost				
Hughes					

NAYS

Members

Althouse	Axworthy	Black
Angus	(Winnipeg South	Blackburn
Assad	Centre)	(Brant)
Axworthy	Barrett	Blaikie
(Saskatoon—Clark's	Bélair	Blondin
Crossing)	Bellemare	Brewin
	Benjamin	Broadbent
	Berger	Butland

● (0140)

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I declare the motion carried.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the third time and passed.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Pursuant to the Order the House adopted earlier this sitting, this House stands adjourned to the call of the Chair for the purpose of giving Royal Assent to Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America.

The House adjourned at 1.50 a.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Friday, December 30, 1988

The House met at 4.40 p.m.

Prayers

[*English*]

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I have the honour to inform the House that a message has been received from the Senate informing this House that the Senate have passed Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, without amendment.

THE ROYAL ASSENT

[*English*]

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I have the honour to inform the House that a communication has been received as follows:

Rideau Hall,
Ottawa,

30 December, 1988

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Honourable Antonio Lamer, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, in his capacity as Deputy Governor General, will proceed to the Senate Chamber today, the 30th day of December, 1988, at 4.45 p.m., for the purpose of giving Royal Assent to a Bill.

Yours sincerely,
Léopold H. Amyot
Secretary to the Governor General

[*Translation*]

POINT OF ORDER

MR. PRUD'HOMME—QUORUM IN HOUSE

Mr. Marcel Prud'homme (Saint-Denis): Mr. Speaker, I wish to raise a point of order.

For many years, I have tried to follow the Standing Orders very closely. There is a very clear rule regarding the quorum. There are exceptions, so I would ask my colleagues not to get too excited about it. There are exceptions! But we must still clearly follow the Standing Orders!

We have been summoned, the bells have rung. We were proceeding as for a real sitting of the House, because you said the customary prayers for a real sitting of the House.

I would like to submit the case to you, so that in future we can deal with this question in the committee that considers the Standing Orders and clarify this matter completely. I have always objected to the House sitting without a quorum.

There is only one exception that I could find in the Standing Orders that can justify our sitting today. We suspended the sitting and the House receives a message from the Governor General or her deputy, one of the nine judges of the Supreme Court, to the effect that there will be a special sitting in the Senate for the purpose of giving Royal Assent. Citation 215 of Beauchesne says that when we receive a message from the Governor General asking us to go to the Senate for Royal Assent, that means we can sit regardless of the number of Members present. I can go along with that.

But it is not clear; when the bells ring, we are not aware that we have just received a message. Given this lack of clarity in our Standing Orders, I submit to you—I do not want to be difficult today; I know that everyone is eager to go—that confusion arises. We might one day have great difficulty because of this ambiguity in the Standing Orders.

I take the opportunity to point this out today, because what we are going to the other House for is very important. And since it is very important, we should make quite sure that everything has been done legally.

Therefore I submit to you again that when we were called, Mr. Speaker, we should have . . . And now, I see that you are receiving notices . . . or you should have sat in the Clerk's chair and waited to receive the message from the Governor General. In such a case, the Standing

Royal Assent

Orders provide that the Speaker or presiding officer sits in the Clerk's seat. And we wait. Then all of a sudden, there is a noise that goes on for some time; it is a message from Her Excellency the Governor General telling us that whether or not we have a quorum, we must go to the other place. Mr. Speaker, you should then have been sitting in the Clerk's seat and have gone to the Chair where you are now sitting and called the assembly to order. You receive the messenger and we go to do what he came to us for. But I don't know that . . . In principle, we don't know that officially. We come back and you return to the Chair.

So I submit to you, since the Standing Orders were not followed exactly, in my opinion, although I shall not elaborate further, I will not say that this sitting is out of order. But given the importance of what brings us here today, I would like, at a future meeting,

[*English*]

When we meet again to revise the rule, we will put it once and for all very clearly that what we are about to do can be done. My esteemed colleague and long-time Member of the House was the first one to be present, but there are only eight or nine Members here. I do not see a quorum. I do not see one Member from one of the three Parties, and I will not mention which one.

It is not clear in the minds of long-serving Members of Parliament, because there are contradictions between certain articles, as to what we are about to do.

I do not want to prolong matters. We have a high esteem for you, Mr. Speaker, and the Table Officers. I wish them all a Happy New Year. I would hope that you will take notice that at a future meeting of this House my colleagues and I will raise it as a point of order to be submitted to the appropriate committee.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): I would like to thank the Hon. Member for Saint-Denis (Mr. Prud'homme) for bringing up this procedural argument. I would like to mention to him that, under Standing Order 29(5), "when the Sergeant-at-Arms announces that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod is at the door, the Speaker shall take the Chair, whether there be a quorum present or not."

I appreciate what the Hon. Member has raised as far as Beauchesne's Fifth Edition is concerned, on page 73, Section 215. I will not read the citation. It is a very good point that should be brought to the procedural committee. I would hope that at an early occasion the Hon. Member will bring that to the procedural committee. I do want to thank the Hon. Member.

THE ROYAL ASSENT

[*English*]

A message was delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod as follows:

Mr. Speaker, the Honourable Deputy to the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the Chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker with the House went up to the Senate Chamber.

And being returned:

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski) informed the House that the Deputy Governor General had been pleased to give, in Her Majesty's name, the Royal Assent to the following Bill:

Bill C-2, an Act to implement the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States of America—Chapter 65, 1988.

The Acting Speaker (Mr. Paproski): Pursuant to Order of the House adopted on Friday, December 23, 1988, a motion is deemed to have been moved and carried rescinding the order of the House adopted on Friday, December 16, 1988, concerning the extended hours of sitting.

Pursuant to order of the House adopted on Friday, December 23, 1988, this House stands adjourned until Monday, March 6, 1989, at 11 a.m. pursuant to Standing Order 24(1).

At 5.04 p.m. the House adjourned, pursuant to special order.

The First Session of the Thirty-Fourth Parliament was prorogued by Royal Proclamation on February 28, 1989.



CANADA

INDEX
HOUSE OF COMMONS
DEBATES
OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION—THIRTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT

From December 12, 1988 to December 30, 1988

*(Prorogation February 28, 1989) **

37-38 ELIZABETH II, 1988-1989

IN 1 VOLUME

Volume I: Pages 1-852

The Index is available in both official languages.

Published under authority of the Speaker of the House of Commons by the Queen's Printer for Canada.

Available from Canada Communication Group — Publishing, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

L'index est disponible dans les deux langues officielles.

Publié en conformité de l'autorité du Président de la Chambre des communes par l'Imprimeur de la Reine pour le Canada.

En vente: Groupe Communication Canada — Édition, Approvisionnements et Services Canada, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0S9

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Ministry and Parliamentary Secretaries.....	v
Members of the House of Commons.....	ix
Constituencies Represented in the House of Commons.....	xiii
Principal Officers and Officials.....	xvii
Parliamentary Reporting and Distribution Directorate.....	xvii
Acts Passed during the Session.....	xix
Guide to the Users.....	xxi
Abbreviations.....	xxi
Volumes, Dates and Pages.....	xxiii
Index.....	1

THE MINISTRY OF THE
RIGHT HON. MARTIN BRIAN MULRONEY

(according to precedence)

(as of the last day of the Session)

MINISTERS	PORTFOLIOS
RIGHT HON. MARTIN BRIAN MULRONEY	Prime Minister
RIGHT HON. CHARLES JOSEPH CLARK	Secretary of State for External Affairs
HON. JOHN CARNELL CROSBIE	Minister for International Trade
HON. DONALD FRANK MAZANKOWSKI	Deputy Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and Minister of Agriculture
HON. ELMER MACINTOSH MACKAY	Minister of Public Works and Minister for the purposes of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency Act
HON. JAKE EPP	Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources
HON. ROBERT R. DE COTRET	President of the Treasury Board
HON. HENRY PERRIN BEATTY	Minister of National Health and Welfare
HON. MICHAEL HOLCOMBE WILSON	Minister of Finance
HON. HARVIE ANDRE	Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology
HON. OTTO JOHN JELINEK	Minister of National Revenue
HON. THOMAS EDWARD SIDDON	Minister of Fisheries and Oceans
HON. CHARLES JAMES MAYER	Minister of Western Economic Diversification and Minister of State (Grains and Oilseeds)
HON. WILLIAM HUNTER MCKNIGHT	Minister of National Defence
HON. BENOÎT BOUCHARD	Minister of Transport
HON. MARCEL MASSE	Minister of Communications
HON. BARBARA JEAN MCDOUGALL	Minister of Employment and Immigration
HON. GERALD STAIRS MERRITHEW	Minister of Veterans Affairs
HON. MONIQUE VÉZINA	Minister of State (Employment and Immigration) and Minister of State (Seniors)
HON. FRANK OBERLE	Minister of State (Forestry)
HON. LOWELL MURRAY	Leader of the Government in the Senate and Minister of State (Federal-Provincial Relations)
HON. PAUL WYATT DICK	Minister of Supply and Services
HON. PIERRE H. CADIEUX	Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
HON. JEAN J. CHAREST	Minister of State (Youth) and Minister of State (Fitness and Amateur Sport) and Deputy Leader of the Government in the House of Commons
HON. THOMAS HOCKIN	Minister of State (Small Businesses and Tourism)
HON. MONIQUE LANDRY	Minister for External Relations
HON. BERNARD VALCOURT	Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs
HON. GERRY WEINER	Secretary of State of Canada and Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship)
HON. DOUGLAS GRINSLADE LEWIS	Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada and Leader of the Government in the House of Commons

MINISTERS

PORTFOLIOS

HON. PIERRE BLAIS.....	Solicitor General of Canada and Minister of State (Agriculture)
HON. LUCIEN BOUCHARD.....	Minister of the Environment
HON. JOHN HORTON McDERMID.....	Minister of State (Privatization and Regulatory Affairs)
HON. SHIRLEY MARTIN.....	Minister of State (Transport)
HON. MARY COLLINS.....	Associate Minister of National Defence
HON. ALAN REDWAY.....	Minister of State (Housing)
HON. WILLIAM CHARLES WINEGARD.....	Minister of State (Science and Technology)
HON. KIM CAMPBELL.....	Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)
HON. JEAN CORBEIL.....	Minister of Labour
HON. GILLES LOISELLE.....	Minister of State (Finance)

THE MINISTRY

PORTFOLIOS

MINISTERS

PORTFOLIOS	MINISTERS
Agriculture.....	HON. DONALD FRANK MAZANKOWSKI
Agriculture (Minister of State)	HON. PIERRE BLAIS
Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency Act (Minister for the purposes of) ..	HON. ELMER MACINTOSH MACKAY
Communications.....	HON. MARCEL MASSE
Consumer and Corporate Affairs	HON. BERNARD VALCOURT
Deputy Leader of the Government in the House of Commons.....	HON. JEAN J. CHARE ST
Deputy Prime Minister	HON. DONALD FRANK MAZANKOWSKI
Employment and Immigration	HON. BARBARA JEAN MCDUGALL
Employment and Immigration (Minister of State).....	HON. MONIQUE VÉZINA
Energy, Mines and Resources	HON. JAKE EPP
Environment.....	HON. LUCIEN BOUCHARD
External Affairs (Secretary of State).....	RIGHT HON. CHARLES JOSEPH CLARK
External Relations.....	HON. MONIQUE LANDRY
Federal-Provincial Relations (Minister of State).....	HON. LOWELL MURRAY
Finance	HON. MICHAEL HOLCOMBE WILSON
Finance (Minister of State).....	HON. GILLES LOISELLE
Fisheries and Oceans.....	HON. THOMAS EDWARD SIDDON
Fitness and Amateur Sport (Minister of State)	HON. JEAN J. CHAREST
Forestry (Minister of State).....	HON. FRANK OBERLE
Grains and Oilseeds (Minister of State).....	HON. CHARLES JAMES MAYER
Housing (Minister of State).....	HON. ALAN REDWAY
Indian Affairs and Northern Development.....	HON. PIERRE H. CADIEUX
Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Minister of State)	HON. KIM CAMPBELL
International Trade.....	HON. JOHN CARNELL CROSBIE
Justice and Attorney General of Canada	HON. DOUGLAS GRINSLADE LEWIS
Labour	HON. JEAN CORBEIL
Leader of the Government in the House of Commons.....	HON. DOUGLAS GRINSLADE LEWIS
Leader of the Government in the Senate	HON. LOWELL MURRAY
Multiculturalism and Citizenship (Minister of State).....	HON. GERRY WEINER
National Defence.....	HON. WILLIAM HUNTER MCKNIGHT
National Defence (Associate Minister).....	HON. MARY COLLINS
National Health and Welfare	HON. HENRY PERRIN BEATTY
National Revenue.....	HON. OTTO JOHN JELINEK
President of the Privy Council for Canada	HON. DONALD FRANK MAZANKOWSKI
President of the Treasury Board	HON. ROBERT R. DE COTRET
Prime Minister.....	RIGHT HON. MARTIN BRIAN MULRONEY
Privatization and Regulatory Affairs.....	HON. JOHN HORTON McDERMID
Public Works	HON. ELMER MACINTOSH MACKAY
Regional Industrial Expansion.....	HON. HARVIE ANDRE
Science and Technology (Minister of State)	HON. WILLIAM CHARLES WINEGARD

PORTFOLIOS	MINISTERS
Science and Technology (Minister of State for)	HON. HARVIE ANDRE
Secretary of State of Canada	HON. GERRY WEINER
Seniors (Minister of State)	HON. MONIQUE VÉZINA
Small Businesses and Tourism (Minister of State)	HON. THOMAS HOCKIN
Solicitor General of Canada	HON. PIERRE BLAIS
Supply and Services	HON. PAUL WYATT DICK
Transport	HON. BENOÎT BOUCHARD
Transport (Minister of State)	HON. SHIRLEY MARTIN
Veterans Affairs	HON. GERALD STAIRS MERRITHEW
Western Economic Diversification	HON. CHARLES JAMES MAYER
Youth (Minister of State)	HON. JEAN J. CHAREST

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

SHOWING CONSTITUENCIES AND PARTY AFFILIATION

- ALLMAND, HON. WARREN—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—L
ALTHOUSE, VIC—Mackenzie—NDP
ANAWAK, JACK IYERAK—Nunatsiak—L
ANDERSON, EDNA—Simcoe Centre—PC
ANDRE, HON. HARVIE—Calgary Centre—PC
ANGUS, IAIN—Thunder Bay—Atikokan—NDP
ARSENEAULT, GUY H.—Restigouche—L
ASSAD, MARK—Gatineau—La Lièvre—L
ATKINSON, KEN—St. Catharines—PC
ATTEWELL, BILL—Markham—PC
AXWORTHY, CHRIS—Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing—NDP
AXWORTHY, HON. LLOYD—Winnipeg South Centre—L
- BAKER, GEORGE S.—Gander—Grand Falls—L
BARRETT, DAVID—Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca—NDP
BEATTY, HON. HENRY PERRIN—Wellington—Grey—
Dufferin—Simcoe—PC
BÉLAIR, RÉGINALD—Cochrane—Superior—L
BELLEMARE, EUGÈNE—Carleton—Gloucester—L
BELSHER, ROSS—Fraser Valley East—PC
BENJAMIN, LES—Regina—Lumsden—NDP
BERGER, DAVID—Saint-Henri—Westmount—L
BERNIER, GILLES—Beauce—PC
BERTRAND, GABRIELLE—Brome—Missisquoi—PC
BEVILACQUA, MAURIZIO—York North—L
BIRD, J.W. BUD—Fredericton—PC
BJORNSON, DAVID—Selkirk—PC
BLACK, DAWN—New Westminster—Burnaby—NDP
BLACKBURN, DEREK—Brant—NDP
BLACKBURN, JEAN-PIERRE—Jonquière—PC
BLAIKIE, BILL—Winnipeg Transcona—NDP
BLAIS, HON. PIERRE—Bellechasse—PC
BLENKARN, DON—Mississauga South—PC
BLONDIN, ETHEL—Western Arctic—L
BOSLEY, HON. JOHN W.—Don Valley West—PC
BOUCHARD, HON. BENOÎT—Roberval—PC
BOUCHARD, HON. LUCIEN—Lac-Saint-Jean—PC
BOUDRIA, DON—Glengarry—Prescott—Russell—L
BOURGAULT, LISE—Argenteuil—Papineau—PC
BOYER, PATRICK—Etobicoke—Lakeshore—PC
BREWIN, JOHN F.—Victoria—NDP
BRIGHTWELL, HARRY—Perth—Wellington—Waterloo—PC
BROADBENT, HON. EDWARD—Oshawa—NDP
BROWES, PAULINE A.—Scarborough Centre—PC
BUTLAND, STEVE—Sault Ste. Marie—NDP
- CACCIA, HON. CHARLES—Davenport—L
CADIEUX, HON. PIERRE H.—Vaudreuil—PC
CALLBECK, CATHERINE—Malpeque—L
CAMPBELL, COLINE—South West Nova—L
CAMPBELL, HON. KIM—Vancouver Centre—PC
CARDIFF, MURRAY—Huron—Bruce—PC
CASEY, BILL—Cumberland—Colchester—PC
- CATTERALL, MARLENE—Ottawa West—L
CHADWICK, HARRY—Brampton—Malton—PC
CHAMPAGNE, HON. ANDRÉE—Saint-Hyacinthe—
Bagot—PC
CHAMPAGNE, MICHEL—Champlain—PC
CHAREST, HON. JEAN J.—Sherbrooke—PC
CHARTRAND, GILBERT—Verdun—Saint-Paul—PC
CLANCY, MARY—Halifax—L
CLARK, RIGHT HON. CHARLES JOSEPH—Yellowhead—PC
CLARK, LEE—Brandon—Souris—PC
CLIFFORD, TERRY—London—Middlesex—PC
COLE, JOHN E.—York—Simcoe—PC
COLLINS, HON. MARY—Capilano—Howe Sound—PC
COMUZZI, JOE—Thunder Bay—Nipigon—L
COOK, CHUCK—North Vancouver—PC
COOPER, ALBERT—Peace River—PC
COPPS, SHEILA—Hamilton East—L
CORBEIL, HON. JEAN—Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies—PC
CORBETT, BOB—Fundy—Royal—PC
CÔTÉ, YVON—Richmond—Wolfe—PC
COUTURE, CLÉMENT—Saint-Jean—PC
CRAWFORD, REX—Kent—L
CROSBIE, HON. JOHN CARNELL—St. John's West—PC
CROSBY, HOWARD E.—Halifax West—PC
- DAHMER, JOHN¹—Beaver River—PC
DANIS, MARCEL—Verchères—PC
DARLING, STAN—Parry Sound—Muskoka—PC
DE COTRET, HON. ROBERT R.—Berthier—Montcalm—PC
DE JONG, SIMON—Regina—Qu'Appelle—NDP
DEBLOIS, CHARLES—Montmorency—Orléans—PC
DELLA NOCE, VINCENT—Duvernay—PC
DESJARDINS, GABRIEL—Témiscamingue—PC
DICK, HON. PAUL WYATT—Lanark—Carleton—PC
DINGWALL, DAVE C.—Cape Breton—East Richmond—L
DIONNE, MAURICE A.—Miramichi—L
DOBBIE, DOROTHY—Winnipeg South—PC
DOMM, BILL—Peterborough—PC
DORIN, MURRAY W.—Edmonton Northwest—PC
DUHAMEL, RONALD J.—St. Boniface—L
DUPLESSIS, SUZANNE—Louis-Hébert—PC
- EDWARDS, JIM—Edmonton Southwest—PC
EPP, HON. JAKE—Provencher—PC
- FEE, DOUG—Red Deer—PC
FELTHAM, LOUISE—Wild Rose—PC
FERGUSON, RALPH—Lambton—Middlesex—L
FERLAND, MARC—Portneuf—PC
FINESTONE, SHEILA—Mount Royal—L
FISHER, RON—Saskatoon—Dundurn—NDP
FLIS, JESSE—Parkdale—High Park—L
FONTAINE, GABRIEL—Lévis—PC

¹ Died November 26, 1988.

FONTANA, JOE—London East—L
 FOSTER, MAURICE—Algoma—L
 FRASER, HON. JOHN A.—Vancouver South—PC
 FRETZ, GIRVE—Erie—PC
 FRIESEN, BENNO W.—Surrey—White Rock—PC
 FULTON, JIM—Skeena—NDP
 FUNK, RAY—Prince Albert—Churchill River—NDP

GAFFNEY, BERYL—Nepean—L
 GAGLIANO, ALFONSO—Saint-Léonard—L
 GARDINER, BRIAN L.—Prince George—
 Bulkeley Valley—NDP
 GAUTHIER, JEAN-ROBERT—Ottawa—Vanier—L
 GÉRIN, FRANÇOIS—Mégantic—Compton—Stanstead—PC
 GIBEAU, MARIE—Bourassa—PC
 GRAY, DARRYL—Bonaventure—Îles-de-la-
 Madeleine—PC
 GRAY, HON. HERB—Windsor West—L
 GREENE, BARBARA—Don Valley North—PC
 GRISÉ, RICHARD—Chambly—PC
 GUARNIERI, ALBINA—Mississauga East—L
 GUILBAULT, JEAN-GUY—Drummond—PC
 GUSTAFSON, LEN—Souris—Moose Mountain—PC

HALLIDAY, BRUCE—Oxford—PC
 HARB, MAC—Ottawa Centre—L
 HARVARD, JOHN—Winnipeg St. James—L
 HARVEY, ANDRÉ—Chicoutimi—PC
 HARVEY, ROSS—Edmonton East—NDP
 HAWKES, JIM—Calgary West—PC
 HEAP, DAN—Trinity—Spadina—NDP
 HICKS, BOB—Scarborough East—PC
 HOCKIN, HON. THOMAS—London West—PC
 HOGUE, J.-PIERRE—Outremont—PC
 HOLTSMANN, FELIX—Portage—Interlake—PC
 HOPKINS, LEN—Renfrew—L
 HORNER, BOB—Mississauga West—PC
 HORNING, AL—Okanagan Centre—PC
 HOVDEBO, STAN—Saskatoon—Humboldt—NDP
 HUDON, JEAN-GUY—Beauharnois—Salaberry—PC
 HUGHES, KEN G.—Macleod—PC
 HUNTER, LYNN—Saanich—Gulf Islands—NDP

JACQUES, CAROLE—Mercier—PC
 JAMES, KEN—Sarnia—Lambton—PC
 JELINEK, HON. OTTO JOHN—Oakville—Milton—PC
 JOHNSON, AL—Calgary North—PC
 JONCAS, JEAN-LUC—Matapédia—Matane—PC
 JORDAN, JIM—Leeds—Grenville—L
 JOURDENAIS, FERNAND—La Prairie—PC

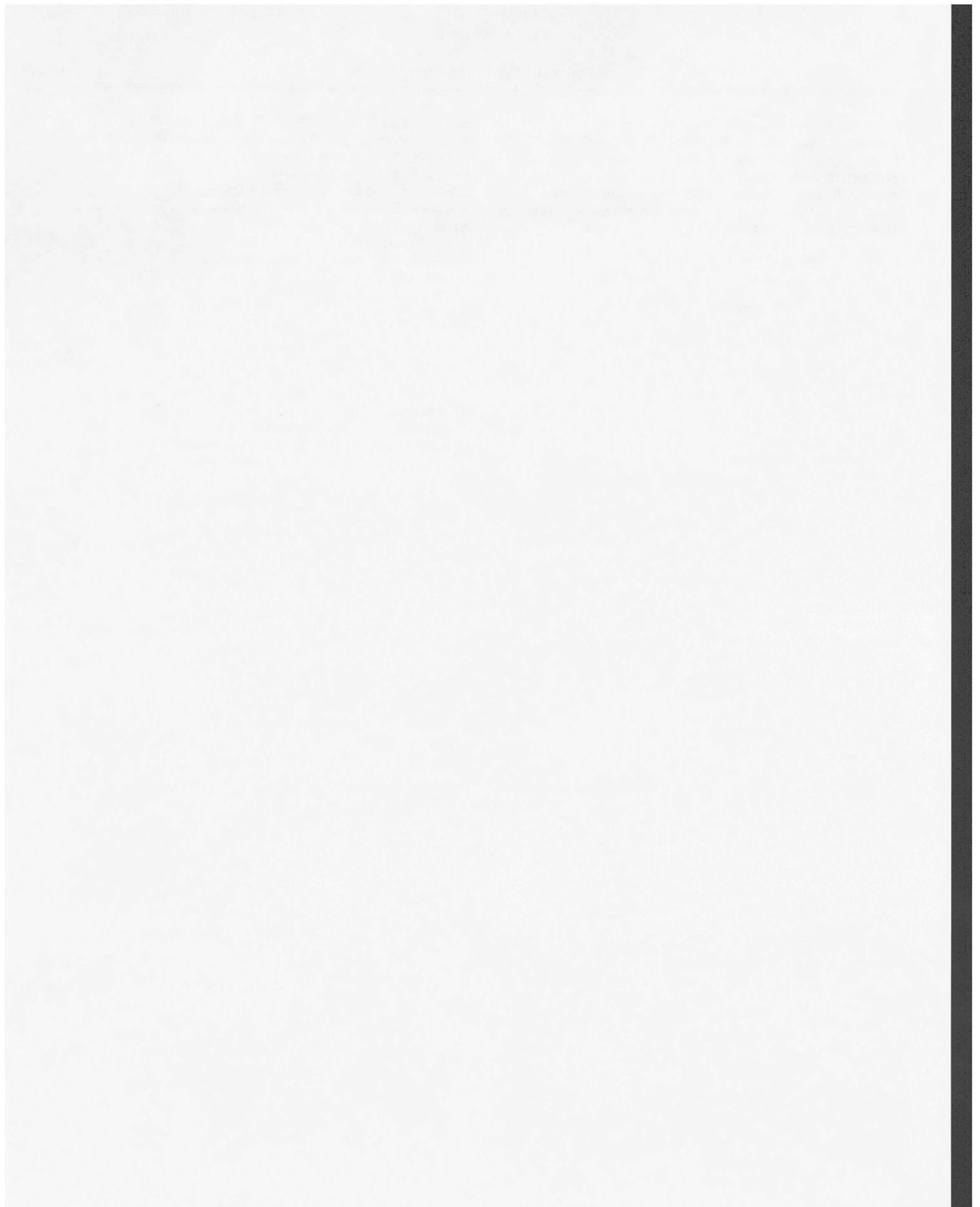
KAPLAN, HON. BOB—York Centre—L
 KARPOFF, JIM—Surrey North—NDP
 KARYGIANNIS, JIM—Scarborough—Agincourt—L
 KEMPLING, BILL—Burlington—PC
 KEYES, STAN—Hamilton West—L

KILGER, BOB—Stormont—Dundas—L
 KILGOUR, DAVID—Edmonton Southeast—PC
 KINDY, ALEX—Calgary Northeast—PC
 KOURY, ALLAN—Hochelaga—Maisonneuve—PC
 KRISTIANSEN, LYLE—Kootenay West—Revelstoke—NDP

LANDRY, HON. MONIQUE—Blainville—
 Deux-Montagnes—PC
 LANGAN, JOY—Mission—Coquitlam—NDP
 LANGDON, STEVEN—Essex—Windsor—NDP
 LANGLOIS, CHARLES A.—Manicouagan—PC
 LAPIERRE, HON. JEAN—Shefford—L
 LAPORTE, ROD—Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—NDP
 LARRIVÉE, GABY—Joliette—PC
 LAYTON, HON. BOB—Lachine—Lac-Saint-Louis—PC
 LEBLANC, FRANCIS G.—Cape Breton Highlands—Canso—L
 LEBLANC, NIC—Longueuil—PC
 LEE, DEREK—Scarborough—Rouge River—L
 LEWIS, HON. DOUGLAS GRINSLADE—Simcoe North—PC
 LITTLECHILD, WILLIE—Wetaskiwin—PC
 LOISELLE, HON. GILLES—Langelier—PC
 LOPEZ, RICARDO—Châteauguay—PC

MACAULAY, LAWRENCE—Cardigan—L
 MACDONALD, DAVID—Rosedale—PC
 MACDONALD, RON—Dartmouth—L
 MACDOUGALL, JOHN A.—Timiskaming—PC
 MACKAY, HON. ELMER MACINTOSH—Central Nova—PC
 MACLAREN, ROY—Etobicoke North—L
 MACLELLAN, RUSSELL—Cape Breton—The Sydneys—L
 MACWILLIAM, LYLE DEAN—Okanagan—Shuswap—NDP
 MAHEU, SHIRLEY—Saint-Laurent—L
 MALÉPART, JEAN-CLAUDE—Laurier—Sainte-Marie—L
 MALONE, ARNOLD—Crowfoot—PC
 MANLEY, JOHN—Ottawa South—L
 MARCHI, SERGIO—York West—L
 MARIN, CHARLES-EUGÈNE—Gaspé—PC
 MARLEAU, DIANE—Sudbury—L
 MARTIN, PAUL—LaSalle—Émard—L
 MARTIN, HON. SHIRLEY—Lincoln—PC
 MASSE, HON. MARCEL—Frontenac—PC
 MAYER, HON. CHARLES JAMES—Lisgar—Marquette—PC
 MAZANKOWSKI, HON. DONALD FRANK—Vegreville—PC
 MCCREATH, PETER L.—South Shore—PC
 MCCURDY, HOWARD—Windsor—Lake St. Clair—NDP
 McDERMID, HON. JOHN HORTON—Brampton—PC
 McDougall, HON. BARBARA JEAN—St. Paul's—PC
 MCGUIRE, JOE—Egmont—L
 MCKNIGHT, HON. WILLIAM HUNTER—Kindersley—
 Lloydminster—PC
 McLAUGHLIN, AUDREY—Yukon—NDP
 McLEAN, HON. WALTER—Waterloo—PC
 MERRITHEW, HON. GERALD STAIRS—Saint John—PC
 MIFFLIN, FRED J.—Bonavista—Trinity—Conception—L
 MILLIKEN, PETER—Kingston and the Islands—L

- MILLS, DENNIS—Broadview—Greenwood—L
 MITCHELL, MARGARET—Vancouver East—NDP
 MITGES, GUS—Bruce—Grey—PC
 MONTEITH, KEN—Elgin—PC
 MOORE, BARRY—Pontiac—Gatineau—Labelle—PC
 MULRONEY, RIGHT HON. MARTIN BRIAN—Charlevoix—PC
 MURPHY, ROD—Churchill—NDP
- NAULT, ROBERT D.—Kenora—Rainy River—L
 NICHOLSON, ROB—Niagara Falls—PC
 NOWLAN, PAT—Annapolis Valley—Hants—PC
 NUNZIATA, JOHN—York South—Weston—L
 NYSTROM, LORNE—Yorkton—Melville—NDP
- OBERLE, HON. FRANK—Prince George—Peace River—PC
 O'BRIEN, MICHEAL—York North—PC
 O'KURLEY, BRIAN—Elk Island—PC
 OUELLET, HON. ANDRÉ—Papineau—Saint-Michel—L
- PAGTAKHAN, REY—Winnipeg North—L
 PAPROSKI, HON. STEVEN—Edmonton North—PC
 PARENT, GILBERT—Weland—St. Catharines—
 Thorold—L
 PARKER, SID—Kootenay East—NDP
 PETERSON, JIM—Willowdale—L
 PHINNEY, BETH—Hamilton Mountain—L
 PICKARD, JERRY—Essex—Kent—L
 PLAMONDON, LOUIS—Richelieu—PC
 PLOURDE, ANDRÉ—Kamouraska—Rivière-du-Loup—PC
 PORTER, BOB—Medicine Hat—PC
 PRONOVOST, DENIS—Saint-Maurice—PC
 PROUD, GEORGE—Hillsborough—L
 PRUD'HOMME, MARCEL—Saint-Denis—L
- REDWAY, HON. ALAN—Don Valley East—PC
 REID, ROSS—St. John's East—PC
 REIMER, JOHN—Kitchener—PC
 RICARD, GUY—Laval—PC
 RICHARDSON, LEE—Calgary Southeast—PC
 RIDEOUT, GEORGE S.—Moncton—L
 RIIS, NELSON A.—Kamloops—NDP
 ROBICHAUD, FERNAND—Beauséjour—L
 ROBINSON, SVEND J.—Burnaby—Kingsway—NDP
 ROBITAILLE, JEAN-MARC—Terrebonne—PC
 ROCHELEAU, GILLES—Hull—Aylmer—L
 RODRIGUEZ, JOHN R.—Nickel Belt—NDP
 ROMPKEY, HON. BILL—Labrador—L
 ROY-ARCELIN, NICOLE—Ahuntsic—PC
- SAMSON, CID—Timmins—Chapleau—NDP
 SCHNEIDER, LARRY—Regina—Wascana—PC
 SCOTT, BILL—Victoria—Haliburton—PC
 SCOTT, GEOFF—Hamilton—Wentworth—PC
 SHIELDS, JACK—Athabasca—PC
 SIDDON, HON. THOMAS EDWARD—Richmond—PC
 SIMMONS, ROGER—Burin—St. George's—L
- SKELLY, RAY—North Island—Powell River—NDP
 SKELLY, ROBERT E.—Comox—Alberni—NDP
 SOBESKI, PAT—Cambridge—PC
 SOETENS, RENÉ—Ontario—PC
 SPARROW, BOBBIE—Calgary Southwest—PC
 SPELLER, BOB—Haldimand—Norfolk—L
 ST-JULIEN, GUY—Abitibi—PC
 STEVENSON, ROSS—Durham—PC
 STEWART, CHRISTINE—Northumberland—L
 STUPICH, DAVID D.—Nanaïmo—Cowichan—NDP
- TARDIF, MONIQUE B.—Charlesbourg—PC
 TAYLOR, LEN—The Battlefords—Meadow Lake—NDP
 TETREAULT, JACQUES—Laval-des-Rapides—PC
 THACKER, BLAINE—Lethbridge—PC
 THOMPSON, GREG—Carleton—Charlotte—PC
 THORKELSON, SCOTT—Edmonton—Strathcona—PC
 TOBIN, BRIAN—Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte—L
 TREMBLAY, BENOÎT—Rosemont—PC
 TREMBLAY, MARCEL R.—Québec-Est—PC
 TREMBLAY, MAURICE—Lotbinière—PC
 TURNER, GARTH—Halton—Peel—PC
 TURNER, RIGHT HON. JOHN N.—Vancouver Quadra—L
- VALCOURT, HON. BERNARD—Madawaska—Victoria—PC
 VAN DE WALLE, WALTER—St. Albert—PC
 VANCLIEF, LYLE—Prince Edward—Hastings—L
 VANKOUGHNET, BILL—Hastings—Frontenac—Lennox
 and Addington—PC
 VENNE, PIERRETTE—Saint-Hubert—PC
 VÉZINA, HON. MONIQUE—Rimouski—Témiscouata—PC
 VIEN, JACQUES—Laurentides—PC
 VINCENT, PIERRE H.—Trois-Rivières—PC
 VOLPE, JOSEPH—Eglinton—Lawrence—L
- WADDELL, IAN—Port Moody—Coquitlam—NDP
 WALKER, DAVID—Winnipeg North Centre—L
 WAPPEL, TOM—Scarborough West—L
 WEINER, HON. GERRY—Pierrefonds—Dollard—PC
 WENMAN, ROBERT L.—Fraser Valley West—PC
 WHITE, BRIAN—Dauphin—Swan River—PC
 WHITTAKER, JACK—Okanagan—Similkameen—
 Merritt—NDP
 WILBEE, STAN—Delta—PC
 WILSON, GEOFF—Swift Current—Maple Creek—
 Assiniboia—PC
 WILSON, HON. MICHAEL HOLCOMBE—Etobicoke
 Centre—PC
 WINEGARD, HON. WILLIAM CHARLES—Guelph—
 Wellington—PC
 WOOD, BOB—Nipissing—L
 WORTHY, DAVE—Cariboo—Chilcotin—PC
- YOUNG, DOUGLAS—Gloucester—L
 YOUNG, NEIL—Beaches—Woodbine—NDP



CONSTITUENCIES REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

SHOWING MEMBERS AND PARTY AFFILIATION

-
- ABITIBI—St-Julien, Guy—PC
AHUNTSIC—Roy-Arcelin, Nicole—PC
ALGOMA—Foster, Maurice—L
ANJOU—RIVIÈRE-DES-PRAIRIES—Corbeil, Hon. Jean—PC
ANNAPOLIS VALLEY—HANTS—Nowlan, Pat—PC
ARGENTEUIL—PAPINEAU—Bourgault, Lise—PC
ATHABASCA—Shields, Jack—PC
- BEACHES—WOODBINE—Young, Neil—NDP
BEAUCE—Bernier, Gilles—PC
BEAUHARNOIS—SALABERRY—Hudon, Jean-Guy—PC
BEAUSÉJOUR—Robichaud, Fernand—L
BEAVER RIVER—Dahmer, John¹—PC
BELLECHASSE—Blais, Hon. Pierre—PC
BERTHIER—MONTCALM—de Cotret, Hon. Robert R.—PC
BLAINVILLE—DEUX-MONTAGNES—Landry, Hon. Monique—PC
BONAVENTURE—ÎLES-DE-LA-MADELEINE—Gray, Darryl—PC
BONAVISTA—TRINITY—CONCEPTION—Mifflin, Fred J.—L
BOURASSA—Gibeau, Marie—PC
BRAMPTON—McDermid, Hon. John Horton—PC
BRAMPTON—MALTON—Chadwick, Harry—PC
BRANDON—SOURIS—Clark, Lee—PC
BRANT—Blackburn, Derek—NDP
BROADVIEW—GREENWOOD—Mills, Dennis—L
BROME—MISSISQUOI—Bertrand, Gabrielle—PC
BRUCE—GREY—Mitges, Gus—PC
BURIN—ST. GEORGE'S—Simmons, Roger—L
BURLINGTON—Kempling, Bill—PC
BURNABY—KINGSWAY—Robinson, Svend J.—NDP
- CALGARY CENTRE—Andre, Hon. Harvie—PC
CALGARY NORTH—Johnson, Al—PC
CALGARY NORTHEAST—Kindy, Alex—PC
CALGARY SOUTHEAST—Richardson, Lee—PC
CALGARY SOUTHWEST—Sparrow, Bobbie—PC
CALGARY WEST—Hawkes, Jim—PC
CAMBRIDGE—Sobeski, Pat—PC
CAPE BRETON—EAST RICHMOND—Dingwall, Dave C.—L
CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDS—CANSO—LeBlanc, Francis G.—L
CAPE BRETON—THE SYDNEYS—MacLellan, Russell—L
CAPILANO—HOWE SOUND—Collins, Hon. Mary—PC
CARDIGAN—MacAulay, Lawrence—L
CARIBOO—CHILCOTIN—Worthy, Dave—PC
CARLETON—CHARLOTTE—Thompson, Greg—PC
CARLETON—GLOUCESTER—Bellemare, Eugène—L
CENTRAL NOVA—MacKay, Hon. Elmer MacIntosh—PC
CHAMBLY—Grisé, Richard—PC
- CHAMPLAIN—Champagne, Michel—PC
CHARLESBOURG—Tardif, Monique B.—PC
CHARLEVOIX—Mulroney, Right Hon. Martin Brian—PC
CHÂTEAUGUAY—Lopez, Ricardo—PC
CHICOUTIMI—Harvey, André—PC
CHURCHILL—Murphy, Rod—NDP
COCHRANE—SUPERIOR—Bélaïr, Réginald—L
COMOX—ALBERNI—Skelly, Robert E.—NDP
CROWFOOT—Malone, Arnold—PC
CUMBERLAND—COLCHESTER—Casey, Bill—PC
- DARTMOUTH—MacDonald, Ron—L
DAUPHIN—SWAN RIVER—White, Brian—PC
DAVENPORT—Caccia, Hon. Charles—L
DELTA—Wilbee, Stan—PC
DON VALLEY EAST—Redway, Hon. Alan—PC
DON VALLEY NORTH—Greene, Barbara—PC
DON VALLEY WEST—Bosley, Hon. John W.—PC
DRUMMOND—Guilbault, Jean-Guy—PC
DURHAM—Stevenson, Ross—PC
DUVERNAY—Della Noce, Vincent—PC
- EDMONTON EAST—Harvey, Ross—NDP
EDMONTON NORTH—Paproski, Hon. Steven—PC
EDMONTON NORTHWEST—Dorin, Murray W.—PC
EDMONTON SOUTHEAST—Kilgour, David—PC
EDMONTON SOUTHWEST—Edwards, Jim—PC
EDMONTON—STRATHCONA—Thorkelson, Scott—PC
EGLINTON—LAWRENCE—Volpe, Joseph—L
EGMONT—McGuire, Joe—L
ELGIN—Monteith, Ken—PC
ELK ISLAND—O'Kurley, Brian—PC
ERIE—Fretz, Girve—PC
ESQUIMALT—JUAN DE FUCA—Barrett, David—NDP
ESSEX—KENT—Pickard, Jerry—L
ESSEX—WINDSOR—Langdon, Steven—NDP
ETOBICOKE CENTRE—Wilson, Hon. Michael Holcombe—PC
ETOBICOKE—LAKESHORE—Boyer, Patrick—PC
ETOBICOKE NORTH—MacLaren, Roy—L
- FRASER VALLEY EAST—Belsher, Ross—PC
FRASER VALLEY WEST—Wenman, Robert L.—PC
FREDERICTON—Bird, J.W. Bud—PC
FRONTENAC—Masse, Hon. Marcel—PC
FUNDY—ROYAL—Corbett, Bob—PC
- GANDER—GRAND FALLS—Baker, George S.—L
GASPÉ—Marin, Charles-Eugène—PC
GATINEAU—LA LIÈVRE—Assad, Mark—L
GLENGARRY—PRESCOTT—RUSSELL—Boudria, Don—L
GLOUCESTER—Young, Douglas—L
-

¹ Died November 26, 1988.

GUELPH—WELLINGTON—Winegard, Hon. William Charles—PC

HALDIMAND—NORFOLK—Speller, Bob—L
 HALIFAX—Clancy, Mary—L
 HALIFAX WEST—Crosby, Howard E.—PC
 HALTON—PEEL—Turner, Garth—PC
 HAMILTON EAST—Copps, Sheila—L
 HAMILTON MOUNTAIN—Phinney, Beth—L
 HAMILTON—WENTWORTH—Scott, Geoff—PC
 HAMILTON WEST—Keyes, Stan—L
 HASTINGS—FRONTENAC—LENNOX AND ADDINGTON—Vankoughnet, Bill—PC
 HILLSBOROUGH—Proud, George—L
 HOCHELAGA—MAISONNEUVE—Koury, Allan—PC
 HULL—AYLMER—Rocheleau, Gilles—L
 HUMBER—ST. BARBE—BAIE VERTE—Tobin, Brian—L
 HURON—BRUCE—Cardiff, Murray—PC

JOLIETTE—Larrivée, Gaby—PC
 JONQUIÈRE—Blackburn, Jean-Pierre—PC

KAMLOOPS—Riis, Nelson A.—NDP
 KAMOURASKA—RIVIÈRE-DU-LOUP—Plourde, André—PC
 KENORA—RAINY RIVER—Nault, Robert D.—L
 KENT—Crawford, Rex—L
 KINDERSLEY—LLOYDMINSTER—McKnight, Hon. William Hunter—PC
 KINGSTON AND THE ISLANDS—Milliken, Peter—L
 KITCHENER—Reimer, John—PC
 KOOTENAY EAST—Parker, Sid—NDP
 KOOTENAY WEST—REVELSTOKE—Kristiansen, Lyle—NDP

LA PRAIRIE—Jourdenais, Fernand—PC
 LABRADOR—Rompkey, Hon. Bill—L
 LAC-SAINT-JEAN—Bouchard, Hon. Lucien—PC
 LACHINE—LAC-SAINT-LOUIS—Layton, Hon. Bob—PC
 LAMBTON—MIDDLESEX—Ferguson, Ralph—L
 LANARK—CARLETON—Dick, Hon. Paul Wyatt—PC
 LANGELIER—Loiselle, Hon. Gilles—PC
 LASALLE—ÉMARD—Martin, Paul—L
 LAURENTIDES—Vien, Jacques—PC
 LAURIER—SAINTE-MARIE—Malépart, Jean-Claude—L
 LAVAL—Ricard, Guy—PC
 LAVAL-DES-RAPIDES—Tetreault, Jacques—PC
 LEEDS—GRENVILLE—Jordan, Jim—L
 LETHBRIDGE—Thacker, Blaine—PC
 LÉVIS—Fontaine, Gabriel—PC
 LINCOLN—Martin, Hon. Shirley—PC
 LISGAR—MARQUETTE—Mayer, Hon. Charles James—PC
 LONDON EAST—Fontana, Joe—L
 LONDON—MIDDLESEX—Clifford, Terry—PC
 LONDON WEST—Hockin, Hon. Thomas—PC
 LONGUEUIL—Leblanc, Nic—PC

LOTBINIÈRE—Tremblay, Maurice—PC
 LOUIS-HÉBERT—Duplessis, Suzanne—PC

MACKENZIE—Althouse, Vic—NDP
 MACLEOD—Hughes, Ken G.—PC
 MADAWASKA—VICTORIA—Valcourt, Hon. Bernard—PC
 MALPEQUE—Callbeck, Catherine—L
 MANICOUAGAN—Langlois, Charles A.—PC
 MARKHAM—Attewell, Bill—PC
 MATAPÉDIA—MATANE—Joncas, Jean-Luc—PC
 MEDICINE HAT—Porter, Bob—PC
 MÉGANTIC—COMPTON—STANSTEAD—Gérin, François—PC
 MERCIER—Jacques, Carole—PC
 MIRAMICHI—Dionne, Maurice A.—L
 MISSION—COQUITLAM—Langan, Joy—NDP
 MISSISSAUGA EAST—Guarnieri, Albina—L
 MISSISSAUGA SOUTH—Blenkarn, Don—PC
 MISSISSAUGA WEST—Horner, Bob—PC
 MONCTON—Rideout, George S.—L
 MONTMORENCY—ORLÉANS—DeBlois, Charles—PC
 MOOSE JAW—LAKE CENTRE—Laporte, Rod—NDP
 MOUNT ROYAL—Finestone, Sheila—L

NANAÏMO—COWICHAN—Stupich, David D.—NDP
 NEPEAN—Gaffney, Beryl—L
 NEW WESTMINSTER—BURNABY—Black, Dawn—NDP
 NIAGARA FALLS—Nicholson, Rob—PC
 NICKEL BELT—Rodriguez, John R.—NDP
 NIPISSING—Wood, Bob—L
 NORTH ISLAND—POWELL RIVER—Skelly, Ray—NDP
 NORTH VANCOUVER—Cook, Chuck—PC
 NORTHUMBERLAND—Stewart, Christine—L
 NOTRE-DAME-DE-GRÂCE—Allmand, Hon. Warren—L
 NUNATSIAQ—Anawak, Jack Iyerak—L

OAKVILLE—MILTON—Jelinek, Hon. Otto John—PC
 OKANAGAN CENTRE—Horning, Al—PC
 OKANAGAN—SHUSWAP—MacWilliam, Lyle Dean—NDP
 OKANAGAN—SIMILKAMEEN—MERRITT—Whittaker, Jack—NDP
 ONTARIO—Soetens, René—PC
 OSHAWA—Broadbent, Hon. Edward—NDP
 OTTAWA CENTRE—Harb, Mac—L
 OTTAWA SOUTH—Manley, John—L
 OTTAWA—VANIER—Gauthier, Jean-Robert—L
 OTTAWA WEST—Catterall, Marlene—L
 OUTREMONT—Hogue, J.-Pierre—PC
 OXFORD—Halliday, Bruce—PC

PAPINEAU—SAINT-MICHEL—Ouellet, Hon. André—L
 PARKDALE—HIGH PARK—Flis, Jesse—L
 PARRY SOUND—MUSKOKA—Darling, Stan—PC
 PEACE RIVER—Cooper, Albert—PC
 PERTH—WELLINGTON—WATERLOO—Brightwell, Harry—PC

- PETERBOROUGH—Domm, Bill—PC
 PIERREFONDS—DOLLARD—Weiner, Hon. Gerry—PC
 PONTIAC—GATINEAU—LABELLE—Moore, Barry—PC
 PORT MOODY—COQUITLAM—Waddell, Ian—NDP
 PORTAGE—INTERLAKE—Holtmann, Felix—PC
 PORTNEUF—Ferland, Marc—PC
 PRINCE ALBERT—CHURCHILL RIVER—Funk, Ray—NDP
 PRINCE EDWARD—HASTINGS—Vanclief, Lyle—L
 PRINCE GEORGE—BULKLEY VALLEY—Gardiner,
 Brian L.—NDP
 PRINCE GEORGE—PEACE RIVER—Oberle, Hon. Frank—PC
 PROVENCHER—Epp, Hon. Jake—PC
- QUÉBEC-EST—Tremblay, Marcel R.—PC
- RED DEER—Fee, Doug—PC
 REGINA—LUMSDEN—Benjamin, Les—NDP
 REGINA—QU'APPELLE—de Jong, Simon—NDP
 REGINA—WASCANA—Schneider, Larry—PC
 RENFREW—Hopkins, Len—L
 RESTIGOUCHE—Arseneault, Guy H.—L
 RICHELIEU—Plamondon, Louis—PC
 RICHMOND—Siddon, Hon. Thomas Edward—PC
 RICHMOND—WOLFE—Côté, Yvon—PC
 RIMOUSKI—TÉMISCOUATA—Vézina, Hon. Monique—PC
 ROBERVAL—Bouchard, Hon. Benoît—PC
 ROSEDALE—Macdonald, David—PC
 ROSEMONT—Tremblay, Benoît—PC
- SAANICH—GULF ISLANDS—Hunter, Lynn—NDP
 SAINT-DENIS—Prud'homme, Marcel—L
 SAINT-HENRI—WESTMOUNT—Berger, David—L
 SAINT-HUBERT—Venne, Pierrette—PC
 SAINT-HYACINTHE—BAGOT—Champagne, Hon.
 Andrée—PC
 SAINT-JEAN—Couture, Clément—PC
 SAINT JOHN—Merrithew, Hon. Gerald Stairs—PC
 SAINT-LAURENT—Maheu, Shirley—L
 SAINT-LÉONARD—Gagliano, Alfonso—L
 SAINT-MAURICE—Pronovost, Denis—PC
 SARNIA—LAMBTON—James, Ken—PC
 SASKATOON—CLARK'S CROSSING—Axworthy, Chris—NDP
 SASKATOON—DUNDURN—Fisher, Ron—NDP
 SASKATOON—HUMBOLDT—Hovdebo, Stan—NDP
 SAULT STE. MARIE—Butland, Steve—NDP
 SCARBOROUGH—AGINCOURT—Karygiannis, Jim—L
 SCARBOROUGH CENTRE—Browes, Pauline A.—PC
 SCARBOROUGH EAST—Hicks, Bob—PC
 SCARBOROUGH—ROUGE RIVER—Lee, Derek—L
 SCARBOROUGH WEST—Wappel, Tom—L
 SELKIRK—Bjornson, David—PC
 SHEFFORD—Lapierre, Hon. Jean—L
 SHERBROOKE—Charest, Hon. Jean J.—PC
 SIMCOE CENTRE—Anderson, Edna—PC
 SIMCOE NORTH—Lewis, Hon. Douglas Grinlade—PC
- SKEENA—Fulton, Jim—NDP
 SOURIS—MOOSE MOUNTAIN—Gustafson, Len—PC
 SOUTH SHORE—McCreath, Peter L.—PC
 SOUTH WEST NOVA—Campbell, Coline—L
 ST. ALBERT—Van De Walle, Walter—PC
 ST. BONIFACE—Duhamel, Ronald J.—L
 ST. CATHARINES—Atkinson, Ken—PC
 ST. JOHN'S EAST—Reid, Ross—PC
 ST. JOHN'S WEST—Crosbie, Hon. John Carnell—PC
 ST. PAUL'S—McDougall, Hon. Barbara Jean—PC
 STORMONT—DUNDAS—Kilger, Bob—L
 SUDBURY—Marleau, Diane—L
 SURREY NORTH—Karpoff, Jim—NDP
 SURREY—WHITE ROCK—Friesen, Benno W.—PC
 SWIFT CURRENT—MAPLE CREEK—ASSINIBOIA—Wilson,
 Geoff—PC
- TÉMISCAMINGUE—Desjardins, Gabriel—PC
 TERREBONNE—Robitaille, Jean-Marc—PC
 THE BATTLEFORDS—MEADOW LAKE—Taylor, Len—NDP
 THUNDER BAY—ATIKOKAN—Angus, Iain—NDP
 THUNDER BAY—NIPIGON—Comuzzi, Joe—L
 TIMISKAMING—MacDougall, John A.—PC
 TIMMINS—CHAPLEAU—Samson, Cid—NDP
 TRINITY—SPADINA—Heap, Dan—NDP
 TROIS-RIVIÈRES—Vincent, Pierre H.—PC
- VANCOUVER CENTRE—Campbell, Hon. Kim—PC
 VANCOUVER EAST—Mitchell, Margaret—NDP
 VANCOUVER QUADRA—Turner, Right Hon. John N.—L
 VANCOUVER SOUTH—Fraser, Hon. John A.—PC
 VAUDREUIL—Cadieux, Hon. Pierre H.—PC
 VEGREVILLE—Mazankowski, Hon. Donald Frank—PC
 VERCHÈRES—Danis, Marcel—PC
 VERDUN—SAINT-PAUL—Chartrand, Gilbert—PC
 VICTORIA—Brewin, John F.—NDP
 VICTORIA—HALIBURTON—Scott, Bill—PC
- WATERLOO—McLean, Hon. Walter—PC
 WELLAND—ST. CATHARINES—THOROLD—Parent,
 Gilbert—L
 WELLINGTON—GREY—DUFFERIN—SIMCOE—Beatty, Hon.
 Henry Perrin—PC
 WESTERN ARCTIC—Blondin, Ethel—L
 WETASKIWIN—Littlechild, Willie—PC
 WILD ROSE—Feltham, Louise—PC
 WILLOWDALE—Peterson, Jim—L
 WINDSOR—LAKE ST. CLAIR—McCurdy, Howard—NDP
 WINDSOR WEST—Gray, Hon. Herb—L
 WINNIPEG NORTH—Pagtakhan, Rey—L
 WINNIPEG NORTH CENTRE—Walker, David—L
 WINNIPEG SOUTH—Dobbie, Dorothy—PC
 WINNIPEG SOUTH CENTRE—Axworthy, Hon. Lloyd—L
 WINNIPEG ST. JAMES—Harvard, John—L
 WINNIPEG TRANSCONA—Blaikie, Bill—NDP

YELLOWHEAD—Clark, Right Hon. Charles Joseph—PC
YORK CENTRE—Kaplan, Hon. Bob—L
YORK NORTH—O'Brien, Micheal—PC
YORK NORTH—Bevilacqua, Maurizio—L
YORK—SIMCOE—Cole, John E.—PC

YORK SOUTH—WESTON—Nunziata, John—L
YORK WEST—Marchi, Sergio—L
YORKTON—MELVILLE—Nystrom, Lorne—NDP
YUKON—McLaughlin, Audrey—NDP

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS
(at prorogation)

Speaker	Hon. John A. Fraser
Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees of the Whole House	Marcel Danis
Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House.....	Hon. Steven E. Paproski
Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House	Hon. Andrée Champagne
 Board of Internal Economy.....	 Hon. John A. Fraser (Chairman) Hon. Doug Lewis Hon. Herb Gray Jim Hawkes Marcel Danis Jean-Robert Gauthier Bill Kempling Nelson Riis
Secretary	Mary MacDougall
 Clerk's Sector	
Clerk of the House.....	R. Marleau
Deputy Clerk	M.A. Griffith
Clerk Assistant	P. Laundy
Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel.....	M.R. Pelletier
Director General, Parliamentary Operations	J. Sabourin
 Administrator's Sector	
Administrator	E.A. Riedel
Comptroller	J. Ferrier
Director General, Human Resources	R.C. Blain
Director, Support and Information Systems	R.J. Desramaux
Director, Parliamentary Restaurant Services.....	P. Danakas
Director, Internal Audit	
 Sergeant-at-Arms' Sector	
Sergeant-at-Arms.....	M.G. Cloutier
Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms	R.T. Hall
Director, Parliamentary Building Services	K.R. Macquarrie
Director, Members' Services.....	A.J.M. Lamarche
Director, Logistics.....	J.A.J. Spénard
Director, Security.....	N. Bélanger

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PH.D. THESIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PH.D. THESIS
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PH.D. THESIS
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PH.D. THESIS

ACTS PASSED DURING THE SESSION

PUBLIC ACTS

*Chapter**

Bill No.

Assented to December 30, 1988

65

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act.....

C-2

*Refers to Chapters in Statutes of Canada.

CONTENTS

[The following table represents the structure of the page's content, which is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a table of contents with multiple columns and rows.]

Page	Title
1	Editorial: [Illegible]
2	Original Article: [Illegible]
3	Original Article: [Illegible]
4	Original Article: [Illegible]
5	Original Article: [Illegible]
6	Original Article: [Illegible]
7	Original Article: [Illegible]
8	Original Article: [Illegible]
9	Original Article: [Illegible]
10	Original Article: [Illegible]
11	Original Article: [Illegible]
12	Original Article: [Illegible]
13	Original Article: [Illegible]
14	Original Article: [Illegible]
15	Original Article: [Illegible]
16	Original Article: [Illegible]
17	Original Article: [Illegible]
18	Original Article: [Illegible]
19	Original Article: [Illegible]
20	Original Article: [Illegible]
21	Original Article: [Illegible]
22	Original Article: [Illegible]
23	Original Article: [Illegible]
24	Original Article: [Illegible]
25	Original Article: [Illegible]
26	Original Article: [Illegible]
27	Original Article: [Illegible]
28	Original Article: [Illegible]
29	Original Article: [Illegible]
30	Original Article: [Illegible]
31	Original Article: [Illegible]
32	Original Article: [Illegible]
33	Original Article: [Illegible]
34	Original Article: [Illegible]
35	Original Article: [Illegible]
36	Original Article: [Illegible]
37	Original Article: [Illegible]
38	Original Article: [Illegible]
39	Original Article: [Illegible]
40	Original Article: [Illegible]
41	Original Article: [Illegible]
42	Original Article: [Illegible]
43	Original Article: [Illegible]
44	Original Article: [Illegible]
45	Original Article: [Illegible]
46	Original Article: [Illegible]
47	Original Article: [Illegible]
48	Original Article: [Illegible]
49	Original Article: [Illegible]
50	Original Article: [Illegible]
51	Original Article: [Illegible]
52	Original Article: [Illegible]
53	Original Article: [Illegible]
54	Original Article: [Illegible]
55	Original Article: [Illegible]
56	Original Article: [Illegible]
57	Original Article: [Illegible]
58	Original Article: [Illegible]
59	Original Article: [Illegible]
60	Original Article: [Illegible]
61	Original Article: [Illegible]
62	Original Article: [Illegible]
63	Original Article: [Illegible]
64	Original Article: [Illegible]
65	Original Article: [Illegible]
66	Original Article: [Illegible]
67	Original Article: [Illegible]
68	Original Article: [Illegible]
69	Original Article: [Illegible]
70	Original Article: [Illegible]
71	Original Article: [Illegible]
72	Original Article: [Illegible]
73	Original Article: [Illegible]
74	Original Article: [Illegible]
75	Original Article: [Illegible]
76	Original Article: [Illegible]
77	Original Article: [Illegible]
78	Original Article: [Illegible]
79	Original Article: [Illegible]
80	Original Article: [Illegible]
81	Original Article: [Illegible]
82	Original Article: [Illegible]
83	Original Article: [Illegible]
84	Original Article: [Illegible]
85	Original Article: [Illegible]
86	Original Article: [Illegible]
87	Original Article: [Illegible]
88	Original Article: [Illegible]
89	Original Article: [Illegible]
90	Original Article: [Illegible]
91	Original Article: [Illegible]
92	Original Article: [Illegible]
93	Original Article: [Illegible]
94	Original Article: [Illegible]
95	Original Article: [Illegible]
96	Original Article: [Illegible]
97	Original Article: [Illegible]
98	Original Article: [Illegible]
99	Original Article: [Illegible]
100	Original Article: [Illegible]

GUIDE TO THE USERS

The Index to the House of Commons Debates (Hansard) is a cross-referenced subject-based index. Each issue is recorded by date and range of pages; this list may be found under the heading "VOLUMES, DATES and PAGES" on p. xxiii.

The Index provides general subject analysis as well as subject breakdown under the names of Members of Parliament indicating those matters discussed by them. In addition, under each bill there is a listing of all Members that took part in debate. The numbers immediately following the index entries refer to the appropriate pages in the Debates; oral questions are denoted by the abbreviation "o.q.". The Index also provides lists, eg. Bills; Divisions, recorded; Procedure; Speaker, rulings and statements; Supply motions, etc.

All subject entries in the index are arranged alphabetically; procedural entries pertaining to the passage of legislation are arranged chronologically; numerical entries may be found at the end of the index. A typical entry may consist of a main heading followed by one or more sub-headings, for example:

Women

Wife battering, housing, 100, 150
Information, family allowances, o.q., 200, 250

The Index is extensively cross-referenced. Cross-references to a first sub-heading are denoted by a long dash, for example:

Housing *see* Women—Wife battering

Cross references to a second sub-heading are denoted by a comma, for example:

Family allowances *see* Women—Wife battering, Information

The most common abbreviations found in the Index are:

1r, 2r, 3r, = first, second, third reading Amdt. = Amendment g.r. = government response
M. = Motion o.q. = Oral Question qu. = Question on the *Order Paper*
R.A. = Royal Assent r.o. = Return ordered S.O. = Standing Order S.O.
21 = Statement under Standing Order 21

Political affiliations: L = Liberal PC = Progressive Conservative NDP = New Democratic Party

**The Index has been prepared by the
Index and Reference Branch of the House of Commons**

APPENDIX TO THE REPORT

The following table shows the results of the tests conducted on the various samples of the material.

The results of the tests conducted on the various samples of the material are shown in the following table.

The results of the tests conducted on the various samples of the material are shown in the following table.

INDEX

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES—OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION—THIRTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT

VOLUMES, DATES AND PAGES

1988

Vol. I: December 12-December 30—pp. 1-852.

December: 12th, 1-19; 13th, 21-41; 14th, 43-74; 15th, 75-134; 16th, 135-276; 19th, 277-405; 20th, 407-518; 21st, 519-589; 22nd, 591-708; 23rd, 709-850; 30th, 851-852.

INDEX

THE JOURNAL OF DOCUMENTATION

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------

- Abernot, Dennis** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Abitibi constituency, Que.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Abitibi, Que.** *see* CN Rail
- Aboriginal language** *see* Northwest Territories—Description
- Abortion**
Morgentaler clinics, 667
See also Abortion Law Interim Measures Act (Bill C-203)
- Abortion Law Interim Measures Act (Bill C-203)—H. Crosby**
1r, 157
- Acid rain** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Acquired immune deficiency syndrome** *see* AIDS
- Acting Speaker, rulings and statements** *see* Speaker, rulings and statements
- Acting Speakers** *see* Champagne, A.; Paproski
- Address in Reply** *see* Throne Speech
- Adjournment motions under S.O. 52**
Airports, Lester B. Pearson International, traffic congestion (Kaplan), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 64
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Employment, impact (Broadbent), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 158-9
Plant closures (Broadbent), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 64-5
See also Procedure
- Adjournments** *see* Procedure
- Adjustment programs** *see* Employment programs
- Advertising** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Election, Corporations; Corporations—Elections; Tourist industry
- Aerospace industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Agri-food industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Agricultural and Rural Development Agreements** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture, Programs
- Agriculture**
Alberta, exports to United States, 659
Policy, United States position, o.q., 620
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; United States—Exports
- AGRINOVE, Cooperative Agro-Alimentaire** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Dairy industry, Quebec
- AGROPUR COOPERATIVE AGRO-ALIMENTAIRE** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Dairy industry, Quebec
- AIDS** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Air traffic controllers** *see* Airports
- Air transport**
Safety, government priority, o.q., 38, 722-3
- Aircraft** *see* Defence equipment
- Airlines**
Pan Am *see* Disasters, emergencies, etc.
- Airports**
Air traffic controllers
Auditor General's Report (1984-1985), o.q., 38, 98
Shortage, government bonus system, o.q., 98-100
Transport Standing Committee (1st Sess., 33rd Parl.), o.q., 38
United States controllers, hiring, o.q., 99-100
See also Airports—Lester B. Pearson International
Hamilton International Civic
Liberal Party position, o.q., 36
See also Airports—Lester B. Pearson International, Traffic
Lester B. Pearson International (Toronto, Ont.)
Air traffic controllers, hiring, training, o.q., 37-8
Liberal government, former, responsibility, o.q., 38
Traffic, congestion, safety concerns, etc.,
Back-up generator system, o.q., 304-5
Deregulation, impact, o.q., 38, 98
Dual runway system, peak hours, trial period, o.q., 433
Hamilton International Civic, re-routing
o.q., 36
S.O. 31 (G. Scott), 45; (Phinney), 423
M. to adjourn under S.O. 52 (Kaplan), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 64
Near mid-air collisions, 1988 record, o.q., 722
o.q., 36, 722
Southwestern Ontario, airspace problems, o.q., 36, 38
- Airspace problems** *see* Airports—Southwestern Ontario
- Alachlor** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Pesticides
- Alberta**
Senate vacancy *see* Senate—Vacancies
See also Agriculture; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Energy industry; Oil and gas industries
- Alcoholic beverages**
Labelling, health warnings *see* Food and Drugs Act (amdt.—cautionary labels on alcoholic beverage containers)(Bill C-205)
See also Fisheries, Atlantic—North Atlantic Fisheries Organization, Retaliatory measures
- Alliance Québec** *see* Official languages policy/bilingualism
- Allmand, Hon. Warren** (L—Notre-Dame-de-Grâce)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 351-4
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 45
Canadian Jobs Strategy, 352
Constitution, Meech Lake Accord, o.q., 296
Parliament, 354
Quebec, language policy, o.q., 295-6
References, 690
- Althouse, Vic** (NDP—Mackenzie)
Agriculture, o.q., 620

- Althouse, Vic—Cont.**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 620
 Canadian Wheat Board, o.q., 620
 Dairy industry, o.q., 619
 Drought, o.q., 39-40
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 260-2
- American Farming Bureau** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture
- American Telephone and Telegraph Company** *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures
- Amnesty** *see* Refugee status—Administrative review process
- Anawak, Jack Iyerak** (L—Nunatsiak)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 439-41
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 430-1
 Nunatsiak constituency, N.W.T., 439-40
 References, introduction to House, 92-3
- Anderson, Edna** (PC—Simcoe Centre)
 Simcoe Centre constituency, Ont., S.O. 31, 421
- Andre, Hon. Harvie** (PC—Calgary Centre; Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs; Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 416-7
- Anglophones** *see* Quebec—Language policy
- Angus, Iain** (NDP—Thunder Bay—Atikokan)
 Grain transportation, o.q., 305
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 254-6
- Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies constituency, Que.**
 References, 204, 685
- Anti-dumping laws** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—United States markets
- Appeals** *see* Justice
- Apprenticeship programs** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment
- Arctic** *see* Pollution
- ARDA** *see* Agricultural and Rural Development Agreements
- Armenia** *see* Disasters, emergencies, etc.
- Arsenault, Guy H.** (L—Restigouche)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 385, 553-4, 563
 Procedure
 Decorum, 385, 553-4
 Language, 563
 Misleading/false statements, 563
 Regional development, S.O. 31, 422
- Artists/artistic community** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Assiniboia—Gravelbourg constituency, Sask.** *see* Saskatchewan—By-election
- Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House**
 Champagne, Andrée, appointment, M. (Mulroney), agreed to, 13
- Atkinson, Ken** (PC—St. Catharines)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 250-1
 S.O. 31, 422-3
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 250-1
- Atlanta, Ga.** *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures, Aylmer
- Atlantic provinces** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Crosbie—References; Trade—Tariff-free
- Atlas Speciality Steels Division Rio Algom Limited** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Atomic powered vessels** *see* Defence equipment—Submarines
- Atomic weapons** *see* Disarmament
- Attewell, Bill** (PC—Markham)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 555
 Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act (amdt.—Markham—Whitchurch—Stouffville)(Bill C-206), 277
 Procedure, debate, 555
- Auditor General's reports**
 1984-1985 *see* Airports—Air traffic controllers
 1987-1988
 Tabled, 27
See also Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund; Canadian Forestry Service; Dartmouth, N.S.; Forest industry
- Australia** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Auto-Pact** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Automobiles** *see* Insurance
- Axworthy, Chris** (NDP—Saskatoon—Clark's Crossing)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 545-8
- Axworthy, Hon. Lloyd** (L—Winnipeg South Centre)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 111, 282-7, 409-13, 417, 500, 608-11, 626-40, 848
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 32-3, 141-3
 Constitution, o.q., 526-7
 Dahmer, references, 12
 Government, 162, 164-5
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 161-5
 Northern Telecom Limited, 164
 Procedure
 Closure, 500
 Debate, 417, 640
 Decorum, 111
 Member be now heard, M., 848
 Unparliamentary language, 638
 Quebec, language policy, o.q., 526-7
 References, 516, 653-5
- Aylmer, Que.** *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures

- B.C. Tree Fruits Association** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fruit and vegetables
- Baker, George S.** (L—Gander—Grand Falls)
Airports, o.q., 99
Fisheries, Atlantic, o.q., 38-9
Procedure, Speaker, election, 2
- Bangladesh** *see* Crosbie—References
- Bank of Nova Scotia** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Bankruptcies** *see* Route Canada Inc.
- Banks and banking**
Discriminatory practices, women entrepreneurs, S.O. 31 (Collins), 292-3
Nationalizing, New Democratic Party position, 231
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Barrett, David** (NDP—Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 196-7
o.q., 51-2, 147-8
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 287-91, 643
Forest industry, 289, 291
Government, 197-8
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 195-8
Marcos, Ferdinand, o.q., 725
Privilege, misleading/false statements (Broadbent), 153-4
Procedure
Chair, 643
Debate, 643
References
Former British Columbia Premier, 369-70
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Turner, J., references, 288
- Beatty, Hon. Henry Perrin** (PC—Wellington—Grey—Dufferin—Simcoe; Minister of National Defence and Acting Solicitor General; Minister of National Health and Welfare)
Chemical weapons
Nerve and mustard gas, 57-60
Nerve gas, o.q., 723-4
Marcos, Ferdinand, o.q., 725
Parole, psychopathic killers, o.q., 429
Privilege, misleading/false statements (Fulton), 57-60
- Beauharnois Canal**
Construction, 184
- Beaver River constituency, Alta.** *see* House of Commons—Vacancies
- Bécancour, Que. region**
Industrial park, 548
- Beef**
Exports to United States, 488
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Beer** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Bégin, Hon. Monique** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—AIDS
- Bélair, Réginald** (L—Cochrane—Superior)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 817-8
Cochrane—Superior constituency, Ont., 817
Forest industry, 817-8
- Bell ringing incident** *see* House of Commons
- Bellemare, Eugène** (L—Carleton—Gloucester)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 220-1
Canadian Space Agency, S.O. 31, 614
Carleton—Gloucester constituency, Ont., 220
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 220-1
Members of Parliament, 221
- Belleville, Ont.** *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures
- Belsher, Ross** (PC—Fraser Valley East)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 542-5
Speaker, rulings and statements, decorum, 183
- Benjamin, Les** (NDP—Regina—Lumsden)
Airports, o.q., 98
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 218-9
Government, 72
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 217-9
Members of Parliament, 217-8
Political parties, 217
Procedure
Debate, 218
Government motions, 71-2
Prud'homme, references, 219
References, 219
- Berger, David** (L—Saint-Henri—Westmount)
Constitution, S.O. 31, 716
- Bernier, Gilles** (PC—Beauce)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 612
- Bertrand, Gabrielle** (PC—Brome—Missisquoi)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 521
- Bilingualism** *see* New Brunswick; Official languages policy/bilingualism
- Bill C-22 (2nd Sess., 33rd Parl.)** *see* Government—Credibility, Drug legislation
- Bills, House of Commons** *see* titles of particular bills (*Royal Assent denoted by **)
Government, Public
C-1. Oaths of Office (Pro Forma)—Prime Minister
*C-2. Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act—Minister of International Trade
Private Member, Public
C-201. Canada Referendum and Plebiscite Act—P. Boyer—(died on *Order Paper*)
C-202. Centennial Flame Research Award Act—P. Boyer—(died on *Order Paper*)
C-203. Abortion Law Interim Measures Act—H. Crosby—(died on *Order Paper*)
C-204. Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group)—D. Boudria—(died on *Order Paper*)

Bills, House of Commons *see titles of...*—*Cont.**Private Member, Public*—*Cont.*

- C-205. Food and Drugs Act (amdt.—cautionary labels on alcoholic beverage containers)—N. Riis—(died on *Order Paper*)
- C-206. Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act (amdt.—Markham—Whitchurch—Stouffville)—W. Attewell—(died on *Order Paper*)
- C-207. National Sport Act—N. Riis—(died on *Order Paper*)

Bird, J.W. Bud (PC—Fredericton)

- Bird, references, 348-9
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 348-51
- Fraser, references, 349
- New Brunswick, 349

Bjornson, David (PC—Selkirk)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 254
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 253-4
- Selkirk constituency, Man., 254

Black, Dawn (NDP—New Westminster—Burnaby)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 215-6, 791
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 790-2
- Children, S.O. 31, 521-2
- Family allowances, o.q., 625
- Government, 215
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 215-6
- New Westminster—Burnaby constituency, B.C., 790-1

Blaikie, Bill (NDP—Winnipeg Transcona)

- Blenkarn, references, 746
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, CN Rail, 744-5
- S.O. 31, 715
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 744-7
- Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 27-8
- Winnipeg Transcona constituency, 744

Blais, Hon. Pierre (PC—Bellechasse; Minister of State (Agriculture); Solicitor General of Canada and Minister of State (Agriculture))

- Agriculture, 356
- Blais, references, election mandate, 355
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 354-6
- Martin, P., references, 356
- Mulroney, references, 356
- Parliament, 354

Blenkarn, Don (PC—Mississauga South)

- Blenkarn references, 305
- Privilege, misleading/false statements, 305
- References 305, 746
- See also* Elections—General, Nov. 21/88

Blondin, Ethel (L—Western Arctic)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 366-9
- Constitution, 367
- Employment Equity Act, o.q., 719-20
- Employment equity, o.q., 720
- Fraser, references, 366

Blondin, Ethel—*Cont.*

- Native people, o.q., 49-50
- Northwest Territories, 366-8
- References, 682
- Western Arctic constituency, N.W.T., 366

Blood *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Board of Internal Economy**

- Commissioners, appointment, 12, 61

Books *see* Publishing industry**Bosley, Hon. John W.** (PC—Don Valley West)

- Karygiannis, references, S.O. 31, 294
- Mitges, references, S.O. 31, 294

Bouchard, Hon. Lucien (PC—Lac-Saint-Jean; Secretary of State and Acting Minister of the Environment; Minister of the Environment)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 333-5
- References, 424-5, 524, 615-9
- See also* Quebec—Language policy
- Waste disposal, Eastern Townships, Que., o.q., 50-1
- Water pollution, o.q., 146-7

Boudria, Don (L—Glengarry—Prescott—Russell)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 483-7, 554-5
- Children, petition, 63
- Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group)(Bill C-204), 157
- Farm products, 486
- Garbage Pail Kids cards, S.O. 31, 141
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 171-4
- National Capital Region, S.O. 31, 521
- Procedure
- Closure, 72
 - Decorum, 554
 - Government motions, 72-3
 - Points of order/questions of privilege, 485
- Standing Orders, 72
- Textile and clothing industry, 483-4

Bourassa, Hon. Robert *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Quebec; Quebec—Language policy**Bowker, Marjorie** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Boyer, Patrick** (PC—Etobicoke—Lakeshore)

- Canada Referendum and Plebiscite Act (Bill C-201), 63
- Centennial Flame Research Award Act (Bill C-202), 156-7

Brampton—Malton constituency, Ont.

- References, 777-8

Brazil

- Rain forests, development projects, impact, \$625 million
- World Bank loan, S.O. 31 (Caccia), 88-9

Brewin, John F. (NDP—Victoria)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 659
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 659, 665-6, 760-3
- Developing countries, S.O. 31, 520
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 179-81

British Columbia

- Government, socialist, former, effect, 369-70
- Resource-based economy, danger, 369-70
- See also Barrett—References; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Columbia Power Project; Economic conditions; Forest industry—Cedar products—Forest Resources Development Agreements; Insurance; National Parks; Provincial Parks; Unemployment

British Common Law *see* Justice**Broadbent, Hon. Edward** (NDP—Oshawa)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 - Dispute settlement mechanism, o.q., 718-9
 - Employment, M. to adjourn under S.O. 52, 158-9
 - Government mandate, 128-9
 - Implementation, 133
 - o.q., 49, 144-5
 - Investment, 130
 - Negotiations, 131-3
 - Plant closures, 130-1
 - M. to adjourn under S.O. 52, 64-5
 - o.q., 34-5
 - Private sector, 134
 - Regional development programs, 133
 - Reisman, Simon, position, 132
 - Significance, 127
 - Sovereignty, 128, 134
 - Subsidies, 129, 132-3
 - Throne Speech references, 129
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 127-34
- Chemical weapons, nerve and mustard gas, 60
- Constitution, Meech Lake Agreement, o.q., 426-7, 525
- Forest industry, cedar products, 130-1
- Fraser, references, 7
- House of Commons, adjournments, 129
- Northern Telecom Limited, plant closures, 130
 - o.q., 48-9
- Privilege
 - Misleading/false statements, 152-3
 - Misleading/false statements (Fulton), 60
 - Unparliamentary language (Lewis), 152
- Procedure, House business, 104-5
- Quebec, language policy, o.q., 525-6
- References *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government mandate—New Democratic Party position

Broadcasting

- Legislation, 87
- See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Broiler egg hatching industry *see* Poultry**Browes, Pauline A.** (PC—Scarborough Centre)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 27
- Disabled and handicapped, S.O. 31, 714
- Provincial Parks, petitions, 157-8, 591-2

Brown, Noel *see* Environment—Government action**Brundtland, Gro Harlem** *see* Environment—Government action**Brundtland Report** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Environmental impact**Budd, Mervin** *see* Nepal**Bulloch, John** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Small business**Burin—St. George's constituency, Nfld.**
References, 654**Burma**

- Democracy, restoring, support, S.O. 31 (Edwards), 138

Buses *see* Senior citizens**Business** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Butland, Steve** (NDP—Sault Ste. Marie)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 441-2
- Forest industry, S.O. 31, 292
- Government, 198
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 198
- Housing, o.q., 432
- Public Service, S.O. 31, 614
- Research and development, 442

C.D. Howe Institute *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment**Cabinet Ministers**

- Resignation request *see* Quebec—Language policy, Bouchard

Caccia, Hon. Charles (L—Davenport)

- Brazil, S.O. 31, 88-9
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 390-3, 660, 666
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 712-3
- Constitution, S.O. 31, 424
- Elections, S.O. 31, 43
- Environment, S.O. 31, 88-9
- Fraser, references, 390
- Water, o.q., 100

Cadieux, Hon. Pierre H. (PC—Vaudreuil; Minister of Labour; Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 279-82**Calgary North constituency, Alta.**

- References, 788

Calgary Southeast constituency, Alta.

- References, 737

Calgary Southwest constituency, Alta.

- Plurality, Nov. 21/88 election, 567

Callbeck, Catherine (L—Malpeque)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 435-6
- Malpeque constituency, P.E.I., 435
- Post offices, S.O. 31, 90

Cambridge constituency, Ont.

- References, 825

Campbell, Coline (L—South West Nova)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 571-5

Campbell, Coline—Cont.

- Fisheries and Oceans Department, 726
 - o.q., 720-1
- Fisheries, Atlantic, o.q., 720-1
- Privilege, Member's remarks, 726
- References, 721

Campbell, Hon. Kim (PC—Vancouver Centre; Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development))

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 14-6
- Publishing industry, 15
- Throne Speech, Address in Reply, M., 13-6
- Trade, 15
- Vancouver Centre constituency, B.C., 13-4

Canada Elections Act

- Reform, 694-5

Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund

- Spending practices, Auditor General's report (1987-1988), o.q., 35, 54-5
- See also Dartmouth, N.S.—Portland Estates

Canada Referendum and Plebiscite Act (Bill C-201)—P. Boyer

- First reading, 63

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

- Abernot, Dennis, comments, 820
- Abitibi constituency, Que., impact, 375-6
- Acid rain, relationship, 450-1
 - Mulroney position, 654
- Aerospace industry, impact, 826
- Agri-food industry, 373, 375, 742-3
 - Quebec, impact, 355-6
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Farmers
- Agriculture
 - American Farming Bureau position, 348
 - British Columbia, 661
 - Competition, 311
 - Employment, job losses, 347, 661
 - Impact, 120-1, 186, 225, 373, 389-400, 414, 416, 479-80, 485-7, 630, 658-9, 681-2, 692, 766-9, 792-4, 801, 809
 - Ontario Federation of Agriculture position, 414
 - Programs, established, PFRA, ARDA, etc., 121, 337
 - Quebec, Fédération des caisses populaires Desjardins position, 356
 - S.O. 31 (Hughes), 29
 - Subsidies, role, 313, 346, 671
- AIDS relationship, Monique Bégin remarks, 583
- Alberta, impact, 658-9
 - Economic Council of Canada, study, 658
 - Peace River region, 438
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Bowker—Employment—Oil and gas industries—Service industries
- Artistic community, position, 664-5
- Atlantic provinces, impact, 349-51, 608-9, 755-7
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—New Brunswick—Newfoundland—Prince Edward Island
- Atlas Speciality Steels Division, Rio Algom Limited, Bruce Hamilton position, 821

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Australia-New Zealand, free trade agreement, comparing, 359, 365
- Auto-Pact
 - Comparison, 184, 351, 644, 778, 830, 836
 - Impact, relationship, 228, 250-1, 382, 385-6, 498, 580-1, 668, 809, 822, 825
 - New Democratic Party, Tommy Douglas, opposition, 595, 650
 - Parts sector, 581
 - S.O. 31 (Atkinson), 422-3
 - Termination clause, 607
- Bank of Nova Scotia study, impact, 472
- Banks and banking, United States Glass-Steagall Act, impact, 122
- Barrett position, 322, 330
- Beef/veal producers, impact, 658, 670
- Beer, exemption, 362, 654, 656
- Benefits, 17, 115, 178-9, 220-1, 227-8, 333, 357-60, 372, 375-7, 468-9, 491, 498-9, 508-9, 542, 568, 597, 680, 738, 769, 778-9, 789-90, 830-1
 - o.q., 149-10
 - S.O. 31 (Browes), 27
- Blood, collection and supply, relationship, 327-8, 771-2
- Bowker, Marjorie, Alberta judge, study, 655
- British Columbia, impact, 369
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture—Tariffs, Existing levels
- Broadcasting systems, impact, 838
- Business/private sector, support, 109, 222-3, 290, 344, 470, 481, 494-6, 780, 845
 - Entrepreneurs, opportunities, cheese producer, Mr. Jax Fashions Inc., examples, 365
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Culture—Election
- Canadian Federation of Independent Businessmen position, support, survey, 344, 544
- Canadian International Trade Tribunal, role, 630
- Carney role, 108, 631
- Cattle industry, impact, 658
- Characterization
 - Balkanization of Canada, 290
 - Economic constitution, 546-7
 - Elephant-mouse analogy, 371
 - Graveyard of Confederation, 564-5
 - Insidious, deadly, 117, 483-4
 - Insurance policy, 650
 - Integration, social, political, economic, 636
 - One-way deal, 655
 - Republican version of Canada's future, 373
 - "Sale of Canada act," o.q., 299
 - Sell-out, etc., 320, 366, 544, 655, 758, 833
 - Trade disarmament, 317
 - Transfer of Parliamentary power, 285
- Christmas tree industry, impact, 264
- CN Rail, impact, layoffs, pending, etc., 744-5
 - S.O. 31 (Blaikie), 715
- Cohen, Mickey, comments, 823
- Community Futures Program, relationship, 315
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Competition
 Canadian expertise, 340, 358, 577
 Corporate concentration, impact, 638-9
 Monopolies, application, 671
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Computer industry
- Computer industry, University of Victoria contracts, United States competition, 357
- Construction industry, impact, 376
- Consultation
 Committees, commissions, study groups, 373, 414, 650
 Funk, Ray, wishing to appear as witness, 373
 Tri-partite/federal-provincial conference, requesting, o.q., 142-3
- Crispo, John, position, book, *Free Trade—The Real Story*, 109
- Crosbie, International Trade Minister, role, 351, 409, 576, 608-9, 734, 757
 Reading agreement, 362, 601
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Marketing boards, Canadian Wheat Board
- Culture, cultural industries, 15-6, 178, 358-9, 662, 700, 812
 Exemption, 566-7, 663
 Historical development, impact, 665
 Private sector, support, 359
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Broadcasting systems—Film industry—Recording industry
- Dairy industry, impact, 355, 375, 658-9, 747
 Cheese, 355, 585
 Ontario, 740-2
 Quebec co-operatives, AGRINOVE, Cooperative Agro-Alimentaire, AGROPUR COOPERATIVE AGRO-ALIMENTAIRE, position, 355
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Marketing boards
- de Grandpré Commission *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Implementation
- Deadline *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Legislation
- Defence industries, impact, 692, 774-5, 777
- Defence policy, impact, 357
- Deficit, increase, relationship, 491
- Diefenbaker, Right Hon. J.G., position, 459
- Dispute settlement mechanism, 114, 119, 171, 208, 282, 318, 343, 371, 386-7, 389-90, 486, 488, 491, 571, 600-3, 658, 667, 758, 783, 795-6, 820, 839
 Membership of panel, o.q., 718-9
 o.q., 619-20
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Dollar, exchange rate, impact, 178, 631, 839
- Dupuis, Michel, former ambassador to France, position, 584
- Economic impact, 657, 832
 Market-driven, 360, 367
 Mixed economy, 357
 Profit-driven, 839
 Resource-based, effects, 844

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Economic union, United States control, etc., 290-1, 357, 491-2, 503, 560, 655, 844-5
 Branch plant economy, 319, 652-3
 S.O. 31 (Caccia), 712-3
 United States Paley Commission report (1952), resource control strategy, 120
- Education system, effects, 629
- Election, Nov. 21/88
 Canadian Union of Postal Workers involvement, 462
 Corporations, business, involvement, advertising, etc., 124-5, 173, 331
 Government tactics, 471, 585, 609
 Impact, 124, 414, 652
 New Democratic Party tactics, 310
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Government mandate—Liberal Party position—Social programs
- Electricity, Lower Churchill power development, impact, 452
- Employment equity, impact, 675
- Employment, impact, 368, 376, 384, 472, 655, 673, 838
 Adjustment programs, 115, 163, 245, 284-5, 313, 316, 318, 321, 348, 352-4, 362-3, 376, 606, 627-8, 642-3, 649, 687, 751, 779, 785, 832
 o.q., 142-3
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Plant closures
- Alberta, 659
- Apprenticeship programs, 582
- C.D. Howe Institute, recommendation, 352
- Canadian Jobs Strategy, role, 164, 286-7, 314-5, 352-3, 376, 628, 838
- Community Futures Program, role, 376
- Compensation, 752
- Economic Council of Canada, recommendation, 352
- Expansion, job creation, 116, 418-9, 485, 606-7, 648-9, 685, 797
 o.q., 301
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Investment
- Industrial Adjustment Service, role, 315
- Job losses
 Opposition predictions, 182-3, 283, 492, 499, 545, 678-9, 681, 684, 797
 Protection, government program, requesting, 9, 158-9, 163
 o.q., 149-50
- M. to adjourn under S.O. 52 (Broadbent), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 158-9
- Mulroney, rejecting, 352
- Skill Investment Program, role, 314
- Training programs, cutbacks, 582
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Implementation, de Grandpré Commission—Job creation programs
- Energy industry, impact, 658, 660, 738-9, 812
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Oil and gas industries
- Energy policy, impact, 190, 492-3, 673, 758, 762
 Provincial rights/powers, 659-60, 761
- Energy resources, impact, 451, 476, 544, 559, 641, 845

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.**
 Environmental impact, 113, 178, 180, 208, 216, 353-4, 357, 368, 391-3, 399, 464, 570, 647, 678, 684, 743, 751, 775, 829, 832
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, role, 580
 World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future (Brundtland Report)*, relationship, 391-2
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Northern Canada
 European Economic Community, comparison, 359, 449, 651
 Exemptions, 649
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Beer—Culture—Marine mammal products—United States trade laws
 External Affairs and International Trade Standing Committee (2nd Sess., 33rd Parl.)
 Hearings, witnesses, etc., 111, 410-1
 Travel, 410
 External affairs policy, impact, 357, 359, 635
 External aid programs, impact, 470-1
 Farm income, impact, 346-8
 Farm products, impact, 346
 Farmers, impact, 354-5, 658, 736
 Agri-food industry, United States, threat, 357
 Farmers for Free Trade, position, 659
 Position, S.O. 31 (M. Champagne), 613
 Quebec Federated Co-operative, position, 355
 Quebec, position, Jacques Parizeau, Opposition Leader, comments, 354-5
 Farms, family, impact, 345-8, 373
 Federal-provincial relations, federal legislative supremacy, 642
 Film industry, Jack Valenti, role, 633, 665
 Financial institutions, impact, 190
 Fisheries
 Enterprise allocation, 574
 Impact, 121, 436, 572-4, 842-3
 National Sea Products, impact, 599
 Processing, labour component, 575
 Raw, unprocessed, application, 339
 Salt cod, 736
 Fisheries, Atlantic, impact, 263-4, 656
 Fisheries, Pacific, impact, 267-8, 673, 791
 Replacement regulations, GATT contraventions
 Herring, o.q., 54
 Salmon
 o.q., 54
 S.O. 31 (Collins), 89
 Food, prices, impact, 346
 Quaker Oats Company of Canada, Limited, President Jon Grant, position, 348
 Food processing industry, impact, 345-8, 399-400, 663, 801-2, 809-10
 Footwear industry, Western provinces, 438-9
 Foreign investment/ownership, 122, 498, 515, 637-8, 673, 683-4, 775
 Corporate takeovers, 553
 Investment Canada role, 559
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.**
 Forest industry, impact, 264, 268-70, 370-1, 375-6, 397-8, 691, 842
 Cedar products, shakes and shingles, exports, impact, o.q., 37, 47
 Producers Association, letter to Mulroney, supporting, 371
 Great West Forest Products lay-offs, 632
 o.q., 529-30
 Saskatchewan, 373
 Softwood lumber, exports to United States, agreement with United States, 15% export tax, Dec. 30/86, impact, 121, 163, 530, 631-2, 641
 Fruit and vegetables
 B.C. Tree Fruits Association, President Gerald Green, position, 661
 Impact, 793
 Grapes, growers, compensation/bank loans/lines of credit, 310-1, 506-8, 661, 844
 S.O. 31 (MacWilliam), 713
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs—Wine industry
 Fulford, Robert, position, 116
 Gearing, William, New Democratic Party founding member, position, 309
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
 Dispute settlement mechanism, 187, 603-4
 Montreal round, impact, 193, 562, 648
 o.q., 33
 Relationship, 108, 279-81, 321, 323, 357-8, 365, 412-3, 416-7, 475, 543, 658, 667-8
 Uruguay round, 604-5
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Environmental impact
 Government, credibility, 363
 Government mandate, Nov. 21/88 general election result, 8, 17, 79-80, 114-5, 117, 129, 169-70, 173, 176, 178, 181-2, 185-6, 192, 198-201, 205, 230, 232-3, 249, 257-8, 271-4, 351-2, 354-6, 361, 363-4, 369, 373-4, 383, 455, 461-3, 502, 508, 536, 544, 551, 563, 565, 592-3, 610, 645, 648, 653, 657-8, 660-1, 735, 740, 757, 763, 834
 Broadbent statements, 645
 Democracy, relationship, 652, 740
 Majority vs plurality vote, one member constituencies, etc., 81, 104, 128, 171-2, 176-7, 333, 465, 609, 831
 Historical comparisons, 114-5, 123, 306-7, 489-90, 605
 Referendum, relationship, 330
 S.O. 31 (M. Champagne), 28; (N. Leblanc), 43
 Government services, 375
 Government tactics
 Fear-mongering, 178
 Name-calling, "liar", etc., 560
 Parliament, impact, 411
 Pipeline debate, 1956, comparison, 181, 610-1
See also Procedure—Closure, Motion
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Election
 Grain
 Canadian Wheat Board, relationship, 323-4, 467
 Impact, 658-9
 Price, two-price system, 311, 480
 S.O. 31 (Laporte), 30-1

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Grant, George, book, *Lament for a Nation*, 636, 640-1
- Harmonization, 632, 736, 751
- Level playing field, 362, 368, 667
- o.q., 33
- Harris, Milton, comments, 820
- Health care, medicare, impact, 339, 353-4, 362, 366, 388, 463, 546-7, 551, 602-3, 675-7, 700, 746, 771-2, 780, 789, 806, 828
- Heart by-pass surgery, cost, United States, comparing, 362
- Privatization, management services, relationship, 550, 629, 667, 840
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Service industries
- Historical comparisons, 313, 369, 556
- Hood, John, comments, 820
- Horticulture industry, impact, 251, 347, 767-8
- Immigration, work permits, temporary residence permits, impact, etc., 574-5, 577
- Implementation
- de Grandpré Commission, monitoring committee, role, etc., 9, 125, 282, 352, 649
- Employment, job-retraining, interim report, availability, Mulroney promise, etc., 152-5, 164
- o.q., 49, 141-2, 144-5, 147-8
- S.O. 31 (Fisher), 140
- o.q., 34
- Independent monitoring committee, requesting, 133, 352, 412, 415, 660
- Membership, conflict of interest, o.q., 51-2
- Industrial development, impact, 321-2
- Industrial revolution, opposition to change, Luddites, comparison, 365
- Information
- Documents, International Trade Department publications, utility, etc., 109, 172, 243-8, 252-3
- Secrecy, 172, 310, 413-4
- International reaction, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, etc., 651
- Investment, new, plant expansion, job creation potential, 130, 450, 475-6
- Du Pont Canada Inc., 599
- General Motors Canada Limited, 600
- o.q., 33, 35, 145, 149-50, 300
- Petrochemical industry, 568
- Roseworks Limited, Kingston, Ont., 597-8
- S.O. 31 (Fretz), 43; (James), 45-6; (Bertrand), 521
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Foreign investment
- Job creation programs, 384, 684-5
- Kelleher role, 108, 734
- Labour unions position, 221-2, 231-2
- Laurier, Right Hon. Sir Wilfred, position, 379
- Legal contract, binding provisions, Mulroney comments, etc., 360-1, 660
- Legislation
- Bill C-2 (1st Sess., 34th Parl.), debate
- Amendments, acceptability, opportunity to move, 413, 415-6, 496-7, 500-1, 552, 626-7, 629-30, 634, 642, 653-4, 781-2, 846
- Closure, time allocation, use, Parliament impact, etc., 81, 464-5, 551, 626, 641, 645, 655, 666, 755
- See also* Procedure—Closure, Motion

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Legislation—Cont.
- Bill C-2 (1st Sess.—Cont.)
- Committee of the Whole referral, 79, 223-5, 229-30
- Greater certainty clause, including, 628, 642
- New Opposition and Government Members participation, 73, 81, 185-6, 188-9, 203-4, 207, 229, 233-5, 509-11
- Opposition delaying tactics, 160-1
- Withdrawal requested, 235-7
- Bill C-130, (2nd Sess., 33rd Parl.)
- Debate, history, scope, duration, etc., 70-1, 79, 167, 196-7, 283, 351-2, 354, 371, 408, 449, 592-3, 610, 645
- Fast-tracking, 9
- House of Commons passage, Senate disposition, 8
- Senate obstruction, 369, 582
- Turner, J., instructions, 110-1, 159-60, 600
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Water
- Deadline, Jan. 1/89, 69, 73, 86-7, 110, 162, 181, 191, 196, 218, 231, 235
- Level playing field *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Harmonization
- Liberal Party position, 109, 187, 191-2, 204-5, 213, 233-4, 288-9, 330-1, 345, 353, 367-8, 377, 514-5, 654-5, 678, 746-7, 795
- Historical approach, 118, 336, 831
- Parliamentary caucus, role, 639
- Party members positions, MP's, MPP's, supporters, etc., 308-9
- Turner, J., position/remarks, "let the people decide", Nov. 21/88 election campaign statements, etc., 79-80, 109-10, 169, 182, 216-7, 222, 226-8, 230-1, 282, 307, 371-2, 380, 481, 594, 600, 645
- o.q., 47, 93-4
- Lumber industry, 475
- Macdonald Commission, report, recommendations, 108, 352, 362, 742, 830, 844
- Macdonald, Right Hon. Sir John A. position, 761
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs, Study
- Mandate, 697-8, 828
- Manitoba, impact, 328-9, 335, 418-9
- Manufacturing industry, impact, 358, 418, 470
- Sarnia, Ont., 749-50
- Marine mammal products, United States prohibition, exemption requesting, o.q., 430-1
- Marketing boards, supply management system, impact, 120, 219, 345-8, 355, 399, 465, 468, 486, 658-9, 739, 747, 765, 768-9, 795
- Canadian Wheat Board, threat, 373, 658
- Crosbie, International Trade Minister, response to United States Trade Commissioner Clayton Yeutter, 373
- Dairy products, eggs, poultry, etc., 466-8, 546, 579, 658
- S.O. 31 (Speller), 29
- Subsidies, relationship, 466
- McCain Foods Limited, impact, 597-8, 681-2, 767
- Meat packers, impact, 658, 669-70
- Media, press, position, 670
- Mining industry, impact, 367, 376
- Mulroney role, 656-7, 734-5, 766
- Position, 837

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Mulroney role—*Cont.*
 - Previous position, 118, 172, 322, 454, 483, 498, 653, 796
 - S.O. 31, 612
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Acid rain
- Multilateral vs bilateral approach, internationalism, etc., 118, 126, 646-7
- National survival relationship, 16
- National unity, impact, 635, 759
- Native people, effects, 698
 - Amendment, requesting, 553
- Natural resources
 - Development, 520
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Economic union, United States—Resource-based communities
- Negotiations
 - Canadian parties, reflection, competency, 132
 - Future, Phase II, 131-2
 - Secrecy, 126, 185, 192
 - United States manipulation, 341-2
- New Brunswick
 - McKenna, Premier Frank, position, 308
- New Democratic Party position, 112, 217, 322, 371, 678, 746-7, 836
 - Broadbent remarks. "let the people decide", 169, 226-1, 307
 - S.O. 31 (St-Julien), 91-2
 - Carr, Shirley, role, 594-5
 - Parliamentary caucus, role, 644
 - Party members positions, MP's, MPP's, supporters, etc., 309-10
 - White, Bob, position, role, comments, Broadbent criticism, etc., 112, 169, 230-1, 345, 578
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Auto-Pact—Gearing—Election
- Newfoundland, impact, 330, 332, 340
- Non-tariff barriers, 368
- Northern Canada, impact, 367-9, 373, 453
 - Environment, 368
 - Government contracts, 368
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Subsidies
- Northumberland constituency, impact, 345-6
- Northwest Territories, impact, 440-1
- Objectives, purpose, goal, 576
 - Mulroney comments, *Wall Street Journal*, April 1/87, 361
- Official languages policy/bilingualism, impact, 773-4
- Oil and natural gas industries, impact, 367, 658-60, 783
 - Alberta, Constitution, energy sharing implications, 659-60
- Oilseeds, impact, 658-9
- Ontario
 - Opposition, 184
 - Peterson, Premier David, position, 596
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Dairy industry
- Opposition tactics
 - Fear, misinformation, 160, 168-9, 183, 334-5, 340, 343-4, 383, 512-3, 564, 583-4, 666-7, 678-81, 683, 685, 690, 784, 789, 795, 835-6

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Opposition tactics—*Cont.*
 - Obstruction, 175, 308, 596-7, 754
 - Scaremongering, 549
 - S.O. 31 (Roy-Arcelin), 522
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Legislation—Social programs, Senior citizens
- Pesticides, 579-80, 660
 - Alachlor, standards, effects, 805
 - Legislation, proposing, 660
- Petrochemical industry, impact, 508-9, 739, 789
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Investment
- Phase-in period, 649
- Plant closures, Gillette Canada Inc., Catelli Canada, PPG Canada Inc., etc., 125, 130-1, 212, 219, 318, 341, 352-3, 484, 550, 654, 687-9, 785
- Canadian Jobs Strategy Program, expenditures, relationship, o.q., 32-3
- Employment adjustment, retraining programs, 65, 189
- Hamida Textiles Inc., relationship, o.q., 299-300
 - o.q., 32, 34-5, 95, 149-50
 - S.O. 31 (Allmand), 45
- M. to adjourn under S.O. 52 (Broadbent), opportunity for debate not lacking, not accepted, 64-5
- Northern Ontario, 341
 - S.O. 31 (Finestone), 27
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Textile and clothing industry; Northern Telecom Limited
- Pork producers, impact, 658
- Potatoes, Prince Edward Island, impact, 736
- Poultry industry, impact, 375, 659, 768
 - Health inspection standards, harmonizing, 348
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Marketing boards, Dairy products
- Poverty, relationship, 635
- Prime Ministers, former, position, 654
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Diefenbaker—Laurier—Macdonald
- Prince Edward Island, impact, 476-8
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Potatoes
- Private sector, relationship, 134
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Business—Culture
- Protectionism, 15, 119, 343, 365, 370, 377, 557, 569-70, 583, 601-2, 669, 735
 - Mother-child analogy, 364
- Provincial Premiers
 - Support, 109, 759, 762
 - See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—New Brunswick; Ontario; Quebec
- Pulp and paper industry, 375
- Quebec
 - Bourassa, Premier Robert, position, 377
 - Landry, Hon. Bernard, former Parti Québécois minister, position, 376-7
 - Montreal, benefits, impact, 578, 584-5
 - Parizeau position *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Farmers, Quebec

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Quebec—Cont.
Support, 17, 355-6
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Agri-food industry—Dairy industry—Farmers
- Quotas, elimination, 651
- Reaganomics, monetarism, relationship, 453
- Recording industry, 664
- Regan, Hon. Gerald, position, 308, 358
- Regional development programs, impact, 113-4, 133, 210-1, 216, 284, 321, 337-8, 353-4, 367, 395, 516, 654, 686, 689, 737, 756-7, 773
- Saskatchewan, DRIE offices, closing, relationship, 374
- Regional disparity, addressing, 349-51
- Regulations, impact, Yeutter comments, 411
- Reisman, Simon, Canadian Free Trade Ambassador, position, comments, role, 132, 363, 656-7, 628, 650, 734, 781
- Research
Analysis, 409
Centre for teaching, study, Carleton University-University of Ottawa, Mulroney proposal, 650
- Research and development, relationship, 744
- Resource-based communities, impact, 341-2, 512-3, 774
Urban-rural voting record, 374
- Rocheleau position, o.q., 47
- Romain, Ken, comments, 819-20
- Roman Catholic Church position, 208
- Romanko, Daniel, comments, 820
- S.O. 31 (MacDougall), 141: (M. Champagne), 422; (Winegard), 716
- Saskatchewan, impact, 166, 373-4, 478-9, 667
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Regional development programs—Surface lease arrangements—Uranium industry—Water; Forest industry
- Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade, role, 312
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Textile and clothing industry
- Senate Foreign Affairs Standing Committee, 1978 recommendation, 108
- Senate obstruction *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Legislation, Bill C-130
- Senior citizens, impact, 834-5
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Social programs
- Service industries, impact, competition, 122, 286, 373, 378, 584
Alberta, 659
Hospitals, 373
- Shamrock Summit, March 1988, role, 174
- Shipbuilding industry, impact, United States Jones Act, irritant, 655
- Significance, 127
- Small business, impact, 320, 377, 358
Bulloch, John, position, 358

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

- Social programs, impact, 112-3, 123, 170, 191-2, 210-1, 215-6, 264, 281, 325, 328, 334, 353-4, 358, 360, 368, 373, 377, 384, 388, 402, 409, 463-4, 493, 504, 506, 510, 517, 549-50, 552, 583, 648, 653-6, 673-7, 684, 686, 740, 771, 773, 781-2, 791-2, 700, 707, 795, 798, 806, 817, 828, 831-2, 839-40, 842-3
- Canadian Chamber of Commerce position, spending cuts, relationship, o.q., 528-9
- Hall, Justice Emmett, position, 558
- Mulroney guarantees, Nov. 21/88 general election campaign, 353, 762, 764-5, 832-3
o.q., 31, 33
- Pensions, 353, 365-6, 373, 464
Benefits, United States, comparing, 362
Mulroney position, 1984, "sacred trust", 653, 656
- Royal commission, establishing, Canadian Manufacturers' Association proposal, o.q., 529
- S.O. 31 (M.R. Tremblay), 716
- Senior citizens, opposition scare tactics, Nov. 21/88 general election, 365-6, 372, 760-1
- Sweden, comparing, 356
- United States Congress report, Trade Commissioner Clayton Yeutter list, 40 Canadian programs, 785
o.q., 31-2
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Subsidies
- Sovereignty, independence, national control of destiny, impact, 118, 120, 127-8, 134, 250-1, 334, 459, 503, 545, 548, 557-8, 655, 647, 738, 758, 776
- Isolation component, 646
- Standard of living, impact, 358
- Steel industry, impact, 454, 841
- Subsidies, definition, scope, future negotiations, 122-3, 129, 132-3, 284, 363, 367, 451, 460, 493-4, 506, 516-7, 553, 560, 660, 674, 684, 686, 688-90, 750-1, 755, 773, 785-6, 791, 796, 845
- Northern Canada taxable benefits, relationship, 451
o.q., 302-3, 624
- Social programs, relationship, 326-7, 337, 469-70, 567, 746-7
- Trade distorting subsidy, 571-3
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Marketing boards
- Sunset clause, 412
- Supporting, 213-5, 233, 254, 263, 401, 488, 492, 502, 504, 511-2, 685-6, 688, 815-7
Prominent Canadians, Justice Willard Estey, Justice Emmett Hall, etc., 280-1, 284
- Surface lease arrangements, Saskatchewan, impact, 672
- Tariffs
Consumers, benefits, 651, 738
Current regime, 323, 334, 469, 654-5
Existing levels, 748-9
British Columbia impact, 14-5, 364
- Reductions, impact, 113, 115, 336, 343, 474-5, 568-9, 577, 636-7, 647
- Rules of origin, 748
- Seasonal, fruit and vegetables, impact, 346-7
- Skis, skates, 365

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.Tariffs—*Cont.*

- Study, 1932-1933, Nova Scotia Premier Angus L. Macdonald, *re* Sir John A. Macdonald policy, Atlantic provinces, hindering, 360
- United States-Mexico manufactured goods, Maquiladora effect, etc., 411-2, 785-6
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Non-tariff barriers; United States trade laws
- Termination clause, 374, 607, 660, 763
- Textile and clothing industry, 483-4, 632, 673, 775
 - CanaDay Inc., Moose Jaw, Sask., plant closure threat, 324-5, 669
 - Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade, role, impact, o.q., 143-4
 - Tiger Brand Knitting Co. Ltd., position, 827
- Thatcher, Right Hon. Margaret, comments, 822
- Throne Speech references, 129
- Tourist industry, 544
- Transportation, relationship, 376, 802
- Unemployment insurance, impact, 339-40, 353-4, 384, 736, 806, 828, 840
 - Benefits, United States, comparing, 362
- United Church of Canada position, 734, 744-5
- United States markets, access, 454, 469, 475, 556-7, 630-1, 667, 748, 757, 760, 765
 - Anti-dumping laws, application, 361-2, 565-6
 - Security, 634
- United States trade laws
 - Application, 119, 207, 313, 630-1, 641, 796-7
 - Countervailing duties, 361-2, 465, 485-6, 844
 - Exemption, 671
 - Omnibus legislation, impact, 667
 - Tariffs, punitive, government response, 10
 - Supremacy allegation, 465, 663
- Uranium industry, Saskatchewan, impact, 672
- Utility, 478-9
 - S.O. 31 (M.R. Tremblay), 611
- Van Roggen position, 308, 753
- Varah, Robert, comments, 821
- Wages and salaries, 455, 774-6
 - Minimum wage laws, United States, comparison, 362
 - United States, comparison, 581-2, 759
- Wallace, William, comments, 819
- Water
 - Drinking water, 366
 - Legislation, Bill C-130, excluding, 353-4
 - Relationship, 335, 394, 544, 641, 829
 - Saskatchewan, Privatization Minister Graham Taylor, position, 374
 - Scope, 467
- Wine industry, impact, 654, 656
 - Government assistance, \$27 million program, announcement, 471
 - Richler, Mordecai, view, 464
- Women, impact, 215-6, 791
 - Immigrant women, o.q., 143-4

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2)—Minister of International Trade

- Ways and Means motion, notice, 11; agreed to, on recorded division, 24-5

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement...—Cont.

- Leave to introduce, agreed to, on recorded division, 61-2
- First reading, agreed to, on recorded division, 62-3
- Second reading, 108-34, 278-91, 306-405
 - Amdt. (J. Turner), 127, negated, on recorded division, 404-5
 - Amdt. to amdt. (Laporte), 325, negated, on recorded division, 403-4
- Closure, notice, 127. M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 278-9
- Agreed to, on recorded division, 405
- Committee of the Whole
 - Referral, 405
 - Clause 2, 408-19, 434-517, 542-86, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Closure, notice, 500. M. (Lewis), 532-41, agreed to, on recorded division, 541
 - Clause 3, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Clause 4, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Clause 5, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Clause 6, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Clause 7 to Clause 12, agreed to, on division, 586
 - Clause 13, agreed to, on recorded division, 586
 - Clause 14 to Clause 24, agreed to, on division, 586-7
 - Clause 25, agreed to, on recorded division, 587
 - Clause 26 to Clause 35, agreed to, on division, 587
 - Clause 36, agreed to, on recorded division, 587
 - Clause 37 to Clause 150, agreed to, on division, 587
 - Schedule, agreed to, 587
 - Clause 1, agreed to, 587
 - Title, agreed to, 587
 - Reported, without amdt., 587
- Report stage, concurrence, M. (Crosbie), agreed to, on recorded division, 587-8
- Third reading, 592-611, 626-708, 710-2, 734-850
 - Closure, notice, 626. M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 709-10
 - Amdt. (L. Axworthy), 640, negated, on recorded division, 848-9
 - Agreed to, on recorded division, 849-50
- Senate passage, 851
- R.A., 851
- Speakers*
 - Allmand, 351-4; Anawak, 439-41; Andre, 416-7; Arsenaault, 385, 553-4, 563; Attewell, 555; C. Axworthy, 545-8; L. Axworthy, 111, 282-7, 409-13, 417, 500, 608-11, 626-40, 848
 - Barrett, 287-91, 643; Bélair, 817-8; Belsher, 542-5; Bird, 348-51; Black, 790-2; Blaikie, 744-7; Blais, 354-6; Blondin, 366-9; L. Bouchard, 333-5; Boudria, 483-7, 554-5; Brewin, 659, 665-6, 760-3; Broadbent, 127-34; Butland, 441-2
 - Caccia, 390-3, 660, 666; Cadieux, 279-82; Callbeck, 435-6; C. Campbell, 571-5; Catterall, 750, 831-4; Chadwick, 777-9; Charest, 484-5, 487, 550; L. Clark, 501-5; Clifford, 803-6; Collins, 363-6; Cooper, 436-9, 537; Copps, 288, 549-50, 561, 563, 568, 576, 581, 847; Corbeil, 685-90; Corbett, 561-4; Côté, 555-8; Crawford, 579-82; Crosbie, 108-17, 362-3, 416-7, 515-7, 571-3, 575, 592-608, 694-5, 699, 848; Crosby, 461-4

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement...—Cont.*Speakers—Cont.*

- Darling, 448-51; de Cotret, 319-22; de Jong, 677, 699-705; DeBlois, 494-6; Della Noce, 442-6, 567; Dingwall, 360-3; Dionne, 363; Dobbie, 418-9, 434-5
 Edwards, 664-5; Epp, 325-9
 Fee, 474-6; Feltham, 487-9; Ferguson, 464-8; Ferland, 553; Finestone, 655-6, 661-6, 688-9; Fisher, 453-5; Flis, 417, 551-5; Fontaine, 342-5, 486; Fontana, 509-11; Foster, 310-3, 401; Funk, 372-4, 671-2, 698
 Gaffney, 446-8; Gardiner, 397-8; Gauthier, 538; Guarnieri, 846
 Harb, 377-9; Harvard, 335-8, 569, 606; R. Harvey, 564-7; Hawkes, 458, 541, 588; Heap, 774-7; Hogue, 813-7; Holtmann, 677-82; Hopkins, 690-3, 695; Hovdebo, 806-8; Hughes, 695-9; Hunter, 356-7
 Jacques, 508-9; James, 704-5, 747-50, 752; Johnson, 787-90; Jordan, 684-5, 740-4
 Kaplan, 698; Karpoff, 837-40; Karygiannis, 660, 827-9; Koury, 758-60
 Landry, 468-71; Langdon, 413-7, 501, 516, 562, 569, 575, 604, 640-5, 847-8; Langlois, 840-3; Laporte, 322-5; N. Leblanc, 582-5; Lee, 811-3; Lewis, 278, 500, 532, 535-6, 538; Littlechild, 782-5
 MacAulay, 735-7; R. MacDonald, 754-8; MacDougall, 393-6; MacKay, 379-83; MacWilliam, 489-2, 661, 681-2, 689, 693-4; Malone, 705-8; Manley, 458-61; Marleau, 772-4; P. Martin, 316-9, 699; Mayer, 792-6, 846; Mazankowski, 306-10; McCurdy, 821-4; McDermid, 331, 400-2, 408-9, 412-3, 416-7, 467-8, 472-3, 490, 507, 565, 635, 638, 640, 643, 698, 710-2, 734-5; McDougall, 313-6; McGuire, 476-8; Milliken, 500, 532-4, 541, 675, 680-1; Mills, 682-5; Mitchell, 672-7; Mulroney, 644-52
 Nault, 513-5; Nicholson, 834-7; Nunziata, 402, 417, 536-7, 545, 553, 837
 Oberle, 369-72, 554; O'Brien, 798-801; O'Kurley, 657-61
 Pagtakhan, 492-4, 501, 660, 702; Parent, 558-61, 656; Parker, 471-3; Peterson, 785-7; Pickard, 398-400; Plamondon, 548-51; Proud, 383-5
 Reid, 338-40; Ricard, 576-9; Richardson, 737-40; Rideout, 801-3; Riis, 404, 490-2, 500-1, 534-5; Robinson, 640; Rodriguez, 585, 840; Rompkey, 451-3
 Samson, 340-2; Schneider, 666-72; G. Scott, 818-21; Siddon, 574, 702-3; Simmons, 652-7; Sobeski, 824-7; Soetens, 480-3; Sparrow, 567-71; Speller, 766-9; St. Julien, 374-7; Stevenson, 808-11; Stewart, 345-8; Stupich, 387-90
 Taylor, 478-80; Tobin, 291, 329-33, 574, 576, 599, 602-3, 606, 847; B. Tremblay, 455-8; M. Tremblay, 763-6; G. Turner, 385-7, 494; J. Turner, 117-27
 Valcourt, 511-3; Vanclief, 843-6; Venne, 829-31; Volpe, 496-9
 Waddell, 479; Walker, 396-7; Wappel, 796-8; White, 676; Whittaker, 505-8; Wilbee, 769-72; M. Wilson, 357-60; Wood, 750-2; Worthy, 752-4
 Young, D., 705, 779-82

CanaDay Inc. *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Textile and clothing industry

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
 Annual report (1987-88), tabled, 155

Canadian Advisory Group on Hydrogen Opportunities *see* Hydrogen

Canadian Armed Forces

- Bases and stations, Downsview, Ont. *see* Housing—Affordable
 Chemical weapons *see* Chemical weapons
See also Search and rescue—*Rowan Gorilla*

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

- Goldhawk, Dale, resignation, political pressure, allegations, o.q., 101-2

Canadian Chamber of Commerce *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms *see* Constitution—Notwithstanding clause; Quebec—Language policy

Canadian Federation of Independent Businessmen *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Canadian Federation of Municipalities *see* Municipalities

Canadian Forestry Service

- Mismanagement, Auditor General's Report (1987-1988), S.O. 31 (Gardiner), 89-90

Canadian International Trade Tribunal *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Canadian Jobs Strategy

- Budget, cutbacks, etc., 352, 376
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment—Plant closures

Canadian Manufacturers' Association *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs, Royal commission

Canadian National Railways *see* CN Rail

Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association *see* Inter-Parliamentary Delegations

Canadian Polar Research Commission *see* Pollution—Arctic

Canadian Space Agency

- Establishing, site selection, 578-9
 David Florida laboratory, move from National Capital Region, o.q., 427-8
 Montreal, Que., 427-8
 National Capital Region, S.O. 31 (Bellemare), 614
 Regina, Sask., S.O. 31 (Schneider), 420
 S.O. 31 (Catterall), 90
 Saint-Laurent constituency, S.O. 31 (Maheu), 612

Canadian Union of Postal Workers *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Election

Canadian Wheat Board

- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, article 11, impact, o.q., 620
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Grain—Marketing boards

Canadian Wilderness Act

- Introducing, 294

Canals *see* Beauharnois Canal; Welland Canal

Canola

- Customs tariff, 792-3

- Cape Breton Highlands constituency, N.S.**
References, 252
- Capoten** *see* Drugs and pharmaceuticals
- Caribou—Chilcotin constituency, B.C.**
References, 752
- Carleton—Charlotte constituency, N.B.**
References, 216
- Carleton—Gloucester constituency, Ont.**
References, 220
- Carleton University** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Research
- Carlsson, Bernt**
Death, tribute, S.O. 31 (Whittaker), 613
- Carney, Hon. Pat** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Caroline, Alta.** *see* Natural gas—Refinery
- Caroline Area Gas Development Group** *see* Natural gas—Refinery
- Carr, Shirley** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—New Democratic Party
- Cassin, René** *see* Human rights
- Catelli Canada** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures
- Catterall, Marlene (L—Ottawa West)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 750, 831-4
Canadian Space Agency
o.q., 427-8
S.O. 31, 90
Privilege, Member's remarks, 750
- Cattle industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Cedar products** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Forest industry; Forest industry
- Centennial Flame Research Award Act (Bill C-202)—P. Boyer**
1r, 156-7
- Centre for teaching international trade** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Research
- CF-18 Hornet** *see* Defence equipment
- Chadwick, Harry (PC—Brampton—Malton)**
Airports, o.q., 433
Brampton—Malton constituency, Ont., 777-8
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 777-9
- Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements**
Bills, Government; Committee of the Whole
Progress reported, 517
Questions
And answers, within 20 minute limits for each Member, 573
Limited when House under closure motion, 575
Minister's replies, scope, 417-8
- Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and...—Cont.**
Closure
Motion not in order, Committee only considered one clause and has not postponed it, no discussion on other clauses and Members not able to move amendments, 532-7, taking under advisement, 538, precedents do conflict, however, it is within rules to move closure in Committee of the Whole, 1956 precedent confirmed 1932 precedent and carries authority of sustained Chairman's decision, a Speaker's ruling and a recorded division of the House itself, motion in order, 539-41
Decision appealed to Speaker, confirmed, 541
Notice, improperly given, study of all clauses of bill not completed, Chair requesting Members to negotiate settlement elsewhere, 501, proper notice given, 539
Committee, sitting, suspending to call of Chair, 538
Debate
Members' allotted time, expired, extending, unanimous consent denied, 555
Participation, rotation by party, 417
Relevancy rule, 416
Decorum
Applause/banging desk tops, 553-5
Noise/heckling, 473, 561
Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 569
Language, inappropriate/improper, "ignorant", 563
Members, recognition by Chair, 576
Points of order/questions of privilege
Argument/debate, not point of order, 485, 487, 501, 562, 574
Not including time used in Member's allotted time, 576
Speeches, maiden speeches, civility requested, 513, 545
Unparliamentary language, "bullshit", 569-70
- Chairman of Committees of the Whole House**
Danis, Marcel, appointment, M. (Mulroney), agreed to, 12-3
- Champagne, Hon. Andrée (PC—Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot;**
Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House)
Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements
Bills, Government, Committee of the Whole, questions
And answers, within 20 minute limits for each Member, 573
Limited when House under closure motion, 575
Minister's replies, scope, 417-8
Debate
Member's allotted time, expired, extending, unanimous consent denied, 555
Participation, rotation by party, 417
Relevancy rule, 416
Decorum
Applause/banging desk tops, 553-5
Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 569
Members, recognition by Chair, 576
Points of order/questions of privilege
Argument/debate, not point of order, 574
Not including time used in Member's allotted time, 576
Unparliamentary language, "bullshit", 569-70

Champagne, Hon. Andrée—Cont.

References *see* Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House

Speaker, rulings and statements

Chair, not putting proposal for unanimous consent to House, 643

Debate, Member's allotted time

Equal time for New Democratic Party critic, unanimous consent denied, 640

Expired, continuing, by unanimous consent, 237
Denied, 219, 643

Decorum, referring to Member/Minister by constituency or title only, 272

Divisions, recorded, previously taken, applying to subsequent motions, by unanimous consent, 275

Points of order/questions of privilege, argument/debate, not point of order, 235

Unparliamentary languages, withdrawal requested, 638

Champagne, Michel (PC—Champlain)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 28, 422, 613

Community Futures Program, S.O. 31, 91

Charest, Hon. Jean J. (PC—Sherbrooke; Minister of State (Youth) and Minister of State (Fitness and Amateur Sport) and Deputy Leader of the Government in the House of Commons)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 484-5, 487, 550

Procedure, misleading/false statements, 484-5, 487

Textile and clothing industry, 484

Charter of Rights and Freedoms *see* Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms**Cheese *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Business—Dairy industry****Chemical weapons**

Nerve and mustard gas, WWII surplus, dumping in Pacific Ocean, National Defence Department involvement, public inquiry, requesting, 56-60

Nerve gas

Development, all-party Parliamentary committee reviewing, o.q., 723-4

HI-6 antidote, human testing, side effects, o.q., 723

Child abuse *see* Children—Abuse**Child care**

Government position, 674-5

o.q., 433

Legislation, 87

National Child Care Program, need, 248

National Council on Welfare, report, recommendations, government response, o.q., 297-8

Child tax credit *see* Family allowances—Payments; Income tax**Children**

Abuse, petition, 63

Poverty, S.O. 31 (Black), 521-2

See also Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group)(Bill C-204); Developing countries

Chinese Canadians *see* Immigration**Chinese Exclusion Act *see* Immigration—Chinese Canadians****Christmas tree industry *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement****Cigarette packages *see* Cigarettes****Cigarettes**

Package warnings, o.q., 150-1

Clark, Right Hon. Charles Joseph (PC—Yellowhead; Secretary of State for External Affairs and Acting Minister of Justice and Attorney General; Secretary of State for External Affairs)

Constitution, o.q., 717

Gravel, Michel, o.q., 528

Palestine Liberation Organization, diplomatic relations with Canada, o.q., 147

Quebec, language policy, o.q., 296, 717

War criminals, o.q., 724

Clark, Lee (PC—Brandon—Souris)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 502-4

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 501-5

Electricity, 504

Farm products, 504

Clifford, Terry (PC—London—Middlesex)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 803-6

Environment, 804

International Law of Atmosphere, 731

London—Middlesex constituency, Ont., 803

Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe, 730-1

Clocks *see* Procedure**Closure**

Use, 79, 533-7, 539-40

See also Procedure

Clova, Que. *see* Native people—Housing**CN Rail**

Abitibi, Que., Nov. 25/88 earthquake, trains diverting,

Franquet-Chapais line, need, S.O. 31 (St.-Julien), 420

Layoffs, President Ron Lawless, interview, 715

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Co-operatives *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Dairy industry, Quebec**Cochrane—Superior constituency**

References, 817

Cod *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries; Fisheries, Atlantic**Cohen, Mickey *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement****Cole, John E. (PC—York—Simcoe)**

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 237-8

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 237-8

York—Simcoe constituency, Ont., 237

Collective bargaining *see* Public Service

- Collins, Hon. Mary** (PC—Capilano—Howe Sound; Associate Minister of National Defence)
 Banks and banking, S.O. 31, 292-3
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 363-6
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 89
 Collins, references, 364, 366
 Forest industry, 364
 House of Commons, S.O. 31, 713
 Whistler, B.C., 364
- Columbia Power Project**
 British Columbia impact, 471-2
- Commissioners of Internal Economy** *see* Board of Internal Economy
- Committees of the Whole House** *see* Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House; Chairman of Committees of the Whole House; Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House; Procedure
- Communities** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Resource-based communities
- Community Futures Program**
 Funding, S.O. 31 (M. Champagne), 91
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Commuter networks** *see* Municipalities
- Competition** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Computer industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Computers** *see* Drugs and pharmaceuticals
- Comuzzi, Joe** (L—Thunder Bay—Nipigon)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 529-30
 Forest industry, o.q., 300-1
- Conflict of interest** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Implementation; Stevens
- Constitution**
 Meech Lake Agreement (Apr. 30/87)/Constitution Accord (June 3/87)
 Labour unions position, 222-3
 Linguistic minorities, protection, o.q., 296-7, 425-6, 523, 525-6, 615-6, 618-9
 Manitoba, withdrawal of constitutional resolution from legislature, o.q., 426
 Northern Canada, citizens' rights, Mulroney failure to defend, 367
 Official languages policy/bilingualism, o.q. 424-5
 First Ministers' Conference, requesting, o.q., 426-7, 526-7, 617
 S.O. 31 (Caccia), 424
 Quebec, application, support, etc., 17-8
See also Quebec—Language policy
 Notwithstanding clause (Sec.33)
 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, incompatibility, o.q., 424, 522-3, 526-7, 616-21, 717
 S.O. 31 (Berger), 716
See also Quebec—Language policy
 Property rights, entrenching, 232
- Constitution—Cont.**
 Repatriation, 1981 Trudeau government unilateral action, 765
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Oil and gas industries, Alberta
- Construction industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Consumers** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs
- Conter, Tema** *see* Parole—Psychopathic killers
- Cooper, Albert** (PC—Peace River)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 436-9, 537
 Closure, 537
 Fraser, references, 166
 Government, 167-8
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 166-70
 Procedure, closure, 537
- Copps, Sheila** (L—Hamilton East)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 288, 549-50, 561, 563, 568, 576, 581, 847
 Copps, references, 561
 Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 44
 Food
 o.q., 148-9
 Petition, 158
 Income Tax Act, statement by Minister (Epp), 729-30
 Old age pensions, 729-30
 Pesticides, o.q., 148-9
 Privilege
 Members' remarks, 305
 Unparliamentary language (Plamondon), 728
 Procedure
 Debate, 288
 Member be now heard, M., 847
 Members' remarks, addressing remarks through Chair, 568
 Misleading/false statements, 561
 References, humming *O Canada*, 561-2
 Veterans, 729-30
- Corbeil, Hon. Jean** (PC—Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies; Minister of Labour)
 Anjou—Rivière-des-Prairies constituency, Que., 204, 685
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 204-5
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 685-90
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 204-6
 Opposition parties., 205
- Corbett, Bob** (PC—Fundy—Royal)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 561-4
 Copps, references, 561-2
 Palestine Liberation Organization, o.q., 147
- Cornwall, Ont.** *see* VIA Rail Canada Inc.—Eastern Ontario
- Corporate concentration** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Competition

Corporations

- Elections, participation, advertising expenditures, Elections Act violations, 691
 - o.q., 725-6
- See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Election—Foreign investment; Tax reform—Personal

Côté, Yvon (PC—Richmond—Wolfe)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 555-8
- Exports, 556-7
- Richmond—Wolfe constituency, Que., 555
- Waste disposal, S.O. 31, 292

Countervailing duties see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—United States trade laws; Forest industry—Cedar products**Crawford, Rex** (L—Kent)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 579-82
- Kent constituency, Ont., 579

Criminal Code

- Prostitution provisions see Prostitution

Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group)(Bill C-204)—D. Boudria

- 1r, 157

Crispo, John see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Crop Disaster Assistance Program** see Drought**Crosbie, Hon. John Carnell** (PC—St. John's West; Minister for International Trade)

- Agriculture, o.q., 620
- Airports, o.q., 98-100
- Axworthy, L., references, 516
- Canada Elections Act, 694-5
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 - Auto-Pact, 595
 - Benefits, 115, 597
 - Business support, 109
 - Carney role, 108
 - Consultation, tri-partite/federal-provincial conference, requesting, o.q., 143
 - Crispo, John, position, book, *Free Trade—The Real Story*, 109
 - Deadline, Jan.1/89, 110
 - Dispute settlement mechanism, 114, 600-3
 - o.q., 619-20, 718-9
 - Election, 462
 - Employment, impact, 115-6, 606-7
 - o.q., 142-3, 149-50, 301
 - Environmental impact, 113, 464
 - External Affairs and International Trade Standing Committee, hearings, witnesses, etc., 111
 - Fisheries, 575, 599
 - Forest industry, o.q., 37, 46-7
 - Fulford, Robert, position, 116
 - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 108
 - o.q., 33
 - Government mandate, 114-5, 461-3, 592-3, 605
 - Health care, 602-3

Crosbie, Hon. John Carnell—Cont.**Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.**

- House of Commons debate, 111-2
- Implementation, o.q., 142, 144-5, 147-8
- Information, 109
- Investment, 597-600
 - o.q., 145, 149-50, 300
- Kelleher role, 108
- Liberal Party position, 109-10, 515, 594
- Macdonald Royal Commission, report, recommendations, 108
- McCain Foods Limited, 597-8
- New Democratic Party position, 112, 594-5
- Opposition tactics, 596-7
- Plant closures, o.q., 300
- Provincial Premiers, support, 109
- Regional development programs, impact, 113-4, 516
- Senate Foreign Affairs Standing Committee, 1978 recommendation, 108
- Senate obstruction, 110-1, 600
- Social programs, impact, 112-3, 464, 517, 528-9
 - o.q., 32
- Subsidies, 516-7, 571-3
 - o.q., 302-3, 624
- Tariffs, reductions, impact, 113
- Termination clause, 607
- Textile and clothing industry, o.q., 143-4
- Turner, Right Hon. J. position, o.q., 47, 93-4
- Wine industry, 464
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 11, 24, 61-2, 108-17, 362-3, 416-7, 515-7, 571-3, 575, 592-608, 694-5, 699, 848
- Canadian Wheat Board, o.q., 620
- Dairy industry, o.q., 619
- Employment, 606
 - o.q., 142-3
- Exports, 605
- Fisheries, Pacific
 - Herring, o.q., 54
 - Salmon, o.q., 54
- Forest industry
 - Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 695
 - Cedar products, o.q., 93-4
 - Softwood lumber, o.q., 93-4, 302, 529-30
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Montreal meeting, o.q., 37
- House of Commons, 606
- Langdon, references, 516
- Martin, P., references, 596, 624
- Northern Telecom Limited
 - Plant closures, o.q., 300-1, 429-30
 - Research and development budget, o.q., 430
- Privilege, members' remarks (Copps), 305
- Procedure
 - Misleading/false statements, 574, 603
 - Ways and means motion, notice, 11
- References, 373, 652
 - Atlantic provinces, Bangladesh comparison, 757
 - See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Social programs, 463

- Crosby, Howard E.** (PC—Halifax West)
 Abortion Law Interim Measures Act (Bill C-203), 157
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 263
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 461-4
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 256-60
- Cross-country skiing** *see* Sports
- Crouse, Hon. Lloyd**
 References, 262
- Crowfoot constituency**
 References, 705-6
- Cultural industries** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Culture
- Culture** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- CUPW** *see* Canadian Union of Postal Workers
- Customs tariff**
 Re-activating, 767
See also Canola
- Dahmer, John** (PC—Beaver River)
 References, death, tributes, 11-2
- Dairy industry**
 Cheese producers *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Business
 Ice cream, United States import ban, GATT investigating, o.q., 619-20
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Danis, Marcel** (PC—Verchères; Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees of the Whole House)
 Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements
 Bills, Government, Committee of the Whole, progress reported, 517
 Closure
 Motion not in order, Committee only considered one clause and has not postponed it, no discussion on other clauses and Members not able to move amendments, 532-7, taking under advisement, 538, precedents do conflict, however, it is within rules to move closure in Committee of the Whole, 1956 precedent confirmed 1932 precedent and carries authority of sustained Chairman's decision, a Speaker's ruling and a recorded division of the House itself, motion in order, 539-41
 Decision appealed to Speaker, 541
 Notice, improperly given, study of all clause of bill not completed, Chair requesting Members to negotiate settlement elsewhere, proper notice given, 539
 Committee, sitting, suspending to call of Chair, 538
 Decorum, noise/heckling, 473
 Language, inappropriate/improper, "ignorant", 563
 Points of order/questions of privilege, argument/debate, not point of order, 485, 487, 562
 Speeches, maiden speech, civility requested, 545
 Closure, use, 539-40
 References, 12-3
See also Chairman of Committees of the Whole House
 Speaker, rulings and statements
 Adjournments, Christmas recess (1988), M. (Lewis), 732
- Danis, Marcel—Cont.**
 Speaker, rulings and statements—*Cont.*
 Bills, Government, Second Reading
 Subamendment, taking under advisement, 325
 In order, 329
 Bills, Private Members' Public Bills, introduction, delay, 731
 Debate
 Member's allotted time, expired, continuing, by unanimous consent, 693
 Relevancy rule, 765
 Decorum
 Presence/absence of Members/Ministers, reflections not permitted, 702
 Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 735
 Members' remarks, addressing remarks through Chair, 317
 Points of order/questions of privilege, argument/debate, not point of order, 289, 291, 331, 675, 699
 Privilege, Members' remarks, James, remarks relating to farm women in kitchen, insult (Catterall), not question of privilege, 750
 Questions and comment period
 Question, rephrasing, 671-2
 Second reading debate, not in order, 283
 Time allotted, expired, 705
 Statements by Ministers, adding time taken to Government Business, S.O. 57 superseding, 733
 Unparliamentary language, "lying", withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 666
- Darling, Stan** (PC—Parry Sound—Muskoka)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 448-51
 Trade, 449
- Dartmouth constituency, N.S.**
 References, 754
- Dartmouth, N.S.**
 Portland Estates, sewage system, Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund use, Auditor General's report (1987-1988), o.q., 35-6
- David Florida Laboratory** *see* Canadian Space Agency—Establishing
- de Cotret, Hon. Robert R.** (PC—Berthier—Montcalm; Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Minister of State for Science and Technology; President of the Treasury Board)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 319-22
 Canadian Space Agency, establishing, site selection, o.q., 427-8
 Employment, 319
 Gillette Canada Inc., o.q., 94-5
 Northern Telecom Limited, plant closures, o.q., 48, 95-6
 Space, Hermes program, o.q., 428
 Trade, 320
- de Grandpré Commission** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Implementation

- de Jong, Simon** (NDP—Regina—Qu'Appelle)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 677, 699-705
Medicare, 677
Taxation reform, S.O. 31, 46
- DeBlois, Charles** (PC—Montmorency—Orléans)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 241-2, 494-6
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 494-6
Government, 241-2
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 241-3
Montmorency—Orléans constituency, 241
Sports, S.O. 31, 138
- Debt** *see* Developing countries; Farms
- Debt, public**
Reducing, 789
- Decorum** *see* Procedure
- Defence equipment**
Aircraft, CF-18 Hornet contract, 335-6
Ships, minesweepers, east coast, permanent base, Shelburne,
N.S., S.O. 31 (McCreath), 295
Submarines, nuclear-powered, proposed purchase, cost,
S.O. 31 (Hopkins), 615
- Defence industries** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement
- Defence policy** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Deficit**
Liberal government, former, record, 344, 763-4
Reducing, necessity, 789
S.O. 31 (James), 715-6
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Della Noce, Vincent** (PC—Duvernay)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 212-5
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 442-6, 567
Gasoline and diesel fuel taxes, 212
Heating oil, 212-3
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 211-5
Socialism, 213
Wilson, M., references, 213
- Delta constituency, B.C.**
References, 769-70
- Democracy** *see* Burma; Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement—Government mandate
- Dene** *see* Native people—Land claims
- Deportation**
Espenelli, Sally *see* Immigrants
Mohammad, Mahmoud Issa *see* Immigrants
Refugees *see* Refugee status
Yong, Violog *see* Immigrants
- Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House**
Paproski, Steve, appointment, M. (Mulroney), agreed to, 13
- Deputy Speaker**
Danis, Marcel, appointment, 12-3
- Deputy Speaker, rulings and statements** *see* Speaker, rulings
and statements
- Deregulation** *see* Airports—Lester B. Pearson International,
Traffic
- Desjardins co-operative movement** *see* Fédération des caisses
populaires Desjardins; Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement—Agriculture, Quebec
- Desjardins, Gabriel** (PC—Témiscamingue)
Elections, S.O. 31, 29-30
Government, 29-30
- Developing countries**
Debt, children, effects, summit of world leaders, requesting,
S.O. 31 (Brewin), 520
- Development assistance** *see* Brazil—Rain forests
- Diefenbaker, Right Hon. J.G.** *see* Canada-United States Free
Trade Agreement; Foreign investment/ownership
- Dingwall, Dave C.** (L—Cape Breton—East Richmond)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 360-3
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 302
Government, 363
- Dionne, Maurice A.** (L—Miramichi)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 363
Parliament Buildings, 63
Privilege, rights of Members breached, 63
Procedure, decorum, 363
- Diplomatic relations** *see* Palestine Liberation Organization
- Disabled and handicapped**
Income tax deductions, introducing, S.O. 31 (Browes), 714
See also Centennial Flame Research Award Act (Bill C-202)
- Disarmament**
Nuclear weapons-free zone, establishing, 777
- Disasters, emergencies, etc.**
Earthquake, Armenia, 1, 766
S.O. 31 (Blaikie, Greene), 27-9; (Roy-Arcelin, Copps), 44
Volunteers, government support, S.O. 31 (Fisher), 421
Plane crash, Lockerbie, Scotland, Pan Am Flight 103,
Canadian fatalities, S.O. 31 (G. Scott), 713-4
- Discrimination and racism**
Race relations, Race Relations Commissioner, requesting,
S.O. 31 (Redway), 612
Women *see* Banks and banking
- Dispute settlement mechanism** *see* Canada-United States Free
Trade Agreement
- Division bells** *see* Parliament Buildings—Wellington Building
- Divisions, recorded**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2)
Ways and means motion, notice, agreed to, 24-5
Leave to introduce, agreed to, 61-2
First reading, agreed to, 62-3
Second reading
Closure, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 278-9

Divisions, recorded—Cont.

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

Second reading—Cont.

Amdt. (J. Turner), negatived, 404-5

Amdt. to amdt. (Laporte), negatived, 403-4

Agreed to, 405

Committee of the Whole

Closure, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 541

Clause 2, agreed to, 586

Clause 3, agreed to, 586

Clause 4, agreed to, 586

Clause 5, agreed to, 586

Clause 6, agreed to, 586

Clause 13, agreed to, 586

Clause 25, agreed to, 587

Clause 36, agreed to, 587

Report stage, concurrence, M. (Crosbie), agreed to, 587-8

Third reading

Closure, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 709-10

Amdt. (L. Axworthy), negatived, 848-9

Agreed to, 849-50

House of Commons, sittings of the House, extending hours,

M. (Lewis), agreed to, as amended, 275

Closure, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 135-6

Amdt. (Hawkes), agreed to, 274-5

Procedure, Orders of the Day, House proceeding to

M. (Lewis), agreed to, 23-4

M. (Lewis), agreed to, 75-6

M. (Lewis), agreed to, 407-8

M. (Lewis), agreed to, 531-2

Throne Speech, consideration later this day, M. (Mulroney), agreed to, 10-1

See also Procedure**Dobbie, Dorothy** (PC—Winnipeg South)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 418-9, 434-5

Dockyards *see* Shipbuilding industry—Wages**Doctors** *see* Drugs and pharmaceuticals—Squibb Canada Inc.**Dollar, exchange rate** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Forest industry—Cedar products—Softwood lumber**Domm, Bill** (PC—Peterborough)

Justice, S.O. 31, 44-5

Don River *see* Water pollution**Don Valley North constituency, Ont.**

References, 244

Douglas, Hon. T.C. *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Auto-Pact, New Democratic Party**Downsview, Ont.** *see* Canadian Armed Forces—Bases and stations; Housing—Affordable**DRIE** *see* Regional Industrial Expansion Department**Drinking water** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Water; Water**Drought**

Crop Disaster Assistance Program, election promise, o.q., 39-40, 55, 622-3

Drugs and pharmaceuticals

Generic drug policy, research and development, relationship, o.q., 151

Squibb Canada Inc., computers offered to doctors prescribing Capoten, o.q., 151

Du Pont Canada Inc. *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Investment**Duhamel, Ronald J.** (L—St. Boniface)

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 178-9

Senior citizens, S.O. 31, 139

Duplessis, Suzanne (PC—Louis-Hébert)

Louis-Hébert constituency, Que., S.O. 31, 520

Dupuis, Michel *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Durham constituency, Ont.**

References, 808

Earthquakes *see* CN Rail—Abitibi, Que.; Disasters, emergencies, etc.**Eastern Ontario** *see* VIA Rail Canada Inc.**Eastern Townships, Que.** *see* Waste disposal**Economic conditions**

British Columbia, 14

Improvement, government responsibility, OECD reports, etc. Montreal, 456-8

S.O. 31 (Sparrow), 614-5

Quebec, Saint-Maurice region, S.O. 31 (Pronovost), 141

Economic Council of Canada *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Alberta—Employment**Economic policy**

Public/private enterprise, mix, Canadian solution, 348

Economic union with United States *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Economy** *see* British Columbia—Resource-based economy; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Northwest Territories**Education**

Expenditures, 455

Gross National Product percentage, 786-7

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Edwards, Jim** (PC—Edmonton Southwest)

Burma, S.O. 31, 138

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 664-5

EEC *see* European Economic Community**Eggs** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Marketing boards; Poultry**Eglinton—Lawrence constituency, Ont.**

References, 497

Egmont constituency, P.E.I.

References, 476-7

Election promises *see* Drought—Crop disaster assistance programs

Elections

By-elections, provincial *see* Saskatchewan

Enumeration, problems, S.O. 31 (Flis), 28; (Caccia), 43

General

July 8/74, wage and price controls, Trudeau campaign, 183

Feb. 18/80, gasoline tax increase, 18 cent/gallon, Clark government defeat, 183

Nov. 21/88, 690-1

Ottawa, Ont., electors returning Liberal candidates, government punishing, Blenkarn remarks, o.q., 303-5

Progressive Conservative victory, S.O. 31 (Desjardins, Jourdenais), 29-30

See also Calgary Southwest constituency; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government mandate; Langelier constituency; Louis-Hébert constituency; Manicouagan constituency; Public Service—Political rights; Terrebonne constituency

Proxy voting, medical certificates, S.O. 31 (Harvard), 420-1

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Elections, Privileges and Procedure Standing Committee *see* Parliament Hill—Traffic jams

Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act (amdt.—Markham—Whitchurch—Stouffville)(Bill C-206)—W. Attewell
1r, 277

Electrical utilities *see* West Kootenay Power & Light Co.

Electricity

Exports, 504

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Elk Island constituency, Alta.

References, 657

Employment

Job creation rate, 183, 606

Government record, 319, 646

o.q., 142-3

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Fisheries, Atlantic; Forest industry; Northwest Territories—Economy

Employment and Immigration Department *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures, Adjustment programs

Employment equity

Equal pay for work of equal value, targets, government establishing, o.q., 720

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Public Service; Women

Employment Equity Act

Amending, o.q., 719-20

Annual report, tabled, 591

Employment programs

Adjustment programs *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Grain transportation—Thunder Bay; Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures

Energy industry

Alberta, 695-7

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Energy policy *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Energy resources

Canadian control, 120

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Enterprise allocation *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries

Entrepreneurs *see* Banks and banking—Discriminatory practices; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Business

Enumeration *see* Elections

Environment

Government action, 804

Brown, Noel, comments, 804

Brundtland, Gro Harlem, comment, 804

Protection, importance, 248

Sustainable development, World Bank policies, S.O. 31 (Caccia), 88-9

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Prince Edward Island—Fixed link with mainland

Epp, Hon. Jake (PC—Provencher; Minister of National Health and Welfare; Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources)

Canada United States Free Trade Agreement, 271-4

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 325-9

Chemical weapons, nerve gas, o.q., 723

Child care, o.q., 433

Cigarettes, o.q., 150-1

Drugs and pharmaceuticals

Generic drug policy, o.q., 151

Squibb Canada Inc., o.q., 151

Family allowances, o.q., 433, 625

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 271-4

Income Tax Act, statement by Minister, 729

Income tax, child tax credit, o.q., 433

Native people, o.q., 303

Old age pensions, 729

Unemployment insurance, parental leave, o.q., 298

Veterans, 729

Water, drinking water, o.q., 100

Equal pay for work of equal value *see* Employment equity

Eskasoni, N.S. *see* Indians

Espenelli, Sally *see* Immigrants

Essex—Kent constituency, Ont.

References, 398

Estey, Justice Willard *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Supporting

Estimates

1988-1989, supplementary (B)

Committees, referral, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 155-6

Presented, 155

See also Procedure

Europe *see* Trade

- European Economic Community**
Benefits, 227
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement;
Fisheries, Atlantic—North Atlantic Fisheries
Organization
- European Space Agency** *see* Space—Hermes program
- Exports**
Increase, 556-7
Levels, GNP percentage, 184
United States levels, job creation value, etc., 583, 635, 759
Value, per year, 342
See also Agriculture—Alberta; Beef; Electricity; Farm
products; Food; Forest industry—Cedar products—
Softwood lumber; Grain; Pork; Sugar; United States
- External Affairs and International Trade Standing Committee**
see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- External affairs policy** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement
- External aid** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Extradition** *see* Justice—Appeal process
- Family allowances**
Payments, child tax credit relationship, o.q., 433, 625
- Farm income** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Farm products**
Exports, 504
United States markets, 658
Marketing boards, supply management system, 486
Petition, 592
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Farmers** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement;
Tobacco
- Farmers for Free Trade** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement—Farmers
- Farms**
Debt, levels, 480
Family *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Job losses, 479
- Federal-provincial conferences** *see* Canada-United States Free
Trade Agreement—Consultation
- Federal-provincial relations**
Government record, 549
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Forest
industry—Management
- Fédération des caisses populaires Desjardins**
History, co-operative movement, 344
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
Agriculture
- Fee, Doug** (PC—Red Deer)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 474-6
Natural gas, S.O. 31, 91
Red Deer constituency, Ont., 474
- Feltham, Louise** (PC—Wild Rose)
Beef, 488
- Feltham, Louise—Cont.**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 487-9
Petrochemical industry, 488-9
Wild Rose constituency, Alta., 487
- Ferguson, Ralph** (L—Lambton—Middlesex)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 464-8
Farm products, petition, 592
Poultry, petition, 733
- Ferland, Marc** (PC—Portneuf)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 553
Procedure, decorum, 553
- Film industry**
Distribution, legislation, 665
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Financial institutions** *see* Banks and banking; Canada-United
States Free Trade Agreement
- Finestone, Sheila** (L—Mount Royal)
Axworthy, L., references, 655
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 655-6, 661-6, 688-9
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 27
Film industry, 665
Gillette Canada Inc., o.q., 94-5
- Firefighters/firefighting** *see* Indian reserves
- First Ministers' Conferences** *see* Constitution—Meech lake
Agreement
- Fisher, Ron** (NDP—Saskatoon—Dundurn)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 453-5
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 140
Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 421
Education, 455
Saskatoon—Dundurn constituency, Sask., 453
- Fisheries** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Fisheries and Oceans Department**
Minister, replacing, 726
o.q., 720-1
- Fisheries, Atlantic**
Cod, quotas
Labrador Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company, denying,
o.q., 145-6
o.q., 38
Management, 1989 plan, inshore fishery, effects, ministerial
review, requesting, o.q., 720-1
Newfoundland
Fishermen, unemployment insurance benefits, eligibility,
o.q., 431-2
Rompkey letter to McDougall, S.O. 31 (Rompkey), 519
Grand Banks, moratorium, employment, stimulating, o.q.,
38-9
North Atlantic Fisheries Organization, quotas, EEC 1989
quotas exceeding, o.q., 38-41
New Brunswick, impact, o.q., 40

Fisheries, Atlantic—Cont.

- North Atlantic Fisheries Organization...—*Cont.*
- Retaliatory measures, o.q., 41
- Alcoholic beverages, tariffs, o.q., 39
- Siddon, Fisheries and Oceans Minister, possible meeting, EEC representatives, o.q., 40-1
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Fisheries, Pacific *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Fishermen** *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Newfoundland**Fishing Vessel Assistance Program**

- Cancellation, 736

Fixed link *see* Prince Edward Island**Flis, Jesse (L—Parkdale—High Park)**

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 417, 551-5
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 299-300
- Elections, S.O. 31, 28
- House of Commons, 551
- Procedure
- Debate, 555
- Decorum, 553

Flow-through shares system *see* Mining industry—Income tax**Fontaine, Gabriel (PC—Lévis)**

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 221-3
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 342-5, 486
- Deficit, 344
- Exports, 342
- Fédération des caisses populaires Desjardins, 344
- Government expenditures, 222
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 221-3
- New Democratic Party, 222
- Procedure, misleading/false statements, 486

Fontana, Joe (L—London East)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 509-11
- Nepal, o.q., 621-2

Food

- Exports, 658
- Fast foods, restaurant foods, ingredients, labelling, petition, 158
- Imports, United States, processed food products, limiting, 348
- Pesticides, risk assessment, 148-9
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Food and Drugs Act (amdt.—cautionary labels on alcoholic beverage containers)(Bill C-205)—N. Riis

- 1r, 277

Food banks *see* Hunger**Food processing industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Footwear industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Foreign investment/ownership**

- Diefenbaker, Right Hon. J.G., book, *The Years of Achievement*, 372
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Foreign Investment Review Agency

- Abolition, 206

Forest industry

- Auditor General's Report (1987-1988), o.q., 55-6
- British Columbia
- Logging, destruction, 357
- Lumber, competitive position, 364
- Market share, 370
- See also* Forest industry—Cedar products—Forest Resources Development Agreements
- Cedar products, shakes and shingles, exports, United States countervailing duty, 20%, December 1988, 130-1, 190, 289, 291, 370, 490, 654
- British Columbia, unemployment, impact, o.q., 37
- Dollar, exchange rate, impact, o.q., 93
- Northern Ontario, S.O. 31 (Foster), 137-8
- Export regulations, o.q., 37, 47
- Retaliatory measures, tariffs, etc., o.q., 36-7
- Mulroney reaction, letter to United States Trade Commissioner Yeutter, o.q., 46-7
- o.q., 36-7
- Stumpage fees, 370-1
- Employment, 370
- Exports, dollar value, 370
- Forest Resources Development Agreements, expiring March 1989
- British Columbia, 90
- Ontario, o.q., 430
- o.q., 430
- S.O. 31 (Butland), 292
- Lumber *see* Forest industry—Softwood lumber—Structural lumber
- Management, federal-provincial jurisdiction, o.q., 55-6
- Softwood lumber, exports to United States, agreement with United States, 15% export tax, Dec. 30/86, 186-7, 190, 371, 490, 514, 654, 691-3, 695, 752-3, 764, 817-8
- Dollar, exchange rate factor
- o.q., 93-4
- S.O. 31 (Hopkins), 92
- Layoffs, unemployment
- G.W. Martin Lumber Ltd., Searchmont, Ont., S.O. 31 (Foster), 611
- Great West Timber Limited, Thunder Bay, Ont., o.q., 529
- Memorandum of Understanding, termination clause, o.q., 301-2, 530
- Mulroney, industry, meeting, proposal, o.q., 302
- See also* Softwood Lumber Products Export Charge Act
- Structural lumber, 375
- Value adding, importance for future growth, 370
- Wood products
- Particleboard, waferboard, veneer panel, 375
- Processed wood products, 375
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Forest Resources Development Agreements *see* Forest industry

Forestry Department

Establishing, S.O. 31 (Gardiner), 89

Foster, Maurice (L—Algonia)

Agriculture, 313

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 185-7

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 310-3, 401

Forest industry, 186-7

S.O. 31, 137-8, 611

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 185-7

Franquet-Chapais line *see* CN Rail—Abitibi, Que.**Fraser, Hon. John A. (PC—Vancouver South; Speaker)**

Auditor General's reports (1987-1988), tabled, 27

Board of Internal Economy, commissioners, appointment,
12, 61

Fraser, references, 3-5

House of Commons

Rights and privileges, claiming, 8

Vacancies, Beaver River (death of John Dahmer), 11

Library of Parliament, annual report, 407

Members of Parliament

Certificate of election, newly introduced, Jack Anawak
(Nunatsiak), 92-3

Elected in general election, Nov. 21/88, list, tabled, 75

Parliament Hill, traffic jams, 18, 26

Parliament, opening, 7

References, election as Speaker, congratulations, 3-7, 166,
190, 349, 366, 390, 508, 690, 787-8, 792

Speaker, rulings and statements

Adjournment motions under S.O. 52

Member moving motion only speaker, 64

Not accepted, 64-5, 159

Adjournments

Christmas recess (1988), 592

Bills, Government; Committee of the Whole

Referral to, instead of a legislative committee, motion
not in order, debate not commenced, 103

Bills, Government; Second Reading

Order called but not completed, Minister to decide if
debate proceeded with, 105-6

Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements

Appeal to Speaker, confirmed, 541

Closure

Notice, improperly given, taking under advisement, 74;
Standing Orders are silent on when notice may be
given; Chair feels intention of Standing Order is
that notice be given after debate to be closed has
commenced, therefore Chair cannot accept notice
of closure at this time, 78

Debate

Relevancy rule, 9-10

Decorum

Interruptions, inappropriate when Member speaking,
34, 37, 136, 428, 523, 617-8

Noise/heckling in Chamber, Chair/Members cannot
hear, 98, 527

Divisions

Bells, ringing 5 minutes, by unanimous consent, 588

Fraser, Hon. John A.—Cont.

Speaker, rulings and statements—Cont.

Government motions (substantive)

Relating to suspension of certain Standing Orders, not
acceptable form, taking under advisement, 74;
changes to Standing Orders not permanent, in
effect for duration of First Session and there are
provisions for an earlier expiry on a motion of a
Minister of the Crown; study of legislation by
Committee of the Whole is not foreign to House
practice; both minority and majority have rights
but both cannot be given primacy, motion in order,
76-8

House business

Proposals, 22

Members' remarks

Imputing motives, not in order, 154

Moments of silence

House observing, 12

Oral questions

Phrasing questionable, close to being out of order, 54
Preamble, length, 47, 52-3, 96, 101, 136, 143, 145, 148,
531

Questions and answers, excessive length, 48, 51

Relating to departmental responsibilities only, Minister
not obliged to answer, 528

Replies, relevancy, 148

Supplementary, lengthy preamble, 102, 136, 143

Order Paper questions

Chair calling when nothing on *Order Paper*, 158

Orders of the Day

House proceeding to, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 23, 75-6

Points of order/questions of privilege

Argument/debate, not point of order, 645

Member must raise at first possible moment, 728

Privilege

Members' remarks

Crosbie, International Trade Minister, references to
"rose crucifixion", offensive, withdrawal
requested (Copp), difference in interpretation of
phrase, not question of, 306

Mazankowski, Deputy Prime Minister, allegations of
bias against West Coast, correcting
(C. Campbell), not question of privilege, 726-7

Misleading/false statements

Beatty, National Defence Minister and National
Defence Department officials making false and
misleading statements *re* Canadian Armed
Forces involvement in 1947 dumping of surplus
WWII nerve gas and mustard gas canisters in
Pacific Ocean (Fulton), taking under
advisement, 56-60

Mulroney, misleading House *re* release of interim
report of de Grandpré Commission (Broadbent),
dispute as to interpretation of fact, Members not
prevented from fulfilling duties, not question of,
154-5

Press reports relating to Government punishing
Ottawa area for not electing more Progressive
Conservative Members, clarification (Blenkarn),
305

- Fraser, Hon. John A.—Cont.**
 Speaker, rulings and statements—*Cont.*
 Privilege—*Cont.*
 Rights of Members breached
 Division bells not audible in Wellington Building (Dionne), taking under advisement, 63
 Parliament Hill traffic jam preventing Members from reaching Chamber to vote (Thacker), 18, 26
 Unparliamentary language
 Broadbent, use of words "deliberately misleading" (Lewis), 152
 Copps, reference to Mulroney as a "slime-bag" for speaking in French, withdrawal requested (Plamondon), taking under advisement, 728
 Sittings of the House
 Facilities and services, availability during, 727
 Suspending to call of the Chair, 106
 Speeches
 Time limits, unlimited for New Democratic Party leader, by unanimous consent, 127
 Statements under S.O. 31
 Personal remarks about other Members, not in order, 614
 Unparliamentary language
 "Lie", withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 119
 Speakership, role, powers, 3-5
 Standing Orders, re-ordered and re-numbered version, tabled, 22
- Free trade** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Free Trade—The Real Story** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Crispo
- French Civil Code** *see* Justice
- Fretz, Girve** (PC—Erie)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 43
- Friesen, Benno W.** (PC—Surrey—White Rock)
 House of Commons, 177
 M. (Lewis), 175-8
 Insurance, 176-7
 Inter-Parliamentary Delegations, reports, presented, 625
 Procedure, Routine Proceedings, 625
- Fruit and vegetables** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Fulford, Robert** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Fulton, Jim** (NDP—Skeena)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 267-70
 o.q., 54
 Chemical weapons, 56-7, 59
 o.q., 723
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 266-71
 Privilege, misleading/false statements, 56-7, 59
- Funk, Ray** (NDP—Prince Albert—Churchill River)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 372-4, 671-2, 698
 Crosbie, references, 373
 Drought, o.q., 622-3
 Foreign investment/ownership, 372
- Funk, Ray—Cont.**
 Funk, references, 372
 Hovdebo, references, 372
 Indian reserves, S.O. 31, 91
 Prince Albert—Churchill River constituency, Sask., 372-3
 Procedure, question and comment period, 672
 References *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Consultation
- Fur industry** *see* Northwest Territories—Regional development initiatives
- G.W. Martin Lumber Ltd.** *see* Forest industry—Softwood lumber, Layoffs
- Gaffney, Beryl** (L—Nepean)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 446-8
 Highways and roads, 448
 Housing, o.q., 623-4
- Gagliano, Alfonso** (L—Saint-Léonard)
 Income tax, o.q., 97
- Garbage Pail Kids cards**
 Importation, prohibiting, S.O. 31 (Boudria), 141
See also Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group)(Bill C-204)
- Gardiner, Brian L.** (NDP—Prince George—Bulkley Valley)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 191
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 397-8
 Canadian Forestry Service, S.O. 31, 89-90
 Forest industry, 90, 190
 Forestry Department, S.O. 31, 89
 Fraser, references, 190
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 190-1
 Income tax, 191
 Prince George—Bulkley Valley constituency, B.C., 397
- Gas** *see* Natural gas
- Gasoline and diesel fuel taxes**
 Increase, 18¢ per gallon, former J. Clark government proposal, 212
- GATT** *see* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Gauthier, Jean-Robert** (L—Ottawa—Vanier)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 81
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 538
 Constitution, o.q., 424, 615
 Government, 81
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 81-5
 Legislation, 82, 84-5
 Parliament, 82
 Parliament Hill, 18, 25-6
 Privilege, rights of Members breached (Thacker), 18, 25-6
 Procedure
 Bills, Government, 103-4
 Closure, 71, 538
 Committees, 278-9, 538
 Government motions, 10, 71
 House business, 22

- Gauthier, Jean-Robert—Cont.**
 Procedure—Cont.
Order Paper questions, 158
 Orders of the Day, M. (Lewis), 23
 Sitings of the House, 727
 Speeches, 727
 Statements by Ministers, 733
 Public Service, S.O. 31, 139
 Quebec, o.q., 424, 615-6, 717-8
 Standing Orders, 84
 Striking Committee, 82
 Throne Speech, consideration later this day, M. (Mulroney), 10
- Gearing, William** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade**
 Montreal, Que. meeting, December 1988, o.q., 37
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries, Pacific; Canadian Wheat Board; Dairy industry—Ice cream
- General Motors Canada Limited** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Investment
- Generic drug policy** *see* Drugs and pharmaceuticals
- Gibeau, Marie** (PC—Bourassa)
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 208-9
- Gillette Canada Inc.**
 Montreal/Toronto operations, shutdown, job losses, o.q., 94-5
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures
- Glass-Steagall Act (United States)** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Banks and banking
- GNP** *see* Gross National Product
- Goldhawk, Dale** *see* Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
- Gondolas** *see* Whistler, B.C.
- Government**
 Arrogance, 81, 85, 88, 206-7, 236
 Bonuses *see* Airports—Air traffic controllers, Shortage
 Credibility, trust factor, 197
 Drug legislation, Patent Act (amdt.)(Bill C-22) (2nd Sess., 33rd Parl.), example, 363
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Leadership, policies, 456, 758
 Liberal, former, record, 765
 Mandate, 29-30, 206
 Services *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Socialist *see* British Columbia
 Treatment of Parliament, downgrading, lack of respect, etc., 164-5, 167-8, 171, 175
 Two-party system, 369
 Tyranny of majority over minority, 69, 72, 81, 162, 198, 201, 203, 215, 225, 228-9, 241-2
See also Air transport; Airports; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Northwest Territories
- Government appointments** *see* Order in Council appointments
- Government contracts, purchases, etc.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Northern Canada
- Government expenditures**
 Control and management, accountability, 222
- Government motions (substantive)**
 House of Commons, sittings of the House, extending, M. (Lewis), 79-88, 135-7, 159-274, agreed to, as amended, on recorded division, 275
 Closure, notice, 84-5. M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 135-6
 Amdt. (Hawkes), 161, agreed to, on recorded division, 274-5
See also Procedure
- Grain (wheat)**
 Exports, 793-4
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Canola
- Grain transportation**
 Thunder Bay, Ont., layoffs, adjustment programs, o.q., 305
- Grand Banks, Nfld.** *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Newfoundland
- Grant, George** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Grant, Jon** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Food. Prices
- Grape growing industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fruit and vegetables
- Gravel, Michel**
 Former Member of Parliament, fraud charges, alleged cover-up, o.q., 527-8
- Gray, Hon. Herb** (L—Windsor West)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 104
 House of Commons, 65-8
 M. (Lewis), 194
 Privilege, unparliamentary language (Plamondon), 728
 Procedure
 Adjournments, M. (Lewis), 732
 Bills, Government, 102-3
 Estimates, 732
 Government motions, 65-8, 194
 House business, 21, 104, 107
 Points of order/questions of privilege, 728
 Speeches, 107
 Prostitution, M. (Lewis), 731
 Standing Orders, 65-7, 107
- Great Britain** *see* United Kingdom
- Great West Forest Products** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Forest industry
- Great West Timber Limited** *see* Forest industry—Softwood lumber, Layoffs
- Greater certainty clause** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Legislation, Bill C-2
- Green, Gerald** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fruit and vegetables
- Greene, Barbara** (PC—Don Valley North)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 244-6

- Greene, Barbara—Cont.**
 Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 28-9
 Don Valley North constituency, Ont., 244
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 244-6
- Gross National Product** *see* Education—Expenditures; Exports; Research and development—Expenditures; Social programs—Expenditures
- Guaranteed income supplement** *see* Old age pensions
- Guarnieri, Albina** (L—Mississauga East)
 Airports, o.q., 304
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 846
 Procedure, member be now heard, 846
- Guilbault, Jean-Guy** (PC—Drummond)
 Season's Greetings, S.O. 31, 714
- Haldimand—Norfolk constituency, Ont.**
 References, 766
- Halifax-Dartmouth, N.S.** *see* Shipbuilding industry—Wages
- Hall, Justice Emmett** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs—Supporting
- Halton—Peel constituency, Ont.**
 References, 191
- Hamida Textiles Inc.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures
- Hamilton, Bruce** *see* Canada-United Free Trade Agreement—Atlas Specialty Steel
- Hamilton International Civic Airport** *see* Airports
- Harb, Mac** (L—Ottawa Centre)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 377-9
 Immigration, o.q., 724-5
- Harbours, wharves and breakwaters**
 Summerside, P.E.I., clean-up, S.O. 31 (McGuire), 420
- Harmonie de la Polyvalente La Camaradière** *see* Peace
- Harris, Milton** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Harvard, John** (L—Winnipeg St. James)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 335-8, 569, 606
 Elections, S.O. 31, 420-1
 Procedure, decorum, 606
 Winnipeg—St. James constituency, Man, 335
- Harvey, Ross** (NDP—Edmonton East)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 229-30
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 564-7
 Government, 228-9
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 228-30
 Oil and oil products, o.q., 531
- Hate propaganda** *see* Criminal Code (amdt.—hate propaganda—age group) (Bill C-204)
- Hawkes, Jim** (PC—Calgary West)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 458, 541, 588
- Hawkes, Jim—Cont.**
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 159-61
 Procedure
 Divisions, 588
 Sittings of the House, 458, 727
 Speeches, 727
 Statements by Ministers, 733
- Head tax** *see* Immigration—Chinese Canadians
- Health and safety** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Poultry industry
- Health care** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Heap, Dan** (NDP—Trinity—Spadina)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 774-7
 Housing, S.O. 31, 611-2
 Income security, 777
 Procedure, Speaker, election, 1-2
 Refugee status, 100-1
 Social policy, 776-7
- Heart by-pass surgery** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Health care
- Heating oil**
 Price, 212-3
- Hermes program** *see* Space
- Herring** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries, Pacific
- Hicks, Bob** (PC—Scarborough East)
 Hydrogen, petition, 158
 Inter-Parliamentary Delegations, reports, presented, 156
- Highways and roads**
 Route 416 to 401, National Capital region, impact, 448
- Hillsborough constituency, P.E.I.**
 References, 383
- Hilsinger, Karl**
 Death, tribute, S.O. 31 (Winegard), 613
- Hockey** *see* National Sport Act (Bill C-207)
- Hogue, J.-Pierre** (PC—Outremont)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 200-1
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 813-7
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 200-1
 Outremont constituency, Que., 200
- Holtmann, Felix** (PC—Portage—Interlake)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 677-82
 Job creation rate, 681
 Liberal Party, 681
- Hood, John** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Hopkins, Len** (L—Renfrew)
 Canada Elections Act, 691
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 690-3, 695
 Corporations, 691

Hopkins, Len—Cont.

- Defence equipment, S.O. 31, 615
- Elections, 690-1
- Forest industry, S.O. 31, 92
- Fraser, references, 690

Horticulture industry *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Hospitals**

- Ownership, 644
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Service industries

House of Commons

- Adjournments, fixed, suspending, 129, 136-7, 166, 173-4, 179, 181
- Bell ringing incident, Mar. 2-17/82, 86, 136, 177, 233
- Cost of operation, per diem, 160-1
- Credibility, 211-2
- Decorum, language, 606
- Fixed Parliamentary calendar, suspending, 67-8, 70, 79, 188, 190
- House business *see* Procedure
- Private Members Business, 83-4
- Privileges and rights, Speaker claiming, 8
- Recall, early, 69
- Rules, reform
 - Government commitment, 66-8, 86-8, 188, 190, 198, 200, 207, 218-9, 223
 - Standing Orders and Procedure Special Committee, 1st Sess., 32nd Parl., 176, 180
- Sittings of the House
 - Adjournment times, 82
 - Friday adjournment hour, 83
 - Saturday and Sunday sittings, 83
- Sittings of the House, extending hours, 65-6, 70, 79
 - M. (Lewis), 79-88, 135-7, 159-274, agreed to, as amended, on recorded division, 275
 - Closure, notice, 84-5, M. (Lewis), 135, agreed to, on recorded division, 135-6
 - Amdt. (Hawkes), 161, agreed to, on recorded division, 274-5
- Speakers*
 - Althouse, 260-2; Angus, 254-6; Atkinson, 250-1; L. Axworthy, 161-5
 - Barrett, 195-8; Bellemare, 220-1; Benjamin, 217-9; Bjornson, 253-4; Black, 215-6; Boudria, 171-4; Brewin, 179-81; Butland, 198
 - Cole, 237-8; Cooper, 166-70; Corbeil, 204-6; Crosby, 256-60
 - DeBlois, 241-3; Della Noce, 211-5; Duhamel, 178-9
 - Epp, 271-4
 - Fontaine, 221-3; Foster, 185-7; Friesen, 175-8; Fulton, 266-71
 - Gardiner, 190-1; Gauthier, 81-5; Gibeau, 208-9; H. Gray, 194; Greene, 244-6
 - Harvey, R., 228-30; Hawkes, 159-61; Hogue, 200-1; Hudon, 181-5; Hunter, 174-5
 - Karpoff, 199-200; Keyes, 238-41, 272; Kilger, 265-6; Kristiansen, 206-8
 - Langan, 201-2; Laporte, 165-6; F. LeBlanc, 252-3; Lewis, 79-81, 84-5, 135, 194-5; Lopez, 225-8

House of Commons—Cont.

- Sittings of the House, extending hours—*Cont.*
- M. (Lewis)—*Cont.*
- Speakers—Cont.*
 - Marchi, 183-5, 187-90; McCreath, 262-5; McDermid, 196, 231; McLaughlin, 223-5; Mifflin, 209-11; Millican, 202-4; Mitchell, 189
 - Nunziata, 79-80
 - Pagtakhan, 170-1; Prud'homme, 219, 232-7
 - Ricard, 198-9; Riis, 85-8, 136-7, 193-5, 275
 - Scott, G., 189; Shields, 230-3; R.E. Skelly, 246-50; Stupich, 243-4
 - Thompson, 216-7; G. Turner, 191-3
 - Through Christmas recess, 65, 69-70
 - Utility, 551
- Staff, tribute, S.O. 31 (Collins), 713
- Vacancies, Beaver River constituency, Alta., (death of John Dahmer), 11
- Votes, low opposition turnout, S.O. 31 (St. Julien), 293
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Legislation, Bill C-130

Housing

- Affordable, Toronto, Ont.
 - Canadian Forces Base Downsview site, o.q., 97
 - Shortage, S.O. 31 (N. Young), 293
- Co-operative and non-profit
 - Funding, o.q., 623-4
 - Trinity—Spadina constituency, Ont., S.O. 31 (Heap), 611-2
- Prices, 481
- Subsidized, Ontario shortage, o.q., 432
- See also* Native people
- Hovdebo, Stan** (NDP—Saskatoon—Humboldt)
 - Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 806-8
 - References, 372

Hudon, Jean-Guy (PC—Beauharnois—Salaberry)

- Beauharnois Canal, 184
- Elections, 183
- Employment, 183
- Exports, 184
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 181-5
- Noise pollution, S.O. 31, 140
- Hughes, Ken G.** (PC—MacLeod)
 - Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 695-9
 - Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 29
 - Energy industry, 697
 - MacLeod constituency, Alta., 695-7
 - National unity, S.O. 31, 194-5

Human rights

- Cassin, René, United Nations Human Rights Prize recipient, tribute, S.O. 31 (Jourdenais), 90
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 40th anniversary, S.O. 31 (McCreath), 30

Hunger

- Food banks, needs, S.O. 31 (Stewart), 295

- Hunter, Lynn** (NDP—Saanich—Gulf Islands)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 356-7
 Government, 175
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 174-5
 Public Service
 o.q., 721-2
 S.O. 31, 421-2
 Saanich—Gulf Islands constituency, B.C., 356-7
- Huntingdon, Que.** *see* Noise pollution
- Hydrogen**
 Canadian Advisory Group on Hydrogen Opportunities
 report, *Hydrogen—National Mission for Canada*, petition,
 158
- Ice cream** *see* Dairy industry
- Immigrants**
 Espenelli, Sally, deportation, 492
 o.q., 53
 Mohammad, Mahmoud Issa, convicted terrorist, deportation
 proceedings, refugee status claim, o.q., 150
 Yong, Violag Juay, deporting, o.q., 53
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Women
- Immigration**
 Chinese Canadians, head tax, Chinese Exclusion Act,
 compensation, o.q., 724-5
 Levels, *Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration
 Levels*, tabled, 729
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Imports** *see* Food
- Income security**
 New Democratic Party position, 777
- Income tax**
 Child tax credit, o.q., 433
 Deductions *see* Disabled and handicapped
 Delinquent accounts, write-offs, o.q., 97-8
 Northern/remote communities, 191
See also Mining industry; Tax reform; Taxation
- Income Tax Act**
 Social security programs, effect, statement by Minister (Epp),
 729-30
- Indian Affairs and Northern Development Department** *see*
 Indians
- Indian reserves**
 Firefighting facilities, S.O. 31 (Funk), 91
- Indians**
 Eskasoni, N.S., election of band chief, irregularities alleging,
 legislation amending, S.O. 31 (MacLellan), 613-4
 New Brunswick, Indian Affairs and Northern Development
 Department cut-backs, effects, o.q., 530
- Industrial Adjustment Service** *see* Canada-United States Free
 Trade Agreement—Employment
- Industrial Assistance Service** *see* Northern Telecom Limited—
 Plant closures, Adjustment programs
- Industrial development** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
 Agreement
- Industrial park** *see* Bécancour, Que. region
- Industrial revolution** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
 Agreement
- Industry**
 Modernization, expansion, 764
- Information** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Inquiries** *see* Parker Commission
- Inshore fishery** *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Management
- Insurance**
 Automobile, British Columbia government plan, 176-7
- Inter-Parliamentary Delegations**
 Reports, presented
 Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, 156
 Inter-Parliamentary Union, Sofia, Bulgaria, 625
- Inter-Parliamentary Union**
 Executive, women, 625
 Human Rights Committee, Senator Joan Neiman, election,
 625
See also Inter-Parliamentary Delegations
- Interest rates**
 Government high rate policy, 460
- International Law of Atmosphere**
 References, 731
- Inuit** *see* Native people
- Investment**
 Canadian, abroad *see* Mining industry—Société Espalau
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Investment Canada** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
 Agreement—Foreign investment
- Isolationism** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Sovereignty
- Jacques, Carole** (PC—Mercier)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 508-9
 Fraser, references, 508
- James, Ken** (PC—Sarnia—Lambton)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 704-5, 747-50, 752
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 45-6
 Deficit, S.O. 31, 715
 National Energy Program, 749
 Privilege, Member's remarks (Catterall), 752
 Tourist industry
 o.q., 301
 S.O. 31, 139
- Japan** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 International reaction; Trade—Pacific Rim countries
- Job creation** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
 Employment, Expansion—Investment

- Job creation programs** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Job creation rate**
Statistics, 192, 681
- Job losses** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture—Employment; Farms; Gillette Canada Inc.
- Job re-training** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Implementation; Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures, Adjustment programs
- Johnson, Al** (PC—Calgary North)
Calgary North constituency, Alta., 788
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 787-90
Debt, public, 789
Deficit, 789
Fraser, references, 787-8
Oil and oil products, 789
- Joncas, Jean-Luc** (PC—Matapédia—Matane)
Pulp and paper industry, S.O. 31, 89
- Jones Act (United States)** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Shipbuilding industry
- Jordan, Jim** (L—Leeds—Grenville)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 684-5, 740-4
Leeds—Grenville constituency, Ont., S.O. 31, 293
- Jourdenais, Fernand** (PC—La Prairie)
Elections, S.O. 31, 30
Human rights, S.O. 31, 90
Mulroney, references, 30
- Justice**
Appeal process, delays, revising, Ng extradition case, etc., S.O. 31 (Domm), 44-5
System, British Common Law, French Civil Code, 646
- Justice and Solicitor General Standing Committee** *see* Prostitution—Criminal Code
- Kaplan, Hon. Bob** (L—York Centre)
Airports, M. to adjourn under S.O. 52, 64
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 698
Quebec, o.q., 425
- Karpoff, Jim** (NDP—Surrey North)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 200
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 837-40
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 199-200
Surrey North constituency, B.C., 199-200, 837
- Karygiannis, Jim** (L—Scarborough—Agincourt)
Air transport, o.q., 722
Airports, o.q., 722
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 660
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 660, 827-9
References, first Greek-born Member, *Toronto Star* article, inaccuracy, S.O. 31 (Bosley), 294
- Kelleher, Hon. James** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Kenora—Rainy River constituency, Ont.**
References, 513-4
- Kent constituency, Ont.**
References, 579
- Keyes, Stan** (L—Hamilton West)
Airports, o.q., 36
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 238
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 238-41, 272
Procedure, decorum, 272
- Kilger, Bob** (L—Stormont—Dundas)
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 265-6
Stormont—Dundas constituency, Ont., 265
VIA Rail Canada Inc., o.q., 723
- Kingston Whig Standard** *see* War criminals
- Kirshbaum, Joseph** *see* War criminals
- Kootenay East constituency, B.C.**
References, 471
- Koury, Allan** (PC—Hochelaga—Maisonneuve)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 758-60
Exports, 759
- Kristiansen, Lyle** (NDP—Kootenay West—Revelstoke)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 207-8
Foreign Investment Review Agency, 206
Government, 206-7
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 206-8
Members of Parliament, 206
- Labelling** *see* Food and Drugs Act (amdt.—cautionary labels on alcoholic beverage containers)(Bill C-205)—N. Riis
- Labour adjustment programs** *see* Employment programs
- Labour unions** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Constitution—Meech Lake Agreement; New Democratic Party
- Labrador constituency, Nfld.**
References, 451
- Labrador Fishermen's Union Shrimp Company** *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Cod quotas
- Lament for a Nation** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Grant
- Landry, Hon. Bernard** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Quebec
- Landry, Hon. Monique** (PC—Blainville—Deux-Montagnes; Minister for External Relations)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 468-71
Nepal, o.q., 622
- Langan, Joy** (NDP—Mission—Coquitlam)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 36-7
Government, 201
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 201-2
Members of Parliament, 201-2

- Langan, Joy—Cont.**
 Procedure, language, 202
- Langdon, Steven** (NDP—Essex—Windsor)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 413-7, 501, 516, 562, 569,
 575, 604, 640-5, 847-8
 Northern Telecom Limited, o.q., 95-6, 300-1
 Privilege, misleading/false statements (Broadbent), 154
 Procedure
 Bills, Government, 417, 575
 Chair, 643
 Debate, 516, 640
 Decorum, 569
 Member be now heard, 847-8
 Members' remarks, 569
 Misleading/false statements, 416-7, 562
 Political parties, 604
 References, 516
- Langelier constituency, Que.**
 Campaign workers, tribute, S.O. 31 (Loiselle), 423
 References, 16
- Langlois, Charles A.** (PC—Manicouagan)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 840-3
 Manicouagan constituency, Que., 841, 843
- Language** *see* Privilege—Unparliamentary language;
 Procedure—Language—Unparliamentary language
- Language policy** *see* Official languages policy/bilingualism;
 Quebec
- Lapierre, Hon. Jean** (L—Shefford)
 Constitution, o.q., 620-1
 Quebec, language policy, o.q., 297, 524, 620-1
 Waste disposal, o.q., 50-1
- Laporte, Rod** (NDP—Moose Jaw—Lake Centre)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 322-5
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 30-1
 Government, 165
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 165-6
 Members of Parliament, 166
- LaSalle—Émard constituency, Que.**
 References, 316
- Laurier, Right Hon. Sir Wilfred** *see* Canada-United States Free
 Trade Agreement
- Lawless, Ron** *see* CN Rail—Layoffs
- Layoffs** *see* CN Rail; Forest industry—Softwood lumber;
 Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures
- Lead** *see* Water—Drinking water
- LeBlanc, Francis G.** (L—Cape Breton Highlands—Canso)
 Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund, o.q., 54-5
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 252-3
 Cape Breton Highland-Canso constituency, N.S., 252
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 252-3
- Leblanc, Nic** (PC—Longueuil)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 582-5
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 43
 Exports, 583
- Lee, Derek** (L—Scarborough—Rouge River)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 811-3
 Gravel, Michel, o.q., 527-8
 Scarborough—Rouge River constituency, Ont., 811
- Leeds—Grenville constituency, Ont.**
 Concerns of constituents, S.O. 31 (Jordan), 293
- Legislation**
 Committee of the Whole study, 82, 84
 Debate, delaying tactics, 85-6
 Government agenda/priorities
 Consultation with opposition parties, 85
 Control, lack, 84
 Rushing through, 87
 Private Members' Bills, introduction, 82
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Lester B. Pearson International Airport** *see* Airports
- Level playing field** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
 Agreement—Harmonization
- Lewis, Hon. Douglas Grinslade** (PC—Simcoe North; Minister of
 State and Minister of State (Treasury Board) and Acting
 President of the Treasury Board; Minister of Justice and
 Attorney General of Canada and Leader of the Government
 in the House of Commons)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 127, 278, 500-1, 532,
 535-6, 538
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, legislation,
 70-1, 79-81, 500-1
 Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, annual
 report, tabled, 155
 Closure, 79, 535-6
 Employment Equity Act, annual report, tabled, 591
 Estimates, 1988-1989 supplementary (B), 155
 M., 155-6
 House of Commons
 Fixed Parliamentary calendar, 70, 79
 Sittings of the House, 69-70, 79
 M., 79-81, 84-5, 135, 194-5
 Liberal Party, 80
 Order in Council appointments, tabled, 75
 Privilege
 Misleading/false statements (Broadbent), 153-4
 Raising, reserving right, 728-9
 Unparliamentary language, 152
 Procedure
 Adjournments, Christmas, 592
 M., 732
 Bills, Government
 Committee of the Whole, 102
 Second reading, 104
 Closure
 Motion not in order, 535-6, 538

- Lewis, Hon. Douglas Grinslade—Cont.**
 Procedure—Cont.
 Closure—Cont.
 Notice, 71, 84-5, 127, 500-1, 626
 Committees
 Committee of the Whole, sitting, suspending, 538
 Striking Committee, 279
 Estimates, consideration, 732
 Government motions, 69-71, 103, 107, 194
 House business, 21, 106-7
 Order Paper questions, 158
 Orders of the Day, M., 23, 75-6, 407-8, 531-2
 Sittings of the House, extending, 732
 Speeches, time limits, 107
 Prostitution, M., 731
 Public Service Staff Relations Board, report, tabled, 591
 Regulatory Plan, 1989 report, tabled, 407
 Remission orders, six-monthly report, tabled, 22-3
 Softwood Lumber Products Export Charge Act, annual report, tabled, 531
 Standing Orders
 Committee study of Public Bills, 70
 Suspension, 70, 107-8
 Superintendent of Financial Institutions Office, annual report (1988), tabled, 22
 Supply, M. for consideration, 13
- Liberal government, former** *see* Airports—Lester B. Pearson International; Deficit
- Liberal Party**
 Credibility, 681
See also Airports—Hamilton International Civic; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Martin, P.—References
- Library of Parliament**
 Annual report (1987-1988), tabled, 407
- Linguistic minorities** *see* Constitution
- Littlechild, Willie** (PC—Wetaskiwin)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 782-5
 Native people, 784
 Wetaskiwin constituency, Alta., 782-3
- Lockerbie, Scotland** *see* Disasters, emergencies, etc.
- Logging** *see* Forest industry—British Columbia
- Loiselle, Hon. Gilles** (PC—Langelier; Minister of State (Finance))
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 17
 Constitution, 17-8
 Langelier constituency, Que., 16
 S.O. 31, 423
 Procedure, Speaker, election, 2
 Throne Speech, Address in Reply, M. (K. Campbell), 16-8
- London—Middlesex constituency, Ont.**
 References, 803
- Lopez, Ricardo** (PC—Châteauguay)
 Agriculture, 226
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 226-8
 European Economic Community, 227
- Lopez, Ricardo—Cont.**
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 225-8
- Lotbinière constituency, Que.**
 References, 763-4
- Louis-Hébert constituency, Que.**
 Election results, Nov. 21/88, S.O. 31 (Duplessis), 520
- Lower Churchill River power project** *see* Electricity
- Luddites** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Industrial revolution
- Lumber** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Forest industry
- MacAulay, Lawrence** (L—Cardigan)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 735-7
- Macdonald, Hon. Angus L.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs, Study
- Macdonald Commission** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Macdonald, Right Hon. Sir John A.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- MacDonald, Ron** (L—Dartmouth)
 Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Program, o.q., 35-6
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 754-8
 Crosbie, references, 757
 Dartmouth constituency, N.S., 754
 Dartmouth, N.S., o.q., 35-6
 Shipbuilding industry, S.O. 31, 294
- MacDougall, John A.** (PC—Timiskaming)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 393-4
 S.O. 31, 141
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 393-6
 Forest industry, o.q., 430
- MacKay, Hon. Elmer MacIntosh** (PC—Central Nova; Minister of National Revenue; Minister of Public Works and Minister for the purposes of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency Act)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 379-83
 Fraser, references, 379
 Income tax, o.q., 97-8
 Scientific Research Tax Credit Program, o.q., 97
- MacLellan, Russell** (L—Cape Breton—The Sydneys)
 Indians, S.O. 31, 613-4
- Macleod constituency, Alta.**
 References, 695-7
- MacWilliam, Lyle Dean** (NDP—Okanagan—Shuswap)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 489-92, 661, 681-2, 689, 693-4
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 713
 Forest industry, 490
 Procedure, Speaker, election, 2

- MacWilliam, Lyle Dean—Cont.**
Sales Taxes, federal, 491
- Maheu, Shirley (L—Saint-Laurent)**
Canadian Space Agency, S.O. 31, 612
Procedure, divisions, recorded, 76
- Malone, Arnold (PC—Crowfoot)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 705-8
Crowfoot constituency, Alta., 705-6
- Malpeque constituency, P.E.I.**
References, 435
- Management services** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Health care, Privatization
- Manicouagan constituency, Que.**
References, 841
Plurality, Nov. 21/88 election, 843
- Manitoba** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Constitution
- Manitoba Fashion Institute** *see* Women
- Manley, John (L—Ottawa South)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 458-61
Corporations, o.q., 725-6
Elections, 303-5
Interest rates, 460
Ottawa South constituency, Ont., 458
Privilege, misleading/false statements (Blenkarn), 305
Research and development, 460-1
- Manufacturing industry**
Job losses, 141
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Maquiladora effect** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs, United States
- Marchi, Sergio (L—York West)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 187-90
House of Commons, 188
M. (Lewis), 183-5, 187-9
Immigrants, o.q., 150
Procedure, decorum, 183
Refugee status, o.q., 52-3
- Marcos, Ferdinand**
Philippine ex-President, family fortune, money laundering,
Vancouver Securities Inc. role, RCMP investigation, o.q.,
725
- Marine Atlantic Inc.** *see* Prince Edward Island—Fixed link with
mainland
- Marine mammals** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement
- Marketing boards** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade
Agreement; Farm products
- Markets** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—
United States; Trade
- Markham constituency, Ont.** *see* Electoral Boundaries
Readjustment Act (amdt.—Markham—Whitchurch—
Stouffville)(Bill C-206)
- Marleau, Diane (L—Sudbury)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 772-4
Child care, o.q., 433
Mining industry, 773
Sudbury constituency, Ont., 772-3
- Martin, Hon. Paul**
Tribute, 316
- Martin, Paul (L—LaSalle—Émard)**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 316-9, 699
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 624
Lasalle—Émard constituency, Que., 316
Martin, Hon. Paul, 316
References
Leadership aspirations, 596
Liberal Party ideology, 356
- Martin, Hon. Shirley (PC—Lincoln; Minister of State
(Transport))**
Air transport, safety, o.q., 38, 722-3
Airports
Air traffic controllers, o.q., 38
Hamilton International Civic, o.q., 36
Lester B. Pearson International, o.q., 36, 38, 304-5, 433, 722
Southwestern Ontario, o.q., 36
VIA Rail Canada Inc., Eastern Ontario, o.q., 723
- Masse, Hon. Marcel (PC—Frontenac; Minister of Energy, Mines
and Resources; Minister of Communications)**
Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund, o.q., 35-6,
54-5
Dartmouth, N.S., o.q., 36
Oil and oil products, o.q., 531
Oil drilling rigs, o.q., 299
- Matane, Que.** *see* Pulp and paper industry
- Mayer, Hon. Charles James (PC—Lisgar—Marquette; Minister
of State (Grains and Oilseeds); Minister of Western
Economic Diversification and Minister of State (Grains and
Oilseeds))**
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 792-6, 846
Canola, 792-3
Debt, public, 794-5
Fraser, references, 792
Grain, 793-4
North American Aerospace Defence Command, 795
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 795
Pork, 794
Western Grain Transportation Act, 792
- Mazankowski, Hon. Donald Frank (PC—Vegreville; Deputy
Prime Minister, President of the Queen's Privy Council for
Canada and Minister of Agriculture)**
Campbell, C., references, 721
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 306-10
Drought, o.q., 39-40, 55, 622-3

Mazankowski, Hon. Donald Frank—Cont.

- Fisheries and Oceans Department, o.q., 720-1
- Fisheries, Atlantic, management, o.q., 721
- Food, o.q., 148-9
- Municipalities, o.q., 623
- Pesticides, o.q., 148-9
- Procedure
 - Adjournments, M, 18
 - House business, 105
- Quebec, language policy, 718
- Siddon, references, 721, 726

McCain Foods Limited *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**McCain, Fred**

- Tribute, 216

McCreath, Peter L. (PC—South Shore)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 263-4
- Crouse, Lloyd, references, 262
- Defence equipment, S.O. 31, 295
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 262-5
- Human rights, S.O. 31, 30
- South Shore constituency, N.S., 263

McCurdy, Howard (NDP—Windsor—Lake St. Clair)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 821-4
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 430
- Drugs and pharmaceuticals, o.q., 151
- Northern Telecom Limited, o.q., 429-30

McDermid, Hon. John Horton (PC—Brampton; Minister of State (International Trade) and Minister of State (Housing); Minister of State (Privatization and Regulatory Affairs))

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 331, 400-2, 408-9, 412-3, 416-7, 467-8, 472-3, 490, 507, 565, 635, 638, 640, 643, 698, 710-2, 734-5
- Exports, 635
- Housing
 - Affordable, o.q., 97
 - Co-operative and non-profit, o.q., 623-4
 - Subsidized, o.q., 432
- Native people, housing, o.q., 40
- Procedure
 - Bills, Government, 417
 - Clocks, 490
 - Debate, 640
 - Decorum, 196
 - Misleading/false statements, 234, 331, 416-7
 - Unparliamentary language, 119
- References, Minister of the homeless, 119, 331-2
- Wine industry, 507

McDougall, Hon. Barbara Jean (PC—St. Paul's; Minister of Employment and Immigration)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 313-6
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 32, 144
- Employment equity, o.q., 720
- Fisheries, Atlantic, Newfoundland, o.q., 431-2
- Grain transportation, Thunder Bay, Ont., lay-offs, o.q., 305

McDougall, Hon. Barbara Jean—Cont.

- Immigrants
 - Espenelli, Sally, o.q., 53
 - Mohammad, Mahmoud Issa, o.q., 150
 - Yong, Vilag Juay, o.q., 53
- Immigration, levels, 729
- Northern Telecom Limited, plant closures, o.q., 48-9, 96
- Public Service, o.q., 721-2
- References *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Newfoundland, Fishermen
- Refugee status
 - Administrative review process, o.q., 53
 - Applications, backlog, reducing, o.q., 52-3, 100-1
 - Women, o.q., 53

McGuire, Joe (L—Egmont)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 476-8
- Egmont constituency, P.E.I., 476-7
- Harbours, wharves and breakwaters, S.O. 31, 420

McKenna, Hon. Frank *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—New Brunswick**McKnight, Hon. William Hunter** (PC—Kindersley—

- Lloydminster; Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Minister of Western Economic Diversification; Minister of National Defence)
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 430-1
- Native people, land claims, o.q., 50

McLaughlin, Audrey (NDP—Yukon)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 223-5
- Forest industry, o.q., 55-6
- Government, 225
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 223-5
- Native people, Inuit, o.q., 303
- Pollution, S.O. 31, 138

McMillan, Hon. Tom *see* National Parks—British Columbia**Meat** *see* Beef; Pork; Veal**Meat packers** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Media** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Medical certificates** *see* Elections—Proxy voting**Medicare**

- Origins, 677
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Health care

Meech Lake Agreement *see* Constitution; Quebec—Language policy**Members of Parliament**

- Backbenchers *see* Members of Parliament—Progressive Conservative Party
- Certificate of election, newly introduced, Jack Anawak (Nunatsiak), 92-3
- Elected in general election of Nov. 21/88, list, tabled, 75
- Greek-born, first *see* Karygiannis—References; Mitges—References
- Mandate, 217-8
- Offices, establishing, staff, equipment, timeframe, etc., 166
- Privileges, definition, scope, 170

Members of Parliament—Cont.

- Progressive Conservative Party
- Backbenchers, obedience, 206, 221
- March on Chair, Oct. 13/80, Constitution Debate, 86, 136
- Rights *see* Privilege—Rights of Members breached
- Settling in, problems, 201-2
- See also* Procedure

Métis *see* Native people—Land claims**Mifflin, Fred J.** (L—Bonavista—Trinity—Conception)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 210-1
- Fisheries, Atlantic, o.q., 431-2
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 209-11
- Oil drilling rigs, 210

Milliken, Peter (L—Kingston and the Islands)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 203-4
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 500, 532-4, 541, 675, 680-1
- Closure, 533-4
- Government, 203
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 202-4
- Procedure
 - Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements, 541
 - Closure, 202-3, 500, 533-4
 - War criminals, o.q., 724

Mills, Dennis (L—Broadview—Greenwood)

- Blondin, references, 682
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 682-5
- Investment Canada, 683
- Water pollution, o.q., 146-7

Minesweepers *see* Defence equipment—Ships**Minimum wage** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Wages and salaries**Mining industry**

- Income tax, flow-through shares system, deduction increase, S.O. 31 (St. Julien), 713
- Northern Ontario, 773
- Société Espalau, investment in United States, S.O. 31 (St. Julien), 521
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Ministerial statements *see* Statements by Ministers**Misleading/false statements** *see* Privilege; Procedure**Mitchell, Margaret** (NDP—Vancouver East)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 672-7
- Child care, 674-5
 - o.q., 297-8
- Employment equity, 675
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 189
- Income Tax Act, statement by Minister (Epp), 730
- Medicare, 677
- Old age pensions, 730
- Procedure, Members' remarks, 189
- Prostitution, petition, 732-3
- Social programs, 675

Mitchell, Margaret—Cont.

- Unemployment insurance, o.q., 298
- Veterans, 730

Mitges, Gus (PC—Bruce—Grey)

- References, first Greek-born Member, S.O. 31 (Bosley), 294

Mohammad, Mahmood Issa *see* Immigrants**Moncton constituency, N.B.**

- References, 801

Monetarism *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Reaganomics**Monopolies** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Competition**Mont Nebo, Sask.** *see* Post offices—Closure**Montmorency—Orléans constituency, Que.**

- References, 241

Montreal, Que. *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—Quebec; Canadian Space Agency—Establishing; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; Gillette Canada Inc.**Moose Jaw, Sask.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Textile and clothing industry**Morgentaler, Henry** *see* Abortion**Mr. Jax Fashions Inc.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Business, Entrepreneurs**Mulroney, Right Hon. Martin Brian** (PC—Charlevoix; Prime Minister)

- Assistant Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, M., 13
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 - Auto-Pact, 650
 - Consultation, 650
 - Employment, 648-9
 - Environmental impact, 647
 - European Economic Community, 651
 - Exemptions, 649
 - Government mandate, 645, 648, 652
 - Implementation, 649
 - o.q., 34, 49, 51-2
 - International reaction, 651
 - Investment, o.q., 35
 - Legislation, 645
 - Plant closures, o.q., 34-5
 - Protectionism, 651
 - Quotas, 651
 - Research, 650
 - Social programs, 648
 - o.q., 31
 - Sovereignty, 647
 - Tariffs, 647, 651
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 644-52
- Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, M., 12-3
- Constitution, Meech Lake Agreement, o.q., 296-7, 426-7, 522-3, 525-7, 615-9, 621
- Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, M., 13
- Elections, general, 304

Mulroney, Right Hon. Martin Brian—Cont.

- Employment, 646
- Fraser, references, 5
- Justice, 646
- Official languages policy/bilingualism, o.q., 427-8, 616
- Oaths of Office (Pro Forma)(Bill C-1), 8
- Quebec, language policy, o.q., 296-7, 424-7, 522-7, 615-9, 621
- References, 243
 - Election victory, 30
 - Ideological vision, 356
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Constitution—Meech Lake Agreement, Northern Canada; Forest industry—Cedar products—Softwood lumber, Memorandum of Understanding; Quebec—Language policy
- Throne Speech, consideration later this day, M., 9
- Unemployment, 648

Multiculturalism *see* New Brunswick—Bilingualism**Multitel Data Management Systems**

- S.O. 31 (M.R. Tremblay), 31

Municipalities

- Canadian Federation of Municipalities, Deputy Prime Minister Mazankowski meeting, o.q., 623
- Commuter rail networks, S.O. 31 (Redway), 519-20
- Government involvement, S.O. 31 (Redway), 423-4
- Infrastructures, water and sewage systems
 - Funding, o.q., 623
 - S.O. 31 (Harb), 521

Murphy, Rod (NDP—Churchill)

- Procedure
 - Closure, 73-4
 - Government motions, 73-4
 - House business, 104

Music industry *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Recording industry**Mustard gas** *see* Chemical weapons**NAFO** *see* North Atlantic Fisheries Organization**Nanaïmo—Cowichan constituency, B.C.**

- References, 243

National Capital Region

- Enlargement, Prescott—Russell counties, including, S.O. 31 (Boudria)
- See also* Canadian Space Agency—Establishing; Highways and roads—Route 416

National Child Care Program *see* Child care**National Council on Welfare** *see* Child care**National Defence Department** *see* Chemical weapons**National Energy Board** *see* Natural gas—Supply and demand**National Energy Program**

- Abolition, 474-5, 749
- See also* Oil and gas industries—Alberta

National Parks

- British Columbia
 - McMillan, Hon. Tom, efforts, commending, 293-4
 - Sitka spruce trees, preserving, Memorandum of Understanding, federal-provincial governments negotiating, S.O. 31 (Wenman), 293-4

National reconciliation *see* National unity**National Sea Products** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries**National Sport Act (Bill C-207)—N. Riis**

- First reading, 591

National unity

- National reconciliation, S.O. 31 (Hughes), 294-5
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Nationalization *see* Banks and banking**Native people**

- Housing, Clova, Que., o.q., 40
- Inuit, food supply, organic pollutants, o.q., 300
- Land claims, Dene-Métis settlement, funding, o.q., 49-50
- Patriotism, 784
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Northwest Territories—Description

NATO *see* North Atlantic Treaty Organization**Natural gas**

- Refinery, Caroline, Alta., Caroline Area Gas Development Group \$600 million development, S.O. 31 (Fee), 91
- Supply and demand, NEB study, S.O. 31 (Sparrow), 423

Natural resources *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Nault, Robert D. (L—Kenora—Rainy River)**

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 513-5
- Forest industry, 514
- Kenora—Rainy River constituency, Ont., 513-4
- Valcourt, references, 513

NEB *see* National Energy Board**Neiman, Hon. Senator Joan** *see* Senators**NEP** *see* National Energy Program**Nepal**

- Budd, Mervin, detention, o.q., 621-2

Nerve gas *see* Chemical weapons**New Brunswick**

- Bilingualism, multicultural diversity, reflecting, 349
- McKenna, Premier Frank *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Quality of life, 349
- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Fisheries, Atlantic—North Atlantic Fisheries Organization; Indians

New Democratic Party

Labour unions support, 222

See also Banks and banking—Nationalizing; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Income security; North American Aerospace Defence Command; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Social policy

New Westminster—Burnaby constituency, B.C.

References, 790-1

New Zealand *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Australia**Newfoundland** *see* Canada—United States Free Trade Agreement; Fisheries, Atlantic**Ng, Charles** *see* Justice—Appeal process**Niagara Falls constituency, Ont.**

References, 834-5

Nicholson, Rob (PC—Niagara Falls)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 834-7
Niagara Falls constituency, Ont., 834-5

Noise pollution

Railways, Valleyfield, Que., Huntingdon, Que., S.O. 31 (Hudon), 140

Non-tariff barriers *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**North American Aerospace Defence Command**

Canadian participation, New Democratic Party position, 795

North Atlantic Fisheries Organization *see* Fisheries, Atlantic**North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

Canadian participation, New Democratic Party position, 795

North York constituency, Ont.

References, 798-9

Northern Canada *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Constitution—Meech Lake Agreement**Northern Ontario** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures; Mining industry**Northern tax benefits** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Subsidies**Northern Telecom Limited**

Plant closures, unemployment, Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, impact, 130, 164

Adjustment programs, job re-training, government funding, o.q., 48-9, 95-6, 301, 430

Industrial Assistance Service, Employment and Immigration Department, o.q., 96

St. Laurent, Que., plant, additional investment, o.q., 95

American Telephone and Telegraph Company, layoffs, comparing, o.q., 301

Aylmer, Que.

Job loss transfer to Atlanta, Ga., o.q., 48-9, 300, 429 o.q., 47-8, 95

Belleville, Ont., o.q., 96

Research and development budget, taxpayers, telephone subscribers, subsidizing, o.q., 429-30

Northumberland constituency *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Northwest Territories**

References, native people, aboriginal language (Slavey), etc., 366

Economy, employment, etc., 366-7

Government investment, need, 367

Private sector, role, 367

Regional development initiatives, need, fur industry, example, 368

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Notwithstanding clause *see* Constitution**Nova Scotia** *see* Canada-Nova Scotia Offshore Development Fund; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs, Study**Nowlan, Pat** (PC—Annapolis Valley—Hants)

References, 690

Nuclear-powered vessels *see* Defence equipment—Submarines**Nuclear weapons-free zone** *see* Disarmament**Nunatsiak constituency, N.W.T.**

References, 439-40

Nunziata, John (L—York South—Weston)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 73

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 402, 417, 536-7, 545, 553, 837

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 79-80

Parole, o.q., 428-9

Procedure

Bills, Government, 417

Bills, Private Members' Public Bills, 731

Closure, 536-7

Decorum, 553

Divisions, recorded, 76

Government motions, 73

Misleading/false statements, 79-80

Putting the question, 402

Speeches, 545

Nystrom, Lorne (NDP—Yorkton—Melville)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 528-9

Oaths of Office (Pro Forma)(Bill C-1)—Prime Minister

First reading, 8

Oberle, Hon. Frank (PC—Prince George—Peace River; Minister of State (Science and Technology) and Acting Minister of State (Forestry); Minister of State (Forestry))

Barrett, references, 369-70

British Columbia

Governments, 369-70

Resource-based economy, 369-70

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 369-72

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 369-72, 554

Forest industry

Auditor General's report, o.q., 55-6

British Columbia, 370

Cedar products, 370-1

- Oberle, Hon. Frank—Cont.**
 Forest industry—*Cont.*
 Employment, 370
 Exports, 370
 Forest Resources Development Agreements, o.q., 430
 Management, o.q., 56
 Softwood lumber, 371
 Value adding, 370
 Government, two-party system, 369
 Procedure, decorum, 554
- O'Brien, Micheal (PC—York North)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 798-801
 York North constituency, Ont., 798-9
- OECD** *see* Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
- Official languages policy/bilingualism**
 Government programs, o.q., 616
 Legislation, Alliance Québec, position, 425-6
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement;
 Constitution—Meech Lake Agreement; New Brunswick;
 Quebec—Language policy
- Oil and natural gas exploration**
 Incentives, 493
- Oil and natural gas industries**
 Alberta, National Energy Program, effect, 659
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Oil and oil products**
 Price
 Floor price, o.q., 531
 "Made in Canada" price, 789
- Oil drilling rigs**
Rowan Gorilla
 Seaworthiness inspections, movement regulations, o.q.,
 299
 Sinking, crew rescue, Canadian Armed Forces
 involvement, 210
- Oilseeds** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt constituency, B.C.**
 References, 505
 Unemployment, 505
- O'Kurley, Brian (PC—Elk Island)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 657-61
 Elk Island constituency, Alta., 657
 Oil and natural gas industries, 659
- Old age pensions**
 Government cutbacks, 560
 Guaranteed income supplement, benefits, 729
 Spouses allowance, benefits, 729
- Omnibus trade law** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—United States trade laws
- Ontario**
 Peterson, Premier David *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement;
 Housing—Subsidized; Provincial Parks
- Ontario constituency, Ont.**
 References, 480-1
- Ontario Federation of Agriculture** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture
- Opposition parties**
 Credibility, 205
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; House of Commons—Votes
- Order in Council appointments**
 Tabled, 75
- Orders of the Day** *see* Procedure
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development** *see* Economic conditions
- Ottawa, Ont.** *see* Elections—General, Nov. 21/88
- Ottawa South constituency, Ont.**
 References, 458
- Outremont constituency, Que.**
 References, 200
- Pacific Rim countries** *see* Trade
- Pagtakhan, Rey (L—Winnipeg North)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 492-4, 501, 660, 702
 Cigarettes, o.q., 150-1
 Government, 171
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 170-1
 Immigrants, 492
 Members of Parliament, 170
 Oil and natural gas exploration, 493-4
 Procedure
 Closure, 501
 Decorum, 702
- Palestine Liberation Organization**
 Diplomatic relations with Canada, o.q., 147
- Paley Commission (United States)** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Economic union
- Pan Am** *see* Disasters, emergencies, etc.
- Paproski, Hon. Steven (PC—Edmonton North; Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House)**
 Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements
 Closure, notice, improperly given, study of all clause of bill not completed, Chair requesting Members to negotiate settlement elsewhere, 501
 Decorum, noise/heckling, 561
 Points of order/questions of privilege, argument/debate, not point of order, 501
 Speeches, maiden speech, civility requested, 513
 References *see* Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole House

- Paproski, Hon. Steven—Cont.**
 Speaker, rulings and statements
 Adjournments, 852
 Decorum
 Noise/heckling in Chamber, Chair/Members cannot hear debate, 362-3, 400
 Presence/absence of Members/Ministers, reflection not permitted, 196
 Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 111, 189, 346-7, 385
 Divisions, recorded, divisions previously taken, applying to subsequent motions, by unanimous consent, 404
 In reverse, by unanimous consent, 404
 Government motions, relating to suspending of certain Standing Orders, second reading debate, 195
 Language, referring to Members as "honourable or otherwise", out of order, 202
 Member be now heard, M. (Copps), not in order, 847
 Points of order/questions of privilege, argument/debate, not point of order, 606
 Putting the question, 195
 Quorum, Speaker taking Chair when Black Rod announced, 852
 Speeches, maiden speech, 398
- Parent, Gilbert (L—Welland—St. Catharines—Thorold)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 656
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 558-61, 656
 Old age pensions, 560
 Welland Canal, S.O. 31, 46
- Parental leave** *see* Unemployment insurance
- Parizeau, Jacques** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Farmers, Quebec
- Parker Commission (Stevens conflict of interest allegations)** *see* Stevens
- Parker, Sid (NDP—Kootenay East)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 471-3
 Columbia Power Project, 471-2
 Kootenay East constituency, B.C., 471
- Parks** *see* National Parks; Provincial Parks
- Parliament**
 Opening, 34th Parl., 1st Sess., letter from Governor General, 7
 Recall provisions, 87-8
 Reform, 354
 Sessions, length, 82
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government tactics—Legislation, Bill C-2
- Parliament Buildings**
 Wellington Building, division bells, audibility, 63
- Parliament Hill**
 Traffic jams, 18, 25-6
 Elections, Privileges and Procedure Standing Committee referral, M. (Thacker), agreed to, 41
See also Privilege—Rights of Members breached
- Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe**
 Seventh Parliamentary Scientific Conference, Canada hosting, 730-1
- Parliamentary associations** *see* Inter-Parliamentary Union
- Parliamentary Restaurant** *see* Wine industry—Canadian wines
- Parole**
 Psychopathic killers, release, Tema Conter murder, Ruygrok murder, comparison, inquest, government responsibility, etc., o.q., 428-9
- Parti Québécois** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Quebec, Landry
- Particleboard** *see* Forest industry—Wood products
- Patent Act (amdt.)(Bill C-22)(2nd Sess., 33rd Parl.)** *see* Government—Credibility, Drug legislation
- Patriotism** *see* Native people
- Patronage**
 Government record, 473
- Peace**
 Harmonie de la Polyvalente La Camaradière, Christmas concert, S.O. 31 (M.R. Tremblay), 92
- Peace River region, Alta.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Alberta
- Pensions** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs
- Pesticides** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Food
- Peterson, Hon. David** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Ontario
- Peterson, Jim (L—Willowdale)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 785-7
 Education, 786-7
 Research and development, 787
 Training programs, 786
- Petrochemical industry**
 Expansion, 488-9
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- PFRA** *see* Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act
- Philippines** *see* Marcos
- Phinney, Beth (L—Hamilton Mountain)**
 Airports, S.O. 31, 423
- Pickard, Jerry (L—Essex—Kent)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 398-400
 Essex—Kent constituency, Ont., 398
- Pipeline debate** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government tactics
- Pittsburg Paints** *see* PPG Canada Inc.
- Plamondon, Louis (PC—Richelieu)**
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 548-51

- Plamondon, Louis—Cont.**
 Federal-provincial relations, 549
 Privilege, unparliamentary language, 728
 Richelieu constituency, Que., 548-9
- Plant closures** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Northern Telecom Limited
- Plebiscites** *see* Canada Referendum and Plebiscite Act (Bill C-201)
- PLO** *see* Palestine Liberation Organization
- Political parties**
 Old-line parties, similarity, 217
 Two-party system, 219
See also Government—Two-party system; Procedure
- Political rights** *see* Public Service
- Pollution**
 Arctic, Canadian Polar Research Commission, obligations, treaty, proposal, S.O. 31 (McLaughlin), 138
 Organic pollutants *see* Native people—Inuit
See also Noise pollution; Water pollution
- Pork**
 Exports, 794
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Post offices**
 Closure, Mont Nebo, Sask., 44
 Rural
 Rural Dignity, anniversary, S.O. 31 (Callbeck), 90
 Strong system, advocating, S.O. 31 (Taylor), 44
- Potatoes** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Poultry**
 Broiler egg hatching industry, petition, 733
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Poverty** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Children
- PPG Canada Inc.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures
- Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture, Programs
- Prescott—Russell counties** *see* National Capital Region—Enlarging
- Press** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Media
- Prime Ministers, former** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Prince Albert—Churchill River constituency, Sask.**
 References, 372-3
- Prince Edward—Hastings constituency**
 References, 843
- Prince Edward Island**
 Fixed link with mainland
 Environmental review, 291-2
 Marine Atlantic Inc. employees, compensation programs, S.O. 31 (Proud), 291-2
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Prince George—Bulkley Valley constituency, B.C.**
 References, 397
- Private sector** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Economic policy; Northwest Territories
- Privatization** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Health care
- Privilege**
 Members' remarks
 Crosbie, International Trade Minister, references to "rose of the cross", offensive, withdrawal requested (Copp), difference in interpretation of phrase, not question of, 305-6
 James, remarks relating to farm women in kitchen, insult (Catterall), not question of privilege, 750, 752
 Mazankowski, Deputy Prime Minister, allegations of bias against West Coast, correcting (C. Campbell), not question of privilege, 726-7
 Misleading/false statements
 Beatty, National Defence Minister and National Defence Department officials making false and misleading statements *re* Canadian Armed Forces involvement in 1947 dumping of surplus WWII nerve gas and mustard gas canisters in Pacific Ocean (Fulton), taking under advisement, 56-60
 Mulroney, misleading House *re* release of interim report of de Grandpré Commission (Broadbent), dispute as to interpretation of fact, Members not prevented from fulfilling duties, not question of, 152-5
 Press reports relating to Government punishing Ottawa area for not electing more Progressive Conservative Members, clarification (Blenkarn), 305
 Raising, reserving right, 728-9
 Rights of Members breached
 Division bells not audible in Wellington Building (Dionne), taking under advisement, 63
 Parliament Hill traffic jam preventing Member from reaching Chamber to vote (Thacker), 18, 25-6
 Unparliamentary language
 Broadbent, use of words "deliberately misleading" (Lewis), 152
 Copp, reference to Mulroney as a "slime-bag" for speaking in French, withdrawal requested (Plamondon), taking under advisement, 728
- Procedure**
Adjournment motions under S.O. 52
 Member moving motion only speaker, 64
 Not accepted *see* Airports—Lester B. Pearson International Airport—Traffic; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment impact—Plant closures
Adjournments
 Christmas recess (1988), 592, 852
 M. (Lewis), agreed to, 732
 House do now adjourn, M. (Mazankowski), agreed to, 18
Bills, Government; Committee of the Whole
 Referral to, instead of legislative committee, motion not in order, second reading debate not commenced, 102-3
 Progress reported, 517
 Questions
 And answers, within 20 minute limits for each Member, 573

Procedure—Cont.*Bills, Government; Committee of the Whole—Cont.**Questions—Cont.*

- Limited when House under closure motion, 575
- Minister not answering, 417
- Minister's answers, scope, 417-8

Bills, Government; Second reading

- Order called but not completely read, Minister to decide if debate to proceed, 103-6
- Subamendment, taking under advisement, 325
- In order, 329

Bills, Private Members' Public Bills; Introduction

- Delay, later in day, by unanimous consent, 731

Chair

- Not putting proposal for unanimous consent to House, 643

Chairman and Deputy Chairman, rulings and statements

- Decision, appealed to Speaker, confirmed, 541

Clocks

- Accuracy, 490

Closure

- History/use, 202-3, 500-1
- M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 135-6
- M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 278-9
- M. (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 541-2
- Motion not in order, Committee only considered one clause and has not postponed it, no discussion on other clauses and Members not able to move amendments, 532-7, taking under advisement, 538, precedents do conflict, however, it is within rules to move closure in Committee of the Whole, 1956 precedent confirmed 1932 precedent and carries authority of sustained Chairman's decision, a Speaker's ruling and a recorded division of the House itself, motion in order, 539-41

- Notice, 71, 84-5, 127, 500, 626

- Improperly given, study of all clause of bill not completed, Chair requesting Members to negotiate settlement elsewhere, 501, proper notice given, 539

- Improperly given, taking under advisement, 71-4; Standing Orders are silent on when notice may be given; Chair feels intention of Standing Order is that notice be given after debate to be closed has commenced, therefore Chair cannot accept notice of closure at this time, 78

- See also* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2); House of Commons—Sittings of the House, extending

Committees

- Committee of the Whole, sitting, suspending to call of the Chair, 538
- Striking Committee, not meeting as required under Standing Orders, 278-9

Debate

- Debate be now adjourned, M. (J. Turner), agreed to, 18
- Member's allotted time
 - Equal time to New Democratic Party critic, unanimous consent denied, 640
 - Expired, continuing, by unanimous consent, 237, 693
 - Denied, 218-9, 555, 643
- Participation, rotation by party basis, 417
- Relevancy rule, 9-10, 288, 416, 516, 765
- See also* Procedure—Speeches

Procedure—Cont.*Decorum*

- Applause/banging of desk tops to indicate approval, 553-4
- Interruptions, inappropriate when Member speaking, 34, 37, 136, 428, 527, 617-8
- Noise/heckling in Chamber, Chair/Members cannot hear, 98, 362-3, 400, 473, 523, 561
- Presence/absence of Members/Ministers, reflection not permitted, 196, 385, 702
- Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 111, 183, 189, 272, 346-7, 385, 494, 569, 735
- See also* Procedure—Speeches, Maiden speech

Divisions

- Bells, ringing 5 minutes, by unanimous consent, 588

Divisions, recorded

- Divisions previously taken, applying to subsequent motions, by unanimous consent, 275, 404
- In reverse, by unanimous consent, 404
- Member not in seat, not voting, 76

Estimates

- Consideration, extending, 732

Government motions (substantive)

- Amending, by unanimous consent, 107
- Relating to suspension of certain Standing Orders
 - Not acceptable form, 65-74, taking under advisement, 74; changes to Standing Orders not permanent, in effect for duration of First Session and there are provisions for an earlier expiry on a motion of a Minister of the Crown; study of legislation by Committee of the Whole is not foreign to House practice; both minority and majority have rights but both cannot be given primacy, motion in order, 76-8

- Second reading stage of public bill, allowing amendments to substance of bill, entire motion out of order, Chair previously found motion in order, ruling stands, 193-5

- Relating to Throne Speech debate, departure from usual practice, 9-10

- Reverting to, 103

House business

- All-party agreement, 106-7
- Debating on floor, 104-5
- Proposals, 21-2

Language, inappropriate/improper

- "Ignorant", 563
- Referring to Members as "honourable or otherwise", not in order, 202

Member be now heard

- M. (Copps), not in order, 847
- M. (L. Axworthy), 848

Members

- Recognition by Chair, 576, 846-8

Members' remarks

- Addressing through Chair, 189, 317, 568
- Attacking person not in Chamber to defend self, not in order, 606
- Imputing motives, not in order, 154, 569

Misleading/false statements

- Correcting, 79-80, 234, 416-7, 484-7, 561-3, 574
- Withdrawal requested, 331, 603

Procedure—Cont.*Moments of silence*

House observing, 1, 12

Oral questions

Phrasing questionable, close to being out of order, 54
 Preamble, length, 47, 52-3, 96, 101, 136, 143, 145, 148, 531
 Questions and answers, excessive length, 48, 51
 Relating to departmental responsibilities only, Minister not obliged to answer, 528
 Replies, relevancy, 148
 Supplementary, lengthy preamble, 102, 136, 143

Order Paper questions

Chair calling when nothing on *Order Paper*, 158

Orders of the Day

House proceeding to, M., (Lewis), agreed to, on recorded division, 23-4, 75-6, 407-8, 531-2

Political parties

Incorrectly identified, 604

Points of order/questions of privilege

Argument/debate, not point of order, 235, 289, 291, 331, 485, 487, 501, 562, 574, 606, 645, 675, 699
 Member must raise matter at first opportunity, 728
 Not including time used in Member's allotted time, 576
 Raising to waste time, abuse of rules, 485

Private Members' Public Bills

See Procedure—Bills—Private Members' Public Bills

Public Bills

See Procedure—Bills, Government—Bills, Private Members' Public Bills

Putting the Question

Proposal, 195, 402

Question and comment period

Member not answering questions, 704
 Questions, rephrasing, 671-2
 Second reading, not in order, 283
 Time allotted, expired, 705

Quorum

Speaker taking Chair when Black Rod announced, 851-2

Routine Proceedings

Reverting to, by unanimous consent, 625

Sittings of the House

Extended hours
 Facilities and services, availability during, 727
 Special House order, rescinding, 732
 Supper hour arrangements, 458, 727
 Suspending to call of Chair, 3, 7, 106

Speaker

Election, Members withdrawing names from eligibility list, 1-3

Speeches

Maiden speeches
 Civility requested, 398, 513, 545
 Extending time, 479
 Time limits, 727
 Leader of NDP, sufficient to complete remarks, 107-8, 127

Statements by Ministers

Adding time taken to Government Business, S.O. 57
 superceding, 733

Statements under S.O. 31

Personal remarks about other Members, not in order, 614

Procedure—Cont.*Unparliamentary language*

"Bullshit", 563
 "Lie", withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 119
 "Lying", withdrawn, 666
 Withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 638

Ways and Means motions

Notice, tabled, 11

See also Speaker, rulings and statements

Processing industry see Food processing industry

Profits

Socialist position, New Democratic Party view, 442-3

Progressive Conservative Party

Election victory see Elections—General, Nov. 21/88
 See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government mandate

Pronovost, Denis (PC—Saint-Maurice)

Economic conditions, S.O. 31, 141

Property rights see Constitution

Prostitution

Control, legislation, reviewing, petition, 732-3
 Criminal Code provisions, Justice and Solicitor General Standing Committee referral, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 731

Protectionism see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Proud, George (L—Hillsborough)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 383-4
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 383-5
 Fraser, references, 383
 Hillsborough constituency, P.E.I., 383
 Prince Edward Island, S.O. 31, 291-2

Provinces see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Energy policy—Provincial premiers

Provincial Parks

British Columbia, Vancouver, University Endowment Lands, S.O. 31 (J. Turner), 30
 Ontario, Rouge River Valley, Scarborough, designating, petitions, 157-8, 591-2

Provincial rights see Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Energy policy

Proxy voting see Elections

Prud'homme, Marcel (L—Saint-Denis)

Benjamin, references, 219
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 233-7
 Disasters, emergencies, etc., 1
 Fraser, references, 3
 Government, 236
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 219, 232-7
 McDermid, references, 234-5
 Political parties, 219
 Procedure
 Moment of silence, 1
 Quorum, 851-2
 Sittings of the House, 3, 727
 Speaker, election, 1-3

- Prud'homme, Marcel—Cont.**
References, 219
Presiding officer during election of Speaker, 1
Speaker. election, 1-3
- Psychopathic killers** *see* Parole
- Public sector** *see* Economic policy
- Public Service**
Collective bargaining, negotiations, S.O. 31 (Butland), 614
Employment equity, equal pay for work of equal value
o.q., 721-2
S.O. 31 (Hunter), 421-2
Political rights, freedom of expression, Nov. 21/88 general
election participation, S.O. 31 (Gauthier), 139
- Public Service Staff Relations Board**
Report, tabled, 591
- Publishing industry**
Books, distribution, production levels, etc., 15, 665
- Pulp and paper industry**
Matane, Que. mill project, S.O. 31 (Joncas), 89
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Quaker Oats Company of Canada, Limited** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Food
- Quality of life** *see* New Brunswick
- Quebec**
Bourassa, Hon. Robert *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Quebec
History, national significance, 16-7
Landry, Hon. Bernard *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Quebec
Language policy, signs, Supreme Court of Canada ruling, Dec. 15/88, Bourassa formula, Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Constitution, Sec.33 (notwithstanding clause) invoking, Quebec Charter of Rights, notwithstanding clause invoking, government position, o.q., 295-7, 424-5, 522-7, 615-21, 716-8
Anglophone rights, o.q., 424-5
Bouchard, L., Secretary of State, position, o.q., 424-5, 524, 615-21, 717-8
Resignation requesting, o.q., 616-8, 621, 717
Constitution, Meech Lake Agreement, linkage, o.q., 526, 620-1
Mulroney position, o.q., 424-5, 524-5, 615-9
Parizeau, Jacques, Opposition Leader *see* Canada—United States Free Trade Agreement—Farmers
See also Bécancour, Que.; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Constitution—Meech Lake Agreement; Economic conditions
- Quebec Charter of Rights** *see* Quebec—Language policy
- Quebec Federated Co-operative** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Farmers
- Quorum** *see* Procedure
- Quotas** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Race Relations Commissioner** *see* Discrimination and racism
- Racism** *see* Discrimination and racism
- Railways**
Commuter networks *see* Municipalities
See also Canadian National Railways; CN Rail; Noise pollution; VIA Rail Canada Inc.
- Rain forests** *see* Brazil
- Reaganomics** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Recording industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Red Deer constituency, Alta.**
References, 474
- Redway, Hon. Alan** (PC—Don Valley East; Minister of State (Housing))
Discrimination and racism, S.O. 31, 612
Housing, o.q., 97
Municipalities
o.q., 623
S.O. 31, 423-4, 519-20
Public Service, o.q., 722
- Referenda** *see* Canada Referendum and Plebiscite Act (Bill C-201); Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Government mandate
- Refineries** *see* Natural gas
- Refugee status**
Administrative review process, establishing, o.q., 53, 100-1
General amnesty, o.q., 53
Mass deportations, o.q., 53
Applications, backlog, reducing, o.q., 52-3
See also Immigrants—Mohammad
- Regan, Hon. Gerald** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Regina, Sask.** *see* Canadian Space Agency—Establishing
- Regional development**
Programs, strategies, 321
Restigouche, N.B., S.O. 31 (Arsenault), 422
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Northwest Territories
- Regional disparity** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Regional Industrial Expansion Department** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Regional development, Saskatchewan
- Regulations** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Regulatory Plan**
1989 report, tabled, 407
- Reid, Ross** (PC—St. John's East)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 338-40
St. John's East constituency, Nfld., 338-9
- Reisman, Simon** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Remission orders**
Six-monthly report, tabled, 22-3
- Repatriation** *see* Constitution

Research and development

- Expenditures, GNP percentage, 787
- Government commitment, cutbacks, 422, 460-1
- See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Drugs and pharmaceuticals—Generic drug policy; Northern Telecom Limited

Residence permits *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Immigration

Restigouche, N.B. *see* Regional development

Retraining programs *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Plant closures, Labour adjustment

Ricard, Guy (PC—Laval)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 198-9
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 576-9
- Canadian Space Agency, 578-9
- House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 198-9

Richardson, Lee (PC—Calgary Southeast)

- Calgary Southeast constituency, 737
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 737-40

Richelieu constituency, Que.

- References, 548-9

Richler, Mordecai *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Wine industry

Richmond—Wolfe constituency, Que.

- References, 555

Rideout, George S. (L—Moncton)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 801-3
- Moncton constituency, N.B., 801
- Route Canada Inc., S.O. 31, 715

Riis, Nelson A. (NDP—Kamloops)

- Broadcasting, 87
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 9-10, 69, 86-7, 501
- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 404, 490-2, 500-1, 534-5
- Child care, 87
- Closure, 534-5
- Dahmer, references, 12
- Food and Drugs Act (amdt.—cautionary labels on alcoholic beverage containers)(Bill C-205), 277
- Government, 69, 85, 88
- House of Commons, 68-9, 86-8, 136-7
 - M. (Lewis), 85-8, 136-7, 193-5, 275
- Legislation, 85-7
- Members of Parliament, 86, 136
- National Sport Act (Bill C-207), 591
- Parliament, 87-8
- Procedure
 - Adjournments, 592
 - Bills, Government, 102-3
 - Clocks, 490
 - Closure, 73, 500-1, 534-5
 - Divisions, recorded, 275, 404
 - Government motions, 9-10, 68-9, 73, 193-5

Riis, Nelson A.—*Cont.*

- Procedure—*Cont.*
 - House business, 21, 105
 - Orders of the Day, M. (Lewis), 23
 - Putting the question, 195
 - Sittings of the House, 727
 - Speeches, 108, 727
 - Standing Orders, 69, 86-7
 - Throne Speech, consideration later this day, M. (Mulroney), 9-10

Robichaud, Fernand (L—Beauséjour)

- Indians, o.q., 530

Robinson, Svend J. (NDP—Burnaby—Kingsway)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 640
- Procedure
 - Debate, 640
 - Speaker, election, 2

Robitaille, Jean-Marc (PC—Terrebonne)

- Terrebonne constituency, Que., S.O. 31, 519

Rocheleau, Gilles (L—Hull—Aylmer)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 47
- Northern Telecom Limited, o.q., 47-8
- References *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Rodriguez, John R. (NDP—Nickel Belt)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 585, 840

Romain, Ken *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Roman Catholic Church *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Romanko, Daniel *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Rompkey, Hon. Bill (L—Labrador)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 451-3
- Fisheries, Atlantic
 - o.q., 145-6
 - S.O. 31, 519
- Labrador constituency, 451
- References *see* Fisheries, Atlantic—Newfoundland, Fishermen

Roseworks Limited (Kingston, Ont.) *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Investment

Rouge River Valley, Ont. *see* Provincial Parks—Ontario

Route Canada Inc.

- Bankruptcy, workers, compensation, need, S.O. 31 (Rideout), 715

Routine Proceedings *see* Procedure

Rowan Gorilla *see* Oil drilling rigs; Search and rescue

Roy-Arcelin, Nicole (PC—Ahuntsic)

- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 522
- Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 44

Royal Canadian Mounted Police *see* Marcos

- Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects** *see* Macdonald Commission
- Royal commissions** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs
- Rules of origin** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs
- Rural Dignity** *see* Post offices—Rural
- Ruygrok, Celia** *see* Parole—Psychopathic killers
- Saanich—Gulf Islands constituency, B.C.**
References, 356-7
- Safety** *see* Air transport; Airports—Lester B. Pearson International, Traffic
- SAGIT** *see* Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade
- Saint-Hubert constituency, Que.**
References, 829
- Saint-Laurent constituency, Que.** *see* Canadian Space Agency—Establishing
- Sales taxes, federal**
Base, broadening, 491
- Salmon** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries, Pacific
- Salt cod** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Fisheries
- Samson, Cid** (NDP—Timmins—Chapleau)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 340-2
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, o.q., 149
Timmins—Chapleau constituency, Ont., 341
- Sarnia, Ont.** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Manufacturing industry
- Saskatchewan**
By-election, provincial, Assiniboia—Gravelbourg constituency, Progressive Conservative victory, S.O. 31 (G. Wilson), 140
Taylor, Graham, Privatization Minister *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Water
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Forest industry—Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Saskatoon—Dundurn constituency, Que.**
References, 453
- Scarborough, Ont.** *see* Provincial Parks—Ontario, Rouge River Valley
- Scarborough—Rouge River constituency, Ont.**
References, 811
- Scarborough West constituency, Ont.**
References, 796
- Schneider, Larry** (PC—Regina—Wascana)
Abortion, 667
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 666-72
Canadian Space Agency, S.O. 31, 420
Procedure, unparliamentary language, 666
- Schools** *see* Water—Drinking water
- Scientific Research Tax Credit Program**
Taxation impact, 97
- Scott, Geoff** (PC—Hamilton—Wentworth)
Airports, S.O. 31, 45
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 818-21
Disasters, emergencies, etc., S.O. 31, 713-4
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 189
Procedure, decorum, 189
References, 690
- Search and rescue** *see* Oil drilling rigs
- Searchmont, Ont.** *see* Forest industry—Softwood lumber, Layoffs
- Season's Greetings**
S.O. 31 (J.-G. Guilbault), 714
- Sectoral Advisory Groups on International Trade** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Selkirk constituency, Man.**
References, 254
- Senate**
Foreign Affairs Standing Committee *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Legislation, Bill C-130
Vacancies, Alberta, filling by election, S.O. 31 (Thorkleson), 291
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Senators**
Neiman, Hon. Joan *see* Inter-Parliamentary Union—Human Rights Committee
Van Roggen, Hon. George *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Senior citizens**
Busing program, Winnipeg, Man., cancellation, S.O. 31 (Duhamel), 139
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Service industries** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Sewage systems** *see* Dartmouth, N.S.—Portland Estates; Municipalities—Infrastructures
- Shakes and shingles** *see* Forest industry—Cedar products
- Shamrock Summit** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Shelburne, N.S.** *see* Defence equipment—Ships
- Shields, Jack** (PC—Athabasca)
Banks and banking, 231
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 230-3
Constitution, 232
House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 230-3
- Shipbuilding industry**
Wages, Halifax-Dartmouth, N.S., dockyard workers, S.O. 31 (R. MacDonald), 294
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Ships** *see* Defence equipment

- Siddon, Hon. Thomas Edward** (PC—Richmond; Minister of Fisheries and Oceans)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 574, 702-3
 Fisheries, Atlantic
 Cod, o.q., 146
 Newfoundland, o.q., 38-9
 North Atlantic Fisheries Organization, o.q., 38-41
 Fisheries, Pacific
 Herring, o.q., 54
 Salmon, o.q., 54
 Procedure, questions and comment period, 704
 References, 720-1, 726
See also Fisheries, Atlantic—North Atlantic Fisheries Organization
- Signs** *see* Quebec—Language policy
- Simcoe Centre constituency, Ont.**
 References, S.O. 31 (Anderson), 421
- Simmons, Roger** (L—Burin—St. George's)
 Axworthy, L., references, 653-5
 Burin—St. George's constituency, Nfld., 654
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 652-7
 Crosbie, references, 652
 Forest industry, 654
 Simmons, references, 656
- Sitka spruce trees** *see* National Parks—British Columbia
- Sittings of the House** *see* House of Commons; Procedure
- Skates** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs, Skis
- Skelly, Robert E.** (NDP—Comox—Alberni)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 246-9
 Child care, 248
 Environment, 248
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 246-50
 Taxation, 247-8
- Skiing** *see* Sports
- Skill Investment Program** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment
- Skis** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs
- Slavey language** *see* Northwest Territories—Description
- Small business**
 Importance, 497
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Smoking** *see* Cigarettes
- Sobeski, Pat** (PC—Cambridge)
 Cambridge constituency, Ont., 825
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 824-7
- Social policy**
 New Democratic Party position, 776-7
- Social programs**
 Committee studying, 675
- Social programs—Cont.**
 Expenditures, percentage GNP, 463
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Social security programs** *see* Income Tax Act
- Socialism**
 References, 213
See also British Columbia—Government
- Société Espalau** *see* Mining industry
- Soetens, René** (PC—Ontario)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 480-3
 Housing, 481
 Ontario constituency, Ont., 480-1
- Softwood lumber** *see* Forest industry
- Softwood Lumber Products Export Charge Act**
 Annual report, tabled, 531
- South Korea** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—International reaction
- South Shore constituency, N.S.**
 References, 263
- Southwestern Ontario** *see* Airports
- Sovereignty** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Space**
 Hermes program, Canadian participation with European Space Agency, o.q., 428
See also Canadian Space Agency
- Sparrow, Bobbie** (PC—Calgary Southwest)
 Calgary Southwest constituency, Alta., 567
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 567-71
 Economic conditions, S.O. 31, 614-5
 Natural gas, S.O. 31, 423
- Speaker**
 Election, 1-7
 Voting procedures, Members withdrawing, 1-3
See also Fraser
- Speaker, rulings and statements**
Adjournment motions under S.O. 52
 Member moving motion only speaker, 64
 Not accepted, 64-5, 159
Adjournments
 Christmas recess (1988), 592
 M. (Lewis), agreed to, 732
Bills, Government; Committee of the Whole
 Referral to, instead of a legislative committee, motion not in order, second reading debate not commenced, 103
Bills, Government; Second Reading
 Subamendment, taking under advisement, 325
 In order, 329
 Order called but not completely read, Minister to decide if debate to proceed, 105-6
Bills, Private Members' Public Bills; Introduction
 Delayed, 731

Speaker, rulings and statements—Cont.*Chair*

Not putting proposal for unanimous consent to House, 643

Chairman and Deputy Chairman, ruling and statements

Appeal of decision to Speaker, confirmed, 541

Closure

Notice, improperly given, taking under advisement, 74;
Standing Orders are silent on when notice may be given: Chair feels intention of Standing Order is that notice be given after debate to be closed has commenced, therefore Chair cannot accept notice of closure at this time, 78

Debate

Member's allotted time

Equal time to New Democratic Party critic, unanimous consent denied, 640

Expired, continuing, by unanimous consent, 237, 693

Denied, 218-9, 643

Relevancy rule, 9-10, 765

Decorum

Interruptions, inappropriate when Member speaking, 34, 37, 136, 428, 523, 617-8

Noise/heckling in Chamber, Chair/Members cannot hear, 98, 362-3, 400, 527

Presence/absence of Members/Ministers, reflection not permitted, 196, 702

Referring to Members/Ministers by constituency or title only, 111, 183, 189, 272, 346-7, 385, 735

Divisions

Bells, ringing 5 minutes, by unanimous consent, 588

Divisions, recorded

Divisions previously taken, applying to subsequent motions, by unanimous consent, 275, 404

In reverse, by unanimous consent, 404

Government motions (substantive)

Relating to suspension of certain Standing Orders

Not acceptable form, taking under advisement, 74; changes to Standing Orders not permanent, in effect for duration of First Session and there are provisions for an earlier expiry on a motion of a Minister of the Crown; study of legislation by Committee of the Whole is not foreign to House practice; both minority and majority have rights but both cannot be given primacy, motion in order, 76-8

Second reading stage of public bills, allowing amendments to substance of bill, entire motion not acceptable, Chair previously found motion in order, same applies at this point, 193-5

House business

Proposals, 22

Language

Reference to Members as "honourable or otherwise", not in order, 202

Member be now heard

M. (Copp), not in order, 847

Members' remarks

Addressing remarks through Chair, 317

Imputing motives, not in order, 154

Oral questions

Phrasing questionable, close to being out of order, 54

Preamble, length, 47, 52-3, 96, 101, 136, 143, 145, 148, 531

Speaker, rulings and statements—Cont.*Oral questions—Cont.*

Questions and answers, excessive length, 48, 51

Relating to departmental responsibilities only, Minister not obliged to answer, 528

Replies, relevancy, 148

Supplementary, lengthy preamble, 102, 136, 143

Order Paper questions

Chair calling when nothing on *Order Paper*, 158

Orders of the Day

House proceeding to, M. (Lewis), agreed to, 23-4, 75-6

Points of order/questions of privilege

Argument/debate, not point of order, 235, 289, 291, 331, 606, 645, 675, 699

Member must raise matter at first possible opportunity, 728

Privilege

Members' remarks

Crosbie, International Trade Minister, references to "rose crucifixion", offensive, withdrawal requested (Copp), difference of interpretation of phrase, not question of, 306

James, remarks relating to farm women in kitchen, insult (Catterall), not question of privilege, 750, 752

Mazankowski, Deputy Prime Minister, allegations of bias against West Coast, correcting (C. Campbell), not question of privilege, 726-7

Misleading/false statements

Beatty, National Defence Minister and National Defence Department officials making false and misleading statements *re* Canadian Armed Forces involvement in 1947 dumping of surplus WWII nerve gas and mustard gas canisters in Pacific Ocean (Fulton), taking under advisement, 56-60

Mulroney, misleading House *re* release of interim report of de Grandpré Commission (Broadbent), dispute as to interpretation of fact, Members not prevented from fulfilling duties, not question of, 154-5

Press reports relating to Government punishing Ottawa area for not electing more Progressive Conservative Members, clarification (Blenkarn), 305

Rights of Members breached

Division bells not audible in Wellington Building (Dionne), taking under advisement, 63

Parliament Hill traffic jam preventing Members from reaching Chamber to vote (Thacker), 18, 26

Unparliamentary language

Broadbent, use of words "deliberately misleading" (Lewis), 152

Copp, reference to Mulroney as a "slime-bag" for speaking in French, withdrawal requested (Plamondon), taking under advisement, 728

Putting the question

Proposal, 195

Question and comment period

Question, rephrasing, 671-2

Second reading, not in order, 283

Time allotted, expired, 705

Quorum

Speaker taking Chair when Black Rod announced, 852

Speaker, rulings and statements—Cont.*Sittings of the House*

Extended hours, facilities and services, availability during, 727

Suspending to call of the Chair, 7, 106

Speeches

Maiden speech, civility requested, 398

Time limits, New Democratic Party Leader, sufficient time to complete remarks, by unanimous consent, 127

Statements by Ministers

Adding time taken to Government Business, Standing Order 57 superseding, 733

Statements under S.O. 31

Personal remarks about other Members, not in order, 614

Unparliamentary language

"Lie", withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 119

"Lying", withdrawal requested, withdrawn, 666

Withdrawal requested, 638

Speech from the Throne *see* Throne Speech**Speeches** *see* Procedure**Speller, Bob** (L—Haldimand—Norfolk)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 766-9

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 29

Customs tariff, 767

Haldimand—Norfolk constituency, Ont., 766

Tobacco, S.O. 31, 714

Sports

Hockey *see* National Sport Act (Bill C-207)

Skiing, Master's World Cup Cross-Country, S.O. 31 (DeBlois), 138

Sports equipment

Skis, skates *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Tariffs

Spouses allowance *see* Old age pensions**Spruce trees** *see* Sitka spruce trees**Squibb Canada Inc.** *see* Drugs and pharmaceuticals**St. John's East constituency**

References, 338-9

St-Julien, Guy (PC—Abitibi)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 374-7

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 91-2

Canadian Jobs Strategy, 376

CN Rail, S.O. 31, 420

House of Commons, S.O. 31, 293

Mining industry, S.O. 31, 521, 713

Native people, o.q., 40

St. Laurent, Que. *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures**St. Lawrence River** *see* Water pollution**Standard of living** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Standing Orders**

Re-ordered and re-numbered version, tabled, 22

Standing Orders—Cont.

Suspension, 86-7

Abuse, 69

Committee study of Public Bills, 65-6, 70

Rescinding, 70, 72, 84, 107-8

Unanimous consent, 69

Unlimited time, 66-7

See also House of Commons—Sittings

See also Procedure—Government motions

Statements by Ministers

Income Tax Act (Epp), 729-30

See also Procedure

Steel industry *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Stevens, Hon. Sinclair**

Conflict of interest, Parker Commission of Inquiry, legal expenses, government paying, 473

Stevenson, Ross (PC—Durham)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 808-11

Durham constituency, Ont., 808

Stewart, Christine (L—Northumberland)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 345-8

Hunger, S.O. 31, 295

Sugar, 348

United States, 346

Stormont—Dundas constituency, Ont.

References, 265

Striking Committee

Establishing, 82

See also Procedure—Committees

Stumpage fees *see* Forest industry—Cedar products**Stupich, David D.** (NDP—Nanaïmo—Cowichan)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 243

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 387-90

Forest industry, 389

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 243-4

Mulroney, references, 243

Nanaïmo—Cowichan constituency, B.C., 243

Vander Zalm, references, 243

Submarines *see* Defence equipment**Subsidies** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Agriculture**Sudbury constituency, Ont.**

References, 772-3

Sugar

Exports, United States, restrictions, 348

Summerside, P.E.I. *see* Harbours, wharves and breakwaters**Superintendent of Financial Institutions Office**

Annual report (1988), tabled, 22

Supply

M. for consideration (Lewis), agreed to, 13
See also Estimates

Supply management system *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Marketing boards; Farm products—Marketing boards

Supreme Court of Canada *see* Quebec—Language policy

Surface lease agreements *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Surrey North constituency, B.C.
 References, 199-200, 837

Sustainable development *see* Environment

Sweden *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs

Taiwan *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—International reaction

Tariffs *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Fisheries, Atlantic—North Atlantic Fisheries Organization, Retaliatory measures; Forest industry—Cedar products; Trade

Tax reform

Personal vs corporate increases, S.O. 31 (de Jong), 46

Taxable benefits *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Subsidies, Northern taxation benefits

Taxation

Equity/fairness, 247-8

See also Scientific Research Tax Credit Program

Taxpayer *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Research and development budget

Taylor, Hon. Graham *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Water, Saskatchewan

Taylor, Len (NDP—The Battlefords—Meadow Lake)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 478-80
 Farms, 479-80
 Post offices, S.O. 31, 44
 The Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency, Sask., 478

Telephone subscribers *see* Northern Telecom Limited—Research and development budget

Termination clauses *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Terrebonne constituency, Que.

Election results, Nov. 21/88, S.O. 31 (Robitaille), 519

Textile and clothing industry

Policy, 483-4

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Thacker, Blaine (PC—Lethbridge)

Parliament Hill, 18

Elections, Privileges and Procedure Standing Committee referral, M., 41

Privilege, rights of Members breached, 18

Thatcher, Right Hon. Margaret *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

The Battlefords—Meadow Lake constituency, Sask.
 References, 478

Thompson, Greg (PC—Carleton—Charlotte)
 Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 216-7
 Carleton—Charlotte constituency, N.B., 216
 House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 216-7
 McCain, Fred, 216

Thorkelson, Scott (PC—Edmonton—Strathcona)
 Senate, S.O. 31, 291

Throne Speech

Address in Reply

Debate adjourned, M. (J. Turner), agreed to, 18
 M. (K. Campbell), 13-8

Speakers:

Campbell, K., 13-6

Loiselle, 16-8

Turner, J., 18

Consideration later this day, M. (Mulroney), agreed to, on recorded division, 10-1

References *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Speaker tabling copies, 8

Thunder Bay, Ont.

Lay-offs *see* Forest industry—Softwood lumber; Grain transportation

Tiger Brand Knitting Co. Ltd. *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Textile and clothing industry

Timmins—Chapleau constituency, Ont.

References, 341

Tobacco

Farmers, assistance, S.O. 31 (Speller), 714

Tobin, Brian (L—Humber—St. Barbe—Baie Verte)

Airports, o.q., 37-8

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
 Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 291, 329-33, 574, 576, 599,
 602-3, 606, 847

Oil drilling rigs, o.q., 299

Procedure

Misleading/false statements, 603

Points of order/questions of privilege, 576

Toronto, Ont. *see* Airports—Lester B. Pearson International; Housing—Affordable; Pollution—Water, Don River

Toronto Star *see* Karygiannis—References

Tourist industry

Advertising campaign, effectiveness

o.q., 301

S.O. 31 (James), 139

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Towers, Gordon

Tribute, 474

Trade

Europe, increasing, 584

Markets, 320

Pacific Rim countries, Japan, etc., 449

Tariff-free, Atlantic provinces-United States, proportion, 350

Trade—Cont.

United States

Canadian surplus, 449, 454

Increased levels, percentages, 15, 183-4

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Trade laws** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—United States**Training programs**

Need for, 786

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Employment**Transport Standing Committee (1st Sess., 33rd Parl.)** *see* Airports—Air traffic controllers**Transport 2000** *see* VIA Rail Canada Inc.—Eastern Ontario**Transportation** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**Tremblay, Benoît** (PC—Rosemont)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 455-8

Economic conditions, 456-8

Government, 456

Tremblay, Marcel R. (PC—Québec-Est)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 611, 716

Multitel Data Management Systems, S.O. 31, 31

Peace, S.O. 31, 92

Tremblay, Maurice (PC—Lotbinière)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 763-6

Deficit, 763

Lotbinière constituency, Que., 763-4

Trinity—Spadina constituency, Ont. *see* Housing—Co-operative and non-profit**Trudeau, Right Hon. Pierre E.** *see* Constitution—Repatriation**Turner, Garth** (PC—Halton—Peel)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 191-3

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 385-7, 494

Halton—Peel constituency, Ont., 191

House of Commons, M. (Lewis), 191-3

Job creation rate, 192

Procedure, decorum, 494

Turner, Right Hon. John N. (L—Vancouver Quadra; Leader of the Opposition)

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Agriculture, 120-1

Banks and banking, 122

Characterization, 117

Dispute settlement mechanism, 119

Economic union, 120

Election, Nov. 21/88, 124-5

Fisheries, 121

Foreign investment/ownership, 122

Forest industry, o.q., 46-7, 93-4

Government mandate, 117, 123

Implementation, 125

Turner, Right Hon. John N.—Cont.

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Cont.

Marketing boards, 120

Mulroney, previous position, 118

Multilateral vs bilateral approach, 118, 126

Plant closures, 125

o.q., 32

Protectionism, 119

Service industries, 122

Social programs, 123

o.q., 31-2

Sovereignty, 118, 120, 127

Subsidies, 122-3

United States trade laws, application, 119

Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 117-27

Constitution, o.q., 522-3, 616-8, 717

Energy resources, 120

Forest industry, dollar, exchange rate, impact, o.q., 93

Fraser, references, 5-6

McDermid, references, 119

Procedure

Bills, Government, 103

Debate, M., 18

Provincial Parks, British Columbia, S.O. 31, 30

Quebec, language policy, o.q., 522-3, 616-8, 716-7

References

Liberal Party treatment, 288

S.O. 31 (Reid), 614

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Liberal Party

Throne Speech, Address in Reply, M. (K. Campbell), debate adjourned, M., 18

Two-party system *see* Government**Unemployment**

British Columbia, 472-3

Levels, 648

See also Forest industry—Cedar products—Softwood lumber; Northern Telecom Limited—Plant closures; Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt constituency**Unemployment insurance**

Parental leave, 15 weeks, requesting, o.q., 298

See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Fisheries, Atlantic—Newfoundland, Fishermen**United Church of Canada** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**United Kingdom**Thatcher, Prime Minister Margaret *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement**United Nations Human Rights Prize** *see* Human rights—Cassin**United States**Countervailing duty *see* Forest industry—Cedar products

Exports, agricultural sector, 1980-1985, decline, 346

Glass-Steagall Act *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Banks and bankingJones Act *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Shipbuilding industry

United States—Cont.

- Paley Commission report, 1952 *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Economic union
- Yeutter, Clayton, Trade Commissioner *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Marketing boards, Canadian Wheat Board—Regulations—Social programs; Forest industry—Cedar products, Mulroney reaction
- See also* Agriculture; Airports—Air traffic controllers; Beef; Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Farm products—Exports; Forest industry—Softwood lumber; Imports; Sugar; Trade—Tariff-free; Waste disposal—Eastern Townships, Que.
- United States Congress** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Social programs
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights** *see* Human rights
- University Endowment Lands** *see* Provincial Parks—British Columbia
- University of Ottawa** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Research
- University of Victoria** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Computer industry
- Uranium industry** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Uruguay** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- Utilicorp United Inc.** *see* West Kootenay Power & Light Co.
- Utility companies** *see* Electrical utilities
- Valcourt, Hon. Bernard** (PC—Madawaska—Victoria; Minister of State (Small Businesses and Tourism) and Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development); Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 511-3
Indians, New Brunswick, o.q., 530
References, 513
Tourist industry, o.q., 301
- Valenti, Jack** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Film industry
- Valleyfield, Que.** *see* Noise pollution
- Van Roggen, Hon. Senator George** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Vanclief, Lyle** (L—Prince Edward—Hastings)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 843-6
Northern Telecom Limited, o.q., 96
Prince Edward—Hastings constituency, Ont., 843
- Vancouver, B.C.** *see* Provincial Parks—British Columbia
- Vancouver Centre constituency, B.C.**
References, 13-4
- Vancouver Securities Inc.** *see* Marcos
- Vander Zalm, Hon. William**
References, 243
- Varah, Robert** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Veal** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Beef
- Veneer panel** *see* Forest industry—Wood products
- Venne, Pierrette** (PC—Saint-Hubert)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 829-31
Saint-Hubert constituency, Que., 829
- Veterans**
Allowance, 729
- VIA Rail Canada Inc.**
Eastern Ontario, maintaining service, Cornwall, Ont. proposed re-routing, Transport 2000 position, o.q., 723
- Volpe, Joseph** (L—Eglinton—Lawrence)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, 496-9
o.q., 143-4
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 496-9
Eglinton—Lawrence constituency, Ont., 497
Small business, 497
- Volunteers** *see* Disasters, emergencies, etc.
- Votes/voting** *see* Divisions, recorded; Elections—Proxy voting; House of Commons
- Waddell, Ian** (NDP—Port Moody—Coquitlam)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 479
Procedure, speeches, 479
- Waferboard** *see* Forest industry—Wood products
- Wages and salaries** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Shipbuilding industry
- Walker, David** (L—Winnipeg North Centre)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 396-7
Immigrants, o.q., 53
Women, o.q., 53
- Wall Street Journal** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Objectives, Mulroney
- Wallace, William** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Wappel, Tom** (L—Scarborough West)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 796-8
Scarborough West constituency, Ont., 796
- War criminals**
Kirshbaum, Joseph, *Kingston Whig Standard* allegation, o.q., 724
- Waste disposal**
Eastern Townships, Que., United States dumping ground, o.q., 50-1
Regulations, need, S.O. 31 (Côté), 292
- Water**
Drinking water, lead content
Government action, o.q., 100
Schools, o.q., 100
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

- Water pollution**
Don River, Toronto, Ont., clean-up, o.q., 146-7
St. Lawrence River, \$110 million clean-up commitment, o.q., 147
- Ways and Means motions** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2); Procedure
- Weiner, Hon. Gerry** (PC—Pierrefonds—Dollard; Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship); Secretary of State of Canada and Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship))
Immigration, Chinese Canadians, o.q., 724-5
- Welland Canal**
Development project, land sale, Welland Canal Parkway Commission report, S.O. 31 (Parent), 46
- Wellington Building** *see* Parliament Buildings
- Wenman, Robert L.** (PC—Fraser Valley West)
Canadian Wilderness Act, 294
National Parks, S.O. 31, 293-4
- West Kootenay Power & Light Co.**
Utilicorp United Inc. purchase, 506
- Western Arctic constituency, N.W.T.**
References, 366
- Western Grain Transportation Act**
References, 792
- Western provinces** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Footwear industry
- Wetaskiwin constituency, Alta.**
References, 782-3
- Whistler, B.C.**
Whistler Express gondola, competitive advantage, 364
- White, Bob** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—New Democratic Party
- White, Brian** (PC—Dauphin—Swan River)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 676
- Whittaker, Jack** (NDP—Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 505-8
Carlsson, Bernt, S.O. 31, 613
Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt constituency, B.C., 505
Senior citizens, 506
Unemployment, 505
West Kootenay Power & Light Co., 506
Wine industry, 507
- Wilbee, Stan** (PC—Delta)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 769-72
Delta constituency, B.C., 769-70
- Wild Rose constituency, Alta.**
References, 487
- Wilson, Geoff** (PC—Swift Current—Maple Creek—Assiniboia) Saskatchewan, S.O. 31, 140
- Wilson, Hon. Michael Holcombe** (PC—Etobicoke Centre; Minister of Finance)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 357-60
References, 213
- Wine industry**
Canadian wines, Parliamentary Restaurant serving, 507
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement
- Winegard, Hon. William Charles** (PC—Guelph—Wellington; Minister of State (Science and Technology))
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, S.O. 31, 716
Hilsinger, Karl, S.O. 31, 613
- Winnipeg, Man.** *see* Senior citizens—Busing
- Winnipeg—St. James constituency, Man.**
References, 335
- Winnipeg Transcona constituency, Man.**
References, 744
- Women**
Employment equity, single/married criteria, Manitoba Fashion Institute, o.q., 53
See also Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement; Banks and banking; Inter-Parliamentary Union—Executive
- Wood, Bob** (L—Nipissing)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 750-2
- Work permits** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Immigration
- World Bank** *see* Brazil—Rain forests; Environment—Sustainable development
- World Commission on Environment and Development**
Our Common Future (Brundtland Report) *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Environmental impact
- World War II** *see* Chemical weapons—Nerve gas
- Worthy, Dave** (PC—Cariboo—Chilcotin)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 752-4
Cariboo—Chilcotin constituency, B.C., 752
Forest industry, 752-3
- Years of Achievement** *see* Foreign investment/ownership—Diefenbaker
- Yeutter, Clayton** *see* Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement—Marketing boards, Canadian Wheat Board—Regulations—Social programs; Forest industry—Cedar products, Mulroney reaction
- Yong, Violog Juay** *see* Immigrants
- York—North constituency, Ont.**
References, 798-9
- York—Simcoe constituency, Ont.**
References, 237
- Young, Douglas** (L—Gloucester)
Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (Bill C-2), 705, 779-82

Young, Douglas—Cont.

Fisheries, Atlantic, o.q., 40-1

Procedure, question and comment period, 705

Young, Neil (NDP—Beaches—Woodbine)

Housing, S.O. 31, 293

