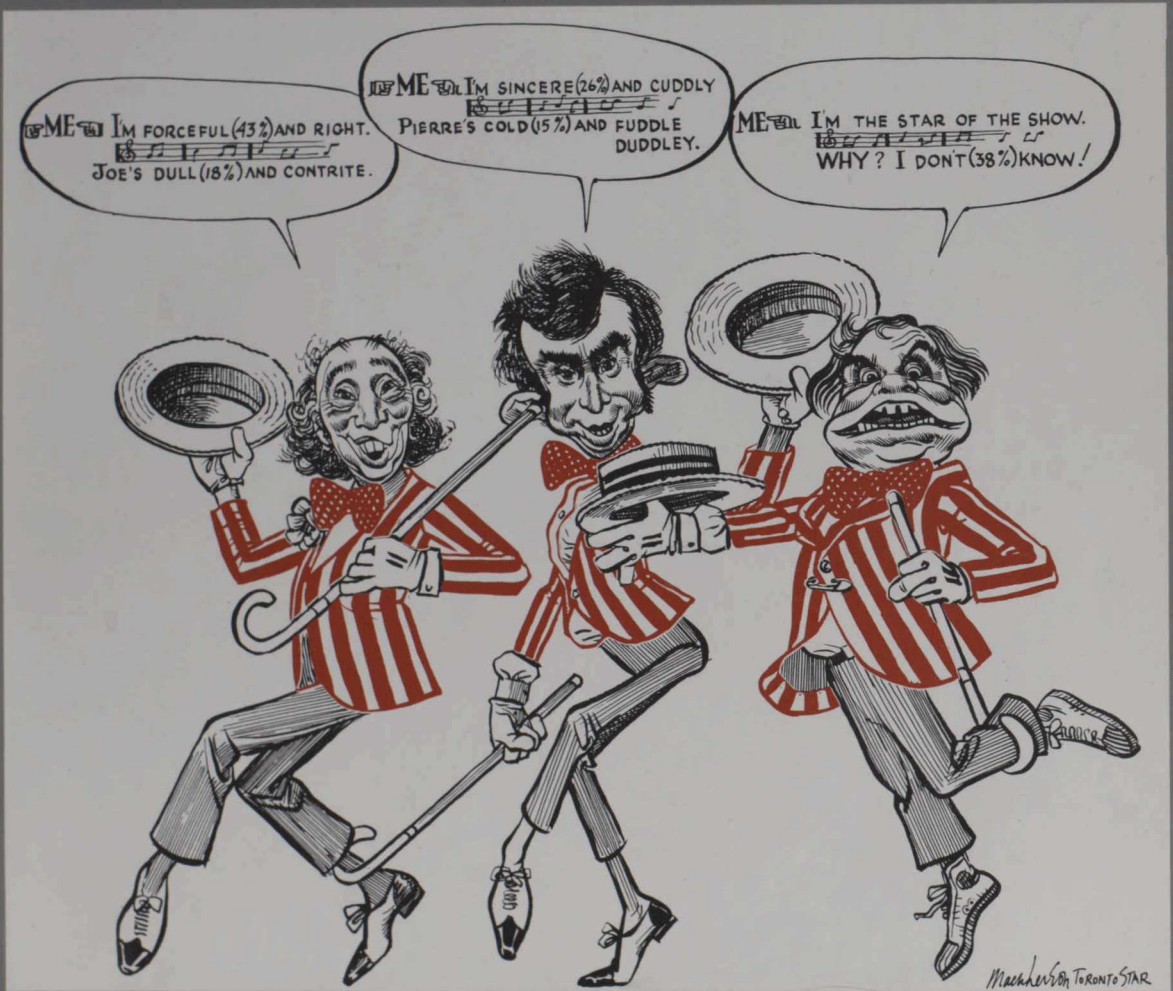


CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

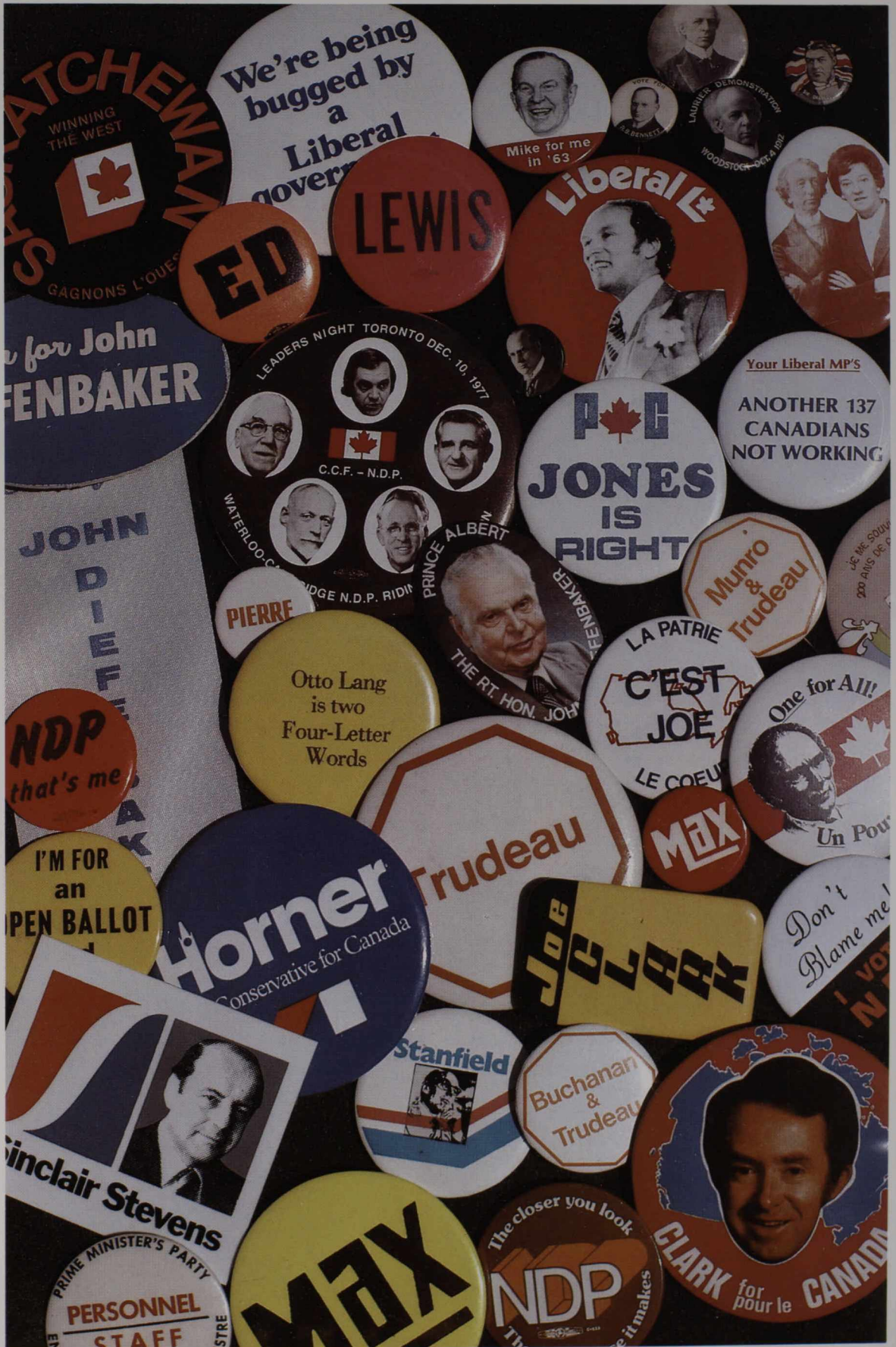


Election '79

Canada will hold a general election May 22. All 282 seats in the House of Commons will be contested. The next prime minister of Canada will probably be one of three party leaders—Pierre Trudeau, Joe Clark or Ed Broadbent. Each will run for the House of Commons seat in his riding. Only the voters who live in these ridings will have a chance to vote directly for one of the three.

The leader of the party that has effective control of the House of Commons will be the next prime minister. His party may simply have a majority of the Commons seats, or it may stay in power with the help of another party. (The latter is called a minority government.) If a party leader loses in his own riding, he can be given a chance to run again for someone else's seat.

In this issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI we examine the events that led to the coming election and record some political views. We make no predictions. In spite of polls and computers, the outcomes of elections are not yet as predictable as the spring tides.



Buttons and bumper stickers will blossom for Canada's most expensive election.

The Nature of Canada's Government

Canada, a federal union with a parliamentary system, has three government branches—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The first has a House of Commons and a Senate. The House controls the passage of laws. Its members are elected to terms that may not exceed five years, and it must be called into session at least once every year. The Senate has less real power than the House. Senators are appointed by the prime minister and may serve until age 75.

The cabinet, also called the government, is the centre of executive power. It formulates government policy, sees that it is passed into law by Parliament and administers the federal government. In theory, the prime minister is the first among equals in the cabinet, but he alone chooses and dismisses cabinet ministers. All cabinet members must have Commons or Senate seats. Most have portfolios; some do not. Those with portfolios administer departments, such as Defence, External Affairs and Finance. The cabinet is responsible to the House of Commons and must resign if defeated there on a vote of confidence.

Most members of Parliament (MPs) represent ridings of 60,000 to 90,000 people. The largest geographically, Nunatsiak in the Northwest Territories, which covers 862,559 square miles, has the fewest people, only 12,588. The smallest, Laurier in Montreal, covers two square miles. The most populated are Hamilton West with 96,476 people and Hamilton East with 96,473. Each MP is expected to vote with his party on all issues unless the leadership has announced a free vote—one on which the party has no position. (In 1976 Prime Minister Trudeau, Opposition Leader Joe Clark, NDP leader Ed Broadbent and a majority of the other members voted to abolish capital punishment on a free vote.)

This election, like all elections, was called by the Governor-General, the Queen's representative in Canada, on the advice of the prime minister. The life of a Parliament is five years. Elections are traditionally called every fourth year. Their timing is determined by the prime minister for tactical reasons unless the government is defeated in the House on a vote of confidence.

Background for the Election

Most Canadians are well off, but unemployment and inflation rates have been high. The Canadian dollar, more valuable than the US dollar in 1976, recently reached a forty-five year low before rising. The debate over Canada's future as a single political entity is also of basic importance.

The economy boomed between 1965 and 1975. Productivity increased. The value of the Canadian dollar was higher than that of the US dollar. Huge investments developed natural resources—potash, coal, timber and others—and electrical power. Canada and the United States signed the Auto Pact, and that industry prospered.

Between 1965 and 1975, the real gross national product grew at an average annual rate of 3.7 per cent, faster than in any other industrialized country. There were, however, underlying problems. Federal and provincial governments assumed new social responsibilities and expenditures grew. Exports and imports both grew, but imports grew more rapidly. Manufacturing and service industries employed more people; agriculture and the

resources industries, fewer. The rapid rise in the international price of oil and revised reserve estimates led Canada to raise the price of domestic oil and limit its crude oil exports.

Canada's inflation rate is now over 8 per cent. The Canadian dollar, which for some years was exchanged at a rate of \$1.03 or more for the US dollar, has recently been worth about US\$.86. This exchange has increased the costs of imports and made Canadian exports more competitive. Unemployment is over 8 per cent nationally.

Canadian economists have suggested many remedies for present problems, including cutting income and sales taxes, giving tax breaks to new businesses, cutting back civil service employment, financing job programs, increasing research and development, and raising the proportion of manufactured goods in Canadian exports.

The current federal government implemented wage and price controls in 1975 and began phasing them out on April 14, 1978. It is now committed to cutting current and planned ex-

penditures and to restructuring priorities. Some programs have been eliminated and others scaled down. The Bank of Canada has intervened now and then to smooth out fluctuations in the value of the dollar, and many experts now believe the Canadian dollar is under-valued and may rise over the next year.

The continuing debate over Canada's political future extends beyond the question of Quebec independence to the relationships of all provinces and regions of the country to the centre in Ottawa. Two years ago the government set up a Task Force on Canadian Unity. In January 1979 the task force released *A Future Together*, which

is one of several analyses of Canada's problems and their possible solutions. It said that "the first and foremost challenge facing the country is to create an environment in which duality might flourish; the second is to provide a fresher and fuller expression of the forces of regionalism in Canada's constitutional system."

Within the past year the Trudeau government introduced constitutional proposals that are intended to provide a new framework for Canada's future. (The task force report and the constitutional questions will be reported in detail in a future issue of CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI.)

The Parties

The Liberal Party: The Liberal party is now in power. Newspaper editor G. V. Ferguson once characterized both it and its historic rival, the Progressive-Conservative party, as "great nationwide, easy going omnibus vehicles whose occupants often have difficulty in recognizing their fellow passengers." Alexander Mackenzie became the first Liberal prime minister in 1873; William Lyon Mackenzie King, who held office for 22 years between 1921 and 1948, was the most persistent. The Liberals have held power with only one 6-year interruption for the last 44 years.

The Progressive-Conservatives: To Americans, for whom Henry Wallace was the essential Progressive and Herbert Hoover the basic conservative, the name of the Progressive-Conservative party seems a contradiction; but the words are less rigidly defined in Canada. In 1867 John A. Macdonald, a Conservative, became Canada's first prime minister; Georges Etienne Cartier was his Quebec lieutenant. The party did well in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it had the misfortune of being in office when the Great Depression descended on Canada in the 1930s. Progressive became part of the party name in 1942. The P-Cs last presided over Canada's destiny from 1957 to 1963, when John Diefenbaker, a western populist, won three elections.

The New Democratic Party (successor to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation): Some Americans are startled to find that Canada has a healthy social-democratic party. NDP members are more likely to favour government involvement in business enterprises than are their rivals, and they are generally more critical of foreign or multi-national ownership of Canadian resources. They have been strong in the western provinces and Ontario and are supported by organized labour. They have never won a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. They have, however, used their votes there to influence minority government policies, most recently during the Liberal minority government of 1972-74.

The Social Credit or Cr ditiste Party: The Social Credit party began in Alberta during the Depression and elected 17 MPs in 1935. Its name came from its Depression proposal to issue scrip to all citizens, who would have to spend it immediately. It now has nine federal seats, all from Quebec. Fabien Roy became interim party leader on March 30, 1979. Mr. Roy has been a member of Quebec's National Assembly since 1970, first as a Cr ditiste and in 1976 as the only successful candidate of the Parti National Populaire. He is a strong advocate of provincial rights.

The Costs and Logistics of an Election

The 1979 election will cost about \$55 million and create about 450,000 temporary jobs. The ballots for 14.5 million people will cost over \$7 million. Normally northern ridings receive their ballots

by planes with skis or pontoons. But since ice in May is dangerously thin, this year's ballots will arrive by parachute. There will also be, for the first time, special ballots for the blind.

Between April 2 and April 7, one hundred and ten thousand enumerators knocked on doors, registering voters. City dwellers who were missed by the enumerators may still vote if they are registered at least seventeen days before the election. Rural citizens who are missed may vote without being registered, as long as they are accompanied to the polls by someone who is.

Under a new law, any candidate who gets at least 15 per cent of his riding's votes will be reimbursed for some mailing expenses. Registered political parties will be reimbursed for half the cost of 6.5 hours of prime television and radio

time. To register, a party must have at least 50 candidates running. Eight had registered by April 2; four, including the Rhinoceros Party, had until thirty days before the election to do so. The law limits party spending to \$.30 per eligible voter, or about \$4.3 million. (In 1974, the Liberal party spent \$5.5 million; the Conservative, \$4.45 million; and the NDP, \$354,000.) Individual candidates can spend \$1 per voter on the first 15,000 electors in their riding, \$.50 per voter on the next 10,000 and \$.25 per voter on the remainder. Tax deductions are granted to people who contribute to registered parties.



"I don't have a public opinion!"

A Synopsis of the Last Three Elections

In 1968 Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson resigned his leadership of the Liberal party, and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, then age 49, was elected at the party's leadership convention. He automatically became prime minister of the minority Liberal government and almost immediately called an election. His style fixed him in many minds as a Canadian John Kennedy, and "Trudeaumania" was born. His major opponent, Robert Stanfield, the Conservative leader, had established a more traditional image. The Liberals won a majority, but remained weak in the prairie provinces.

Trudeau's style in office and his economic and

bilingualism policies met opposition, and many in the West accused the government of favouring Ontario and Quebec, the most populous provinces. In the 1972 election, Liberal support dropped in British Columbia and Ontario. The Liberals survived as a minority government with 109 seats to the Conservatives' 107. The New Democrats, with 31 members, used their balance of power to influence Liberal legislation.

In 1974 the NDP, which had been supporting the Liberal government's economic policies, refused to accept the budget. The Liberal government was defeated in the House of Commons,



Pierre Trudeau



Joe Clark



Ed Broadbent

and Prime Minister Trudeau called an election for July. The Liberals campaigned on their record. The Conservatives presented an economic program that called for strict wage and price controls to fight inflation. The Liberals, who opposed wage and price controls, won a comfortable majority, and the NDP lost its role in the balance of power. David Lewis lost his seat and later resigned as NDP leader, while Robert Stanfield resigned as Conservative leader in 1976. Their successors, Ed Broadbent and Joe Clark were elected at the next party leadership conventions.

By-elections are held whenever a parliamentary seat becomes vacant. Last year Prime Minister Trudeau called fifteen of them for October 16. The Conservatives won ten seats (a gain of four); the NDP, two (a gain of one); the Liberals, two (a loss of five); and the Social Credit party, one.

"There are those people who say that my quarrel with the premier of Quebec is too personalized. . . . Well, isn't this a personal issue for all of you over the unity of this country? Pourquoi? Is there anyone in this party, anyone in this country who isn't prepared to fight back when he sees somebody who sets out deliberately, overtly to destroy the country? Is there anything wrong with having a personal feeling about that?"

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1978

"As I look at the problems of national unity in more than the momentary context, I see them not so much now and in the decade ahead of us as a matter of language policy, as important as that is, but rather national unity in the next decade will depend on the capacity of all regions and all the people of this country to participate in the benefits of economic growth."

Joe Clark, Progressive-Conservative leader, 1976

"It is right in principle that French-speaking people and English-speaking Canadians ought to have basically, in terms of their linguistic right, equality, and I think any Canadian politician who realizes the history of our country and the rights of our two principal cultural groups has to support that, ought to support it, but it is not a source of union. It is a source of tension."

Ed Broadbent, New Democratic Party leader, 1977

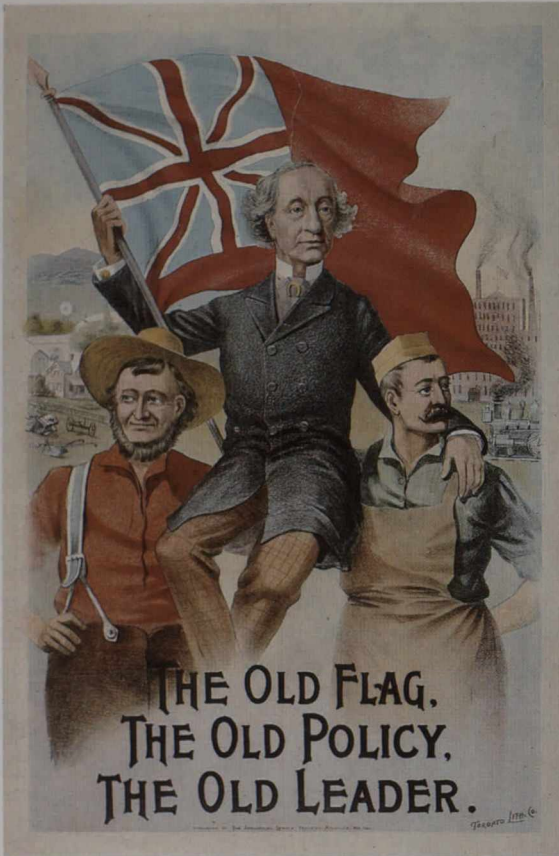
The New Ridings

The Liberal party has been Canada's dominant party since the end of World War I, partly because it could depend on great margins of victory in Quebec. With more than a quarter of the seats in the House of Commons, Quebec can take a party half way to a majority.

The Conservative party has had no comparable bloc. Alberta is Conservative consistently, but it has only 21 seats. Ontario has more seats than Quebec, and though no party ever carries it totally, it has been the foundation on which the Conservative party builds its hopes for victory.

The ridings, the home districts from which the members of Parliament come, are redrawn after each decennial census. In 1976 all but 16 were altered, and 18 new ones were created. Quebec gained 1 seat (it now has 75); Ontario gained 7 (for a new total of 95); British Columbia gained 5; and the Prairies increased their total by 4. The result is that the basic strength of the Quebec vote, and therefore the basic strength of the Liberal party, has been slightly lessened.

Since the areas of greatest future growth will probably continue to be outside Quebec, probably in the West, Quebec's relative political clout may diminish. What effect that will ultimately have on the strength of today's political parties, or on political parties yet unborn, no one knows.



John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, a Conservative, served for 19 years. The poster above is from his last campaign in 1891.

Three Partisan Views

In the interviews below, we offer the opinions of three prominent members of Canada's major political parties. None of them is the present leader; and each is an unofficial rather than an official spokesman. Though they are not candidates in the election, each plays a significant role in his party.

CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI interview with David Lewis, former New Democratic Party leader, 28 March 1979.

Q. What are the NDP's best issues?

A. Mr. Broadbent is proposing a Fair Prices Commission. He's going into the question of jobs with a detailed industrial strategy, and into the economic field with a strong pitch for Canadian ownership and control, as far as possible, of our own resources and a strong defence of Petro-Canada. There is also the issue of medicare. In some provinces, mainly Ontario and Manitoba, too many doctors are opting out. Mr. Broadbent will demand action by the federal government to prevent the erosion of universal medicare.

Q. What about national unity?

A. I really don't know. National unity is a very elusive concept. If you ask a person anywhere in Canada, "Are you concerned about the country being kept together?", his answer is, "Of course I am." But I don't think there are any votes in it. Everybody wants to keep Canada together, it just isn't an issue among the parties. They all voted for bilingualism. It's being reduced to whether Trudeau or Clark is better fitted to keep the country together. So it's not the issue of national unity but the issue of who can best do the job of keeping the country together. Mr. Broadbent's position is that even if one accepts that the prime minister is not responsible for the fragility of



Canada's unity, he certainly hasn't been able to do anything about it for 11 years. In English-

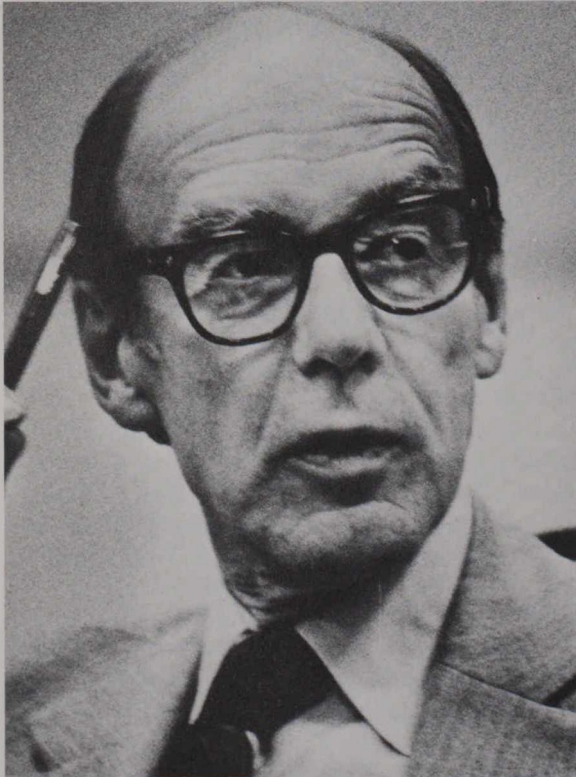
speaking Canada there is now a very widespread dislike of Trudeau. Whether he can overcome it during the campaign is something else again.

Q. If the campaign focuses on economic issues, will the NDP gain significantly?

A. As far as our constituency is concerned, I think Mr. Broadbent will be able to maintain those as the issues. The very strong, organized support that he and the party are now getting from the Canadian Labour Congress should produce important results in industrial areas.

When I was leader and the press would ask me about our chances on a broad scale, I always used to tell them that I am neither a prophet nor a descendant of a prophet. If I were a newsperson though, I would say that the NDP has a good chance of improving its position in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The Canadian Labour Congress is very, very active in Ontario, and their support may not only bring back the three seats we lost in 1974, but may open doors in industrial places like the Niagara Peninsula, Hamilton and so on. In British Columbia the NDP has a very good chance of winning quite a number more than the two they now hold. There is also, undoubtedly, a very good chance that the NDP will gain in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI *interview with Robert Stanfield, former Progressive-Conservative leader, 29 March 1979.*



Q. Where does the Conservative party have its greatest strength?

A. Our greatest strength is in western Canada, especially in the Prairies and in British Columbia. I don't think there will be very much change in the Maritime provinces. The conventional wisdom, and I think probably its right, is that the election will be determined in Ontario, particularly southern Ontario.

Q. What issues would help you?

A. From a Conservative point of view the issue is the record of the Trudeau government. I don't think there is any way Mr. Trudeau can avoid having his record as a principal issue, although of course he will, naturally, try to focus on the present and the future—and on the contrast between himself and Mr. Clark, on leadership capacities, perhaps using energy issues for this purpose. Even on the question of national unity, I don't see how Mr. Trudeau can avoid his record. The fact is that the country is less united than it was ten years ago, and the fact is that separatism has increased in strength during Trudeau's period as prime minister.

Q. You mentioned energy, do you think Petro-Canada is going to be an issue?

A. I don't think so. I think Mr. Trudeau would need the benefit of some severe difficulties gripping the minds of the Canadian people between now and election day.

Q. Looking down the road a little way, have you any kind of problem-solving scenario for Canada?

A. I would hesitate to predict that we will have solved our unity problems in five years. I'm not sure there is such a thing as a solution. I think there are important currents of opinion in French-

speaking Canada and in English-speaking Canada that are too far apart to have an easy solution. I think there is a good deal of discussion that will have to go on in Quebec, and considerable efforts have to be made in English-speaking Canada to bring more English-speaking Canadians to really accept the realities and the need for the new status of the languages and the need for accommodation. Too insistent efforts in the immediate future might lead to a lot of turbulent waters. I think it is something like our relation to the United States—there is no such thing as a final solution, there is continuing adjustment.

CANADA TODAY/D'AUJOURD'HUI *interview with Senator Al Graham, president of the Liberal party, 2 April 1979.*

Q. What are the Liberal's best issues?

A. The prime minister has been talking about Canadian unity, about the energy question and, obviously, he will be talking about the economy. We think there will be another key issue in the final days of the campaign, and that's leadership and who the people of Canada want to run the country for the next four or five years.

Q. Is energy a Liberal issue?

A. I think that one of the key issues is whether or not we should have a Petro-Can. Mr. Clark has said that he would do away with Petro-Can; but

when the Exxons of this world intervene in our energy supplies, we need an organization such as Petro-Can.

Q. What about national unity?

A. We were not responsible for the election of the Parti Québécois in the Province of Quebec, but we hope to have a responsibility in helping defeat it at the next election. I think that it's extremely important that Canadian unity is an issue, not just in terms of keeping the country together, or French-English relations, or the question of language, but also in terms of regional economic disparity and western alienation.

Q. Will economic issues help or hurt the Liberals?

A. I think that when we were down in the polls in the fall of 1978, it was because, more than anything else, there was a great deal of uncertainty caused by the devaluation of the dollar. People didn't really understand what the devaluation really meant. The performance of the country in 1978 was quite outstanding; and I think that the devaluation of the dollar contributed in very large measure to that. Now granted, inflation is too high, and in some parts of the country, so is unemployment. You have to relate unemployment to the job participation rate, i.e. the age at which the young people enter the labour market and the number of married women who enter it. If we had the same participation rate as they have in the United States, we would have a million job vacancies in Canada today. In the third quarter of 1978, our corporate profits in Canada were exactly double those of the United States. If you look at our balance of trade for 1978, we were at a record \$3.5 billion; they forecast \$4.2 billion for 1979. The stock market is doing extremely well. Between January 1978 and January 1979, our job creation program produced a record 450,000 jobs in the public and private sectors. The forecast for investment in Canada indicates that it will be double that of 1978.



The Way They Voted

Results of the Last 3 Elections



The Yukon

	P-C
1968	1
1972	1
1974	1
Dissolution	1

Northwest Territories

	Lib	NDP
1968	1	0
1972	0	1
1974	0	1
Dissolution	0	1

There will be 1 new seat in the Northwest Territories in the May election for a total of 2.

British Columbia

	Lib	P-C	NDP
1968	16	0	7
1972	4	8	11
1974	8	13	2
Dissolution	7	13	2

There will be 5 new seats in BC in the May election for a total of 28.

Alberta

	Lib	P-C	Ind
1968	4	15	0
1972	0	19	0
1974	0	19	0
Dissolution	1	17	1

There will be 2 new seats in Alberta in the May election for a total of 21.

Manitoba

	Lib	P-C	Ind
1968	5	5	0
1972	2	8	0
1974	2	9	0
Dissolution	0	10	0

There will be 1 new seat in Manitoba in the May election for a total of 11.

Saskatchewan

	Lib	P-C	NDP
1968	2	5	6
1972	1	7	5
1974	3	8	2
Dissolution	3	8	2

There will be 1 new seat in Saskatchewan in the May election for a total of 14.

Ontario

	Lib	P-C	NDP	Ind
1968	64	17	6	1
1972	36	40	11	1
1974	55	25	8	0
Dissolution	48	32	8	0

There will be 7 new seats in Ontario in the May election for a total of 95.

Quebec

	Lib	P-C	SC	Ind
1968	56	4	14	0
1972	56	2	15	1
1974	60	3	11	0
Dissolution	60	2	9	2

There will be 1 new seat in Quebec in the May election for a total of 75.

Newfoundland

	Lib	P-C	NDP
1968	1	6	0
1972	3	4	0
1974	4	3	0
Dissolution	4	2	1

Prince Edward Island

	Lib	P-C
1968	4	0
1972	1	3
1974	1	3
Dissolution	2	2

New Brunswick

	Lib	P-C	Ind
1968	5	5	0
1972	5	5	0
1974	6	3	1
Dissolution	6	3	1

Nova Scotia

	Lib	P-C	NDP
1968	1	10	0
1972	1	10	0
1974	2	8	1
Dissolution	2	8	1

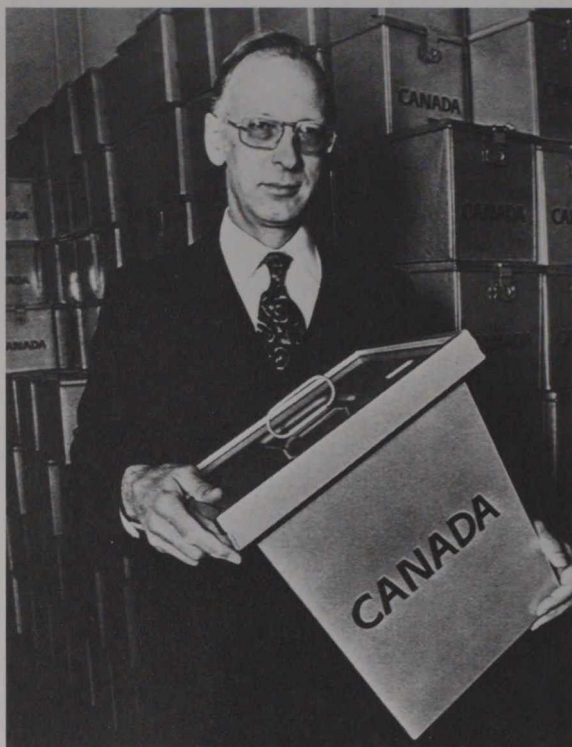
National Totals

	Lib	P-C	NDP	SC	Ind
1968	155	72	22	14	1
1972	109	107	31	15	2
1974	141	95	16	11	1
Dissolution	133	98	17	9	5

There will be 18 new seats in the May election for a total of 282.

Who Votes?

[ALMOST EVERYBODY]



Jean-Marc Hamel, Canada's chief electoral officer, holds the new type of ballot box while standing in front of stacks of old ones.

Canada's electorate has expanded greatly in this century. Not only has the population more than tripled, but various anomalies and restrictions affecting Indians, Eskimos and some ethnic groups have been removed to ensure a universal adult franchise.

Though the tendency has been to add voters, there has been one recent reduction affecting some 560,000 British subjects. Until the passage of Canada's current Elections Act, Britons who lived in Canada could vote in Canadian elections. They can no longer. A few restrictions still apply to specific types of people: sitting judges and election officials, called returning officers, may not vote; nor may persons who are officially insane or in prison, or who have ever been convicted of engaging in corrupt election practices. The voting age, once 21, is now 18 everywhere.

Some people who cannot get to the polls or the advance polls—fishermen, mariners, prospectors, trappers, full-time students, ill or disabled people and members of air crews, forestry crews and topographical survey crews—may appoint another person to vote for them.

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