

ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT TO THE WINNIPEG TRIBUNE, WINNIPEG FREE PRESS — Saturday, October 8, 1977.



Sterling Lyon's 10 Point Program for Manitoba



We will reduce personal and corporate taxes in order to make Manitoba again competitive with other provinces, and will lower education taxes on homeowners and farmers."



"We will abolish Succession Duties and Gift Tax. We'll abolish The Mineral Acreage Tax on retired farmers and other nuisance taxes."

"We will work with private enterprise to create more permanent jobs in Manitoba."

For the People of Winnipeg

 "We will introduce a New Charter for The City of Winnipeg to make city government more
responsive and less expensive for taxpayers." For our Younger People 5 We will help young Manitobans to buy new homes and t

buy older homes and fix their up to help preserve our older neighbourhoods."

For our Senior Citizens 6 "We will help Senior Citizens to

Senior Citizens to stay in their own homes as long as they wish by removing school taxes from the homes of lower and middle income Senior Citizens and by providing better support services. We will also provide more nursing home beds to care for our Senior Citizens."







"I have a vision for Manitoba—a province of younger people fully employed and older people secure in dignified refirement, of family farms that are bountiful and prosperous and a North whose abundant resources are being developed by Northerners themselves, of children well-educated for a bright and productive future here at home, of job security and financial stability for every Manitoban."

"We do not have these blessings today. But I believe that we can have them, and I ask your help in changing Manitoba for the better-and making that vision come true."

> -Sterling Lyon, Leader PC Party of Manitoba

For Rural Manitobans



"We will provide loans to young farmers to help them buy land, instead of spending millions of dollars on Government-owned land. We will permit the reasonable sale of Crown land to farmers where it is essential to the proper operation or expansion of their farming operation. We will support marketing boards that are desired, managed and controlled by the producers themselves. We will provide proper road maintenance and programs of water control and conservation."

For Northern Manitobans

A Personal Appeal to Men and Women Who Want to Change the Government. You are Manitoba's Majority.

Twice in the past 8 years, a minority of the people of Manitoba have picked your Government. On October 11th, if we join together, we can elect a Government that will represent Manitoba's Majority.

Regardless of which political party you have supported in the past, and regardless of which party you support in Federal Elections, I hope you will vote Progressive Conservative. Our Party stands for the things the Majority of Manitobans believe in: private enterprise and individual initiative, the work ethic, private ownership of homes and farms and businesses, sensible taxation and careful management of Government. We all agree, too, that good programs like premium free Medicare and Pharmacare must be continued.

Together, we can elect a Government that will speak for Manitoba's Majority. It's important for all of us today. It is vital for our future.

Sterling Lyon





"We will get the Government out of the mining business, and encourage the mining industry to expand and create more permanent, high-paying jobs in Northern Manitoba for Northern people.



"We will build and maintain the roads Northern Manitobans need, and we will provide parks and cottage lots for the people of our Northern Communities." and the second secon



Show your confidence in Manifoba's future. 2 Candidate. Vote for va



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THE RESPONSIBILITIES - AND THE LIMITATIONS - OF GOVERNMENT

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We must have a government with the will and energy to do those things that government must do, and the good sense and restraint to refrain from doing those things which histomy has demonstrated are beyond the effective capability of any government.

> Sterling Lyon, Throne Speech Debate, 21st February, 1977.

As Manitoba charts its course for the 1980's this Province requires a government that not only recognizes and can capitalize on opportunities for action, but one that also is willing and able to exercise self-control and live within its means. Humility and discipline, as well as pride of accomplishment, are necessary virtues for government in the seventies and eighties.

There are some things which a government may directly effect; and others which it can, at best facilitate only indirectly, by establishing the conditions which make healthy and energetic activity on the part of citizens possible. To assume that a government must do all or most of the things which are worth doing in a society is to show tacit contempt for citizens and their autonomous powers, and freezes out that kind of private activity for public benefit which has been one of our civilization's most creative and dynamic principles.

To recognize that there are, or ought to be, proper limits on the role of government is not to deny the importance of government. We live in an age in which certain tasks can only be performed through government. There are, however, compelling reasons for thinking that western countries are now embarking upon a period of massive re-assessment. And the task of those enjoined in politics and public life is to think through again the proper place and function of government in contemporary society, and to re-establish the citizen's control of public affairs.

Canada has been profoundly affected by these historic trends and, within the national pattern, the Province of Manitoba is no exception. Manitoba has experienced eight years under an N.D.P. government whose ideology has committed it to continuing and systematic expansion of government into activities which were formerly regarded as being beyond its jurisdiction. Not only that, but along with this extension has gone a neglect of and insensitivity to those boundaries which separate private and public life. We can acknowledge that several worthwhile goals have been achieved by the N.D.P. in the first three or four years they were in office. Their accomplishments will be built upon by the next Progressive Conservative government, just as the N.D.P. built upon those inherited from the last Progressive Conservative government.

However, while it is true that the N.D.P. can point to some achievements, it is also true that a very high price has been paid by the people of Manitoba for their achievements. The price has been paid not only in the multitude of mistakes and mismanagement, but also in the spirit of discord and

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confrontation that has marked this government. This corrosive spirit of discord has been primarily the result of the rigid political ideology which constitutes the faith of the N.D.P. The N.D.P. sees self-interested economic classes where others see fellow citizens. There has been a pervasive tendency in this government to identify particular groups such as doctors or teachers or farmers as "the enemy" and to treat them as such in the formulation of policy. This ideological commitment to the politics of confrontation is extremely damaging to any society, and it must be stopped.

Indeed, the N.D.P. view of society being defined by its conflicts and divisions rather than by the ties which bind it together, is particularly ill-suited to the troubled period this Province is now facing. The Progressive Conservative Party, both by philosophical conviction and by basic instict, is much more sympathetic and closely attuned to the present and future needs of Manitobans. The tradional values of conservatism - the concept of service, the commitment to consensus and community, the emphasis on citizen's responsibility and on individual self-help and mutual assistance between private persons, the sense of limit and necessity of choice, humility in the face of nature, and respect for the complexity and interconnectedness of human life - these are all values which will come to be increasingly central in determining the grace and intelligence with which our community responds to rapidly changing circumstances.

What Manitoba at this stage in its development has a right to expect from its government is a commitment to serve to establish within the province a sense of community. Looking back over the histroy of this Province, it is possible to recognize that all governments, however well-intentioned, occasionally understood and respresented some portions of society more effectively than others; the N.D.P. has been no exception. But the N.D.P. has seen the service of some elements of society only to be achieved at the expense of others, and it has proceeded on that premise in an atmosphere of bitterness, perversity and recrimination. The task now is one of reconciliation and the fostering of trust and mutual respect. It is time for a fresh start, and the Progressive Conservative Party, which is burdened neither by 19th century doctrinaire ideology nor exhaustion, is prepared and indeed anxious to join hands with all the people of the Province in a new era in Manitoba's history. To that end, we need a government of and for all Manitobans.

It is our conviction that Manitoba in the course of the next generation will be faced with an historic opportunity. Manitoba is fortunate in not suffering, in acute form, the most intractable problems suffered by so much of North America: over-crowding, pollution, the over-burdening of social services, crime and dangerous urban conditions. Manitoba, with clear air and clean water, its manageable population size, its safe, civilized cities and its vigourous rural culture, still possesses what many other parts of the world have irrevocably lost.

The proper size and character of social organizations is a central one for the country to address. Until quite recently there has been a widespread assumption that the centralization of public activity in larger and larger organizations would provde the best structure for confronting social problems and the delivery of social services. This has encouraged our citizens to look to "higher" levels of government for help and has encouraged those levels to assume that they are best suited and technically the most competent to mount an astonishing range of programmes covering the whole range of Canadian life. We see evidence of this in the assumption by the federal government of many of the powers and responsibilities traditionally within the purview of the provinces, and, within Manitoba, we have seen a parallel process as the N.D.P. has consolidated and centralized at the provincial level many activities which were traditionally local and often private sector in nature.

This trend has resulted in organizations of such a size and complexity that the people are no longer able to recognize them clearly as institutions designed to serve the community. All too frequently, citizens experience these organizations as forbidding bureaucracies more concerned with defending or extending their empires than with serving the public with whom they must deal. In addition there is now a staggering confusion and overlay of functions as municipal, provincial and federal governments seek to administer similar or joint programmes to deal with some social concern. This gives rise to a well-justified concern with waste of public resources and duplication of services, but it goes beyond that: it has serious implications for a democratic political system, for by escalating the complexity of government activity and by blurring the lines of political accountability it has the effect of placing critical and often enormously expensive government operations and programmes beyond effective public control.

The Progressive Conservative Party is convinced that the trend to even greater degrees of centralization and even larger government organizations must be reversed. The functions of particular government departments and agencies must be made as plain as they can possibly be. The lines of accountability must be clear and as short as possible and, in general, government activity must be kept as close to the citizen as possible.

A spirit of creative decentralization will form a Progressive Conservative government's approach to questions of Canadian Federalism and national unity, and will be the guiding principle of our government's administration of Manitoba's affairs. What it emphasizes is the importance of individual responsibility; the support rather than the supplanting of local and neighborhood control; respect for the vitality and benefits of private activity, citizens initiatives, and voluntarism; together with the recognition and the acceptance of the necessity of government activity and support in certain areas of our common life.

We extend the same spirit to our approach to economic life. The centralizing tendencies of government has been duplicated in the economic sphere with the result that much of our industrial and commercial activity is carried on by pan-Canadian or multi-national corporations which operate throught the country. While we recognize that for many activities, this is the most natural and appropriate scale of operation, we also recognize that it is the small business sector - whether agricultural, industrial, commercial or

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service-oriented - which will provide the stimulus to jobs, profits and further investment that are required to revitalize the Manitoba economy. Such small businesses can locate and prosper here if the atmosphere is hospitable, and by so doing they can serve real regional and provincial needs.

ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT A FUTURE WE DIDN'T PLAN

In an era of rapid change, the citizens of Manitoba are entitled to an account of the longer-term thinking of those who hold or aspire to public office. The question is less one of what becomes of this or that programme than one of how a new government identifies the broad major concerns facing us in the future and how, as a government, they would approach them. Judgements of this kind are important for they will help to define and order matters of immediate concern and will provide the context in which day-today decisions will be made.

It is sometimes possible to characterize a period of history in terms of a few dominant principles that have defined its mood and primary features. From this perspective one can identify two general principles as characterizing the post-war period up to the early '70's. The first was the principle of limitless economic growth, and the second was the faith that change in all fields of life was, generally speaking, good and that progress in the society was particularly related to the increasing youthfulness of the population. The first certainty seemed justifiable at the time for the western world experienced unprecedented economic vitality and expansion, fueled by cheap energy, and the ill-effects of certain kinds of industrial and technological activity were not fully recognized until towards the end of this period.

Faith in the positive aspects of change has been, of course, an overarching principle of western culture for a long time, but in the post-war period it



assumed an unrivalled prominence: belief in economic growth itself was an aspect of this faith. This faith had two distinct features however: a sense that all change would be better and what could not be changed by market and social forces could be changed by government; and a sense that the young, who appeared to be a growing part of the population, would contribute greatly to further change in the society through alternative life styles and modern values. The children of abundance, it was argued, would explore new life styles and cultural forms inconceivable to their parents, the children of depression and war.

It is not exaggerating to say that in the '70's we have entered a markedly different world. Inexpensive energy has gone, crude economic growth is acutely problematic - and difficult to achieve, and some of its deleterious side-effects are now manifest; inflation and unemployment now occur simultaneously; and the youth culture has been substantially absorbed into the mainstream.

Now, different factors must inform and shape our view of the future. To begin with, we must learn to live again with acute, protracted restraint in our economic life. And secondly, we must learn how to live with the consequences of demographic change, particularly the transformations of the age profile of our population that we know are going to occur throughout the balance of this century. The implications of either of these for our common life are massive; taken together they impose a daunting challenge to respond with imagination, discipline and civility.

Energy prices have more than doubled since 1973; we have suffered unemployment levels that are the highest since records have been kept; inflation continues to run above 8% per year. Something is deeply wrong with our economic theories and with the way in which governments have prejudicially conducted our economic activity. We are therefore paying various social, economic and environmental costs for attempts to promote rampant economic growth in the past.

It seems clear to us that the necessary result of all this will be rapid adjustment to continuing restraint. By world standards we are already an enormously wealthy society; relatively, what we face is not poverty, but the dramatic limiting of our material aspirations and our desires for more. We are, in short, returning to a kind of reality from which the post-war boom was a temporary and misleading escape. To say this is not to deny that we shall have opportunities, many of them potentially creative; but it does mean that we shall have to recognize and accept limits: limits primarily on what governments can achieve in the economy, limits on what citizens may expect of the economy; limits in the sense that choices will have to be made, tradeoffs will have to be accepted, postponement of low priority in favour of high priority measures will have to become standard procedure. A new government must, and, we believe, can assist its people to live abundantly and freely in these circumstances, but it can best help to do so with the policies it pursues and in the example it sets.



The matter of demographic change has many facets: the increasing number of women in the workforce; the shift from rural to urban area; the stabilizing of the birth rate; and immigration and emigration flows. But by all odds the most significant factor is the changing age profile of the population. On the one hand we have the ripple effect of the post-war baby boom moving through the system; and on the other we have the fact that longevity has been significantly increased in the 20th century.

During the 1950's and 1960's the post-war baby boom had an enormous impact in terms of educational requirements: that was the period of massive expansion of schools, universities and community colleges. In the 70's and 80's that impact is seen in the need for jobs, housing and a wide range of services and amenities many of which will continue and accelerate over time. Social policy development in the 60's paid insufficient attention to demographic trends such was the belief in endless growth - and hence paid insufficient attention to the prospect that specific services (education being a good example) would be overburdened at one time and under-utilized at another. Part of the challenge that will face us in the 80's will lie in accommodating policy and services to irregular demographic patterns, and also in accommodating policy and services to a population which will be, relatively and overall, growing older. We are, in short, facing a future that, even ten years ago, was not the one we planned.



There is now little disagreement that a major-indeed, probably the major challenge facing us in the future lies in the whole complex of issues referred to as the energy crisis. Indeed, amongst the experts, virtually the only disagreement centers on the time available to us before the most severe aspects of the crisis begin to have major and significant impacts on all aspects of our lives.

Without being alarmist, we consider that the most prudent and responsible course for a political party, and for the community at large, is to proceed on the assumption that the worst, rather than the best, will befall us if we fail to proceed seriously and to plan carefully. Unfortuantely, the word "crisis" has been debased by over-use, but the economic imlications of the energy problem confront us with a crisis of the first magnitude. And we would be foolish in Manitoba, not to recognize our vulnerability: both because our existing economic security has been so dependent on relatively cheap supplies of energy and, as well, because we neither produce nor control by far the largest part of the energy we consume. We therefore require a comprehensive energy policy which is based on a reasoned analysis of the magnitude of the problem and which seeks to ensure that Manitoba's energy needs now and in the future will be met as economically as possible, and to guide the use and conservation of energy in all its forms.

Our approach to an analysis of the problem emphasizes identifying those aspects which are possibly subject to influence by the provincial government.

ENERGY

Amongst these are the following: the position of Manitoba Hydro and the export and import of hydro-electric and thermal electric power; the availability of traditional hydrocarbons. (oil, natural gas and coal); the development and application of alternative and innovative energy sources to the Manitoba situation; and the importance of energy conservation as an integral component of any programme relating to energy and its use.

From Manitoba's standpoint, the essential facts, simply stated, are not encouraging: while nearly all of the electricity used in the province is produced in the province, all our coal and natural gas and most of our crude oil is imported - the latter chiefly from Alberta and Saskatchewan. This dependence on outside sources creates a large and growing problem of cash outflow. This problem therefore has several aspects: our dependency limits our freedom of action: we are substantially at the mercy of others in respect of price; and we have no firm guarantees as to security of supply.

Events of the last four years have clearly demonstrated that Manitoba has no control over the cost of hydrocarbons. These are set effectively on a bilateral basis by Ottawa and Alberta acting under the pressure of external events and international prices. In the middle to long run, there is no way, therefore, that Manitoba can ensure either reasonable prices nor security of supply without the co-operation of the producing provinces and the federal government. This is not to say that Manitoba can have no influence: if we are able to propose energy policies that are defensible and in the national public interest, it is conceivable that our proposals may carry on their merits. We have virtually no other leverage. What we can influence however, is the rate of growth of overall energy demand in Manitoba and the rate of development of electricity supply and the rate of growth in the demand for electricity and its price. In short, while we cannot affect the supply of energy, we can make some reasonable attempt to affect demand.

Four sectors - transportation, farm and domestic, commercial and industrial each account for substantial proportions of our energy consumption. No one of them can be ignored, therefore, in any measure taken to constrain and/or reduce energy consumption. The Manitoba Government must act to encourage all of these sectors to conserve energy, to recycle, to recapture heat and so on. The measures that will have to be considered seriously would be included amongst the following: an up-grading of standards in the Manitoba Building Code to encourage prudent energy management; the removal of provincial sales tax from all insulating materials and energy conservation products that demonstrably improve energy utilization efficiency; the provision of incentives, either direct or through tax credits, for the up-grading of existing buildings and other energy burning structures which can demonstrably reduce energy consumption; the prohibition of the assessment for property tax purposes of any dwelling or other heated structure from being increased because of energy conservation measures being introduced; prohibiting the assessment for property tax purposes of any dwelling or other heated structure from being increased because of renewable energy collection devices which may be added to and form an integral part of a structure; outlawing of certain practices not conducive to conservation; the implementation of policies designed to increase the efficiency of energy utilization and to promote conservation in its broadest meaning.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

In the first twenty or twenty-five years following the Second World War, economic growth in the Western World and in Canada in particular was spectacular. Within Canada, that growth was uneven for a variety of reasons, many of them related to inequities in federal policies or to simple circumstances of geography and resources. In such situations it was very tempting for many provincial governments to become involved in the promotion of business ventures of various kinds as a spur to economic growth and to employment opportunities. What was done by the last Progressive Conservative government on that basis, has been carried much, much further by the N.D.P. out of ideological compulsion, for the N.D.P. has sought not merely to encourage economic activity but to create in fact, a series of state-owned and operated businesses. Most of these enterprises are now as bankrupt as the ideology behind them, but there is an important lesson to be drawn from their experience: not only has state ownership failed to create employment and prosperity, its impact has actually been negative. The attitude and experience of the government have created an atmosphere of insecurity which . has actually proved hostile to private investment; as indeed has the high tax regime the government has had to maintain to support these publicly owned corporations. The lesson has been costly; but it is not too late for a new government to learn from these mistakes and to redefine the relationship that must exist between the public and private sectors.

What has emerged most clearly from this experience - and it is confirmed in other jurisdictions - is that government is very bad at creating wealth, commodities and employment. There are things which the private sector can do,

given encouragement and given an environment in which the ground rules are clear and understood. To say this is not to offer any call for a return to <u>laissez-faire</u>: private companies and entrepreneurs have certain social responsibilities just as individuals do; and just as the state uses incentives and sanctions to maintain certain norms in respect of individual behaviour, so it can and will do so on the corporate side; it can and will ensure that the corporate side knows and accepts laws governing competition, and the conditions and terms of employment and it will hear its social responsibilities through appropriate levels of taxation.

But if government has a responsibility to ensure that the private sector pays its way in terms of social responsibilities, it also has a responsibility to ensure an atmosphere in which the private sector does what it can do best: create wealth and jobs, and the opportunities for future wealth and jobs. For without wealth and jobs, all of the other things - the goals, the values, the ideals to which a society aspires -- all these are put at risk. A government which can create an atmosphere in which the economic well-being of individuals is reasonably assured is half-home to achieving most of the other things to which civilized societies aspire.

CHANGING APPROACHES TO SOCIAL POLICY

During the '50's and 60's the growth of social services in Manitoba far outpaced our growth in population and wealth. Part of that represented catch-up from an earlier period, and part of it represented a conscious decision to re-allocate resources, and indeed to assign certain charges against future generations in the expectation that they in their turn would benefit from socially responsible decisions taken in our time. With that view of the social purpose of government, few people had any quarrel.

We have now reached the point where consolidation is necessary: where it is vitally important that the productive capacity of the society be allowed, indeed encouraged and stimulated, to catch up with the massive spending in the public sector that has occurred in recent years. There is no need to pretend that the system we have created is perfect; no one need pretend that all social problems and injustices have been addressed or corrected; that process, in human life, is an endless one in any case. What we must recognize however, is that we are now entering a period where reallocations and tradeoffs, rather than new programmes on spending, are going to be in order. They are going to be in order because it stands to reason that with the rapid expansion we have seen, there will inevitably be areas calling for reassessment and change; and they are going to be in order because we are surely at, or beyond, the point where we can any longer afford to ignore the economy's productive capacity to sustain such programmes and the high public spending they require.



To review, assess, revise, and where necessary, to scrap existing programmes, is not, therefore simply rhetoric or pious hope. The degree to which it can be done can only be determined by a government in office; and a new government is likely to be more objective and have fewer vested interests in existing programmes. Such reviews cannot be allowed to be simply exercises however, for in a period of restraint, a good deal of the flexibility we will require in expanding programmes or in launching new ones will be <u>directly</u> linked to our ability to effect savings through saner and more rational management of existing programmes.

So far as new programmes are contemplated or possible, they will in large measure be governed by an important principle: that priority will be given to those whose success will make them self-sustaining or will contribute to the reduction of social costs in the future.

The significance of this approach can be illustrated by two examples: physical fitness: and geriatrics.

In recent years we have seen a growing interest in physical fitness and recreation. This has developed largely through the spontaneous actions of individuals and groups. The physical well-being and recreational value associated with fitness programmes are worthy in themselves, but we should also be conscious of the important social and economic implications that emphasis on physical fitness may have on the society as a whole in the next decade and beyond.

To take one obvious consideration: any projection of our present health care delivery costs into the future is to project an enormous and ultimately unbearable financial burden on the society. We must, in the next decade, explore and devise a variety of new means to assist in reducing the burden of health care delivery costs. One of the obvious means of doing this is through preventive medicine; and in the area of preventive medicine, the encouragement of physical fitness will rank as a high priority. It follows therefore that increased emphasis will be devoted to physical education within the school system and efforts will be made to assist these individuals and groups who are carrying the message of physical fitness into industry and the community at large.

The matter of geriatrics is one of those key areas that impinges on many areas of government policy: health care delivery; employment; recreation.

The phenomenon we face is that an increasing proportion of the population is going to be elderly.

The implications of this, if nothing else changes, are as follows:

- i) we shall have a large and growing part of the population requiring extensive support from health care delivery systems;
- ii) we shall have a large and growing part of the population, many with considerable knowledge .
 and expertise, who are retired and contributing

relatively little to the productive capacity of the economy;

iii) we shall have a large and growing part of the population who will be making extensive use of and making substantial demands on the resources and services of the community.

It is not in the interests of either the aging part of the population or of the society as a whole to see these developments take place unplanned and unchecked. It will call for serious policy studies and for action. Amongst the measures to be pursued:

- increased emphasis on physical fitness for all age groups in the society;
- increased emphasis in medical research into thevarious aspects of aging and geriatric medicine;
- iii) increased emphasis in alternate methods of health care delivery including home care programmes and services;
 - iv) increased attention to the recreational needs of the aging;
 - v) the revitalization of the principle of voluntarism through which the aged may help and be helped in providing a wide range of knowledge, skills and experience which are of value to the aged and to the whole society.

vi) an ongoing re-examination of the social, physical and economic implications of mandatory retirement with a view to creating environments in which the elderly who have the desire and the ability have opportunities for continuing employment and/or new and personally satisfying careers.

None of these areas, it should be emphasized, are ones that can or should be pursued by government alone; indeed they are likely to be realized, if at all, only by the collective and cooperative efforts of individuals and groups, of all ages, in the society at large; but government has a vital responsibility here to help identify the problem areas and to help create an atmosphere in which the community as a whole perceives the emergence of new priorities and new societal responsibilities.

MAN ARCHIVES

AN APPROACH TO URBAN PROBLEMS AND TO HOUSING

With more than half of Manitoba's population living in one urban area, and many others living in smaller urban centres, it is clear that the quality of urban life is going to be a subject of increasing concern to our citizen's in the 1980's. Many of the problems that are plaguing larger cities in Canada and the U.S. - pollution, noise, congestion, vandalism - exist here in some degree now. There is no reason to assume that our urban areas will be immune to these various ills in the future. It is possible however that sensible planning may ensure that these particular social problems can be kept to manageable proportions.

We must recognize the primary role that municipalities have in developing their own policies and strategies for dealing with the problems of urban life. Not only do they have the formal responsibility but in addition, the notion of local responsibility is, and should be, tied to the notion of local decisionmaking.

But, without interfering in the legitimate concerns of the municipalities, the Provincial government is certainly capable of assisting by providing leadership and encouragement to local action, through the benefits of its research, and through the development of provincial policy consistent with and reinforcing policies developed at the local level. To that end it would be desirable at an early stage to convene a conference under the auspices of the Premier and the Minister of Urban Affairs, at both the governmental and

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the official level, to review and discuss the problems facing the municipalities and the ways in which the development of provincial policies can contribute to the handling of those problems. It will undoubtedly be argued that greater financial assistance to the municipalities is what is required: no new provincial government should be unwilling to consider such arguments on their merits; but it should be made very clear at the outset that a Progressive Conservative government does not begin with the assumption that all of society's problems are solved by increasing expenditures out of the public purse. The Provincial government itself, and the municipalities as well, must proceed on the assumption that tax levels are already intolerably high; and the real test of political leadership and creativity will lie in doing a better job with existing financial resources.

The dominance of Winnipeg in the province means that the problems of Winnipeg must concern the provincial government. And while it is appropriate that the municipal governments continue to provide local services, there are ways in which the province may assist as, for example, in assuming the cost of health and welfare services presently borne by the municipalities.

Housing is one of the most pressing needs facing municipalities and nowhere is that need greater than in the city of Winnipeg. A new Progressive Conservative government is committed, as a basic objective, to the desirability of private ownership of housing units, and to promoting the maintenance and improvement of existing housing. To this end, a new government, should consider the introduction of a New Homestead Act the objects of which would be to provide

additional access to home ownership; to improve the quality of housing stock through overhaul and renovations of some target number of older homes every year; to enhance property values in the downtown and core areas of our villages, towns and cities; and to provide an alternative to subsidized public housing. The essence of such a New Homestead Act would be, through a combination of grants and loans, to provide incentives, to those who do not now own homes, to buy, to renovate, to repair and rebuild. Such an approach would confront the need for new and additional housing in two ways: it would diminish the number of houses being removed from the housing stock of the province by causing renovation to replace demolition; and it would allow home owners to develop an equity in housing which they could later use to help finance the purchase of a new home - should they so choose.

Coupled with this, or as an alternative, a new government shall have to explore the introduction of a system of tax credits for homeowners to make improvements and renovations to their dwellings. The object would be to compensate for the increased assessment (and thereby, increased realty taxes) which the improvements would create. It follows from this, as well, that a new government should review, as a high priority, rates and other taxes that add to the costs of renovation of existing houses or the building of new

ones.

THE NORTH

In its early years the N.D.P. raised great expectations about development of Northern Manitoba. That momentum has long since been lost and it is now clear that the most significant development in the North has been in the civil service.

The issue however does not go away. The development of northern resources -is obviously important to all of the Province; but many of those resources are non-renewable, and more urgent therefore are the problems faced by the significant numbers of Manitobans who live in the North.

In recent times the North has faced two basic problems: it has been heavily dependent on resource extraction and it suffered from the policies of a government which has been hostile to the kind of exploration and development of that resource which would provide jobs and stability in the northern economy. The task facing a new government therefore is two-fold: to actively encourage private sector expansion of existing basic northern industries; and to strengthen the northern infrastructure by diversification and expansion of service and secondary industries, and to work toward the provision for Northerners, of services and amenities comparable to those available in the South. In this respect, the concerns of Northeners vis-a-vis the South are not unlike the historic grievances that Westerners have felt towards central Canada, and they are as worthy of attention. To this end, a new government should plan to reinforce the regions's strengths. It should revise mining royalties and taxes to a level which, while providing a reasonable royalty to the Province as public trustee, will nonetheless make mining in Manitoba competitive with other provinces, allow mining companies in Manitoba to earn fair returns. A new government should end public sector competition in mineral exploration and should be prepared to consider incentives for mining exploration in priority areas.

Equally important, however, will be measures to diversify the northern economy through the expansion of service and secondary industries; and that in turn hinges largely on the provision of greater quality in the amenities, services and opportunities available to the area. To that end, transportation services, both air and ground must be improved; the expansion of park and recreational facilities should be undertaken with a view to the full development of North's potential for tourism. In encouraging these developments. those responsible shall be required to include, as part of their planning and impact studies, clear forecasts and commitment as to the resulting levels of Northern employment; and including as well, purchasing policies designed to increase demands for the goods and services provided by Northern firms.

AGRICULTURE

Because the population of Manitoba has become increasingly urban, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that agriculture continues to be the key industry in the province: not only is it a major contributor to the gross provincial product, but it is difficult to imagine a more vital product than foodstuffs.

One of Canada's more hazardous occupations, aside from agricultural production itself, is predicting the form of the demand for agricultural products and the nature of the industry in attempting to meet that demand. The variability of demand, the development of new technology in the advancement of new products for the consumer, the dependence of production on climatic conditions and the uncertainties of world markets all argue for an industry in an advanced state of mobility and flexibility for the industry. What the industry requires, in short, is the capability to respond quickly to new opportunities, and to make reasonable rapid changes where adverse changes in productivity or demand appear inevitable. The record of the past thirty years clearly indicates that government is capable of both helping or hindering the development of this kind of industry.

The basic infrastructure of successful farm policy has already been laid by previous Progressive Conservative governments: crop insurance, farm credit and voluntary farm commodity marketing boards all provide examples. Substantial government purchases of land, the curtailment of farm credit and the imposition of marketing boards where they were not wanted represent the other approach of the N.D.P. - an approach which has not only been unproductive

but which has seriously debilitating and demoralizaing effect on those anxious to improve the health of the industry.

Over the last fifty years farming has moved from a broad-based, labour intensive industry to a highly mechanized, specialized capital intensive industry. This has serious implications for any public policy which bears on capital investment and taxation. It takes several generations of good management and hard work to build a farming enterprise to the point that it can operate without a heavy burden of debt. Such relative independence is a valuable commodity on the farm and should be encouraged not restricted. The smooth transfer of a farm from one generation to the next should be encouraged and a New Progressive Conservative government will take all reasonable steps to ensure that younger generations of farmers are not burdened with taxes that can only lead to the breakup of established farms.

The changes we have referred to have been directly related to the availability and cost of labour; the management capability of the owner, the types and size of farm machinery; and the availability of land. All of these will be relevant in anticipating future changes in farming, and to these we may add a new factor of increasing but unmeasured force: the disappearance of cheap energy. The consolidation of farms has reflected an attempt to find the optimum combination of these factors, and most agriculturalists would consider that this continues to be typified by the family farm. The Progressive Conservative Party believes that this production unit, with individual ownership and management decisions resting in the hands of the

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owner, is the best way of ensuring the survival of agriculture as an industry and assuring an abundant supply of food.

In terms of its productive capabilities, agriculture may be one of the few industries about which we can retain something of the optimism that characterized the early post-war period: the continuing scientific research into all aspects of agricultural production coupled with the commitment of the practising farmer make such optimism possible. But there are several problematic elements in this prognosis: one has been referred to, the increased energy costs which may be taken as symbolic of all the increasing costs of agricultural production. The other relates to policies on land use.

The present N.D.P. government through its 1975 Planning Act and through its more recent Farm Lands Protection Act has tinkered with aspects of this question, but has failed to confront it directly. Put simply, there will be a point beyond which the encroachment of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes will begin to seriously impair our agricultural production. That problem may well impinge directly by the 1980's and we cannot wait until it is upon us to undertake rational planning to deal with it. During the years of the Roblin administration, an inventory was undertaken of all land in Manitoba, and that land was catalogued and classified to its productivity. We believe that catalogue ought now to be revised and employed as the basis for a policy which will lay down which land in the province is to be reserved for agricultural purposes, and which land will be set aside for residential, commercial and recreational purposes. Such a policy would, obviously, admit

of exceptions; but until and unless such a policy is developed, exceptions are going to be the rule and we shall see the piece-meal absorption of prime agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes.

EMPHASIS IN EDUCATION

Education was one of the areas most affected by the optimism and expansionism of the 1950's and 1960's. And during that period, indeed substantial achievements were made in education at all levels. Now, and in the immediate future, however, the concerns are going to be different: they involve debates over quality and standards, over curriculum, over unused capacity in the system, over the educated who can't find jobs; and indeed, over the social purposes and goals of education itself. These issues would be serious enough in themselves, but in the absence of sensible and sensitive consultation between government and members of the teaching profession, these concerns are having an extremely demoralizaing effect on parents, teachers, students and prospective employers.

It will be well to recognize at the outset that we are now dealing, in our school system, with mass education. Very nearly all children and young people of school age now attend school - unlike earler generations where large numbers of children entered, or tried to enter, the workforce at a very early age. With the acceptance of the notion of mass education we must accept the corollary that levels of achievement are going to vary more than in the past, and for some, the level of achievement will be low. This need not be a ground for abandoning either hope or standards, for even those whose level of achievement is low, may nonetheless, benefit. What it is a ground for, however, is a conscious policy decision that substantially more of our resources should be concentrated on maximizing the quality of education provided at this level. In the part we have allocated disproportionate resources at the post-secondary
end (which has been a socially valuable investment), but it should by now be clear that we have short-changed ourselves at the primary level: surely it is here that we should be emphasizing small classes, and teaching excellence; surely it is at this level that professional activity should be esteemed.

Technological change and the relative aging of the population will combine in the 80's and thereafter to make continuing education a lifetime process in which more and more of the population will be involved. For career reasons and for reasons of personal interest, continuing education at all levels will be a major vehicle for employing the present unused capacity in the education system. To that end government and educators will have to work to ensure that schools and post-secondary institutions are perceived as being part of the community which they serve.

While recognizing the importance of local school divisions, the Provincial government should be endeavouring to provide leadership such that teachers are supported and encouraged in their efforts to motivate young people towards excellence and to equip them with the skills and knowledge they will need to pursue successful careers and lead rewarding and fulfilling lives. - In addition the Province can and should provide leadership and support to teachers and trustees to involve parents more fully in the operations of schools and to provide teachers and trustees with leadership, consultation and support in the development of policies governing curriculum development, evaluation and other matters such as career guidance and counselling.



To the same end the Province should be providing more leadership in the matter of articulation between the schools and the post-secondary institutions. There have been important breakdowns in communication between the various components of the educational system; and while rectifying that should be primarily the responsibility of those in the teaching professions, where that communication and cooperation is not forthcoming, Provincial intervention and leadership should be expected as a matter of course.

OPEN GOVERNMENT

The acceptance of restraint has significant implications for government and for the relationship between government and the people it serves;

This has several aspects:

First, a new government must demonstrate that the public, through its government, shall retain the right to control and direct the bureaucracy which exists to serve the public interest. A new government must make clear that it as a government, and not the public service, has the right and responsibility to make laws, and the right and responsibility to cause laws to be enforced.

Secondly, government must move out from behind the curtain of secrecy which so often prevents the citizen from understanding that the government's business is the citizen's business. This will require substantial reform with respect to the public accounts of all government departments, agencies and corporations: it will require more rapid, more complete and more frequent methods of reporting. It will also mean a move to more general openness in files, records, and documents maintained by all branches and levels of government. Many aspects of parliamentary government depend on advice and opinion being offered freely, and often that can best be guaranteed where confidentiality is assured. The task of a new government, however, will be to ensure that this specialized argument is not used as a means of justifying secretiveness where there is no such justification. Thirdly, a new government must ensure that the citizen is provided with the means to protect himself against invasion of privacy by the State. There must be a strengthening of the security attached to confidential information provided by the citizen to the government; but equally important, procedures must be established by which the citizen will be able to know what information is possessed about him by the government, and for what purposes. The citizen should be entitled, not only to know this, but to know that he will have procedures to correct misinformation and to know that he will have means of redress where he has suffered as a result of misinformation or misuse of information by agencies of government.

For an earlier, simpler age, such concerns and such measures would doubtless have seemed unnecessary. The growth of government has made them desirable; the commitment to restraint on government makes them necessary.



THE PLAIN TRUTH

For much of the last thirty years it was possible for all parties to campaign on promises of more and bigger, and bright futures of unrelieved progress and optimism. We believe that the mood of the people and the facts of the situation call for a more sober and thoughful approach than that. No one is going to be fooled by promises of heaven on earth; indeed, we believe that no one really wants such promises anymore.

Without being pessimistic or alarmist we believe that the people want a government that will be straightforward about the problems that the province faces; a government that is prepared to be tough-minded in its analysis of our problems and sensible and sensitive in what it proposes as solutions; a government that will determine its priorities and have the courage to follow through with them; a government that will do its best to tackle problems that can be solved and that will tell the plain truth about problems that cannot. We believe that the people of Manitoba ask for no more than that; and we promise no less.

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The Progressive Conservative platform in this campaign contains a number of detailed proposals on a wide range of public issues. that platform is based on a number of principles which can be briefly stated:

- (i) protection for the citizen of traditional freedoms of choice in political, economic, cultural and social concerns.
- (ii) respect for human dignity through protection and assistance of the aged, the infirm and those members of our society who are economicially disadvantaged through no fault of their own; and an acceptance of the general social responsibilities of government.
- (iii) encouragement of voluntarism and of helping people help themselves.
- (iv) acceptance of the fundamental principle of government as trustee of the public interest.
- (v) acceptance of partnership between the public and private sectors as necessary to the well-being of both.
- (vi) protection of individual rights against infringement whether by big government, big business or big labour.
- (vii) belief that government must become more open about its activities and the reasons for its decisions.

- (viii) a determination that means will be developed to make government more accessible and intelligible to the citizens it serves.
- (ix) endorsement of principle and more emphasis on the value of local government and a conviction that more decision-making should take place in the community.
- (x) a conviction that the family, as the basic institution of our society, requires the respect and support of government.
- (xi) a conviction that sound management of the provincial economy is a prerequisite before any social and economic progress is possible.

ELABORATION OF THE PRINCIPLES

All political systems have been subjected to severe stress in recent years. We have gone through major economic crises, particularly with respect to inflation and energy, and these have shattered the hopes and dreams that many had only a few short years ago. At the same time we have seen a massive growth in the range of government activity, expenditure and bureaucracy. Some of that growth has been useful and necessary, but much of it has been unproductive or counterproductive. Some of that growth has been a direct response to the economic and social crises of our time; but where that response has failed, we are left only at the end, with bigger government. Where the growth of government has been unnecessary or unproductive this constitutes an unnecessary interference with individual freedom. That is so because we must still pay for this expanded government, whether it is socially useful or not, and when we lose money through unnecessary taxes, we are not free to spend it on things of our own choice. Moreover, it is in the very nature of government, that as it grows so does the regulation, the control, the interference that goes with it.

We have learned that we can no longer assume that all the results of even the most well-meaning government actions will be benign. All to many of the efforts of government to cope with the major social and economic problems facing our society have instead resulted in a compounding of those problems.

Against this background, we believe that a new government must apply the following test to all existing and proposed new legislation and programs: does the social benefit resulting from this legislation or program justify the implicit infringement of individual freedom of choice that will result. Accordingly we state as a principle our concern for

 (i) the protection of the citizen's traditional freedom of choice in political, economic, cultural and social concerns.

Canada has achieved, and can continue to enjoy, a level of prosperity that few other nations in history have experienced. The Progressive Conservative Party believes it is the inescapable responsibility of government to assure that this general prosperity is refelected in the living conditions of all members of our society. We therefore readily endorse the goal of minimizing poverty of insuring minimum and rising standards in the living conditions of those on low and fixed incomes and of equalizing access to goods and services made available by or through government. We belive this goal may best be achieved by the creation of economic opportunities and the encouragement of self help on the part of all those members of our society who have the capability to contribute to the betterment of their own economic and social position. We belive that the greatest and most urgent responsibility of government is to care for those who, through no fault of their own, are in need. Accordingly we state as a principle our commitment to

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(ii) respect for human dignity through protection and assistance of the aged, the infirm and those members of society who are economically disadvantaged through no fault of their own, and an acceptance of the general social responsibilities of government.

While accepting that governments have a responsibility for the well-being of our people, we also recognize that the responsibility is shared with the people themselves. Some of the greatest advances in and contributions to the welfare of our community have come through the voluntary efforts of individuals acting alone in the family setting and in groups. Many of the most important and effective social agencies in our community have been of this kind. We regret the tendency in recent years, particularly under the present government, to discourage voluntarism and repeatedly to insert the power of the state into situations where voluntarism was making a significant contribution. A new government must face the challenge of undoing damage that has already been done in certain areas; but in approaching future problems, we face as a society, we belive in principle in the:

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The authority and the resources which government manages and disposes of must be viewed, in all cases, as the property - not of government - but of the people. When regulations are issued, the government must recognize that it is effecting the lives of the people who have elected it; when money is spent, the government must recognize that it is spending money that belongs, not to itself, but to the people. Natural resources must be managed and developed in a way which maximizes the benefits to all the people of Manitoba. A government that assumes or sets up a set of "government interests" that are not identical with those of the people of the province is a government that has forgotten its responsibility. Accordingly we urge as a basic principle

(iv) acceptance of the fundamental principle of government as trustee of the public interest.

We also believe that the development of this country and this province has been helped by a positive partnership between government and the private sector. Progressive Conservatives have, since Confederation, recognized that the tasks of building a nation are frequently beyond individuals and groups working alone. Conservatives have never accepted the laissez-faire notion which can so easily become "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"; but neither have we accepted the socialist notion that by involving government in everything you are somehow bringing control to the people: for the simple fact is that in that situation, the people cease to control government.



Our attitude reflects the variety, in our society: in some cases there may be no place for government beyond ensuring order. In others, government may provide the guidelines within which citizens and groups compete over and resolve issues for themselves. In other cases, where a public need exists, and where private initiative is inadequate, or has failed, or where private activity would center a disproportionate advantage on the few, the case for a public presence becomes a strong one. The Conservative record, nationally and provincially, in areas like transportation, broadcasting, public utilities and the life, illustrate our approach. We are alert to the dangers of government that is passive, and alike, to government that is master. At the same time we recognize that the private sector has made, and has the potential for making a significant contribution to our well-being, provided that it too recognizes the notion of limit and social responsibility. Therefore we urge as a principle

(v) acceptance of partnership between the public and private sectors as necessary to the well-being of both.

The growth of government has of course been paralleled by growth in the private sector. The individual citizen now faces a vast array of large and powerful organizations possessing great economic and social power. Through such offices as the ombudsman and through consumer protection legislation, assistance is now available to the individual; but the deck remains heavily stacked against the private citizen and a Progressive Conservative government will be pledged as a matter of principle to seek further mechanisms to provide a stable healthy balance as between the needs, requirements and activities of institutions and those of the individual. We recognize the obligation of government to

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provide

(vi) protection of individual rights against infringement whether by big government, big business or big labour.

Virtually all democratic governments have suffered the consequences in recent years of decisions taken without adequate public scrutiny and comment. The present government, while preaching openness, has been no exception to the general rule. We would argue that there is a need for more, and more thorough, reporting by government of its activities both on the general principle that public business ought to be public, and also on the pragmatic ground that public scrutiny ultimately is in the interests of the government by reducing the chances of error and confusion. We therefore state as a principle our

(viii) belief that government must become more open about is activities and the reasons for its decisions.

In many areas, citizens are quite naturally puzzled as to whether a particular problem is the responsibility of the federal, the provincial or the municipal government. Even when they have identified the <u>level</u> of government, they may still have difficulty locating the Department, Division, Agency Board or Crown Corporation that deals with the problem of concern to them. Some complexity can never be totally eliminated for we live in a complex world.

But in the final analysis, government exists to serve the citizens, and the service of government therefore ought to be organized and available to the citizen in a way that he or she can readily understand. At the practical

level this will require an extensive review of the way in which government services are organized; whether existing divisions of responsibility have any rational basis; and where red tape can be reduced to provide faster, simpler service to citizens. In short, we would express as a principle our

(viii) determination that means will be developed to make government more accessible and intelligible to the citizens it serves.

Part of the growth of the provincial government is a direct result of the erosion of the position of local government and smaller communities in their own decision making. There is a growing realization that much of the centralization which occurred in the name of efficiency has proved inefficient and that the removal of decision-making power from the hand of those who will be affected by the decisions has been a backward step. We belive that the vitality and variety of life in Manitoba is best preserved by preserving the vitality and variety of all our communities, whether they be metropolitan like Winnipeg, or small and remote like many of our towns and villages. Accordingly, we belive as a matter of principle that a new government must

(ix) place more emphasis on, and demonstrate more concern for the problems of local government by being willing to see more decision-making take place in the community.

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Governments have, in their efforts to promote the greatest possible well-being for the greatest number of people, in some cases inadvertently created impediments to the proper functioning of the family and, in a few cases, have actually added incentive to the abandonment of traditional and inescapable family responsibilities. Nowhere is this tendency more clearly demonstrated than in the effective financial incentives for families to institutionalize handicapped or aged members, rather than maintaining them as active members of the family. We belive, as a matter of principle, that a decision on the part of the members of a family to care for each other in time of need should not result in financial disadvantages to the family relative to those who choose instead to delegate these responsibilities to the State. Programs of support and assistance must be available to the individual both in his capacity as a family member and in his larger capacity as a member of the community. The one should not compromise the other. The Progressive Conservative Party will, accordingly, review all programs of support and assistance to assure that they reflect our

(x) conviction that the family, as the basic institution of our society, requires the respect and support of government.

In our present situation in Manitoba there is no more serious problem than that of fiscal management. The N.D.P., through a combination of incompetence and a commitment to irrelevant socialist ideology has involved the government in business in a way that has proved costly to the taxpayer and to Manitoba's reputation. The N.D.P. has squandered untold amounts through political interference in Hydro. The N.D.P. has introduced programmes, some of which while desirable in themselves, without adequate planning and with the result that additional unnecessary costs have resulted. All of these costs are borne by the public of Manitoba; all of these costs go to explaining the exhorbitant tax rates we have in Manitoba; all of these costs fan the fires of inflation in Manitoba; all of these costs deprive us of elbow room in

developing what could be worthwhile programmes to fight unemployment in Manitoba. When a government mismanages - through incompetence or ideology the financial affairs of the province, everything else is placed at risk; things that need to be done, can't be done; things that are done, are done inadequately or inefficiently. We therefore state as a principle our

(xi) conviction that sound management of the provincial economy is a prerequisite before any social and economic progress is possible.