

REMARKS BY

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TO

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

OCTOBER 4, 1976

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR WARM WELCOME.

I AM WELL-ACQUAINTED WITH THE TORONTO CANADIAN CLUB'S REPUTATION AS ONE OF OUR MOST-RESPECTED PUBLIC FORUMS. THAT STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT I CUT MY JOURNALISTIC TEETH ON THIS BEAT WHEN I WAS A TORONTO STAR ROOKIE MORE THAN 30 YEARS AGO.

IN THAT DISTANT PAST, WITH REPORTERS EARNING PRINCELY SALARIES OF \$35 A WEEK, THERE CERTAINLY WAS NO NEED FOR AN ANTI-INFLATION BOARD!

I CONGRATULATE YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, FOR YOUR TEMERITY IN INVITING A SPEAKER FROM A PROFESSION WHICH DOESN'T ALWAYS EARN FULL MARKS FOR CREDIBILITY.

BUT I MUST ASK YOU TO PLEASE TAKE MY WORD THAT WE HAVE ADVANCED THE STATE OF JOURNALISTIC COMPETENCE CONSIDERABLY SINCE MY TIME AS A YOUTHFUL MAKE-UP EDITOR.

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I CANNOT SHAKE THE MEMORY OF THE TIME WHEN, JUST BEFORE GOING TO PRESS, I FAILED TO DETECT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A MIX-UP OF TWO PICTURES; ONE OF A PROMINENT SOCIETY MATRON WHO HAD GIVEN A GARDEN PARTY, AND THE OTHER OF AN EMU WHICH ARRIVED AT THE ZOO. THE PARTY AND THE ZOO ARRIVAL BOTH HAPPENED ON THE SAME DAY.

AS A RESULT, OUR READERS WERE CONFRONTED WITH THE EMU'S PROFILE GAWKING FROM THE WOMEN'S PAGE, WITH A CAPTION EXTOLLING THE GARDEN PARTY. MEANWHILE, GAZING REGALLY FROM THE FEATURES PAGE WAS THE MATRON, WITH A CAPTION WHICH READ: "THIS IS OUR NEW EMU. ISN'T IT A STRANGE LOOKING BIRD? IT HAS FUR WHERE ITS FEATHERS SHOULD BE!"

WE, IN JOURNALISM, LEARN OUR LESSONS THE HARD WAY.

I HAVE NOT APPROACHED THIS ASSIGNMENT LIGHTLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, BECAUSE I AM VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE HIGH EXPECTATIONS YOUR MEMBERS WILL BRING TO CANADIAN CLUB LUNCHEON TABLES IN THE COMING SEASON.

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THE REASON, OF COURSE, IS THAT WE ARE MOVING PAST THE WATERSHED TOWARD ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT POST-WAR ELECTIONS. CANADIANS WILL CERTAINLY USE THE TIME LEFT TO MEASURE THE PREDICTABLE POLITICAL BANALITIES -- WHICH ALREADY ARE FORTHCOMING -- AGAINST THE HARD LESSONS OF THEIR OWN EXPERIENCES IN RECENT YEARS.

PLATFORMS SUCH AS YOURS WILL BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THAT ASSESSMENT.

I AM PRETTY SURE THAT YOU EXPECT ME TO TALK TODAY ABOUT SOME OF THE UNFOLDING DIFFERENCES, AS I SEE THEM, BETWEEN THE HEADY AMBITIONS OF THOSE WHO GOVERN AND THE REAL NEEDS OF THOSE WHO ARE GOVERNED.

I AM PLEASED TO COMPLY BECAUSE THIS CONFLICT STANDS OUT AS THE MAIN EVENT ON OUR LIST OF MAJOR STORIES TO BE COVERED IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS.

UNFORTUNATELY, AS WE HAVE LEARNED, IT IS NOT A HAPPY STORY. WHAT WAS HERALDED IN THE LATE 1960'S AS A NEW CANADIAN ADVENTURE IN PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY HAS BECOME, INSTEAD, A CLASH OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS. ONE ASPECT OF THIS ENCOUNTER WE SHOULD NOT OVERLOOK IS THAT THOSE RISING FRICTIONS SEEM TO BE CREATING WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION WITH THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE WE GET FROM THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL PARTIES.

GENERALLY ACCEPTED AS BEING CENTRAL TO THIS CONFLICT ARE THE CURRENT CALAMITIES OF ECONOMIC STAGNATION, REGIONAL DISPARITY AND UNTRAMELLED ENCROACHMENT BY REGULATORY BODIES ON OUR ECONOMIC AND PERSONAL LIVES.

ON THESE HIGHLY-VISIBLE GROUNDS, OUR JOURNALISTIC READING OF THE PUBLIC MOOD TELLS US THAT MANY CANADIANS NOW CONCEDE THAT GOVERNMENT HAS BLOWN OUR CHANCES OF MAKING THIS CANADA'S GREATEST DECADE. THERE IS A FEELING THAT THIS IS PARTLY BECAUSE PRESENT-DAY POLITICIANS TEND TO DOWNPLAY THE ROLE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVES IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

YET, MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME SUGGEST IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW THAT LASTING RELIEF WILL HINGE ON WHETHER WE INTEND TO DISPOSE OF MR. TRUDEAU AND HIS GOVERNMENT AS THE SOLE AUTHORS OF OUR MISFORTUNE. IF THE AUGUST POLLS ARE TO BE BELIEVED, THE PUBLIC ALREADY HAS MADE THAT DECISION. A MORE SKEPTICAL VIEW IS THAT THE COUNTRY SORELY NEEDS SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST A CHANGE OF ITS POLITICAL LINEN TO MEND ITS TATTERED ECONOMY AND TORN SELF-ESTEEM.

IN THIS DEEPER SENSE, THE BREWING POLITICAL CRISIS STEMS FROM A GROWING PUBLIC DISENCHANTMENT WITH POLITICIANS AS A CLASS.

THOSE IN POWER CLEARLY ARE HELD SUSPECT FOR THEIR PERSISTENT, UNORTHODOX, NON-PRODUCTIVE TINKERING WITH SYSTEMS ABOUT WHICH WE FELT COMFORTABLE. BUT THOSE OUT OF POWER EVIDENTLY ARE BEGINNING TO BE HELD IN LOW REGARD, TOO, FOR THEIR PERSISTENT, STERILE FAILURE TO PRESENT ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVES.

WE IN ECONOMIC JOURNALISM GET THE FEELING THE UNCERTAINTIES PLAGUING THE PEOPLE OF CANADA STEM FROM THE RISING FEAR THAT THEY ARE IN THE HANDS OF A COALITION OF MEDIOCRITY WHICH IS LETTING THEM DOWN IN THE BROADEST, NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL WAY.

LAST MONTH, THE LIBERAL PARTY'S CAUCUS OFFERED A NUMBER OF AMBIGUOUS EXPLANATIONS FOR LOW LIBERAL RATINGS IN THE POLLS. HOWEVER, NEITHER PRESENT MEMBERS OR ASPIRANTS TO PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE NEXT TIME SHOULD BE SO VAGUE ABOUT THE TRUE NATURE OF PUBLIC DISCONTENT. NOT OFTEN IN OUR HISTORY HAS THE ELECTORATE'S LIST OF GRIEVANCES AGAINST GOVERNMENTS BEEN SO LENGTHY AND SPECIFIC IN CONTENT.

FOR EXAMPLE, INSTEAD OF NATIONAL UNITY, SORELY NEEDED AT A TIME OF HEIGHTENED INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION, DIVISION HAS BECOME A CANADIAN WAY OF LIFE.

OUR BILINGUAL ENVIRONMENT, INHERITED FROM CANADA'S EARLY PERIOD, HAS BEEN POLITICIZED AND THE RIFT WIDENED BETWEEN OUR FOUNDING RACES.

THE BUILD-UP OF BIG GOVERNMENT AS AN IMPERATIVE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS HAS RESULTED IN A WALL OF SPECIAL STATUS BETWEEN A BURGEONING, SECURE, WELL-PENSIONED BUREAUCRACY AND A VULNERABLE, HEAVILY-TAXED CIVIL POPULATION.

THEN, TOO, INSTEAD OF CLOSER FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL TEAMWORK, CANADIANS WITNESS A CONFUSING TUG-OF-WAR OVER MANY ISSUES, JEOPARDIZING THE SYSTEM OF CONFEDERATION TO WHICH WE HAVE BECOME SECURELY ATTACHED. FEDERAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC PLANNERS, WITH THEIR TECHNOCRATIC PROJECTIONS AND RELATED FINANCIAL DEMANDS, ARE SEEN TO BE ALIENATING THE PROVINCES FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT -- BEYOND HOPE OF REPAIR.

AND INSTEAD OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, THE OUTSTANDING POLITICAL WATCHWORD IN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES, WE HAVE ACHIEVED A CONDITION OF NO-GROWTH. INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AND EXPERTISE ARE ON THE VERGE OF PERMANENT FLIGHT FROM THIS COUNTRY. TIME IS RUNNING OUT ON THE MANY CAPITAL PROGRAMS BEING HELD IN ABEYANCE DUE TO CURRENT PHILOSOPHIES OF GOVERNMENT.

WE KNOW OF INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS OF UP TO \$600 MILLION IN INVESTMENT VALUE BEING COMPLETED RELUCTANTLY WITH LITTLE HOPE OF REASONABLE RETURN ONLY BECAUSE OF EARLIER COMMITMENT. WE ALSO KNOW OF OTHER PROJECTS UP TO \$200 MILLION IN COMMITTED CAPITAL WHICH MIGHT BE ABANDONED.

IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE AIB'S BAND-AID REPAIRS, ANNOUNCED EARLY LAST MONTH, WILL ALONE SIGNIFICANTLY RESTORE BUSINESS CONFIDENCE IN THE LONG-TERM INVESTMENT STABILITY OF CANADA.

AN EVEN MORE ALARMING TURN IN THE PUBLIC'S SPREADING MISTRUST OF THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY IS THE INDICATION OF PARANOIA IN REJECTION OF POLICIES WHICH MIGHT BE GIVEN A WARMER RECEPTION IN LESS UNCERTAIN TIMES. INDEED, MANY OF THESE POLICIES ARE NOT UNIQUELY CANADIAN, AND THEIR COUNTERPARTS ARE FUNCTIONING IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

YET, IN CANADA, SINISTER PURPOSES ARE BEING READ INTO THEIR CONTINUING EXISTENCE. CONSEQUENTLY, OUR STATUTE BOOKS OFFER MANY EXAMPLES OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS WHICH ARE FALLING INTO DISREPUTE, ALTHOUGH IN PARLIAMENTARY OR BUREAUCRATIC EYES THEY MAY APPEAR JUSTIFIABLE.

THUS THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT REVIEW AGENCY IS DEPICTED AS AN OUT-AND-OUT INSTRUMENT OF RABID NATIONALISM, NOT A WELL-INTENTIONED GUARANTOR OF DOMESTIC GROWTH.

THE ANTI-INFLATION PROGRAM IS ACCUSED OF BEING, IN REALITY, A CLEVER TOOL TO RE-DISTRIBUTE WEALTH IN PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE GOALS, NOT A WELL-INTENTIONED EXPEDIENT TO CONTROL RUNAWAY COSTS AND PRICES.

CROWN CORPORATIONS THRIVE AND MULTIPLY AMIDST A GROWING PREJUDICE THAT THEY ARE SPEARHEADS OF POLITICAL IMPERIALISM IN THE CORPORATE WORLD, NOT WELL-INTENTIONED VENTURES TO PROMOTE EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT WHEN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS NOT A VIABLE PROPOSITION.

THE TAX SYSTEM IS VIEWED AS A LEADING EDGE OF THE EGALITARIAN SOCIETY OF POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC DOCTRINAIRES BEFORE WE CAN AFFORD IT, NOT A WELL-INTENTIONED CODE FOR BLENDING AFFLUENCE AND HUMANITARIANISM IN AN EMPIRICAL WAY.

AS MR. I.H. ASPER, WRITING LAST MONTH IN THE GLOBE AND MAIL PUT IT: "A GROWING BODY OF PROFESSIONAL TAXWATCHERS ... HAVE RAISED THEIR PENS AND VOICES AGAINST THE TAX SYSTEM AS A SELF-INFLICTED WOUND ON THE CANADIAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DESTINY."

FINALLY, THE VERY NARROW FOCUS ON CANADIAN NATIONALISM IN RECENT YEARS IS BITTERLY AND WIDELY FELT TO HAVE NEEDLESSLY ALIENATED TRADITIONAL ALLIES AND TRADING PARTNERS, INSTEAD OF RALLYING THOSE FOREIGN INTERESTS TO SUPPORT CANADIAN INITIATIVES.

MANY PEOPLE HAVE ASKED ME HOW CLOSE TO THE MARK I FELT THE EDITORS OF FORTUNE MAGAZINE WERE IN THEIR RECENT REPORT ENTITLED "CANADA'S NATIONALISM EXACTS A HIGH PRICE." THE EVIDENCE IS THAT THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE HAS BEEN PRICKED BY A CONCERN THAT, WHEN VIEWED FROM OUTSIDE OUR FRONTIERS THROUGH THE PERFORMANCE OF OUR POLITICIANS, CANADIANS ARE SEEN TO BE POLITICALLY CAPRICIOUS, RADICALLY PAROCHIAL, INTERNALLY DISCORDANT AND ECONOMICALLY UNRELIABLE.

IT IS A SELF-PORTRAIT THAT DOES NOT SIT WELL WITH MOST OF OUR PEOPLE.

IN THESE AND OTHER WAYS PUBLIC ATTITUDES THUS ARE POLARIZING AROUND A NON-PARTISAN MISTRUST OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AT HOME, AND, BY COROLLARY, EMBARRASSMENT OVER NATIONAL REPUTATION ABROAD.

TO THE FUTURE HISTORIAN, THE SYMPTOMS MAY WELL SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ALIEN TO THE CANADIAN PERSONALITY. HE WILL ASK: HOW COULD THIS HAPPEN TO A NATION REPUTED FOR ITS SENSIBLE, ASTUTE SELF-MANAGEMENT? WHAT CORRECTIVE STEPS WERE TAKEN TO RE-ESTABLISH A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT MORE IN KEEPING WITH ITS TASTES, NEEDS AND CAPABILITIES?

MANY OF US HERE TODAY WHO SURVIVE TO ENJOY GRANDSTAND SEATS IN CANADIAN AFFAIRS IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS SHOULD BE ABLE TO FURNISH AT LEAST SOME ANSWERS.

FIRST, THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR OUR DILEMMA IS EVIDENT TO A GROWING NUMBER OF CANADIANS. THEY REALIZE NOW THAT THE FINGER OF BLAME POINTS AT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. FOR TOO LONG, THIS VIEW HOLDS, THE PEOPLE OF CANADA TOOK TOO CASUALLY THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS TO PERPETUATE AND ADVANCE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

WITH TOO LIGHT HEARTS, THEY DELEGATED THEIR AFFAIRS TO CAREERISTS WITHOUT EXACTING SENSIBLE STANDARDS OF ACCOUNTABILITY IN RETURN.

YET, WE MAY FIND SMALL CONSOLATION IN REALIZING THAT THIS WAS NOT A PURELY CANADIAN KIND OF MISCALCULATION. HISTORY SHOWS THAT PUBLIC COMPLACENCY ALWAYS HAS BEEN AT ONCE DEMOCRACY'S LUXURY AND DAMNATION.

IN ANOTHER ERA, DOROTHY THOMPSON, THE AWARD-WINNING JOURNALIST, WROTE ABOUT THIS PHENOMENON IN THE SATURDAY EVENING POST ISSUE, DATED JUNE 24, 1933. DEALING WITH EUROPE'S TOTALITARIAN EXPERIMENTATION OF THE PERIOD, MISS THOMPSON ASKED: "HOW DID ALL THIS COME ABOUT IN GERMANY?" HER REPLY WAS: "LARGELY BECAUSE SO-CALLED CIVILIZED PEOPLE DID NOT BELIEVE IT COULD."

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NOW CANADA APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN GOING THROUGH A STRAIN OF THE SAME INFECTION. THE REAL VILLAIN MAY NOT BE MR. TRUDEAU, OR MR. CLARK, OR MR. BROADBENT, OR THEIR COLLEAGUES; BUT OUR OWN COMPLACENCY IN ELECTING GOVERNMENTS AND MONITORING THEM ONCE IN OFFICE.

I BELIEVE OUR FAILURE TO SET MORE DEMANDING PERFORMANCE CRITERIA FOR THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT STEM FROM TWO POST-WAR PHENOMENA. NEITHER IS UNIQUE TO CANADA, BUT EACH HAS PRODUCED SIDE EFFECTS WHICH BEAR SIGNIFICANTLY ON OUR CURRENT SITUATION.

THE FIRST OF THESE IS THE LAVISH TRUST WE PLACED IN A NEWLY-EMERGING INTELLECTUAL ELITE.

IN OUR PEACETIME HASTE TO RAISE THE GENERAL LEVEL OF LITERACY, IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR US TO ENDORSE RAPIDLY-EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND RADICALLY DIFFERENT TEACHING PHILOSOPHIES. WITH UNCHARACTERISTIC DEFERENCE, WE ALSO DELIVERED OURSELVES UNRESERVEDLY TO THE VIEWS OF MANY INTELLECTUALS, SPAWNED BY THE SYSTEM, WHO GRAVITATED TO GOVERNMENT.

THERE THEY HAVE PLAYED A STRONG ROLE IN FRAMING POLICIES WHICH NOW ARE UNDER FIRE. DOCTRINAIRE NOTIONS RELATED TO STATE CAPITALISM, THE WELFARE STATE AND THE CANADIAN IMAGE ABROAD ARE TYPICAL FRUIT OF THIS LOOM.

THE SECOND PHENOMENON WITH NOTABLE IMPACT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS THE PRE-INFLATION BREAKDOWN OF OUR HISTORIC VIRTUE OF THRIFT IN THE WAKE OF UNACCUSTOMED POST-WAR AFFLUENCE.

THE MOST NATURAL CONCOMITANT WAS PUBLIC INDULGENCE TOWARD PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, A CONDITION MADE TO ORDER FOR TECHNOCRATIC IDEALISTS AND OPPORTUNISTS.

INFLATION-RIDDEN CANADIANS OF THE 1970s NOW ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEIR HARDEST-LEARNED ECONOMIC LESSON IS THAT THEY THEMSELVES CREATED THE CLIMATE FOR MORE THAN TWO DECADES OF GOVERNMENTAL EXTRAVAGANCES.

CANDIDATES WHO INTEND TO REACH OUT FOR FUTURE PUBLIC OFFICE WILL FACE THE HARD-LEARNED POLITICAL REALITY THAT THEIR CONSTITUENTS NOW ARE TURNING THEIR BACKS ON ONE OF THE WORLD'S COSTLIEST GOVERNMENTAL SUPERSTRUCTURES, WHICH HAS BECOME TOO BURDENSOME TO BE CAMOUFLAGED BY POLITICAL RHETORIC.

ALL OF THIS CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE COVERING SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CURRENT CANADIAN PUBLIC LIFE SEEMS TO POINT TO THE INEVITABILITY OF AN OVER-RIDING PUBLIC VERDICT: IT'S TIME TO GET TOUGH WITH CANADA'S POLITICIANS.

BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE VERDICT, IF AND WHEN IT COMES, WILL SPRING NOT JUST FROM THE DAMNING EVIDENCE OF PAST GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE. TO THE COUNTRY'S LONG-TERM ADVANTAGE, IT ALSO WILL REFLECT A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCEMENT IN RECENT YEARS IN THE SOPHISTICATION OF THE POLITICAL THINKING OF THE ORDINARY CANADIAN.

FOR ONE THING, HE IS NOT AS SUSCEPTIBLE TO POLITICAL VERBIAGE OR EXPEDIENTS AS HE WAS A DECADE AGO. HE IS BETTER INFORMED AND BETTER OFF. IRONICALLY, THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM WHICH CREATED AN INTELLECTUAL CLASS FOR PURPOSES OF GOVERNMENT ALSO GAVE RISE TO A CITIZEN BETTER PREPARED FOR DEMOCRACY.

FOR ANOTHER, HE NOW HAS HAD TIME TO VIEW THE DRASTIC IMPACT OF INDISCRIMINATE GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIMENTATION ON HIS PERSONAL AFFAIRS. THE GAP HAS BEEN NARROWED BETWEEN HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH HE MAY NOT HAVE GRASPED SUFFICIENTLY IN THE PAST, AND THE PRACTISE OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH CLEARLY AFFECTS HIS DAILY LIFE.

AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST HE HAS BEEN ABLE TO JUDGE POLITICIANS AT VERY CLOSE QUARTERS BECAUSE OF THEIR MORE DIRECT INVOLVMENT IN HIS PERSONAL AND BUSINESS LIFE. EVIDENTLY, THE REVELATION HAS NOT BEEN UNIVERSALLY FLATTERING TO THE INTRUDERS.

A GREAT MANY PEOPLE I TALK TO -- MORE THAN I WOULD HAVE PREDICTED FIVE YEARS AGO -- DISPLAY THESE AND OTHER SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RAPIDLY ADVANCING POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION. POLITICAL INTEREST IS AT A NEW HIGH BECAUSE OF GOVERNMENT'S GREATER INVOLVMENT IN NON-TRADITIONAL FIELDS, INCLUDING ECONOMICS, WHICH BEAR ON OUR DAY-TO-DAY LIVES.

ONE IMPORTANT UPSHOT OF GREATER PUBLIC SOPHISTICATION IN MATTERS POLITIC IS THAT MANY PEOPLE NOW ARE ABLE TO VIEW CURRENT EVENTS AGAINST THE LONGER SWEEP OF NATIONAL TRENDS. THUS, THEY REJECT ANY PERMANENCY IN OUR PRESENT SITUATION. WHAT MIGHT OTHERWISE BE INTERPRETED AS A FUNDAMENTALLY RADICAL SHIFT IN CANADIAN BEHAVIOR IN RECENT YEARS, IS NOW BEING VIEWED AS ONE OF THOSE BIZARRE BUT PASSING EPISODES OF POLITICAL EXPERIMENTATION FROM WHICH NO NATION IS IMMUNE.

SOPHISTICATED CANADIANS ALSO REJECT THE NECESSITY FOR ANY FEAR -- FELT MOSTLY OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY -- THAT MANY OF THE MOST REPELLANT HIGHLY-VISIBLE PROGRAMS TRULY REFLECT THE COUNTRY'S BASIC FEELINGS. I SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION BEING FAVORABLY AROUSED WHEN THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY DEBATES ITS VARIOUS FANTASIES FOR OUR FUTURE.

BUT I DO DETECT TOUGH STRAINS FORMING IN PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT POLICIES, AND I SUSPECT THIS TOUGHNESS WILL BE GRAFTED TO OUR APPRAISALS OF ASPIRING FUTURE POLICY-MAKERS, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER THEY APPEAR.

HOWEVER, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE TEST OF THE COUNTRY'S TOUGHNESS BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT ELECTION WILL NOT BE IN ATTITUDES EXPRESSED TOWARD POLITICIANS BUT IN GOALS SET FOR THEM.

SOMEHOW, FROM THE MAZE OF PLATFORMS OPEN TO, AND SERVING, ORDINARY PEOPLE, A CONSENSUS OF SPECIFIC GET-TOUGH POLITICAL CRITERIA MUST BECOME CLEARLY ENUNCIATED OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

TO THE ECONOMIC JOURNALIST, IT IS FAIRLY OBVIOUS THAT THE LIST WILL INCLUDE SOME OF THESE AS EARLY STARTERS:

NON-PRODUCTIVE ECONOMIC CONTROL PROGRAMS MUST BE ABATED OR ABANDONED, TO RESTORE GROWTH, AND TO PUT US BACK INTO SYNCHRONIZATION WITH THE DYNAMIC NORTH AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

TAX REFORMS TO RESURRECT INITIATIVES MUST BE DESIGNED AND IMPLEMENTED.

"SUNSET" LAWS MUST BE INTRODUCED TO ENSURE THAT THE USEFULNESS OF GOVERNMENT BUREAUS AND CROWN CORPORATIONS IS REVIEWED PERIODICALLY.

INTERNAL BUDGET CONTROL MECHANISMS IN GOVERNMENT MUST BE DE-POLITICIZED. FOR EXAMPLE, IN OTTAWA, THE TREASURY BOARD'S CREDIBILITY IS BRUISED BY ITS POLITICAL ORIENTATION.

SUPER-NATIONALISTIC IMPEDIMENTS TO FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATIONS AND MULTI-NATIONAL ENTERPRISE MUST BE CUT BACK TO SENSIBLE PROPORTIONS.

DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY BUSINESS IN GOVERNMENT SOMEHOW MUST BE UPGRADED. IF BUSINESS PEOPLE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO BE SHY ABOUT RUNNING FOR OFFICE, OTHER AVENUES FOR BETTER UTILIZING THEIR SKILLS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST MUST BE EXPLORED.

THIS PROPOSITION SHOULD NOT FALL ON AS MANY DEAF OR HOSTILE EARS AS IT WOULD HAVE SEVERAL YEARS AGO. THERE ARE CLEAR SIGNS WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH THE HIGH-TENSION ANTI-BUSINESS ERA WHICH THE INTELLECTUAL AND GOVERNMENTAL CLASSES HELPED CULTIVATE. PRESENT-DAY PUBLIC OPINION IS NOT AS BLIND TO THE IMPORTANCE OF ENTREPRENEURIAL INITIATIVES AS IT SOMETIMES APPEARED TO BE 10 YEARS AGO. I ASSURE BUSINESSMEN THAT SOMEBODY OUT THERE IS BEGINNING TO LISTEN TO THEM.

ONE OF OUR TOUGHEST CHALLENGES IS HOW CAN WE GET THE BEST ADVANTAGE OF THE U.S. SYSTEM OF CABINET SELECTION FROM OUTSIDE THE ELECTED BODY WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING OUR SYSTEM OF DIRECT MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE ELECTORATE? IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE HOST OF QUASI-ADVISORY BODIES SET UP IN THE PAST HAVE TURNED OUT TO BE HALF-HEARTED EFFORTS AT BEST BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO TEMPER POLITICAL PASSIONS WHEN POLICY DECISIONS WERE MADE. OTTAWA'S TRI-PARTITE SCHEME FOR GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND LABOR IS THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE.

ANOTHER GET-TOUGH GOAL THREATENS FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS WHICH STAGGER THE IMAGINATION. CONSIDER THE MASSIVE TASK WE FACE IF WE ARE TO MANDATE EVEN PARTIAL DISMANTLING OF THE GOVERNMENTAL MASSIF ERECTED IN THE 1960S AND 1970S.

YET OUR INSTINCTS TELL US THAT WE MUST DO SOMETHING. CANADIAN OPINION CURRENTLY SEEMS TO SHARE A VIEW EXPRESSED RECENTLY BY GOVERNOR JERRY BROWN OF CALIFORNIA. "THE TECHNOCRATS DRAW UP THEORETICAL PLANS WHICH IN REAL LIFE CAN'T WORK," HE SAID. "THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS TIRED OF THEM." THE SHEER MAGNITUDE OF THE JOB THAT IS REQUIRED TO EXTRICATE OURSELVES FROM THE HANDIWORK OF OUR TECHNOCRATS PRESENTS US WITH A FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE.

BUT AFTER ALL ELSE IS SAID, THERE MUST BE THE REALIZATION THAT PUBLIC TOUGHNESS TOWARD ITS POLITICIANS HAS TO BE FIRST ASSERTED AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL OF THE PROCESS WHICH SENDS THEM TO OFFICE IN THE BEGINNING.

MORE CANADIAN PEOPLE MUST INVOLVE THEMSELVES SEVERAL STAGES BEFORE THE LAWMAKING BEGINS. OF COURSE THIS WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE GREATER PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL RIDING ASSOCIATIONS WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY, TOO MANY OF US HABITUALLY REGARD AS BACKWATERS DOMAINS OF ECCENTRIC POLITICAL HOBBYISTS.

FOR AT THAT LEVEL, WHERE THE MAKING OF POLITICIANS BEGINS, ORDINARY PEOPLE CAN HELP ENSURE A BETTER CALIBRE OF CANDIDATES WHO ARE INSTILLED WITH A GREATER SENSE OF ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE CONSTITUENCY. THE TIME HAS COME FOR CONSTITUENT INTERESTS TO REPLACE CAUCUS DISCIPLINES AS THE PRIMARY INFLUENCES GOVERNING THE ACTIONS OF OUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR OUR NEW-FOUND POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION TO CAUSE MORE OF US TO LOWER OUR SIGHTS TO THOSE BOTTOM RUNGS OF GOVERNMENT-MAKING SO THAT EVENTUALLY WE CAN RAISE UP NEW NATIONAL HORIZONS MORE TO OUR LIKING.

THE NATIONALISTS MAY FROWN, MR. CHAIRMAN, WHEN I CONCLUDE MY REMARKS TODAY BY DRAWING FROM FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT. BUT IN STATING THE CASE FOR PUBLIC TOUGHNESS TOWARD POLITICAL REPRESENTATION, HOW CAN ONE AVOID FDR'S WORDS ON THE SUBJECT?

"THE ONLY SURE BULWARK OF CONTINUING LIBERTY,"  
HE SAID, "IS A GOVERNMENT STRONG ENOUGH TO PROTECT THE  
INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE; AND A PEOPLE STRONG ENOUGH AND  
WELL-ENOUGH INFORMED TO MAINTAIN ITS SOVEREIGN CONTROL  
OVER ITS GOVERNMENT."

THANK YOU.