

# The Globe and Mail

CANADA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER

Proprietor — The Globe and Mail Division of Canadian Newspapers Company Limited

444 Front St. W., Toronto M5V 2S9 Telephone 416 585-5000

The Globe founded 1844 The Mail founded 1872

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TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1986

## Necessary adjustments

A Cabinet shuffle is a delicate instrument; one wrong move can send a good minister from a compatible portfolio to a hostile one and disrupt two departments at once. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's shuffle, to his credit, seems to have avoided the pitfalls and increased the Cabinet's strength.

The Cabinet's new look means, first, the absence of an old face. Erik Nielsen will no longer be Deputy Prime Minister. Having enjoyed a heady stretch of power at the end of almost 30 years in the Commons, the dour ultra-partisan will leave the role of second-in-command to someone who will, we hope, have more answers and show more respect for other members of Parliament.

His replacement is Donald Mazankowski, a solid performer as transport minister; he reminded VIA Rail of some basic financial truths, and last week introduced a bill that seeks to deregulate road, rail and air transportation while ensuring safety. That task now falls to John Crosbie, who in turn leaves the controversies of the Justice Department to Ray Hnatyshyn. Mr. Hnatyshyn's first move should be to prune the excesses of Mr. Crosbie's over-zealous anti-pornography bill.

Mr. Mulroney, with one eye on the Tories' electoral health in Quebec, has drawn four of eight new Cabinet members from that province, including bright prospect Jean Charest as Minister of State for Youth — a challenge for an MP who is, at 28, apparently the youngest federal Cabinet minister ever. (Will he, unlike departing youth minister Andrée Champagne, have a budget to go with his title?)

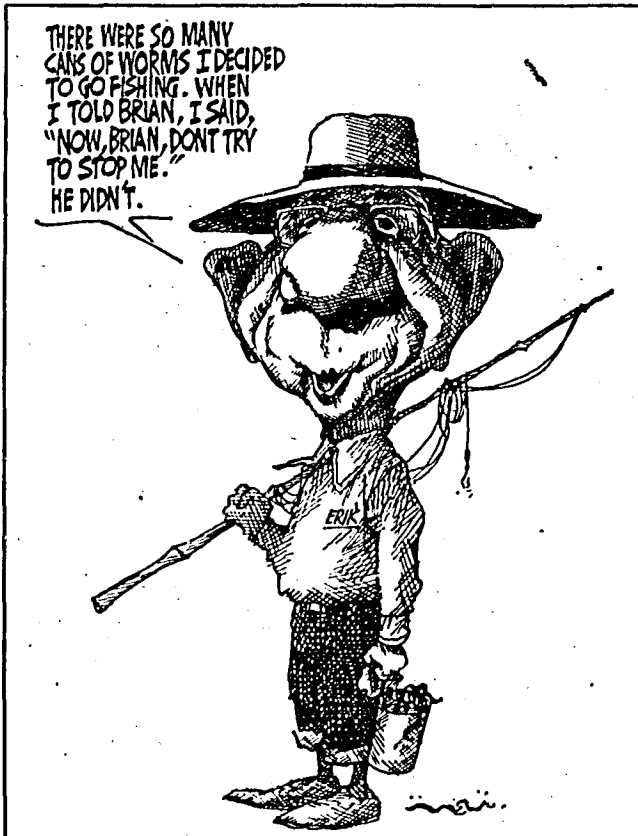
Higher up the ladder, Benoit Bouchard has been promoted to Minister of Employment and Immigration and Michel Côté has moved to Regional Industrial Expansion — the post vacated by Sinclair Stevens. (Mr. Côté retains responsibility for the Post Office, which must have

made his day.) Both represent attempts by Mr. Mulroney to increase francophone representation in major portfolios, as does his decision to move Marcel Masse to the Energy Department.

Mr. Masse, who left his distinctive nationalist stamp on Communications, replaces another strong minister, Pat Carney, who moves to carry the banner of the Canada-U.S. free(r) trade negotiations as Minister of International Trade. The challenge of taking over Communications falls to Flora MacDonald, whose experiences of late have not been happy; the Employment Department, while trying to cloak itself in secrecy, has been a fount of embarrassing leaks about cafeless spending and partisan policies. We wish the energetic minister a better match in the new portfolio.

Surprisingly, Barbara McDougall, who performed well as Minister of State for Finance, remains a junior minister; she becomes Minister of State for Privatization, and Minister Responsible for the Status of Women. (Does this signal an intention by the Government to give more prominence to these areas? We hope so.) David Crombie moves from Indian Affairs to Secretary of State and Minister for Multiculturalism — a change which, among other things, means Otto Jelinek will no longer be responsible for arranging compensation for Canadians of Japanese ancestry interned during the Second World War. Both parties may be relieved.

In sum, Mr. Mulroney has removed Mr. Nielsen, increased Quebec's representation in the Cabinet, shifted strong ministers to demanding portfolios and given promising MPs — notably Tom Hockin, co-chairman of the Senate-Commons committee on foreign relations, who replaces Mrs. McDougall — a chance to shine. It is a positive shuffle for a Government that really needs



## The Drapeau style

When Jean Drapeau's biographers, Brian McKenna and Susan Purcell, described the legendary Montreal mayor as Walt Disney and Al Capone combined, they fingered an ambiguity characteristic of Mr. Drapeau's three decades in power. His accomplishments have routinely ranged from the beneficent to the tyrannical, glossed with a mixture of genuine élan and simple force of personality.

Mr. Drapeau, the longest-serving municipal politician in any major North American centre, announced last week he would not seek the mayoralty of Canada's second-largest city for an unprecedented ninth term. Ever a master of stylish display, a tearful Mr. Drapeau told a press conference that failing health had forced him from the political arena. "I do not choose it," he said.

Perhaps it is just as well that it is chosen, however. Beneath a flamboyant surface and a penchant for the grandiose, Mr. Drapeau has more than once failed to serve the interests of Montrealers. He ran the city's affairs from back rooms, opting for secrecy and iron control, aided by a fiercely loyal cadre of followers. "The people and I, we understand each other," he once said. But did they, especially when bizarre projects like piece-meal transport of the Eiffel Tower to Montreal received more attention than an adequate sewage system?

And what of the 1976 Summer Olympics, which matched spectacular cultural success with abject financial failure? In that regard, the Games were emblematic of a man whose achievements were on a high order, but with little regard to cost: Expo 67, the Montreal Expos baseball franchise, the Place des Arts, the Metro subway system.

There is little doubt that these and other moves have succeeded in putting Montreal on the international map, a city of mature culture and excellent reputation. That the cost of this was loss of open government did not deter most Montrealers until 1982, when Mr. Drapeau's popularity slipped below 50 per cent for the first time.

A personality of near-mythical proportions emerges out of Mr. Drapeau's many productive years in office. Despite his faults, the man known as Monsieur le Maire will be missed.

## Our elusive essence

The quality of Canadian nationalism is not strained, dropping so gently from high places that it sometimes goes without notice. This tends to be regretted by artists and generals, but Canadians who return from abroad often appreciate, more consciously than their peers, a certain absence.

An absence of Sturm und Drang, élan, chutzpah, certitude, mission and conspicuous pride. Not that Canada lacks any of the traditional national virtues; they are here in various measures and emerge at particular times. But Canada seems ill at ease with charged generalities about itself, sensing their inadequacy as well as their pretension. Perhaps we do not wish to be confined by the shorthand of most national summations.

Division was a condition of union under foreign suzerainty 119 years ago — an unusually ambiguous birth that explains some of Canada's elusiveness. And things did not get more simple. Formally a bicultural country, the historic facts of 1867 were soon joined by the great settlement of the West after 1885 from many new parts of Europe, the completion of independence through the 1930s and 1940s, the "resettlement" of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver by another wave of immigrants after the 1950s, the re-emergence of natives as founding peoples and, to complete a growing circle, the affirmation of bilingualism in a multi-cultural context in league with Quebec's Quiet Revolution. If Canada's nationalism is not often expressed with economical clarity, it is because Canada's history lives.

Nation-building in these circumstances must always acknowledge variety in a free society without losing a sense of the common fate. Over and over again, we are asked to reconcile regionalism with nationalism, multi-culturalism with bilingual-

ism, state intervention with market economics and sovereignty with unusual dependence on the outside world — in our case, primarily a huge and dynamic United States. It might be said that reconciliation is the main business of Canadians as Canadians, not a bad boulder to roll up the hill for eternity, though it rarely offers the thrills of conventional nationalism.

Nurturing traditions, values, institutions and symbols that express the unity of Canadians is important in the presence of so many parallel forces. That is primarily Ottawa's job, an understanding the present Government does not always express with convincing force. While any conservative regime is expected to abet the operation of markets — a generally laudable policy — any Canadian government must also weigh in to ensure that Canadians have room to be Canadians in their own land — and, dare we say, to help define aspirations that Canadians will be inspired to share.

Canadian federalism has recovered from a dark period at the turn of the decade and Canada now finds itself in free trade negotiations with the United States, possibly the major external challenge to federalism since the Second World War.

Parliament remains an often disappointing forum in which to conduct Canada's common affairs, caricatured by high partisanship and concentration of power in a single pair of hands. Recent reforms have led to improvement, but the invigoration of Parliament is critical to a stronger sense of nationhood.

Among the citizens of the world, the citizens of Canada are trustees of demanding territory, in nature, in history, in culture. A wonderful country this, in so far as generalizations apply. Happy birthday.

## Syria the suspect

Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Sharaa insisted in May that his country has no ties with international terrorism. He added: "The Palestinian offices in Damascus have nothing to do with terrorism."

This week, however, a Palestinian who claimed to be a member of a breakaway guerrilla faction based in Damascus confessed to planting a bomb in a suitcase that an unsuspecting Spaniard was to take aboard an

Israeli El Al airliner. The bomb exploded at the airline counter, injuring 13 people.

In April, a Palestinian was charged with planting a bomb in his Irish girl friend's luggage, without her knowledge and sending her aboard an El Al flight. The bomb was discovered before she embarked. Britain suspected Syrian diplomats of supplying bomb components.

Does Syria wish to provoke the next Middle East war?

## Aims of a shuffle

BY JEFFREY SIMPSON

ST. JOHN'S Prime Minister Brian Mulroney realized four goals in shaking up his Cabinet.

He sought to enhance the Government's appeal in Quebec, to improve his ministry's political salesmanship and to enhance the Cabinet's ability to tackle the two overriding dossiers of the coming years — trade liberalization with Washington and a constitutional settlement with Quebec.

Mr. Mulroney's Quebec problem has been evident from election night. Against the flow of twentieth-century Canadian history, the Tories won 53 seats in Quebec. But only three of his Quebec MPs had ever been Cabinet members before.

So he gave Quebec 10 Cabinet seats, but only two of importance. He was going to wait for 18 months and assess the performance of his Quebec ministers, then weed out the poor ones, bring in the best of his Quebec backbenchers and hand several additional key economic portfolios to Quebecers.

All this he has now done, his eye nervously settling on the vagaries of Quebec political opinion. Quebec now has more ministers than any other province, or even any other region. Roch LaSalle, the former public works minister, is freed up to work fulltime on Quebec affairs. Quebec also has the Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney's chief of staff and the clerk of the Privy Council, the senior public servant in Ottawa. If this kind of representation won't stop the slide in Tory fortunes in Quebec, nothing will.

Mr. Mulroney is also convinced that his Government has sold its accomplishments poorly. Out the back door, therefore, went the dour Deputy Prime Minister, Erik Nielsen; in came the talented former minister of transport, Don Mazankowski, whose presence may reassure Western Canadians that Quebec isn't running the whole show.

With the same communications objectives in mind, Mr. Mulroney moved David Crombie from Indian Affairs to Sec-

retary of State, where his enormous popularity in Toronto can be better utilized. By making Mr. Crombie responsible for multiculturalism, the Prime Minister will try to use that popularity in Toronto to dent strong Liberal and NDP support among Mediterranean ethnic groups in the city.

Freer trade with the United States has become an issue so closely identified with the Mulroney Government that the Prime Minister had no choice but to improve his Government's capacity to sell the idea. That meant shifting the rather dull minister of state for international trade, James Kelleher, and replacing him with former energy minister Pat Carney. Miss Carney had already accomplished many of the party's goals in the energy portfolio. It now falls to Marcel Masse, the biggest loser in the shuffle, to tackle the Hibernia project off Newfoundland and then mind the shop.

The sleeper issue for the Government is the constitutional settlement with Quebec. Much of this tricky dossier will inevitably be handled by Mr. Mulroney. But he has brought Senator Lowell Murray into the Cabinet as Government Leader in the Senate with special responsibility for this dossier.

Mr. Murray, a university friend of the Prime Minister, ran Joe Clark's election and leadership campaigns. For these sins, he was cut out of the early action under Mr. Mulroney. But Mr. Murray voted against the 1982 patriation package, which should stand him in good stead in Quebec. He is also bilingual and a master strategist, two talents needed for his new assignment.

Now if the Prime Minister can improve his own performance by curbing his propensity to exaggerate, by shaking up his personal staff and by paying less attention to his image, this major Cabinet shuffle may have a chance of breathing new life into the Conservative Govern-

### Genuine options

Christine Shain was incorrect when she implied (letter — June 12) that Realwomen of Canada believes that all women should be full-time homemakers who are financially dependent on their husbands.

On the contrary, we believe that equality for women requires that women be given a genuine option to choose their career or lifestyle. This would include the option of remaining at home as a full-time homemaker, if they so choose. To support homemaking as an option is not to say that we believe that every woman should be in the home. Women are as different in their desires and abilities as men. Neither motherhood nor a master's degree is for everyone.

Our organization believes that in order to provide women with a genuine option, some assistance must be given to those many women who wish to remain at home but are unable to do so because of financial pressures. That is, policies must give full-time homemakers equity in the income tax laws with those in the labor force. To do so is not to ask for special favors, but merely to ask for government neutrality on the issue.

One way of providing this equity is to amend the Income Tax Act by replacing the marriage exemption with a full-time homemaker's tax credit, and to increase the tax credit for dependent children for all families earning \$35,000 or less.

This would, in Ms Shain's words, "allow a homemaker to exercise the option of raising her — or his — family while maintaining economic security."

Grace Petrasek  
President, Realwomen of Canada  
Toronto

### Mr. Nixon and OISE

It is an understatement to refer to Ontario Treasurer Robert Nixon's motivation for the transfer of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education to the University of Toronto as a "desire he had been nursing for years" (Why Transfer OISE? — editorial, May 19). The record of Mr. Nixon's statements in Hansard from 1965 reflects a "fundamental prejudice" against OISE.

As noted in your editorial, the university community — in co-operation with the provincial Government — has procedures for reviewing its institutions. OISE has successfully passed through two major reviews in the last three years. By bypassing agreed-upon procedures for university review, and proceeding with the OISE transfer without even a government study, Mr. Nixon's actions represent blatant interference in university affairs.

Through its current affiliation agreement with the U of T, OISE's

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

graduate studies programs must meet the approval of the university, its students are admitted through the university and its faculty members are cross-appointed to the university. The affiliation also provides the opportunity for greater integration and "enrichment" (as proposed by Mr. Nixon) be-

tween undergraduate education (from the faculty of education, U of T) and graduate education (from OISE). It is not necessary to transfer OISE and its budget to the U of T to accomplish this.

If the OISE transfer goes ahead, the biggest loser will be public education in Ontario. Besides its

## Treasure Island

JEAN HOWARTH

Mr. Carpenter is the government man on Madronna Island, the justice of the peace; and by and large he obeys the laws of Canada (he does sometimes find it necessary, for the public good, to remove Elinor Filibruster's anonymous letters from the mail).

But he does not run his car or truck on colored gas, which is reserved by the law for farm machines and fish boats. The rest of Madronna does. He never has bleach bottles full of Captain O'Grady's illegal gin lined up in his basement. The rest of Madronna does. He never shoots venison out of season. The rest of Madronna does. Venison served to Police Sergeant Munro is called veal.

Every once in a while, however, Mr. Carpenter just has to impress upon us that we live in what he views as a rather special country — a country, he says, that tries to be just. Last night, as we sat around his kitchen table, he told us how far Canada had been ahead of the United States and its Miranda ruling.

In 1966, said Mr. Carpenter, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed earlier courts in the case of Miranda vs. Arizona. The Miranda ruling is celebrating its 20th anniversary this year. But Canada had been using similar rules long before Miranda was heard of.

The U.S. Supreme Court, said Mr. Carpenter, had decided that the prosecution could not use statements made by a person in police custody unless the arrested person had first been warned that he had a right to remain silent, that anything he said might be used in evidence against him, and that he had the right to the presence of an attorney.

"I was talking to Sergeant Munro the other night about it," said Mr. Carpenter, "and he said our police had added the piece about the right to the presence of an attorney after

the Charter of Rights was passed. But the rest of it was there long before.

"Sergeant Munro said you informed the prisoner of the reason for his arrest, and made sure he understood it. He said it wouldn't be fair to rattle the words away at an Indonesian or a Palestinian who didn't know what you were talking about. Then you told him that he had the right to remain silent and that anything he said might be used in evidence. And then, since the Charter, you added the bit about the right to an attorney."

"It makes me mad," said Mr. Carpenter, "when I hear Canadians talking about Miranda, as though that was when these rights for prisoners were invented. They never seem to read anything but detective stories."

He told us about the time in the 1950s when he was in court as a witness against a man charged with murder. "It was a nasty business," he said, "and there wasn't much doubt that the man had done it. There was a good circumstantial case against him, but the clincher was a statement he'd made, after he was arrested, to an RCMP officer."

"The policeman took the stand after me and the prosecutor asked about the statement. Right then, the defence lawyer hopped up and asked the policeman if the prisoner had been warned before he made the statement. Some policemen I know would have said, 'Yes,' without a second thought.

"But that one stood there frozen, his face in a kind of agony. It was maybe a full minute before he said, 'No, I didn't warn him.'"

"I went behind afterwards to shake his hand and congratulate him on having the guts to tell the truth. He took my hand all right, but then he said sadly, 'Did you think I'd add perjury to a breach of duty?'"

formal degree programs, OISE provides a myriad of field services (workshops, informal advice, program development) and applied research to teachers and students throughout this province. Given the U of T's current funding formulas for its education faculty (about half of revenues related to education-faculty enrolments are siphoned off for other activities), OISE's field services would be curtailed greatly if it lost its fiscal autonomy.

In observing government behavior in the OISE affair, one is awestruck by the tendency to follow the leader — or the former leader, in this case. Your editorial's advice — "The Liberals shouldn't proceed with the union just to sate Mr. Nixon" — may be asking too much.

Jack Quarter  
Department of Applied Psychology  
Ontario Institute for Studies  
in Education  
Toronto

### Protesting Bill 94

Globe and Mail columnist Orland French wanted to know why more people did not protest the implementation of Bill 94 (Could It Be Doctor Bill Isn't Bad? — June 2).

I, for one, am clearly concerned about the growing number of repercussions and/or threatened repercussions directed toward those of us who choose to speak out. I cite, for example, Air Canada employee Toni Corado; the owner of Ottawa's Budapest Deli, Andre Vertes; and, more recently, veterinarian Dr. Paul Poetschke, who allegedly criticized Quebec's infamous Bill 101.

Once the state has control over my doctor as a professional and me as a patient, is it not possible that, by having expressed my profound dismay over this grotesque Bill 94, I might in the future be put on the "party" technocrats' hit list?

Intelligent men and women are fighting for universal day care. I'm worried. State-controlled children next?

Anne Hrnchiar  
Nepean, Ont.

Part of the blame for the mess in which we find ourselves must rest with the way we train our doctors. Entrance into medical school depends on mastery of the narrow, hard sciences. Then, in medical school and residency, we stress them so hard that medical students probably don't have time to read a newspaper or attend a non-medical party. They become a breed apart.

Now society wants to take away a small prerogative which most of their spokesmen piously deny using anyway. They have so little sense of the common will that they grossly over-react with a strike.

Jonathan Ball  
Toronto