



KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEES
IN THE SASKATCHEWAN MEDICARE CONTROVERSY

A Thesis

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by

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June 16/62

50,048

Saskatchewan Citizens

Petitioned Against the COLD, RUTHLESS,
NAKED Power of Dictatorial Might!

• • • •
50,048 People Were Denied Fair Consideration!

• • • •
WRITE — TELEPHONE — WIRE

Your M.L.A. and insist that he speak for You as Your
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE

TO: MY M.L.A.

If you have more than one M.L.A.,
make copies and send one to each.

(Name of M.L.A. representing you)

c/o Keep Our Doctors Committee, Box 1373, Saskatoon

STOP IMPLEMENTATION OF MEDICARE PLAN JULY 1,
UNLESS AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH DOCTORS

NOTE:

Be sure to sign and use your correct
Name and Address.

NAME

ADDRESS

DOCTORS DO NOT OBJECT TO PREPAID MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE

They Do Object to the Restrictive Controls Contained in

SECTION 49 of

THE SASKATCHEWAN MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE ACT!

Section 49, of the Act, deals with the "Powers of the commission to make regulations" and reads:

(1) Subject to the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, (actually, Saskatchewan government Cabinet Ministers) the commission may make regulations for the purpose of establishing and administering a plan of medical care insurance for the residents of Saskatchewan and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, may make regulations:

(a) Prescribing the arrangements to be made for payment to physicians, and to other persons providing services, for providing insured services to beneficiaries;

THIS MEANS: That the doctor and the patient is denied the right to establish the method of payment they wish to enter into on a contractual arrangement. It could provide a means whereby payment to a doctor might be unduly delayed as payments in other fields have been long delayed after work has been completed and bills rendered. Political factors involved here could make this an effective weapon against a particular doctor.

(b) Providing for the establishing, maintaining and altering, subject to subsection (2), of lists of persons entitled to receive payment under this Act for providing insured services;

THIS MEANS: Advertisements placed by the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Commission in publications circulating in foreign lands soliciting applications by interested doctors, indicate that the Commission contemplates bringing in doctors who may not be approved by the "appropriate professional body" and adding them to the list of persons entitled to practice medicine and receive payment under the Act for providing insured services.

(c) Prescribing the rates of payments to be made under this Act to physicians and other persons and the method of assessing accounts submitted by physicians and other persons;

THIS MEANS: The Saskatchewan Medical Care Commission has complete authority to prescribe the rates of payment to be made under the Act for services rendered by physicians and other persons without consultation with the providers of such services; under this subsection the Commission also may prescribe the method of assessing accounts submitted by physicians and others which could mean demanding personal details respecting the services rendered.

(d) Respecting the manner and form in which accounts shall be rendered and in which any other required information shall be submitted;

THIS MEANS: This subsection obviously provides the Commission with sweeping powers as it may make regulations respecting the "manner and form in which accounts shall be rendered" and in addition "any other required information" may be demanded by regulations made by the politically-appointed Commission.

(e) Respecting the manner and form in which payments to physicians and other persons shall be made under this Act;

THIS MEANS: This subsection of the Act could permit the Commission to make payments to doctors on any basis it so decided without reference to the wishes of those rendering the insured services. Payments could be made at irregular periods, or by monthly, quarterly, half yearly, yearly or in any other manner or form so decided by an all-powerful politically-appointed Commission. Again, this would afford the means of providing complete economic control over the providers of insured services.

(f) Respecting the manner in which persons may be identified as beneficiaries;

THIS MEANS: The politically-appointed Commission has complete power to determine who are beneficiaries. Any individual or group of individuals could be cut off as beneficiaries. It also means that certain classifications of persons could be taken off as beneficiaries, or benefits could be curtailed as they have been under the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan already in force.

(g) Prescribing the terms and conditions in which physicians and other persons may provide insured services to beneficiaries;

THIS MEANS: The Commission, under this subsection, has complete control over doctors and other persons and could prescribe how, where and to whom service might be rendered.

(h) Respecting the kind of information to be procured under any of the provisions of this Act;

THIS MEANS: A politically-appointed Commission may demand the complete file on any or all patients served by any doctor or other person providing insured services to beneficiaries. This is complete State control such as could be expected in a totalitarian or communistic state.

Sponsored by Keep Our Doctors Committee (Saskatoon) P.O. Box 1373,

Your Donation May Be Mailed to the Above Mailing Address.

TO OUR PATIENTS

This Office Will Be Closed After

July 1st, 1962

We Do Not Intend To Carry On Practice

Under

The Saskatchewan Medical Care

Insurance Act

On the advice of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons,² for the next twenty-three days, from July 1st of that year, most of the doctors in Saskatchewan withdrew their normal medical services. The purpose of this paper is the study of a certain aspect of, rather than the entire, Medicare controversy in Saskatchewan. One of the most significant factors to appear in the course of the controversy was the emergence of Keep Our Doctors Committees³ throughout the province. Observation of this phenomenon and the influence the KODs had on the Saskatchewan body politic, are the main tasks of this study. Who were the KODs? What were their objectives? How did they organize themselves? Where and how did they obtain their financial support? These are some of the questions the paper will attempt to answer.

The approach taken in this study is that of pressure group analysis: Chapter I deals with the theoretical framework of pressure group politics. As their title suggests, the KODs came into being primarily as an endeavour to keep Saskatchewan doctors in Saskatchewan. Consideration of events and

²Hereafter referred to as the College.

³Hereafter referred to as the KOD in singular and KODs to indicate the plural.

PREFACE

Democratic government implies that the people shall rule. This means, if it means anything, that public opinion shall find expression in law. Democracy without organization, however, is inconceivable and public opinion that is unorganized is likely to be evanescent and ineffective. The individual man enmeshed in a maze of differentiated human beings finds it necessary to organize with others of a like mind so that by concerted action they may influence the state to their will. Political parties are one result of this process. But a political party is a conglomeration of numerous and diverse elements whose only basic similarity of objective is to train, elect and sustain a government. No longer is a political system considered to be democratic merely by virtue of the fact that elections are 'free' and that those who are at present in power have been elected accordingly.

"Representative government is not adequately pictured when viewed as the mere selection of a number of political servants. It embraces also the representatives of voluntary associations who advise, coerce, or cajole the servants. 1.

To understand fully the political processes in a liberal democracy, therefore, one must also study the pressure group and not only the governmental activities and political parties as has been traditionally the case.

Towards the end of June 1962 the following notice appeared on the doors of doctors' offices throughout Saskatchewan:

1 P. H. Odegard, Pressure Politics - The Story of the Anti-Saloon League, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928, p. IX.

reasons which led the doctors to withdraw their services for the twenty-three days, and some to leave the province, are, therefore, indispensable to a profitable appraisal of the KOD phenomenon. Chapter II discusses the background to the Medicare controversy, the attitude of doctors towards government-controlled medicine, the stand taken by the College towards such a scheme, and the Government's efforts to meet what it considered legitimate concern and fears of the doctors. Chapter III attempts, in a brief outline, to give a province-wide picture of the KOD movement, how and where it began; of the emergence of the Provincial Keep Our Doctor Committee⁴ and what its functions were.

In the course of the Medicare controversy Regina and Saskatoon were the main centres of KOD activities. Saskatoon, however, emerged as the more active of the two. To reduce the scope of the study to a manageable proportion⁵ the Saskatoon Keep Our Doctors Committee is taken as the case study. There are other reasons for the choice. Although the Provincial KOD was formed and had its office in Regina, most of its meetings were held in Saskatoon. Proceedings⁶ of these meetings were recorded in the Saskatoon records and the writer has been favoured with access to them. Chapter IV discusses the Saskatoon KOD.

In the light of what we have learnt about the KOD activities in the Medicare controversy, is the case for pressure groups in a democracy

⁴

Hereafter referred to as the Provincial KOD, and data obtained from it as the Provincial KOD Records.

⁵

Hereafter referred to as the Saskatoon KOD.

⁶

Hereafter all the data obtained from the Saskatoon KOD will be referred to as the Saskatoon KOD Records.

strengthened or weakened? Were the KODs a genuine pressure group movement? Chapter V concludes with discussions of these questions.

NOTES ON DOCUMENTATION

The Medicare controversy is a relatively recent history and it attracted Dominion and international newspaper, radio and television coverage. Collection of data has been an exacting task, though an exciting one. In addition to newspapers, magazine articles and recorded speeches and statements the study is based on personal interviews, private documents, KOD records and other related material. Most of the people interviewed have expressed the wish to remain anonymous. Proper documentation has therefore been difficult.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

THE DETERMINANTS OF PRESSURE GROUP POLITICS

Pressure group politics is based, primarily, on the group theory of politics. Reduced to its essence the theory is a movement away from the classical liberal traditions where political processes (as indeed were those of economics) were conceived of primarily in terms of the individual, who was assumed to be rational and capable of realizing his own objectives. It was further assumed that he was 'free' to associate with others and that he could engage himself in any venture or activity as long as he did not interfere with other people's interests or actions. The individual was the starting point of all actions. The group was an anomaly.

Group theorists postulate that we can understand the individual's action only in terms of the group to which he belongs. It is the group which, in the first place, imparts to him values and objectives. The individual, group theorists further assert, is a myth. We all belong to one group or another - a family, a tennis club or a professional association. This is normal or the 'norm'. It is only when one deviates from this pattern that one becomes an individual and, consequently, an anomaly.

One of the leading exponents of the group theory of politics was Arthur Bentley.⁷ To Bentley "the existing state of society is the balance of group pressure", and pressure included "all forms of the group

⁷ A. F. Bentley, The Process of Government - A Study of Social Pressure The Principia Press Inc., Bloomington, Ind., 1949.

influence upon (other) groups". He said that the governmental process is nothing more than interaction of groups, in which government itself is a group, but a group with the important role of adjusting other groups in a "particular distinguishable group or system".⁸ The individual in Bentley's scheme had no recognized place in the process of government.

All phenomena of government are phenomena of groups pressing one another forming one another, and pushing out new groups and group representatives (the organs and agencies of government) to mediate the adjustments. It is only as we isolate these group activities, determine their representative values, and get the whole process stated in terms of them, that we approach to a satisfactory knowledge of government.⁹

And having identified "interests" as "nothing other than the group activity itself," Bentley exalted the group in the study of political process: "Always and everywhere our study must be a study of the interests that work through government; otherwise we have not got down to facts".¹⁰

In his book "The Governmental Process" which appeared three years after Bentley's "The Process of Government", David Truman agreed with Bentley almost to the word.

Whether we look at an individual citizen, at the executive secretary of a trade association, at a political party functionary, at a legislator, administrator, governor or judge, we cannot describe his participation in the governmental institution, let alone account for it, except in terms of the interests with which he identifies himself and the group with which he affiliates and with which he is confronted.¹¹

⁸

Ibid., p. 259

⁹

Ibid., p. 269

¹⁰

Ibid., p. 271

¹¹ D. B. Truman, The Governmental Process - Political Interests and Public Opinion, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1951, p. 502.

Truman however differed from Bentley in emphasis: whereas Bentley rested his analysis of groups on "shared attitude", Truman put his emphasis on the "uniformity of behaviour" of groups. Whereas Bentley did not exhaustively study the internal mechanism and external techniques of group activities, although he did elevate the group to a pedestal in the understanding of the process of government, Truman's book is endowed with the distinction of having improved on Bentley in that Truman undertook a detailed analysis (however ambiguous the terms he used) of the workings of the group.

S. E. Finer in his study of the 'Lobby in Great Britain'¹² takes the view that the Lobby plays the important role of filling the vacuum that exists between elections, and between one item on an election programme and the others.¹³ To the extent that elections are integral parts of the political process, the Lobby too becomes part of that process. And V. O. Key in his encyclopaedic study of pressure groups argues on the general theme that "A working conception of the political process must take into account the interactions among groups, interests and governmental institutions that produce such decisions".¹⁴

The group theorists are all in agreement, with varying shades of emphasis, on the significance of the group in the understanding of

¹² S. E. Finer, Anonymous Empire - A Study of the Lobby in Great Britain, the Pall Mall Press Ltd., London, 1958.

¹³ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴ V. O. Key, Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, Fourth Edit., 1958, p. 142; p. 158; p. 161; p. 171.

political process, but in the actual definition of what constitutes a group they are in conflict with each other. Some define the group in terms of 'shared attitudes' (Bentley's position); others, in terms of 'uniformity of behaviour' (the position held by Key and Truman); while yet others, in their definition of the group, introduce the element of potentiality in group formation. This essentially is a conglomeration of individuals with shared attitudes who are not yet interacting, but who will form an actual group if other groups already organized act in ways which the group regards as detrimental to their interests. The war of definitions still rages.¹⁵

Although this is not a study of pressure groups in general but of a specific pressure group, it by no means absolves us from defining "pressure group". One of the outstanding characteristics of the Social Sciences is the absence of agreement on definitions of concepts. Indeed we can go on arguing until Gabriel's trumpet sounds and yet get nowhere. Still, the questions must be asked: what is a pressure group? How do we

¹⁵ See Earl Latham, "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes For a Theory", American Political Science Review, (hereafter referred to as A.P.S.R.), 1952, pp. 376 - 397; especially pp. 376 - 383.

Stanley Rotham, "Systematic Political Theory: Observation On the Group Approach", A.P.S.R., 1960, pp. 15 - 33.

Robert T. Golembiewski, "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes On Analysis and Development", Ibid., pp. 962 - 971.

M. J. M. MacKenzie, "Pressure Groups: The Conceptual Framework", Political Studies, Vol. III, No. 3, 1955, pp. 247 - 255.

Philip Monypenny, "Political Science and the Study of Groups: Notes To Guide a Research Project", Western Political Quarterly, (hereafter referred to as W.P.Q.), Vol. 7, 1954, pp. 183 - 201.

Peter H. Odegard, "A Group Basis Of Politics: A New Name For An Ancient Myth", W.P.Q., Vol. II, No. 1, 1958, pp. 689 - 702.

Roy C. Macridis, "Interest Groups In Comparative Analysis", Journal of Politics, Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 25 - 45.

recognize one when we see it? "We seem to have no difficulty in recognizing a pressure group when we meet one, but this does not make definition any easier."¹⁶ Then what is it that makes definition difficult? What are the peculiarities of a pressure group which make its definition difficult to the political scientist? One source of difficulty here is the advisability of using the term 'pressure'. Truman for example considers that the term 'pressure' ought not to be used 'scientifically' as it connotes shady dealings and corruptions. He therefore suggests "political interest group" instead, and defines it,

... any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied by the shared attitudes. ¹⁷

Key assumes a position similar to that of Truman. On page 144 of his book, Key says "The term 'pressure' itself can be quite misleading, for much of the work of these groups does not involve turning the heat on...".¹⁸ Key suggests the term "shared attitudes" instead.

Finer rejects both "pressure" and "interest". To him "pressure" implies some kind of sanction to be used if demands are not met, but, he argues, as Key does, most groups do not do this: they merely reason and argue and do not threaten. Further, even groups which do use pressure do not do so all the time. Whereas the term "pressure" is too broad, Finer considers the term "Interest" too narrow, and therefore has no use for

¹⁶ W. J. M. MacKenzie, Pressure Groups in British Government", British Journal of Sociology, 1955, p. 133.

¹⁷ Truman, Op. Cit., p. 33.

¹⁸ Key, Op. Cit., p. 144; p. 166.

either of them. Instead he suggests the term "Lobby" which "... covers both classes of organization, since it embraces all groups but only IN SO FAR AS THEY SEEK TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC POLICY".¹⁹

Whereas Finer had no use for "pressure" or "interest", Harry Eckstein, on the other hand takes the opposite position to Finer, categorically accepting the term "pressure group" and taking Finer to task. Of Finer's position he says :

If pressure 'group' is to be read out of the dictionary because it carries (whether it should or not) the connotations of sanctions, surely we ought to read out terms like Lobbyist too, because they carry, to my sensibilities at any rate (and I venture to say to those of most Americans), even more pungent implications. Lobbyists are people who try to get things unfairly, who intrigue and bribe and attack us subliminally; in America we make them register like paroled convicts.²⁰

Another source of difficulty in the definition of "pressure group" is that many groups important in politics are hazy organizations of a very informal kind, the members of which do not always recognize themselves for what they are.²¹ But, one may ask, is it necessary that members of a group should be aware of a communalitv of their interests before they feel - or are made to feel - that their interests are being affected? Is it not the case that most people do not know what their interests are, and that more often than not what appears to be their interest is that which

¹⁹ Finer, Op. Cit., p. 3.

²⁰ Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1960, pp. 10 - 11.

²¹ MacKenzie, Op. Cit., p. 135.

has been impressed upon them by others as being their interest?²² But these are questions which demand careful consideration before one attempts to answer them, and this is not a place to pursue the matter.

For the purpose of this study a pressure group will be defined as a non-partisan organization of a segment of the population formed to exert influence upon the legislative, the executive (cabinet) and other governmental agencies through public opinion for the enactment or rejection of certain legislation, or for the adoption, modification or discontinuance of public policy. A distinction however must be made between a pressure group and an interest group. On the one hand, a pressure group pursues ends or goals by means other than attempting to take the reins of government to govern the country itself. On the other hand, an interest group, although more likely to pursue political aims just because its members have objective characteristics in common, need not necessarily always be involved in politics. But when it does become engaged in politics, it becomes a specie of the broader genus of pressure groups.²³

Thus defined a pressure group has certain significant peculiarities.

22 What precisely constitutes an "interest" or "public interest" is a difficult matter to resolve. At any rate such a venture is beyond the scope of the present study. For a stimulating discussion on the topic, however, see John Plamenatz, "Interest" Political Studies, 1954, pp. 1 - 8; J. S. Sorauf, "Public Interest Reconsidered", Journal Of Politics, 1957 pp. 616 - 639.

23 Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 9. Eckstein defines interest group chiefly by objective characteristics. So does the writer.

Also see R. W. Gable, "Interest Groups as Policy Shapers", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, (hereafter referred to as the Annals), Sept. 1958, p. 85.

On the one hand, it involves the political promotion of interests and values; on the other, it involves something less than an attempt by the group to become the government.²⁴ A pressure group concentrates its attention for the most part on policy, working in, through and with the political parties when possible, at arm's length from them when necessary.²⁵

The important distinctions between a pressure group and a political party must now be apparent. Whereas the latter seeks to recruit, train, elect and sustain government leaders, the former only seeks to influence policy in the light of its own interests and objectives. A pressure group can become, and indeed does form, a part of a political party.²⁶ Moreover, to the extent that the modern political party is vested with two rather incompatible functions - to provide efficient decision-makers and to represent accurately public opinions - the pressure group is vital to the democratic process. Not only does the pressure group ventilate opinions of its members, it also scrutinises legislation and quite often unearths hidden, or, what on the surface may appear as, harmless clauses.

The next questions to which we have to address ourselves are: how does a pressure group come into being? How does it evolve? What are the conditions which make formation of a pressure group possible?

When Aristotle made the now famous and often quoted statement that

²⁴ Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 26

See also E. E. Schattschneider, "Pressure Groups Versus Political Parties", Annals, 1948, p. 17

²⁵ Annals, Op. Cit., 1958, p. IX.

²⁶ Key, Op. Cit., p. 171

"man is a social animal" he was merely recording for posterity what countless others before him had already observed. With very rare exceptions, men have always been found to live in association with other men; it seems to have been the case that Aristotle was driven to the conclusion that it was only the beast or the gods who could afford to live outside the State. Life in the 'state' or society, however, necessitates organization and organization presages government. "Government is a universal, if not always an admirable, feature of society. The most primitive tribes and the most industrialized nation states have their governing process".²⁷ To maintain internal tranquillity and to defend the state from external threats, government is perforce driven to control and regulate men and resources. "However diverse the process and forms of government may appear to be, tribal chieftains, tyrants, ruling aristocracies and chief executives of modern republics have something in common: they exercise power."²⁸

As the heart of government is public policy and its life blood is the policy-making process, and as the ultimate aim of a pressure group is to influence rather than to assume public policy, it therefore follows that there will always be a pressure group wherever there is a government. And as government is a universal phenomenon, it also follows that a pressure group is a universal feature. Wherever there are governments there must also be pressure groups.

Granting this as the case, the next questions we need to ask are:

²⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

what is it that activates a pressure group into action or, more to the point, what is it that activates an interest group into politics? What is it that determines the number of pressure groups?

One of the inevitable consequences of specialization and division of labour is the proliferation of groups of various sizes and degrees of interdependence. Had it been possible to leave internal government of these organizations in the hands of their members, the task of general government would have been an easier matter; unfortunately this is not the case, as one group's activities sooner or later affect adversely other groups or interests, Government is compelled to interfere lest chaos prevail. It is this kind of interference, on one hand, and the fact that today governments have extended their areas of activities, with welfare legislation, on the other, that provide the impetus for pressure groups to emerge.²⁹ The pressure group will get into action to influence implementation, modification or withdrawal of a certain policy.

But Government legislation is not always of universal applicability, nor does it, when it is of universal application, affect all equally. Some groups or individuals may be adversely affected by it, while others may not be thus affected.³⁰ A good illustration here was the position of the College. Although the Medical Care Insurance Act 1961 was of universal application, the doctors felt that the Act affected them more

²⁹ Ibid., p. 137
 Eckstein, Op. Cit., pp. 26 - 27.
 Truman, Op. Cit., p. 45.
 Bentley, Op. Cit., p. 260.

³⁰ Key, Op. Cit., p. 135
 Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 36

than other people, and consequently the doctors demurred.³¹

Nor, Key argues, does economic status necessarily predispose one to similar attitudes with others of the same economic status.³² This point is well taken. Still one cannot help recognizing that the mere fact of belonging to some economic interest group does predispose one to the adoption of common attitudes peculiar to that group - for example, common attitudes by virtue of the fact that they are all retail merchants or coffee-hawkers. This does not exclude the possibility that there may be some people in the group who have a different view or interpretation of a certain piece of legislation. But this is a possibility, and a possibility to be sure, based on other criteria than economics. The Medicare Act is again a case in point. The College took the view that the Act adversely affected the doctors' freedom of professional practice and, consequently, opposed it. Nevertheless, there were doctors who did not share the College's stand in the Medicare dispute. These were the doctors, who, while sharing the College's interpretation of the Act, did not withdraw their services during the July impasse: these doctors felt it was morally wrong for a doctor to refuse to render medical services under any circumstances. There were also other doctors who interpreted the Act differently from the College and, consequently, did not withdraw their services during the first three weeks of July. However the profession as

³¹ Whether the Act affected the doctors' professional freedom as the College stated that it did, or not, is not the question here. What is important is the fact that the College felt the Act affected the doctors' freedom and consequently the College took steps to see that the Act was changed or repealed. For details see Chapter II.

³² Key, Op. Cit., p. 124

represented by the College took only one stand and all the doctors, with a very few exceptions, heeded the College's advice and withdrew their services during the July impasse. Whether or not the doctors withdrew their services because of pressures brought upon them by the College or by their colleagues is uncertain. But one thing is certain: it was as doctors, a professional group whose interests they felt were being threatened by the Act, that they withdrew their services.

What determines the form and structure of a pressure group? What factors determine the 'modus operandi' of a pressure group, its scope and effectiveness? As the ultimate aim of a pressure group is always to bring pressure to bear where it will produce the intended consequence, this makes the power structure of government the main criterion as to where that pressure will be levelled.³³ For example, in countries with the cabinet form of government, pressure tends to be exerted on the Cabinet; but where separation of powers prevails, for example in the United States, pressure group efforts seem to be distributed among the various organs of Government and Agencies.³⁴

Not only does government structure affect the 'modus operandi' of a pressure group, but also the very structure of a pressure group itself.

In Britain, for example, where a unitary form of government exists, all major professional and trade associations are also unitary in

³³ Eckstein, Op. Cit., pp. 15 - 16; p. 18; pp. 20 - 21; p. 30; p. 37.

³⁴ Annals, Op. Cit., 1958, p. 64.

structure. In the United States, groups differ.

Not only does the American federal system guide political pressure into certain channels, as in the case of teachers' organization, but it impedes the formation of national association as such. The American Bar Association, for instance, has a very small membership and was relatively late in getting under way compared to state and legal associations. Why? Simply because training and admission to the profession - the two political concerns which most often lead to the formation and growth of professional association - are controlled by state governments, not the federal government." 35

Finally, what is it that determines the effectiveness of a pressure group? What determines its policy? The size of the pressure group, its resources - financial and otherwise - and, above all, good leadership are some of the determinants.³⁶ What is to be the policy depends upon what is, or is likely to be, affected, or upon what Finer calls the "twilight zone", being a point at which the pressure group or pressure groups likely to be affected by a proposed legislation or policy begin to make their reactions felt. The pressure group then warns and advises.

It becomes increasingly hard to distinguish whether what we are observing is spontaneous reaction or deliberate policy - prediction of the future or a threat to use social leverage to gain sectional ends. 37

A good illustration of this is the position assumed by the College since the Birch Hill by-election speech by T. C. Douglas in December 1959.³⁸ The power the group affected wields and the degree to which the pressure group is able to associate itself and its objectives with the rest of the

³⁵ Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 21.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 34.

³⁷ Finer, Op. Cit., p. 125.
Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 36.
Annals, 1958, Op. Cit., p. 88.

³⁸ See Chapter II for details.

public, or the more influential and though not essential, vocal segments of it, will to a large measure determine the success of the pressure group.³⁹

Key discerns two methods which a pressure group may employ to put pressure on legislators or on the government; the 'rifle' type and the 'shot-gun' type. The first consists of enlisting the support of a few selected individuals thought to have influence with individual legislators. The second type of pressure consists of encouraging all and sundry to write, wire or telephone their legislators, or whomever may be considered as being capable of putting pressure on the legislators, or on other people who in turn would put pressure on yet other people to put pressure on the legislators or the government. The object here may be to arouse the legislature into action by promoting the appearance of a universal insistent and urgent public demand. Quite often this type of pressure technique is a short-term campaign calculated to build up public favour for or against a particular public policy or piece of legislation.⁴⁰

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the pressure group, from both the standpoint of the political scientist who wishes to understand how the pressure group behaves, and the statesman or the civil servant whose main concern is to care for the public interest, or the 'public good', is the formation of views of a pressure group. Here the controlling oligarchy,

³⁹ Finer, Op. Cit., p. 125.
Eckstein, Op. Cit., p. 36.
Annals, Op. Cit., p. 88.

⁴⁰ V. O. Key, Op. Cit., pp. 149 - 151.



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the "active minority" invariably plays a crucial if not a determining role. The leadership may indoctrinate the membership, or it may, in the absence of adequate control from the membership, speak in the name of the group without much guidance from the group sentiments. And as the pressure group gains authority over its members, a point may be reached where the power of the pressure group conflicts with that of the state, where the individual is then torn by conflicts of loyalties - to his group and to the state. The tasks of government, as indeed that of allegiance by the citizens, then become difficult ones.

One of the main functions of a government is to resolve group interests in the light of what the government conceives to be in the public interest. However, a problem arises when the government is itself party to the conflict. Who then is to be the mediator? This essentially seems to be the position in which the Government of Saskatchewan found itself with regard to the Medicare impasse. In liberal democracies the regular and 'free' election is one way of resolving this problem of conflicts between the government and other organized groups. The electorate then becomes the mediator and the election results, its judgement. But the case is not as simple as it appears. A shrewd government can time its unpalatable legislation and with a 'little bit of luck' get away with it.

To sum up, pressure groups will emerge wherever there is government activity - or inactivity. More to the point, pressure groups will be found wherever people are found living in groups, that is, wherever there is Society. And taking the Aristotelian-Rousseauian synthesis that

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 141

"man is a social animal" and that he is "born free but is everywhere in chains", one can hardly wonder at the variegated reputation the pressure groups have earned for themselves. "A pressure group may be accepted, respected, feared, heeded, or it may be regarded as ridiculous, inconsequential, irresponsible, suspect - even contemptible."⁴²

⁴² Ibid., p. 146.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND:

EVENTS LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF NORMAL MEDICAL SERVICES BY THE COLLEGE.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of events which led to the doctors' withdrawal of service on July 1, 1962. The KOD's committees came into being, as their title suggests, primarily to try to keep the Saskatchewan doctors in Saskatchewan. The reasons why doctors withdrew their services and others left the province, during the period under study, are therefore relevant to a proper appreciation of the KOD phenomenon. What then were the reasons which led the majority of doctors in Saskatchewan to withdraw their service during the months of June and July, and some to leave the province?

On April 25, 1959, in a by-election speech at Birch Hills, T. C. Douglas the then Premier of Saskatchewan, made a statement in which he envisaged a complete health care program for the residents of Saskatchewan. He did not, however, pronounce a date on which such a program would be implemented.

Following the above speech, the College wrote to the Premier for confirmation and elaboration of the statement. The Premier replied and said that it had always been the policy of his government to provide a complete health insurance program. But, the Premier assured the College, "nothing would be undertaken without prior consultation with the College

and without ample consultation with the College".¹

Six months later, on October 29, 1959, the College held its annual meeting at Saskatoon. A comprehensive, universal and compulsory health program was one of the items on the agenda. The following resolution was passed:

The members of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan oppose the introduction of a compulsory Government-controlled Province-wide medical care plan and declare our support of and the extension of health and sickness benefits through indemnity and service plans.

On the same day, the Secretary of the College sent a copy of the complete text of the above resolution to all Secretaries of Medical Societies in Saskatchewan. The resolution was embodied in a letter, which began:

Dear Doctor: I have been directed to write you in your capacity as Secretary of our District Medical Society about a matter which is felt to be of great importance to each doctor and the profession as a whole.

And ended with the following warning and message:

You can readily see how important this Resolution is. Your Committee feels that this Resolution requires full discussion on the part of each District Society and requests that it be included on the agenda of your next meeting.

From various reports it would appear that this question will assume considerable importance in the political field in the near future.

It is felt that if the public is properly and adequately informed about this question, we will obtain their full support. It is also felt that our best approach is through each physician and his personal contact with his patient.

¹ Dr. E. W. Barootes, College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan (Saskatchewan Division of the Canadian Medical Association) Special General Meeting, May 3, and 4, 1962. Progress Report, (mimeographed).

Should your District Society wish to obtain a speaker or speakers to discuss this matter other than your Council representative, your Committee will be pleased to assist in obtaining them.²

A few weeks later, on November 16, 1959, the College issued a statement urging the Government to introduce important improvements in health care in Saskatchewan. In particular the College wished the government to implement improvements in the following branches of health care:

- a) the care and facilities for the chronically ill
- b) the care and facilities for the mentally ill
- c) modernization, improvement and expansion of facilities in existing hospitals
- d) support and extension of voluntary health care plans already well established, to cover those in need.³

Exactly a month after the College issued the statement noted above, Premier Douglas in a radio broadcast⁴ outlined the government's Medicare program for the first time since his Birch Hills speech eight months earlier. Since the Premier's statements and promises made in the broadcast have been the central issues in the Medicare controversy, for this reason therefore, the broadcast is here quoted substantially: "All my adult life", said the Premier,

I have dreamed of the day when we would have in Canada a program by which health services would be available to all, irrespective of their individual ability to pay. For over a quarter of a century the CCF have been advocating a comprehensive National Health Plan for Canada.

² The Medical Information Office which was set up in Regina early in February, 1960, (see p.28) sent out folders titled, "Information", containing literature on 'state-medicine' and related information to all doctors in Saskatchewan; the above quoted letter was one of the items in the folder.

Data obtained from the folders will hereafter be referred to as "Information".

³ "Information" - Summary of Events Concerning the Government's Proposed Complete Health Care Program - April, 1959 - October, 1961.

⁴ Premier T. C. Douglas, Provincial Affairs Series: Prepaid Medical Care, December 16, 1959, (mimeographed).

The program was therefore to be the realization of a long-cherished personal and party ambition. "The Government of Saskatchewan is convinced that the time has arrived when we can establish a prepaid medical care plan as the next logical step in our march towards a comprehensive health insurance program."

With allusions to the College's statement of the previous month that a government sponsored health program was unnecessary, since health care of high quality was available to all through the voluntary plans, Mr. Douglas argued that:

there are many people who cannot avail themselves of the voluntary plans, either because they cannot afford the premiums or because they have congenital conditions not covered by them. It is for these reasons that the Government has come to the conclusion it should embark upon a comprehensive medical care program that will cover all our people and will ensure a high standard of medical care to every citizen of Saskatchewan.

The Premier then referred to the principles involved in the proposed plan:

In setting up such a plan there are a number of basic principles which the Government believes to be sound. The first is the prepayment principle. While persons suffering from prolonged and costly illnesses such as cancer, tuberculosis and mental illness are provided for out of the provincial revenue, we think that general medical care should be paid for on an insurance basis. We feel that people respond better toward a program if they pay some portion of the cost directly on a pre-payment basis. It doesn't mean that collectively we will pay less for our medical services; it does mean that the costs will be spread over the entire population instead of being borne, as they are now, by those who are unfortunate enough to be ill.

Another advantage of making individual contributions to such a program is that people will quickly realize that if they abuse the plan by demanding unnecessary services their premiums will of necessity go up whereas if they exercise proper restraint in availing themselves of the benefits of the plan, they can expect their premiums to be more modest.

The second principle the Government has accepted is that a medical care program must have universal coverage. We believe that if such a program is to be effective it must cover every person in the province.

If this plan were on a voluntary basis there would be a tendency for those who are more prone to sickness to come into the plan while the healthier age groups would tend to stay out. The only way we can have a real insurance scheme is to cover the good risks as well as the bad, thus spreading the cost over the entire population.

The third principle we have set is that there must be a high quality of service. We believe that a medical care program must have as its major objective the improvement of the quality of care as well as better distribution and availability of care. This implies the introduction of incentives to assure a better distribution of medical personnel as between the urban and rural areas. It means encouraging group practice where doctors are desirous of doing so and making provisions for medical practitioners to take post-graduate work and refresher courses. It also involves fostering medical research and the development of facilities and techniques to improve the quality of service.

Most important of all, such a plan will permit the integration of curative and preventive services. A medical program must not only be concerned with curing disease but also with the much more desirable objective of keeping people well.

The fourth principle we have accepted is that this must be a government sponsored program administered by a public body responsible to the Legislature and through it to the entire population. If the Government is going to spend the taxpayers' money to provide medical care, then we feel that it must be accountable to the Legislature and the public for the expenditures made and for the administration of the program. For that reason it is our intention to have this plan administered by the Department of Public Health and responsible to the Legislature through the Minister of that Department in the same manner as we do now with the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan.

The fifth principle upon which this plan will be established is that it must be in a form that is acceptable both to those providing the service and those receiving it. It has been said in some quarters that the Government is going to make all doctors civil servants and in consequence we shall see an exodus of doctors from Saskatchewan.

Premier Douglas refuted the suggestion that it was his government's intention to make all doctors civil servants, not that he thought there was anything particularly wrong in a doctor being a civil servant. However, to allay the fears of the doctors, he said:

The government believes that we must retain the principle of free choice of doctor so that the doctor-patient relationship will be maintained to the fullest possible extent. We recognize that no plan will operate successfully unless those giving the service and

those receiving it are fully satisfied with it. We have no intention of pushing some pre-conceived plan down the doctors' throats. We want their cooperation and from our experience with other health programs I am convinced we will get it.

The Premier then stated the government's intention to appoint an Advisory Planning Committee on Medical Care. He said:

This body will be comprised of three persons named by the medical profession, three representatives of the Government, three representatives of the general public and one appointee from the University of Saskatchewan College of Medicine.

This Committee will be provided with an adequate secretariat and they will be asked to recommend to the Government the best methods of developing a medical care program in keeping with the basic principles I have just outlined.

The Premier concluded his broadcast with this message:

Once more Saskatchewan has an opportunity to lead the way. Let us, therefore, have the vision and the courage to take this forward step, believing that it is another advance toward a more just and humane society.

Immediately following the Premier's broadcast the College issued a statement in which it made it clear that the College was prepared to enter discussions and assist any government or organization which had "a genuine, sincere and worthy proposal or problem concerning the health and welfare of our patients". At the same time, the College emphasized that the terms of reference of the proposed Advisory Planning Committee should be wide enough to allow a comprehensive investigation of all matters pertaining to health needs - that "the study must not be just confined to a preconceived Government Plan". For the second time, the College repeated its opposition to "a Medical Care Program for Saskatchewan which is completely under Governmental control."⁵

⁵ "Information".

From December 30, 1959, the date on which the College received from the Minister of Health, the actual terms of reference for the Advisory Planning Committee, there followed a period of negotiations between the College and the government with a view to arriving at terms of reference acceptable to the College. In general, the College had five objections to the terms of reference, but with particular emphasis on three. One of these has already been noted in the previous paragraph, namely, the narrowness of the terms of reference. Of the other two, one was in connection with the time limit imposed on the investigation, as the College felt strongly that it was unwise for the government to appoint an advisory committee, and for the same to hear briefs prior to provincial elections which were then thought to be imminent.

The Government agreed to meet these objections and, consequently, the College named its three representatives. These were Drs. J. F. C. Anderson, E. W. Barootes, and C. J. Houston. On April 26, 1960, the government officially announced the twelve appointments to the Medical Advisory Planning Committee on Medical Care.⁶

⁶ The twelve members were: Representatives of Public - President W. P. Thompson (Chairman), Mrs. Beatrice Trew (ex-M.L.A.), Mr. Cliff H. Whiting; Representatives of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan - Dr. Jack F. C. Anderson, Dr. E. W. Barootes, Dr. C. J. Houston; Representative of the College of Medicine - Dr. Irwin Hilliard; Representative of Saskatchewan Chamber of Commerce - Mr. Donald McPherson; Representative of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor - Mr. Walter Smishek; Representatives of the Government of Saskatchewan - Hon. T. J. Bentley (Former Minister of Health), Dr. F. B. Roth (Deputy Minister of Public Health), Dr. V. L. Mathews (Department of Public Health). Mr. John Sparks had been employed by the Government to act as Secretary.

Hereafter referred to as the Thompson Committee.

In the meantime, however, the proposed Saskatchewan Medical Care program had become a matter of general interest in Canada, certainly so in medical circles. Some doctors expressed acute concern and felt that Saskatchewan was engaged in yet another experiment, and therefore a beginning, as the hospital insurance plan was, of bureaucratic control of the medical profession was taking place. "Let no one say to himself 'its only Saskatchewan, it can't happen here!'" an Ontario doctor warned his colleagues.

Once the bridge-head is established it is just a question of time until all Canadian Medicine falls prey to the exsanguinating lamprey of government and bureaucratic control. If we do not lend our full moral and material support to our Saskatchewan "brothers" in the fight which, by all appearances, they will soon have upon them, then our membership in the World Medical Association will be a hollow and pathetic mockery. ⁷

In Saskatchewan itself by February 1960 the College had imposed an assessment of \$100 per head on doctors for the purpose of carrying out publicity campaigns within the profession, and also to provide the public with facts as regards 'state-medicine'. A publicity Committee was formed and a Medical Information Office established in Regina. ⁸

On April 9, when the College and the Government were still in the process of settling their differences on the terms of reference for the Thompson Planning Committee, Dr. A. J. M. Davies, the President of the

⁷ Dr. J. G. Lynch in the Canadian Medical Association Journal, Vol. 82, No. 1, January 2, 1960, p. 44. Hereafter referred to as C.M.A.J. For articles and letters on the same theme, see "Special Article: Saskatchewan Report", C.M.A.J., Vol. 82, May 14, 1960, pp. 1037 - 1039; William N. Jeffers, "Wake Up To What Is Happening In Canada", Medical Economics, Oradell, New Jersey, U.S.A., June 16, 1960.

⁸ Financial Post, Toronto, April 16, 1960.

College, restated the profession's opposition to any government controlled Medical Care program. "There is no opportunity for compromise on these principles of policy", he said.⁹ Further he added, that the Canadian Medical Association and other divisions have offered to help Saskatchewan. Quoting Benjamin Franklin, he said: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."¹⁰

Following the government's announcement of the terms of reference for the Thompson Committee on April 26, the College issued a long statement of policy and again stressed that the profession was "unalterably opposed to a compulsory program of state-controlled Medical Care. Our doctors are united in this stand."¹¹

Early in May, Premier Douglas declared June 8 as the date for the next provincial general election, and stated that his government would go to the polls with government-sponsored Medical Care program as the main issue. While the province was in the throes of election campaigns, in an effort to make his position clear to "certain Eastern newspapers", Dr. H. D. Dalgleish wrote on May 14 a letter to the Canadian Medical Journal. He said,

I have always been and always will be, opposed to compulsory government-controlled medicine. As a Councillor of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan, I will continue to work untiringly towards this end. ¹²

⁹ Regina Leader Post, April 9, 1960

¹⁰ Ibid.,

¹¹ Ibid., April 26, 1960

¹² C.M.A.J., Op. Cit., 1960, p. 1047.
Financial Post, Toronto, May 21, 1960.

In the meantime, the Medical Information Office, headed by a Public Relations Officer and an economist 'lent' by the Canadian Medical Association,¹³ had already been sending out portfolios filled with information on State Medicine and other matters relevant to the medical profession. The Information Office supplied the doctors with prepared answers to questions pertaining to the position of the College, in the proposed Medical Care program; they gave the doctors the reasons why they, as physicians, were opposed to State Medicine, and listed the alleged defects of State Medicine. Here are a few examples:

1. Lower standards of medical care from -

- i) over utilization, thus allowing the doctor less time for each patient; government services where instituted have resulted in less time for each case.
- ii) health care budgets will come into competition with those for highways, public works, crown corporations, etc.

2. Loss of Freedom

- i) by patient who will not have choice of what he considers best for himself - eventually, even may be choice of doctor.
- ii) by physician who will not be able to do what he believes to be in the best interest of his patients - in other so-called socialized plans, doctors are prevented from prescribing certain drugs even though they could make the patient well sooner. Etc.

3. Government Centralization and Bureaucracy

- i) administration can be readily changed from non-political to political.
- ii) personal problems and disease of patients will become the knowledge of government departments - a loss of personal privacy.
- iii) patients would become just a number as has resulted in other countries. Etc.¹⁴

To the general public, the Information Office disseminated more or less the same kind of literature as was received by the doctors. In a pamphlet entitled, "Political Medicine, Is Bad Medicine" the public was

¹³ Medical Economics, Op. Cit., June 16, 1960, p. 252.

¹⁴ "Information".

told what "political medicine" is. "Political Medicine is the type of medicine this Province can expect if Government - any Government - controls you and your Doctor". The pamphlet briefly but succinctly outlined the reasons why the public should oppose the proposed Medical Care Plan, and instead support the existent voluntary schemes. By June 8, election day, the Information Office had mailed approximately 250,000 such pamphlets.¹⁵

On the radio and television, the Information Office sponsored five minute programs and flash spot announcements. Specially prepared scripts were used for these programs. Here are a few examples of the five minute radio programs:¹⁶

Announcer: This is Mary Jones bringing you a message in the public interest from your personal doctor. This morning I have with me Dr. ..., one of the 900 personal doctors who serve you and the people of Saskatchewan. Dr. ... has some important points regarding the issue of State Medicine which is facing us all at this time.

Dr. ... just what is political or State Medicine?

Dr. ...: Political medicine is the type of medicine this province can expect if government, any government, controls you and your doctor. It would mean red tape, bureaucratic control, high costs and inferior medical care. Decisions affecting you and those who provide this service would be subject to political considerations bearing no relation to your need.

Announcer: If the plan became law, would this mean State Medicine?

Dr. ...: Yes. It is gross misrepresentation to say that a government plan would merely mean the transfer of responsibility for paying the doctor's bill to a paying agency. No matter how you look at it, the paying agency is ultimately government. This means that Health Department people would make decisions affecting your everyday

¹⁵ Medical Economics, Op. Cit., June 15, 1960, p. 241.

¹⁶ "Information".

life. Government budgets are rigidly controlled requiring limitations on health care expenditures. Health budgets would compete with budgets of other departments for roads and other services. Total health care suffers. You pay more and more for less and less...

Announcer: What is the basis of the doctor's relationship with his women patients?

Dr.: Down through the ages, women have played a major role in the care of the sick and less fortunate. In the family, the tender loving care of the mother forever encompasses those she holds dear to her. You entrust your health care and that of your family to us, your personal physician. This is a sacred trust which we, as doctors, have uppermost in our minds at all times. We have dedicated our whole lives to fulfilling this trust. The personal relationship which we have with our women patients is one which has evolved from mother to daughter over many centuries.

Announcer: Have you a specific example of a change in medical care under State Medicine which would affect women?

Dr.: Pregnancy and childbirth are extremely natural functions of a woman which have been regimented in other countries under State Medicine. Large, impersonal clinics are established to handle pre-natal care. As far as confinement is concerned, one leading teaching administrative doctor who supports State Medicine has suggested that women should be delivered in their homes.

Announcer: How could a State plan affect the care of children?

Dr.: Your personal doctor today takes a personal interest in your problem and your child. We are constantly giving you information and advice. This is another area where regimentation has taken place in other countries. Clinics could replace your personal doctor to look after infants and children who needed medical care. And, there may not be any provision for looking after the normal healthy child by your personal physician.

Announcer: What do the doctors think about prepaid medical care?

Dr.: We strongly endorse the principle of voluntary prepaid medical care but, we doctors are united in our opposition to compulsory state-controlled medicine. We are devoted to the care of our patients. We wish to maintain the present high standard of health care for them. Your doctor is interested in you personally. He gives you personal service. He exhibits personal concern over you and your family and your problems. All the doctors in this province are greatly disturbed about any possible change in this personal relationship and the voluntary prepaid health care principle.

It could mean the end of personal health care to you and your family, and of your personal doctor.

Announcer: Who then wants State Medicine?

Dr.: In the past few years practical politicians have been exploiting the plan as a means of getting votes. Citizens are led to believe that they would get complete medical service for practically nothing.

Announcer: This has been information presented in the public interest by your personal doctor who urges you to remember:

Political Medicine is Bad Medicine.

And as an example of the radio and TV flashes, is the following script:

This is Dr. Mitchell Finkelstein:

We, your personal doctors in the province, wish to be able to continue to give you and your family, the best possible personal medical care.

That is why we are united in our opposition to State controlled medicine by any government at any time.

This has been a message from your personal doctor who urges you to remember:

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Political Medicine is Bad Medicine.

Finally, the Information Office published the following message in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, and Regina Leader Post of June 4:

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO OUR PATIENTS

There have been so many incorrect and misleading statements during the course of this election that we feel it our duty to let our patients know the truth about your doctors' opinion in regard to state medicine.

Compulsory state medicine has led to mediocrity and a poorer quality of care everywhere it has been put into practice.

We believe that compulsory state medicine would be a tragic mistake for this province and it would undermine the high quality of medical care which you now enjoy.

17 Ibid.,

We will always attend the sick, but we will refuse to support and service a plan which will lead to a poorer type of medical care.

We have supported and continue to support prepaid medical insurance, but please do not confuse this with government controlled compulsory state medicine.

At the foot of the message appeared names of doctors and their districts or towns, who opposed the proposed medical care plan.¹⁸

While the Information Office was feeding the doctors and the public with all this information, some doctors held public meetings at which the prepaid Medical Care program was the main subject. At Wadena on June 7, a day before the elections, a meeting was held in which three doctors spoke - Drs. Ian Wood of Rose Valley, Sam Landa and Malcolm McDonald, both of Saskatoon. Dr. Landa told his audience that under the proposed plan "people would not be any healthier, it wouldn't be cheaper, and medical care would deteriorate".¹⁹ And across the border, in the U.S.A., "Medical Economics" a national publication for physicians directed American doctors' attention to the forthcoming Saskatchewan general elections. "American doctors will do well to keep a close watch on the developing situation in Saskatchewan. The outcome of this Wednesday's election may strongly influence their lives".²⁰

On June 8, the CCF were returned to power, though with a reduced share of the popular vote. Premier Douglas took the electoral victory as a mandate to proceed with plans to implement the medical care program.

¹⁸ Regina Leader Post, June 4, 1960.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 4, 1960.

¹⁹ Regina Leader Post, June 7, 1960.

²⁰ William N. Jefers, "Wake Up To What Is Happening In Canada", Op. Cit., June 6, 1960. p. 252.

"A Government mandate comes from the number of members, not from its share of the vote. To argue otherwise is an absurd type of reasoning."²¹ Mr. Douglas rebuked those who thought otherwise. However, even after the election results were declared, the College was still adamant on its position, it was "unalterably opposed to province-wide compulsory, government-controlled medicine."²²

Later in the month, the Canadian Medical Association held its annual meeting at Banff. The meeting gave qualified support to the College's stand on the Medicare question, in that it stipulated fourteen points which, if they were met, any health program would command the support of the Association. It is a point worthy of note here that in all its literature and propaganda, the College never mentioned these 14 points; instead it was particularly fond of quoting the following statement issued by the Association: "While there are certain areas of medical services in which tax-supported programs are necessary, a TAX SUPPORTED COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM COMPULSORY FOR ALL, IS NEITHER NECESSARY NOR DESIRABLE." The only example of these 14 points being fully outlined occurs in the College Brief to the Advisory Planning Committee of the Province of Saskatchewan on Medical Care, December 1960, pp. 22 - 23.

Four months later, the College held its own annual meeting in Regina and the following resolution was passed:

Whereas the medical profession is opposed to a compulsory comprehensive government controlled medical care plan and recognizes that a small segment of the population requires assistance in the provision of

²¹ Regina Leader Post, June 9, 1960.

²² Financial Post, Toronto, June 11, 1960.

medical care BE IT RESOLVED that the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan endorses assistance in the payment of premiums of needy participants in a medical care plan provided by existing prepaying agencies and administered at the municipal level.²³

About the same time, at the 16th Annual Meeting of the Western Conference of Prepaid Medical Service Plan, speaking on a paper entitled "Saskatchewan and the Medical Profession - Is State Medicine Imminent?"

Dr. G. W. Peacock, Secretary of the Saskatchewan Medical Association said:

The practicing physicians of the province are united in their opposition to the government's intention to introduce a compulsory, government-controlled medical care plan. If physicians are forced into a system of government medicine they can't be made to like it. To make it work properly the respect of those it affects must be obtained. The provision of health services is a most personal one - our problem is a human, not a monetary one. The patient wants a personal care, not service station medicine...

We who believe in a system of free enterprise feel that state medicine is but one step on the road to control other professional bodies and other groups of citizens.²⁴

During 1961 the College did not change in any way its position; it was still 'unalterably opposed' to government-controlled medical care.

In January of that year, the College submitted its brief to the Thompson Committee.²⁵ After stating the College's basic opposition to the governmental control of medical services, the brief quoted and "completely endorsed" the statement issued by the Canadian Medical Association on medical services.²⁶ As an alternative to government medical insurance, a scheme of medical insurance was proposed which would operate through existing health

²³ Summary of Events, Op. Cit.

²⁴ Dr. G. W. Peacock, Oct. 26 - 29, 1960. (mimeographed)

²⁵ Regina Leader Post, January 12, 1961

²⁶ Brief of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan to the Advisory Planning Committee on Medical Care, p. 23.

insurance facilities. Coverage would be universally available, but nobody would be compelled to join. The Government would intervene only insofar as it would pay the medical services insurance costs of the low income groups and would subsidize the prepayment of agencies so that they might offer their existing medical services insurance plans to individuals or groups of sub-standard risks.

The College met with the Advisory Committee on April 30, 1961 and again on July 9, 1961, when the College submitted a supplementary brief to the Committee. At both meetings, the doctors expressed their views on the proposed medical care plan, and restated their position.

The Minister of Public Health, Mr. Erb, had called for an interim report from the Thompson Committee by early September in order that the necessary legislation to set up a medical care plan might be passed at the special session of the legislature scheduled for October. The report, dated September 25, 1961, was submitted by Dr. Thompson to Mr. Erb. The report, after considering the history of medical practice in Saskatchewan, the type of medical care insurance now available, and the possible ways of providing for a general prepaid medical scheme, recommended a comprehensive scheme, administered by a public commission responsible to the Government through the Minister of Public Health. It was recommended that the scheme be universal in application (as distinct from universal in availability,) persons now eligible to receive direct medical (i.e. physicians') services under programs operated by the federal government excepted. It was recommended that a personal premium, low enough to be met by all self-supporting persons be imposed and that physicians' services be paid for on a fee-per-item-of-service basis, with the patient responsible at the time of the service for a small part of the fee.

The report recommended that the proposed administrative commission be composed of a chairman (preferably a physician) and not less than four, or more than six, other members, two of whom should be physicians (preferably physicians currently engaged in providing personal physician's services) plus the Deputy Minister of Public Health (who would be a non-voting member). The commission would have all authority necessary to carry out the objects of the Act, and to administer the medical care insurance plan and would have the power, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in Council, to make such regulations as are necessary to give effect to the medical care insurance plan.²⁷

In a dissenting report a minority of the Committee, composed of the three representatives of the College and the representative of the Chamber of Commerce, stated that a plan, such as that recommended by the majority of the committee, would place such economic pressures on both patients and doctors that soon a "state" monopoly would be the only device available for the financing of personal health services.

It is further to our view that the quality of medical services rendered under state monopolies tends to achieve a mediocrity which in the long term would not be in the best interest of the health of our people. The regulatory powers of the administration under any State plan are very great indeed and we regard with apprehension the restrictions which are likely to be applied to patients and doctors in the guise of controls. The advances of medicine which we have inherited and which are currently proceeding have been achieved in a climate of professional freedom and we have a duty to resist any proposals which may impair the liberty which is so essential to continued progress. 28

²⁷ The Interim Report of the Advisory Planning Committee on Medical Care, 1961, Queen's Printer, Regina.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 119.

The minority report then recommended the implementation of the plan suggested in the brief of the College.

The representative of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour also wrote a minority report which, although it accepted the basic principle of a publicly operated compulsory medical services insurance scheme, disagreed with respect to details of its operation as outlined by the majority report.²⁹

On October 1, 1961, the Central Health Services Committee of the College met and passed a resolution stating that the proposal outlined in the interim report of the Thompson Committee was not acceptable, whereas the Central Health Services Committee supported the views expressed in the minority report.

On November 15, 1961, two days before the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Act³⁰ was passed and assented to, Premier Douglas resigned to become leader of the New Democratic Party; he was succeeded by Mr. Woodrow S. Lloyd. The Act with a few minor exceptions followed closely the recommendations of the Thompson Committee; it provided for the establishment of a universal comprehensive medical insurance plan administered by a public body to be known as the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Commission.³¹ One exception was that the mode of payment of physicians was not specified, and another was that no provision was made for a "utilization fee". Both of these matters were left to be fixed by future regulations. Since the Act was passed, the College had consistently refused to cooperate with the Medicare Commission. The College also

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 105 - 117.

³⁰ Hereafter referred to as the Act of the Plan. See Appendix A.

³¹ Hereafter referred to as the Medicare Commission.

refused to name its representative to sit on the Commission.

In view of the fact that the Act had become a law, why did the College persist in opposing the Plan? What were the main objections to government-controlled medical services? The main objections really arose from differing basic social philosophies and from professional concern. The College consistently maintained that the Government should direct its attention towards deficiencies in medical services rather than to providing general medical services. Further, the College objected to government controlled medical care program on the grounds that such a plan would inevitably lead to government interference with professional freedom and to an inevitable deterioration in services.³² The profession refused to accept the plan as an insurance contrivance; rather, some argued, it was a scheme to provide medical services. "To provide medical services," they argued, "the Government must control the profession and practice of medicine.³³ This is a harsh political fact." Some doctors went farther in their arguments against the Act. With their eye on Section 49³⁴ they

³² Dr. Gerald W. Halpenny, President of the Canadian Medical Assoc., "Why Am I Opposed To Socialized Medicine", Canadian Doctor, Vol. 28, No. 2, February 1962. p. 40; p. 60.

³³ Dr. M. H. MacDonald "Will Reason Win", The Canadian Association of Medical Students and Interns, Vol. XX, No. 2, Apr. 1961. "Socialized Medicine Issue" pp. 19 - 22.

³⁴ For an exhaustive discussion on this aspect of the issue, see E. A. Tollefson's article "The Saskatchewan Medicare Controversy" in the Saskatchewan Bar Review, Vol. 27, No. 2, June 1962, pp. 31 - 50; For some of the doctors' views, see Star-Phoenix, May 26, 1962. For general comments: Marjorie Shearon, Ph.D. "Saskatchewan Embattled Physicians - A Tribute To Gallant Defenders of Freedom". Washington, D.C., Nov. 15, 1962, esp. pp. 22 - 23. Robert Tyre, Douglas in Saskatchewan - A Socialist Experiment, Mitchell Press, Vancouver, 1962. p. 183; p. 186. C. E. Eaton, "When Doctors Strike" Medical Economics, Op. Cit., 1962, Sept. 10, pp. 77-87. Symposium: H.D. Dalgleish; Premier W. Lloyd; Joseph A Lane; Robert Tyre; Wm. Dameshek; D.J. McDonald; Geo. E. Sokolsky; "The Saskatchewan Boycott - From Start to Finish." New Medical Material, New York, Vol. 4, No. 9, Sept., 1962, pp. 11-23. Von F. Pilis, "Medicare Battle In Saskatchewan" (mimeographed) June 1962. W. E. Smishek, "Medicare in Saskatchewan" an article in Canadian Labor Official Journal of the Canadian Labor Congress, Vol. 7, No. 9, Sept. 1962. p. 9 - 15.

stated that the Act "represented an ingenious method of controlling doctors and the practice of medicine in a political economic and legislative sense".³⁵

Dr. Dalgleish, the former President of the College, told the writer that the government knew of the College's view on a government-controlled Medical care plan before even the Birch Hill by-election speech. He said that the College had agreed to participate in the Thompson Committee investigations primarily on the understanding that the Committee would undertake a comprehensive study of medical needs in Saskatchewan, and would not be used as a vehicle to devise a government-controlled health plan. That the government proceeded with its plans to implement the Medical care program regardless of the profession's opposition was, in Dr. Dalgleish's opinion, clear evidence that the government was intent on controlling the doctors.³⁶ In the meantime, the College continued to hold the support of its colleagues across Canada. The President of the Ontario Medical Association wrote to congratulate Dr. Dalgleish on his stand in the Medical Care issue. The Ontario President went further; he "would deem it an honour and a privilege" he wrote "to be called upon by your College to assist in any way in preserving freedom in profession."³⁷

Towards the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962, several unsuccessful attempts were made by the Government, and later by the Medicare Commission in November and December 1961, and in February and on March 2, 1962 to

³⁵ Canadian Doctor, Op. Cit., July 1962, pp. 23 - 26.

³⁶ Conversation with the writer, July, 1963.

³⁷ Regina Leader Post, December 22, 1961.

resolve the differences between the College and the Government.³⁸ In a reply on March 15, 1962, the President of the College again expressed the profession's opposition to the Plan.³⁹ In the meantime, the date on which the Plan was to have come into effect, April 1, 1962, was postponed until July 1, 1962, in order to allow more time for administrative details and also for negotiations with the College.

Finally, towards the end of March and early April, the Government and the College held several open agenda meetings. These, too, were unsuccessful. On April 4, in a letter to the President of the College, Premier Lloyd expressed the government's willingness "to fashion or re-fashion sections of the Act" to:

- a) remove concern, if such there is, about possible interference with professional standards and professional independence;
- b) provide for mechanisms by which physicians' remuneration could be arrived at in a fair and equitable manner including a specific appeal procedure;
- c) provide for appeal methods for the disposition of all differences on the part of physicians respecting the administration of the Act or cases of alleged interference;
- d) provide for regional bodies for the assessment and review of accounts where these become the subject of dispute and, if desired, provide for an arrangement whereby a member of the profession designated by the College, would over-view administrative matter affecting individual physicians;
- e) permit the appointment in consultation with the College, of additional members to the Medical Care Insurance Commission.⁴⁰

In a memorandum to Premier Lloyd on April 11, 1962, the College outlined new proposals representing "the final concessions which we can make".

³⁸ W. G. Davies, Medical Care Progress Report, by the Minister of Public Health, (mimeographed) (Advance Release of Television Report),

³⁹ Letter of March 15, 1962, from Dr. Dalgleish in reply to the Hon. W. G. Davies's letter of March 2, 1962.

⁴⁰ Premier's Office Records. (mimeographed).

These included, in note form:

- (1) That medical care insurance be province wide and universally available to all Saskatchewan residents on the payment of a premium.
- (2) That this insurance coverage be made available through existing or new voluntary prepaid health agencies.
- (3) That a Registration Board function as an approval body for these agencies.
- (4) That government would pay the entire premium for persons presently deemed to be 'indigent'.
- (5) That the government would provide, as a subsidy, a stated number of dollars for each contract offered by approved agencies.
- (6) That each approved agency would determine the amount of money required in addition to the subsidy, and would charge this additional amount as a premium to be paid by subscribers who enroll on a voluntary basis.
- (7) That patients would pay their accounts directly to their doctors, and would obtain from their approved agency a refund of a major portion of the expense incurred.
- (8) That the profession would not make charges to the indigent groups in excess of the amount of the refund to which the patient is entitled.⁴¹

As regards the Premier's willingness to amend the Act, the College refused to accept the usefulness of such amendments.

These minor amendments do not fundamentally change the legislation which still undertakes to control all medical services in Saskatchewan. Even if the legislation were so amended, the Act would remain completely unacceptable to the profession as government would be the monopoly buyer and seller of all medical service.⁴²

Premier Lloyd on the other hand rejected the proposals of the College.

"We cannot believe that this would be acceptable to the people of

⁴¹ Memorandum of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan, to the Hon. W. S. Lloyd. April 11, 1962.

⁴² Ibid.,

Saskatchewan either as tax-payers or as recipients of medical service."⁴³

Each side having rejected the proposals of the other, no further meetings were held between the Government and the College until towards the end of June. In the meantime, following the College's rejection of any amendments to the Act as suggested by Premier Lloyd, the Government enacted what it called a "minor amendment" to the Act on April 14, 1962. The amendment removed the responsibility from the individual patient for paying his doctor personally, and placed such a responsibility on the Medicare Commission - the administrative agency. In other words, the Commission became the sole agent of the patient in his relationship with the doctor.

The amendment disturbed the College immensely.⁴⁴ To some doctors the amendment was a vindication of their stand, that is, the Act was not for a health Plan but to control the profession. "Never since the days of Charles II has the British Commonwealth seen this type of restrictive legislation reversing the liberty and right of contract of citizens, and abrogating their civil rights."⁴⁵ To others, the amendment was a confirmation of their distrust of the Government and the "...inability of any group to negotiate with a government which has the power to amend the rules of the game".⁴⁶

The official College interpretation of the amendment, however, was that the doctors could not practice outside the Act. The profession was

⁴³ Hon. W. S. Lloyd, Statement in Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly, April 11, 1962. (mimeographed).

⁴⁴ Writer's conversation with Dr. Dalgleish, July, 1963.

⁴⁵ Barootes, Progress Report, Op. Cit.

⁴⁶ News and Views, C.M.A.J., Op. Cit., April 28, 1962, p. 803.

placed in a dilemma.⁴⁷ The doctors did not want to work under the Plan, but, since the amendment they felt they could not work outside it as they had intended. To resolve the dilemma, a special General Meeting of the College was called for May 3 - 4, 1962 in Regina. The Premier was also present on the first day of the meeting; he addressed the doctors. In the course of his address, the Premier attempted again to reassure his audience that it was not the intention of his government to control the profession; he reiterated his willingness to amend any part of the Act which the doctors felt interfered with their professional freedom, and pleaded that the doctors "give the plan a fair trial".⁴⁸

Towards the end of the meeting several resolutions were passed. One of these was the following:

WHEREAS this special General Meeting has indicated that the profession, in all conscience, cannot provide services under the Medical Care Insurance Act, and

WHEREAS the Government, through the Act and its Amendments will effectively prevent members of the Profession from providing medical services to their patients without participation in the Act;
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Executive Committee of the Saskatchewan Division of the Canadian Medical Association advise the public and the Government that implementation of the Medical Care Insurance Act on July the First, 1962, or any other date, will prevent all doctors from providing services to patients from that day forward; and

THAT the Executive Committee, in cooperation with District Medical Societies undertake immediately to set up arrangements to provide emergency services for patients.⁴⁹

It is significant to note here that, on an alleged difference of

⁴⁷ Writer's conversation with Dr. Dalgleish, July, 1963.

⁴⁸ Premier Woodrow S. Lloyd, Address To the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons, May 3, 1962. Queen's Printer, Regina.

⁴⁹ Saskatchewan Medical Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 2, September, 1962.

opinion on the Plan, Walter Erb, who was then the Minister of Works, tendered his resignation from the Government on the same day as the College held its special meeting.⁵⁰ In fact the news of his resignation was released to the meeting in the presence of Premier Lloyd a few minutes before the latter addressed the meeting. One Saskatchewan observer described the simultaneous occurrence of the two events as "more than coincidence".⁵¹

From the above date onwards, each of the two groups, the College and the Government, became rigid in their respective positions; and the issue assumed a different twist. "The issue" declared Premier Lloyd in a television address on May 9,

is whether the people of Saskatchewan shall be governed by a democratically elected legislature responsible to the people, or by a small, highly organized group. The people of Saskatchewan have been served notice by this organization. The notice is that, until we repeal the Medical Insurance Act or unless the group is permitted to ignore this Act of a duly constituted government, the people of the province will be punished by the curtailment of medical services. One thing I promise you - that your government, too, will stand firm. As long as we know that the people want a health insurance plan in this province, we can stand whatever pressure opponents of such a plan may be able to apply.⁵²

Regarding the point of view of the College, Dr. Hosie in a television program asserted that:

Our quarrel is with the controls this Act places on our profession and on the patients and with the dictatorial powers it gives to its Commission. Let's face it. We are being conscripted.

⁵⁰ Leader Post, May 3, 1962.
"News and Views", C.M.A.J. Op. Cit., May 12, 1962, p. 893.

⁵¹ William Cameron, (of CFQC, Saskatoon), Canadian Forum, Toronto, July 1962, p. 78.

⁵² Premier W. S. Lloyd, "Progress Report on Medical Care", Radio and TV address, (mimeographed), May 9, 1962.

...We will not practice under the Medical Care Insurance Act, and in the opinion of our lawyers, we cannot practice outside of the Act. Our conscience and our code will not allow us to refuse service in an emergency and this is why we have set up emergency stations, but this is a situation all of us fervently hope will not arise. If government-controlled medicine is the only medicine permitted in Saskatchewan, the only solution is for doctors to leave the province. This we do not want to do, and we have said so. ...Mr. Lloyd says we are bluffing. We shall see who is bluffing. It takes more than the insinuations of politicians to disturb us.⁵³

As July 1 approached, each group, the Government and the College prepared to meet the anticipated Medical emergency. The College published the following notice in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix issue of June 29.

I M P O R T A N T N O T I C E

Regarding

MEDICAL EMERGENCY CARE

Effective July 1

Arrangements have been made for the care of patients requiring urgent medical attention.

If you feel that you or any member of your family requires medical care, contact, or preferably, present yourself at the EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT of one of the local hospitals.

PHONE

City Hospital	242-6681
St. Paul's Hospital	244-7971
University Hospital	242-7641

(Authorized by the Saskatoon and District Medical Society) June 29.

And the Government sent out one member of the Medicare Commission to Britain to recruit doctors to come to Saskatchewan in order to fill the deficiencies occasioned by doctors who had left, or would leave, the province, or those who would withdraw their services as from July 1.

⁵³ Dr. Hosie, "Your Doctors Speak Out", CKCK TV, June 2, 1962, (mimeographed).

There is as yet another facet of the Government - College dispute which was not discussed above. Of all the five principles enunciated by Premier Douglas as forming the basis of the Plan,⁵⁴ it was the fifth principle which received more attention and which was subject to wide ranges of interpretation. The fifth principle dealt with the "acceptability (of the Plan) to both those providing and those receiving the service".⁵⁵ In a 1960 television program "Opinion Unlimited" in which Premier Douglas, Dr. E. W. Barootes and an audience participated in a discussion of the then proposed medical care program, Premier Douglas was asked several questions from the audience. One of these questions came from Dr. Bachynski; he asked:

The fifth of your principles requires acceptability to those providing and those receiving service. If the majority of the Medical Profession does not consider your Plan acceptable will you then find it more convenient to forget your principles and force them into submission or what is the Plan?

Premier Douglas replied:

...I have stated that the Government recognizes that a Plan of this sort will not work unless there is good will and cooperation on both sides and we will have to keep on trying and negotiating until we work out a program which is acceptable to both sides. You can no more take a doctor and make him practice medicine than you can take a horse to water and make him drink.⁵⁶

To the College the fifth principle meant nothing other than a plan acceptable to the profession, and that in effect meant the College's own proposals. The government, on the other hand, wanted to make public

⁵⁴ See pp. 24 to 26.

⁵⁵ See p. 25.

⁵⁶ "Opinion Unlimited" (mimeographed), 1960.

health - both curative and preventive - a public responsibility, with expenses to be met by public funds, and for the Plan to be administered by an authority, essentially responsible to the legislature and through the latter, to the people of Saskatchewan. The College could not agree to the above proposal. Since the Government adopted the majority report of the Thompson Committee with apparent complete disregard for the doctors' objections, the College interpreted the Government's action as a betrayal of a solemn promise. The College thus refused to accept the Plan; the doctors wished to have no part in it.

We repeat again our sincere request that the Premier ... revoke the order in council which sets July 1 as the date of implementation of this Act, and publicly indicate that they are prepared to work towards a mutually acceptable program. 57

Whereas the College seemed to have based its argument exclusively on that fifth principle, the Government looked at it as only one of the five basic principles. At any rate, Premier Lloyd later argued that " ... promise did not mean doctors to dictate". 58

However, as discussed above, from May 3, 1962 until July 1 (indeed, until July 18, see page 198) the College did not change its attitude towards the Plan; the doctors were still "unalterably opposed" to Government-controlled medical care, despite the promise by the Premier to amend the Act; and the Attorney-General's suggestion to institute a Bill of Rights for doctors "to make certain that their professional

⁵⁷ Dr. H. D. Dalgleish, CKCK TV Regina (mimeographed), June 27, 1962.

⁵⁸ Premier W. S. Lloyd, quoted in editorial of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 13, 1962.

skill and judgment will not be interfered with by the administration of the act."⁵⁹ Indeed, even when the Government enacted an order in Council late in June allowing doctors to practice outside the Act, the College could not bring itself to trust the Government. In their attitudes towards the Government the doctors remained adamant.

Promises are easily broken and in the experience of the profession in Saskatchewan in dealing with their government, promises have been broken too many times in the past.

Saskatchewan doctors do not feel that they can, with confidence, place their professional future in the hands of the government or this Commission. The issue is professional freedom.⁶⁰

And in the course of the federal election of ^{June} July 18, 1962, in which CCF-NDP campaigned on a national prepaid medical care program, the College again, through radio and TV, attempted to influence the public's decision on the matter. To the College (as indeed it was for the KODs) insofar as Saskatchewan was concerned, the main issue in the federal election was the Plan.⁶¹

In summary, the College was opposed to a government-controlled medical care program even before the Birch-Hills by-election speech by Premier T. C. Douglas; and soon after the latter event the College took steps to 'educate' both the profession and the public on the matter of government-controlled medicine. In its stand towards the Plan the College, till

⁵⁹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 15, 1962.

⁶⁰ "News and Views", C.M.A.J., Op. Cit., June 9, 1962, p. 1077.

⁶¹ Ralph Allen, "There Is More Fury Than Sense In The Medical Care War", Macleans, Toronto, June 16, 1962, pp. 66 - 67.

"Saskatchewan Medical Battle", The Economist, London, England, July 14, 1962, pp. 162 - 164.

⁶²
 July 18 was adamant: the doctors refused to work under the Plan and instead demanded the suspension of the date on which the Act was to be implemented in order that negotiations between the College and the Government could take place with a view to arriving at an acceptable Plan to all concerned.

In its effort to present the profession's case to the public, the College had the sympathy and support of the Saskatchewan press. With notably few exceptions, however, the press outside the province as well as that abroad was critical of the doctors' stand on medical insurance program generally, and the doctors' withdrawal of service in particular. Some papers called the College's action to withdraw normal medical services a "political blackmail". "No democratically elected government could be expected to yield to such political blackmail".⁶³ Other papers described the doctors' action as a "strike" and condemned it.⁶⁴

The "City Press" of the City of London with the motto "Free Trade - Sound Money - No Coercion", however, saw the Saskatchewan issue in a different light:

The issue of individual liberty is paramount and it is as important for the patient as it is for the doctor. In this issue the doctor should be supported. They are not irresponsible men.

Far too many people stand aside when great issues are involved. They wait until their own positions are challenged and then it is often too late.

⁶² See p. 198.

⁶³ "Doctors on Strike", New Statesman, London, England, July 6, 1962, p. 2.

⁶⁴ Ottawa Citizen, July 5, 1962.

There is no great merit in British doctors rushing to Canada to accept high fees to break the strike. The issue is one of overriding significance.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ "Doctors Right To Strike", City Press, London, England, July 13, 1962. See Also, Journal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, Vol. XLIII, No. 4, Oct., 1962, London.

Time: The Weekly Magazine, July 13 and 20, 1962.

The Nation, New York, July 28, 1962.

Canadian Forum, Toronto, Aug. 1962.

H. D. Dalgleish, "The Saskatchewan Experience". Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society, March 4, 1963.

David Spurgeon, "Issues In Saskatchewan For the Nation To Face", Globe and Mail, Toronto, July 17, 1962.

Patrick Neagle and Bruce Moss, "The Medicare Battle", The Winnipeg Tribune: Weekend Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 38, Sept. 22, 1962.

Financial Post, Toronto, June 9, 1962.

Ottawa Citizen, July 5, 1962.

CHAPTER III

EMERGENCE OF KEEP OUR DOCTORS

COMMITTEES AND THE PROVINCIAL KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE

I

How and where did the KOD protest movement start? Who started it, and why? "Grass-roots", "spontaneous movements", "women's organizations - over-cups-of-coffee", "honest, sincere residents of this province gravely concerned about their families and what happens after July 1" were the most frequently recurring journalistic descriptions of these groups of people. Surely these explanations are too simple and romantic; there must have been more to the story than a few chance meetings. Did the College, or doctors, have anything to do with the formation of these groups? Were the KODs "informal citizens' organizations of the College"¹? The fact that few, if any, of the doctors were petitioned tends in the minds of some to lead to the conclusion that either these groups were formed by the doctors or, more plausibly, that they were formed by people who were sympathetic to the doctors' position.

In the preceding section we saw how the College, and some doctors, through mass media and public meetings attempted to present their profession's views on the subject of Medicare. By the time the Act was passed in 1961 the public was adequately informed as to what would be the doctors' reaction should the plan be implemented without the cooperation of the College. The Damoclean sword which the College dangled over the

¹ The Nation, New York, July 28, 1962.

heads of the Government of Saskatchewan was the threat to withdraw normal medical services. To suspend, or not to suspend, implementation of the Act became the question.

But the Damoclean sword was not dangled over the heads of Premier W. S. Lloyd and his Cabinet as a mere conglomeration of individuals who happen to have been responsible for the Plan, but also, over the people of Saskatchewan. As Gladstone said, "the duty of a government is to govern", and this in essence means, among other things, maintenance of law and order, and the administration and maintenance of public services. Among these are social and health services. The Government of Saskatchewan was responsible for these services, and, by endeavouring to manoeuvre the Government into a position where it was only they who could prevent a breakdown of services, the College, wittingly or unwittingly, appealed for public support. It was the public that was to suffer if normal services were withdrawn. But it was also the public - the electorate - which had the political power and to which the Cabinet was responsible. By appealing to the people, who were most certainly to be the sufferers should normal "medical services be withdrawn", (a contingency to be attributed solely to the Government's handling of the controversy, and therefore its responsibility) the College hoped to win over to its side the sympathy and support of the public.

What, then, was the reaction of the general public. In the course of the Medicare controversy, Saskatchewan witnessed a proliferation of groups of people springing up, each one of which was furiously engaged in collecting names for petitions, praying and even demanding the Government to delay implementation of the Act. They contacted the M.L.A.s, the Mayors, and whoever they thought could help, with letters, telegrams, and

even telephone calls. The groups went by different names, some called themselves "Plea for Health Committee", others "Save Our Doctors Committee" and yet others designated themselves as "Interested Citizens Committee".

The earliest of these groups was the one formed in Regina by a few housewives during the third week of April, 1962. The group called itself "Mothers Committee of Regina"; Mrs. Cross, wife of a television station engineer, was the leader, and her petition which was soon to be the model for the rest of the protest groups as they were formed, was as follows:

We, the undersigned, petition the government of the province of Saskatchewan to delay the start of the Medical Care program until an agreement can be made which is fully acceptable to the doctors of Saskatchewan.

Why did these women organize petitions to be submitted to the Government? In the words of Mrs. Cross:

We contacted our family doctors to see if they would look after us if the Medical Care plan came into effect. The doctors said they wouldn't if we were members of the Plan.

We then decided to circulate petitions because we didn't want to sit back and have doctors leave.²

It is significant that the first protest group was composed of mothers of young children and that it was formed almost immediately after April 14, the date on which the Government amended the Act.³ Whereas hitherto, the doctors had merely stated their objections to the Act, and pointed out the disadvantages and restrictions on both patients and doctors and that, on the basis of these objections, they would rather not work under the plan. Now, however, with the passing of the amendment,

² Leader Post, April 21, 1962.

³ See p. 44.

it became legally impossible for the doctors to work outside the Act, as they had intended to do.

Through publicity in the mass media, within a few days the activities of the "Mothers Committee of Regina" were known to most parts of the province. In Regina itself not less than ten groups of women in different parts of the city sprang up. By April 25 over 200 petitions were circulating, and 1,500 signatures had been obtained in the city. Women posted themselves outside hotels and other public places soliciting signatures.⁴ And outside Regina, weekend meetings were held at Ituna and Springfield where it was decided to organize petitions from these areas. At Yorkton, Pelly, Arran, Kamsack, Whitewood, Grenfell, Wolseley, Indian Head and Carlyle, organizations had already been formed to raise petitions.

In Saskatoon, Mrs. C. Fry became active in collecting names for petitions about the same time as Mrs. Cross. Mrs. Fry was soon joined by Mr. Hans Taal, Miss M. T., Mrs. Carpenter, Mrs. A. Gill and many others. These were later to be the leading members of the Saskatoon KOD.

On April 30, Mrs. Fry sent a registered letter accompanying the petitions with approximately 4,000 names to the Premier. In the letter she prayed "that the Government listen to the voice of the people...?"⁵ and that the Government should wait (to implement the Act) until an agreement was reached between itself and the doctors.

Premier Lloyd replied to her on May 2, and after having explained

⁴ Leader Post, April 24, 1962.

⁵ Conversation with Mrs. Fry, May 8, 1963.
Saskatoon KOD Records.

the economics and politics involved in the College's "final concession", went on to conclude:

While I can appreciate the concern which has motivated your action and that of many others, may I in all sincerity point out all the Government is asking is that the doctors of the province give the plan a fair trial. We are convinced that if they do so they will find out there is no interference in the exercise of their professional judgement. We are further convinced that in a relatively short period of time they will realize the plan offers to them an opportunity to beneficially influence the practice of medicine and the health of Saskatchewan people in a way that is presently denied to them. ⁶

The most significant, and as yet the biggest, meeting during the last quarter of April was at Grenfell on April 27. The meeting was organized by Mr. Bert McKay of Moosomin, attended by 300 people representing 36 communities and was the first attempt to create a province-wide organization for the purpose of collection and presentation of petitions. Although the organizers of the meeting stated that it was not the purpose of the meeting to discuss the "pros and cons of the Act", a lady at the meeting alleged that she had been to three doctors at different towns and they all confirmed that "If the Medical Care plan is not changed they are leaving".

The lady then continued:

Women should arouse themselves if we haven't got our health, and no one to look after it and that of our children. What kind of future are we going to have?

The doctors feel they have an axe over their heads. But they are not afraid; they are taking a stand for you and me. If we don't back them in this, God help us. ⁷

⁶ Ibid.,

⁷ Leader Post, April 27, 1962.

Another speaker, Mr. J. L. Lewis of Carlyle, described the impending Medicare impasse as "...an emergency that could be a catastrophe", and added "...we have never been in a worse position since this province was formed in 1905!"⁸

Towards the end of the meeting it was resolved to form an organization to be designated as the Keep Our Doctors Committee with the sole purpose of circulating petitions within the areas represented at the meeting. It was the first time the title "Keep Our Doctors Committee" was used.

Following the publicity given to the Grenfell meeting, and in spite of the Premier's assurance that it was "extremely improbable for many reasons"⁹ for doctors to leave the province, many more protest groups were formed throughout Saskatchewan. On April 28, five housewives in Moose Jaw organized themselves into a committee and travelled from door to door collecting signatures for their petitions.¹⁰

In Prince Albert, it was Mr. R. Thomson, a schoolteacher, who became the leading figure in the protest movement there - 'The Plea for Health Committee'. With the help of housewives, he organized petitions, arranged public meetings in the city and in the surrounding area at which doctors were the main speakers. The meetings were not supposed to be political. In opening the first meeting, Mr. R. Thomson said, "...the meeting is called to keep our doctors and our health and not as a means of taking

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Leader Post, April 28, 1962.

¹¹ Prince Albert Daily Herald, May 18, 1962.

sides in a political issue".¹²

However, as some groups sprang up to petition the Government to delay implementation of the Act, so did other groups emerge - but with opposite objectives. Some of them petitioned the Government to go ahead and implement the Plan, while others petitioned the College to accept the Plan.¹³ And after May 3, when the College publicly committed itself not to work under the Act after July 1, more groups were formed and the existing ones intensified their efforts to collect more petitions. By May 11 Swift Current joined the Grenfell KOD Committee, and Mrs. Gross was asking other groups in Regina to join the 'Mothers Committee of Regina'.¹⁴

During the month of May the Premier received many letters, telegrams and petitions requesting him to meet delegations for the purpose of presenting petitions. One of these letters came from the Mothers Committee of Regina which also purported to speak on behalf of the Grenfell KOD. The letter requested an appointment to present a "province-wide petition" for May 28. In part, the letter reads:¹⁵ "We realize that you are a busy man, but because of the gravity and urgency of the problem, we are certain that you will find it possible to give us a hearing..." The letter concluded by suggesting that "...(we) meet outside in front of the Legislative Building ... to avoid congestion inside".¹⁶ This suggestion

¹² Prince Albert Daily Herald, May 29, 1962.

¹³ Leader Post - April 24, 1962.
Leader Post - April 30, 1962.

¹⁴ Leader Post - May 11, 1962.

¹⁵ Leader Post - May 25, 1962.

¹⁶ Premier's Office Records.

to meet outside was the most common element in all the requests for appointments to present petitions, although reasons differed from group to group. The Premier, however, consistently refused to accept the request to meet delegations for petition purposes outside the Legislative Building.

In his reply to Mrs. Cross's letter he said, in part, "...I presume that the reason for this is a feeling that a larger group will make an impression on the Government which would not be made by a smaller group". He then went on to say that such representatives would only tend to increase tension at a time

when efforts ought to be made to decrease tensions...as such a move would, I am convinced, immediately promote another equally large representation presenting a point of view in sharp contrast to one (...and in) conflict with that which I gather you seek to present. The combined results can hardly be either useful or satisfying. You will, I hope, realize that governments cannot determine policies by procedures of this kind. 17

At that time, the Premier was very much concerned with the effects such demonstrations, especially if conducted on the steps of the Legislative Buildings, would have on the people of Saskatchewan. For one thing, he feared that one demonstration would only spark off another counter demonstration, and that this might have a spiral effect, each one, trying to outdo the other.

It is true that the Premier was inundated with requests by his own supporters to stage pro-Medicare rallies. (There is sufficient evidence at the Premier's office to substantiate this.) It was the unwillingness to allow himself to be swayed one way or another, i.e. to acquiesce to the demands of the KODs or to those of his own supporters to hold counter

17 Ibid.

demonstrations that earned the Premier the reputation of being stubborn. To the critics of the Government and political opponents, this was a straight-forward blind stubbornness "peculiar to Socialists". To some of the party supporters, however, it was not obstinacy but strength and dignity.

The Premier had also another thing in his mind; at that time, efforts were being made by the Saskatchewan Hospital Association¹⁸ to bring together the Government and the College, and the Premier was somewhat hopeful that something might come out of this. (He did not want to disturb these efforts). To him these efforts seemed "...to be an added reason for not creating any further tension and for not contributing to any additional rigidity in the positions taken by Saskatchewan people."

In conclusion the Premier took the opportunity of reiterating the Government's position not only to the "Mothers Committee of Regina" but obviously, to other groups or active individuals who had similar views and objectives as the "Mothers". The Premier said:

The Government of Saskatchewan has stated on many occasions its willingness to guarantee by legislative enactment or administrative procedure the complete and free exercise of professional judgement... We very much wish to know what specifically the doctors would wish to have done to accomplish this. It seems, then, that any group of people wishing, as I gather you do, to make a major contribution to the provision of adequate medical care might well be expected to contact not just the Government but the College of Physicians and Surgeons as well.¹⁹

Copies of this letter were sent to:

- (1) all M.L.A.'s and Federal Candidates (CCF-NDP); (2) CKCK Radio;
- (3) CKCK Television; (4) CKRM Radio; and (5) CJME Radio.

¹⁸ Hereafter referred to as S.H.A.

¹⁹ Premier's Office Records.

But why did the KOD's petition the Government and not the College? Why were they sympathetic to the doctors' position in spite of the assurances given by the Premier that it was not the intention of the Government to control the profession?

In a country with a sparse rural population and with extremes of climate where, during the severe winter, some parts of the province are virtually inaccessible, the doctor has tended to assume the classical role of the ancient magician-ruler. He is the man to whom the pregnant, the sick and the troubled go for help. In the rural community where good health is of great importance to its residents, the position of the doctor - the man who diagnoses the ills and prescribes the remedy for the ailment which then disappears - is naturally that of one on a pedestal. Furthermore, for miles around, apart from the clergy, he seems to his patients to be the only educated and articulate man. Residents of Saskatchewan seem to admire people who work hard and better themselves. Thus, they assume the doctor knows not only his medicine, but much about other subjects, including politics. As an expression of their respect and support for doctors some people wrote to the local press. The following are excerpts from some of the letters which appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix.

Why allow our doctors after spending from seven to ten years studying medicine and surgery to probably be told by a government clerk just what they have to do, and to work on a fixed salary, or leave the province.

Surely this is no longer Canadian democracy, or are we already living under dictatorship or Russian rule? 20

What kind of people are they who would write such things about the men to whom we owe so much... These are truly dedicated men, the finest and the kindest that could be found anywhere...

These are the things the medical profession are fighting for - freedom to look after the people as they have been doing for years, without government control. Freedom also for the people of Saskatchewan to think for themselves.²¹

And the one on May 12, after having spoken highly of the doctors, went on to refer to the Plan:

...Just a vote catcher, a gimmick to appeal to the selfish, the niggardly, the money pinchers, and a few deserving unfortunates just to help a few top-Socialists accelerate ushering in the Welfare State - State Socialism.

But those who wrote to the press were not all decidedly dedicated to the cause of their doctors, nor were they conventional in their expressions. Some were utterly perplexed with the whole situation, while others were rather cynical and sarcastic. Here is a good example, a letter in the Prince Albert Daily Herald of May 28.

I am married and expecting a baby. I think I am called an expectant mother.

I am going to have the baby on July 2, (July 1 being a holiday).

What I would like to know is, is this here an emergency.

To me, it sure is.

If the doctor will not deliver my baby, should I ask the mailman - he is a kind looking man and he delivers things. In this case should I send the bill to the Postmaster-General?

(signed) Pregnant and Puzzled

The doctors somehow seem to be aware of the public veneration bestowed upon them. For example, Dr. Smith during CKCK TV program

²¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 26, 1962.

Your Doctors Speak Out on June 2, 1962, said

I put it to you. You accept our advice in your homes on problems very vital to you concerning yourself and your family that an appendix or gall bladder or a stomach ulcer must come out. You accept these decisions from us. Now we are advising you again of our position on a problem we are facing together which is being distorted by politicians. We cannot object to government collecting money to pay medical bills. We do object to government monopoly and we do object to the many unnecessary controls with the payment of medical bills. We object to conscription of doctors and the strangulation of our profession, and we fear what else will come in the future if this Act comes into force. ²²

Also there were other doctors who felt very strongly about the Medicare Plan and decided to do something about it. Some helped to organize KODs, like Dr. Paul Crosson in Weyburn, ²³ others merely gave suggestions, as to the best methods of arousing public interest in the matter, like the doctor described in a letter to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of May 22 by a Mrs. Lilian MacKenzie of Regina. The letter is an interesting and revealing one that deserves to be discussed at length.

Mrs. MacKenzie alleged that she was once invited by a neighbour to hear a doctor discuss his stand on the Medicare controversy. She went. Following the doctor's review of the situation, it was decided that a delegation accompanied by a reporter should be sent to meet with Mr. Davies, the Minister of Public Health. The doctor suggested that the ladies should first study the Act as amended and then draw up questions: he offered to go over their draft with them before meeting with the Minister, but "cautioned them not to reveal his presence at the meeting,

22 Mimeo graphed.

23 Star Phoenix, Saskatoon, July 9, 1962.

or his connection with the draft".

It developed that the hostess was a patient of the doctor, and that another patient of his is currently taking a leading part in circulating a petition against the Medical Care Plan.

My impression was that an organized attempt was being made to create hysteria among patients, particularly young mothers and by playing on their emotions, use them to apply pressure on the government, to prevent establishment of the Medical Care Plan.

In addition to the factor precipitated by the College's refusal to participate in the Plan, there were others which occasioned this proliferation of protest groups. There was a general discontent with the Government, and the merging of the CCF-NDP was another contributory factor. There were some people who, while accepting the principle of the Plan, genuinely disliked the way in which it was engineered and, although they would not identify themselves completely with the College, because they did not agree that the Act should be suspended or repealed, they wished to express their opinions. In addition to these there were, of course, political opponents and those with an axe to grind. Towards the end of April 1962, the climate was one "... of bitterness and resentment and ill-will that itself bode ill for a successful inauguration of the Plan".²⁴ And while there were many who were prepared to give the Plan a trial, there were also others who did not want what they considered the Government was giving them: "chaos in medical services".²⁵ There were yet others who thought, and preached, that the Government was eroding people's freedom and that "... in a free society each citizen must battle

²⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 12, 1962.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 17, 1962.

²⁵ Ibid., April 24, 1962.

²⁶ to retain his liberty". There was even a rumour that a new weekly paper "The Observer" would be published simultaneously with the commencement of the Medical Care Plan on July 1, 1962. Apparently the paper was to be supported by doctors and was to fight the Medicare Plan. Thus the stage ²⁷ was set for battle.

But the Government anticipated all these developments as occupational hazards naturally attendant upon the introduction of the Act. One cannot please everyone. What the Government did not know, or probably did not consider it important to find out beforehand, was the extent and strength of these groups. The Cabinet never seriously considered the possibility of these groups forming themselves into a province-wide movement, and when such a movement came into being late in May, the Government was ²⁸ partially taken by surprise.

II

As an effort to organize a province-wide KOD movement under one committee, towards the end of May, Mr. McKay contacted all known KOD leaders in the province with a view to holding a meeting in Regina. Two meetings were held, the first on May 21, which was attended by "approximately fifty people from all over the province". At the meeting it ²⁹

²⁶ Mr. M. Shummiatcher reported in Saskatoon Star-Phoenix editorial of May 28, 1962.

²⁷ Toronto Globe and Mail, May 26, 1962.

²⁸ Both Premier Lloyd and Health Minister Blackeney admitted to the writer on June 20, 1963 that they did anticipate protests, but not in the strength and form they took.

²⁹ Conversation with Mrs. Fry, May 8, 1963.

was decided to organize a motorcade to Regina at the end of the month. The second meeting was held on May 27 in Regina and it was here that the Provincial KOD was formed and entrusted with the overall coordination of the proposed Cavalcade on May 30. Mr. McKay was elected President, and several other delegates as Vice-Presidents. These were: Mr. Hans Taal, a clerk at the Saskatchewan Power Corporation in Saskatoon; Mr. Elbridge Rorke, a North Battleford Chamber of Commerce Commissioner; Mr. Rod Thomson, a Prince Albert Collegiate teacher; Mr. Alphonse Charbonneau, a Gravelbourg shoe store operator; Mr. Lloyd Lewis, a Carlyle machinery service shop operator; Mr. Walter Bushinske, an Ituna farmer; Mrs. Dorothy Cross, Mrs. M. Lofter, Mrs. E. Warne, and Mrs. A. Shier, housewives, all of Regina; Mrs. E. Lanks, a Moose Jaw housewife; and Mrs. E. Houston, a ³⁰ Shaunavon housewife. A system later developed by which all chairmen of the major districts automatically became Vice-Presidents in the provincial committee.

Most of the work planning for the cavalcade, however, was done at local levels. Active in the organization of the Saskatoon contingent were two married women, Mrs. Fry and Mrs. Gill, and one married man, Mr. Hans Taal.

Following the meeting in Regina on May 21, the Saskatoon Group went into action immediately to collect as many signatures for petitions as possible. By announcing the groups' activities as news items on radio many other Saskatoonians came to know of the group and promptly offered

³⁰ Regina Leader Post, June 16, 1962.

³¹ their services. They posted themselves outside super markets and at street corners; some went from door to door, while others went to the rural areas outside the city where Mr. Taal found "anti-medical care feelings running very much higher...because of the greater threat faced by the residents... that they would be without doctors' services." And in many smaller communities, as the date drew near, Mr. Taal even found merchants had already posted signs saying "This Store Will Be Closed on Cavalcade Day."³² Such was the enthusiasm generated by sheer voluntary efforts.

On May 29, Saskatoon Committee published a notice in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, "To All Interested Citizens" advising them that

a motorcade will be leaving Saskatoon on Wednesday, May 30 at 8 a.m. ...to petition the Saskatchewan government to hold off the Medical Care Plan until the government and doctors can reach a working arrangement suitable to both the citizens and doctors.

The advertisement warned the citizens that "this may be your last chance to voice your opinion in this critical matter." However, citizens were told that "No Political Stickers" would be allowed. The notice was not signed but simply ended with "Let's Keep Our Family Doctors in Saskatchewan."³³

To the North in Prince Albert, almost the same thing was happening. From May 23 the Prince Albert Plea for Health Committee intensified its efforts in collecting signatures for petitions. Some volunteers went to

³¹ Conversation with Mrs. Fry, May 8, 1963.

³² Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29, 1962.

³³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 28, 1962; May 29, 1962; and May 30, 1962.

Nipawin and Shellbrook regions, and by the following day 1,000 names for petitions were collected. And on the morning of May 30, the Prince Albert contingent left for Regina with about fifty cars and 2,137 signatures on petitions supporting a "request that implementation of the Act be delayed". As the motorcade made its way through Saskatoon, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix took a picture of two of the leaders holding a banner alongside their car; it read: "Keep Our Family Doctor in Saskatchewan". Both of the leaders were reported as being druggists.³⁴

The crowd that arrived at the Legislative grounds on the afternoon of May 30 numbered 900 to 1,000 people. Even when counted with their banners and the cars that brought them, the people did not even remotely approximate the expected figure of between 3,000 and 5,000 people.³⁵ Saskatchewanites are generally described, especially by their critics, as being easy-going and fun loving people, always on the look-out for something exciting to do or watch. To a certain extent the cavalcade was designed to cater to this trait, and indeed had all the potential of providing a good show. Witness for example, the Saskatoon press advertisement of May 29, which, in part stated: "\$10 Prize For The Best Display Card Stating Our Purpose."³⁶ However, the twin purposes of the cavalcade were (a) to impress upon the Government the necessity of reviewing its

³⁴ Prince Albert Daily Herald, May 23, 1962; May 28, 1962, May 29, 1962; and May 30, 1962.

Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 28, 1962; May 29, 1962; and May 30, 1962.

³⁵ Mr. Hans Taal, Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 28, 1962.

³⁶ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29, 1962, See also appendix.

position and thereby suspend implementation of the Plan, and (b) to demonstrate to the people in Saskatchewan and the rest of Canada that the majority of people in Saskatchewan was opposed to the Government Plan, and that they, too, should jump on the band-wagon and oppose the Plan. The Government proved to be no less a volatile student of how to win friends and influence people. The Premier appeared with his five leading Cabinet ³⁷ colleagues, and the executive committee room on the second floor was used as the meeting place. Just before he met the delegates, the Premier issued his prepared reply to the Press and announced the Government Emergency Plan.

The delegates represented such widespread centers as Saskatoon, Weyburn, North Battleford, Moose Jaw, Swift Current, Shaunavon, Estevan, Gravelbourg, Nipawin, Ituna, Moosomin, Prince Albert, Regina and Rosetown; they all had petitions from their areas with them. Mr. McKay as the leader of the delegation presented the purpose of the demonstration to the Cabinet, saying:

We are a group of citizens who are deeply concerned over the imminent loss of our doctors...we are deeply conscious of the gravity of the situation and our appeal is all the more sincere because of the growing anxiety of people all over the province..concern about the health, and welfare of the people is not confined solely to the government. We, the people, are equally concerned about our health and welfare, especially at this time... The approaching nightmare of July 1st is in our opinion the greatest concern of the people of Saskatchewan.

Mr. McKay then went on to describe the delegation present as being "a

³⁷ Those present were: C. C. Williams, Labour Minister; W. G. Davies, Health Minister; A. G. Kuziak, Natural Resources Minister; A. G. Walker, Attorney-General; A.E. Blakeney, Provincial-Treasury; and the Premier.

"loose tying together" of many groups working all over the province towards a common end; "We had all been asking for one thing in common right across the province - that the medical care plan be delayed until it is acceptable to the medical profession." He told the Cabinet that the group present was a result of a month of hard work, and represented cities, towns, villages, hamlets and rural areas. "We have collected 46,000 names", he told the Cabinet,

and we are here...to ask you to take steps to remove the fear of July 1 and the imminent loss of our doctors. We sincerely and urgently request that you delay the medical plan without any set date for opening and take every possible step to keep our doctors in Saskatchewan.³⁸

As soon as Mr. McKay finished his speech, other delegates followed him, one after the other, in reading their briefs, after which they each deposited their petitions on the table in front of the Premier. (Briefs made by the other delegates were substantially the same. See Appendix B). This process lasted about ninety minutes. When all was done, the delegates calmly sat facing the Cabinet, and the Premier read his prepared address - the Government's answer to the petitioners.

The Premier's reply was by no means new, and contained all the elements of the Government's stand on the issue as were expressed in every letter to which he had replied, in answer to all former requests for the same privilege. Insofar as the Government was concerned, the issue was still the same; the positions taken by the two contestants virtually unchanged; the Government maintained that it was still willing to discuss amendments to, but not to repeal, the Act. Though admittedly not new,

³⁸ Premier's Office Records.

the Premier's reply was important at this stage of the controversy because for the first time the Government was face to face with delegates of protest groups. Although the Government had replied to their queries and requests, it had for some time avoided meeting these groups formally. In view of the significance of the speech, liberty must be taken in making extensive quotes.³⁹ The Government wanted to present its case as completely, unequivocally, firmly and fairly as possible.

The Premier reiterated the democratic axiom that the "people have every right to hold the views you do", and pointed out again that "a mass delegation on one side invites the same thing from the other side", since he was convinced that "many Saskatchewan people hold opposite views... the net result is that the basic problem has not been changed or settled." Bigger and better delegations will not solve the problem, the Premier told his audience. To the petitioners' assertion that many people were against the plan, the Premier, as if to lure the mouse out of the hole only to hit it hard, appreciated the justification the delegations might feel in that they had "mustered a lot of support...(in having) managed to obtain 40,000 signatures...in your campaign which got underway over a month ago in Regina", and reminded them that:

In 48 hours a group of Regina women obtained close to 4,000 signatures to a petition urging the Government to implement the Plan and the doctors to give the Plan a trial. I have in my office petitions from thirty Saskatchewan communities containing a total of 11,000 names. I remind you that these petitions were not the result of any organized and concerted campaign lasting for a period of many weeks but came unsolicited, to my office. I remind you that many people

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"Partial text of Premier W. S. Lloyd's statement on May 30 to the Delegation re: Medical Care Plan."

simply accepted that the Plan comes into effect July 1st and consequently have not been concerned about circulating any petitions.

The Minister of Health and I have been receiving letters and telegrams from interested citizens all over the province during the last few weeks. As of noon yesterday they were 8 to 1 in favour of the Plan. In addition, I am aware of some of the hundreds of telegrams which were sent to the College of Physicians and Surgeons during the May 3 and 4 meeting. These were never publicly acknowledged and perhaps the members of the College were not even aware that they were being received.

The Premier gave examples of the names of organizations from whom he had received resolutions urging the Government to proceed with the implementation of the Act, and concluded:

Organizations such as these represent in my opinion the authentic voice of an important and large section of the people of Saskatchewan. They would not pretend to speak for every single one of their members. They must be recognized as speaking for the great majority of their members and this adds up to tens of thousands of people.

The Premier then turned to the history of the Plan and the events leading to the deadlock. He did this because he thought "that many people still do not really know what has happened and why this impasse seems to have been reached."

In answer to the incessant demand that the problem should be solved by a plebiscite, the Premier reminded those who clamoured for this approach that:

In Saskatchewan as in other parts of Canada we proceed on the basis of responsible and representative government. Issues are discussed by the electorate and the resulting legislature is expected to enact laws and devise policies accordingly. If such laws and arrangements are not acceptable to the people of the province they have an opportunity at regular intervals to take the action as they see fit.

"Even if", the Premier concluded,

you wish to disregard this, another reason for not holding the plebiscite is the expressed attitude of the College of Physicians and Surgeons...that the result of a plebiscite would not alter their attitude at all.

The Government then emphatically restated its position and came to the attack:

The Government is not prepared to repeal the Act. The Government is prepared at any time to consider amendments to the Medical Care Insurance Act to reassure doctors that the Government has no intention or desire to interfere with their professional judgment in treating patients... The door has been, is and will continue to be open to the medical profession to suggest specific sections of the Act which concern them... When this happens the Government is confident that if further guarantees and assurances against Government interference in the practice of medicine are needed these can be given.

He reminded delegates however, that "... we as consumers of medical services, and as tax-payers, have a right to say in how we pay our medical bills".

As regards the demand to take "steps to remove the fear of July 1 and the imminent loss of our doctors," the Premier assured the delegates that he

visited several widely separated areas of the province in recent days. In almost every one I have learned of doctors who are telling their patients of their intention not only to remain in Saskatchewan but also to continue to treat patients.

That the Government has assurances that

other doctors will be willing to make themselves available in an emergency pool for a temporary period. The motive which has prompted such offers is best expressed by a quotation from one of the letters: "I wish to offer my services to the people of Saskatchewan should they suffer at the hands of the Saskatchewan medical profession."

The Premier then continued that there was

No excuse for attempting to precipitate chaos by the abrupt suspension of medical services on July 1... There are many reasons for believing that the picture is not as black as many people now paint it.

Finally, the Premier transferred the responsibility to the delegates - and the College - and then came to the attack again. He told delegates that they were

justified in asking your doctor to continue providing services until a replacement is found...(or)...until the Plan has had a fair trial

...(or)...at least adequate attempt has been made to advise and discuss with the Government changes which are considered necessary.

He also advised them to "persuade your doctors to press the leaders of their College to tell the Government specifically what it is about the Act they do not like"; and should this effort prove to be futile, to ask "your doctors to clarify their individual positions". If he intends to leave, what arrangements is he making for his patients? The Premier said that the Government had already received a number of unsolicited enquiries from doctors wishing to practice in Saskatchewan, and he put it to the delegates that if the doctors in Saskatchewan were genuinely concerned with the health of their patients, then they should try to help these doctors to purchase a practice in Saskatchewan, for "those who intend to leave will surely want to make every possible effort to have a replacement available". Then came the climax: "Do you believe that they would interfere with or hinder another doctor from serving you?"

The Premier then concluded his address with this concise statement:

The Government believes that the end you seek may be otherwise obtained, unless that end is the destruction of a universal comprehensive Medical Care Insurance Plan for the benefit of all the people of Saskatchewan.

When the Premier finished reading the statement he suggested to the delegates that there was a copy of his statement for each person present, and each of the delegates was issued with one as he walked out of the room when the meeting came to a close. This procedure intensely annoyed the delegates for they felt they were being treated like school children - being lectured to and then being handed copies of the lesson.

The Government's reply was to the point and as complete as possible. The Premier attempted to answer all the questions that bothered those who were present, all this, of course, within the framework of his intention

to go ahead with the Plan. To those who feared what might happen after July 1, the Premier gave assurance that his impression was that many doctors would stay and attend to their patients; but should the reverse happen, the Government was taking steps to adopt an emergency plan and he thought that many out-of-province doctors were willing to come to Saskatchewan to practice.

To those who interpreted the Government's position as that of obduracy and unreasonableness, the Premier reiterated the events leading up to the enactment of the Plan, the College's position and reaction to every event in this series, and the Government's willingness to discuss with them any part of the Act which appeared to the doctors to impose a restriction on their profession. The College consistently refused to do this; therefore, it was the College that was obdurate and unreasonable.

To those whose aims were otherwise than the petitions purported to represent, i.e. those who were not concerned really with the health of the people of Saskatchewan, but rather with destroying a "universal, comprehensive Medical Insurance Plan for the benefit of all the people of Saskatchewan", he simply said that the Government was "fair" and assured them that it was also "firm."

The question now is: did the delegates consider their mission accomplished? Were they satisfied with the Cabinet's answer to their queries and worries? The answers to these questions are clearly categorical: they were neither satisfied nor did they consider their mission quite accomplished. Speaking to the petitioners remaining outside the Legislative Building after having met the Cabinet, Mr. McKay told them:

We have just started on this campaign to keep our doctors and it is now up to you petitioners to go home, organize on a constituency basis, take the lead in direct action, demand the attention of your

M.L.A.s but above all don't lose any time in starting to prepare a further case for presentation by July 1. ⁴⁰

Mr. McKay told his audience that: "We have been advised by Premier Lloyd, after he heard our presentations and arguments, there would be no change in the present plans of the Saskatchewan government."

In fact, most of the delegates were annoyed. They considered "Lloyd and his henchmen" as "cold", "supercilious" and "arrogant".⁴¹ They did not like the lecture Premier Lloyd had given them on responsible government, nor the manner in which he delivered it. One of the delegates admitted to the writer that hitherto she had been an admirer of Premier Lloyd's, but now she simply hated him, and wished to destroy him and his Government politically.⁴² But surely all this could not be attributed to the arrogance of Premier Lloyd and his Cabinet. There must have been something deeper in it. Thus we revert to the question posed earlier, which was: what was the purpose of the Cavalcade? Did delegates expect immediate results?

Clearly the position of the Government was already known by the petitioners. The Cavalcade could have no other purpose than to persuade the Government to change its views, and the Provincial Committee must have thought the Cavalcade and the 46,000 signatures would promptly do it. And when they were met with a prepared statement in reply, this utterly frustrated and enraged them. "How could they prepare their answer to our petition without first having read it?" asked one of the delegates, confiding his

⁴⁰ Regina Leader Post, May 31, 1962.

⁴¹ Conversation with Mrs. Fry on May 8, 1963.

⁴² Ibid.

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bewilderment to the writer. One can see in this an example of the naivety and ignorance of the working of the political system that they complained so much the Government was destroying. It did not occur to them that the Government was well acquainted with the grounds of their petitions. The Government had on several occasions attempted to answer them and presented its case and approach to the problem. The Government knew exactly what was going to be said, and accordingly prepared an answer stating its policy and position. After all, the mass media gave information as to what was to happen. The delegates obviously expected the Government to announce some drastic changes in the Act, or even commit themselves to repealing it. However, some of the delegates had for more at the back of their minds than a mere attempt to repeal the Act. They wanted to humiliate or to destroy the Government. This aim was clearly shown by the behaviour of the crowd outside the Legislative Buildings, of some of the delegates while the Premier was delivering his address, and by the comments that followed.

Did their behaviour equal the solemnity of their cause? Westerners generally associate uncontrolled vociferous crowds with political rallies of South American revolutionaries or African nationalists, but not with themselves. However, one would not be far from the truth in thus describing some of those participating in the Cavalcade in Regina that Wednesday afternoon. While the Premier was delivering his prepared reply to the delegates, a crowd of 200 strong, including some high-school students, suddenly broke out in a peculiar form of dance and started singing anti-

43 Conversation with Mr. Hans Taal, May 6, 1963.

Medicare songs. One, to the tune of "When the Saints Come Marching In", had the words "When the Lloyds Go Marching Out, We Are Going to March Behind Our Doctors".⁴⁴ They tramped their way in and out of the Legislative Buildings, passing up and down the corridor where the meeting was in progress, with such intense noise and clatter that at one point they nearly made the words of the speaker inaudible. Mr. McKay had to leave the meeting to quieten them. This was the mood of those outside the Cabinet Chamber that afternoon⁴⁵ and this was how they "used (their) last chance to voice (their) opinion on this critical matter".⁴⁶

What about the delegates within the Chamber? How did they conduct themselves? When the Premier was announcing the Emergency Plan

...against the possibility that a serious emergency might develop after July 1...that arrangements are being made for the provision of transportation services employing ground and air transport to convey doctors whenever and wherever their service is required... Emergency services for those requiring drug prescriptions are being arranged. Hospitals are being assured of financial and legal support to make possible the full use of their resources,

he was met by a tremendous uproar of "no, no" from the delegates.

When, in the course of reading the statement and restating the series of events which led to the enactment of the Plan, the delegates interrupted him with "to hell with (the) Thompson Committee" and "Where is Walter Erb?" In fact, the delegates were so obstreperous that Mr. McKay had to

⁴⁴ Regina Leader Post, May 31, 1962.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 31, 1962.

⁴⁵ Regina Leader Post, May 31, 1962.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 31, 1962.

⁴⁶ Cavalcade advertisement, Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29, 1962.

rise and plead with them that "we were heard without interruption by members of the Cabinet. Let us extend to them the same courtesy".

During the period set aside for comments, when sharp words were exchanged between the two sides, Mr. A. G. Kuziak, Minister of Natural Resources, asked the delegate why the petitions had not been sent to the doctors. "It is the doctors who are going, not the Government." "You will go too" quipped one delegate.

When Mr. Davies, Minister of Health, expressed the opinion that judging by the number of letters he and the Government had received, it was the Government's considered opinion that "more people were in favour of the Plan," one delegate shouted, "Hold a plebiscite and be sure".

Then there were the banners and placards used in the Cavalcade. In the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of May 30, the Cavalcade was described as "organized by groups of private citizens who disclaimed any political affiliations or ambitions". But witness the banners used by the Saskatoon contingent such as: "Merchants! Dentists! Druggists! Who Next?" and the advertisement to support the caravan: "It may be your profession or business that is taken over by the Government next." These advertisements surely were not intended for the average man, nor indeed did they really have anything to do with the health of the people of Saskatchewan. It was obviously to the fears of the business and professional men that the appeal was made. However, one member of the Cavalcade was reported to have said that the Cavalcade was organized "because it was felt that it

⁴⁷ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29, 1962. For more examples of banners used see Appendix C.

was time politicians stopped mixing their own personal ambitions with the health of the people". And a mother of five children said she took part in the Cavalcade because she "didn't like what was going on". She was worried about the health of her children.⁴⁸

The Cavalcade was obviously a pressure action; in fact, it was more than that for it demanded not only a change of policy, but also a change of government. In the course of the Medicare controversy, a considerable amount of discussion in the correspondence columns and feature pages of newspapers and journals, centred on the concept 'democracy'. Sometimes the Government was accused of not having had the popular support behind the Plan, having obtained only 41% of the popular vote in the 1960 provincial elections, and, therefore, that it was not a majority government in the true sense. At other times, the Government was accused of wrongful activity for quite the opposite reason, in that it used tyrannically its majority to oppress the minority. We shall return to this discussion later. However, it should be noted that the very practice of which the KODs were accusing the Government, that is, of being a majority or minority, attempting to coerce the rest, was one in which they themselves indulged.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 28, 1962; May 29, 1962; May 30, 1962.

⁴⁹ In these discussions, Mr. M. C. Shumiatcher was outspoken. See his "Assault on Freedom" - Reflections on Saskatchewan Medical Care Crisis; A series of articles reprinted from the Regina Leader Post of July, 1962. Published by Saskatchewan KOD Association, Aug. 1962. Also "It Is a Bad Law", Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, edit., July 5, 1962. "Voice of People Ignored", Regina Leader Post, edit., July 10, 1962.

For some outside the province comments on the subject see Financial Post (Toronto), edit., July 14, 1962. "Issues in Saskatchewan For the Nation to Face", - feature article, Globe and Mail, July 17. New Statesman, London, July 6, 1962., "Doctors On Strike".

Having lost the battle, but determined to win the war, the Provincial KOD decided to tighten its organization, and to carry out an intensive drive to enlist more supporters for the movement. The leading delegates, some of whom were already on the Committee as Vice-presidents, were prevailed upon to rename their committees "KODs", and also to help organize new KOD committees in new areas. Within a period of just over a month, over one hundred and fifty local KODs were formed throughout the province.⁵⁰

One thing did emerge from the "lecture" which Premier Lloyd delivered to the delegates. In more sober moods at the Drake Hotel, the delegates did realize that the lecture was useful after all, and to prove that they were good students, they went straight into action. The closest election was the federal election of June 18, and Mr. T. C. Douglas was the CCF-NDP candidate for Regina. The fight in the eyes of the KOD leaders then became one between Mr. Douglas - the Medicare wizard - and the KODs. As Premier Lloyd told them in his lecture that elections are the proper methods of changing policy and government, they went out to prove to him that the "people of Saskatchewan" rejected his plan - and government. It was the Regina KOD which led the attack. By playing over and over again the recorded question and answer part of the 1960 T.V. program, "Opinion Unlimited", between Dr. Bachynski and Premier Douglas,⁵¹ and by printing advertisements in the daily paper with the transcribed text of the T.V.

⁵⁰ The writer arrived at the estimated figure on the basis of data obtained from the Premier's Office Records, the Provincial KOD Records and Saskatoon KOD Records. See Appendix D for complete list of names.

⁵¹ See p. 48.

talk and heading it up boldly in red ink as "Tyranny or Integrity", the Regina KOD pointed out to the reader and to the electorate that Mr. Douglas was not to be trusted - "Just look at the mess he has got us into!"⁵²

In spite of the determination to tighten the organization at the centre, however, the Provincial KOD was at best no more than an odd type clearing house. The Provincial Committee served as a centre of information, receiving news of activities from local KODs and then feeding it to the mass media. In this way, the whole movement was made aware of what was happening throughout the province. In the course of the period, June 30 to July 31, an organizational pattern on a somewhat systematic basis emerged. The province was divided up into districts, each segment being itself a union, or a representative, of other outlying areas. These were the major centres of contact with the provincial committee, and also themselves centres for the areas for which they served or represented. There were thirty-six such districts, these included Regina, Saskatoon, Moosomin, Prince Albert, Carlyle, Moose Jaw, Biggar, Swift Current, Yorkton and North Battleford. But Regina and Saskatoon were in a class of their own, for each was a nerve centre, the one, Regina, serving the south, and Saskatoon, the north of the province. These central points each had under their wings other provincial districts: under Saskatoon, for example, were North Battleford, Melfort, Humboldt, Biggar, Watrous, Unity, Rosetown, Kindersley, Eston, Nipawin, Prince Albert, Wadena, Kelvington and Borden.

⁵²

Conversation with Mrs. B. Sears. The recorded T.V. program and the advertisement were very frequently used by the KODs in the course of the Medicare dispute. For details, see Chapter IV, Section IV. See also Appendix G.

Contacts between the Provincial KOD and the districts, and the latter among themselves, were made by telephone. As local KOD activities had to be publicized just before they took place, communication by letter was therefore infrequent.

From June 10 to July 13, the Provincial Committee held five meetings, three in Saskatoon, and two in Regina, one of which was attended by the southern half of the Committee only; for at the same time the northern half of the Committee met in Saskatoon. The two meetings were connected by telephone. All the meetings held in Saskatoon were on Sundays. The first meeting was on June 10 and was held at the Bessborough Hotel; twenty-five KOD districts were represented. This was an important meeting for it delineated the procedure to be followed at such meetings in the future, and what was to be the status of each committee represented there. As it emerged, the provincial meeting took the form of a voluntary conference at which constituent members participated in deliberations and passed resolutions, none of which was binding on anyone. Nevertheless, all present felt morally obliged to act on whatever the meeting resolved. And so when the meeting passed the following resolutions: (a) to organize a "Motorcade to Regina for June 15", and (b) that each committee represented at the meeting should wire the Premier, "requesting a hearing outside the Legislative Buildings on Friday at 2 p.m.", the government was then to experience the first concerted pressure by the KOD. For the following days until the end of the month, the Premier received a continuous flow of telegrams from KODs from different parts of the province, some telegrams "requesting" and others making a "demand" for a "hearing on the steps of the Legislative Building on June 15". The telegrams continued to be

directed to the Premier's Office even after June 15, but the date for a
 hearing was then advanced.⁵³

Other resolutions passed by the meeting were: (a) "each Committee should be responsible for its own publicity"; (b) "Provincial KOD to meet every Sunday at Saskatoon"; and (c) other districts should be invited to "join in the Cavalcade".⁵⁴

The next Provincial meeting was held on June 17 and the third on the following Sunday. At the last, the biggest meeting to that time, four prominent Saskatoon doctors and two dentists were present. At that time the College and the Government were in the process of negotiations.⁵⁵ One of the four doctors at the meeting "spoke of the Cabinet-College meeting in Regina ... that the Government is adamant in its stand. If we felt the situation was critical before," the doctor said, "it is even more so now". And another doctor "reported that the 'Emergency Services' situation (was) critical - not as many doctors volunteered as had been hoped for".⁵⁶ The Provincial KOD then knew the fate of the negotiations before the public did.

On July 4 the Provincial Committee had its fourth meeting, and it was here that a decision was taken to organize a protest and petition rally for July 11. Decision was also taken to set up a permanent office

⁵³ The writer saw all the telegrams at the Premier's Office. The number was rather impressive.

⁵⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records. For details on the Cavalcade see pp. 144 - 145.

⁵⁵ See p. 149.

⁵⁶ Saskatoon KOD Records.

in Regina, at 1717 13th Avenue, since previously the Committee had no fixed place to meet or conduct activities. To facilitate preparations for the rally three Regina citizens, Mr. Herb Padwick, Mr. R. Champ and Mr. D. McGillivray were elected to work with the northern group in finalizing plans. Mr. W. Stinson, also from Regina, was elected representative for the southern half of the province. And Mr. R. Thomson from Prince Albert was elected as press liaison officer and was placed in charge of publicity.⁵⁷

In the course of the preparations for the rally, and indeed well after it, Mr. R. Thomson emerged as the dominant figure in the Provincial Committee. As liaison and press personnel officer, he was the only person from whom and to whom information regarding KOD activities generally, and the Provincial KOD in particular, passed. He was the man who made contacts with the KOD districts outside Regina, asking for, or imparting, information. He made most of these contacts by telephone. He also helped in organizing new KOD committees, and to do this he travelled in his own car. In the first week of July he helped to organize local committees in four towns.⁵⁸ He did all these activities on his own initiative; in fact, virtually all the correspondence coming out of the provincial office that the writer examined bore the signature of Mr. R. Thomson.

As the person responsible for press releases, Mr. R. Thomson

⁵⁷ Provincial KOD Records. See also Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 5, 1962. Leader Post, July 5, 1962.

For details on the rally see pp. 170 - 179.

And for the fifth Provincial KOD meeting see p. 202.

⁵⁸ Conversation with Mr. R. Thomson on Aug. 4, 1963.

established contact with two hundred and seventy Canadian and foreign news media, including radio and television stations. In the course of a single day he issued eight to ten news releases.⁵⁹ When, on the morning of July 11, the day the protest and petition rally was scheduled, Mr. McKay collapsed, Mr. R. Thomson became the Acting Vice-Chairman of the Provincial KOD. In his efforts in "... gaining support for the aims and objectives of the Keep Our Doctors Committee ..." he took the initiative by writing to all those who were "... in the position to provide assistance...". He sent cables and letters to people outside and within Canadian sovereignty. With an assiduity equalled only by that of the parish clerk, he made certain that others were constantly aware and reminded of the aims and objectives of the KOD, and that no course of action should be taken which would tend to frustrate achievements of these aims and objectives. Thus, when Melfort KOD changed its name to "Melfort Committee For Freedom", Mr. R. Thomson wrote to the Melfort Chairman for "a statement of your new committee's aims and objectives" for he was "personally of the opinion that any drastic change in the immediate objectives of the Keep Our Doctors Committees would encourage the break-up of the local groups."⁶⁰

Communication was not, however, in one direction only. There were also a number of suggestions which found their way to the Provincial Committee for consideration. As an illustration of the suggestions that came forward from the district committees to the provincial committee, the one from Swift Current serves as a good example. It is good because

59

Conversation with Mr. R. Thomson, August 4, 1963.

60

Provincial KOD Records.

it is constructive, and concise. There were many other suggestions from other districts, and even from individuals, but virtually all of these were motivated towards "breaking the Government". Moreover it gives an idea of how some of the more "progressively active" committees went about solving the problem of "Keeping Our Doctors" in Saskatchewan. It was also a bold letter, indeed the only one of its nature that the writer ever came across; for it dared to be critical of the doctors' position, questioning their sincerity. None of the other committees or individuals did this, at least not to the knowledge of the writer.

One afternoon in mid-July just before the CCF-NDP Convention in Saskatoon at which Dr. Dalgleish was to appear to give an address, the executive members of the Swift Current KOD Committee held a meeting. The subject was, of course, how to solve the impasse. Lord Taylor⁶¹ was by then in Saskatchewan. The situation was critical; both parties had vigorously expended their energy and financial resources in an attempt to resolve the deadlock, but neither had given way. If it was true that both the Government and the doctors were concerned with the health of the people of Saskatchewan and, moreover, that the doctors withdrew their normal services solely on the grounds that they felt strongly that the Act imposed a restriction on their profession (in that it was intended to control and regiment them - a statement the Government categorically denied), then a solution to the problem should not have been difficult to find, unless, of course, one of the two was not admitting the full truth.

⁶¹ See p. 196.

It was the public, however, that was suffering as a result of the impasse. A re-examination of the positions held by the two must therefore be undertaken, and it is in this light that the suggestions from Swift Current must be contemplated. The letter is reproduced here in full. The Chairman of the Committee, being an astute Chartered Accountant, risked nothing; he sent copies to Prince Albert and Saskatoon in order to be certain that his Committee's suggestions would be attended to.

A discussion amongst some members of the executive of the Swift Current committee this afternoon brought forth the proposal set out below. While there is not time to place it before our entire membership, we feel that if this were done it would elicit unanimous approval.

The proposal is as follows:

1. That representatives of the KOD Committee arrange a meeting with representatives of the College of Physicians and Surgeons with Dr. M.S. in attendance.
2. That an offer be made by the College of Physicians and Surgeons to the Government to restore normal medical services at once on the condition that -
 - (a) The Government make a firm public commitment to repeal or amend certain sections of the Medical Care Insurance Act, 1961 or insert new sections into the Act all of which will be designed to ensure the rights, privileges and freedoms of the doctors. (see below)
 - (b) The Government make a public guarantee that this commitment will be fulfilled within a stipulated time - e.g. 30 days.
(The services of Dr. M. S. will be used to write that portion of the offer relative to the legislation.)
3. That the offer, once arrived at, be given to the news media and be given the fullest possible publicity for 24 hours before presentation to the Government.

We feel that if the doctors are sincere in their statements that they are prepared to practice under a medical care act which guarantees rather than abrogates their freedoms, and the Government is equally sincere in its offer to amend the Act to comply with the doctors' wishes in this regard, that the above procedure must bear fruit.

We further feel that such an offer, made before the public, will do much to stem the flow of public opinion away from the doctors, particularly should it be refused by the Government.

The following day, Mr. R. Thomson replied:

Your suggestions were presented to the provincial committee for consideration and I also gave a copy to Dr. N.S., College representative from Regina. It would appear from the latest developments that arrangements along the line you suggest are receiving the consideration of many persons. If there is any more you would like me to do with ⁶² this matter, I would appreciate any instructions from your committee.

Though he publicly appeared to be a dominant figure in the Provincial KOD, in reality Mr. Thomson was only an agent. An advisory committee comprising of four Regina business and professional men was the real authority: it decided exactly what, and how, news was to be released. Mr. R. Thomson reported on the recent developments throughout the province to the Committee every morning at 8:00 a.m. at Bob's Cafe, and on the basis of this information the Committee advised instructions for the day. ⁶³

There were also other advisory committees, one on finance and one on publicity. The latter had the experienced services of Mr. R. Purdy, the Executive Manager of the "Free Citizens Association of Regina", as a member. The publicity committee was very concerned with the publicity the doctors and the KODs were receiving outside the province. Most of these papers referred to the doctors "withdrawal of normal medical services" as a "strike", and most of them condemned the doctors for their action. The publicity committee felt that the newspapers were misinformed. As

⁶² Provincial KOD Records.

⁶³ Conversation with Mr. R. Thomson, Aug. 4, 1963. Also Provincial KOD Records.

an effort to rectify the situation, therefore, and "for the purposes of trying to establish a practical approach to the situation in Saskatchewan in relation to the Medical Care Program", on July 12, Mr. R. Purdy sent a three-and-a-half page explanatory memorandum to "All Editors, Editorial Writers and News Commentators" in Canada and some abroad. In addition to these people, the memorandum was also sent to "All Members and Special Mailing List". Copies were also sent to academic, business and religious figures in Montreal. These included Professor James Mallory of McGill University, the President of the Montreal Stock Exchange, and the Rabbi of the Jewish Temple Emanuel in Montreal. With the aid of an illustration, the memorandum argued against the use of the word 'strike' to describe the doctors' action; and then concluded with an attack on the Government and held it responsible for the impasse. "Loss of good doctors is a high price for the people of Saskatchewan to pay for having a dictatorial Socialistic government."⁶⁴

It is very difficult to be categorical about the membership of the KODs at the provincial level. But from what can be discerned from the petitions sent to the Government, it encompassed a wide range of people. One thing, however, was outstanding and cannot fail to be noted and that was that the leadership, on the surface at least, was predominantly housewives. But, behind them were business and professional men, party members and aspiring politicians and doctors, and they were the people responsible for the planning of pressure campaigns.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Provincial KOD Records. See Appendix F.

⁶⁵ Provincial KOD Records.

As regards the total number of KOD supporters, there is no ready answer. In a conversation with the writer in January, 1963, Mr. R. Thomson estimated the membership at the end of the controversy at 74,000 people. Dr. R. B. Baltzan in an address given to Workmen's Circle in Dorchester, Mass., U.S.A. on December 7, 1962, estimated that the membership was between seventy and eighty per cent of the total Saskatchewan population. This figure approximates most of those given by other doctors and it is therefore fairly representative of the doctors' estimates of KODs' membership.⁶⁶ Short of a province wide survey no exact figure of provincial KOD membership can be ascertained. But even if such a survey were possible, the problem would then be that of identifying a KOD supporter.⁶⁷

Like the Saskatoon KOD, the Provincial KOD's office was organized by unpaid voluntary help, mainly women. But the Provincial KOD carried out an intensive and extensive publicity campaign, as sometimes its advertisements appeared in the four main provincial newspapers. Where then did the Provincial KOD get its financial support? As with membership, financial sources present an equally difficult problem. Here we must risk a generalization from the particular: - the known, through KOD records and interviews, is resorted to. One thing, however, is certain; and that is Mr. B. McKay's wish that the groups would not ask the public for financial support was not adhered to. Unlike the Bedouin Arab, who hopes almost pathologically that Allah will always provide, the Provincial KOD was forced by circumstances to be more practical and to

⁶⁶ Mimeographed.

⁶⁷ See p. 108.

reject~~ed~~ sentiments which were bound to lessen its effectiveness. It is one thing to wish something and quite another to realize it. Appeals for financial support were made to the general public through the mass media as well as through personal contacts. But most of the financial support came from businessmen and business associations. In one afternoon at a businessmen's luncheon meeting in Regina early in July at which Father Murray of Wilcox, Saskatchewan, was a guest speaker, \$1,000 was raised.⁶⁸

To sum up, the Provincial KOD was a rather shapeless and ad-hoc organization, but useful in certain ways. It was useful in that it provided a point of contact with the Government; it helped to disseminate information within Saskatchewan, and abroad; it helped to organize rallies to Regina; and finally, it did provide to supporters of KODs in Saskatchewan, and to sympathizers abroad, the confident feeling that such an organization existed to put forward to the Government "the wishes of the Saskatchewan people".

⁶⁸ Provincial KOD Records. Also Conversation with Mr. R. Thomson, January, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

SASKATOON KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE

In the course of the Medicare controversy, Regina and Saskatoon became the main centres of KOD activities. Saskatoon, however, emerged as the more active and influential of the two. In this chapter of the study, attention will be directed to this committee; it is to serve as our case study. What constituted the Saskatoon KOD Committee? How did it organize itself? What were its objectives, and how were these aims achieved? How large was the membership? How was it all financed? These are some of the questions that this chapter will attempt to answer.

I

ORGANIZATION

The Committee was formed on June 5, 1962, exactly six days after the first Cavalcade to Regina. This decision to "amalgamate with the 'interested citizens' into one committee henceforth to be known as the KOD Committee Saskatoon"¹ was taken at an informal gathering at the home of Mrs. A. Gill. At the time there were two groups; the "Plea For Health Committee" which was publicly known and was composed of Mrs. Fry and her colleagues; the other, composed entirely of local businessmen who had shown an interest in combating the Plan was not, however, publicly known: this was the "Interested Citizens" group referred to above.²

¹

See Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 6, 1962.

²

Conversation with Hans Taal on July 25, 1963.

Present at the above gathering were: Mr. Hans Taal; Mr. A. Grantham; Mr. Ernest Bourgeault; Mrs. Fry; Mrs. Boskill; Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter; and Mr. and Mrs. Gill. These were the people who were the most active in the collection of names for petitions and in organizing the Saskatoon contingent to the first Cavalcade to Regina on May 30, 1962. The gathering was originally intended to discuss immediate and future plans, since the Cavalcade did not seem to have succeeded in changing the Government's position with regard to the Medicare dispute. The idea to form a committee was an attempt at finding other means of influencing the Government to come to terms with the doctors. It was felt too that by the formation of a committee, they could double their efforts towards this end.

Having passed this resolution, those present then elected committee members. These were: Mr. Hans Taal - Chairman (or president); Mrs. Carpenter - Secretary; Mrs. A. Gill - Treasurer; Mrs. Fry and Mrs. C. Boskill - publicity; and Mr. A. Grantham as Vice-Chairman. It was also decided that a bank account and a post office box be opened in the name of the Committee; and that the legal aspect of the whole committee should also be examined. For this purpose, a committee of two, comprising of Mr. Bourgeault and Mrs. Grant was created. It was further decided that the publicity committee should be given complete authority to proceed with whatever advertisement and publicity generally they deemed appropriate.

The primary objective of the committee was to bring about an agreement between the doctors and the Government. By June 5, neither the College nor the Government had changed its position; the College had

not revoked its advice to the doctors not to practice under the Act, the doctors were therefore going to "withdraw their normal services" as of July 1, for the Government had not agreed to suspend or repeal the Act. The fear of what would happen after July 1 was still, therefore, the motivating force behind the formation of the committee. To the extent that the committee was interested in keeping Saskatchewan doctors in Saskatchewan, and that the only way of achieving this was for the Government, under the circumstances, to suspend implementation of the Act as it then stood, the Committee's objectives were still the same as those of the original "Plea for Health Committee" of Mrs. Fry and colleagues. How the committee acted in its attempt at "bringing about an agreement between the doctors and the Government", and how and at what point these new objectives came into the picture are subjects of discussion in the succeeding parts of this section.

The Committee drew its support not only from Saskatoon, but also from the neighbouring towns.⁴ The majority of its members were, however, from Saskatoon. To the extent that the Committee attracted support from outside the city, the Committee could thus be regarded as one which served not only the city, but also the neighbourhood. Most of the committee's publicity and advertising campaigns, through radio, television and the press,⁵ covered a very wide area, but most of the towns

⁴ For details on membership see Section on Membership.

⁵ CFQC radio and television, and CKOM radio stations altogether cover the central and north-central Saskatchewan areas. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of course covers a wider area than that. For publicity, the Saskatoon Committee, unlike Regina, relied heavily on the radio and television. See Section on Pressure.

in this area thus covered, also elected their own KOD committees. It was in relation to these other committees, as well as to the whole of north Saskatchewan that the Saskatoon committee was a centre for provincial co-ordination, as Regina was for the south.

The activities of the committee were based on the day-to-day development of the political deadlock, and they acted in accordance with what at each turn of events was considered appropriate. As the work of the main committee was divided among smaller committees, and as each of these was, to a degree, autonomous, exactly what was to be done and at what moment depended on the committee in question. Co-operation, however, did exist between these committees; the closest alliance developed between the finance and publicity committees, with the secretary acting as the go-between. This was to be expected, for it was not only economical to have both advertisement and appeals for donations and new members on the same page in a newspaper, but it was also strategically tactical, to show publicly where the funds came from. These two aspects of the committee's work (finance and publicity) are discussed more deeply in the following sections. Here we are only concerned with the organization of the committee work.

As pressure of work at the office began to mount, the committee found it necessary to appeal for helpers with, for example, attending to the telephones, filing and correspondence. As the activities of the committee depended on daily or anticipated developments of the situation, the number of these volunteers likewise depended precisely on what these activities involved. For this reason, the number fluctuated, being highest when the committee was most active as during the preparations for the Protest and Petition rally of July 11, and lowest just after

this rally.⁶ Virtually all these volunteers were housewives, who all offered their services for different reasons. There were those who were genuinely worried by the whole confusion; middle-aged ladies with aged parents needing constant medical attention; political opponents of the Government; business and professional men's wives who, because of their husbands' inability to identify themselves openly with the committee's work, thought that it was thus their duty to help.⁷ Indeed, the volunteers represented a cross-section of the community, from an ordinary working man's wife to a doctor's or business executive's wife. It was the ordinary man's wife, however, who led the way to the scene; the others, or "them",⁸ followed towards the end of June and the beginning of July. These women were exceedingly helpful to the committee; indeed, had they not lent their help, the committee work would have been sluggish and ineffectual and, consequently, Saskatoon KOD would not have been as influential as it proved to be.

⁶ See pp. 170 - 179.

⁷ For details on membership and supporters, see Chapter IV, Section II.

⁸ In the course of interviews with the writer at different times, all three original women committee members, Mrs. Fry, Mrs. Carpenter and Mrs. C.F., referred to the later women volunteers, especially the wives of some professional men, as "them". Mrs. Fry was more specific: "the businessmen's wives and others of their kind came in very late; but we were all for the same thing". Conversation with Mrs. Fry, on May 8, 1963.

However, as more volunteers came forward during the course of preparations for the Protest and Petition rally, it was found necessary to organize and co-ordinate activities at the office. Mrs. C.F., a veteran Conservative Women's organizer, and one of the original petitioners, though less known publicly,⁹ volunteered to take charge of this. She devised an elaborate three-hours four shifts system, ranging thus: 9 - 12; 12 - 3; 3 - 6; and 6 - 9:30. Depending on whether a volunteer was a working woman or not, or whether she had family or other commitments, she fitted her in to the most convenient shift. There were some women who were regular helpers and would be at the office every evening after work, of whom Miss M.T. was one; but she was more than a regular helper, for she was later to be co-opted on to the Executive Committee. There were others who would ring the office and offer to help. Mrs. C.F. kept a work-chart, and tried to fit in volunteers to their convenience, as they came in.¹⁰ The recorded total number of these volunteers was ninety-seven women.

In addition to the housewives were the business and professional men; but these joined later, in early July. As soon as the Act came into force on July 1, on the evening of that very day an emergency meeting of the committee was held at the home of one very prominent Saskatoon businessman, of a family of long establishment in the city, - Mr. H.P.

⁹ In fact the first batch of women volunteers was obtained by Mrs. C.F. Being a Conservative women's organizer of long standing, Mrs. C.F. had accumulated a list of names of women who were "most likely to help at such things". She contacted them, arranged a meeting at the Bessborough Hotel at which they "discussed the matter, and they all agreed to help the cause". Conversation with Mrs. C.F. on May 24, 1963.

¹⁰ Saskatoon KOD Records. This is suggested by letters of appreciation for help rendered sent to women of that number.

This meeting was attended by businessmen, some of the city elected officials, doctors and members of the committee. The meeting was to decide what next was to be done. It was from this point that a closely planned and co-ordinated attack on the Government was launched, through the mass media and other means. Behind the scenes of all this planning, gathered the businessmen, and the professional men, like the submerged nine-tenths of an iceberg.¹¹

In order to cope with the administrative and organizational problems, which forms the subject of this section, another committee was created known as the executive committee. This was comprised of nine members, two of whom, Mrs. L. Carpenter, and Mrs. Fry, were members of the parent committee. The remaining seven were: Mrs. C.F., Miss M.T. and wives and husbands of members of the parent committee plus some businessmen. What the function of this committee was, was never clearly explained to the writer. The committee did however meet and deliberate on several occasions. A number of announcements were issued bearing the name of the committee. The fact however, that the committee was composed predominantly of key volunteer personnel, like Mrs. C.F. and Miss M.T., whose names never at any time reached the mass media, tends to suggest that this was a committee which was mainly concerned with the work at the office. The Chairman, Mr. H. Taal, devoted his attention to all the ramifications of the Committee's activities; but his main job and the one which he took very seriously, was publicity. The executive committee was composed

¹¹ Or "the tail that wagged the dog", the dog here being the KOD supporters. This is an interesting interpretation given to the writer by one opponent of the KODs generally.

mainly of the key volunteer personnel, (those who organized the groups which coped with the incoming and outgoing telephones and mail, who drafted, typed and distributed thousands of circulars, pamphlets and letters) who were in a position to analyze the public response to the publicity put forth by the committee, and on the basis of this, were qualified to make decisions, or at least some of them, as to future plans. This type of work must have taken place on this committee.¹²

In addition to this, there were other committees, five of them, all under the general title of "Liaison and Strategy Committee". These were as follows:-

- 1) For Regina. This was liaison between Regina and Saskatoon as regards strategy of the campaign. This liaison was not only between the two committees, but also between the two business communities of the two cities. The following were members:

Mr. H. P.	-	Drugstore Owner
Mr. B. S.	-	Supermarket manager
Mr. E. B.	-	General Hardware Store Owner

¹² The difference between the Committee and the executive committee was really a formal one. The former consisted of members who were elected and publicly known as holding certain positions on the committee; while the latter included other members who occupied neither publicly known positions nor indeed did they want their names known. There was no substantial difference between statements issued by these two bodies; for practical purposes, they were all the same. Statements issued by one could be just as good as if they had been the product of the other.

2) For Saskatoon, as above:

Mr. A. G. - Life Insurance agent

Mr. R. P. - Drugstore Owner

Mr. H. Taal - Saskatchewan Power Corporation Clerk

3) As above (2), but for doctors and druggists:

Mr. B. M. - Drugstore Owner

Mr. B. McB. - Drugstore Owner

4) As above (2), but for retail merchants:

Mr. C. J. - Art merchant

5) Board of Trade, Saskatoon:

Mr. F. M. - Board of Trade personnel

Mr. A. T. - Contractor (building)

These two acted as liaisons between members of the Saskatoon Board of Trade and the Committee.

Then there were three other rather large committees. These were the most important ones, and they were all, as those numerated above, staffed by business and professional men. There were:

a) Advisory Committee:

Mr. R. P. (Chairman) - Drugstore Owner

Mr. H. M. - Lumber Company Owner

Mr. H. D. - Paint & Wallpaper Store Owner

Mr. G. R. - Drugstore Owner

Mr. B. M. - Drugstore Owner

As the name suggests, this was the body which advised the Committee on all conceivable aspects of the latter's activities. It was also the body which created the liaison and strategy

committee described above, and to which the latter was nominally responsible.

b) Publicity Committee:

This was the biggest and the most important of them all.

There were nine people, as follows:

Mr. U. A. D.	-	Printing Company director
Mr. B. N.	-	part owner of TV-radio station
Mr. J. A.	-	General Department Store Owner
Mr. W. B.	-	Drugstore owner
Mrs. B. S.	-	Housewife
Mr. B. McK.	-	Lawyer
Mrs. Fry	-	Housewife
Mr. R. McM.	-	Coeditor of a farmers' weekly
Mr. G. M.	-	Catholic "lay" preacher(Radio & T.V.)

c) Finance Committee:

Mr. G. R.(Chairman)	-	Drugstore owner
Mr. G. McK.	-	Cartage Company owner
Mr. B. P.	-	Construction company manager and president
Mr. A. Y.	-	Restaurant owner

This too was an important committee, for it was the members of this committee who not only advised the KOD Committee on the best methods of appealing for funds and provided them with lists of names of people and associations to approach for donations, but themselves went out and collected funds from their professional colleagues and trade associations.¹³

¹³ For details see Section on Finance.

This proliferation of committees and the people who staffed them did not, like the genie of Aladdin's lamp, materialize with one stroke. People trickled in, and as the impasse developed and continued, more and more offered their help: the committees were a result of this influx of business people behind the KOD committee. We shall return to these people later; here they have been mentioned only as they formed part of the organization, and contributed to the management of the activities of the KOD committee.¹⁴

In the course of its life, the committee occupied two premises as office locations, one for only a short duration, about three weeks, in the basement of a ladies' shoe store on 2nd Avenue North. The Committee had to leave these premises because of "some difficulty" with the owner.¹⁵ Its next place was only a couple of blocks away, at 259, 2nd Avenue, and here they remained till the end of July.

At the office, work always started about 9:00 in the morning. The Secretary, Mrs. Carpenter, would invariably arrive the first on the scene, and in a matter of an hour or so, the office would be teeming with people coming and going, telephones ringing, and typewriters rattling.

¹⁴ These people being some of the leaders of the community, it was therefore not surprising that their names did not leak to the public. Suspicions, however, were rife for the "leaders" more or less controlled the mass media.

¹⁵ There are three interpretations of these difficulties. Some members of the KOD Committee told the writer that they had to vacate the premises because the owner raised the rent; others, that the owner, quite understandably, was beginning to get worried as to what the effects the committee's activities would have on his business; while yet others bluntly accused him, saying that as he was a Jew, all he wanted was to make more money, and that he had no principles. Conversation with Miss M.T. on May 22, 1963.

Towards the end of June and early July the office installed five telephones and had two typewriters. The first thing Mrs. Carpenter did was to collect the mail from the post office, sort it, answer what she could and leave the rest for the volunteers. Some of the mail was donations requiring receipts and letter of appreciation. Mrs. Gill, the Treasurer, wrote the receipts and then passed them to Mrs. Carpenter who drafted letters of thanks which were then sent out. Some letters demanded a rather more detailed and articulate answer than Mrs. Carpenter felt she was capable of providing, so she left these to the businessmen, and to some of the housewives, but in particular to Miss M.T. These were the substantial letters and they were generally to important people, or drafts of circulars to organizations and associations. But whoever drafted or typed them, it was always the Secretary's name, and occasionally that of the Chairman also, that appeared at the foot of the letter.

The housewife volunteers helped with the copy-typing of the ordinary letters of thanks for donations, sealing of letters and mailing them. In addition to this, of course, they manned the telephones.

With the exception of the telephones and the rent of the premises, all the furniture and office equipment was donated. A prominent stationery and office equipment firm on 22nd Street East provided the Committee with all it needed in the office, and a leading member of the Board of Trade supplied all the stationery required, with the further offer to stencil or photostat any material. As most of the Committee's work was done on paper, letters, circulars, posters, etc., this was of immense help.¹⁶

¹⁶ If this were to be valued in monetary terms, the amount of financial help that the committee mustered would far exceed that shown on pages 134 - 135. In addition, the value of advice rendered on legal and advertising aspects of the committee's work must be borne in mind.

The office was rarely used for committee meetings; these were usually held according to a rota system, at each committee member's home. In the two months' period beginning June to July 31, and excluding the provincial meetings, the committee held fourteen meetings and none of these was at the office. They were held either at one of the committee member's homes, including the homes of Advisory and other Committee members, or at the College offices. But whenever and wherever a meeting was held, the Secretary always took notes, and read the minutes of the previous meeting; made reports especially if there had been another meeting outside Saskatoon at which one member had been present, and recorded those present. There was one striking fact about these meetings, however, and that was that there never was any real discussion. Resolutions would be proposed, seconded and passed without even an emendation, or alteration of a word or a phrase. This was also the case with the provincial meetings.¹⁷ It was only after the signing of the Saskatoon Agreement that disagreements on resolutions began to be common occurrences. Most of these disagreements centred on what was to be the future of the Committee. Some members wanted it to continue to exist but with different objectives: to act as a "Watch Committee over Medicare legislation", and to carry out a campaign of "public education" through "public meetings, seminars and lectures". Other members, on political grounds, disagreed.¹⁸

At any rate, as almost all of the resolutions before July 23 came

¹⁷ And these resolutions would be released to the news media intact. For one example of these see Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 11, 1962.

¹⁸ Saskatoon KOD Records.

Conversation with Mr. Hans Taal on May 6 and July 25, 1963.

from individual members most of whom were themselves chairmen or leading lights of their respective committees, one would therefore expect that it was at these committees that real discussion took place. But even here the answer is not very clear; for most of the meetings were not regular, in fact, in most cases they meant no more than a few exchanges of words over a cup of coffee or glass of beer during the lunch break, or during a telephone conversation lasting but a few minutes. Most of the work was done by one or a few individuals with help and advice from the remainder. This was particularly the case with the publicity committee. What was important was the understanding that so and so would be willing to do such and such, and that certain things were better left to the attention of someone else.

II

MEMBERSHIP

Apart from its activities, the other most discussed and contentious aspect of the KOD movement generally was its membership. The membership for the province was estimated at various figures, from a few thousand to "about ninety per cent of the whole Saskatchewan population".¹ Short of carrying out a province-wide survey, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to be precise about this. Even if it were possible to carry out a survey the difficulties encountered would be manifold. Who was a KOD supporter? How could he or she be identified?² What is the criterion determining membership? Attendance at rallies or meetings? Payment of subscriptions? Other forms of support? Many people were in sympathy with the doctors' position and would have liked to do something to amend it, but did not agree with the manner in which the KOD conducted their activities. Others again were both sympathetic with the doctors' position and were in full agreement with the KOD's manner of resolving the impasse, yet never publicly supported them, never attended rallies, nor made donations to the cause. Are we therefore justified in regarding these two latter groups of people as KOD supporters? If not, how are they to be classified?

¹ Mr. Hans Taal's estimate given to the writer at an interview on July 25, 1963.

² At an interview with the writer on June 20, 1963, Premier Lloyd divided KOD supporters generally into three categories: (1) Those who were genuinely concerned with the state of affairs, that is, the dispute as it affected their health needs; (2) Those who wanted to make a party political issue out of the impasse; and (3) The "lunatic fringe". In this study the writer has had no other means of determining who were the KOD supporters or why they supported Saskatoon KOD Committee than by examining the KOD records. The only way in which we can know why these people supported Saskatoon KOD Committee is through their letters, in which they expressed their reasons for support. This is the approach taken by the writer.

When the problem of membership is focused on a single city, as is the purpose of this chapter, one would expect it to be less intractable, at least insofar as numbers are concerned; fewer people to be reckoned with and an infinitely smaller area in which to be observed. Even here, though, the same problems are faced - who were the KOD members? How many were they? There are yet other problems. Apart from the fact that its records are incomplete,³ Saskatoon KOD has refused to divulge the names of ~~this~~ members or allow anyone who has been granted the privilege of examining ~~this~~ records the permission to do so. This is particularly true in the case of members who were business men and civic dignitaries. In the face of this difficulty, how can one profitably proceed to study the membership of Saskatoon KOD? Further, as they are incomplete, the records kept by the Secretary are not wholly reliable data; they have to be supplemented, and this can be done only by consultation with those who were engaged in the activities of the Committee. However, even this in itself is not adequate, for the danger here lies in that active members might tend towards exaggeration. The only way of solving this problem is by having external confirmation from newspapers where it is available. On closer examination their approach is not so devoid of bias as at first appeared. For one thing, their estimates were based

³ There are many apparently unexplained omissions in the records kept by the Secretary. Some letters were not answered, or at least no evidence exists that they were; there are many copies of replies to letters with no evidence of existence of such letters to which these replies were sent. The most important defect of them all was the lack in stating the amount of money donated. The replies only mentioned "generous donation:" or "very generous donation:" These are numerous.

on rallies, and for another, in the case of town and city memberships, about which we are now concerned, they relied on figures provided by members of local committee. We are therefore back to where we started - with the Committee members. The circle is a vicious one.

In view of the reasons discussed above, the writer feels bound to warn the reader that what follows in this section is not the complete picture. There was more to the question of membership than the writer was able to discover, and it should be taken only as a guide and indication of the extent and strength of Saskatoon KOD membership, and not as based on statistics.

Saskatoon is the second largest city in Saskatchewan. It is the centre of the Province and of the Paririe market area, and as such had always been a major distribution point, with a population of 104,000 by the end of 1962. How many of these people were KOD supporters? Were they as many as the signatures on Mrs. Fry's petitions? Or as many as 3,500, the figure given by the Treasurer? How many were donors? Who were they? Why did they support the Saskatoon Committee? Some of these questions are obviously related to the financing of the Committee, but to the extent that finance is itself a form of support, they have to be answered here. The answer to the question of the identity of those who lent their financial support to the Committee is in part the same as that to the question: who were the supporters of the Saskatoon KOD Committee?

As a centre of industry, communication, transportation and finance in the northern half of the province, Saskatoon has many commitments and interests which extend beyond the city boundaries. This is natural.

City people are interested in what is taking place in the farming areas, in some of which they have financial stakes, while others have family connections. The farmers and businessmen in these areas are equally interested, though in the opposite direction. Saskatoon has one daily newspaper, with two editions each day, three radio stations, one of which is French speaking, and one television studio with a combined mass coverage of at least a hundred miles radius. As a cultural and mass media centre, Saskatoon is indeed a very powerful centre in the northern and central parts of Saskatchewan. Whatever matter of interest that occurs in Saskatoon cannot fail to be noticed by the surrounding towns, hamlets and villages where the main contact with the outside world is through radio and television. It is precisely for this reason that Saskatoon had membership far beyond the city boundaries. As a broad generalization, Saskatoon had two sets of memberships: (1) outside the city; and (2) within the city.

(1) Outside Membership

Presentation of "facts" to the public being one of the two major objectives of the Saskatoon Committee at its inception, the consideration as to how this could be done most effectively was a top priority subject at the Committee's first meeting.⁴ It was then decided that a simultaneous radio and television program in which doctors would participate and answer questions pertaining to their position in the impasse should be arranged forthwith.⁵ It was arranged also for the questions to be

⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records, June 5, 1962. See also Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 6, 1962.

⁵ For details, see Chapter IV, Section IV.

brought in directly by telephone from listeners. The President was given full authority to proceed with arrangements. The following advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix in the issues of June 11 and 12, 1962.

NOTICE

ARE YOU IN DOUBT ... ABOUT THE PRESENT IMPASSE

BETWEEN YOUR DOCTOR AND THE GOVERNMENT ?

A SIMULTANEOUS TV AND RADIO

PROGRAM

sponsored by the "Keep the Doctors" Committee may be seen and heard over CKOM Radio and CFQC Radio and TV on

Thursday, June 14th at 11:30 p.m. C.S.T.

Any questions you may have in connection with the medical care plan will be answered by a panel of doctors. Your question may be phoned in to 242-6611 commencing at 11:30 p.m.

FOR ONE FULL HOUR YOUR DOCTOR WILL ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS

Sponsored by the Keep Our Doctors Committee
Saskatoon, P.O. Box 1373, Saskatoon.

The program was carried out and in the end proved to be one of a series of three such efforts.⁶ This program and others dealt with later proved to be a great success both on the air and in the press insofar as the objectives of "putting the facts to the public" were concerned. For it was after this program that the Treasurer began to receive a more discernible stream of donations, and the Secretary busily began answering and sending letters of appreciation. The Committee did receive donations

⁶ Ibid.

before this date, but then it was only spasmodic. Certainly, there was no concerted effort to raise funds before that date: now that there was, advertisements were put in the paper to that effect and Mr. Taal always preceded the TV-radio program by outlining the work of the committee,⁷ and then went on to make appeals for funds. The cumulative effect of all this was to increase the number of donors and supporters, especially towards the end of June and the beginning of July - that is, after the ⁸ implementation of the Plan.

Although the majority of this support came from within Saskatchewan, there were also cases of outside support, from Alberta, Manitoba, Montreal and even from the United States. Those within the province were as widely scattered from the centre and from each other as, for example, Kindersley, Marshall, White Bear, Plato, Kinistino, Wynyard, Strongfield, and Wilkie. Altogether there were thirty-seven towns, hamlets and villages from which such support came, and most of these places were ⁹ generally in the South, South-West and South-East Saskatoon, and the immediate north which suggests

7 Other members of the Committee did this too. Mrs. Gill and Mrs. Fry told the writer at separate interviews that they cannot remember how many times or how many people did this. But whenever occasions presented themselves, on the air or at a meeting, this was done.

8 The Committee doubled their efforts both to increase the number of supporters and the amount of donations after July 1, when the Plan was implemented. See Section on Pressure.

9 The following is the complete list of towns: Allan, Annaheim, Alsask, Bruno, Danscon, Elstow, Forgan, Grandor, Elrose, Hanley, Hawarden, Gallivan, Foam Lake, Leipzig, Kindersley, North Battleford, Plato, Rosetown, Laird, Plenty, Stranraer, Quill Lake, Sinnet, Langham, Paradise Hill, Stockholm, Marshall, Klynnyard, Meota, White Bear, Strongfield, Wilkie, Kinistino, Outlook, Nipawin, Drumheller Alberta, Montreal, Tulsa (Oklahoma, U.S.A.)

the impact of the publicity program on the people as this area falls within the area covered by the radio and television network.

What sort of people were they? Why did they support the Saskatoon Committee? What did they expect to follow as a result of the support they gave?

One peculiar characteristic of these supporters as expressed in their letters was that the majority were married women; next to this in number were those signed by both husband and wife; very few were from unmarried individuals. Another characteristic of these letters was that they did not seem to have been the product of a long process of thought, and consideration of the problem at hand; they were written on ordinary pieces of paper, of different colours and sizes, a leaf ripped from a shopping-list pad, a greeting card, a scrap of paper about two inches long and four inches wide, and the contents varied from a scrawl of "Keep up the fight" to a long winded and bizarre dissertation. Very few of these were articulately written or showed any signs of constructive thinking; most of them give the impression that they were composed on the spur of the moment, probably as a result of radio or television announcements or after reading the newspaper.¹⁰ Thirdly, most of these supporters attacked the Government for being "totalitarian and bolshevistic", and accused the "CCF Government as Socialistic" and even as "Communistic", and that it was intent upon "taking away our freedoms". Fourthly, and this was a minority, they merely attacked the Act as being restrictive of doctors' freedom without

¹⁰ A good example of this are the following excerpts from a letter written on July 9 from Kindersley: "Having just listened to Father Murray on Radio ... we felt we would like to help in a small way..." (Saskatoon KOD Records)

at the same time attacking the Government as the above group did. And finally, many supporters expressed themselves simply as "For Freedom."

Here are a few examples of these letters. Some are of infinite interest and reveal the personality of the person behind the pen, and these are substantially quoted; others are mere excerpts, or in themselves complete letters if the contents are short. Wherever names and addresses were given and if no request was made not to reply, the Secretary always replied to the writers.

From Laird, mid-July, 1962 - "We are grateful to our Doctors and to the KOD for the firm stand they are taking against the dictating principles of our government". The writer donated \$10.

From Galivan, Saskatchewan, July 11, 1962, to Mr. Hans Taal

It is a crime to observe what the government have done to our doctors already, to say nothing of hospitals closing and general upset. ... We have followed your stand on Medicare as it is being presented. You are a brave man ... and certainly have the respect, admiration and support (moral and otherwise) of all the free thinking people of the province. 11

From White Bear, Saskatchewan, July 11, 1962.

Enclosed is a small donation toward your wonderful cause. Perhaps what we really need is education to show some people what is happening to us, in our small town we have those who are still looking for something for nothing and really have more than most of us who work every day for a living...

If people could only be made see that we are being sold out and that the Docs. are being used because they are among our better educated and to be rid of them would make the big plan simple.

Please understand that we live in a small hamlet but there are many here who think as we do and wish to God we could do more for the cause.

The writer donated \$5.00. The Secretary replied:

We note your remarks and can only say that it is unfortunate that all residents of Saskatchewan cannot see the true picture as you do. It is a tragic one at the moment, but it is our earnest hope and prayer that, with the ever increasing numbers who are working actively with the KOD Committees throughout the Province, we will before too long succeed in stopping the complete Government control which threatens the freedom of our Doctors and all citizens of Saskatchewan at this present time. ¹²

From Outlook, Saskatchewan, July 16, 1962, to Mr. Hans Taal:

I want to encourage you in your difficult but noble task of leading our KOD Committee. In face of evident unyieldness on the part of our government I fear we as a people may sit back and give up in early defeat. I trust that we may have the backbone to fight this insidious monster that is slowly choking the life of freedom from our beloved people. If Saskatchewan fails, Canada goes and so does North America. If constant pressure is brought to bear surely the Lt. Governor of our province must call for an election or a plebiscite.

We must continue to press our claims, the while searching our hearts to find wherein we have failed our God. Our country was built on the desire for religious and personal freedom. If Douglas "has laid himself down to bleed awhile, to rise and fight again" - are we less convinced our right to freedom then to do the same?

The Secretary replied, in part

Our Committee heartily concurs with the remarks contained in your letter. The present state of affairs is sickening indeed as you say, if we do not fight this insidious monster and beat it now, the whole of Canada will be doomed. Neither the Doctors nor ourselves can give up till we have licked this dreadful problem. ¹³

From an Income Tax consultant, in Marshall, Saskatchewan, in July

"While I have no time for "John Birch" type of societies", he suggested that after the Medicare impasse was over

¹² Saskatoon KOD Records.

¹³ Saskatoon KOD Records.

... your organization be broadened to unify the aims of all people in this province, irregardless of political affiliation, who wish to stop socialism and its big twin brother, communism, from gaining still further ground here.

I have lived here most of my life ... I have six children. None of my children will be allowed to take University in Saskatoon, with its Socialist taint. It is unlikely that any of my children will stay in this Province when they grow up. This is a sad state of affairs.

There is no trace of a KOD reply to the above letter. From Plenty, Saskatchewan, July 4. After having made his donation to the Committee "...to use as you see fit", concluded his brief epistle thus: "I don't want us farmers in the same box nor do the Dental Surgeons or Barristers nor Embalmers, etc., etc., etc.". ¹⁴

An "Oldtimer" from Sinnet, Saskatchewan, wrote: "Its a shame the way the government made such a mess of things, why doesn't some one just shoot or hang them two who are doing this to our free country it would be a good riddance to bad Rubbish to get rid of them

Yours for Free Doctors and a Free Country,"

The above quoted letters are by no means exact replicas of all that were written; they are however, fair representatives of the thought and attitudes of these supporters, the sentiments they held towards the actors involved in the impasse. One thing however was very clear as not to escape notice; very few, if any, dwelt on the intricacies of the issue at stake. None of the letters examined contained even a single paragraph in which the deadlock was rationally discussed. The fact that this was not done and that instead many references were made to the TV and radio programs in which such concepts as "freedom" "tyranny" "communism" and

¹⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records.

"totalitarianism" were discussed tends to suggest that most, if not all, of these supporters were under the influence of the KOD propaganda. This hypothesis is supported by the number of supporters who came in after July 1, from which point KOD publicity was considerably increased.

The KOD ideas did attract a very wide range of supporters; though none of these were CCFers and though all of them were either Conservatives or Liberal or described themselves as not "concerned with politics", there were yet others who are very difficult to categorise. Here is such an example. The letter is quoted in full.

Great Spirit - Grant that I may not criticise my fellowman until I have walked a mile in his moccasins.

To those who would criticise the doctors for their action. (Including the pharmacist who allowed an old lady to be uneasy from 11:00 a.m. till 2:00 p.m. because she didn't open her store till that time.) In my perspective, the doctors are not deserting their patients. Their action is in keeping with the ways of God. They are there we need only to come to them. True - they have sacrificed their individuality which challenges us as their patients and friends to stand by them. In standing by them and praying for them we defend our freedom.

As for Mr. Douglas he says he is a man who has not and will not abandon his principles. He hasn't but the gold-plating from his days as a minister of God has worn off and the true Mr. Douglas is showing through. How could anyone sincerely concerned with health and welfare do this to the people of Saskatchewan?

From a hymn by H. Bonar :-

"When the learned and the high,
Tired of earthly fame,
Upon higher joys intent
Name the blessed Name;
When the worldling sick at heart,
Lifts his soul above;
When the prodigal looks back
To his Father's love;
When the proud man from his pride
Stoops to seek Thy face,
When the burdened brings his guilt
To Thy throne of grace,

Hear then in love, O Lord, the cry,
In heaven, Thy dwelling place on high."

Amen.

God speed your purpose, Sincerely,
P.S. Want to try my moccasins? 15

Some of the support that came from outside the province, as the letter from Alberta, was decidedly political. It came from Drumheller Young Progressive Conservative Association on July 10, for "... the good work you are doing in the course of freedom ..." and expressed the "hope that you not only rid the province of Medicare but of that Socialist government as well". The writers advised the Committee "not (to) settle for anything less than complete withdrawal of the measure".

(2) City Supporters

Here the social scientist's search for facts is not only frustrated by paucity of such facts but even where there are some available, and meagre as they are, documentation is difficult. This problem is two-fold in nature: on one hand the KODs do not want the names of certain of their supporters divulged, this being the expressed wish of the supporters themselves, yet from the standpoint of this study these are exactly the people that are needed to be known. For they constituted the most important and influential element in the Saskatoon committee; they provided expertise, knowledge and the bulk of the finances without which the Committee could not have been as active as it was. On the other hand, the records that do exist of those supporters who were willing "to stand

and be counted" is not that impressive. The Treasurer estimated the paid-up membership at 500 and supporters at 3,000.¹⁶ The total of these two figures is however at variance with the writer's calculations of two hundred and fifty paid-up supporters based on the records. On further reflection, however, this is not surprising, for although the Committee did make several formal attempts to enrol members at meetings,¹⁷ very few people responded. The bulk of response to the Committee's appeal for support came through the advertisements which appeared as coupons to be completed by the would-be supporters. Some of these came in with donations, some without. It was only the former, if they gave proper names and addresses and did not state that "receipts are not necessary" (as some did) whose names can be found in the records. Others merely enclosed their donation without indicating who they were. Yet others rang the office to tell the Committee that they supported them. Of these, there are no records. It was some of these people who participated in rallies, inundated their MLA's with letter coupons provided by the Committee through the newspaper advertisements, and it was also they who sent in donations with such messages as "in support of your wonderful program" "We are all behind you" or simply and succinctly "splendid!". These were the people who mattered, these were the supporters. But precision here is chimerical.

¹⁶ At an interview with the writer on May 26, 1963.

¹⁷ The Committee held three public meetings, on June 19, at the J.S. Wood Library, on June 25 at the Legion Hall, and on July 6, at St. Paul's High School.

See Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 19, 1962; June 20, 1962; June 27, 1962; July 7, 1962.

On analysis, the city supporters can be divided into four categories:

(i) the ordinary supporter, the average spouse, the "man on the street" - that beloved figment of the social scientist's imagination; (ii) Businessmen and trade associations; (iii) the "Socially Elite" that is, the opinion leaders and well established members of the community; and (iv) the professional men - lawyers, doctors, dentists and some of their associations.

One rather striking observation must be made here before proceeding further with the analysis. Unlike the out-of-city supporters, most of the city supporters were males and the majority of these were businessmen.

(i) Ordinary Supporters

These supporters did not appreciably differ from the out-of-city supporters discussed above: still the same diversities of expression persist however, with still yet the same objectives - to keep Saskatchewan doctors in Saskatchewan, and to have the Act delayed or rescinded as a means to this end. There were those who were genuinely worried and fearful of what might happen after July 1, and after that date, and lived in constant fear of not being able to be attended by a doctor should the need arise. Most of these were women, young mothers and elderly ladies, like one who: "As a mother of a young child, I fully realize the problem and only wish I could do more." She added: "Please contact me if I could do any work for the Committee". One elderly lady, who was "one requiring frequent attention (and) would hate to see my doctor leave the province". Another - "sincerely hoped that we would not lose too many more of our doctors".

There were others who saw the dispute not merely in terms of the pros. and cons. of one Act and one profession, but felt, as the businessmen did, that there was far more at stake than that; that the whole

socio-economic structure was being challenged by the Government, and that they were "proud to see that somebody will stand up for the rights of private enterprise ... shocked and dismayed such undemocratic action is being forced on us by the government". There is the Russian immigrant of the 1920's who was "overwhelmed with freedom in democracy" and was therefore "glad that this committee is in existence because it is the only way the public has of showing their feelings..."

The Premier referred to some of the more extreme supporters as the "lunatic fringe".¹⁸ Some of them claimed to have written to the Premier but without avail and felt that "the only way this dispute can be resolved is to remove Lloyd from office".¹⁹ Another was "all for your moving around their homes (of Douglas, Lloyd, Walter) and shoot bows and arrows into their private domain".²⁰ There was the anonymous "Taxpayer" who felt that

Dictator Lloyd ... had to put in Medicare in order to get sticky fingers in the sales tax pot ... We remember him in the big unit school contract. This doctor business is only to start. He will try to control the farmers through the county system. There are a certain amount of scabs and chislers in every trade. For myself, I think people should bump him and other CCF off. Hope you have got guts enough to stop him and family the right way.²¹

While most of the ordinary supporters were moved by a genuine fear of losing their doctors, or were simply against the Government or what they termed "socialism" there were yet many others who are difficult

¹⁸ See Note 2. above.

¹⁹ Letter from Cumberland Avenue, Saskatoon, July. (Saskatoon KOD Records).

²⁰ Anonymous letter July. Saskatoon KOD Records.

²¹ Anonymous letter June. Saskatoon KOD Records.

to define like those who expressed their support quite simply in this manner "One of your many" "Good show" "Keep up the fight" "Best wishes" "Keep up your splendid work". Most of these messages were written on odd pieces of paper enclosed with donations, or sometimes a scrawl on the donation coupon itself.

Like the out of city supporters, most of the city supporters joined after the first television panel program. Here was a discernibly heavy flow of supporters.²² That some of these were influenced by the program was shown by the kind of messages they sent in with their donations, as, for example, "Here is a small donation for your very invaluable TV and Radio work. Please don't give up." and "Keep up your information program."

(ii) Businessmen and trade Associations

On June 21, 1962, on the advice of one prominent city businessman, the Committee sent the following letter to all businessmen listed with the Saskatoon Board of Trade, and the junior Chamber of Commerce.

Dear Fellow Citizen:

Apathy on the part of some thinking citizens with regards to the Medicare Plan is causing grave concern in the minds of the "Keep-our-Doctors" Committee which has for some time been carrying on the fight for freedom of our Doctors and citizens alike. The situation is rapidly becoming one in which nothing but catastrophe with regards to health care and freedom of the individual can develop. Each one of you to whom this letter is addressed must take a very definite stand in this matter without further delay.

At the moment we understand that difficulty is being experienced in staffing an adequate number of hospitals for the Emergency Service as outlined after July 1. Some Saskatoon people have expressed concern at the apparent lack of public support from the majority of citizens for the "Keep-our-Doctors" Committee. Other centres

²² Saskatoon KOD Records suggest this. Also interviews held by the writer with Committee members confirm this.

in the province have come out very definitely for the postponement of the Medicare Plan Until such time as it is re-drafted to suit all those concerned in health care - namely our Doctors, our Nurses, our Hospital lay staffs and every individual citizen in the Province.

It is felt by your "Keep-our-Doctors" Committee that some degree of complacency has built up because of the statement that Doctors will provide Emergency Service in our three hospitals after July 1. A good look at what this can accomplish will bring the realization that no matter how well this is set up, it will be inadequate. Some of our citizens will without question suffer needless pain and mental anguish because of an Act perpetrated by the Government apparently without thought for the welfare and freedom of the individual.

We implore you to get behind the "Keep-our-Doctors" movement immediately - financially, yes - but above all with your personal commitment publicly. Saskatoon citizens are being criticized, and we think with justification, by other centres throughout the province, for their lack of support with regards to cavalcades to Regina and other methods of protest.

The overwhelming defeat of the New Democratic Party in Saskatchewan in the recent Federal election was, the Committee firmly believes, largely due to the fact that the people generally do not want a compulsory medical plan in place of what really should be - a Prepaid Medical Insurance Plan.

You know some Doctors have already left - You know many more plan to leave if the plan goes in its present form. You know, too, that other parts of our country and other countries are trying to get highly skilled medical men. How, then, can even an Emergency services last long?

Summing up the feeling of this Committee and other centres is that we in Saskatoon have failed to stand up and be counted.

What are you going to do about it?

Yours truly,

SIGNED: "KEEP OUR DOCTORS" Committee (Saskatoon) ²³

In addition, copies were also sent to prominent Saskatoon People not listed with the Board or the Chamber of Commerce. Most of these were political party supporters and it was in this connection that

23 Saskatoon KOD Records.

Mrs. C.F. and others who had contacts were valuable to the Committee.

Mrs. C.F. together with the "others" covered the supporters - known to the parties - of both Liberal and Conservative parties. The letters were not sent to them as Liberals or Conservatives but merely as "Dear Fellow Citizen". The Committee only made use of the lists in order to contact them as likely supporters, in the same way, though with less certainty of support, as when they used the telephone directory for the July rally.²⁴ The letter was also published in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of June 26, 1962.

As the contents imply, the letter was circulated after the second "unsuccessful" motorcade to Regina.²⁵ It was an attempt to enlist the support of the general public some of whom would "without question suffer pain and mental anguish because of an Act perpetrated by the Government apparently without thought for the welfare and freedom of the individual." The letter was partly emotional in tone, calculated, obviously, to arouse the interest of the public in the activities of the Committee. The letter was also addressed to the businessman "to get behind the KOD movement - financially yes, - but above all with your personal commitment publicly". The response of the business men to this appeal was overwhelming. Some of the businessmen who were at the head of trade associations, as for example the head of an "Electrical Association" were "willing to help" in

²⁴ It was in the course of this effort to enlist supporters for the July 11 Protest and Petition Rally that the Committee discovered that Saskatoon was "too NDP". See Chapter IV, Section IV.

²⁵ See p.145 for details on the Motorcade.

that capacity, while other heads of firms passed the letter "to all the staff for perusal and consideration".

Without exception, the businessmen supported the KOD on political and economic grounds. They strongly felt that the Government "must be stopped before it is too late". They accused the Government of being "Socialistic," and some even suggested that it was "Communistic." They genuinely believed, and some still do, that the Government was "out to control everybody, this is socialism" and that the doctors were the first victims of such ambitions on the part of the Government. Others were more elaborate in their attack on the Government; accusing them of "political expediency" in a derogatory tone. Expediency was hateful to them! Whatever trade or profession these people belonged to, they fervently believed in professional freedom, and equally fervently that the Government would soon encroach upon their territory unless they all joined forces to defend and protect their "freedoms", before it was too late. To most of these people, the existence of the Saskatoon KOD Committee behind which they could work and plan was a heaven sent opportunity, thus it was not surprising that some of them wrote to Mr. Taal, the President, telling him "...if there are any more things I can do to help in my spare time, please contact me". They all felt that a government empowered to control one's profession could also take control of one's very life.

They considered the Act as the thin edge of the wedge.²⁶

²⁶ Interviews with Mr. C. Boskill, a businessman Committee member. See also Robert Tyre - "Douglas in Saskatchewan" - the story of a Socialist Experiment, Op. Cit., p. 10. This was also suggested by the type of placards carried at all three rallies. See Appendix C for some of the placards used on May 30 Cavalcade.

(iii) The "Socially Elite"

Although most of these were businessmen and therefore part of that group, yet there were others in this category who were not of the business world. Included here are radio and television personnel, lay church leaders, University staff members, wives of businessmen active in social life. With few exceptions, all supporters in this category came from the east side of the river, with a heavy concentration from Saskatchewan Crescent - East and West - and north of Highways 14 and 11, particularly in those areas immediately south of College street and in the Grosvenor Park.

Support lent to the Committee by this esteemed section of the Saskatoon population was in most cases very subtle, as for example, in the selection and treatment of news to be broadcast. Even the very fact that they were behind the movement and ready to help gave the Committee encouragement and vitality in its efforts in that they provided that feeling we always seem to clamour for - to be recognized, accepted and have our actions approved by those who, rightly or wrongly, are our leaders.²⁷ Small wonder therefore that despite the fact that the Committee considered Saskatoon "too NDP", they felt nonetheless that they "had the majority of the Saskatoon people behind them".²⁸ This was no idle

²⁷ Some of the Committee members, e.g. Mr. Taal, were not at all happy with this. They felt the businessmen interfered far too much in the activities of the Committee. But since they were prepared to finance the execution of plans prepared, there was nothing the Committee could do. From an interview with Mr. Taal, on July 25, 1963.

²⁸ They estimated this support as being in the range of seventy-five to ninety per cent. From an interview with Committee members.

propaganda, they believed it themselves.

These "socially elite" supported the Committee for the same reasons as those of the businessmen; but the religious elements in them, the Catholics and the Jews, had other reasons: they feared encroachment upon and erosion of their rights as racial and religious minorities.

(iv) The Professions

In this category were the doctors, lawyers, teachers, surveyors, architects, chartered accountants and even undertakers. Although all of these were, by definition, assumed to have been behind the Committee all the time, since they were most likely to lose their professional freedom from the extended tentacles of the Socialist octopus, however, they noticeably supported the Committee after June 21, that is, the date on which the "Dear Fellow Citizen" letter was sent out to them. Some even came in after July 1.

Supporters in categories (iii) and (iv) supported the Committee not only financially but also in many other ways. They formed the nine-tenths of the great iceberg supporting the exposed KOD Committee on the surface. There were however some of them who supported the Committee publicly, on radio and television panel, and at public meetings but for the most part, they remained, and still wish to remain, anonymous.

III

FINANCE

In a world of mass media "keeping the facts before the public" requires money, especially if that public is widespread and sparse, such as Saskatchewan's. At its inception the Committee did not have the money - in fact, the very first advertisement publicising the Motorcade of May 30 was paid for by a "worried businessman".¹ Money therefore was one of the Committee's earliest problems.

The Committee went through three phases in its financial history. When the first radio-television panel was organized on June 14, it had less than \$240.00 in the coffers, and hoped that money would come in by donations and that the program would be partly instrumental towards this. Near the end of June until mid-July, the Committee was delightedly overwhelmed by the financial support received from the public. Then, soon after the signing of the Saskatoon Agreement on July 23, the Committee was again in shallow financial waters, indeed the situation was so desperate that fresh and concerted appeals for funds had to be made.

How did the Committee make the appeals for funds? Who were these people who responded - some very generously - to the appeals, and why?

Apart from stating that its financial support came from the general public, and from some businessmen, the Committee has refused to divulge the identities of its financial benefactors. This refusal to reveal names has tended to lend support to the allegation that the Committee

¹ Conversation with Mrs. C. Fry on May 8, 1963. The advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix on May 29, 1962.

was financially supported by those who were "normally on the employer side of labour disputes"², or that they were backed by the College, the Canadian Medical Association³ and even the American Medical Association.⁴ Are these allegations tenable? Out of a total of \$11,000 revenue, only approximately 1.15% came in from membership fees. This at least shows that the bulk of financial support was in the form of donations; the question now is, who were these donors? Any attempt to answer this question is at once beset by the same difficulties as were encountered in attempting to determine the supporters of the Committee, that the records kept by the Secretary are incomplete. Even where names were recorded, the writer is not free to reveal the individuals recorded therein.

As in the case of the general activities of the Committee, appeals for funds depended on the day to day development of the situation. When certain courses of action were considered necessary at certain stages of the dispute, as, for example, the three radio-television panels, publicity for the July 11 Protest and Petition rally, and the sending of three KOD representatives to Great Britain in mid-July, special efforts were made to raise funds. Advertisements appeared in the press and announcements appealing for money were made on the radio and television. In general, the Committee employed two methods of fund raising; one, as mentioned above, was through the mass media; the other was by arrangements made by the businessmen themselves. The latter method was responsible

² Ottawa Citizen, July 9, 1962.

³ Hereafter referred to as C.M.A.

⁴ Hereafter referred to as A.M.A.

for the bulk of the donations.

(1) Public Appeals

At the foot of most advertisements published by the Committee in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, one of the following appeals for donations appeared:

Donations to keep the facts before the public can be mailed to P.O. Box 1373, Saskatoon Sask.

You can help keep your Family Doctor; Send Donations to the Treasurer, KOD Committee, Saskatoon.

Further Donations are Needed. Send to (the Committee address supplied).

Official Receipts Issued.

At the beginning of each one of the three TV-Radio panel programs Mr. Taal, the KOD President, made appeals for funds stating that it was only through these funds that a program such as the viewers were about to see was possible. At public meetings too, he or indeed any other member of the Committee appealed for financial support.

The response to these appeals was overwhelming. On June 17, three days after the first television panel, the Treasurer reported an amount received of \$568.00 but with outstanding bills of \$541.05; yet added that more cash was still forthcoming. By June 22, the total received was \$642.21, with only bills in the amount of \$251.71 to be met. At that time, the incoming mail, with or without donations, was so heavy that volunteers were felt to be necessary to deal with it. Donations came in not only from Saskatoon, but also from various little towns, hamlets, and villages in the vicinity of the city. Some of them came from outside the province; from a Montreal visitor for example, staying at the Bessborough Hotel, who "... was appalled by the details of Government legislation with regard to Medical Care..." Condemning it further,

he said, "This is not democracy".⁵ Some of these supporters were obviously political axe-grinders, like the one from a junior association of a political party in Drumheller, Alberta, who expressed the hope to the committee that "... you not only rid the province of "Medicare" but of the Socialist government as well..." The letter ended with the exhortation "Please do not settle for anything less than complete withdrawal of the measure."⁶

For the most part, however, donations came from the general public, some of whom might have been motivated by political reasons in the broad sense of the word, in that they wanted the Act rescinded, but who did not go to the length of advocating purging the province of socialism. In this category, were to be found the young mother, or the pensioner who donated one dollar with the wish that "...it could multiply itself"; the widow who "required frequent attention" from her doctor; and many others who described their donations simply as "Keep up the good work" "we stand with our family doctors" or "Best Wishes" "Now all we can do is pray".⁷ These were the people concerned primarily with their health needs and the prospects of how these needs could be met. They believed in their doctors' explanation of the impasse and only wished that a solution be found; their views had no political overtones.

Others, though, presumably supported the Committee for what the latter was advocating, yet they seemed to have made their donations

⁵ Saskatoon KOD Records.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

primarily as a result of the publicity campaign, especially the television panels. These were those who added one of the following messages to their donations:

...was very impressed by your radio program.

Here is a small donation for your very invaluable TV-radio work.
Please don't give up.

Keep up your information program.

Another promised to: "Send another donation every time I hear your tape recording of Dr. Bachynski and Mr. T. C. Douglas."⁸

As is the case of the supporters generally, there were some donors who felt very strongly about the whole issue, indeed, they considered the issue as embracing far broader and more profound implications than would appear on the surface, and equally strongly expressed themselves. Some of their opinions and letters were very offensively expressed, and even too obscene to be reproduced in print.

To sum up, many of the donors in this category seemed to have come to the Committee's aid as a direct result of the KOD's publicity campaign. They sent in their donations by enclosing coupons cut off newspaper pages bearing the Committee's advertisement for financial appeals, or they wrote on scraps of paper when enclosing donations. Many congratulated the Committee for its efforts "...to keep our doctors in Saskatchewan", while others enclosed the money without any accompanying note.

(2) Businessmen

Towards the end of September, the Committee instructed the Treasurer to submit all the records to a well known firm of Chartered Accountants

⁸ Ibid.

for auditing. The following is the statement: ⁹

KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE - SASKATOON

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

for the period June 10, 1962 to September 14, 1962.

RECEIPTS

Donations	\$10,377.01
Memberships	127.25
Collected re bus fares - Regina	124.00
Received from other KOD divisions	317.95
Sale of cartoon booklets	<u>119.30</u>
	\$11,065.51

PAYMENTS

Advertising - newspaper	\$2,423.45
- TV and radio	6,235.30
Bank charges	2.77
Bus rental - Regina	155.80
Cartoon booklets	454.45
Delegate expenses - Regina	22.25
Delivery of pamphlets	190.23
Meals and coffee - volunteers	41.28
Office - moving	4.50
- rental	60.00
- supplies	23.16
Printing, postage and stationery	167.25
Pennants and stickers	357.13
Room and hall rentals	222.75
Telephone and telegraph	544.63
Sound track rental	<u>15.00</u>
	\$10,920.05
Cash in bank, September 14, 1962	<u>115.46</u>
Cash accounted for	\$11,065.51

The above statement of cash receipts and payments was prepared from the records of the Keep our Doctors Committee.

We have included in the receipts, cash collections at meetings, totalling \$240.72 for which no receipts have been issued.

Subject of the foregoing we certify that the statement of cash receipts and payments is in agreement with the records of the "Keep our Doctors Committee".

208 MacMillan Building,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,
Oct. 17, 1962.

Touche, Ross Bailey & Smart
Chartered Accountants.

As the above figures show, about ninety-one per cent of the total revenue came from donations while approximately 1.15 per cent came from membership fees. Membership figures here refer to those people specifically enrolled at meetings¹⁰, and the odd supporters who went themselves to the KOD office in the city to join, or sent donations by post and asked to be enrolled as members. Donations therefore comprised the largest item on the revenue side of the statement, as advertisements did on the expenditure side. Allowing for the fact that a substantial amount of donations from the general public came in either unaccompanied by addresses, or that the donors refused receipts, while others were anonymously given, plus the \$240.77 which the accountants included in their statements without there being an explanatory record of it, the figure is far too large to be accredited entirely to the "general public" without further analysis. The writer calculated a total number of two hundred and fifty KOD financial supporters, and this included part of the "socially elite". The amount donated ranged from \$1.00 to \$25.00. In addition to these were other donors, the business firms, business and trade associations. With very few exceptions no exact amounts donated were recorded, and mere phrases such as "... thank you for your generous donation" or

¹⁰ The Committee held three public meetings (See chapter IV, Section IV), At each meeting, efforts were made to enroll new members, but this was only an attempt on the part of the Committee to determine how many amongst those present were KOD supporters and not Government supporters. - from an interview with Miss M.T., an Executive Committee member, on May 15 and 22, 1963.

"... very generous donation" or "... again for your generous donation" constitutes the only evidence to suggest that some financial support had been received. This also applied to some of the "socially elite" group; yet it was they who provided a large proportion of the financial support.

The businessmen donated to the Committee in two ways; (i) a firm donated directly to the Committee; (ii) donated through trade or business associations. Those who donated directly were those who responded to the Committee's letter of June 21.¹¹ Some of them went further and offered personal help. "If there is any other way in which either Dad or I can help the Committee out, please do not hesitate to call on us."¹² Others passed on the messages to their staff "... to contact you individually should they feel interest and the desire to assist you."¹³ As noted previously the letter was sent to all members of the Board of Trade and the Junior Chamber of Commerce; by July 9, there had been a circulation of "500 more to lawyers, chartered accountants, dentists, physiotherapists, etc."¹⁴ Response to this letter was very favorable, as the following letter of appreciation from the Committee to one of the businessmen would suggest:

We are greatly encouraged by the support we are receiving from the various business firms, organizations, as well as numerous individuals in our fight for the freedom of our Doctors, other professions and all citizens of Saskatchewan.¹⁵

¹¹ See p. 123.

¹² Letter from a moving and storage firm. Saskatoon KOD Records

¹³ Letter from a Credit Company. Saskatoon KOD Records

¹⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records.

¹⁵ Ibid.

The recorded amount of donations received by the Committee this way varied from \$10 to \$50. There were several donations of \$100 and a few of \$500. One leading Saskatoon druggist with several shops in the city donated \$50 for each shop he owned.¹⁶ A firm of lawyers in the city donated "very generously" four times, and on the fourth occasion, said: "It (the Committee) draws money even from a hard-headed Scot." Some firms were not so honestly generous, they charged their donations to the firm's advertising costs!¹⁷

At a special meeting on July 16 between the Committee and the businessmen, a discussion was held about the immediate and future plans of the Committee since the Protest rally did not appear to have had any effect on the Government's attitude towards the impasse. It was resolved that the Committee should double its present efforts and explore new means of turning pressure on the Government.¹⁸ A committee of businessmen was created in order to assist in the raising and collection of funds from other businessmen, trade associations and service clubs. This, however, was not the first time the businessmen helped to collect funds for the Committee. Whereas hitherto they had helped only in advising the Committee on money-raising procedures, without actually participating in that venture, they now delegated to themselves the responsibility of collecting funds. No record of the amount of funds collected this way is available, but the suspicion is that the figure must be very high.

¹⁶

Conversation with Mr. Hans Taal on July 25, 1963.

¹⁷

Statement from a building construction and lumber company. There were also others who asked the Committee if their donations were exempt of tax. Saskatoon KOD Records.

¹⁸

See P. 179.

One of the new ideas the advisory committee put forward to the Committee, an idea which the businessmen recommended should be given consideration, was to make appeals for funds from organizations outside the province - from the C.M.A. and the A.M.A. This idea was in a form of a resolution noted in the KOD records as having been passed. Whether or not this resolution was acted upon, the writer has not been able to establish, at least no indication has been given by the Committee, and as the advisory committee is still anonymous, the matter is undecided. However, the impression formed by the writer as a result of interviews and yet further interviews with those members of the Committee who were very close to the advisory committee and who were themselves businessmen, was that the resolution was not acted upon. If it were, it must have been done informally and on a personal basis, carried out on the initiative of one person alone. This does not mean that neither of these organizations - certainly the C.M.A. though the case of the A.M.A. is doubtful - helped the Committee in ways other than financially. To the extent that "putting the facts to the public" was one of the two major objectives of the Committee, which in effect meant publicising the doctors' stand in the issue, the C.M.A. did help the Committee; it too published advertisements.¹⁹

Nor did the College as a professional association ever formally donate to the Committee. Even an effort so obviously on behalf of the doctors as that of sending three representatives - two doctors and a lawyer - to Britain was paid for by the Committee.²⁰ However, many

¹⁹ See Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 16, 1962.

²⁰ For details see Chapter IV, Section IV.

individual doctors did help the Committee financially and did so generously. Again, this does not mean that the College did not assist the Committee in ways other than financial. They helped them by providing the Committee with facilities and information vital to the work of the Committee. One of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the Committee throughout the deadlock was the 1960 tape-recorded radio conversation between Dr. Bachynski and T. C. Douglas. This tape was obtained by and made available to the Committee by the College.²¹ The Committee made exhaustive use of the tape, repeatedly playing it over on the radio and television.²²

In the course of the Medicare controversy, but particularly during the July impasse, it was felt that the insurance companies would be adversely affected by the implementation of the Plan, as that would undoubtedly affect their premiums' earning capacity, and it was thought they would therefore be among the first business associations to be behind the Committee. Although a number of insurance firm executives and branch managers were on the advisory committee, only three companies made donations to the Committee. It is true that these three donated generously, but in comparison to what had been expected and hoped for from the insurance associations, the response was very disappointing. In fact, one branch manager of an insurance company with its head office in Winnipeg told the writer that he was disappointed that the

²¹ Mr. Hans Taal at two interviews with the writer on May 6, 1963 and July 25, 1963.

²² See Chapter IV, Section IV for details.

insurance companies did not help the Committee more. He expected his own company to lose approximately \$25,000 per year in premiums as a result of the implementation of the Plan.

With respect to the druggists, the situation was different. Their association donated freely to the Committee; so too did one of the voluntary health agencies and one dental association, and this was in addition to the individual donations made by the members of these associations.²³

If the services and help rendered by the businessmen and firms - and the "socially elite" - could be valued in monetary terms, the figure would undoubtedly be very high. Whether this evaluation is possible or not, the fact of the matter is the support given by the above people and firms was very crucial to the KOD's efforts. The businessmen may have had, and in fact often did have, other reasons for their support of the Committee, reasons apart from those the Committee themselves originally considered as the objectives of the KODs. However, in a world where right contacts, expert knowledge and financial resources are indispensable to the realization of any major effort and undertaking, let alone such a momentous one as that of altering a governmental policy, those who possess these resources and qualities naturally command influence on their fellow men. Was this then a question of: "he who pays the piper calls the tune?" To give a general idea as to the importance of some of the "socially elite" and business men to the efforts of the Committee, the following are excerpts from one of several letters sent to the Saskatoon businessmen

²³ Saskatoon KOD Records.

and "socially elite" by the Committee.

I have been instructed by the Committee to extend to you... and ... our sincere gratitude for the assistance you gave us, both financially and otherwise. I do not know how we could have managed if you hadn't supplied us with ... during the peak of the Medicare Crisis..." ²⁴

And this letter was sent to another group of professional men:

...wish to express our gratitude to people such as yourself who were good enough to help us in various ways.

There were many times it would have been most difficult and discouraging had it not been for the assistance we received from businessmen of Saskatoon. Your support and interest was much appreciated. ²⁵

²⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records.

²⁵ Ibid.

IV

PRESSURE

On June 5 when the Committee came into being, there were no changes in the positions taken by the College and the Government in the Medicare issue. To the extent that the Committee interpreted the Act in the same light as did the doctors, the Committee supported the College's case for the suspension or repeal of the Plan. Moreover, when the College warned that doctors would withdraw their services the Committee believed them, whereas the Government did not. The Cabinet thought the doctors were bluffing. The Government and the Committee therefore each equally believed that the majority of Saskatchewan people was behind it. Each claimed to speak for the people. As July 1 was approaching, however, the Committee took steps to demonstrate to the Government that the majority of the people was indeed against the Plan and that, as the doctors would withdraw their normal services as from July 1, medical services in the province were bound to be adversely affected. Consequently, the Committee felt the Government should suspend or repeal the Act, and then open negotiations with the College with a view to arriving at a plan "acceptable to providers and receivers of medical services."

In what ways then did the Committee attempt to demonstrate to the Government that the majority of Saskatchewan people was against the Plan? Organizing bigger and better cavalcades to Regina, inundating Cabinet Ministers and M.L.A.'s with letters, telegrams, telephone calls and petitions as well as contacting those whom the Committee felt were capable of influencing the Government, were the methods the Committee used to

demonstrate to the Government that the majority of Saskatchewan residents was opposed to the Plan. As a contribution towards the organization of these activities, the Committee embarked on an intensive publicity campaign, through radio, TV and the press to "put the facts before the public".¹ From June 5 to July 31, the Committee held three public meetings, presented three radio-panels, ran twenty-seven advertisements in the local paper and sponsored many radio and TV spot announcements. In addition, some members of the Committee organized and attended public meetings outside Saskatoon at which they were the guest speakers.

Although most of the advertisements were designed and prepared by the Committee itself, a lawyer and a member of the local press staff gave considerable assistance and advice on the legality and presentation of advertisements, or suggestions as to their design. The Committee also received a number of advertisements and suggestions on the matter from the Provincial KOD in Regina. Most of these advertisements were used during the last ten days of June, towards the end of July.

For sound economic and tactical reasons, in that one hour of radio and TV time cost about half as much as a full page advertisement in the local paper, but with more effect, the Committee relied very heavily on the radio and TV for its publicity campaign. The radio and TV covered a wider area and in the end proved to be the best method of reaching the public. Moreover, the Committee received better terms from these companies.

What proved to be one of the most effective publicity techniques adopted by the Committee and a novelty in its own right, was the

¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 6, See also p. 96.

presentation of three radio and TV panels, presented to the public on June 14, June 16 and July 3. The panels consisted of doctors and some members of the Committee and they invited the public to telephone questions directly to the panels in the studio through one of the twelve telephones made available for the purpose. The questions were handled first by two moderators, and then passed to the panels for answer. The purposes of these panels were to afford an opportunity to the doctors to present their case to the public, and also for the Committee to state its objectives as a group. The doctors who appeared on the panels did not do so as representatives of the College, but merely as individuals. However, in the arrangement of the first program the Committee did consult with the College² and it was the latter body that suggested the names of doctors who, because of their ability to speak in public, should appear on the panels. However, the costs for all these panels were met by the Committee.

Five doctors appeared on the first panel on June 14. They were:

Doctors James Forrester (President of Medical Services Incorporated), Klass Postma and L. R. Chasmar, all of Saskatoon; Dr. H. C. E. Maynard of Prince Albert and Dr. G. Smith, President of the Swift Current Health Region.³ The program was a success; for immediately afterwards, a stream of letters containing donations and congratulations poured into the Committee's office. This development "proved very encouraging"⁴ to the Committee.

The following day the Committee organized its first cavalcade to

² Saskatoon KOD Records, June 8. The Committee met with four doctors at the College office.

³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 14.

⁴ Saskatoon KOD Records, June 17. See also p. 112.

Regina; the Saskatoon contingent was to be part of a province-wide cavalcade organized by the provincial KOD. The purpose of this cavalcade, as was that of May 30, was to impress upon the Government the necessity of delaying the implementation of the Plan and the wisdom of negotiation with the doctors for a Plan acceptable to all concerned. However, in spite of the elaborate planning, publicity and high hopes of good attendance, the Cavalcade was a dismal failure. Only about five cars were ready to leave Saskatoon for Regina on the morning of the cavalcade, and altogether, approximately one hundred and twelve cars and five hundred people travelled to Regina from other parts of the province. Neither Premier Lloyd nor any member of the Cabinet was present to receive the Cavalcade. However, the cavalcade was met by Liberal leader, Mr. Ross Thatcher, and Social Credit leader, Mr. Martin Kelln. Unexpectedly, Mr. Martin Pederson, Saskatchewan Progressive Conservative leader, was not present as expected by the KOD.⁵

The Committee blamed the poor representation from Saskatoon on Premier Lloyd's refusal to meet the cavalcade.

The premier's statement cut our turnout down by ninety-five per cent. Many persons who would like to accompany the Cavalcade could not afford to take time off from work under these circumstances.⁶

The Committee was so disappointed with the Saskatoon turnout that it felt compelled to "apologize to all Provincial KOD 'chairmen' for its lack of support".⁷

⁵ Regina Leader Post, June 15.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 15.
Globe and Mail (Toronto), June 16.

⁶ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 15.

⁷ Saskatoon KOD Records, June 17.

While plans for the first panel program were under way, the Committee was putting "facts before the public" by other means as well; it published an advertisement in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix plainly intended to draw public attention to the promise made by Premier T. C. Douglas in 1960. The advertisement was headed boldly "TYRANNY OR INTEGRITY", and was followed by a transcribed television debate between Dr. Bachynski and ⁸ T. C. Douglas, then Premier of Saskatchewan. The advertisement implied that a solemn trust had been broken and that the Government was not to be trusted.

It should be noted that the federal election campaigns were under way at this time and the CCF-NDP campaigned on the Saskatchewan Medicare ⁹ platform. The advertisement therefore had two purposes: one, to defeat the CCF-NDP federally, and two, to draw public attention to the prevailing ¹⁰ impasse and, in the opinion of the Committee, its cause.

Disappointed, apparently humiliated with Saskatoon's poor response to the Cavalcade, angered and frustrated by the Premier's refusal to receive the Provincial KOD delegation on June 15, the Committee, like a wounded bear, roared and came to the attack. During the following days, the Committee re-orientated and intensified its publicity campaign to what

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Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 14.

⁹ One of the election campaign advertisements used by Dr. Mahood, the NDP Candidate for Saskatoon ran "Vote For Mahood Is Vote For Prepaid Medical Care". Star-Phoenix, June 15, 1962.

¹⁰ This certainly was the aim of Regina KOD from whom the Committee borrowed this advertisement. Conversation with Mrs. B. Sears in Regina on June 20, 1963.

V. O. Key termed "shot-gun" pressure; it attacked the Government and appealed to Saskatchewan citizens to put pressure on their M.L.A.'s.

On June 16 the Committee published the following advertisement:

"50,048 Saskatchewan Citizens Petitioned Against the COLD, RUTHLESS, NAKED POWER of Dictatorial Might!!!!...50,048 people Were Denied Fair Consideration!" The advertisement suggested then that Saskatchewan citizens should: "WRITE --- TELEPHONE --- WIRE Your M.L.A. and insist that he speaks for You as Your ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE".¹¹

On the same day, the Committee sent out letters to all businessmen registered with the Saskatoon Board of Trade and the Junior Chamber of Commerce imploring them to "get behind the Keep-Our-Doctors movement immediately - financially, yes - but above all with your personal commitment publicly".¹²

Two days later, still in a frustrated mood but determined to bring pressure to bear on the Government the Committee took its pleas to the Lt. Governor, Hon. F. L. Bastedo; it sent him the following telegram:

The Saskatoon Keep Our Doctor Committee is concerned over the impasse between the provincial government and our doctors, regarding the medical care act. Over 50,000 Saskatchewan residents have petitioned the government asking for a delay in the implementation of the act until agreement can be reached. We respectfully request your advice since we have been refused a second hearing with our elected representatives to discuss the seriousness of the impasse and the consequences facing the 900,000 residents of Saskatchewan. ¹³

¹¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 16, 1962.

¹² The letter was also published in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 25, 1962. See also pages 123 - 124.

¹³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 19, 1962.

To sustain the pressure on the Government, the Committee sponsored several radio and TV announcements a day, some of which were recorded messages lasting for a minute, or longer, while others were live messages which Committee members took turns in presenting. The writer was unable to find out exactly how many of these announcements were sponsored on the radio and TV; he was only assured that there were many during the period in question. In the course of the period, Mrs. Gill participated several times in these spot announcement programs: the following was one such announcement. ¹⁴

Why we formed the Keep Our Doctors? because I feel this Medical crisis should be settled.

We the people cannot be without medical services after July 1.

As an emergency arises, we cannot wait for the flying doctors from other parts of the Province. Most people are aware that the doctors are dedicated to their profession, for who else can you call at 3 or 4 in the morning because your child is sick. These are men the government are claiming they are selfish and concerned only with themselves - I think not, would any other profession be that concerned with our well being. We therefore must understand the doctors' views on this Medical Plan. The average housewife in Saskatoon realizes the serious emergency that will arise if this plan is put into effect without the agreement of the doctors, therefore everything must be done to urge the government to re-open negotiations with the doctors. The people of Saskatchewan are deeply concerned over the impasse between the Government and the Medical Profession and realize we will not only lose our doctors but this will have an effect on the economy and living conditions of the entire province. No medical plan is worth the loss of the Doctors and their services. Once again we must appeal to the Government to seriously think of the people of Saskatchewan and Postpone this Plan or make the necessary changes in the Medicare Act so we can KEEP OUR DOCTORS IN SASKATCHEWAN.

On June 19 the Committee held its first public meeting attended by about one hundred people at the J. S. Wood Library. The principal speaker

¹⁴ Conversation with Mrs. A. Gill, May 28, 1963.

for the evening was Dr. Doig who talked about the British National Health Service and how it compared with the Saskatchewan Plan. In the course of his talk, Dr. Doig contended that the Saskatchewan Act was more restrictive on doctors and patients than the British scheme. He left Britain in 1958 because of the National Health scheme. At the meeting were also KOD representatives from Biggar and Rosetown, who reported on the activities of their respective groups. Nothing significant happened during the meeting.¹⁵

The defeat of the CCF-NDP in Saskatchewan in June 18 federal elections led the KODs and the doctors to interpret the election results as a clear cut rejection of Medicare by the Saskatchewan people.¹⁶ The College felt that its bargaining position was strengthened, and it wanted to meet the Government to negotiate a settlement. The C.M.A. meeting at Winnipeg sent a telegram to the Premier urging an "...immediate discussion between your Government and the Saskatchewan division of the C.M.A"¹⁷ and the S.H.A. expressed a willingness to act as mediator between the College and Government. Hopes were rising. On Friday, June 22, the Government and the College began their first meeting, which was to be one of a series,¹⁸ until the end of the month. All the meetings were closed to the

¹⁵ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 20, 1962.

¹⁶ Writer's interview with Dr. Dalgleish on July 1963. The question was also discussed in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 19, 1962.

¹⁷ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 19, 1962.

¹⁸ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1962. Regina Leader Post, June 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1962.

public.

In the event, however, that the Cabinet and College meetings should be of no avail, the Committee at a meeting on June 22 proposed to take the following steps: (a) To carry out province-wide petitions for new elections. This proposal was first to be discussed at the next provincial meeting. (b) "To ask all paid-up Committee members to help in conducting a telephone advertising campaign" for a public meeting which was scheduled for June 25, and for the next radio-TV panel on June 26. (c) "To send a letter to the Prime Minister, requesting his intervention. (d) That one Committee member should approach a certain person at CFQC radio and television establishment with a view to arranging for a Committee member to appear in a certain regular weekly television show.

The Committee then appointed Mr. Ernie Bourgeault as Vice-President in place of Mr. M. Grant. ¹⁹

In an effort to meet the anticipated deficiency of medical services as a result of the doctors' withdrawal of normal services after July 1, the Medicare Commission early in June started to recruit doctors overseas to come to Saskatchewan. The main centre of recruitment was from Britain. The Committee was very concerned by both the Government's efforts to bring doctors into Saskatchewan and the quality of these doctors. Furthermore, the Committee felt that the British doctors did not really know what was happening in Saskatchewan or what the real issues were since the doctors obtained all their information from the Commission. In an effort to warn the British doctors of the situation in Saskatchewan,

¹⁹ Saskatoon KOD Records, June 22.

the Committee telegraphed the following advertisement to the "Sunday Times" (London) which appeared on June 24:

Attention British physicians: before planning a move to Saskatchewan, consult with your colleague in this province; also refer to the Medicare Act Section 49 of the Act will reveal that control of your profession is what is usually expected in a totalitarian state.²⁰

Meanwhile Saskatchewan Urban Municipal Association carried out a survey of over two hundred communities and, on the basis of this survey, concluded that about sixty-three per cent of the communities surveyed would lose their doctors if the Plan was implemented.²¹ And on June 23 a joint session of the executives of S.U.M.A. and Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities²² pleaded to the Premier to "...defer implementation of any medical care insurance plan until the people of Saskatchewan can be assured that our present standard of medical services will be continued".²³²⁴

One June 25, the Committee held its second public meeting at the Legion Hall at which three doctors and a lawyer were the main speakers. The meeting was attended by approximately three hundred and fifty people, and was broadcast by CFQC radio from 8:05 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. The main subjects at the meeting were doctor-patient relationships and the

²⁰ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 22, mistakenly quoted the paper's name as "Times" of London. Actually the advertisement appeared in the Sunday Times (London) of June 24. Conversation with Mr. Taal, July 25, 1963.

²¹ Hereafter referred to as S.U.M.A.

²² Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 22, 1962.

²³ Hereafter referred to as S.A.R.M.

²⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 23, 1962.

restrictive nature of the Plan on the 'freedom' of the doctors. Dr. Barry was the principle speaker. She spoke of the "unhappy situation" in which doctors were "forced" to close their offices to patients; she dwelt on the nature of the doctor-patient relationship and its importance to the cure of the psychosomatic illness in which, she said, "the emotions of the individual are tied up with the body functions". Then, she warned her audience that such doctor-patient relationships would be lacking under "State Medicine" where a person was a "case" and not an individual. Other doctors, like Dr. Doig, dwelt on the evils of the British National Health Service; Dr. MacDonald, a surgeon, explained the position of the specialists in the Plan, and Mr. W. Tucker, the lawyer, elaborated upon the restrictive nature of the Act on both doctors and patients.²⁵

The following evening, June 26, the Committee presented its second radio-TV panel. By then, the program had proved its effectiveness as a publicity technique, and the Committee, understandably, wished to enlarge the area to be covered by the panel. Special arrangements were therefore made for the program to be relayed by both CFQC-TV and CKBI-TV.

²⁶ It must be noted that by June 24 the KODs were convinced that the negotiations between the College and the Cabinet which were started on June 22 would come to no avail. Accordingly, from June 24 until the end of the month, the Committee broadened and intensified the scope of its publicity campaign. On the radio it sponsored at least six spot announcements a day at the most strategic moments, and in the Saskatoon

²⁵ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 26, 1962.

²⁶ See p. 85.

Star-Phoenix two highly emotional advertisements were published. It was through the radio and TV that most of the Committee's publicity campaign was channelled.²⁷

On June 26, while the meetings between the doctors and the Government were still in progress, both the Premier and Dr. Dalgleish made public statements on the progress of the meeting, and on the positions taken by each group in relation to the Medicare issue. Each accused the other of obduracy, unreasonableness and lack of concern for the health of Saskatchewan people. On the one hand, the Premier attempted to place responsibility on the College for whatever hardship the people of Saskatchewan might suffer as a consequence of the withdrawal of medical services after July 1. Dr. Dalgleish, on the other hand, made a direct appeal to the people:

We would ask again for the support of all sincere citizens to call upon government to be amenable to reasonable proposals. ... Any actions which cause more doctors to leave Saskatchewan will be disastrous. ²⁸

In the meantime, however, the Committee continued with its publicity campaign on the radio and in the press, attacking and exploiting to its own advantage every public statement made by either the College or the Government. Towards the end of the month, the Committee shifted its campaign tactics and instead of confining its attack on the abstract collectivity "Government", it directed its campaign against the Premier

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The writer was unable to ascertain exactly how many times the Committee used the Radio-TV media for publicity. Neither the Committee nor the radio and TV Stations were in a position to be precise on this. The radio stations destroyed all their records, since the statutory requirement to retain records is only six months.

²⁸

Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 27, 1962.

personally. In the course of these campaigns, the Committee used prepared and rehearsed scripts, which any person could read on the radio. As all these announcements were addressed primarily to mothers of young children, in order to achieve the maximum effect on these mothers, the Committee used the services of women only on these programs. Thus, following the Premier's statement of June 26, the Committee presented this radio announcement:

I am a housewife and a resident of Saskatoon. My name is ... but it will likely be unknown to you because the task of caring for four children has kept me busy in my home. It is because I am so representative of mothers all over this province that I have had the courage to ask to be heard. I am not accustomed to making public speeches but I felt that I must express my concern publicly after listening to Mr. Lloyd's last telecast. I was pleased to hear that Mr. Lloyd was going to make a report to the people of Saskatchewan in regard to medical care and I waited to hear his speech with a prayer in my heart that some solution was at hand but as he spoke despair returned and I was greatly disturbed and upset by his message. I have always regarded the position of Premier with respect and have cherished the belief that anyone occupying this high position would be concerned with the welfare of the people of this province and would speak with statesmanship and in an unbiased manner.

Mr. Lloyd referred to items in our local paper and quoted from it. I have kept these newspapers for the last two weeks so I went back to reread them and I found that Mr. Lloyd has used carefully selected items and given only part of the story. I refer to three items mentioned in the Premier's broadcast. He stated that the Municipalities asked the doctors to continue normal services. He neglected to mention that the conclusion of the resolution presented to him by the Saskatchewan Urban Municipal Association and the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities. This asks...

Here she mentioned the Joint SUMA and SARM resolution of June 23, (see page 151); she then continued:

These two organizations represent every community in the province. Their statement is specific and definite and worthy of consideration. Mayor Buckwold stated last Saturday that it was morally wrong for

29 June 23, 1962. See Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of that date.

the Government of Saskatchewan to put into operation a medical care insurance scheme without having doctors available to meet the medical requirements of the province.

The second item Mr. Lloyd referred to was the signing of a statement by 116 University professors asking the College to continue to provide services. He neglected to mention petitions signed by 46,000 citizens of Saskatchewan asking delay in implementation of the Act. He neglected to mention that citizens have converged on Regina on two occasions to plead for the same thing. Do these people mean nothing to the Government?

The third item Mr. Lloyd referred to in quoting the Star-Phoenix was a statement made by a Saskatoon lawyer, D. A. Schmeiser. He neglected to quote a statement by Otto Lang, Dean of Law, University of Saskatchewan, Mr. Lang gave an analysis of the legal implications of the Medical Care Act and concluded with these words.
 "As a private citizen, I have been rather frightened in this dispute by the sight of government using its power and our money to lay blame upon groups of citizens. This sight of big government in action has not been reassuring." ³⁰

Finally, there came the final attack on the Premier:

These then are the things which worry and disturb me. The head of a State should act and speak with wisdom and impartiality in a situation as grave as this one. The people must be told all the truth - not portions of it. Only the truth can set us free.

³¹ However, what the Committee considered as the most effective spot announcement, indeed the most popular of all the publicity efforts put forth by the Committee and the one to which Dr. Dalgleish referred as leading the "hit parade" was the tape-recorded 1960 television conversation between Dr. Bachynski and Premier T. C. Douglas. The tape recording was obtained by the College for the Committee on June 29, and on that very day, two spot announcements of this tape were broadcast, and on the day following, twelve extracts were announced over the air. They were

³⁰ June 29, 1962. See Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of that date.

³¹ Writer's interview with Mr. Hans Taal on two occasions, May 6 and July 26, 1963.

all presented by the Secretary, and she approached her listeners with these words :

These are dark days for Saskatchewan residents - undoubtedly they will go down as the darkest in the history of our Province - but they are darker indeed for our Doctors - and all because a promise was broken by one man and the breaking of that promise endorsed by his successor.

After this the tape was then played:

Dr. Bachynski asked:

The fifth of your principles requires acceptability to those providing and those receiving services. If the majority of the medical profession does not consider your plan acceptable, will you then find it more convenient to forget your principles and force them into submission, or what is the plan?

T. C. Douglas replied:

I would think doctor, that's somewhat of a reflection on my integrity. I have been in the public life of this province for 25 years, doctor, I don't know how long you've been here, but I have been in the public life of this province for 25 years and no one, not even my political opponents have suggested that I have forgotten my principles.

I recognize, I have stated that the government recognizes that a plan of this sort will not work unless there is goodwill and co-operation on both sides and we work out a program which is acceptable to both sides.

You can no more take a doctor and make him practice medicine than you can take a horse to the water and make him drink. We recognize that.

The recording concluded

Yes - a pledge has been well and truly broken - and what degradation and bitterness it has left in its wake. Small wonder our Doctors have become so disillusioned, and small wonder thousands upon thousands of Saskatchewan citizens fear for the future of our Province. I have personally talked with Dr. after Dr. and without exception they feel very badly about having to take the stand they have taken - to Provide only Emergency Service at no cost to the patient instead of normal practice - it goes against their basic principles as Doctors - but they cannot, and will not surrender the freedom to which all men are entitled in a free country - I wouldn't, would you?

In the meantime, the Committee published two advertisements charged with emotion. One was directed at the Government, and the other at mothers. The latter advertisement was headed: "FROM ONE MOTHER TO ANOTHER", and then continued:

Who Will Care For Your Children?
 Who Will Care For Your Loved Ones?
 Who Will Be Your Family Doctor After July 1?
 Will Illness Wait For Premier Lloyd's
 Flying Doctor?

The advertisement concluded: "THINK ... A Life May Depend On It. We Too Want A Medical Plan, But With Our Family Doctor!" At the foot of the advertisement a blank coupon was provided for the reader to fill in with his name and address, to be sent to his M.L.A.³²

The other advertisement appeared on June 29, it was addressed "To The Government of Saskatchewan" and was intended to remind the Government that "THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT" was "To Manage The Affairs Of The People In Accordance With The People's Desires" and that "GOVERNMENT IS ELECTED TO ADMINISTRATE...NOT TO DICTATE". Finally, the advertisement warned: "THE ONUS WILL BE ON THE GOVERNMENT: If Our Doctors Are Forced To Leave The Province Because Of Discriminatory Legislation. If Government Legislation Results In The Loss Of a Loved One" and concluded: "DELAY THE PLAN BEFORE DISASTER AND UNNECESSARY TRAGEDY STRIKES. AMEND LEGISLATION TO INSURE THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS. THINK - LIVES DEPEND ON IT!"³³

³² Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 23, 1962.

³³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 29, 1962.

It must be emphasized here that the members of the Saskatoon and provincial KOD Committees were the only people - in addition to the College and the Government, of course - who, during the negotiations between the doctors and the Cabinet in the course of the last week of June, knew that the negotiations were bound to end in failure. That was the reason why the Saskatoon and other KOD Committees in the province intensified their publicity campaigns.

There were, however, some people who did not appreciate, and indeed condemned, the Committee's publicity campaigns during the period in question. On June 27, a group of Saskatoon business and professional men, describing themselves as a "group of non-partisan people", issued a statement which while commending the sincere attempts shown by both doctors and Cabinet in the negotiations which "have taken place in accordance with democratic principles in an atmosphere of reason and with concern on both sides for the welfare of Saskatchewan people", expressed the feeling that they were "greatly alarmed that outside the negotiation chambers various groups with obviously great financial resources are using the daily press, radio and television to create fear, panic and hysteria". They concluded

Such efforts to replace calm and reason by emotion really constitute an attempt to replace democratic procedure by rule of lobbies operating through the media of mass communication and in the end threaten all with anarchy.

Let us all display the maturity characteristic of people in a democratic society. 34

34 Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 27, 1962.
Premier's Office Records.

The statement was signed by the following people: Rev. B. R. Bater, Rev. B. A. Smillie, Rev. K. Wotherspoon, Rev. E. A. Mather, Prof. E. A. Tollefson, F. Von Pilis, H. L. Fowler, Stuart A. Thiessen, Prof. G. W. White, Prof. J. G. Rempel and Rev. L. S. Van Mosel.

There were also other people who felt the same way as the group above, but they went further and were more outspoken in their expression and wrote directly to the Committee. The language used by these people was abusive and offensive, and therefore unprintable. Here, however, are a few examples of the less offensive and abusive mail the Committee received:

From a Citizen

We are sure getting tired of your Bally Hoo over the radio and television running Premier Lloyd down and saying that he could stop the Doctors' strike in one minute. Mr. Lloyd was put in there to do a job, and he is acting like a gentleman and that is more than I can say for the rest of you... If you would work half as hard to get the doctors to do their duty as you have helped them strike, it would have been settled long ago. ³⁵

From Crescent Towers, Saskatoon

The Keep Our Doctor Committee is as completely misinformed as to the doctors' terms as it is on the implications of Section 49. Any doubts that anyone might have as to the political motivation of the Keep Our Doctor Committee were removed by the anti-government hysteria employed over your ad...

Your problem is to get the doctors to say what changes in Section 49 would be necessary, if any, to maintain adequate treatment of patients.

As long as you are only fighting for a prejudiced minority and not for the interest of the people of Saskatchewan your efforts are wasted. ³⁶

³⁵ Saskatoon KOD Records, June correspondence.

³⁶ Ibid.

And From E. L., Saskatoon "Yes, I think you are rightly accused of creating hysteria with your self-appointed committee. Why not save your money for the community chest instead of wasting it on advertisements."³⁷

In spite of desperate efforts by the officials of S.U.M.A., S.A.R.M. and S.H.A., - and the clergy - to help make the negotiations between the College and the Cabinet a success, by June 30 it became public that the doctors and the Government had failed to reach an agreement. The Government and the College each blamed the other for the impasse, and placed responsibility on the other for hardship that might be suffered by the people. "A critical situation faces the people of Saskatchewan midnight tonight" declared the College, "because the Government of Saskatchewan has refused to defer the implementation date of this contentious Medicare Act ... Government must accept full responsibility for consequences".³⁸

The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix agreed with the College. In the issue of the same day, the editorial said:

The Government of Saskatchewan originated the Medical Care Insurance Act, and is responsible for its involvement in providing essential and adequate medical care for the people of the province.

However, it was evident by that time that the Committee's efforts to persuade the Government to delay implementation of the Act were a failure. The Act came into force on July 1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 30, 1962.

II

Having failed in its attempt to prevent the Act coming into force, the Committee was nevertheless determined to show the Government that the majority of Saskatchewan people was still against the Plan; that doctors were leaving, and that as a consequence the standards of medical service in the province were bound to suffer. The Committee continued to press for the suspension of the Plan and urged the Government to negotiate with the College.

During the first week of July the Committee was very busy; it was the busiest week yet. For six days, beginning and including Sunday, July 1, the day on which the Act came into force, the Committee was engaged in one form of activity or another, each day. It held two executive meetings; one radio and television panel on July 3 for which program the Committee requested the Premier to offer "three volunteers (Government M.L.A.s) to appear"³⁹, since the three Saskatoon M.L.A.'s declined the Committee's request to appear on the program. A meeting with the northern KOD district representatives was held simultaneously with another in Regina, which represented the southern half of Saskatchewan.⁴⁰ The two meetings, connected by telephone, resolved to organize a rally to Regina on July 11.

Also during the first week of July some Saskatoon businessmen began actively - though still behind the scenes - to help the Committee in organization. They formed an advisory committee of their own to help the Committee with publicity and fund raising. The businessmen did more:

³⁹ Premier's Office Records.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 3, 1962.

⁴⁰ See p. 85.

some of them took it upon themselves to do whatever they felt was necessary to help the work of the Committee. One of the matters occupying the minds of some businessmen was the kind of publicity the doctors and the KODs were receiving abroad, especially in the United States. They felt that the publicity was biased and unfavorable to the doctors and the Committee. The Government by then was holding two press conferences a ⁴¹ day, and it was from the Government sources only, the businessmen felt, that the outside world was fed with information. To counteract this propaganda some businessmen privately arranged to send news releases of their own to some of the leading newspapers and weeklies in the United States and other provinces outside Saskatchewan. The following is the list of some of the newspapers and weeklies to which the businessmen sent their own news releases concerning daily development in the Medicare dispute: ⁴²

Circulation	
Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama	- 200,000
Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Arizona	- 175,000
Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles, Calif.	- 370,000
San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, Calif.	- 260,000
Denver Post, Denver, Colorado	- 256,000
Post-Time Herald, Washington, D.C.	- 400,000
Herald, Miami, Florida	- 312,579
Chicago American	- 469,000
Sun Times	- 546,000

⁴¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 7, 1962.

⁴² Conversation with Mr. Charles Boskill, May, June and Aug. 1963.

Star, Indianapolis, Indiana	-	707,000
Register, Des Moines, Iowa	-	775,000
Courier Journal, Louisville, Kentucky	-	215,000
News-Post, Baltimore, Maryland	-	230,000
Free Press, Detroit, Michigan	-	498,000
Star, Minneapolis, Minnesota	-	292,000
Star, Kansas City, Missouri	-	338,000
News, Newark, New Jersey	-	270,000
Times, New York, N.Y.	-	571,000
Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio	-	305,000
Oregonian, Portland, Oregon	-	242,000
Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	-	695,000
New Dallas, Texas	-	211,763
Times, Seattle, Washington	-	219,000
Sun, Vancouver, B.C.	-	210,000
Free Press, Winnipeg	-	120,000
Journal, Ottawa	-	69,000
Globe & Mail	-	214,000
La Presse, Montreal	-	238,000

In his zeal to strive for objective reporting of the medicare developments, and to protect the good name of the Saskatchewan people, but that of the doctors especially, from the obviously biased Government news release and the unsuspecting - and hostile out-of-province reporters - one businessman excelled his colleagues. He sent the following telegraph to two United States citizens, Francis E. Walter and Senator James O. Eastland. The latter was the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary.

We, the people of Saskatchewan wonder why certain elements of the American Press are presenting only the Government's side of the Saskatchewan Medicare dispute, with the result that they appear to be supporting totalitarian legislation, which suppresses the civil liberties of the Saskatchewan people. It seems inconceivable that the American Press would support only far left Socialist Government in North America in policies contrary to the accepted American way of life. ⁴³

While the businessmen were battling on the front line with the foreign press, at home, the Committee intensified its attack on the Government. The Committee published advertisements stating facts and quoted statistics of doctors "who have left" or "who have completed arrangements to leave," and those who would leave the province "unless the impasse is satisfactorily resolved".⁴⁴

To ensure that every resident of Saskatchewan was aware of what was currently taking place, the Committee on July 3 sent the following letter to seven hundred and fifty mayors and reeves, with copies to their local papers and weeklies.⁴⁵

Dear Sir:

It would appear that the Emergency Service set up by our Doctors throughout the Province is fast becoming a critical situation. In the face of this crisis it would seem obvious that the Provincial Government is not in a position to provide Medical care for the residents of Saskatchewan.

We implore you, as being responsible for the welfare of your people, to keep them fully informed as to the seriousness of our situation. We would particularly urge you to tell the people of your area to bring pressure to bear on your local M.L.A.s to insist that the cabinet take immediate action to avoid further hardship and inevitable tragedy throughout the Province.

⁴³ Saskatoon KOD Records

Conversation with Mr. Charles Boskill May, July and Aug., 1963

⁴⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 6, 1962; July 7, 1963.

⁴⁵ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 5, 1962.
Winnipeg Tribune, July

The onus is on the Premier and the cabinet to remedy this catastrophe.

Yours truly,

46

KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE SASKATOON

Very few, in fact, a negligible number of mayors and reeves cared to reply to or comment on the letters, and the majority of those who did respond were supporters of the Plan and opposed to KODs generally, but more particularly to the publicity methods employed by Saskatoon. From Runnymede, for example, came this comment:

I attribute the present situation to people like yourself whose objective is political gain and not the welfare of the people. Your Committee is to a large extent responsible for this trouble and more and more people are becoming aware of it. 47

Robin Hood complained about the "repulsive and disgusting" radio program (in particular Father Murray's speech, see pages 166 - 168) and urged the Committee "to please refrain from broadcasting the likes of this over our waves, as we do not approve of having our young folk exposed to this type of thing".⁴⁸ And the Overseer of the Village of St. Louis succinctly told the Committee that "People that set themselves above the law should be jailed".⁴⁹

The fact that very few mayors and reeves cared to answer or comment on the Committee's letter, and the fact that the majority of these

⁴⁶ Saskatoon KOD Records.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

were critical towards the Committee's activities, were not indications that the mayors and reeves were opposed to the KODs. S.A.R.M. and S.U.M.A. did come out on June 23⁵⁰ in support of a delay in the implementation of the Act. The overwhelming silence from the mayors and reeves was taken as a sign of agreement with, and not necessarily as opposition to, the KODs.

In the meantime, by July 4, 100 doctors had left the province and the College's office was kept busy answering telephone calls and letters from doctors intending to leave the province. The Emergency service set up by the doctors was in a critical situation: only two hundred and four doctors volunteered out of an expected two hundred and forty. North Battleford was without a doctor. From the College's viewpoint, therefore, the medical situation was bleak.⁵¹ Nonetheless, the city funeral directors expressed no difficulties in obtaining doctors to sign death certificates during the period.⁵² Apparently that part of their business was unaffected.

The highlight of the week, and one of the most controversial episodes in the Medicare dispute, was the public meeting organized by the Committee on Friday, July 6, at St. Paul's High School. The meeting was covered by CFQC, CKBI and by North Battleford and Yorkton radio stations. There were five guest speakers, three of whom were doctors, and one lawyer; but it was the Reverend Father Athol Murray of Wilcox who, speaking on the subject of

⁵⁰ See p. 151.

⁵¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 4, 1962; July 7, 1962

⁵² Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 6, 1962.

"Freedom", captured the attention not only of his immediate audience of four hundred and fifty, but also of those listening in on the radio in their own homes. The Reverend Father's speech, was, however, no "Sermon on the Mount." In the course of his speech in support of the doctors, he bitterly attacked the Government. Holding the Government responsible for the deadlock, he said: "There have been deaths, there will be violence, and there could be violence".

In the course of that evening, the 70 year old Catholic educator displayed no particular discretion in his choice of words, nor in the accuracy of his statements. He claimed to have seen three Reds in the meeting, but he said, "I can't see them; I can smell them". Then he continued with his attacks on the government: "You Communists may think that we are naive and hollow chested but we gave 100,000 boys fighting for the freedom you are fighting against. You Reds, I want you to know that we are proud as hell to be Canadians." Interpreting the Medicare controversy as a fight involving the freedom of Saskatchewan people, he urged the people to "fight with all their energy to safeguard the freedom for which Canadians fought in two world wars", and ended "Tell those bloody Commies to go to hell when it comes to Canada".

Rounding off his speech, in the midst of sporadic ovations from the predominantly female audience, the fiery Reverend Father suddenly interjected: "I wouldn't be a darn bit surprised if some one put a bullet in me - I am as likely to get it as Woodrow Lloyd".⁵³

⁵³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 7, 1962.
The Winnipeg Tribune - Weekend Magazine, Sept. 22, 1962.

Not by any means a hitherto unknown public figure in Saskatchewan, it was the oration of July 6 that projected Father Murray into the Medicare controversy. Reactions to his speech were perhaps symptomatic of the positions and attitudes taken by Saskatchewan people in the Medicare issue. As recorded in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix correspondence columns and the KOD records from July 9 until the end of the month, with one notable exception, reaction to Father Murray's speech was either congratulatory or condemnatory in tone. A good illustration of the former reaction was the correspondent in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of July 12 who, under the name of 'A.J.F.K.FAN' congratulated Father Murray "on the forceful splendid speech" and then went on:

...you really spoke like an American, and that is what this country needs more of it, before we are all dragged down into the shameful complete socialist state.

I take my hat off to Athol Murray. Those of us who have always wanted to tell the NDP and the Commies ~~to go to hell~~ really appreciated (it).

Others were struck with horror and dismay at the "disgustingly,
degrading, biased views ... aired by any church head;⁵⁴ the spread of the
air of hatred"; and some felt that "If Father Murray is an example of
church leadership, then the world is in a sorry mess".⁵⁵

In addition to those who either condemned or congratulated him for his St. Paul's High School oration, Father Murray did also have a defender. A former pupil of his allusively dissociating his intellectual master from KOD membership wrote:

⁵⁴ Letter to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 14, 1962.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The KOD were rather clever in securing a famous man to agitate for their cause, in so doing they were not looking for a sermon but a sensational, rabble rousing oration calculated to sway the emotions of the crowd. Father Murray is sensational, rousing and sincere.⁵⁶

The Committee both lost and gained support over Father Murray's speech.⁵⁷ One Saskatoon supporter was "very impressed by your radio program and the great talk from Father Murray", and donated \$25 to the Committee.⁵⁸ However, the Reverend Father disappeared from the Medicare scene as quickly as he had appeared; he was scheduled to speak at a public meeting in Melfort on the following Monday, July 9, he never did appear there on that date.⁵⁹

The next significant and sensational episode in the Medicare dispute was the mass Protest and Petition rally in Regina on July 11. In the eyes of the Saskatoon Committee the rally was to fulfil the following aims:

- (1) to try to change the thinking for the many people outside our Province who do not realize that if our Doctors had not taken the stand they have, they would be enabling the Government to pursue beyond the Medical profession the State control of any and all professions.
- (2) to bring home to all of the people in Canada and United States (through Canadian and American Press who will be present) the fact that we could be on the verge of having complete state control.

⁵⁶ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 19, 1962.

⁵⁷ Conversation with Mrs. Gill, May 28, 1963.

⁵⁸ Saskatoon KOD Records, July.
There were also others who were similarly impressed. See p. 133.

⁵⁹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 10, 1962. The prospect of Father Murray to speak at Melfort, a town of approximately 4,000 people attracted a crowd of 3,000. This at least indicated the popularity of the man as a speaker. However, a lawyer from Prince Albert substituted for him.

(3) to show by mass numbers that the vast majority of Saskatchewan people are against interference by the State in the right of man to think and act in democratic freedom.⁶⁰

(4) to preserve democracy in its truest form.⁶¹

(5) to urge ... an immediate settlement of the Medicare controversy.⁶²

It was evident that by July 11 the controversy was no longer purely between one profession and the Government, but was construed by the KOD to involve all professions and all people of Saskatchewan. It was, as some advertisements and letters suggested, a matter of "Freedom of Choice .. Being Challenged"⁶³ and that "in protesting the Medicare Act, our doctors are not only fighting for their freedom; they are fighting for the liberty of every worker in Saskatchewan".⁶⁴

Determined that the rally should be impressive and that in particular Saskatoon should not fail the movement as on June 15 in the second Cavalcade; from July 4 the date on which the decision to organize a protest rally to Regina was taken, the Committee extended their publicity campaign. It worked itself to a climax to draw out as many people as possible from Saskatoon and surrounding area to go to the rally on July 11. The rally was to be the event of the month. In the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix,

⁶⁰ Saskatoon KOD Records. Letter to Dr. H. D. Dalgleish. The letter added a Post Script: "The meeting will go forwards as planned regardless of any developments which might occur in the interim."

⁶¹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, editorial, July 10, 1962.

⁶² Mrs. Carpenter, the Committee Secretary at the Rally, July 11, (transcribed recording of the rally).

⁶³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 10, 1962.

⁶⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 7, 1962.

the Committee invited people to "Join the Mass Protest Meeting" to Regina, "If You Feel That Your M.L.A. Does Not Represent You... Please Represent Yourself".⁶⁵

At the same time the Committee renewed its attack on the Government; it again published the transcribed 1960 television conversation between Dr. Bachynski and T.C. Douglas, but this time with the following headings in bold red letters: "PRINCIPLES AND INTEGRITY BOTH FORSAKEN" and ended, again in red print, but less bold type, "WE ASK ONLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT
⁶⁶ KEEP THIS PROMISE MADE TO THE PEOPLE AND THE DOCTORS OF SASKATCHEWAN."

From Monday, July 9, to Wednesday, July 11, the Committee sponsored twenty half to one minute spot announcements on CFQC Radio and TV and on CKOM radio, five spots on Monday, eleven on Tuesday, and four on Wednesday. On the latter date the announcement came on from 7:17 a.m. to 8:53 with twenty minutes interval between each spot. The following was one of the announcements and like the toll of a church bell, summoned the faithful:

All citizens of Saskatoon, being vitally concerned with the Medicare issue, should plan now to attend the meeting in Regina on Wednesday. This is not the Doctors' fight - this is the fight of the people for freedom. We believe that state control of medicine will lead eventually to the control of all other professions, which, in turn will destroy man's incentive to work. What we are fighting to keep is democracy in its truest sense. A well organized program has been arranged in Regina and your support, by your presence, is absolutely necessary. Phone our number, and let us know how you plan to travel - by air, car, bus or train. This matter not only concerns your neighbour, it concerns you personally. Support the Keep Our Doctors Committee by attending this mass protest meeting in Regina in person.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Saskatoon Star Phoenix, July 6, 1962; July 7, 1962.

⁶⁶ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 7, 1962.

⁶⁷ Saskatoon KOD Records.

Resolute in its aim to recruit for the rally as many people from Saskatoon and the vicinity as possible, the Committee embarked on yet another novel publicity technique. From July 7 to July 10 a team of women volunteers working on telephones in shifts of three hours each, from 9:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. attempted to persuade people to participate in the rally. Five telephones were installed in the Committee office for the purpose. Each lady volunteer was assigned a certain number of pages from the public telephone directory to cover. She contacted every number listed, and asked the subscriber if he/she was intending to go to the rally; if the answer was yes, the subscriber was then asked by what form of transportation -public or private. If by the latter means, was there room left and if so, was the subscriber willing to help in carrying a few passengers. If the answer was again in the affirmative, the name was marked for future use. On the other hand, if the answer to the question whether or not the subscriber was intending to go to the rally was a blunt no, the KOD contact politely disengaged herself, offering no arguments. Some of the replies were extremely rude and even aggressive in tone, and it was through this contact with the public that the Committee formed the impression that Saskatoon was "too NDP".⁶⁸ If the subscriber intimated that he/she would like to attend the rally but had no means of transport, the KOD contact then either gave the person information regarding arrangement for public transportation, or passed on to the subscriber the name and address of people willing to help in giving lifts to protest marchers.

68 Writer's interview with Mrs. F., the lady in charge of office organization during the period in question.

In Saskatoon the majority of shops are closed for half day on Wednesday beginning at noon. The Committee believed that there were many people working in the city who would have liked to go to the rally, but because of lack of time to travel to Regina were compelled to remain in the city. Partly as an attempt to enable these people to go to Regina, and partly to demonstrate the solidarity of Saskatoon's support for the doctors, on July 9, the Committee in a letter requested the City Council to declare Wednesday, July 11 as a public holiday. The Council, however, did not accede to the request. Participation in the rally, the Councillors felt, was "a matter of individual arrangement by the merchants and others interested".⁶⁹

While these activities were all in full swing, the liaison and strategy committee with its various sub-committees, anticipating the possibility that the Council might refuse the request to declare July 11 a public holiday, attempted to achieve the co-operation of shop owners in closing their shops or at least in allowing their employees to take time off to participate in the rally on the Wednesday afternoon. Saskatoon Retail Merchants' Association, whose president was a member of the liaison committee, co-operated admirably,⁷⁰ as did the Saskatoon and District Dental Society which published the following advertisement in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of July 9.

⁶⁹ Saskatoon KOD Records.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 10, 1962.

⁷⁰ Saskatoon KOD Records.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 9, 1962. Cecil James, President of the Saskatoon Retail Merchants' Association referred to the Committee's attempts to enlist the co-operation of shopowners to close their shops on July 11, as "blitz of Saskatoon businesses". Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 10, 1962. Cecil James referred to the business firms' response as "terrific".

The Members
of
Saskatoon and District Dental Society
Announce

THE CLOSURE OF THEIR DENTAL

OFFICES

on Wednesday, July 11,
to allow their patients, their staff and themselves to join
the cavalcade to Regina in protest to the Government's
Medicare Act and in support of our medical doctors.
Emergency service will be available.

The following Dental offices will be closed:

Dr. F. Bernbaum	Dr. S. R. Gelmon	Dr. Peter Rabatich
Dr. A. C. Blue	Dr. N. F. Gropper	Dr. S. O. Sawa
Dr. M. H. Boykowich	Dr. C. G. Halliday	Dr. J. J. Schachter
Dr. Max Brook	Dr. R. D. & L. D.	Dr. E. S. Shapera
Dr. H. H. Cowburn	Haselton	Dr. Arther Singer
Dr. A. J. Daly	Dr. R. V. Little	Dr. G. L. Skinner
Dr. W. N. Clark	Dr. M. J. MacDonell	Dr. R. R. Smith
Dr. R. E. Dickson	Dr. J. W. MacKay	Dr. R. L. Toren
Dr. K. Epstein	Dr. E. B. Nagle	Dr. Wm. T. Waite
Dr. L. Epstein	Dr. A. E. Meuman	Dr. B. J. Wall
Dr. F. A. Fernet	Dr. C. Peacock	Dr. S. R. Fielding

THIS IS OUR STAND:

1. We oppose the Medicare Act.
2. We would not work under a similar act.
3. We call upon the government to immediately repeal the Medicare Act; and enact suitable legislation acceptable both to those receiving and to those rendering the service.

The liaison committee also took steps to ensure availability of adequate transportation to Regina; by contacting service clubs and other organizations and soliciting for help. In short, the liaison committee took charge of all transportation arrangements to Regina, arranged for extra train coaches; printed the "We're For Freedom - We Support Our Doctors" car stickers, and was responsible for the manufacture of the white felt pennants "Saskatoon Objects" that were used during

during the rally. As July 11 was almost at hand, it was a member of the liaison committee who used his private plane to deliver the urgently needed posters explaining the purpose, procedure and program for the rally, car stickers and placards to the neighbouring towns.⁷¹

While the Committee was exploiting the mass media propagating its cause as described above, the Government and the supporters of the Plan did not remain inactive. They too published advertisements in the papers putting forth defence for the Plan and explaining how it worked, and attempting to refute the arguments against the Act as expressed in the KOD publicity campaign. On July 10, five advertisements appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix. Three of these were sponsored by the Committee, one of which stated the contents of the Protest and Petition which was to be presented to the Premier the following day. This advertisement occupied one full page.⁷² One of the two remaining advertisements, sponsored by the "Citizens for Medical Care" and headed boldly with "RESPONSIBILITY", was intended to remind the citizens of Saskatchewan that they have "Respect For Democratic Process and Constitutional Government ... Deplore Emotional Demonstrations ... Desire Responsible Leadership." The advertisement ended, in bold, large print: "NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE RESPONSIBILITY AND JUDGEMENT NOT PARADES AND BALLYHOO".⁷³ The advertisement was obviously directed

⁷¹ Mr. Charles Boskill at an interview with the writer on May 28, 1963.

⁷² Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 10, 1962.

⁷³ Ibid. Supporters of the Plan and a group which called itself "Committee For Free Press" did publish a number of advertisements in the local press in the course of the controversy which were calculated to undermine the Committee's stand. But as the main purpose of this study is on the activities of the KOD in Saskatoon, nothing has been said about other groups. At any rate, their activities were not well organized nor their publicity well sustained as that of the KODs - they published advertisements sporadically, and never used the radio or TV for publicity purposes as the KODs did.

at the KODs and their supporters who were planning to converge on Regina the following day.

The Committee's publicity campaign for the rally, however, was not in vain - it did produce results. On the morning of July 11, 2,000 people and 400 cars were estimated to have left Saskatoon by 9:30, and had been leaving the city since 7:30 a.m.⁷⁴ In addition, one passenger bus with thirty people on board and two light air craft, one carrying Mr. Hans Taal, left for Regina that morning. Approximately two hundred downtown shops were closed and many others gave time off to some of their employees to participate in the rally that afternoon. The shops were closed in spite of the boycott threat by the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor.⁷⁵

Despite the elaborate and prolonged plans for the organization of the rally, the provincial KOD did not request the Premier to receive the petition until the very day on which the rally was to assemble in front of the Legislative Buildings in Regina.⁷⁶ Whether the delay to inform the Premier formally of the KODs request was a deliberate act or whether it was an oversight on the part of the organizers of the rally, was a question the writer was unable to solve. Perhaps the Committee expected the Premier to know of the KOD request through the daily press. However, on July 11 at 9:00 a.m. the Committee sent a telegram to the Premier

⁷⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 11, 1962.

⁷⁵ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 11, 1962; July 13, 1962.

⁷⁶ Premier's Office Records.
Edmonton Journal, July 10, 1962.
Winnipeg Tribune, July 10, 1962.

"...requesting presence at Legislative Buildings for purpose of petition presenting". The Premier replied and agreed to meet a delegation of twelve members from the Provincial KOD in Room 226.⁷⁷ The actual time of the meeting was fixed after the telegram, by means of telephone messages between the Premier and the provincial Committee, and a telegram in the afternoon while the rally was actually on.

The generally held fears that violence and disorder would ensue during the rally and the rumor that a bomb had been planted in one of the rooms in the Legislative Buildings that afternoon, did not materialize. The Government and the Regina police, however, took precautions to protect lives and property.⁷⁸ Apart from one potentially explosive incident and one 'distasteful exhibition' involving two girls carrying effigies of Premier Lloyd and T. C. Douglas hanging on miniature scaffolds with the words "Down With Dictators", the crowd that appeared in front of the Legislative Buildings was described by the Regina Police Commissioner as "responsible and well behaved" and the Premier "appreciated

⁷⁷ Premier's Office Records.

⁷⁸ Vancouver Sun, July 10, 1962.
Edmonton Journal, July 10, 1962.
Winnipeg Tribune, July 10, 1962.

⁷⁹ The incident involved two students from Moose Jaw carrying pro-Medicare placards which read: "Back The Government. We Want Medicare." A woman was heard shouting "Hit them, hit them", but when two men carrying anti-Medicare placards approached the two youths, a plainclothes policeman quickly intervened and asked the students to leave the grounds. However, while the students were leaving, the men carrying anti-Medicare placards shouted "They are Communists. They are going back to the Kremlin".
Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1962.

⁸⁰ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 12, 1962; July 13, 1962.
Regina Leader Post, July 12, 1962.

one such pennant, bearing the words, "SASKATOON OBJECTS". There were also numerous placards. By enumerating these banners and placards, the following towns were thus represented:⁸⁴ Assiniboia, Biggar, Balcarres, Carmel, Carlyle, Canora, Cabri, Codette, Dalmeny, Eston, Ernfold, Ethelton, Fort Qu'appelle, Fairy Glen, Gravelbourg, Gledmar, Humboldt, Ituna, Kindersley, Kipling, Kamsack, Kerrobert, Lumsden, Melfort, Munster, Moosomin, Morse, Marysburg, Prince Albert, Prudhomme, Prelate, Radville, Rosetown, Reward, St. Gretor, Saskatoon, Shaunavon, Stockholm, Swift Current, Strasbourg, St. Brieux, Tisdale, Watrous, Wynward, Wakaw and Yorkton.

Among the crowd was a woman who brought her 8-month old baby daughter with her, as she felt if the baby could talk "...her views would be the same as mine. She wants her doctor to stay in Saskatchewan".⁸⁵ There were, too, groups of nurses in uniform and groups of students from the Medical School, Saskatoon, but who claimed not to represent the School, but only themselves. A number of small children running about the lawn playing while their parents attended to the speeches, sight-seers, holiday-makers, all were reported to have been present.

On pages 169 and 170 we saw what Saskatoon believed the objectives of the rally to be, but what did the provincial Committee, other KOD Committees and their supporters who were also all present, think the objectives were? What, to them was the real purpose of the rally? During the afternoon the Chairman of the rally received the following telegram from the

⁸⁴ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 12, 1962.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

the way in which the meeting was conducted".⁸¹

The question, however, as to how many people actually attended the rally was never satisfactorily answered. Estimates of the crowd varied from 2,500 to 30,000. The Premier estimated the crowd as being between 2,500 to 3,000, and added:

A month or six weeks ago I spoke at a picnic out at Buffalo Pound Lake, on a Sunday afternoon, which was purely a matter of people in the constituency community gathering and we had three thousand people there, all of them in favour of medical care. There was no concentrated effort to arrange for cars from all points of the province to be present - I think that the numbers were much less than people had been given to believe could easily be gathered in all the different places.⁸²

On being questioned further, however, the Premier confessed that he had "looked out once or probably twice for three or four minutes".

Mr. H. Taal, President of the Saskatoon Committee gave an estimate of 15,000. A Provincial KOD official's estimate was 30,000. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix and Regina Leader Post each estimated a crowd of 5,000. However, a consensus of approximately sixty newspapers, radio and television reporters was that the crowd ranged from 4,5000 to 5,000.⁸³

At any rate, the crowd was representative of the province as possible. There were many groups of people, each carrying white felt pennants with the name of the town printed in black and the pennant was attached to a flag stick four feet high. For example, Saskatoon carried

⁸¹ Premier's Office Records. The Government recorded the proceedings at the rally which were later transcribed. Data obtained from this source will be referred to as Transcribed Recording of the Rally.

⁸² Transcribed Recording of the Rally.

⁸³ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 13, 1962.

Executive Committee of "Canadians United For Freedom" in Calgary:

WE BELIEVE CANADIANS EVERYWHERE STRONGLY SUPPORT COURAGEOUS STAND YOUR DOCTORS WERE FORCED TO TAKE AGAINST THE EVIL FORCES OF SOCIALISM. OUR COMMITTEE CONCURS EXODUS MUST TERMINATE EARLIEST POSSIBLE. BUT NOT AT EXPENSE OF SACRIFICING PERSONAL FREEDOM AND LIBERTY TO BIG GOVERNMENT. YOUR DETERMINATION IS FREEDOM'S GAIN 86

Did the sentiments expressed in the telegram correctly interpret the purpose of the rally? Or was the rally simply a demonstration of strength that the majority of Saskatchewan people were against the Plan and that they were there, before the seat of Government, to prove their claim that the KODs did speak for the people of Saskatchewan, and that if "Muhammed would not go to the mountain, then the mountain would go to Muhammed" -- the Premier having consistently refused the demand to call for a general election and go to the country, or to organize a plebiscite?⁸⁷

The Chairman of the rally was a Regina businessman and a member of the Provincial KOD advisory and strategy committee. The meeting started with invocations by Archdeacon Procter, who purposefully selected his prayers to "make us equal to our high trust, revered in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, unfaltering in the prediction of weakness" and "To our legislators and councillors give insight and faithfulness that our laws may clearly speak the right and our judges clearly interpret them...". The meeting ended with "God Save The Queen". The meeting took the form of copious speeches delivered by seven delegates which were received with shouts and jeers by the crowd. The

⁸⁶ Provincial KOD Records.

⁸⁷ Vancouver Sun, July 10, 1962.
Winnipeg Tribune, July 10, 1962.

principal speakers for the afternoon were Mr. Clyne Harradence, a lawyer from Prince Albert, Mr. Lloyd Hock of Biggar and Mr. Hans Taal from Saskatoon.

As if to remind those present of the purposes of the rally, the Chairman started the meeting by telling the crowd "why we are here". He went on:

We want our own doctor. We don't want anybody else's doctor. And secondly, there is a vital principle of freedom that we support, this vital principle of freedom is so important to all of us and so dear to everybody who has lived in a free country. This, to us, is a most important principle. Doctors are leaving us today because they feel their freedom to practice medicine in the best way that they know how is threatened. They don't believe that they are having the liberties that they would be able to practice medicine under the Act as they would prefer to do and, in their opinion, medicine is jeopardized and the consequences resulting from the enactment of this Act is going to have serious effects on the public of Saskatchewan. We support the doctors and we support them sincerely when they say that they cannot operate under this Act. And let's go on to say that we support them for three very important reasons. Because without freedom the quality of medicine will decline. Secondly, if the doctors' freedom is restricted that concerns us as well, since our own freedom is likewise threatened. And I think that something that has been missed out by everybody, that we have all seemingly ignored, we have not paid much attention to this ourselves, and that fact is that this Act is foisted on us whether we like it or not. Now it has been stated by everybody involved in discussions on this plan, you have said it, the committee has said it, the doctors have said it, and this is so well known to everybody, that we all favour a medical insurance plan, some form of plan. But the plan must be acceptable to all. Now you know and I know that there have been many interpretations placed on the definition of what is acceptable but it would seem that the doctors must declare their stand and be firm in their declaration that they will not accept the plan in its present phase and that this is the only way that we can expect any co-operation from the doctors and we must give them our full support to pass a petition for the suspension of this Act, until all parties can get together and truthfully and honestly mediate this problem. Now there's only one way to achieve this and we have said time and time again that we urge the government to suspend the Act first. We will later urge the doctors to return to their posts and we then ask for both sides to negotiate for an acceptable plan. This is the reason of our visit here today, ladies and gentlemen. It is the reason for our protest

and we have other speakers here now who are going to present their views - why they're here - and would ask that you listen to these speakers because they have some very, very important matters to discuss. Thank you.⁸⁸

During their speeches, each of the seven delegates delivered scathing attacks on the Plan and the Government. Mr. Hans Taal, believing that "75 - 80% of our population want to keep the doctors in Saskatchewan" and that doctors had left and some were still leaving the province because of a "broken promise of a politician" suggested that the provincial KOD should challenge the Government to an election and "let the people show them (government) ... the Keep Our Doctors Committee could go as far as challenge and tell the government that if they are re-elected that the Provincial Keep Our Doctors Committee will raise the necessary finances for the pre-election expenses."⁸⁹

Mr. Lloyd Hock of Biggar KOD referred to the rally as a "freedom movement" and attacked the British doctors who came to Saskatchewan and called them "mercenary doctors ... and strike breakers". Concluding his speech and turning again to the controversy, he said:

This is no longer a fight in support of our doctors. Many of us have lost their services to ourselves and our families. If the present provincial government is allowed to continue to force upon us the aims and ambitions of eastern and American leaders, the fate which has been faced by our doctors will confront each and everyone of us. The handwriting is on the wall in clear bold print. The loss of individual freedom for each one of us is fast approaching. I call upon each and everyone of you here to stand up and be counted in the fight for freedom. Protest this infringement of our liberties by letters, telephone calls or telegrams to your member of government or to Premier Lloyd.

⁸⁸ Transcribed Recording of the rally.
Premier's Office Records.

⁸⁹ Ibid

Protest the lavish spending of our money to provide excessive salaries to import doctors from the United Kingdom and providing them with first class air passage to and from Canada for their temporary stay in this country. Protest this move to grab our individual freedom and liberty. 90

Mr. Clyne Harradence, the lawyer from Prince Albert, and the last speaker, told of the "900 doctors who have served us faithfully in the past."

Referring to the rally as "the Regina Crusade" he said:

We are not here to cause difficulty or violence. We are here to express our inalienable democratic rights. We are here to say this (Medicare Act) is a bad law...but we must uphold it, and that we will do, but we will criticize where we feel criticism is due, and that is the purpose of our attendance here. 91

After the shouts and cheers had died away following the final speaker, four ladies, Mrs. Evelyn Ferguson, President of the Regina KOD, Mrs. Just from Indian Head, Mrs. Don Perry from Estevan and Mrs. Barbara Swan from Saskatoon read the petition which was due to be presented to the Premier, in parts. When the four ladies had finished reading the Protest and Petition and the cries of "Aye, Aye" from the crowd had subsided, the delegation led the way to the Premier to present the Petition. Their meeting with the Premier lasted not more than fifteen minutes. Three Cabinet Ministers including the Minister of Public Health and the Attorney-General were present. 92

In the Protest and Petition the provincial KOD held the Government responsible for the Medicare crisis which, in the KOD's view was "...precipitated by the enactment of the Medical Care Insurance Act", and pointed out to the Government that the people of Saskatchewan were against the Plan, the Federal elections of June 18 being a confirmation of such a

90 Transcribed Recording of the rally.

91 Ibid.

92 Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 12, 1962.
Regina Leader Post, July 12, 1962.

rejection. The people of Saskatchewan had not derived any "great benefit" from the Plan, but rather, on the contrary, "the excellent services which the doctors have been continuously providing ceased". The Committee contended that the only way to solve the crisis was for the Government, which was responsible for the enactment of the Plan, to suspend the operation of the Act; and, finally "to request the medical doctors to return to their offices and hospitals"; and then, "in a spirit of reconciliation" to negotiate with the College with a view to concluding agreements with them which alone will form the basis for a medical care plan acceptable to all concerned.

Were these appeals not to commend themselves to the Government, the Protest and Petition appealed to the Lt.-Governor to dissolve the Legislative Assembly and order a general election "in order that the will of the citizens of this province may be more perfectly known..."⁹³

III

Was the rally a success? Did it achieve the objectives set out by the KODs in the demonstration? The main objectives for the rally can now be summarized as follows: (a) to draw the attention of people outside Saskatchewan, especially in the U.S.A., to what the KOD considered as the real issues in the Medicare Controversy - protection of professional and individual freedoms and the preservation of democracy; (b) to demonstrate to the Premier and to the rest of Canada, indeed to the

⁹³ Leader Post, July 12, 1962.

whole of North America and Great Britain, that the majority of people in Saskatchewan was opposed to the Medicare Plan; and (c) to put pressure on the Government firstly to suspend the Act and then to negotiate with the College for a health plan acceptable to all concerned.

To the extent that there were sixty newspapers and forty radio and TV reporters from many parts of the world at the rally covering the events and that the Government was obliged to provide press facilities for the reporters, the rally did achieve the first objective, but only in part. The KOD could not dictate to the reporters what to write: whether the Medicare controversy was or was not a fight for the preservation of freedom and democracy. This was a question to which the reporters themselves had to provide an answer. Throughout the Medicare dispute the KOD considered all press outside Saskatchewan as misinformed, and 'biased', yet the rally did not succeed in giving the reporters a change of heart.

With respect to the other objectives, the rally was a total failure. The provincial KOD predicted a crowd of 10,000 to 40,000⁹⁴ and a turnout of at least 15,000 was promised. The consensus of reporters estimated at the time that there was a crowd of between 4,000 and 5,000. The Government took an aerial photograph of the rally and, on the basis of this picture, arrived at an approximate figure of 4,000.⁹⁵ In terms of numbers therefore, the rally did not measure up to the expectations.

⁹⁴ Vancouver Sun, July 10, 1962.
Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1962.
 Transcribed Recording of the rally.

⁹⁵ The writer saw the photograph at the Premier's Office.

Here it failed. Nor did the demonstration change the Premier's attitude towards the Medicare issue in any way. His position was still the same as it was at the end of the May 30 Cavalcade - he refused to be influenced by demonstrations and maintained that "we really don't believe that governments can be expected to base decisions on demonstrations of this kind."⁹⁷ Indeed, going further, the Premier did not even attribute the concern for Medicare as being the motivating force behind all the demonstrators. He told a questioning reporter

I haven't any doubt but that to a considerable extent there is a strong measure of political motivation in it (rally) ... the fact that some of the Opposition M.L.A.s have been speaking at public meetings encouraging people to attend, the fact that some of the leaders and spokesmen are certainly not unknown for political activities which do not favour this government..."⁹⁸

At the end of the rally it was evident to the KODs that the Government would not change its stand on the Medicare issue, and to use the words of the Provincial Committee, "from all appearances rallies, motorcades, petitions and letters are not going to move the government."⁹⁹

Although the rally did not succeed in realizing the overall aims of the KOD, it did nonetheless provide the Leader of the Opposition with an opportunity to put into practice his own interpretation of the workings of parliamentary democracy. About noon on the day on which the rally was

⁹⁶ See pp. 75 - 76.

⁹⁷ Transcribed recording of the rally.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 12, 1962.
Regina Leader Post, July

to be held, Mr. Ross Thatcher demanded that the Premier convene a Legislative session to discuss the Medicare issue. The Premier refused to meet the demand on practical and political grounds, in that it was impossible to get all M.L.A.s in to Regina within three hours and that such a session could not, in the Premier's view, contribute to the solution of the problem at hand. Mr. Ross Thatcher was not satisfied with the Premier's answer and, while the KODs were demonstrating outside the Legislative Buildings, the Leader of the Opposition trudged along the corridors by the legislative chambers trying every door for entrance into the Chamber - all the doors leading to the Chamber were locked - a fact known to Mr. Thatcher before he had made the demand to the Premier to call a session. Frustrated, Mr. Ross Thatcher kicked the main entrance to the Chamber and complained that he was "locked out" on instructions from the Premier. For the benefit of press photographers, the Leader of the Opposition kicked the door again several times. Finally, Mr. Thatcher and his sixteen M.L.A.s settled for what one newspaper termed "do it yourself legislative session"¹⁰⁰ all sitting around their leader and conducting their own session. During the course of this impromptu session, the Leader of the Opposition attacked the Government, saying "Its just another indication that freedom is being extinguished in Saskatchewan ... We feel these were tactics one would expect to find in Russia and Cuba."¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1962; Ottawa Citizen, July 12, 1962; Globe & Mail, Toronto, July 13, referred to Mr. Ross Thatcher's behaviour as "nonsensical charade". Winnipeg Tribune of July 13, referred to Mr. Thatcher's actions as "hardly consonant with respect for the parliamentary process."

¹⁰¹ Winnipeg Tribune, July 12, 1962.

To the extent that the rally was sensational and was attended by many groups from different parts of Saskatchewan, that it attracted the attention of the rest of Canada, the U.S. and Britain, and that the Premier did meet the KOD delegation and did receive the Protest and Petition, the Saskatoon Committee considered the rally, with one exception, a success. The one exception was that the Premier did not alter his Government's policy. Muhammed was neither influenced nor impressed by the mountain. The Committee was frustrated since all means of persuasion and coercion had been employed and yet the Government was still adamant; new methods of protest, the Committee felt, must be explored and exploited.

- (1) that an attempt should be made with SUMA and SURM officials, Free Citizen Group, the Presidents of Service Clubs and any other organization with a view to amalgamation, and then approach the M.L.A.s.
- (2) that an approach be made to the 16 Progressive Conservative M.P.s and the one Liberal to request them to represent Saskatchewan at Ottawa and to ask them to exert pressure on the Federal Government to disallow the Act.
- (3) that all organizations connected with KOD should meet in congress to deliberate what steps should be taken.
- (4) that the Committee should ask for financial help from outside the province and Canada - e.g. from the National Drugs of Canada, and the American Medical Association. 102

Still anxious regarding the kind of publicity the doctors - and KODs generally - were receiving abroad, the Committee held three meetings from July 13 - 16 to decide what steps were to be followed in combating the unfavourable image of the doctors and the Committee abroad, and what should be done next to exert more pressure on the Government. On July 13,

102 Saskatoon KOD Records, July, 1962.

the advisory committee met with a group of Saskatoon businessmen at the Saskatoon Club; two factors emerged from this meeting. First, it was decided that the name KOD should continue in use, but "with the businessmen getting behind the local group as it now stands". Second, the following sub-committees were set up to help the Committee: Liaison, Strategy, Publicity and Finance. An Executive Committee, consisting of the KOD Committee and the Chairmen of the above committees was also created.¹⁰³

On July 16 the Committee held two meetings in one evening (at the Holiday House Motel)¹⁰⁴ at the second of which practical steps were taken to combat the unfavourable image of the doctors at home and abroad. Measures were also adopted to bring the provincial KOD and Saskatoon Committee closer to each other in an effort to attain maximum publicity for KOD activities generally. Hitherto, the two committees were independent of each other; common ends, and the realization that only through co-operation and co-ordination wherever possible could those ends be achieved, had been the only link between the two. Now something like the merging of the two publicity offices was envisaged.

It was also at the second meeting that the Committee had its first formal contact with a large group of businessmen. Previously, the businessmen's contact with the Committee had been largely through the advisory committee formed on July 1, through their businessmen's trade and professional associations and through individual businessmen who were

103 Saskatoon KOD Records

104 Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 17, 1962.

members of the Committee. Now, the contact was direct. About one hundred and fifty businessmen from Saskatoon and other towns such as Watrous, Biggar, Kindersley and Dadsland were present. Also there were two prominent Saskatoon doctors and two members from the provincial KOD Committee.

The meeting was designed to bring the businessmen, doctors and the KOD together, for the doctors and the KODs to familiarize the businessmen with the wider implications of the Medicare crisis and between them to decide what should be done next. The meeting was held on the initiative of the businessmen on the Committee. The two doctors told the meeting that the Government was deliberately trying to "seed" the British doctors in small towns and that these doctors were "not the best type of British doctors apparently".¹⁰⁵ The KOD leaders told the businessmen what had transpired during the meeting between the Premier and the KOD delegations on July 11.

In the course of the meeting the following courses of action were proposed: (a) to send three representatives to Britain to dispel the "misleading information reaching the British press concerning the situation in Saskatchewan".

On the same night, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Hans Taal, sent the following letter to the College:

College of Physicians & Surgeons,
Saskatoon, Sask.

Dear Sirs :

¹⁰⁵ Saskatoon KOD Records, July 16, 1962.

The Saskatoon Keep-Our-Doctors Committee in a meeting attended by some 150 members and supporters passed the following unanimously:

"That the Saskatoon Keep-Our-Doctors Committee encourage in every way, including financial assistance, the Saskatchewan College of Physicians & Surgeons to send as many representatives as possible to the British Medical Association Annual Meeting to be held in Belfast, Ireland, commencing July 19, 1962."

The following day, two doctors - Drs. Noel Doig and Mark Baltzan and one lawyer from Prince Albert, Mr. Peter Mahon, boarded a TCA 'plane for Britain: they spent a week there, and the expenses of the entire trip, which amounted to \$2,671.02,¹⁰⁶ were met by the Committee.¹⁰⁷ While in Britain, the trio did not only attempt to dispel "misleading information" about the situation in Saskatchewan, but also made efforts to impress its British audience that neither the KOD nor the College was a pressure group.¹⁰⁸

To combat what the Committee and the meeting considered as biased reporting of the Medicare controversy by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation,¹⁰⁹ in that it was felt to be "obscuring the real issues", it was resolved that everyone present should write to the C.B.C. requesting that "more fair coverage should be given to the Medicare question in Saskatchewan."

¹⁰⁶ Details of expenses were as follows:

Air transportation (TCA)	\$2,032.02
Meals for 7 days @ \$22 per day for 3 persons	154.00
Hotel for 7 days @ \$45 per day for 3 persons	315.00
Transatlantic telephone calls	140.00
Rental of Typewriter & Taperecorder	30.00
	<u>\$2,671.02</u>

¹⁰⁷ See p. 129.

¹⁰⁸ Winnipeg Tribune, July 20, 1962.

¹⁰⁹ Hereafter referred to as C.B.C.

To put more pressure on the Government, it was decided that the Committee should circulate petitions in each constituency to be signed only by the electorate.

In order to raise funds to meet expenses for the mission of the three representatives to Britain, it was proposed that each businessman present should donate at least \$50.00. For funds to be used to cover KOD activities generally, a door to door fund raising campaign was proposed, as well as advertisements in the local papers entitled "Dollars For Freedom" with excerpts of the Protest and Petition at the bottom soliciting financial help. The "Dollars For Freedom" advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix only once, on July 19. It proved to be a failure financially.

In their efforts to counteract what they considered as false and 'biased' press reporting of the Medicare controversy, the businessmen did not confine themselves solely to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, but wrote to all the leading Canadian daily and weekly papers. Since the businessmen acted on their own initiative, in that they did what

¹¹⁰ Writer's interview with Mrs. Fry on May 8, 1963. According to Mrs. Fry it was a businessman who proposed the idea of sending representatives to Britain. So was the suggestion that each businessman present should contribute \$50.00 towards the costs of the trip.

With the signing of the Saskatoon Agreement on July 23, however, very few businessmen honoured their commitments, and the Committee had to renew its efforts to raise funds in order to meet the costs of the trip. The bill was not settled until the end of September. All the money however came from the businessmen and the 'socially elite'. No public appeals for funds were made.

¹¹¹ Writer's interview with Mr. R. Thomson on August 4, 1963.

¹¹² Writer's interview with Mr. C. Boskill, May 28, 1963.

they considered best for the cause and that did not necessarily involve writing to the press directly, personal influence by the businessmen themselves or their colleagues outside the province played a large part in turning on the pressure. The KOD records show very little evidence of exactly what the businessmen did in this respect. Sometimes, however, a businessman on meeting the Committee or in a telephone conversation with a Committee member, would inform them of what he had done or was proposing to do regarding a certain aspect of the Committee's activities, but such information was rarely recorded in the KOD's books.

There was one occasion, however, in which a businessman did send to the Committee a copy of a letter he had sent to a weekly paper, and that was on July 19, three days after the meeting at the Holiday House Motel. The letter was in reply to an editorial in the "Financial Post" of Toronto on July 14, which was outspokenly critical of the doctors' strike action and their stand on the question of medical insurance. More to the point, the editorial accused the doctors of lack of faith in democracy.

If there is anything seriously wrong with the medical law, it is quite certain it will be changed. That's the way democracy works. But society finds revolutions - organized bands defying laws - intolerable.

Whatever the medical politicians running the doctors' strike think about the legislation, the strike they organized is an outrageous assault on organized society.

The doctors who don't like doctoring in Saskatchewan certainly have the right to decide they will move away or take up plumbing, farming, or selling brushes. The organization of strike, the deliberate manipulation of strike, is something different. ... The medicos should not believe they are immune to the sanctions which society imposes on everybody else. 113

113 Financial Post (Toronto), July 14, 1962.

The businessman's letter is reproduced in full here, for it aptly represents the general business and professional men's stand in the Medicare dispute and their attitudes towards out-of-province reporting on the crisis.

The Financial Post,
481 University Avenue,
Toronto 2, Ontario.

Dear Mr. McEachern:

I have been a reader of your excellent paper for many years and have always felt "The Financial Post" went out of its way to publish the facts in investment news and Public Affairs.

It was quite a shock to read your editorial on Page One of your July 14 issue concerning the Medicare situation in Saskatchewan for, quite obviously, little or no research was done in preparation of the article. I cannot help but wonder if the party who wrote this editorial even took the time to read the Saskatchewan Medicare Act or any of the arguments the doctors or the people of Saskatchewan have against it.

Ours is a Democratic country and any person has the basic right to his own opinions. In this case, the doctors do not believe they can perform their function to humanity under the Medicare Act and a vast majority of the people in Saskatchewan agree with them. Our doctors are not on strike, they have simply exercised their basic right to discontinue practice in Saskatchewan. The fact that they have turned out to man the emergency clinics is a typical example of their feeling toward humanity. Not only that but many doctors have not left the province, preferring to hope they could work with the government in setting up an acceptable plan.

You infer in yours that, since the government has seen fit to pass this law, the doctors should accept it and believe (hope would be a better word) the CCF government will change their dictatorial policy. To do this you must believe in the policy of your government. How can one believe in a government that says one thing and does another? Mr. T. C. Douglas in his campaign speeches promised a Medical plan acceptable to the government, to the people and to the medical profession. This is what we get! He set up a committee to report on the requirements of a workable Medicare plan. The Act was put through the house before the report of the committee was studied. A rally of between ten and fifteen thousand people (estimate by Regina Police Chief) travelled to Regina to protest the implementation of the Medicare Act. Premier Lloyd did not have the common courtesy to listen to the representatives of the group. We could go on indefinitely citing instances where the Saskatchewan government has betrayed the faith of the people of our province.

In yours you infer our doctors are against medical insurance. This is definitely not so. Our doctors have no quarrel with prepaid medicine but they object strongly to working as servants of the government with the government in complete control of their actions.

The situation is very well described in a letter to the editor of the Saskatoon Star Phoenix by R. M. Barr, Q.C. of Regina. Enclosed is a clipping. It may open your eyes to what is going on in Saskatchewan.

Writing this may be a waste of time for you could file it in the same place Premier Lloyd appears to file the letters and petitions he receives on the subject. This is not just a fight against Medicare, it is a fight against Dictatorship, a fight for a True Democracy. I believe you will agree the cause is well worth fighting for. Frankly, those who want democratic government have two choices, either fight this dictatorial action or leave the province.

We would appreciate treatment of the Saskatchewan Medicare Act in your paper presenting the situation as it is, not as it appears to some group in the U.S.A. or even in Ontario.

From a selfish angle we need help. The CCF government, over the years, has done an excellent job of discouraging investment within the province and per capita growth. Medicare, however, is the real prize. (Not prepaid compulsory medical insurance, the act as it is written.)

Trusting this may be of some help in bringing the facts of the medical situation in Saskatchewan to the thousands of readers of "The Financial Post". I am,

Yours truly,

C.L.L. (Mr.) 114

In the meantime, the College made fresh overtures to the Government and, in a letter dated July 14, put forward what the College considered as new proposals that the Act "be suspended for a limited and specified period of time", during which discussions and negotiations between the College and the Government should continue, and if satisfactory agreements to both parties were reached, amendments could be enacted at a special session of the Legislature.

The Premier, in his reply to the College on July 17, expressed his failure to notice any tangible changes in the College's stand in the dispute. "The only new features in your suggestions which we are able to detect is that you would like the Act suspended for a limited and specified time rather than for an indefinite period."¹¹⁵ The Premier accordingly rejected the suggestions but, at the same time, reiterated the Government's willingness to negotiate and discuss any changes to the Act that the doctors felt were infringing upon their professional freedom, and to call a special session of the Legislature to enact such changes.

On July 16, Lord Taylor, the British surgeon and one of the leading figures in the inauguration of the British National Health Service, came to Saskatchewan at the invitation of the Premier to help in finding solutions for the impasse. Before the week was over, secret negotiations between Lord Taylor and the College, on the one hand, and the Government, on the other, had already begun.

The Committee developed an ambivalent attitude towards Lord Taylor; incidentally, the KODs called him Lord "Haw Haw". On one hand, it felt that the impasse had to be solved as soon as possible. The situation was deteriorating. It was emotionally explosive. Abusive language was rampant, with the anti-Medicare supporters calling pro-Medicare and Government supporters "communists" and the latter calling the former "Fascists" and "dirty capitalists" not to mention far more emotive names. There were also fears of physical violence. A woman was assaulted in Regina a day after the rally, and a group calling itself "Citizens Safety

¹¹⁵ Premier's Office Records.

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"Committee" harassed doctors in Swift Current.

Although British doctors were still entering the province, simultaneously there were Saskatchewan doctors leaving. The medical services were not, in the opinion of the Committee, improving. The Committee therefore felt that if Lord Taylor could assist in solving the deadlock it would welcome him. However, since Lord Taylor was a British Labour Peer and one of the architects of the British National Health Service scheme, the Committee felt that it could not trust his impartiality. How could a Socialist, the Committee asked, defend freedom - essentially the issue in the Medicare controversy? However, as the College accepted Lord Taylor as a mediator between the doctors and the Government, the Committee felt impotent in this matter. The provincial KOD did, however, organize a reception committee for Lord Taylor at his arrival at the Regina airport. With placards conspicuously displayed, one of the KOD supporters thrust KOD literature into Lord Taylor's hand as his lordship passed the reception committee.¹¹⁷

In the week beginning July 16, the Committee's publicity campaign with one exception, declined both in volume and fervour.¹¹⁸ The exception was an advertisement in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix of July 19 addressed "To the CCF-NDP M.L.A.s of Saskatchewan". The CCF-NDP were holding

¹¹⁶ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 6, 1962; July 14, 1962. See also Time: The Weekly News Magazine, (Canadian Edition), Montreal, Quebec, July 13, 1962.

¹¹⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, July 17, 1962.

¹¹⁸ In a telephone interview with the writer on August 13, 1963, the Secretary of the Committee told the writer that the Committee had to abate its activities because of advice to this effect from the College.

their annual convention in Saskatoon during that week and the advertisement was intended to remind them of their alleged deeds. It ran: "How many thousands of Saskatchewan boys lost their lives fighting for the very freedoms that you are now taking away from the people of Saskatchewan?" and ended in block type: "THINK! - This is your RIGHT as a Canadian Citizen."

On July 18, Dr. Dalgleish, the President of the College at his own request, addressed the CCF-NDP Convention, and it was at that meeting that the College put forward new proposals to the Government for consideration. The College agreed to negotiate without a prior suspension of the Act. The suspension for a "limited and specified time" condition of July 14, was thus lifted by the College. The way was now open for an eventual agreement between the College and the Government.

On the following Monday afternoon, July 23, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix carried the following front page headline in red block type: "SASK. MEDICAL CARE DISPUTE SETTLED". The Government and the College had reached an agreement; the Medicare dispute, was, it seemed, settled.

On July 25, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix in an editorial, remarked
The people of Saskatchewan who have been caught in the middle of
the dispute are happy that the impasse is over and that normal
medical services have been resumed ... The acrimonious dispute,
the debate which attracted international interest, has ended.
Saskatchewan will be back to normal within a short time.

On the same day, July 25, the Treasurer of Saskatoon Committee declared that the group would suspend its activities, and when the legislative amendments were passed, the group would disband. ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 25, 1962.

In his letter of resignation from the provincial KOD on July 25, Mr. Taal said:

The doctors now seem to have a plan in which they can truly work outside the act and although some individual doctors may not be too pleased with certain sections of the new agreement, we must remember the present government was elected to office on the mandate of the medical care plan.¹²⁰

During the days, July 30 - 31, the Secretary sent the following letter to one hundred and twenty-four key supporters of the KOD: ninety-nine ladies, two Board of Trade stenographers, twenty-two businessmen and the College.

The objective of the "Keep-Our-Doctors" Committee throughout the Province, to keep our Doctors in Saskatchewan, appears to have been achieved with the settlement of the Medicare impasse on July 23. Should we require further help in this connection we will get in touch with you.

We wish to take this opportunity of thanking you for your assistance or offer of assistance, financial or otherwise.

Our office will be closed effective July 31, but any correspondence may be sent to my home address, 317 Avenue "D" North or call me at 244-7749.

May we again stress at this time that ours has been a non-political organization.

Sincerely yours,

KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE
(Saskatoon Branch)

In addition, 'personal' letters were sent out to seven esteemed Saskatoon citizens, including a high civic dignitary, a Board of Trade official and two people intimately connected with the radio and TV media in Saskatoon. The letters expressed the Committee's appreciation and

120 Ibid.

gratitude for help and service rendered by these seven people.¹²¹

With the conclusion of the Saskatoon Agreement of July 23, did the Committee consider its main objectives accomplished? Was the attainment of an agreement between the doctors and the Government the only motivating force which kept the Committee active throughout the Medicare crisis? Were there other reasons for the Committee's interest in the dispute? Answers to some of these questions are beyond the scope of the present work. For those which do fall within the bounds of this study, answers will be attempted in the Conclusion. At this time, however, the following observations must be made.

Between July 23 and July 30, the Committee held two meetings at which the Saskatoon Agreement was discussed. At the last meeting five prominent doctors were present, and it was the feeling of all there that "the Agreement was an uneasy compromise" and that the "profession was still open to Government pressure".¹²² To attempt to counteract this "pressure" the meeting proposed a series of "doctors' appreciation rights", which took the form of local social functions at which local KODs and supporters would give a morale boost to the doctors returning to resume their practices. At the same time, the Committee pledged itself to help the Medical Services Incorporated¹²³ with recruitment of more subscribers. Towards this end, a liaison committee with the M.S.I. was created. Two other committees were also formed: the Public Relations, with Dr. M. B.

121 Saskatoon KOD Records, July. For excerpts of the letters, see p. 111

122 Saskatoon KOD Records, July.

123 Hereafter referred to as M.S.I.

named as the College contact; and the Watch Committee, created to watch over all legislation and "actions of the Co-op Clinics" and any other matters pertaining to the Plan. In the meantime, on July 28, the Secretary sent the following letter to the College:

As per instruction, I am herewith enclosing for your information a copy of the report of the Provincial KOD Meeting held in Regina on the 25 inst. This report is self-explanatory.

Also enclosed is a copy of a letter we are sending to the Membership of the Saskatoon KODs which includes information as to where you may contact the Committee should you wish to do so at a later date.

We realise that while you gained more than you had hoped for under the terms of the recent Agreement, at best it is still only a compromise. The legislation remains compulsory and as such it is not acceptable to the medical profession nor to a great many Saskatchewan residents. Therefore our doctors will be content to work this way only as a temporary measure until the present Govt. is defeated and the Act thrown out.

As far as we are concerned the fight has really only just begun. If the spread of Socialism is to be prevented in our Province, there is a great deal of work to be done within the next two or three years before the next Provincial election. It is our intention to do all we can in this regard, though not at such a feverish rate as was necessary in the recent "campaign".

Please do not hesitate to call upon us if we can be of further assistance to the profession.

As the letter suggests, it is evident that by July 28 the Committee was not satisfied with the Agreement signed only five days previously.

The Committee still felt that the Plan was "not acceptable to the Medical profession nor to a great many Saskatchewan people" and that the "fight has really only just begun. If the spread of Socialism is to be presented in our Province ..." the government must be defeated and the Act "thrown out".

What of the provincial KOD? Did it consider the Saskatoon Agreement as the end of its activities? or was it in the same position as Saskatoon?

On July 25, the provincial Committee held a meeting in Regina at which four prominent Regina doctors and a former Minister of the present Government were present. The discussion there, as in Saskatoon on July 30 five days afterwards, was devoted to the subject of the Agreement. The following day the chairman of the provincial KOD sent the following letter to the College:

"The fight is over" according to some of the prominent news media. Nothing could be further from the truth. At this point, the people of this province certainly need a rest but let us not lower our guard lest we receive the same fate as the mighty Sohrab. As Kipling said, "When the Russian Bear raises its hands in prayer - Beware!"

On behalf of the Saskatchewan Keep Our Doctors Committee and thousands of Saskatchewan citizens may I extend to your professional members the appreciation for the leadership you supplied in fighting for the principles of freedom-loving peoples. The sacrifices you have made have been all out of proportion to your numbers. May I also add that the support of these many thousands of people is still with you and will remain with you until such time as this battle is finished.

The work of our committee is not yet finished. One of our basic objectives was to obtain a "plan" that would be satisfactory to those providing and those receiving the service. It would appear that we have come a long way but the job is far from being completed. It is for this reason we have no intention of "disbanding" the fight. "WE ARE A STRONG PEOPLE."

We have plans in the making and you will no doubt be made aware of these plans through Dr. N. S. We would appreciate any suggestions you may have and/or any comments you may wish to make.

It seems to be the consensus of opinion that all remain quiet for the next few weeks. We feel we can only remain as quiet as our opposition. The people of this province must never forget the terrible cudgel that government held over the heads of a noble minority group and how the people rose to the defence of that group. The cudgel is still there but those who would like to swing it are not, at this time, in the position where it would be effective to lower it. Make no mistake about it, though, it will be swung.

Let us work in close harmony and co-operation during the difficult times ahead.

As with the Saskatoon Committee, the provincial committee did not consider the Agreement either satisfactory or the end to its activities. "The work of the Committee is not yet finished."

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

The main task of the study has been to trace the development of the KODs -- how, when, where and why did they come into being. Chapter II discussed the background to the Medicare controversy, the doctors' "unalterable" opposition to "State-Medicine", the College's efforts to educate the profession and the public on the matter and the Government's endeavours to meet what it considered the doctors' legitimate concerns. As the controversy developed, however, it soon became apparent that the real issues were those of differing social and political philosophies, of the concept of society and of the place of the individual and his relation to political authority. As neither the College nor the Government trusted the other, the issue became insoluble.

By the time the Act was passed, the people of Saskatchewan were well acquainted with what the doctors' reaction would be when the Plan came into effect. Chapter III discussed the emergence of the KODs throughout the province. In its efforts to educate the public on the question of 'Political Medicine', the College directed a significant part of its publicity towards expectant mothers and mothers of young children. Hence it is not surprising that the mothers were the first to organize themselves, and to appeal to the Government to delay implementation of the Act.

The College did not content itself with placing the facts of "State-Medicine" before the public, but some doctors helped in the organization of KODs. As the Medicare controversy developed, there arose a proliferation of these committees throughout Saskatchewan, attempts to organize them into a movement with a unified purpose and, with the

emergence of the Provincial KOD, the beginning of its transformation from a genuine pressure group to something different. This transformation was clearly reflected in the motives and sentiments behind the May 30 Cavalcade to Regina, and of the delegates who met the Cabinet. The issue then was no longer one between the profession and the Government over a piece of legislation, but involved all other professions - "Merchants! Dentists! Druggists! Who Next?" The KODs multiplied their demands on the Government. They were no longer content to persuade the Government to delay implementation of the Plan, but demanded a plebiscite or an election.

In Chapter IV the transformation of the Saskatoon KOD from "A non-partisan group of Saskatoon citizens", trying to bring about an agreement between the doctors and the Government, to something different was discussed. The Committee assumed a new complexion; not only did it become a powerful ally of the doctors, but also a rallying point of all elements which were against the Government in the city and the surrounding area. And Medicare was no longer the real issue; it was only a symptom. The real issue then was professional and individual "freedom". The Act was the thin edge of the wedge; the Socialist leviathan was to be stopped before it was too late. Instead of persuasion and reasoning, the Committee, through emotionally charged advertisements and announcements in the mass media, attempted to rouse the public's sentiments against the Government. The Committee accused the Government of being 'tyrannical' and 'totalitarian'; it demanded suspension of a legitimately enacted law; it demanded an election and attempted to humiliate the Premier.

Not only did the Committee change its complexion in terms of objectives, but so did the influential and determinative elements in it. The bulk of the Committee's finances and leadership came from business

and professional men. Was it then a question of "he who pays the piper calls the tune?". Apart from Mr. Taal and Mr. C. Boskill, an insurance company branch manager, the Committee was, to say the least, a useful tool to the opponents of the Government. To the business and professional men, and to some prominent Liberal and Conservative supporters in the city, the Committee was a heaven-sent convenience behind which they planned and attacked the Government. These people constituted the submerged nine-tenths of the ice-berg and among this number were some of the leading Saskatoon citizens in the social, commercial, and political life of the city.

One of the most frequent arguments used by the KODs against the Government was one based upon the positions of majority and minority groups in a democratic society. At one time the Government was accused of having used its majority tyrannically by forcing the passage of an act clearly opposed by the group most affected by it. At other times, the KODs accused the Government for quite the opposite reason, that is, a minority (since in 1960 provincial election the Government's share of the popular vote was only 41%) forcing its will on the majority. Notwithstanding the confusion in the argument whereby the premise shifts from the number of seats to the share of the popular vote, the Committee, in principle, did precisely what it accused the Government of having done. The Committee liked neither the Plan nor the Government; it took every step available to have the Act suspended and to change the government. It did this in a manner that conflicted with the very democratic values it purported to uphold and defend: the respect for the sanctity of the individual personality, and persuasion in the absence of coercion. Hairs can be split over definitions, but in a province as large and as

sparingly populated as Saskatchewan, a person who needs medical attention has a real and personal problem if the possibility of losing his doctor arises. He will do almost anything to prevent such a loss. The KOD publicity campaign to a very large extent did attempt to exploit this fear among the people, particularly among mothers of young children and the aged.

Another significant thing upon which the study has cast light is the age-old problem of political obligation. The Committee, in supporting the doctors' case, assumed the position of the College in the Medicare dispute, in that it refused to abide by the provisions of a legitimately enacted law. Both the College and the Committee demanded the suspension of the Act and the enactment of a plan acceptable to them. To what extent and by what methods, therefore, can a group, or an individual, carry out a campaign of civil disobedience? For that is what the doctors did. Had the Government acquiesced to the demands of the Committee and of the College to suspend the Act, a dangerous precedent would have been set.

Perhaps one significant thing the study has shown is how, in a democracy, a segment of the population - itself undemocratically organized, though purporting to speak for the majority - endowed with financial resources and talents can, with determination, pursue its aims regardless of the feelings and sensibilities of the rest of the population even to the point of causing a rupture in the society. The Committee did not seem to have paid much attention to the contents of its radio and TV announcements, its newspaper advertisements, or the remonstrances of some concerned members of the community.

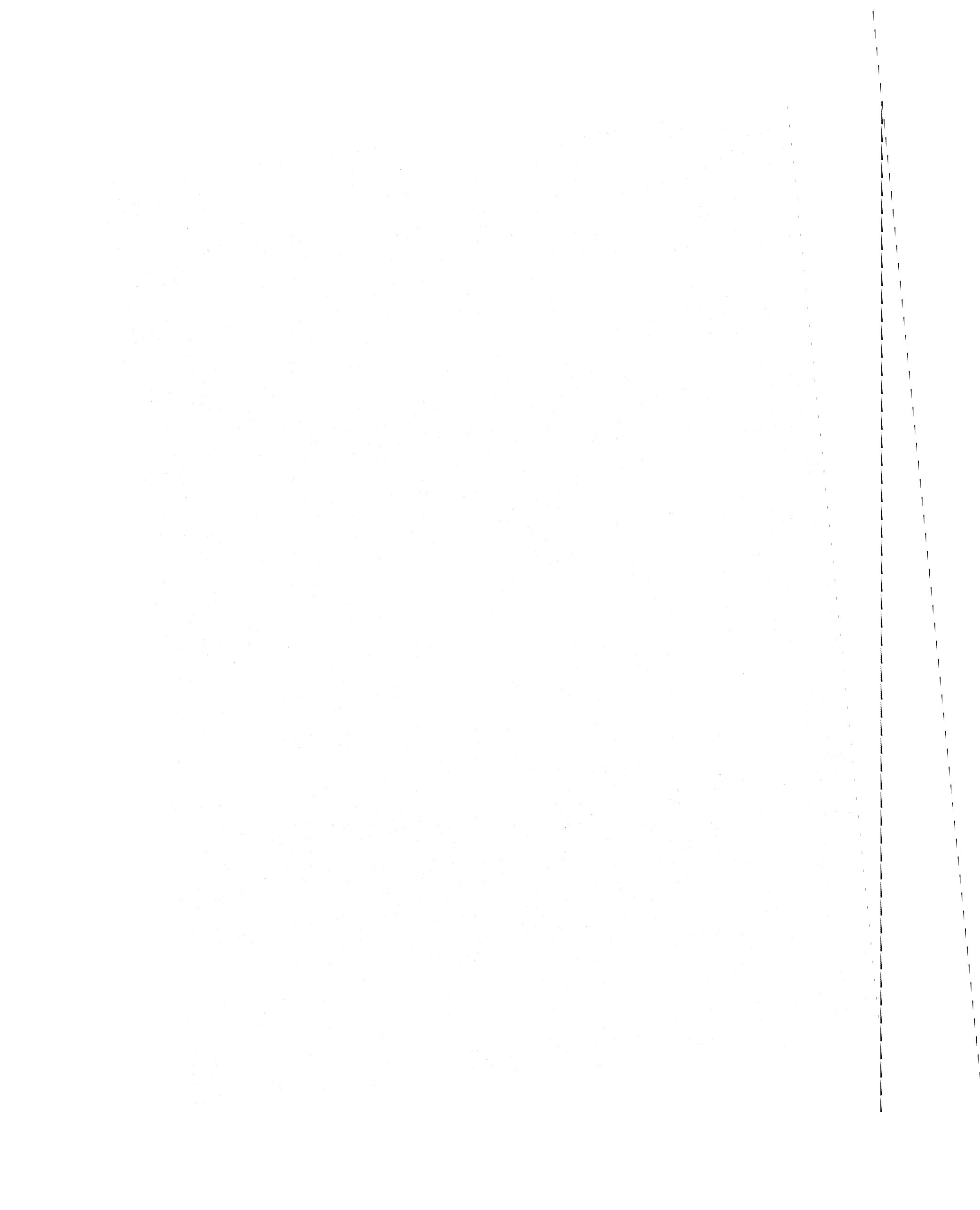
The Medicare impasse of July also serves as a good illustration of the impact of a small but influential minority, which has lost faith in

democracy, upon the rest of society. In a parliamentary democracy such as Saskatchewan's regular elections are the methods by which political issues are resolved; the electorate then becomes the judge. Neither the College nor the Committee trusted the discretion of the electorate to reject the Government at the next scheduled provincial general election.

A pressure group is a non-partisan organization of a segment of the people formed to exert influence upon the legislative, the executive and other governmental agencies through public opinion for the enactment or rejection of certain legislation, or for the adoption, modification or discontinuance of public policy. A pressure group comes into being when the interests of a group of people are affected by government legislation. To the extent that the modern political party is vested with two rather irreconcilable functions, which are to furnish efficient decision-makers and to represent accurately opinions, the pressure group, within or outside a party, does contribute to the smooth functioning of the democratic process. However, a pressure group is conducive to the stability of a democracy only when it supplements the working of the party system; but, a democratic party system works within the framework of a political consensus, the adherence to the decisions of the "ins" by the "outs" and the recognition of the "ins" of the rights of the "outs". A pressure group that does not recognize the rights of the "ins" to make decisions, and does not abide by them, does not contribute to the efficient functioning of the party system. The Committee refused to accept the rules of the game; it did not recognize the rights of the "ins" to make decisions. Indeed, even after the agreement between the Government and the College was signed on July 23, the Committee felt that the "fight" was not over.

It "has really just begun. If the spread of Socialism is to be prevented in our Province, there is a great deal of work to be done within the next two or three years before the next Provincial election."¹ This statement, issued by the Committee, clearly indicates the nature of the motivating force behind the KOD in Saskatoon.

¹ See p. 201.



APPENDIX A

THE SASKATCHEWAN MEDICAL CARE

INSURANCE ACT, 1961.

APPENDIX BBRIEF TO THE PREMIER AND GOVERNMENTOF SASKATCHEWAN

From: SASKATOON AND NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN

INTERESTED CITIZENS COMMITTEE

This brief is being presented by a group of private citizens from all areas of Northern Saskatchewan.

We must emphasize that we have no political affiliations or ambitions.

We are moved by the same feeling, one of deep concern for the continuing health and welfare of our fellow citizens.

It is this deep concern which has prompted the formation of this motor cavalcade.

In view of the above, we respectfully direct the attention of yourself and your government to the following proposals:

WHEREAS : There does not appear to be any area of compromise between the government and the doctors while the present Medical Care Act is in force;

and

WHEREAS : This apparent impasse does not take into account the feelings of the average citizen of Saskatchewan;

and

WHEREAS : The present Medical Care Commission does not adequately represent all areas of public opinion in this province;

and

WHEREAS : The present Act does not meet the principles set down by the former premier, Mr. T. C. Douglas, to wit, "That it must be acceptable to those giving and those receiving the service";

and

WHEREAS : The present intolerable situation will undoubtedly lead to untold hardship, suffering and even disaster, particularly among the rural population;

Therefore, we can see no alternative but to respectfully request the Lt. Governor in Council for IMMEDIATE REPEAL of the present Medical Care Insurance Act (1961). We would also respectfully request the immediate institution of public hearings so that causes of the present situation may become known and thoroughly discussed in a democratic manner. The eventual aim of these hearings to be the formation of a Health Insurance Plan, "acceptable to those giving and those receiving the service".

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Source : Saskatoon KOD Records.

APPENDIX C

SOME OF THE PLACARDS USED

ON MAY 30 CAVALCADE

"Medicare May Serve As The Government Baby - What About Ours?"

"Medicare In Haste - Repent At Leisure."

"A Douglas Talk A Day Keeps The Doctor Away."

"Doctor-Care - Yes; Medicare - No!"

"Remember When We Were Free People."

"Our Children Need Doctors, Not Lies."

"Our Doctor Is Indispensable - Lloyd And Co. Are Not."

"Merchants! Dentists! Druggists! Who Next?"

Source : Regina Leader Post, May 30 and 31, 1962.
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 30 and 31, 1962.

APPENDIX DKOD COMMITTEES IN SASKATCHEWAN

Abernathy, Allan, Alstow, Alsask, Annaheim, Avonlea, Assiniboia, Aylesbury
Big Beaver, Biggar, Birch Hills, Bengough, Brock, Bellegrade, Balcarres,
Borden, Broderick, Broadview, Bruno, Bay Trail, Carmel, Corning, Carlyle,
Craik, Chamberlain, Canora, Cabri, Codette, Dysart, Dalmeny, Englefeld,
Estevan, Eston, Elrose, Esterhazy, Elstow, Ernfold, Ethelton, Fort
Qu'apelle, Flemming, Fulda, Fairlight, Foam Lake, Fairy Glen, Glenavon,
Gray, Gravelbourg, Grenfell, Grandora, Gallivan, Gladmar, Hubbard, Hawarden,
Hanley, Hazenmore, Hyas, Humboldt, Ituna, Indian Head, Kindersley, Kendal,
Kipling, Kelvington, Kyle, Kincaid, Kinistino, Kamsack, Kerrobert,
Lumsden, Leipzig, Laird, Lestock, Lampman, Lake Lenore, Laugham, Manor,
Midale, Meadow Lake, Marshall, Meota, Maryfield, Montmartre, Melfort,
Melville, Munster, Middle Lake, Moose Jaw, Moosomin, Morse, Marysburg,
North Battleford, Nipawin, Outlook, Plato, Parkman, Percival, Preceeville,
Prince Albert, Paradise Hill, Plenty, Perdue, Prudhomme, Prelate, Qu'appelle,
Quill Lake, Rockglen, Redvers, Rockville, Regina, Radville, Rosetown,
Reward, St. Benedict, St. Gregor, (St. Elizabeth Hospital Auxillary)
Saskatoon, Stranraer, Star City, Shaunavon, Strongfield, South Estavan,
Sturgis, Stockholm, Salt Coats, Swift Current, (South-West Saskatchewan
Citizens) Strasbourg, St. Brieux, Tompkins, Tisdale, Unity, Val Marie,
Vanscoy, Wilmar, Willowbunch, Watrous, Wynyard, Wawota, Whitewood, White
Bear, Wauchope, Wakaw, Wapella, Weyburn, Wadena, Wolseley, Welwyn,
Yorkton.

Source : Provincial KOD Records.
Premier's Office Records.

APPENDIX ESASKATCHEWAN KOD COMMITTEES' DISTRICTS

1	North Battleford	19	Melville
2	Melfort	20	Shaunavon
3	Humboldt	21	Moose Jaw
4	Biggar	22	Regina
5	Watrous	23	Wadena
6	Unity	24	Kelvington
7	Rosetown	25	Barden
8	Kindersley	26	Swift Current
9	Easton	27	Gravelbourg
10	Nipawin	28	Assiniboie
11	Prince Albert	29	Willowbunch
12	Yorkton	30	Bengough
13	Preeceville	31	Weyburn
14	Radville	32	Indian Head
15	Moosomin	33	Montmartre
16	Carlyle	34	Fort Qu'appelle
17	Estevan	35	Midale
18	Lestock		

Source: Provincial KOD Records.

APPENDIX FRELEASE AUTHORIZED BY THE PUBLICITY COMMITTEEOF THE SASKATCHEWAN AND REGINA KEEP OURDOCTORS COMMITTEE

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR DISTRIBUTION TO GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO MAY NOT HAVE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION TO SOME OF THE MORE BASIC AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE ISSUES AT STAKE IN THE CURRENT MEDICAL CARE CONTROVERSY IN SASKATCHEWAN

The onus for any disastrous results stemming out of the implementation of the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Act, must be placed directly on the Premier and the Cabinet Ministers of the Government of Saskatchewan, and certainly cannot be placed on our doctors. Consider the following practical approach:

1. Most news writers have used the term "strike" in describing the action taken by Saskatchewan doctors. This is an obvious misuse of the word "strike". Suppose we consider the following example to illustrate in a simple and practical way exactly what the Premier and his Cabinet members have done and are trying to do.

Suppose one of us, or a group working together, should decide we or they are going to start a business which would provide a prepaid service to individual customers. It might be a prepaid service to provide service and maintenance on automobiles. The idea looks good. We send salesmen out to sell contracts and collect the necessary money for the services we are going to supply. While these contracts are being sold, we, as managers, contact a number of trained mechanics and tell them that for certain fees and under a set of prescribed terms and conditions we will want them to start working for us on a certain date. It will be their duty to provide the services we have contracted to supply.

The fees we offer are more than adequate, but the mechanics tell us they will not work for us under the terms and conditions we have proposed. We say: "Oh! But you must work for us! We have already sold the contracts and collected the money for them!"

The workmen say: "Well! Isn't that too bad? How does this concern us? You sold the contracts. You have collected the money to pay for the services you have promised. Why did you not come to us first and arrange terms and conditions acceptable to us and under which we will work? It isn't our fault your customers will not be properly serviced! You're the one to blame! It was you who failed to make proper arrangements to provide the services you have sold."

Now, we are really in the soup! Because of poor management and lack of foresight, we have sold a service we are not going to be able to provide. How are we going to get out of the mess we are in?

Have we any moral right to place the blame on the mechanics who refuse to work under the terms and conditions we have stipulated? Because they refuse to work for us can we call them strikers?

This, in effect, is exactly what has happened in respect to the doctors in their controversy over the inept and bungling manner in which Saskatchewan's socialistic government has acted in the medical care problem.

The doctors in private practice were not under contract with or in the employ of the Government of Saskatchewan. They have not at any time agreed to service the proposed compulsory medical care plan. Therefore, in refusing to work under the plan, the doctors are not on "strike" as represented by so many news writers and commentators.

The doctors are, however, doing something which labour unions going on strike do not do. The doctors, out of consideration for their patients and the people of Saskatchewan --- even for those who criticize them --- are continuing to provide necessary medical care on a free and voluntary basis.

What are the totalitarian dictators in the Saskatchewan Government doing?

Instead of frankly admitting that they have made a serious mistake, and that they have bungled the whole program from start to finish, they are desperately trying to find a scapegoat on whom to place the blame. The most obvious ones are the doctors. The government officials are now trying to jockey the doctors into a position where it can be said that they are taking pay for servicing patients. It doesn't matter too much to the Premier or his Cabinet whether a doctor takes pay directly from the Medical Care Insurance Commission, or from the Commission through the patient. If the doctors ever place themselves in such a position, then the government might be in the position to say with some cause that the doctors' refusal to work would constitute a strike.

There is just no angle a totalitarian dictatorship will not use to save face and if possible achieve its ends. Morals and principles mean nothing to such a regime, because their philosophies are devoid of such considerations.

2. We have considered a hypothetical case, let us take a look at the actual situation. Before the government ever went on its political rampage, more than two-thirds of Saskatchewan people were already covered by well-operated and time-proven medical care insurance plans of one type or another. Today, because of government interference, those of us who previously enjoyed good protection, do not even have that.

3. Ex-Premier T.C.Douglas and the Provincial Cabinet failed to sit down with the doctors and seriously attempt to negotiate an agreement mutually acceptable to both givers and receivers of the proposed medical care plan. Instead, they forced through the Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Act during a hastily called session of the Legislature, immediately prior to Douglas leaving the Premiership to take over the position of national leader of the NDP. The Act was passed, and then the doctors were told to work under it or else?

4. It must be remembred that the present government was not given a clear mandate to implement the medical care plan during the 1960 provincial general elections. In fact, it received less than 41% of the popular vote, and the medical care plan was the main issue put forward by the old CCF party during the election. SIX OUT OF EVERY TEN PEOPLE THEREFORE VOTED AGAINST THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND THE PROPOSED MEDICAL CARE PLAN.

5. The record is clear! SASKATCHEWAN DOCTORS NEVER AT ANY TIME HAVE AGREED TO WORK UNDER THE ACT. As free men, this is their right. They repeatedly told the government and the people of Saskatchewan that they would not, and could not, work under the Act as constituted. The people of Saskatchewan believed them; the government did not. Time and time again the doctors warned stubborn government officials that many of them would leave the Province to practice elsewhere if the Act was implemented. Some Cabinet Ministers replied that their leaving would be no loss. Many of them have left for other parts of Canada and the U.S.A. where they can work under freedom. Loss of good doctors is a high price for the people of Saskatchewan to pay for having a dictatorial socialistic government.

6. Government spokesmen from the Premier down have steadfastly insisted that the doctors were bluffing. Premier Lloyd insisted that the Act would be put into operation on July 1, "with or without doctors". This was a clear indication that the Premier and his Cabinet Ministers were fully prepared to place the lives of the people of Saskatchewan in jeopardy to satisfy the dictates of a political machine. Consider the facts :

- (a) Sincere warnings were repeatedly given by the doctors saying that they would not work under the proposed Act.
- (b) The government was absolutely unwilling to delay the start of the plan until a suitable agreement could be reached with the doctors. As an alternative, they failed to provide replacement doctors qualified to service the people of this Province with medical care. The Premier went ahead with the plan despite the efforts of many hundreds of people who tried to tell him they did not want to be left without proper medical care.

7. Irresponsible action on the part of elected representatives has seriously interfered with and interrupted continuance of the many good medical care insurance plans subscribed to by more than two-thirds of

the people of Saskatchewan. Dictatorial government action has driven many fine doctors out of the province and many more are now determined to leave even if the government plan is completely revised. The departure of these doctors because of government action, has placed our lives in danger.

8. IT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF BOTH THE PEOPLE OF SASKATCHEWAN AND THE DOCTORS ARE IN FAVOR OF PREPAID MEDICAL INSURANCE. But, they are not in favor of the controls being left in the hands of politicians. The very fact that two-thirds of the population were already covered by private plans, and that the doctors themselves operated non-profit plans should be evidence enough that they are not opposing prepaid medical insurance, but are opposing governmental control.

Source: Provincial KOD Records.

APPENDIX G

SOME OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS USED BY
THE SASKATOON KOD COMMITTEE

Source : Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29 to July 25, 1962.

29 May 1962
10

NOTICE TO ALL INTERESTED CITIZENS

A motorcade will be leaving Saskatoon,
Wednesday, May 30 at 8 a.m.
from JD's on Eighth Street for Regina to petition the Saskatchewan government to hold off the Medical Care Plan until the government and doctors can reach a working arrangement suitable to both the citizens and doctors.

This may be your last chance to voice your opinion on this critical matter.

Plan to support this caravan. It may be your profession or business that is taken over by government next.

No Political Stickers Allowed on Any Cars

**\$10.00 PRIZE FOR THE BEST DISPLAY CARD
STATING OUR PURPOSE!**

Plan to bring your picnic lunch.

Let's Keep Our Family Doctors in Saskatchewan!

June 14/62
T. B. P.

① E

TYRANNY OR INTEGRITY

During a television debate between ex-premier T. C. Douglas and Dr. E. W. Barootes, prior to the establishment of the Thompson committee, a question period provided audience participation and brought forth the following exchange between T. C. Douglas and Dr. Borden Bachynski of Regina:

(Transcribed from a tape recording which verifies the question and the reply.)

[Dr. Bachynski asked:

"The fifth of your principles requires acceptability to those providing and those receiving services. If the majority of the medical profession does not consider your plan acceptable, will you then find it more convenient to forget your principles and force them into submission, or what is the plan?"

T. C. Douglas replied:

"I would think, doctor, that's somewhat of a reflection on my integrity. I have been in the public life of this province for 25 years, doctor. I don't know how long you've been here, but I have been in the public life of this province for 25 years and no one, not even my political opponents have suggested that I have forgotten my principles."

"I recognize - I have stated that the government recognizes that a plan of this sort will not work unless there is goodwill and co-operation on both sides and we work out a program which is acceptable to both sides."

"You can no more take a doctor and make him practice medicine than you can lead a horse to the water and make him drink. We recognize that."

We only ask that a promise to the people and the doctors of Saskatchewan be kept! □

KEEP OUR DOCTORS COMMITTEE
(Saskatoon)
P.O. Box 1373

A non-partisan group of Saskatoon citizens wanting prepaid medical insurance, but a plan acceptable to both doctors and patients.

Clip and Send to
Your Member of the
Legislature:
c/o Keep Our Doctors
Committee,
P.O. Box 1373, Saskatoon

I request delay of Medi-

FURTHER DONATIONS
ARE NEEDED!
Send To:
Treasurer,
Keep Our Doctors

TO ALL CITIZENS OF SASKATCHEWAN

DOCTORS HAVE LEFT!

DOCTORS ARE LEAVING!

DOCTORS WILL CONTINUE TO LEAVE!

UNLESS AGREEMENT IS REACHED SOON!

Key People in Our Hospitals

(Anaesthetists, Surgeons, Pathologists, Radiologists)

Are Threatening to Leave!

IF THEY DO THEY ARE IRREPLACEABLE!

THIS CAN NOT CONTINUE!

IT IS UP TO YOU!

**Join the Mass Province-Wide Protest Meeting in
Regina, Wednesday, July 11**

Leaving City Limits — 8th Street, East — 9 a.m.

Car Stickers Available at Most Drug Stores and Some Business Firms

(FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS PHONE 343-4646 OR 343-3933)

Sponsored By Keep-Our Doctors Committee (Saskatoon) P.O. Box 1373

July 29/62

To the CCF-NDP MLA's of Saskatchewan

How many thousands of
Saskatchewan boys lost their
lives fighting for the very
freedoms that you are now
taking away from the people
of Saskatchewan?

THINK!

THIS IS YOUR **RIGHT** AS A CANADIAN CITIZEN

Sponsored by: KEEP OUR DOCTORS (SASKATOON) COMMITTEE, BOX 1373, SASKATOON, SASK.

July 19/67
420 TW

For Your Information

The charge has frequently been made that the Doctors oppose the Medicare Act because it will decrease their earnings.

Here Are the Facts

NO BAD DEBTS — All bills will be paid. This means a guaranteed increase of 10 to 15% of present income.

So! How can money be the issue?

Send Your Donations to Keep Our Doctors Committee,
Box 1373, Saskatoon

THINK!

THIS IS YOUR **RIGHT** AS A CANADIAN CITIZEN

Sponsored by: KEEP OUR DOCTORS (SASKATOON) COMMITTEE, BOX 1373, SASKATOON, SASK.

"DOLLARS for FREEDOM"

July 19/62

The Struggle to

KEEP OUR FAMILY DOCTORS

Continues

On July 11, 1962, Citizens Assembled From All Parts of Saskatchewan Petitioned the Premier to Do Forthwith as Follows:

Firstly, Suspend the operation of the Medical Care Insurance Act.

Secondly, Request the Province's medical doctors thereupon to return to their offices and hospitals, which request these citizens here assembled will vigorously support.

Thirdly, In a spirit of reconciliation, enter upon negotiations with representatives of the medical profession with a view to concluding agreements with them which alone will form the base for a medical care plan acceptable to all concerned.

AND IF IT BE NOT THE INTENTION OF the Premier of Saskatchewan, and the Members of the Executive Council to so proceed, THEN WE DO SOLEMNLY PETITION them forthwith to humbly advise His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, to dissolve the Legislative Assembly and to direct the issue of Writs for a General Election in order that the will of the citizens of this Province may be more perfectly made known, and an Assembly elected and a Council appointed which will represent the wish and execute the will of the majority of the Citizens of Saskatchewan.

Will We Have Democracy or Tyranny?

Mail Your "FREEDOM DOLLAR" Today!

To:

Saskatchewan Keep Our Doctors Committee
1717 13th Ave. - Phone LA.7-1744, Regina, Sask.

Or Your Own Local KOD Committee
Help in the Fight to Keep Our Family Doctor

**YOUR DOLLARS ARE NEEDED—DONATIONS IN ANY AMOUNT
ARE WELCOME**

Official Receipts Issued for All Funds Received

Authorized by Saskatchewan Keep Our Doctors Committee

APPENDIX H

SOME OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS USED BY
THE GOVERNMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN

Source: Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29 to July 25, 1962.

18 June 22

YOUR DOCTOR AND THE MEDICAL CARE PLAN

Your doctor and mine have enjoyed our trust as the guardian of the family's health. In good times and bad times they have served us well and often at great personal inconvenience. Recently much has been said about what our doctors will do when the Medical Care plan goes into effect on July 1.

And it is perfectly normal that there has been much debate even though in this case the **WHOLE** intent of the plan is to **LIFT** the **FEAR** of the costs of sickness from each home. It will ensure every doctor of the payment of his bills.

We believe calm judgment will prevail and that many doctors will give the plan a fair trial. Indeed many have already indicated privately to their patients that they will do so! If you believe this is a reasonable approach I urge each of you to discuss with your own doctor his own plans.

It should be clear with the publication of the regulations of the Commission that one concern is with the payment of doctors bills. I promise again that there will be **NO** interference with the medical judgment of a doctor or the relationship between a doctor and his patient.

W. S. LLOYD,
Premier of Saskatchewan.



GOVERNMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN

YOUR DOCTOR and the CHANGES in the MEDICAL CARE PLAN

In recent meetings with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the Government offered a number of changes in the Medical Care Insurance Plan. These changes were designed to make the Plan more acceptable to your doctor. The Government is now firmly and publicly committed to make these changes.

The most important change — and in our view a major concession — gives your doctor freedom to conduct his practice completely independent of the Medical Care Insurance Commission. Your doctor is free to practise under provisions of the Act or outside the Act altogether; the choice is his.

If your doctor chooses to practise outside the Act, your insurance protection is a transaction between you and the Commission rather than between the doctor and the Commission. The doctor bills you; you send the bill to the Commission and the Commission reimburses you at the same rate it pays doctors. The payment of your bill is a matter solely between you and your doctor.

Your doctor may, of course, deal directly with the Commission. We hope he will. This is certainly more convenient for all concerned.

But the important fact is that the action of the Government in making this change removes the last shred of doubt that your doctor—every doctor—has complete independence and freedom to practise as he chooses—in the Plan or outside it.

In light of this, I feel sure your doctor will continue to serve you after July 1st as he has in the past.

W. S. Lloyd
Premier of Saskatchewan



APPENDIX I

SOME OF THE ADVERTISEMENTS USED BY
THE SUPPORTERS OF THE MEDICARE PLAN IN SASKATOON

Source : Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 29 to July 25, 1962.

5/10/10

RESPONSIBILITY

Saskatchewan citizens have respect for Democratic processes and constitutional government.

Saskatchewan citizens deplore emotional demonstrations.

Saskatchewan citizens believe calm deliberation rather than the flouting of the law is necessary at this time.

Saskatchewan citizens desire responsible leadership. Noisy oratory can only destroy hopes of reasonable agreement, which is the desire of all groups in the province.

**NOW IS THE TIME FOR
THE RESPONSIBILITY AND
JUDGMENT NOT PARADES
AND BALLYHOO**

Citizens For Medical Care

A BROKEN OATH!

THE DECLARATION OF GENEVA

Adopted by

World Medical Association, 1948

"I SOLEMNLY PLEDGE MYSELF to consecrate my life to the service of humanity . . . I will practice my profession with conscience and dignity . . . the health of my patient will be my first consideration . . . I will maintain by all the means in my power the honor and the noble traditions of the medical profession . . . I will not permit consideration of religion, nationality, race, party politics or social standing to intervene between my duty and my patient . . . I will maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception . . .
I MAKE THESE PROMISES solemnly, freely and upon my honor."

Doctors registering with the College of Physicians and Surgeons must sign this declaration before being licensed!

BY REFUSING TO END THE PRESENT WITHDRAWAL OF SERVICES THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

- Are NOT making the health of their patients their first consideration!
- Are NOT maintaining the noble tradition of their profession!
- ARE permitting party politics to intervene between their duty and their patient!
- Are NOT maintaining the utmost respect for human life!

SUPPORT LOCAL ACTIVITIES FOR THE PROVISION OF MEDICAL SERVICES UNDER THE MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE ACT!

SEND PREMIER LLOYD YOUR MESSAGES
OF SUPPORT!

Make Contributions to:

SASKATCHEWAN CITIZENS FOR MEDICAL CARE

Box 1601 Regina Saskatchewan



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