

space, landscaping, streetscaping and historical preservation strategies would not work unless the underlying economic and social problems that had created the decline in the first place were addressed. Plan Winnipeg's revision was, in fact, originally intended to be not only a development plan but also a plan that set out strategies to reverse the economic and social decay and identified monies to accomplish these strategies. The deliberations had involved the provincial and the federal governments, both of which had given financial support for the plan in its early stages. The exits of the senior levels of government from the Plan Winnipeg negotiations in 1979 left a much weakened planning document in their wake.<sup>3</sup> Plan Winnipeg contained goals without either the detailed plans or the money to achieve them.

There were hopeful signs, however. Another government scheme concluded around the same time was going to be of some help in upgrading city parks. The Canada-Manitoba Agreement for Recreation and Conservation (the ARC Agreement), which was initiated in 1978, was intended to enhance riverbank park development at no cost to the city. The purpose of the ARC Agreement was to preserve and enhance the historical, natural and recreational features of the so-called "Red River Corridor", an area of the river extending from St. Norbert north-

ward to Lake Winnipeg. Among other things the ARC Agreement made possible an attractive scenic drive along the old River Road between Winnipeg and Lockport thus realizing one of George Champion's dreams of 1908. Under the agreement, too, some of the city parks with river frontage - Kildonan, St. John's and the St. Boniface riverbank - received attention in order to make them attractive and accessible to boaters. The most notable aspect of the ARC Agreement was its declared intention to create a park on the CNR lands at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. This would provide the much-wanted downtown park, but even the ARC Agreement could not provide enough funds to secure and develop the forks site without additional involvement.

### Enter the Core Area Initiative

While Plan Winnipeg was in the process of revision and following the conclusion of the ARC Agreement, another scheme relating to inner city and downtown development was percolating around Winnipeg. This was the brainchild of Liberal federal cabinet minister Lloyd Axworthy and reflected his intense interest in downtown redevelopment in general and in Winnipeg's downtown in particular. A child of Winnipeg's north end, Axworthy was a political science professor at the University of Win-

nipeg prior to his political career. There he founded the Institute of Urban Studies in 1969, a research institute that had published numerous studies on aspects of Winnipeg's urban problems. Among other things, Axworthy discovered that a widespread perception - nothing really changed in the inner city despite governments' best efforts - was far from the truth. In fact, the situation was growing measurably worse. In 1951 inner city residents earned, on average, 11 percent less than residents in the rest of the city. By 1978, this disparity had grown to 32 percent. During the period 1962 to 1978 employment in the core area declined by ten percent while employment elsewhere in the city increased by 48 percent. With both detailed knowledge of the problem and clout at the federal cabinet table, Axworthy was able to get the three levels of government together to fund the most powerful assault on inner city decline that Winnipeg had yet experienced. The 1981 Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (CAI) represented an effort by the federal, provincial and city governments to improve the social, economic and physical conditions in a ten square mile area of Winnipeg's inner city. The five year initiative was to funnel some 96 million dollars into various projects, with each government contributing one third of the shareable costs for all approved projects.<sup>4</sup> In 1986, the CAI was