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Platform & Statement of Principles

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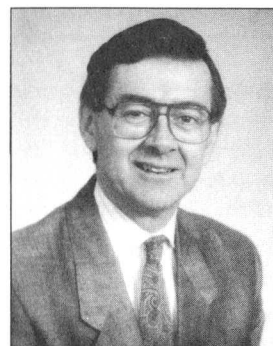
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The members of the Reform Party of Canada
adopted the following policies at a
policy convention held in
Calgary, Alberta, on August 14, 1988.

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Leader's Foreword: "The Next Canada"

To many analysts, Canada's political culture is marked by the quest for stability. The old British North America Act of 1867 speaks of the need to establish "peace, order, and good government" — a rather mundane phrase for a nation's founding document. Stability has been the hallmark of Canadian politics and we have witnessed many long-standing political dynasties and coalitions as a consequence.

Yet this is only half the story. For stability has frequently turned to stagnation and the failure of political establishments to confront the great challenges of the day. In times such as these, Canadians have created great "reform movements" that have challenged vested interests, changed inflexible structures, and swept aside governments previously considered invincible. Nowhere has this reform tradition been more evident than in the vast expanse of the Canadian Northwest.

Today, as the world rushes toward the Twenty-first Century, the leadership of Canada's old line parties marches backwards into the future. Problems and the symptoms of problems — widespread regional alienation, growing disenchantment, impending fiscal crisis — are rarely seriously debated and certainly not addressed. Instead, Mulroney, Turner and Broadbent parrot flawed and obsolete visions of Canada. These visions Western Reformers reject.

We reject once and for all the old Conservative model of the Canadian economy — the heartland/hinterland model that concentrates industry and economic opportunity in Southern Ontario and Southern Quebec, hides behind walls of protection and insecurity, and treats the rest of the country as a captive market and resource reservoir to be forever exploited.

We reject as divisive and unworkable the Liberal definition of Canada as a "meeting of two founding races, cultures and languages." We seek a new definition of Canadian nationality which transcends the limits of the Plains of Abraham and makes sense to ordinary Canadians outside Upper and Lower Canada.

We reject the fading social vision of the NDP — the concept that Mother Government and universal social programs run by bureaucrats are the best and only way to care for the sick, the poor, the old, and the young. We rededicate ourselves to representing not the paper-shufflers and spokespersons of the Welfare State, but instead to the people whom the Welfare State was supposed to serve.

Finally, we reject political debate defined in the narrow terminology of the Left, Right, and Centre. This vestige of the French and Industrial Revolutions may continue to delineate our old-line parties, but it is increasingly out of place in the complex and multi-dimensional world that we live in today.

In the pages that follow, the Reform Party of Canada articulates the approaches we would take to today's problems. All signs indicate that the next Parliament will be a divided one. In such a situation, Western Reformers would be in a powerful position to pursue our agenda:

1. Constitutional Planks

- ✱ establishment of a Triple E Senate ✓
- rejection of the Meech Lake Accord ✓
- entrenchment of property rights
- ✱ • public referenda on constitutional change ✓
- ✱ • right of the Territories to provincial status ✓

2. Bread and Butter Planks (Eco.)

- market-driven economic policies
- regional fairness tests on all federal economic decisions
- free trade within Canada as well as without — lien avec PÉN
- privatization of Petro-Canada and reforms to postal service
- more competitive and regionalized banking
- reforms to federal spending and MP's pensions
- cooperative labour-management relations
- a balanced budget

(analyse) régionales d'équité sur toutes décisions économiques.
relations coopérative
gestion régionale
relations ouvriers-gestionnaires
coopératives

3. People Planks (Pol.)

- free and recorded votes in the House of Commons and in a Reform Party Caucus
- referenda and plebiscites on moral and social issues
- lessening of party discipline and pressure group power
- targeting of critical social spending to those who need the help
- mobilization of private sources of social responsibility
- strong system of criminal justice
- new approaches to official languages and immigration

4. Green Plank

- a vision of Canada rooted in "our land" and environment
- commitment to sustainable economic development
- no economic development without regard to long-term environmental costs and implications
- no environmental regulations without regard to economic costs and social implications

This is our platform as I see it. Reformers seek a fresh vision of Canada, based not on the fears and misconceptions of the past, but on the realities and potentials of the Next Canada.

E. PRESTON MANNING

Constitutional Reform: "A Fair Shake for the West!"

Reformers believe that there exists overwhelming and undeniable evidence of unfair treatment of resource-producing regions under Confederation, especially in the treatment of Western Canada. This injustice has occurred at different times in our history and from government of different political stripe. We believe that only the most fundamental of changes can rectify this situation.

We believe that every individual, group, province, and region in Canada is entitled to fundamental justice, and that fundamental justice entitles the people of each region to benefit equally, without discrimination, from participation in Confederation and from the programs and expenditures of the government of Canada. We believe that the interest of minorities and the people of the underpopulated regions of Canada should be safeguarded by constitutional guarantees and parliamentary institutions which effectively balance representation by population with regional representation.

Triple-E Senate

In the spring of 1988, the Reform Party supervised the drafting of the legal text of a Constitutional Amendment that would reform the Senate of Canada to make it Elected by the people, with Equal representation from each Province and Territory, and fully Effective in safeguarding regional interests. We fully endorse the Triple-E concept as outlined in the Draft Amendment.

The Western representatives of the three federal parties have shown no inclination to make this a priority issue in their Central-Canadian-dominated caucuses. This Constitutional Amendment was drafted by legal experts, ratified in assembly by over 500 Western Canadians, and enjoys much popular and provincial support. It has been made abundantly clear to Westerners that the current barrier to a Triple-E Senate is the lack of political will of our federal representatives.

Regional Fairness Tests

Reform Party M.P.'s will push for public analyses of the regional distribution of the expenditures and revenues of all federal government policies and contracts. These distributions would be analyzed on both an East-West and a North-South basis within Canada. Whether institutionalized in the Constitution or not, this must become a routine part of the legislative process.

Reformers believe that such radically discriminatory actions as the National Energy Program and CF-18 contract would never have passed through such a process. Furthermore, we are convinced that the record of both Liberal

and P.C. governments has shown all Canadians that federal government economic policies must be subject to considerably more public scrutiny than they are at present.

Popular Ratification of Constitutional Change

Reformers believe that the process of legitimate constitutional change in Canada has been seriously undermined by executive federalism. We propose that, as in Australia, no future amendments to the Constitution should be implemented until ratified by the electorate.

Specifically, we propose that ratification of any Constitutional Amendment must include approval by simple majority vote of the electorate of Canada, including approval by a simple majority in at least two-thirds of the Provinces (including the Territories). Electors shall vote directly on the legal text of such Amendments concurrent with federal general elections.

Entrenchment of Property Rights

The Reform Party regrets the failure of the P.C. and N.D.P. Parties to agree to former Prime Minister Trudeau's proposal to entrench property rights in the Constitutional Act of 1982. We also regret the failure of all federal parties to pursue the property rights initiative adopted by the Social Credit Government of British Columbia in that same year.

The Charter of Rights should recognize and declare that in Canada there has existed and shall continue to exist the right of every person to the use and enjoyment of property, both real and personal, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law. Furthermore, it should recognize and declare that in Canada no person shall be deprived, directly or indirectly, by any law of Parliament or a provincial Legislature, of the use and enjoyment of property, unless the law provides for just and timely compensation.

Opposition to the Meech Lake Accord

Reformers reject the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord as detrimental to the West and to the country as a whole. We believe the following to be adequate reason for our opposition:

- ① a. The requirement of unanimity to effect constitutional change, and the attempt to permanently entrench constitutional arrangements.
- b. The enacting of amendments improving Quebec's position within Confederation without concurrent amendments improving the position of the Western Provinces, the Atlantic Provinces, and Northern Canada.
- ② c. The failure to adopt any meaningful Senate reform.
- d. The transfer of patronage powers of Senate appointment to the provinces. This will nurture vested interests opposed to Senate reform at the provincial level.

1. Entrenched + Subject
2. Quebec + Supreme
3. Court

-
- e. The 'closed door' nature of negotiations and the lack of genuine public input into the ratification process.
 - f. The entrenching of First Ministers Conferences in the Constitution as a fourth level of government.
 - g. The granting of special status to any group or party within Canada.
 - h. The failure to secure from the Government of Quebec assurance that it will not seek independence in future constitutional negotiations. That is to say, the failure to show that the Accord in any substantive way promotes national unity.
 - i. The failure of the Government of Quebec to explicitly acknowledge that its acceptance of the Constitution Act of 1982 must mean its surrendering of its claim to Labrador.
 - j. The lack of assurance that the Accord will not override the rights of all natural persons.
 - k. Serious ambiguity in the division of powers regarding immigration, future social policy, the Supreme Court appointments, as well as additional ambiguity in phrases like 'distinct society' and 'national objectives'. Judicial opinion on the precise meaning of these should be sought before final approval to ensure that parties to the Accord know what they are agreeing to.
 - l. The failure to adopt more stringent and more public ratification procedures for Supreme Court Justices in light of the powers our legislators are handing to the courts.
 - m. The failure to secure adequate Western representation on the Supreme Court.
 - n. Immigration provisions which will serve to freeze the status quo population distribution of the country.
 - o. The failure to recognize a right of all Canadian jurisdictions to the full powers of provincial status, and the adoption of clauses which will make the admission of new provinces and the creation of provinces in the Northern Territories even more difficult than at present.

We cannot overemphasize our opposition to this deal. We urge the Provinces of Manitoba and New Brunswick not to ratify the Accord and all other Provinces to rescind their ratifications.

Political Reform: "A Greater Vision for Canada"

Reformers believe that many of our most serious problems as a country can be traced to the apathy and non-involvement of Canadians in public affairs, and to decisions that too frequently ignore the popular will. Governments today assume far too large a role in our lives for us to allow decisions to be made solely by bureaucrats, pressure groups, and political professionals. The vast majority of citizens and taxpayers have a right to be involved. The system must provide the opportunity and the responsibility for us to do so.

We believe that public policy in democratic societies should reflect the will of the majority of the citizens as determined by free and fair elections, referenda, and the decisions of legally constituted and representative Parliaments and Assemblies elected by the people. We believe in the common sense of the common people, their right to be consulted on public policy matters before major decisions are made, their right to choose their own leaders and to govern themselves through truly representative and responsive institutions, and their right to directly initiate legislation for which substantial public support is demonstrated. We believe in accountability of elected representatives to the people who elect them, and that the duty of elected members to their constituents should supercede their obligations to their political parties. Finally, we affirm our commitment to the rule of the law, and to the concept that government and law-makers are not above the law.

Free Votes in the House of Commons

The cause of more representative government in Canada requires, first and foremost, Members of Parliament who have at least some independence from party discipline. Party discipline is probably enforced more rigorously in Canada than any other democratic nation. It is enforced well beyond the demands or original intentions of Cabinet government without any ethical justification. The result is that our representatives in Ottawa become Ottawa's representatives to us.

The Reform Party believes that the excesses of party discipline can be corrected by fairly simple changes in Parliamentary rules, as have been done elsewhere. Specifically, we maintain that the defeat of a government measure in the House of Commons should not automatically mean the defeat of the government. Defeat of the government motion should be followed by a formal motion of non-confidence, the passage of which would require either the resignation of the government or dissolution of the House for a general election.

We regret that the Mulroney Government has not moved in this direction despite the recommendations of its own McGrath Committee.

Free Votes in a Reform Party Caucus

In the absence of the free voting behaviour by M.P.'s of the three Central Canadian parties, there will be occasions when the Reform Party will find that it also will have to bloc-vote in order to be an effective political party in the House of Commons. We believe, however, that this need not undermine the independence and representation of Reform M.P.'s.

Specifically, the Reform Party pledges that, before party discipline is applied in the House of Commons on any issue, a free vote will be held in caucus. The Reform Party position on the issue, and on whether there will be a bloc-vote on the issue, will be decided by a simple majority of caucus. Each M.P. shall have one vote, and the Leader shall have a casting vote. The Party shall make public the free-voting record of its M.P.'s. Thus the Reform Party pledges that none of its M.P.'s shall attempt to convince party members or voters that he/she was secretly pushing a different position in caucus than in public.

Greater Accountability of M.P.'s

In addition to more independent voting behaviour for M.P.'s, the cause of more representative government requires mechanisms that make clear that M.P.'s' accountability is to the voters.

The Canada Elections Act must be amended to eliminate clauses which place Members of Parliament in a position beholden to their national Party Executive or Leader rather than their constituents (such as the provisions for the signing of nomination papers). This is essential. No government has used these clauses as a sledgehammer more frequently than the present Government — a Government which actually brought in closure on its own Members.

In addition, we urge that the M.P.'s oath of office be amended such that they swear or affirm fundamental allegiance to their constituents as well as the Queen. We will investigate the possibility of allowing constituents to pursue some type of recall procedure against an M.P. they feel has violated that oath.

Modified Parliamentary Procedures

We propose to modify workings of Government of Canada where they detract from representation of the electorate.

There should be restrictions and limitations on the number and types of Orders-in-Council permitted by a government during its term of office. In the interim, Reform Party M.P.'s will strive to make Parliamentary Committees effective in reviewing any regulations before implementation.

We would also fix a specific length of time, not exceeding six (6) months, within which by-elections for vacant Commons' seats must be held.

Direct Democracy

Reformers believe that the right to pick an M.P. once every four years from one of three more or less identical options has become fundamentally inadequate to protect the interest of citizens and taxpayers. The people must have a direct voice. The Reform Party will encourage the use of referenda and citizens' initiatives.

Referenda should not be solely a poll of voter attitudes, but a mechanism, the results of which shall be binding on the Government of Canada. We propose that passage of a referendum include approval by a simple majority vote of the electorate, including approval by a simple majority in at least two-thirds of the Provinces (including the Territories).

Voters should also be able to initiate plebiscites. We propose that, if three percent (3%) or more of the eligible voters of Canada sign a petition to the Chief Electoral Officer requesting that a question or legislative proposal be put before the people, such a question or legislative proposal be placed on the ballot at the subsequent federal general election. Such petitions must be delivered to the Chief Electoral Officer prior to the election call.

We believe that this is most applicable to public policy that involves the most deeply held values of Canadians. Issues like capital punishment and abortion require a directly democratic process without partisanship or suppression. We would also recommend consulting the people on matters that alter the basic social fabric such as immigration, language, and measurement.

Societal Control of the Political Process

Reformers are very concerned about the growing tendency of bureaucracies and political professionals to use the apparatus of government as an agent of their own self-interest, or as a vehicle to structure political debate to their own liking. These represent fundamental threats to the supremacy of society over government, which is the foundation of our freedoms.

The Reform Party opposes the use of taxpayers' dollars for the purposes of subsidizing political lobbying, including the provisions of tax credits for contributions to political parties. We would welcome the opportunity to raise money on an unsubsidized basis, as we have had to do in our organizational phases. We believe that our efforts would compare well to the three Central Canadian parties in such an environment.

Finally, we will insist that all laws applying to individuals and the private sector apply equally to the Government of Canada, its personnel, its agencies, and Parliament.

Economic Reform: "A New National Policy!"

The last generation has witnessed a slow decline in Canada's economic power and a slipping away of many opportunities for the future. In the past four years this trend has slowed as the Central Canadian economy has ridden the crest of an American wave of economic activity. Nevertheless, the structural problems of the Canadian economy have remained unaddressed. Complex forms of protection and government intervention restrict regional opportunities make us less flexible and less competitive. A long period of federal government mismanagement of its own shop bodes ill for our children and grandchildren. These are challenges to which we must respond clearly.

Reformers believe that the people of Canada are this country's most valuable resource, and that the nurture and development of human knowledge, skills, and relationships are the keys to full participation in the knowledge-based service economy of the 21st century. We believe in the value of enterprise and initiative, and that governments have a responsibility to foster and protect an environment in which initiative and enterprise can be exercised by individuals and groups. We believe that the creation of wealth and productive jobs for Canadians is best achieved through the operations of a responsible, broadly-based, free-enterprise economy in which private property, freedom of contract, and the operations of free markets are encouraged and respected.

Reformers believe, just as strongly, in economy in government. We believe in public service — that governments, civil servants, politicians and political parties exist to serve the people, and that they should demonstrate this service commitment at all times. We believe the public money should be regarded by governments as "funds held in trust", and that governments should practice fiscal responsibility — in particular, the responsibility to balance expenditures and revenues.

Industrial Development and Diversification

We propose to depoliticize economic decision-making in Canada. Subsidies, grants, and pricing policies interfere with the efficiency of the marketplace. It is our view that such market distortion is usually politically motivated. In our system this inevitably means a restructuring of the economy at the expense of the resource-producing regions. Therefore, as a long-term goal, grants, subsidies, and pricing policies should be eliminated and no federal taxes, direct or indirect, should be imposed on the natural resources of the provinces, other than income tax of general application.

Notwithstanding the above, government has a role to play in the development of economic factors. We propose that the federal government

orient its activities toward the nurturing of human and physical infrastructure. More attention must be paid to the development of skills, particularly those that provide future job flexibility (such as literacy and computer education). As well, such training should be made more flexible in terms of the type of institution providing the training. We would encourage cooperative training in industry. Finally, physical infrastructure priorities should be directed to the regions which have historically suffered underdevelopment as a result of federal interference in the free market.

Trade and Transportation

We advocate a comprehensive trade strategy for Western Canada characterized by:

a. FREE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES

We believe that Canadians should seek to maximize the benefits of our unique geographic and economic relationship with the United States, and that the establishment of more positive relations with the U.S. need not in any way impair Canada's national identity or cultural sovereignty. Furthermore, we resent the historic bias of policy in this regard — policy which has allowed Central Canada to monopolize the economic benefits of the American relationship and has defined sovereignty in purely Central Canadian terms. We regret that elements of the Central Canadian labour, business, cultural, and political Establishment continue to propagate these views.

The Reform Party generally supports the Free Trade Agreement. We have produced and will continue to produce evaluations of both the strengths and weaknesses of the deal. As well, we will ensure that free trade means fair trade. We are suspicious of the Quebec-centred nature of the Mulroney 'about-face' on this issue. Reform Party M.P.'s in Parliament will look out for Western interests in the implementation stages of the deal both in terms of the business-opportunity initiatives and worker-adjustment programs.

Finally, we will continue to push for free trade in the event of the Agreement's defeat and the subsequent Tory about-face. As a minimum, we will press for a Tariff Tax Credit to the consumers of the resource-producing regions as compensation for the discriminatory burden of tariff costs and for a Free Trade Area between Western Canada and the Western U.S.

b. FREE TRADE WITHIN CANADA

We advocate the removal of interprovincial barriers to trade by agreements which include trade dispute settlement mechanisms amongst the provinces. As a first step, we will press for the formation of a Western Economic Union among the provinces of Western Canada.

c. THE PACIFIC RIM

We will outline plans for a Western Interprovincial Trade Group to promote external trade relations, initially with the Pacific Rim countries.

d. TRANSPORTATION REVITALIZATION

We strongly support upgrading transportation and increasing port facilities so that the entire West may capitalize on burgeoning export trade opportunities.

Agriculture

We support the shift from a government-dominated and supported agricultural industry to an industry shaped by market forces. Toward this end we propose:

a. FREE AND UNSUBSIDIZED TRADE NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY

We advocate the removal of agricultural subsidies at home and abroad through a step-down phased subsidy program. In the event of a failure of this program to proceed at the international level, we will push for an extension of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States to include common internal and export subsidy arrangements as a way of pressuring the EEC on agricultural issues.

b. THE ELIMINATION OF TARIFFS AND TAXES ON AGRICULTURAL INPUTS

Indirect taxes constitute unnecessary costs on production that disadvantages our international competitiveness. We would seek to remove such costs.

c. THE REMOVAL OF DISCRIMINATION IN FREIGHT RATES

We urge the removal of discrimination in freight rates according to either product or direction.

We advocate the removal of the Crow Rate through a one-time non-taxable bridge payment of \$7 billion to Western farmers, henceforth the railways to charge the shipper a competitive price for moving grain, with no further payments from the federal government. This \$7 billion would represent approximately \$100 per cultivated acre, the amount to depend on productivity levels. If this payment is inconsistent with the reduction of the budgetary deficit, bonds, bearing interest and redeemable at specific and staggered dates, shall be issued. Such bonds would be tradeable.

We will advocate a similar approach for the elimination of the eastern Feed Freight Assistance program as recommended by the Nielsen Task Force.

d. A LONG RUN APPROACH TO THE DEBT CRISIS

We will advocate the reorientation of the Farm Credit Corporation on a commercial basis for future privatization as recommended by the Nielsen Task Force.

Western Reformers believe that the Mulroney Government should resolve the debt problems of Canada's farmers before it forgives further the debts of Third World governments.

e. DEVELOPMENT OF POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL PRACTICES IN THE INDUSTRY

The long-run health of agriculture requires practices that can sustain development, including good soil conservation.

Energy

The Reform Party has supported the elimination of the National Energy Program despite a period of low oil prices, yet we question the motives of the current Government and Minister underlying recent policy. We believe the energy industry should respond to the dictates of the market and not to the artificial conditioning of subsidies and grants. We are concerned about the reconstruction of the NEP bureaucracy through new incentive and subsidy programs. Furthermore, we believe that the Energy Department should not be used as a vehicle for a racially-based language and hiring policy.

The Reform Party wishes to put on the record its intractable opposition to any new National Energy Program under any circumstances by any political party. We will view such action as a fundamental attack on the economic rights of the West and the political unity of this country.

Monetary Policy and Interest Rates

The Reform Party supports a truly national monetary policy — a slow but steady growth in the money supply. We are opposed to the recent high interest rate, high exchange rate, tight money policy of the Bank of Canada, supported by the Minister of Finance. We believe it is inappropriate to use national macroeconomic policy to address the regional problems of Southern Ontario. The inflationary problems of Southern Ontario should be addressed by attacking their causes — excessive spending by both levels of government and the rental and housing policies of the Government of Ontario.

The Banking System

The Reform Party believes that Canada needs a more competitive banking system, including the presence of regional banks. We regret the demise of the nascent regional banking system allowed by this P.C. Government

in 1985. This has led to a more concentrated banking system and a renewal of monopolistic banking practices. The three Central Canadian parties seem always willing to score political points by decrying non-competitive banking practices that hurt the consumer. We urge that, instead, they look at the non-competitive, centralized banking structure that is the real root of the problem.

Tax Reform

Legitimate tax reform is not a short run tax cut for political gain. Nor is it a set of changes which will make the system more complex. Legitimate tax cuts can only be sustained by a long term reduction in government expenditure, and any true tax reform must simplify the system.

We would urge the elimination of special treatment, credits, writeoffs, and deductions, especially where the Income Tax Act establishes income or expenditure definitions that do not conform to generally accepted accounting standards. We will work toward a simple and visible system of taxation, including the possibility of a flat tax.

Balanced Budget

Perhaps the most stunning illustration of the failures of the Mulroney Government can be seen in an examination of the figures on the budgetary deficit and the national debt. Mulroney's "deficit reduction" has resulted in a sustaining of \$30 billion annual deficits despite exceptional economic performance in the Central Canadian industrial heartland. The Mulroney Government has thus, in its four years in office, nearly doubled Canada's national debt. It all but ignored the expenditure recommendations of the Nielsen Task Force of blue-ribbon business people and senior bureaucrats.

Deficits, not just deficit projections, must be brought down. In order to encourage genuine fiscal responsibility and the sane management of public funds, we will oppose further expansion of the public debt. To return government spending to a responsible course we propose that the government be required to balance the budget in each three year period or be obliged to call an election on the issue. The first period would commence April 1, 1991.

Privatization

There are some 20 wholly government-owned crown corporations, 24 mixed ownership, 150 subsidiaries, 101 associated companies and some 344 government related companies operating federally in this country. We urge that ownership and control of corporations be placed in the sector that can perform them most cost-effectively, with greatest accountability to owners, and the least likelihood of incurring public debt. We believe that there is overwhelming evidence that this would be the private sector in the vast majority of cases. Specifically, we will urge:

a. THE COMPLETE PRIVATIZATION OF PETRO-CANADA

Petro-Canada has not been an effective agent of economic growth or accountability to its owners, the Canadian taxpayers. It has been an effective vehicle for Central Canadian political priorities in Western resource development and this is the only real rationalization for its continued status as a Crown Corporation. Until it is privatized, the claim of the dismantling of the National Energy Program will ring hollow.

We would urge that Petro-Canada shares be sold to the Canadian public and the revenue used to retire some of the national debt. This will anger some. But while it is true that Canadians have already paid for Petro-Canada and thus "own" it now, we must remember that we "own" the national debt as well.

b. FREE COMPETITION FOR THE POST OFFICE

There should be no restrictions on private competition in the delivery of mail.

Also we urge that the reform of postal service ensure that rural and remote areas receive postal services comparable in quality and cost.

Opposition to Extravagant Spending

The Reform Party opposes the current pension schemes for Members of Parliament. We would end full indexation of these pensions and postpone eligibility for benefits until a normal retirement age.

The Reform Party would also reexamine M.P.s' and Senators' expense allowances, free services, staff privileges, and limousines in light of private sector standards. Much of the actual cuts would depend on the desire of M.P.'s to reform the House of Commons. As long as the vast majority of M.P.'s refuse to provide individual accountability and real representation of identifiable views, then they constitute a mere cheering section for Party Leaders, and should be reimbursed as such.

Finally, the Reform Party believes that the ongoing patronage scandals will not be resolved merely by changing government's political stripe. The problem is that dozens of boards, agencies, and councils exist to provide patronage. We would reexamine appointed positions and eliminate patronage positions, not just individual appointments.

Opposition to Fraudulent Western Initiatives

The Reform Party goes on record as opposing the Western Diversification Initiative (WDI). Its incredibly bloated bureaucracy and its politically-motivated decisions make the WDI "a bureaucratic and political slush fund" — the words of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business — reminiscent of previous Liberal schemes. The WDI does not have the funds or approach adequate to nurture the critical mass of industry necessary for real economic diversification. Furthermore, the establishment of four

new agencies, together with the industry department, will ensure approximately the same allotment of regional development fund — about 40 percent to Quebec and about two-thirds to Central Canada.

We also go on record as opposing the Western Procurement Initiative. It is obviously a pre-election ploy. The record of the Mulroney Government has indicated no serious desire to increase procurement in Western Canada. Furthermore, the dollar figure indicated is very low in the context of federal spending — or the CF-18 contract alone. The Reform Party favours a government procurement policy based on fairness and normal commercial criteria of price and quality, rather than lobbying and political motives.

Labour-Management Relations

We support the right of workers to organize democratically, to bargain collectively, and to strike peacefully, but we reject the view that labour and management must constitute warring camps. High quality of both labour and capital will be required for our future prosperity. The best jobs and highest incomes in the 21st century will be reserved for those nations that harmonize labour management relations most effectively.

We also support the right of all Canadians, particularly the young, to enter the work force and achieve their potential. Union and professional bodies may ensure standards, but should not block qualified people from working in a trade or profession or from gaining the necessary qualifications.

Social Reform: “Completing the Western Agenda”

The Reform Party believes that the attainment of our agenda of economic growth, political participation, and constitutional equality would make our society a better place for all Canadians. In this context, we nevertheless acknowledge a social policy role for government. This role must be more effective and less expensive than the Welfare State approach of buying each group with its own money. Perhaps that approach is politically expedient. But despite the cries of ‘sacred trust’, we believe the current social policy approach is doomed unless seriously reexamined. We will take the lead in this reexamination, since the ongoing crisis of the Welfare State demands it, and none of the major parties will address it.

Reformers affirm the value and dignity of the individual person and the importance of strengthening and protecting the family unit as essential to the well-being of individuals and society. We believe that Canadians have a personal and collective responsibility to care and provide for the basic needs of people who are unable to care and provide for themselves. We believe that the legitimate role of government is to do for people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or do as well, for themselves individually or through non-governmental organizations.

In this section we outline the positions in key social policy areas and other areas not yet addressed.

Alternatives to the Welfare State

The Reform Party believes that a system with true ‘social conscience’ concentrates its help on those who cannot help themselves and, where possible, enables them to help themselves in the future. Today too much of the resources of social policy are ultimately directed to those who do not require help — bureaucrats, social activists, researchers, political professionals, pressure groups, high and middle income earners. The focus on the middlemen who administer and promote the system has been detrimental both in terms of cost-effectiveness and humanitarianism.

As the costs of social policy grow while the needy line up at food banks to eat, we become increasingly skeptical of the bureaucratic, universal, social-policy approaches of the Welfare State. Therefore we recommend the following new lines of thinking:

a. SOCIAL POLICY MUST BE COMPASSIONATE IN ITS DELIVERY MECHANISM

Bureaucracy is not always a compassionate delivery mechanism as anyone who has lined up at government office well knows. But the fault is not just that of the bureaucrats. We would actively encourage families, communities, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector

to reassure their duties and responsibilities in social service areas. We believe this would create a healthier environment for both self-reliance and social responsibility.

b. SOCIAL POLICY MUST BE TARGETED

The concept of universality is, at heart, counter to the idea of focusing benefits on the needy. It is also an invitation to unlimited spending rather than careful controls. We prefer to target benefits on those who need the help, and to do so in a rational and compassionate manner.

c. SOCIAL POLICY MUST BE SUSTAINABLE

The sustainability of high-quality social services is as important as the services themselves. Governments must preserve both the availability and sustainability of these services. This is not now possible and will only be possible with a new commitment to sound, long-term financial management. No citizen should be denied access by reason of financial status or inability to pay. Likewise, this does not necessitate the full subsidization of those able to pay all or part of the costs themselves. Long-term sustainability must be looked at as an issue of fairness to taxpayers.

d. SOCIAL POLICY MUST BE SIMPLER WHERE POSSIBLE

This is the way that targeted social policy can be more cost-effective than universal social policy. New and complex means or needs tests are generally not necessary. The income tax system already contains the most comprehensive data necessary for payment eligibility, and is a logical basis for social policies that mainly require raised purchasing power. However, it is recognized that complete overhaul of Revenue Canada would be required to restore the confidence of Canadians in the administrative machinery of this Department.

e. SOCIAL POLICY MUST BE COMPREHENSIVE WHERE POSSIBLE

We believe a family or household-oriented comprehensive social security system administered through the income-tax system could replace many forms of social policy, such as the Family Allowance, Child Tax Credit, Spousal Exemption, Child Exemption, federal contributions to social assistance payments, retirement plans, federal social housing programs, day-care deductions, and minimum wage laws. We will explore options from among existing proposals such as the guaranteed annual income, security investment fund, and negative income tax.

Day Care

The Reform Party goes on record as opposing the Mulroney Government's day care initiative as the worst kind of expensive, compromise social policy that alienates both social conservatives and socialists alike. In our view the program is not adequately targeted to those who need the help, is

discriminatory towards parents who choose to raise their families at home, creates costly incentives for institutionalized child care, and could well be the first step toward universal, compulsory, state-run day care. Canadian taxpayers should be very concerned about a program that has run \$1,000,000,000 (1 billion dollars) over budget before a dime has been spent.

We believe that children are our most precious resource and parents the most appropriate judges of their needs in upbringing. We believe that day-care programs should subsidize financial need, not the method of child care chosen and should subsidize children and parents, not institutions and professionals. We are opposed to state-run day care. There is no room for bureaucrats in the raising of our children. There is a need for government regulation of day-care standards — a job it can do most objectively if it is not a vested interest in service delivery.

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment Insurance has become one of the most costly, abused, and ineffective of all social policy measures. We regret this Government spent millions of dollars to study UIC reforms it had no intention of implementing (the Forget Commission).

Unemployment insurance should be returned to its original function — an employer-employee funded and administered program to provide temporary income in the event of unexpected job loss. The program has been wrongly used to address regional underdevelopment, job restraining, and comprehensive social security (welfare) considerations that would be better addressed in other ways.

An unemployed worker is an unemployed worker and deserves to be treated the same regardless of region of residence. We will urge the immediate elimination of discriminatory UI elements, such as regional entrance requirements and regionally-extended benefit phases, in ways that do not increase the costs of the program.

Provincialization

We are concerned about the increasing use of the spending powers of the federal government in areas of provincial jurisdiction. This is an affront to the constitutional rights of regional communities. Furthermore, it has blurred the responsibility and accountability of the two levels of government to their taxpayers.

We would prefer an agreement to provide unconditional transfers of the tax base from the federal government to the provinces, adjusted for differential provincial economic development. The content and particulars of provincial policy would then be set provincially by governments clearly accountable to the electors of each province. Particularly in areas of social

policy, this would allow for more differentiated and creative responses to the crisis of the Welfare State.

This we call "provincialization" of clear provincial responsibilities. As a federal party this is our policy in such areas. We respect provincial rights and will keep our policy statements largely outside of areas such as medicine, education, and the like.

Environment

Reformers believe that Canada's identity and vision for the future should be rooted in and inspired by a fresh appreciation of "our land" and the supreme importance of our wellbeing of exploring, developing, processing, renewing, and conserving our natural resources and physical environment. This would include water resources and the atmosphere. Furthermore, we are convinced that Canadians of all political persuasions have become aware of the dangers of the excessive resource and environmental exploitation inherent in capitalist, socialist, and social democratic patterns of industrial expansion.

We support immediate implementation of effective long-term programs to restore and protect our land, water, and atmospheric environment. The concept of sustainable economic development is one that will require the best minds in the public policy of the next century. Clearly the imposition of a bureaucratic model of "cops and robbers" regulation on the industrial structure is unsatisfactory. We will search for mechanisms that allow for greater long-term considerations and more broadly-based participation in environmental decision-making.

Official Languages

The conception of Canada as "a meeting of two founding races, cultures, and languages" was born in the political disunity of Central Canada prior to Confederation. Despite the inappropriateness of that as a description of the reality of Western Canada, Trudeau made it the foundation of his vision of the entire country. Westerners never shared, but at least respected, his dedication to that vision.

Under the Mulroney Government, however, the power priorities of Official Languages policy have become blatant. Quebec will be encouraged to develop a unilingual French society (Bill 101). The status of French will be enhanced in English Canada (Bill C72). The architects and supporters of Quebec Nationalism will become the most powerful members of the Federal Cabinet, administering the policy and publicly stating their priorities (Lucien Bouchard, Marcel Masse). The Prime Minister's own position will depend on which language he is speaking at the time. This is a policy that will collapse under the weight of its own hypocrisy.

Reformers, like the vast majority of Canadians, bear no ill-will toward Canadians of other language groups. We believe that "asking the people",

through a referendum, would create a language policy that reflects both the aspirations of Canadians and the demographic reality of the country. Such a policy, we believe, would include the following characteristics:

- a. a recognition of French in Quebec and English elsewhere as the predominant language of work and society,
- b. a removal of enforced bilingualism from the provincial level and of any forced language policy from private-sector institutions and personal lives,
- c. official bilingualism in key federal institutions, such as Parliament and the Supreme Court, and critical federal services, where numbers warrant,
- d. protection of minority education rights, possibly by interprovincial agreement.

In no way do we discourage personal bilingualism, but language policy must be consistent to be fair. It must be fair to all Canadians, including the vast majority of unilingual Canadians. Let Quebec be Quebec. Let the West be the West.

Immigration

There is perhaps no area of public policy where the views of Canadians have been more systematically ignored through the undemocratic structuring of political debate than the area of immigration. Despite the cries of 'racism' and the invocation of legal fictions, political change can occur where political will exists and is articulated. Immigration abuse must be ended, and not just by legalizing it. All Canadians, not just the political and immigration establishment, must get a better handle on our long-term immigration goals and needs.

a. IMMIGRATION SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC IN NATURE

Immigrants should possess the human capital necessary to adjust quickly and independently to the needs of Canadian society and the job market. Sponsorship privileges should be restricted to members of immediate families, that is, wives or husbands, minor dependent children and aged dependent parents. All others should apply for entry through the normal selective process. Immigration should not be based on race or creed, as it was in the past; nor should it be explicitly designed to radically or suddenly alter the ethnic makeup of Canada, as it increasingly seems to be.

b. GENUINE REFUGEES SHOULD BE WELCOMED

Bogus refugees and other illegal entrants should be deported immediately, and persons who encourage or promote such activities should be subject to severe penalties without exception. The Constitution may have to be amended to ensure that Parliament can ultimately control entry into Canada, and, in the interim, the "notwithstanding" provision of the Charter should be used to ensure this is the case.

c. IMMIGRATION POLICY SHOULD NOT BE USED TO SOLVE THE CRISIS OF THE WELFARE STATE

It is more frequently asserted that Canada needs more immigrants to pay the pension costs of an aging population. This is one part of the crisis of the Welfare State and is neither caused nor cured by immigration policy. The aging of a healthy and affluent population need not be a catastrophe but a forced growth population policy could easily be. In any case, altering the demographic structure of Canada in order to deal with a badly managed old-age security system is a bit like turning the entire country to screw in a light bulb.

d. IMMIGRATION POLICY MUST BE MORE SENSITIVE TO PUBLIC OPINION

Major changes to immigration, including sponsorship requirements and amnesties, should not be introduced but by referendum. Career politicians and immigration advocates have dominated discussion of immigration policy. These groups benefit from abuse of the system and improper selection of immigrants. Ghettoized minorities are a favourite pawn of both groups. Recent directions of P.C. immigration policy indicate a clear desire to use immigration to build political support groups. This amounts to the local nomination busying phenomenon on a national scale.

The Reform Party remains convinced that immigration has been, and can be again, a positive source of economic growth, cultural diversity, and social renewal. No criticism of the problems of immigration policy should be construed as a failure to recognize either the contributions that thousands of immigrants make each year to Canadian society or the good fortune of having a society that people desire to move to. Likewise, the vested interests of bad immigration policy should not be so quick to label Canadians 'racist' for desiring positive changes and should be more humble and honest about their own motives.

Native Affairs

The Reform Party views with alarm the continuing economic and social underdevelopment of the descendants of the original peoples of the West and of Canada. This national disappointment requires innovative solutions, not the assignment of blame.

We believe that native people should have the rights and responsibilities for their lives and destiny within the structure of Canadian life, which would encourage their economic development and loosen the terrible dependence engendered by Canada's first federal welfare state. The Reform Party is concerned, however, that such innovations not establish or reinforce racially-segregated societies or racially-based governmental structures.

Defence

Reformers believe that the ultimate aim of defence policy is to preserve peace, protect from invaders, and provide security in the exercise of national economic and political freedom. We support continued membership in the Western Alliances of NATO and NORAD, with increasing priority to defence of the North American continent. We support the purchase and maintenance of armaments consistent with these objectives.

External Affairs

Reformers affirm that Canada's conduct in foreign as well as domestic affairs should be guided by the values and principles of Canadians as embodied in a system of dynamic and constructive change — political democracy and economic freedom. We should uphold and promote this legacy of human rights and dignity for all humanity.

We are concerned that, under the present Mulroney-Clark Government, Canada's role in international bodies is seen as simply adjusting and fitting into the views of foreign governments rather than vigorously promoting Canadian values and Canadian interests. During the Trudeau era, Westerners became alarmed at the degree to which Canada had become distrusted by our natural allies and a hero to those governments with which Canadian values have little in common. In our view, the present Government has perpetrated this situation.

Justice

The Reform Party will promote a justice system which places the punishment of crime and the protection of law-abiding citizens and their property ahead of all other objectives.

Reform of the RCMP

Westerners and Northerners are becoming increasingly disturbed by the Central Canadian composition, bureaucratization, and orientation of the RCMP. Westerners and Northerners have always viewed the RCMP as 'our' police force. Yet it seems more and more unrepresentative of our population and unresponsive to our needs.

The Reform Party supports a reform of the RCMP which would restore the RCMP to its former stature.

Declaration of Adoption

We, the Reform Party of Canada in Convention assembled, recognizing the supremacy of God and the rule of law, do hereby declare this Platform adopted.

August 14, 1988
Calgary, Alberta

Statement of Principles* REFORM PARTY OF CANADA

1. We affirm that political parties should be guided by stated *values and principles* which are shared by their members and rooted in the political beliefs of Canadians.
2. We believe in *dynamic and constructive change* — in a renewal of the “reform tradition” of Canadian politics.
3. We believe that Canada’s identity and vision for the future should be rooted in and inspired by a fresh appreciation of “*our land*” and the supreme importance to our wellbeing of exploring, developing, processing, renewing, and conserving our *natural resources and physical environment*.
4. We believe that the people of Canada are this country’s most valuable resource, and that the nurture and development of *human knowledge, skills, and relationships* are the keys to full participation in the knowledge-based service economy of the 21st century.
5. We affirm the value and dignity of the *individual person*, and the importance of strengthening and protecting the *family unit* as essential to the wellbeing of individuals and society.
6. We believe that every individual, group, province, and region in Canada is entitled to *fundamental justice*, and that fundamental justice entitles the people of each region to benefit equally, without discrimination, from participation in Confederation and from the programs and expenditures of the Government of Canada.
7. We believe in the value of *enterprise and initiative*, and that governments have a responsibility to foster and protect an environment in which initiative and enterprise can be exercised by individuals and groups.
8. We believe that the creation of wealth and productive jobs for Canadians is best achieved through the operations of a *responsible, broadly-based, free-enterprise economy* in which private property, freedom of contract, and the operations of free markets are encouraged and respected.

9. We believe that Canadians have a *personal and collective responsibility* to care and provide for the basic needs of people who are unable to care and provide for themselves.
10. We believe in *freedom of conscience and religion*, and the right of Canadians to advocate, without fear of intimidation or suppression, public policies which reflect their most deeply held values.
11. We believe *public policy in democratic societies should reflect the will of the majority* of the citizens as determined by free and fair elections, referenda, and the decisions of legally constituted and representative Parliaments and Assemblies elected by the people.
12. We believe that *the interests of minorities and the people of the under-populated regions* of Canada should be safeguarded by constitutional guarantees and parliamentary institutions which effectively balance representation by population with regional representation.
13. We believe in *the common sense of the common people*, their right to be consulted on public policy matters before major decisions are made, their right to choose their own leaders and to govern themselves through truly representative and responsive institutions, and their right to directly initiate legislation for which substantial public support is demonstrated.
14. We believe in the *accountability of elected representatives* to the people who elect them, and that the duty of elected members to faithfully and fairly represent the views of their constituents should supercede their obligations to their political parties.
15. We believe that *the legitimate role of government* is to do for people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or do as well, for themselves individually or through non-governmental organizations.
16. We believe in *public services* — that governments, civil servants, politicians, and political parties exist to serve the people, and that they should demonstrate this service commitment at all times.
17. We believe that public money should be regarded by governments as “*funds held in trust*,” and that *governments should practice fiscal responsibility* — in particular the responsibility to balance expenditures and revenues.
18. We affirm our commitment to *the rule of law*, and the concept that governments and law-makers are not above the law.
19. We believe that Canada’s *conduct in international as well as domestic affairs* should be consistent with the above principles.
20. We believe that Canadians should seek to *maximize the benefits of our unique geographic and economic relationship with the United States*, and that the establishment of more positive relations with the U.S. need not in any way impair Canada’s national sovereignty or cultural identity.

*APPROVED AT THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE PARTY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1987, AT WINNIPEG.

Members of Executive Council

REFORM PARTY OF CANADA

Elected Council 1989

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|--|----------------|
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