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# PROGRAM For ONTARIO



NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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### A NEW AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM FOR ONTARIO

We are all consumers from the cradle to the grave. Most of us are producers too during our active years, but whether we are industrial workers, farmers or housewives, managers, professional people or office workers, children at school or senior citizens in retirement, all of us must have food, clothing and shelter, we all need health services and social security, and we should all have the chance to enjoy and share in the cultural and physical advantages of civilized life.

Production of goods and services is vital to our welfare. A major aim of the New Democratic Party's program of economic and social planning is to increase production and stimulate economic growth. But, in our present society with its distorted values, we forget too often that production is meaningless as an end in itself. Its sole purpose is or should be to meet our needs as consumers.

The kind of goods we produce is at least as important as their quantity. Production graphs do not tell the whole story. Low cost houses are more needed than luxury apartments; schools and hospitals are as important as highways and factories. Good democratic planning gives priority to what is needed most.

Moreover, the way we share what we produce is as important as producing it. Many people in our wealthiest communities, live in misery because wealth and the power to make decisions are concentrated in a few hands, the unfortunate do not receive adequate help and only a minority share in physical and cultural amenities. The ultimate and conscious goal of a good society is the welfare of the people in it, of all of them as individuals and families.

In these days of huge organizations, both public and private, the individual and his family are often helpless. Too often their needs are lost sight of and their rights are brushed aside in the complicated web of government and industrial bureaucracy. Adequate protection of the rights of the individual is one of the most important challenges of today.

This Program of the New Democratic Party of Ontario is a program for consumers, that is, for all individuals, great and small, and their families. It is a program through which they can use their democratically elected government as a means to achieve what they cannot achieve by themselves — to produce the greatest wealth of which our province is capable in forms the people most need, to distribute it fairly among all the people, to make health and other essential services available to all who need them, to develop educational and cultural opportunities, and to protect and extend the rights and liberties of the individual both as a consumer and as a citizen.

#### PART ONE

#### **People As Consumers**

In the opinion of the New Democratic Party, the people can and should use their government to improve their position as consumers in ways that are not otherwise available to them. The benefits they can obtain include: protection against many of the abuses of the market place; economical and adequate medical insurance, auto insurance and social insurance of other kinds; homes at prices they can afford; better communities with better facilities for work and recreation.

#### PROTECTING THE CONSUMER

As consumers we are at once the most vulnerable and most unorganized people in our society. We are besieged with advertising on every hand. We are pressured by salesmen. We are victimized by monopolistic prices. And yet we are virtually defenceless against this onslaught on our pocket books.

#### **Consumers Bureau**

A New Democratic government will establish a Consumers Bureau to help consumers get value for their money and to protect themselves against the fixing of artificially high prices by large corporations with the power to administer prices.

The Bureau will administer legislation which, among other things, will make it necessary for all goods displayed for sale to carry clearly marked prices and for the quantities contained in packages to be shown prominently and in readily understandable terms. Existing food, drug and other similar legislation will be supplemented to provide that all goods for sale must be accurately described in labels, promotional displays and other advertising, and where appropriate, ingredients must be listed. Packaging must not be misleading.

The Bureau will gather information on costs and mark-ups and publish its findings. Special publicity will be given to cases of price fixing by apparent competitors.

#### Instalment Buying, Personal Loans and Mortgages

All credit transactions and their total costs will have to be accurately described. A purchaser will have the right to complete information before making a purchase, and in cases of default in payment the supplier will have to prove that the purchaser was fully aware of the terms before entering into any contract.

A Provincial Mediation Board will be established both to assist individuals to understand the terms of any agreement before they enter into it, and to hear cases of alleged hardship arising from agreements already made. The Board will not be empowered to take legal action but will have authority to hold open hearings and give publicity to its findings. It will have a qualified advisory staff capable of giving advice and of mediating between consumers and suppliers where it considers it necessary and advisable to do so. The Unconscionable Transactions Act will be strengthened.

#### Advertising

In conjunction with its price examination, the Consumers Bureau will analyze advertisements for the correctness of their claims and their conformity to the law. Results will be given publicity where appropriate. Legislation with respect to misleading advertising will be strengthened and strictly enforced.

#### Research

In conjunction with federal government agencies, the Consumers Bureau will establish facilities for investigating the quality of manufactured products, and for giving publicity to the findings by insisting on adequate labelling and in other ways. The work of voluntary bodies like the Canadian Association of Consumers and others in this field will be encouraged.

#### CONSUMER SELF HELP

There are many ways in which consumers can help themselves and a New Democratic government will give them every assistance to do so.

#### Consumer Co-operatives

Individuals have used the co-operative technique for 100 years, and it is a well tried method of democratic control in the economic field and of counteracting the power of monopolies. Banding together to own or purchase what they need in common, and sharing the results in proportion to their participation, individuals can have far more bargaining power than if they attempt to act alone.

There already exists in Canada a well developed co-operative movement, but its strength varies from province to province and depends to a large extent on the economic interests that stand behind the provincial governments. As examples of co-operative activity, there are already many organized societies in Ontario, from the big United Co-operative of Ontario, the Co-operative Insurance Agency, and the Medical Co-operatives, to smaller housing and other co-operative enterprises.

The New Democratic Party, as it has proven in Saskatchewan, is the party of co-operation, because this is the obvious way for society to take a large step towards democratic control of the economy. A New Democratic government in Ontario will do everything possible to foster all kinds of co-operative development including consumer co-operation.

As a start it will pass a comprehensive Co-operative Act, the lack of which, and the lack of even a Co-operative Department, constitute a major failure of the old line parties to recognize this legitimate form of popular activity. It will establish a Department of Co-operatives and through it provide all the advisory, auditing and other services that are available to co-operatives in other provinces. It will establish a Co-operative Loan Fund to support accredited co-operative enterprise. The role of the government will be confined to advice and assistance without interference.

The Co-operative Act and its administration will be based on the fundamental principle of democratic control of co-operatives by their membership, and on the principles of non-discrimination, open membership and one member one vote. Businesses which do not operate in accordance with these principles will not be entitled to use "co-operative" or "co-op" in their firm names.

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#### **Credit Unions**

Credit unions are an important part of the co-operative movement, and by the provision of credit at the right time they solve many consumer problems. They are particularly important in supplementing the cash sales policy of cooperatives by providing credit resources to the would-be consumer.

There are many credit unions in the province already and it only requires further encouragement and help from the provincial government in services and occasional loans for the movement to grow rapidly. An ultimate objective will be to enable the credit union movement, when it so desires, to establish a central co-operative banking institution for Ontario.

These proposals for credit unions are based on the same principles as have been outlined above in regard to other co-operatives.

#### The Place of Private Enterprise

Even if rapidly developed, the consumer co-operative movement will cater only for a small fraction of the total needs of consumers. Private enterprises manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers — will remain the major suppliers and so long as they conform to the general standards adopted for the protection of consumers and do not attempt to create monopolies or administer prices, they will be given every opportunity to make their contribution to a growing economy. At the same time they will be the beneficiaries of full employment, good wages and expansion in general. The smaller and more competitive businesses can particularly look forward to good times under a New Democratic government.

#### **Consumer** Association

Canada is fortunate in having carried over from its war-time experience an organized and experienced body of consumers in the Consumers' Association of Canada. This voluntary body and others will be given every encouragement.

#### **MEDICARE**

The right to health services is as basic in a democracy as the right to education or the right to vote. Experience has proved that the only way to provide these health services for all who need them is through a medical insurance plan to which all contribute and upon which all can draw in time of need. Private insurance schemes have proven themselves woefully inadequate in many spheres, and cannot ever achieve the full benefit of universal coverage.

The New Democratic Party believes that the major responsibility for instituting such a plan lies with the federal government. However, if the federal government does not face up to its responsibilities in this field, a province with the resources of Ontario can go a long way towards providing complete medical insurance. A New Democratic government will therefore introduce by stages a provincial medical insurance plan based on the following principles:

- i) everybody will be covered;
- ii) a comprehensive range of services of high quality will be provided at all stages;
- iii) costs will be equitably distributed, and levies made specifically for the Plan will be reserved for it;

- iv) there will be public responsibility and accountability in the administration of the plan;
- v) medical decisions will be made by the medical profession;
- vi) a doctor will not be prohibited from practising completely outside the plan if he wishes.

The medical profession will be invited to co-operate through its representatives in the formulation of the plan, and there will be as full consultation as possible with the profession before implementation.

The first stage will provide general and specialist medical services in addition to universal hospital care.

The provincial plan will be financed in part by a moderate individual premium and partly through general revenue measures.

There are at present serious shortages and bad distribution of both facilities and personnel through the province. Both kinds of shortage must be remedied. Educational facilities will be expanded and a scholarship program instituted. Medical research funds will be provided and the work of the various voluntary agencies co-ordinated. A large scale public health program will be undertaken to make both preventive and curative services more readily available and better understood. A better distribution of health facilities and personnel will be secured by financial and other incentives. Active encouragement will be given to the development of co-operative clinics and other group practices. A New Democratic government will make a frontal attack on the high cost of drugs to the consumer.

\*Funds to implement comprehensive Medical Insurance would come from three sources:

(1) There will be a premium payment of 30 cents per week for a single person and 60 cents per week for a family, with or without children, and regardless of the number of children.

(2) There will be a three per cent corporation tax. A study of the federal and provincial figures on the corporation tax in Ontario indicates that it is now yielding at least \$16.6 million for each one per cent, so that three per cent will produce \$49,800,000.

(3) A six per cent levy on present income tax. It should be emphasized that this is not a six per cent increase in the federal tax rate, but rather a six per cent levy on the present federal tax. (See typical examples below.)

Income	Income Tax	6% of tax for Medicare	Annual Premium	Total Medicare Payment per Year
3,000	\$ 33.00	\$ 1.98	\$31.20	\$ 33.18
4,000	152.00	9.12	31.20	40.32
5,000	301.00	18.06	31.20	49.26
6,000	477.00	28.62	31.20	59.82
7,000	676.00	40.56	31.20	71.76
8,000	896.00	53.76	31.20	84.96
9,000	1128.00	67.68	31.20	98.88
10,000	1388.00	83.28	31.20	114.48
11,000	1660.00	99.60	31.20	130.80
11,500	1810.00	108.60	31.20	139.80

\*These details were not adopted by the Convention but were announced by Donald MacDonald, the Provincial Leader, in the Legislature, December 4, 1962.

#### MENTAL HEALTH

Over the years there has been some improvement in attitudes to and treatment of mental illness. In relation to the size of the problem, however, progress has been pitifully slow, and in Ontario it has been considerably slower than in many jurisdictions.

There is still far too great a tendency to regard mental illness as a crime, a sin or a personality weakness, and thus as a disgrace for both the victim and his family. In contrast with the physically ill who are usually cared for with the greatest of sympathy, the mentally ill are "put away" in huge impersonal institutions.

There they are isolated from their homes and communities and, despite the best efforts of dedicated but overworked professional staff, they often receive little more than custodial care in an atmosphere of jail-like security. Many of the institutions consist of antiquated, forbidding buildings where, in some cases, it is difficult to maintain even minimum public health standards.

The policy of the New Democratic Party will be to deal with mental illness on the same basis as physical illness. There wil be a major shift in emphasis away from segregation and control as represented by the isolated mental hospital to integration of mental health services with other medical and community services. Treatment will be available to the mentally ill without discrimination or invidious distinctions, and as far as possible, in their own communities.

#### Co-ordination and Decentralization of Services

General hospitals will be helped and encouraged to provide psychiatric services so that they wil be able to give well-rounded treatment to all patients whether they are physically or mentally ill or both. In the larger hospitals psychiatric units or sections will be established.

Existing mental hospitals located near large centres will be gradually converted into locally administered public hospitals authorized to care for a variety of illnesses as well as providing active psychiatric treatment for patients in their immediate areas and specialized services for patients with special psychiatric problems. Open hospitals will be encouraged.

It will be recognized, however, that hospitalization is only a phase in the treatment of the mentally ill and that some patients do not need hospital treatment at all.

Special attention will be given to integrating the mental health services with the existing public health system.

A long-term plan will therefore be undertaken to develop a wide range of mental health services on a community basis. The family physician will be encouraged to play the central role in case finding, referral and rehabilitation. In larger centres, hospital facilities will be supplemented by day and night care programs, out-patient services, and clinics for special problems such as the disturbed child, mental retardation, alcoholism and other addictions and emergency services of all kinds.

Special attention will be given to co-ordination of the services available and of the work of the various professional groups whose training and knowledge are essential to an adequate mental health program.

A concerted effort will be made to provide an adequate number of qualified practitioners in psychiatry and other mental health professions, to increase research in the mental health field and to improve public understanding of and interest in mental health problems. Active federal co-operation and leadership in this work will be sought.

#### Legislation

Many of our laws affecting the mentally ill reflect erroneous notions of the past. To an important extent this is a matter of federal jurisdiction, and a New Democratic government in Ontario will make strong representations to Ottawa to modernize antiquated definitions in the Criminal Code and other federal laws to ensure that mentally disordered people who are convicted of crimes will receive treatment rather than punishment.

Provincial laws regarding the arrest of mentally ill people, their admission to hospital and the authority of the public trustee over their estates will be completely revised. As far as possible, procedures in such matters will be similar to those for physically ill patients. Experience in Britain has demonstrated that very few mentally ill patients require the legal restraints imposed by existing Ontario laws, and such restraints are often harmful to them.

#### OTHER SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANS

In addition to medicare, a New Democratic government will work towards filling other major gaps in our social security system. Top priority will be given to an automobile insurance plan.

#### Automobile Accidents

There is growing recognition today of the principle of compensation without fault in automobile accidents. Negligence on the highways can be dealt with under the criminal law, but those who suffer injury or damage as a result of accidents should not have to establish negligence by another party in order to get compensation.

Moreover, they should not have to undertake costly and cumbersome court procedures. A growing number of eminent legal authorities across Canada have stated that such procedures are not suited to render justice in auto accident cases. The attempt to provide a solution through an Unsatisfied Judgment Fund has been a complete failure and has been abandoned in Ontario.

A New Democratic government will establish a government-operated auto insurance plan which will cover all owners and drivers and will automatically provide compensation for accident victims and their dependents, as well as public liability insurance.

The basic coverage will be sold with the license, and thus costs will be slashed through the elimination of sales promotion expenses. Coverage beyond the minimum provided by the basic plan will be available at low cost through optional additional policies sold by the government insurance agency. There will also be the option to obtain this added coverage from private companies.

Through this New Democratic plan insurance premiums will be reduced by as much as one-third. Even more important, accident victims will receive adequate compensation without delay. An intensive, year-round campaign for safe driving will be conducted. The point system will be maintained and improved. Grants will be made to school boards for students who enrol in driver-training courses. Drivers' examinations will be made more exacting and efforts will be made through public education, as well as more vigorous prosecution, to reduce the number of impaired, drunken and dangerous drivers. Systematic and regular testing of vehicles will be undertaken to reduce mechanical hazards, and unsafe vehicles will be removed from the highways.

#### **Portable Pensions**

The Ontario government is at present considering legislation which will provide a limited degree of portability in private pension plans by laying down certain conditions regarding vesting of pension rights. Though such legislation is useful, it only goes a very small part of the way to establishing genuine portable pensions.

What is required is a public universal contributory pension plan, supplemented by more adequate legislation than is now promised by the present government regarding the vesting of rights in any private plans that may be set up to supplement the public plan. Since the latter question can be handled by the province, a New Democratic government in Ontario will enable suitable legislation as soon as possible.

The larger question of a universal contributory plan can be dealt with more satisfactorily on a federal basis, and a New Democratic government in Ontario will give its full co-operation to the federal government in establishing a national Retirement Plan as advocated in the federal program of the New Democratic Party. Failing federal action within a reasonable time, serious consideration will be given to establishing such a plan on a provincial basis. Survivor benefits will be included in the plan.

#### Sickness and Accident Benefits

The New Democratic program for medicare will protect the people against medical, hospital and other similar bills. Still remaining, however, will be the problem of the loss of income suffered by breadwinners who are unable to work because of sickness or accident not covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act.

This too is a problem that can best be handled federally, but failing federal action, a New Democratic government in Ontario would give serious study to a provincial plan. The main features of such a plan would be that: (a) benefits would be on the same scale as workmen's compensation benefits; (b) the plan would cover all employed persons and would be financed by contributions from employers and employees; (c) farmers and other self-employed people would be able to obtain coverage voluntarily by making the necessary contributions.

#### CULTURE AND RECREATION

#### **Cultural Development**

The budget of the Canada Council is grossly inadequate, yet the Diefenbaker Government has made it clear that it will make no further monies available for the development of talent and the encouragement of various cultural activities. At the civic level, with rare exceptions, no encouragement has been given, even with convincing evidence of a public desire to support and participate in such activities. As a result, in spite of developments like the Stratford Festival, symphony orchestras and a growing number of theatrical and ballet companies, Canada is starved for such basic facilities as a national theatre, and we are denied that full flowering of various arts which are normally the subject of national pride.

In face of this situation and because of the sheer size of Canada, there is a special obligation on provincial governments to give leadership in this field. We cannot content ourselves with the achievement of our provincial parks, such projects as Pioneer Village or the erection of historical plaques, and a few grants made by the Department of Travel and Publicity for ventures of interest to the tourist trade. Ontario traditions and the talent of our people call for greater government initiative, so that talent will be developed and all our people can share more fully in these finer things of life. Experience has shown that when that initiative is taken, every dollar of public expenditure is matched by ten to twenty dollars by local groups and the public at large through subscription or admission fees.

A New Democratic government will therefore establish an Ontario Arts Council to work closely with the Canada Council. The Council will assist and encourage local initiative in the presentation of the creative arts for public enjoyment. It will award scholarships to promising artists, writers and composers. It will help finance travelling art exhibits, and tours of musicians and drama and ballet groups. It will encourage the public showing of films that are rarely handled by the commercial theatres.

A start has been made in the school broadcasts of joint projects by a government department and the mass communication media. Means will be explored for extending such co-operation so as to make the best of the creative arts available to more of our people through a wider use of public and private TV.

#### **Opportunities for Recreation**

A New Democratic government will not neglect the great opportunities in Ontario for physical recreation by developing more extensively our great outdoors and making their enjoyment available to more of our people. Most of our provincial parks system is far removed from the great proportion of our people, and a lack of foresight, combined with inadequate planning machinery, has cut the public off from such natural assets as the Lake Ontario shoreline around the Golden Horseshoe where half of our people live.

Every encouragement will also be given to the development of amateur athletics and physical fitness program. Today, amateur athletics are relegated to the office of the Athletics Commissioner in the Department of Labour. The federal program for physical fitness provides an opportunity to develop activities in conjunction with it, thereby helping to fill the growing leisure hours of modern society with entertainment that will contribute to the physical as well as the mental wellbeing of our people.

The New Democratic Party believes that a wide range of cultural activities represents one of the most seriously neglected means of self-expression of our people and of Canada as a nation. A vigorous provincial lead would result in both federal and civic authorities doing more. From it would flow the development of native talent, the enrichment of our people, and even a significant contribution to the economic life of the province.

#### TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

#### Urban Redevelopment and Location of Industry

In addition to economic and social planning, a New Democratic government will give more importance than the old line parties do to physical planning, so that the best use is made of the geographical resources of the province.

One basic fact is that the choice of a home site depends to a large extent on where the home owner goes to work. The planning of industrial, office and business locations therefore conditions the surrounding housing needs. A New Democratic government will encourage the location of industry and therefore of housing in Ontario cities and towns where new enterprises can help to achieve optimum growth.

Some of the larger centres have already reached the stage of over-age and overgrowth where renewal and redevelopment must form the basis of dual plans. There are other areas where further deterioration can be checked by the provision of better public facilities and by loans to home owners and others for rehabilitation. There is no need to take up miles of country when the centres of older cities can be redesigned and rebuilt to provide attractive houses, parks, schools, churches, libraries and other facilities. Cities can be very attractive as well as convenient places to live.

Both new development and redevelopment are often problems of scale. To get good results it is necessary for sizeable blocks of land to be available, and it will be a part of the policy of a New Democratic government to enable municipalities to acquire such blocks either in new areas or in over-age run-down city areas ripe for redevelopment. It is also necessary to restrain speculation in land by the advance purchase of essential land for housing development.

#### Housing

The land having been acquired, construction can proceed in a variety of ways, but the provision of low cost housing for rental or purchase is unlikely to be sufficiently profitable to attract private capital. It will inevitably become the responsibility of the public authorities. It will be a major part of New Democratic policy for the province to provide low interest loans to municipalities for this purpose. A capital fund of \$100,000,000 will be created and with federal assistance the total available should reach \$400,000,000.

#### Transportation

As our cities grow bigger, transportation into and out of them, and within the cities themselves, becomes an ever worsening problem. Local authorities can no longer deal with it adequately; it calls for co-operation between neighbouring municipalities and the active assistance of the provincial government.

The fastest and cheapest means of transportation are railways, subways, streetcars and buses. A New Democratic government will give every encouragement to the development of public transportation with adequate parking facilities at suburban points. Negotiations will be undertaken with the railway companies to redevelop rail transportation so that some of the present commuting traffic can be diverted to the railways. Financial and other assistance will be made available for modernizing transportation systems so as to encourage railway or rapid transit travel rather than expressways. The Department of Transport of a New Democratic government will undertake, in co-operation with our larger municipalities, a program of modernizing and rationalizing transportation facilities so as to relieve the congestion of automobiles on our city streets while speeding legitimate longer distance traffic.

By these and other means, goods would move more freely, road building and maintenance costs would be reduced, city centres would not be strangled, and a much better living and working environment provided.

#### **Recreational Facilities**

As the working day and week get shorter, the opportunity for leisure time activity increases and physical plans must provide for this. Every district should be planned to leave ample space for churches, schools, recreation centres, swimming pools and unspoiled park land for healthy outdoor exercise. Development of the type now taking place on the Toronto Islands should be made available to all large centres of population.

In the country substantial tracts of open country should be preserved for recreation, and all large cities should be separated from their neighbours or from urban sprawl by areas of farm or recreation land which will avoid hours of driving on congested roads for those who want to take their families temporarily out of the asphalt and concrete of urban life.

#### PART TWO

#### **People As Citizens**

Government has a responsibility to the people to ensure that every individual is able to exercise the full rights conferred upon him by his membership in a democratic society.

All people of the province have a right to receive education and training up to the limit of their varying capacities, to be protected against abuse of power and the depredations of organized crime, and to enjoy honest and efficient government at both the provincial and municipal levels. Those who have suffered economic adversity or mental illness or have run afoul of the law have a right to intelligent and sympathetic help, so that they will have a greater chance of becoming productive members of society again.

The sections that follow indicate how a New Democratic government will protect these rights and increase opportunity for their enjoyment.

#### THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

Education is of critical concern in our modern society. It will continue to demand increased investment, not only for its human values but also to meet our vital economic needs.

The New Democratic Party believes that equality of educational opportunity must be the guiding principle in formulating education policy. This calls not simply for an expansion and redistribution of educational expenditures, but also for a continual review of standards of teaching, curriculum and other elements that are essential to real equality. The objective of a New Democratic government will be for our school system to provide the foundations upon which a mature democracy can be built.

If this is to be fully achieved, education can no longer be restricted for most of our people to the formal academic studies of elementary and secondary schools. Instead it must be a continuing process for a growing proportion of our people.

Adult education of an ever-widening scope is being sought by increasing numbers. The opportunities for higher education must be made available to more of our young people. Retraining of the unemployed has become a pressing need to re-equip those who find it impossible to meet the new demands of the labour market. The up-grading of skills for those already employed is increasingly necessary in the face of rapid technological advance.

This broader approach to education presents us with much greater opportunity to fulfill the twin objectives of providing our people with the greater knowledge and understanding required for a fuller life as citizens, as well as the technical proficiency to make an effective contribution in their work.

The New Democratic Party recognizes that these far-reaching developments present new demands on public policy, and it will not shirk them. While the federal government must increase its modest financial contribution, the basic responsibility for education rests with the province.

#### Streaming in our Secondary Schools

In Ontario the whole pattern of secondary education has been recast. Three streams have been established — the academic, the commercial and the technical — with courses within each stream to meet the varying aptitudes, leading either directly to employment or to higher education. Unfortunately this whole plan was abruptly imposed from the top, amid confusion that has not yet been resolved and with consequences from which it will be difficult to escape.

Furthermore, even where the federal government has offered financial assistance as in technical education, the provincial government has not seized the full opportunities. It has moved quickly to use funds for new buildings, but it has been slow in the teacher-training and curriculum research to develop new courses. As a result, its program for retraining the unemployed has been inadequate to meet the growing need, and as yet the government has no program worked out in conjunction with industry for up-grading skills through in-plant training.

Nevertheless, these developments are steps in the right direction, and a New Democratic government will implement policies to realize their full potential. Some of the more important of these policies will be:

- (1) To undertake intensive studies, in co-operation with the teaching profession, of curriculum and teaching methods both for our elementary schools and the various courses in our secondary schools.
- (2) To co-operate with the economic planning agencies of the government in assessing the nature of the skills required for the future, so that our vocational, trade and technological courses can be shaped to provide them, with particular emphasis on the important field of up-grading skills through in-plant training and of developing a co-operative system of training between industry and our expanding trade and vocational school system.
- (3) To extend facilities and improve teacher training for all elementary schools and to institute an impartial investigation of secondary school teacher training to make it more attractive and useful for those desiring to enter the profession — with particular emphasis in all teacher training on counselling, which is so vital for the direction and re-direction of pupils into their appropriate stream.
- (4) To review the present advisory committees, which do not genuinely enlist the advice and co-operation of those interested in developing various courses, and to establish a provincial advisory educational council of teachers, trustees and others to assist in shaping overall educational policy.
- (5) To expand university facilities, technological institutes and trade schools, and increase provision for research of all kinds.
- (6) To remove the price tag on higher education for those capable of profiting from it by abolishing university fees without infringing on the freedom of universities; to set admission and academic standards and to develop, if possible in conjunction with the federal government, an adequate program of scholarships, bursaries and interest-free loans.
- (7) To expedite the formation of larger school areas to ensure maximum efficiency and economy, these larger units to have the same boundaries as the larger municipal units to be developed by a New Democratic government.

- (8) To make available adequate facilities on a province-wide basis for Special Education not only for the gifted, but for the mentally retarded and maladjusted as well, and to make grants available to encourage teachers to enter this specialized field.
- (9) To authorize the payment of school trustees and provide that all trustees shall be elected.
- (10) To organize a book-rental system in secondary schools, pending realization of the ultimate objective of supplying all books free to secondary school students.

#### A Foundation Program in Finances

Quite apart from the greater financial assistance which must be provided for this broader educational program, there is an urgent need for a more equitable sharing of the burden of education costs between the province and the municipalities. Related to it must be a greater fulfilment of the basic principle of assuring equality of educational opportunity for all children within our educational system.

The New Democratic Party believes that these basic objectives can best be met through what has come to be called a Foundation Program in Educational Finance. Such a Program would be worked out, as follows:

- (1) There would be a vigorous implementation of the long-standing policy of equalized assessment in municipalities all across the province. While this is necessary for other municipal needs, it is basic to the Foundation Program.
- (2) The provincial government would then determine an adequate standard for local educational programs, bearing in mind the higher educational requirements of today. This level would be defined in terms of educational services to be rendered (curriculum, teacher training, school facilities, and text-books) rather than simply in dollars per pupil; and grants would be conditional on those services being such as to establish adequate local standards.
- (3) A uniform tax rate would be arrived at for the whole province and this would reveal the revenue capacity of each school district. Provincial grants would be so calculated as to bridge the gap between the local revenues raised from the uniform rate and the amount required to provide the adequate standard. In this way the burden of every taxpayer would be equalized in proportion to the value of his property and the provincial grants would make up the difference needed to provide a satisfactory standard all across the province.

With this province-wide standard assured by an equitable sharing of the financial burden involved, any school district would be free, if it so desired, to raise further revenues beyond the uniform rate to improve its standards.

The New Democratic Party is convinced that such a Foundation Program will guarantee that all schools within our educational system — whether urban or rural, public or separate — will be able to provide adequate stanadrds of education on a reasonable local tax rate.

#### **Equality of Education**

Education is basic to Democracy. Equal educational opportunity is the first requirement of equal citizenship. The policy of the New Democratic Party is based on these two principles.

To achieve equal educational opportunity, a reasonable degree of comparability in financial resources for all schools endeavouring to give the same grade of education is one factor. To meet this need in the varying circumstances of different school boards or districts, the New Democratic Party has proposed what is known as the Foundation System of finances which will bring about a greater equality of financial responsibility among ratepayers across the province. This is, however, only one factor, and the basic principle of equality also applies to educational methods, curricula, teacher training, text books and the like; and whatever the school to which parents decide to send their children, they should get the same basic education, if they are all going to be not only politically equal, but also to have an equal chance to be equipped and qualified for employment in the responsible posts of an advanced and modern country.

There are two elementary school systems in Ontario. The right to maintain this dual system was embodied in the compromise that was the basis of the Canadian Confederation, and is guaranteed by the terms of Section 93 of the BNA Act. The New Democratic Party has shaped its policies on the basis of the full acceptance of this historic right.

It is, however, a very different thing, and a very large extension, to suggest that a dual system be extended into the sphere of Secondary Schools.

There are the strongest of educational reasons against a divided system of education in the Secondary Schools.

In order that there be adequate options in Secondary School training, schools must be of fair size. The division into a dual system, which would necessitate very small Secondary Schools in many localities, would prevent the availability of these options, and would lead to an intensification of the early drop-out of many school students.

Valuable experiments in technical and commercial courses at the Secondary School level would be in danger.

There is no discrimination involved in maintaining a unified system, and it is our view that such a unified system would provide to all Canadian students at the Secondary School level a better educational opportunity with more scope for variety and specialization.

#### HONEST AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT

The New Democratic Party recognizes that the rights of people as citizens can never be fully effective unless their governments at all levels are truly responsive to their wishes and needs. In particular, high standards of conduct must be insisted upon for all elected representatives.

#### Code of Ethics

A code of ethics, relating to the public activity of members of the Legislature and municipal representatives, will be embodied in the law. Readily enforceable penalties will be established for violations. Particular attention will be given to defining as precisely as possible what constitutes conflict of interest.

The code will serve as a guide for all elected representatives. The penalties will help to deter the few whose standards are not in accord with our great tradition of public service, and will provide a means of removing them from office where the circumstances warrant such action.

#### **Electoral Reform**

In order that the undue influence of wealth in elections may be eliminated, reasonable limitations will be placed on the campaign expenditures of candidates in both provincial and municipal elections and of central party organizations in provincial elections. All candidates and central party organizations will be required to submit detailed, audited statements of the campaign contributions they receive and the purposes for which they spend them. Wide publicity will be given to these statements so that the public will know where candidates and parties are getting their money and how they are spending it.

The voting age will be lowered to 18 and the right to vote in municipal elections will be extended to all those eligible to vote in provincial elections. Party affiliations of candidates in provincial elections will be shown on the ballot.

#### The Legislature

The Ontario Legislature now authorizes the expenditure of more than a billion dollars a year, and yet its annual sessions still do not last more than about 12 weeks in all. A New Democratic government will extend sessions sufficiently to enable the people's elected representatives to give mature and deliberate consideration to the many, complicated matters coming before them.

Private members, particularly those in opposition groups, will be provided with adequate research and secretarial assistance, as well as office accommodation, so that they will be in a position to scrutinize government proposals and performance thoroughly. The outmoded committee system of the Legislature will be completely overhauled to enable private members to contribute effectively to the analysis of government legislation, departments, agencies and Crown corporations.

#### Elimination of Patronage

**Contracts** for government work will be awarded according to a strict system of tenders without regard to political affiliations. The law prohibiting political contributions by government contractors will be enforced.

Appointments and promotions in government service will be taken out of politics through an effective independent Civil Service Commission, on which the civil servants themselves will have representation. Patronage in commissions and crown corporations will also be eliminated.

The goernment will recognize and enter into written collective agreements with representative organizations of public employees and will plug up the present loophole in the law through which municipal councils and agencies can escape this responsibility if they choose. Civil servants and other government employees will be given the same right as other citizens to engage in political activities.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

The rights and liberties of the individual are basic to the proper functioning of our democratic system of government. Just as the New Democratic Party believes that government has a role in ensuring prosperity and fair shares for all our people, so also it believes there is a basic responsibility on government to provide adequate machinery to protect every individual against abuse of power by the government itself and its officials or by powerful groups and individuals.

#### **Bill of Rights**

The New Democratic Party believes that our fundamental freedoms should be incorporated in the Canadian constitution, where they will be free from infringement by any legislative body, federal, provincial or municipal. For that reason, a New Democratic government in Ontario will be ready to co-operate with the federal government and the other provinces in securing the necessary constitutional amendment.

Pending enactment of such an amendment, it will attempt to protect these freedoms in all matters under the jurisdiction of the Ontario Legislature by a provincial statute. The freedoms protected will include:

- (a) freedom of religion;
- (b) freedom of speech;
- (c) freedom of association;
- (d) freedom of assembly;
- (e) freedom from discrimination.

#### Administration of Justice

Justice delayed is justice denied. Inordinate delays and heavy expenses in many proceedings in Ontario's higher courts today too often mean denial of justice for individuals, particularly for those with short purses. On the other hand, the volume of cases in police courts in many urban areas has produced what is almost an assembly line system of trials, which also results in injustice in too many cases.

Automobile accident cases are the greatest single factor contributing to the excessive case load of higher courts. An automobile insurance plan of the kind described elsewhere in this Program will go a long way towards solving the problem, since it will reduce the volume of automobile accident cases to a mere fraction of what it is now.

But a New Democratic government will go further. It will provide for a sufficient number of judges and magistrates and for adequate court facilities, particularly in the large urban areas where case loads are heaviest. It will also establish a permanent committee, consisting of judicial, professional and lay representatives, which will continuously review court procedures and facilities and recommend improvements as necessary.

A Public Defender will be appointed with adequate staff. It will be his duty to ensure that no person is brought to trial on anything but a very minor charge without adequate legal defence. The police will be required to supply to every person who is arrested, upon arrest, a printed card explaining his rights in simple, concise language. This card will be published by government authority and will be available in several languages.

#### The Citizen and the Government

The federal government and the governments of all Canadian provinces except Saskatchewan still shelter behind the ancient anomaly in the law whereby a private individual may sue the government only with the government's own consent. In the opinion of the New Democratic Party, a person who believes he has a claim against the government should have the same right to his day in court as anyone else. A New Democratic government in Ontario will eliminate present restrictions on the right to sue the Crown in this province.

It will also appoint a Public Official who will have the same kind of status and responsibility as the Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries and to whom every person who believes his rights have been denied will have access.

The duty of the Ombudsman in Scandinavia is to protect the rights of the individual against arbitrary acts by government officials. He has the rank of a Cabinet Minister, is appointed by Parliament and cannot be removed except by parliamentary vote. He has the right of access to all official documents and of direct approach to Ministers. He does not disclose official secrets but he may use any government or non-government evidence to bring an abuse of authority to the attention of the responsible Minister.

Scandinavian experience shows that the Ombudsman has comparatively few cases to handle, because his very existence deters arbitrary acts and thus ensures the rights of the citizen.

#### PENAL REFORM

Implementation of the Fauteux Commission Report will create a radically new situation in Ontario's penal system. All offenders with sentences of more than six months will be transferred to federal institutions so that the province's responsibility will be restricted — apart from juvenile training schools — to short-term sentences in reformatories, industrial farms and clinics, or in district, city and county jails.

#### An Integrated System

For years there has been great confusion arising from the divided jurisdiction between the province and the municipality on jail staff appointments and salaries. In March, 1960, this confusion was resolved by a retrograde step: the province has fixed responsibility with the municipalities despite a recommendation of the Select Committee (1954) that the Department of Reform Institutions should assume control and operation of all district, county and city jails, and despite the more recent representations (1961) of the John Howard Society that all institutions under provincial jurisdictions should be integrated into one system. Over 50,000 persons a year are convicted and committed to our jails, many for subsequent transfer to other institutions. The jails are therefore the funnel through which all offenders come into the penal system. Common sense dictates that they should become an integral part of the provincial system, and particularly of that portion of the system which will remain with the province once the federal government assumes responsibility for longer-term sentences. Without integration, there is little hope of the province developing an effective rehabilitation program for those who are to remain less than six months in custody.

A New Democratic government will reverse the decision of the Robarts Government, and bring all municipal jails under the direct responsibility of the Department of Reform Institutions. It will establish salaries, working conditions and staff training in co-ordination with other provincial institutions.

#### **Probation Services**

Since experience has indicated that three out of every four first offenders convicted and placed on probation are successfully reformed, a New Democratic government will expand our probation program as quickly as the availability of qualified personnel will permit. Every dollar spent on probation will relieve society of greater expenditure at a later date, while at the same time restoring offenders to a constructive role in society without delay or unnecessary stigma.

#### Staff

For a more effective rehabilitation program now, as well as after the province's jurisdiction is restricted to short-term sentences of six months or less, the New Democratic Party is convinced that the basic requirement is more adequate professional staff. Salaries and working conditions must be established which will attract and retain qualified staff at all levels. Until such is done, the record of recidivism in our reform institutions will continue to be tragically bad.

#### WELFARE

The New Democratic approach to social aid is based on the belief in the dignity of the individual and on a recognition that the welfare of all depends on the well-being of each.

Other sections of this Program describe social insurance plans advocated by the New Democratic Party. These plans, when fully operating, will provide our people with a wide measure of social security based on rights acquired through contributions made by them or on their behalf.

Even so, there will still be situations where individuals and families suffer misfortune not covered by any form of social insurance. The New Democratic Party believes that these people have a right to assistance and that the level of assistance must be high enough to permit them to maintain a healthy and decent standard of living and to rehabilitate themselves.

#### **One Unified Social Aid Program**

The present approach to public assistance in Ontario is to divide people in need into categories, often arbitrarily, and to provide help on the basis of the categories to which they are assigned. Many of those in need do not fit any of the categories and have to fall back on general welfare assistance. Such assistance is unevenly administered under the present system. Moreover, it places a stigma on the recipient since there is often an impression in the public mind that a person who cannot qualify for aid under a specific category is somehow undeserving. A New Democratic government will eliminate the present hodge-podge of "categorical assistance programs" as they are called, and replace them with one comprehensive, co-ordinated social aid program designed to provide help to those in need on the basis of their need.

The "categorical" approach has also created great confusion in the financing of social aid. Some of the present programs are financed by the province only, some by the dominion and the province, and some by the two senior governments and the municipalities.

A unified program requires unified financing. A New Democratic government in Ontario will negotiate with Ottawa for an overall cost-sharing arrangement to replace the present multiplicity of specific grants, and with that support, will assume full financial responsibility for welfare payments.

Residence requirements within the province will be abolished. They have no place in today's mobile society and they often present real obstacles to a breadwinner who otherwise would be able to move to an area where employment opportunities are better.

#### **Income Maintenance Program**

The means test as used in Ontario today creates a state of permanent semi-misery for welfare recipients. It establishes arbitrary income ceilings and maximum allowances into which recipients must fit regardless of actual need. A New Democratic government will replace this system with an income maintenance program under which payments will be based on the actual needs of the individual or family.

The welfare recipient will receive enough to take care of items of basic maintenance essential to minimum living requirements, such as food, clothing, fuel, utilities, personal and household incidentals, and shelter. Basic schedules for normal use will be established for all but the last of these items, and will be subject to increase in cases of special need. Shelter costs will be paid completely, provided the recipient is in suitable accommodation paying rent at the going rate for the area and standard of accommodation concerned. Under the New Democratic medicare program, hospital, medical and other similar services will be provided without payment of premium for anyone receiving social aid or unemployment insurance benefits. Welfare payments will not be regarded as a debt of the individual or family receiving them.

This kind of program, administered with respect for the dignity of the individual, is of the greatest importance in maintaining the sense of independence of the welfare recipient, so that he will readily get back on his feet when his immediate misfortune passes. Rehabilitation programs will be developed for those who are prevented by physical, mental or emotional handicap from adjusting themselves as readily to the complexities of modern society.

#### A New Deal in Child Welfare

Present child welfare services are completely inadequate. It must be recognized that it is no longer possible to departmentalize the delinquent or emotionally disturbed child or the neglected or orphaned child. Children's Aid Societies are frustrated in the work they are attempting and the work of the Welfare Department is completely inadequate. Facilities for the treatment of disturbed children are grossly insufficient. However, no reforms in this complex field should be attempted without a thorough and competent review of the present set-up and the best possible alternatives. To this end a New Democratic government will appoint a Royal Commission to study the whole field and make suitable recommendations for remedial action.

#### The Right of Appeal

An appeal procedure will be established, independent of the Welfare Department, under which an individual may appeal a welfare decision affecting him which he considers unjust.

#### Administration and Staff

Welfare is administered through the municipalities, and under present municipal organization in Ontario, most units of administration are too small to permit effective development of a variety of skilled staffs, economical use of modern equipment in clerical and financial operations and strategic distribution of knowledge and skills. Under the New Democratic policy of establishing regional municipalities, this problem will be solved since welfare will be administered by the regions. The province will pay a substantial portion of administrative costs and will set standards.

A New Democratic government will offer scholarships and bursaries to men and women undertaking training in the welfare field. It will greatly increase financial aid to educational institutions offering training in social work.

It will adopt a salary policy for welfare workers which will guarantee competition with other fields and will be commensurate with the substantial education and training required.

It will encourage greater use of visiting homemakers' and nurses' services and will take steps to make such services available on a 24-hour basis. Where they are used as part of the overall social aid program, the province will assume the entire cost.

The New Democratic Party recognizes that there is a place and need for both government and voluntary agencies. A closer relationship will be established with voluntary agencies to avoid overlapping and duplication of services, and their work and development will be encouraged. Volunteers and citizens' groups will be encouraged to participate in appropriate services.

#### A NEW APPROACH TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The time has come for a bold new approach to municipal government in Ontario.

The basic legislation under which our municipalities operate was passed more than 100 years ago. An endless series of amendments and additions to it have increased its complexity to the point where even experts have trouble understanding it, but have not changed its essential "horse and buggy" character. Municipal boundaries are completely out of date. The responsibilities assigned to municipal governments have no real relation to their capacity to carry them out within existing boundaries and with present sources of revenue. As a result, there has been an increasing tendency towards regional units for specific purposes. We now have or are developing regional planning units, regional conservation councils, regional development associations, larger school units, regional health units, regional welfare offices and so on.

These regional units are proliferating without any real thought as to the relationship of one to the other. There is therefore a serious danger that present confusion in municipal administration will be worse confounded. Moreover, elected municipal councils will lose more and more of their autonomy as they are forced by events to delegate their powers to other bodies, most of which have no direct responsibility to the electorate.

#### **Regional** Governments

In the opinion of the New Democratic Party, the answer to this problem is a systematic program, undertaken over a period of years, of establishing larger municipal units which in effect will be regional governments. The boundaries of the regions will be worked out in a logical manner and the areas they embrace will be large enough to permit effective local government under modern conditions of rapid transportation and communication. Within each region, duly elected representatives of the people will be responsible for a full range of municipal functions.

Over the past number of years, annexations, amalgamations and the formation of metropolitan governments have produced larger municipal units in a few specific areas with particularly acute problems. The trouble with this piecemeal approach is that the newly established areas are rarely the best areas for effective municipal government and the adjoining areas which are left out are less able to carry on than before. The approach of the New Democratic Party will be to establish larger regions in accordance with an overall pattern of development. This pattern will be worked out, and revised as necessary, in consultation with municipal representatives.

As far as possible, the new regions will correspond to the present counties and districts. In some cases, however, even the counties are too small and will have to be combined.

The New Democratic plan will differ radically from the present county system in that cities will not be separated from the regions. On the contrary, each regional government will have revenues from both urban and rural assessment for the development of the entire region. It will be in a position to plan on a regional basis and thus to prevent urban sprawl, bad land utilization and all the other evils arising from conflicting and overlapping jurisdiction.

Most of the regions will probably have two-level systems of government, but in heavily urbanized regions it may be advantageous to have single governments only. These are matters that can be determined by experience.

#### Division of Responsibility

At it works towards regional units, the New Democratic Party will also tackle the long-standing problem of the division of responsibilities between the municipalities and the province. A full-scale investigation will be undertaken in conjunction with the municipalities to determine which of the present responsibilities should be left with the municipalities and what revenue sources should be available to them to meet those responsibilities. Final action will necessarily depend on the results of such investigation, but in the meantime, certain basic observations can be made. Education and roads place the largest burden on municipalities at the present time. The New Democratic Party's proposals for reducing and equalizing the local burden on educational costs are set forth in the section on education in this Program.

As far as roads are concerned, there is no doubt that the province will have to assume a greater proportion of the cost of through highways and expressways in urban areas. Moreover, it must assume a substantial part of at least the construction costs of rapid transit facilities. Since large masses of people in urban areas can be moved much more economically by rapid transit than by expressways, a policy of subsidizing rapid transit will save the province money in the long run.

A New Democratic government will assume full responsibility for the cost of administration of justice.

#### Equalized Assessment

It will also face up to the problem of equalized assessment throughout the province. An adequate provincial assessment manual will be prepared and made mandatory. Regional assessors will be appointed by the province to assist local assessors in applying the manual properly. Assessments will be revised on a continuing basis so that the entire province will be completely re-assessed every five or six years.

Current values will be used. Consideration will be given, at least in the central portions of urban areas, to basing assessment on land values only, so as to encourage rather than discourage development. Special treatment will be given to agricultural land, along the lines recommended by the Land Use Report of the Conservation Council. This will permit farm production to continue right up to the urban perimeters and will protect our remaining valuable soils from being overrun by urban sprawl.

#### Wealth For Our People

The New Democratic Party is acutely aware that the welfare of our people ultimately depends on a growing and flourishing economy. To this end, it will plan the development of all our resources, primary and secondary, and will enlist the co-operation of consumers, labour, industry and agriculture, in the manner described in the succeeding sections.

#### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING

The New Democratic Party is the only one that offers genuine democratic, economic and social planning. Starting with the needs of the people and giving them priority over profits as a criterion for investment and action and arriving at their conclusions by a fully democratic process, New Democratic planning will reflect the real interests of all the people of Ontario — not just those of the few who own shares or hold high managerial positions. By the very nature of the democratic process involved this will create the opposite of a society in which more and more power is concentrated in the hands of a few people. Democratic planning is in the same way the opposite to regimentation.

Other parties now find it necessary to talk about planning, and the present Ontario government has even made a gesture in that direction by setting up what it calls an Ontario Economic Council with a host of committees under it. But the only function of the Council and its committees is to undertake studies on a bewildering variety of subjects with no assurance that action will follow. These studies may produce some useful information but they do not add up to planning by any stretch of the imagination.

By contrast, a New Democratic government will establish a full-scale program of planning which will examine the needs of the people of Ontario and establish priorities and targets for the development of all the resources of the province and their equitable distribution.

The guiding principle of such planning will be that the welfare of the individual is paramount. It will involve continuous co-operation between the government and the people in their capacities both as consumers and as producers in various fields.

#### **Objectives**

The aims of New Democratic planning will be:

- (a) to meet the needs of the people of Ontario and to raise their standards of living;
- (b) to produce a steady and continuous rate of growth which will help to achieve and maintain full employment of manpower and resources, natural and developed;
- (c) to conserve and replenish the great natural wealth of the province;
- (d) to achieve a just and rational balance in the allocation of the wealth produced in the province to public and private purposes;

(e) to distribute that wealth in such a way as to assure every individual and his family of a decent standard of living and an opportunity to develop their talents to the full.

Since planning in Canada cannot be fully effective except on a federalprovincial basis, a New Democratic government in Ontario will co-operate wholeheartedly in any planning that may be undertaken in the interests of the people by the federal government.

At the same time, lack of adequate planning at the federal level will not be used as an excuse for failure to plan at the provincial level. Ontario's resources are great enough to provide an Ontario government with challenging opportunities for economic growth and human betterment even in the absence of federal leadership. The New Democratic Party will take advantage of those opportunities.

#### Planning in Action

Careful estimates will be made of the needs of the people, of the resources and of the degree and kind of growth that is considered desirable and feasible in the social, industrial, commercial and other fields both in a short run period of a year or so and in a larger period of four or five years. Where it appears that private investment will be inadequate to produce such growth, the province will step up its own programs for investment and will give help and incentives to the municipalities to do the same.

Public investment, however, will not be regarded as a mere supplement. Bearing in mind the importance of maintaining a proper balance between social and other forms of investment, occasions may arise where it will be necessary to slow down certain less essential types of investment in order that more important projects may proceed.

The overall plans will be broken down into specific plans for major industries and regions.

Where an industry is lagging, research assistance, tax concessions and other inducements will be provided to help it achieve a more desirable level of production, or where necessary, the government will take steps to ease the transfer of capital and labour to industries with greater future prospects. Special attention will be given to secondary industry, with emphasis on the development of economically sound new industries and new developments in established industries.

A central aim of government policy will be to produce a more balanced development of the various regions of the province. To date there has been overdevelopment of a few regions, resulting in severe congestion and all the costs which that entails, and under-development of most others. Broad community interests as well as the narrower interests of particular enterprises must be given consideration in the location and movement of industry. Under-developed regions will be helped to reach their full economic potential by provision of adequate power and transportation facilities, tax and other inducements to industry to locate in such regions where economically feasible, training programs to provide adequate supplies of qualified labour, etc. Location of industry will be controlled by a system of province-wide licensing.

#### **Democratic Control**

The provincial Cabinet will be the nerve centre of the planning process. A central planning organization will be established, with adequate staff, under the direction of the Premier. With its advice and assistance, the Cabinet will continuously review the province's resources and needs, and will draw up, revise and carry out its plans in the light of such review. Appropriate committees of Ministers will co-ordinate the work of the various government departments in accordance with the overall plans.

Both short and long term plans will be submitted regularly to the Legislature with full opportunity for debate. The budgets of the province and of the various crown agencies and enterprises will reflect the decisions that are taken. These budgets will be key planning instruments. This will ensure not only that all plans will be subject to approval by the people's elected representatives but also that the public will be fully informed.

#### Participation by the People

In addition, the people will be able to participate in the planning process through their various economic organizations.

The Ontario Economic Council will be re-constituted and will be fully representative of the municipalities, industry, labour, agriculture, consumers and other major groups. Even more important, it will be given a meaningful role to play. The government and the central planning organization will consult it regularly, testing performance and proposals for further action in the light of the practical experience of the Council members and receiving new proposals from them.

Working committees will be set up under the Council, in which representatives of management, labour and consumers in specific industries will consider the best means by which their industries can contribute to the overall plans. Regional working committees, representative of municipalities, business, labour, consumers, agriculture and others, will perform a similar function for specific regions.

In short, planning as practised by a New Democratic government will be a great democratic undertaking involving the whole community. Participating groups and the individuals who make them up, will experience a new and higher sense of purpose and direction as they work together under government leadership in achieving great new goals for their province. The scope for individual initiative will be increased immeasurably as co-operative effort and steady economic expansion open up new opportunities for individual achievement.

#### Planning and Automation

The need for planning has become more urgent than ever with all the bewildering variety of rapid technological development which is now usually referred to as automation.

Automation holds tremendous promise of lightening the burden of man's work and increasing his material wealth. But if it develops without planning and mainly to increase corporate profits of a few, it will lead to growing unemployment, human waste and suffering, and eventual dislocation of the entire economy.

A major problem in dealing with automation is that there is no agency or organization, in either government or industry that has a comprehensive picture of what is happening in the field or what the economic and social effects may be. To remedy this defect, a New Democratic government will establish an Automation Division of the Ontario Research Foundation. This division will gather and analyze information not only on automation in the narrow sense but on industrial innovations generally — new materials, new products, new processes, new sources of energy and so on.

This information will be made available to local governments, industry and labour, so that they can chart their future courses intelligently. Even more important, it will be an essential part of the information on which planning by the provincial government will be based.

As a result, the government will be in a better position to anticipate new problems, to help industry take advantage of new opportunities and to adjust its labour training programs to new requirements. Above all, it will be better able to take steps necessary to spread the benefits of automation through programs to reduce consumer prices and working hours and to increase opportunities for constructive use of leisure time.

#### CONSERVING AND DEVELOPING OUR MATERIAL RESOURCES

Our resources of land, water and forest, as well as our energy resources, are basic to the production of all our wealth. The proper management and development of these resources, therefore, is an integral part of New Democratic planning.

#### Land

In 1960, the Conservation Council of Ontario presented a comprehensive report on land use in which the key recommendation was that the government should take steps immediately to create a land use plan as an expression of overall public policy.

It outlined six steps as necessary in achieving optimum land use:

- (a) compilation of an inventory of natural resources, including the rocks, soil, forests and waters;
- (b) recording of the present use of the land surface in map form;
- (c) compilation and appraisal of the present regulatory powers and administrative responsibilities that control or influence land use;
- (d) establishment of a public policy concerning the use of land and resources, based on what we have, how we are now using the land and how we can best use it in the future;
- (e) creation of a land use plan to fulfil the desired policy;
- (f) creation of the administrative machinery to implement the plan.

These detailed proposals, which were drawn up with the assistance and support of all the provincial organizations interested in this work, are a program for action. Yet no action has followed. At best the government has nibbled at corners of the growing problem. The social and economic cost is mounting every day.

In rural and urban land use there is neither overall control nor any comprehensive plan. Park facilities are concentrated in the North where the population is limited, and limited in the South where the population is starved for public recreational facilities. The competition for our best land becomes more intense every day.

A New Democratic government will tackle the problems of land use in all its ramifications, along the lines suggested by these experts in the field.

#### Water

Within this broad field, a New Democratic government will give particular attention to conservation and water resources. With the forest cover gone, southern rivers flood disastrously in the spring and are reduced to a mere trickle in the summer so that the natural check of pollution is gone. Millions of tons of precious top soil are washed away every year. The water table has been lowered to the point where water supply is a major limitation on the expansion of many industrial areas.

A New Democratic government will give every possible assistance to the work begun by the conservation authorities. It will tackle with vigour whatever action is required by the province in implementing the program envisaged in the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA). It will step up as quickly as is technically possible a reforestation program to restore to forest the millions of acres of crown land for which is has accepted responsibility after the ruthless exploitation of the past.

The program of the Water Resources Commission will be speeded up. Instead of proceeding piecemeal, with each project becoming a burden on the already over-extended credit of municipalities, the Commission will hasten the development of plans for a co-ordinated system of piping water from the Great Lakes and making it available to municipalities at cost. The system can be built in stages as required but each stage will be part of an ultimate whole. We are warned that in another 40 years our water needs will be trebled. Without bold action in this field, industrial expansion, the basis of our economic development, will be severely curtailed in many areas of the province.

#### Energy

Economic development is determined to an important degree by the availability of adequate low-cost sources of power.

Provincial statesmen of 50 of 60 years ago had the foresight to establish in this province the principle of hydro-electric power at cost, and this was an important factor in the subsequent rapid development of the province. Regrettably, there has been a tendency to lose sight of this principle in the last generation, but even so, the publicly owned Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission and its allied municipal systems continue to be a major force for progress. A New Democratic government will continue and expand the fine work of the Commission and will speed up implementation of the principle of power at average cost in its administration.

This, however, will not be enough to meet our future power needs. Readily accessible hydro power sites have now been almost fully developed and we must find economical new sources of power if future growth is not to be stifled.

Natural gas offers the greatest possibilities in the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, the present government has permitted gas distribution to be a happy hunting ground for speculators and profiteers. The operation of the profit motive is standing in the way of the most economical and efficient use of this great new resource.

A New Democratic government will establish a publicly owned distribution system similar to hydro. Trunk lines will be owned and operated by the province, and local distribution will be undertaken by municipal enterprises which will buy gas from the provincial system. Existing natural gas storage areas will be made an integral part of the system.

This co-ordinated system will make gas available at cost to all parts of the province. Gas distribution will be integrated with hydro, so that each of these major sources of power will be available for the purposes for which it is best suited.

A large-scale program of research and experimentation will be undertaken to develop promising new sources of power, notably nuclear energy, and to devise improved methods of using traditional fuels.

#### Forests

The uncontrolled cutting of forests on a liquidation basis has characterized almost all logging operations in Ontario for more than 100 years. This practice began in the southern part of the province and is being extended at an increasing rate into the Boreal forests of Northern Ontario. The consequences are manifest in the near-extinction of such valuable timber species as white pine, in serious soil losses through erosion, in growing flood control and water pollution problems and in the lowering of water tables.

During the past generation, the growing timber requirements of the pulp and paper industry in the northern Boreal forest region of the province have depleted significantly our accessible black spruce stands. There have been no serious attempts at silvicultural or regenerative measures, with the result that our future forests will be lower in quality than those originally removed from a high proportion of our productive areas. This will add another difficulty in Canadian competition with areas such as the Southern United States.

It now appears that within 30 years the pulp and paper industry will have liquidated the remaining virgin coniferous stands within economic transportation distance from existing mills.

A New Democratic government will immediately initiate policies directed toward these objectives:

- (1) The production of maximum yields of high quality fibre from all accessible forest soils, both freehold and publicly owned. It is contrary to both provincial and national long-term interests to permit, in aggregate, extensive areas in an idle, unproductive condition. Ownership should not confer this right, and it must be recognized that a sound forest policy will necessitate some encroachment upon property rights as currently constituted.
- (2) The restoration to productivity of all idle private, municipal and crown lands by a large scale reforestation program, particularly within areas accessible to existing mills.
- (3) A review of present timber licences to free these limits held in excess of present and contemplated mill capacity, thereby making limits available for further development of secondary industries, or the use by secondary and ancillary industry of species and log types not used by the present holders of limit licences.

- (4) The requirement that the holder of a timber licence must build a basic road structure without which it is impossible to implement a modern forest management plan with sustained yield cutting. A New Democratic government will share the costs of building such a structure on an amortized basis, through financial arrangement along the general lines now in effect in British Columbia.
- (5) The implementation of silvicultural procedures in conjunction with all logging operations, particularly in the northern part of the province, to maintain the productivity of areas which have been cut over, as to species, quality and quantity and to reduce waste resulting from present cutting methods. Large scale clear cutting operation will be prohibited.
- (6) The administration by the province of adequate standards of regeneration, these standards to be established in the light of varying economic and physical conditions in the different forest administration regions of Ontario.
- (7) In order to help settlers and farmers the government will create an authority to assist the creation and operation of pulpwood marketing co-operatives so that prices for such pulpwood may be closer to the real cost of the wood.

#### THE FARMER

In the past agriculture was not only an industry but a way of life. Today that way of life is being destroyed by economic forces which are reducing farmers to the role of a hired man working for the feed, packing or processing companies. Production is being collectivized and economic power rests more and more with those corporations which sell to, or buy from, the farmer. The result is as destructive of the independence and freedom of the farmer and as inefficient as the collective farms of Russia.

The New Democratic Party re-affirms its conviction that the family farm, enlarged to meet modern needs and conditions, is a basically sound unit for agricultural production and a desirable social institution. It provides a unit of production in which families may exercise ownership and management; it fosters personal responsibility and human dignity — all of which contribute to a greater stability for our rural communities.

Most of the difficulties faced by agriculture today stem from inadequate inco.ne. The 10% of our people working on farms in Ontario are in receipt of approximately 5% of our provincial income. With adequate income farmers would be able to solve most of their problems themselves, but they cannot survive the cost-price squeeze forever. Since the government should represent, protect and advance the interests of every section of society, it has a direct responsibility in redressing the present imbalance between farmers and the rest of the community.

New Democratic policies will seek to bolster the net income of farmers as the most constructive solution to agricultural problems, and will do so by recognizing the farmer as both a producer and a consumer.

#### **To Increase Returns**

A New Democratic government will assure producers of adequate market power in order to increase their gross income. This phase of the program will include:

- (a) matching the present emphasis on production research with studies and action to assist farmers in the development of marketing so as to recapture a larger percentage of the food dollar now being lost by the producers in the marketing process;
- (b) assisting producers in their efforts to regain control of the inevitable vertical integration process;

(c) establishment of a Department of Co-operatives, with a full-time Minister, to encourage the greatest development of programs of self-help;

- (d) extension of compulsory marketing boards;
  - i) established by a 60% favourable vote of the eligible producers voting;
  - ii) with producer control of their operation and government interest limited to the general interests of the community and of the consumer;
  - iii) with the removal of the restrictive powers recently introduced into the Farm Products Marketing Act and the Milk Industry Act;
  - iv) built on the basic principle of "equal price for equal quality" so as to protect the small producer without infringing on the rights of the big producer;
- (e) development of consumption programs to improve domestic levels of nutrition and the orderly distribution of food products, particularly when in surplus, and full co-operation with farm organizations and marketing boards to expand markets abroad.

#### **To Reduce Costs**

A New Democratic government will implement policies designed to reduce costs of production. Specifically, it will undertake:

- (a) to eliminate monopoly control over prices of fertilizers, weed sprays and other basic supplies, through co-operatives where feasible and public ownership where necessary;
- (b) to pass without further delay a Farm Machinery Act with powers to test machinery offered for sale in Ontario and to make the results available both to farmers and to manufacturers and to enforce adequate stocking of repair parts;
- (c) to relieve the burden of education costs on farm land as distinct from residential and other farm property;
- (d) to provide long-term credit to the individual farmer for the financing of adequate acreage and other capital requirements for modern farm operations at an interest rate more closely related to the earning capacity of agriculture;
- (e) to provide more generous credit to co-operatives and marketing boards for the development of their operations;
- (f) to encourage co-operative and publicly-owned facilities for storage, processing and distribution of food products.

#### To Provide Better Services

The New Democratic Party recognizes that adequate social and other services are vitally important to raising rural living standards. The present agricultural extension services will be improved. Special efforts will be made to provide rural dwellers with the same high standard of medical service and hospitalization, education, transportation and communications, household and community facilities as the New Democratic Party seeks for those who live in the city. Every assistance will be given to encourage decentralization of secondary industries so as to diversify the economy of rural areas and small towns and to provide a fairer distribution of job prospects. Combined with such a program will be wider opportunities for vocational training to equip rural young people in modern farm methods or for alternative employment without having to crowd into our already congested urban centres.

A New Democratic government will establish a publicly-sponsored insurance program to meet the growing hazard of farm accidents at premium levels which will encourage widespread coverage.

Finally a New Democratic government will press for and co-operate fully in a national program of resources conservation and development, including more effective utilization of land and shifts in production to meet changing market demands.

#### LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT IN SOCIETY

Working people cannot participate fully in the development of the community or meet the needs of themselves and their families as consumers unless they have jobs and are able to play their part in their industries as members of their respective trade union organizations.

#### Jobs for All

A basic aim of New Democratic policy, therefore, is to guarantee jobs for all. This aim can be fully realized only through federal policy but a New Democratic government in Ontario will go as far as it can to achieve it.

Economic and social planning as described elsewhere in this Program will help to create the basic conditions of full employment. This will be supplemented by a large-scale program to train or re-train workers. The purpose will be to create an adaptable labour force, able to take advantage of the opportunities created by full employment policies.

#### A New Atmosphere

Within this framework, New Democratic labour policy will work towards genuine labour-management co-operation. This will not be achieved overnight or by pious platitudes. What is needed is a new atmosphere in which growing cooperation will be possible.

Such an atmosphere will be fostered by planning of the New Democratic type. Management and labour will have the opportunity to work together with the government, consumers and other groups in devising and implementing plans for the full use of our resources and full production in our industries. This will give them a new appreciation of their mutual interdependence with the community and the need for co-operation to achieve the community's goals. Within the economic climate of full employment, the need for strikes will gradually diminish. A New Democratic government will encourage labour and management to find more mature means of solving their problems, as has been done in countries like Sweden where similar governments have been in power. Such alternative methods must be worked out by labour and management themselves, however. The government cannot impose them from above.

#### Labour Relations Act

It will thus be possible to reverse the present trend in Ontario towards increasingly complex and obscure laws governing labour-management relations. Persistent government intervention in day-to-day problems reduces responsibility and exacerbates differences. The New Democratic Party looks forward to the day when the government role in labour-management relations will be minimal, providing only a broad framework within which the parties will jointly manage their own affairs.

As a start in that direction, it will immediately overhaul the Labour Relations Act and regulations to make them more flexible. Trade unions will be encouraged rather than merely tolerated and full recognition and acceptance of representative unions will be insisted upon in accordance with both the spirit and letter of the law. Certification and conciliation procedures will be speeded up. Due allowance will be made for the special conditions of the construction industry. The administrative machinery of the Labour Relations Board will be simplified. Courts will not be permitted to issue injunctions in labour disputes without both parties having an opportunity to be heard.

#### **Industry-Wide Standards**

The application of the principle of industry-wide standards of wages and other working conditions, which is now embodied in a primitive form in the Industrial Standards Act, will be greatly expanded. Machinery will be set up to permit and encourage employers' associations and trade unions to establish and enforce labour standards for entire industries either in specific regions or in the province as a whole.

#### **Industrial Safety**

The same principle will be applied to safety in industry. A New Democratic government will not pass the buck to the municipalities in the enforcement of important safety standards, as the present government is doing. It will accept that responsibility itself, but in doing so, it will give management and labour a major role to play in devising and enforcing standards.

#### Minimum Standards

In these and other ways, broad and meaningful co-operation between management and labour will be actively encouraged. Inevitably, however, the process will be gradual, and in the meantime, it will be necessary to protect the large number of employees who are still unorganized and some of whom are grossly exploited.

A New Democratic government will therefore establish the following minimum standards by law: a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour for both men and women; eight statutory holidays with pay; two weeks' annual vacation with pay for employees with at least one year of service and three weeks for those with five years or more; a graduated reduction in the standard work week from 48 to 40 hours without reduction in take-home pay. Proper legislation will be enacted to ensure payment of wages, replacing the obsolete Master and Servant Act.

#### Workmen's Compensation

The Workmen's Compensation Act will be extended to cover every employed person in the province. Pensions paid to workers and to the dependents of workers who were permanently disabled before benefits were increased to their present level will be brought up to present standards. The principle will be established that workers receiving compensation will not have their benefits reduced on the ground that they are fit for light work unless such work is actually available.

#### Administration

The Department of Labour will be completely re-organized so that it will be better equipped to help management and labour deal with the rapidly changing problems they face in this age of changing industrial techniques and consumer demand. In particular, adequate research facilities and a Women's Bureau will be established in the Department. Genuinely equal pay legislation will ensure that women will get the same pay as men for comparable work.

#### PUBLIC FINANCE

A well planned government program requires a well planned financial system to support it. The annual budget is the final instrument through which plans become realities. A New Democratic government will therefore establish financial responsibility and efficiency as one of the first reforms it makes when it comes to power. As well as a Planning Organization advising the Cabinet on overall economic and social policy it will strengthen the Treasury with a Budget Bureau, to study and plan the Provincial Budget on a continuing basis, and an Organization and Methods branch to increase the efficiency of all Departments. Financial planning is an integral part of overall planning.

Financial problems have two sides, income and expenditure. Both will be tackled vigorously by a New Democratic government. Wasteful expenditures will be eliminated such as payment of insurance premiums in cases where the volume of government business is such that self insurance will show substantial savings. A Provincial Mutual Insurance Co. will be set up through which Ontario municipal as well as provincial property could be insured on a co-operative basis. Economy will be enforced in all government and government subsidized expenditures. Management of the Public Debt will be put on a rigorous and economical basis. Economy will be enforced in all government and government subsidized expenditures. Management of the Public Debt will be put on a rigorous and economical basis.

Many of the New Democratic proposals, such as Automobile Insurance, will be self-financing and others, like Medicare, will largely represent the replacement of unco-ordinated private expenditure by planned community effort without much extra cost overall. There will, however, be some new money to be found for new services and this will be raised in a variety of ways, such as in a larger contribution from those who have been given the opportunity to exploit the natural resources of the province: by higher succession duties including the opportunity to pay them in real property or shareholdings; by increased taxes on the more profitable corporations and larger incomes. Highway freight traffic would have to pay its share of road upkeep by means of a weight-distance tax, which would not only be equitable but would direct traffic back to the tremendous investment already made in the railways and would decrease the heavy burden of highway construction and maintenance. Unearned capital gains in land values would be subject to a new tax on appreciation of land values to be levied at times of regular re-assessment or on sale.