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Blueprint for Government

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LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

August, 1971

This booklet is the end result of the policy development begun by the Party in August 1968. Determined that our next election campaign be based on a full policy statement that would be a blueprint for a new Liberal Government, I called the first caucus conference at Trent University in September 1968. In following years, conferences were held at the University of Guelph and McMaster University.

A book containing many of the ideas presented at those conferences was published as "The Guelph Papers". Copies of "The Guelph Papers" were distributed to our Provincial Riding Associations and the public at large for their examination in the Spring of 1970.

Liberal Riding Associations considered those views in the context of future Liberal Party policies. They debated them again regionally and finally last January, at a delegated policy convention, we hammered out the policy this book contains. There are no giveaway gimmicks to be found in what follows, and no commitments made that we do not believe we can fulfil.

We present it as evidence that the Liberal Party, as a credible alternative to the present Government, has done its homework. This is where we stand. This is what we believe has to be done. This is how we intend to do it.

ROBERT F. NIXON

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BLUEPRINT FOR GOVERNMENT

THE LIBERAL PARTY'S PLATFORM FOR GOVERNMENT IN ONTARIO

REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

Ontario's growth over the past two decades has been phenomenal, but the structure of government hasn't kept pace with the social demands that this growth imposes. Today, Ontario's government is a house of many mansions — a house with doors leading nowhere, new wings under construction that aren't needed and will never be occupied, a house with too many garages and not enough bedrooms, a house that badly needs a blueprint — not more carpenters.

That's why reorganization of the structure of government in Ontario is one of the Liberal Party's first priorities. This structure is almost a century old; since then it's been modified and expanded almost out of recognition — and has now reached the point where it's due for a major administrative overhaul.

As it is, the system simply can't cope with growth. There are too many departments and agencies trying to do the same kind of things — and fighting each other in the process. There are too many mini-empires in the making — and not enough results. The more this system spends, the less it seems to achieve. A Nixon administration is pledged to check the mindless growth of big government — and to provide a public administration that is geared to solve problems, not just study them. Government that's part of the solution, not part of the problem.

The duplication, the overlaps, the empire-building, the administrative patchwork, has had two serious results. Costs — especially in the areas of education and health care — are out of control and people are beginning to lose their faith in the ability of governments to do anything about anything. Poverty, pollution, economic growth, the demands of education — none of these problems recognize the present administrative boundaries. Unless we can shape a governmental structure that is responsive to these and other problems, it doesn't much matter who's elected; the machine simply won't respond to the commands of those in power.

To replace can't-cope government with effective government, the Nixon administration will:

Reduce the number of government departments from 24 to 12. The twelve new departments will have broader scope than those they replace, and will be geared to deal with problems which, because of their interdepartmental nature under the present system, can't be tackled effectively.

One important result of this reform will be a totally new kind of cabinet — a streamlined decision-making body that will set overall priorities, instead of dealing piecemeal with administrative trivia. Each minister in this compact group should be able and willing to comment effectively on the policies of his colleagues — to see the machine as a whole, rather than acting as a representative of one of its parts.

The cabinet will be assisted by 15 to 20 parliamentary deputies who will have executive responsibility for particular programs, and will attend cabinet committee meetings. The committees will be served by a full-time secretariat. Under this system, there will thus be an effective demarcation between the group that decides *which* programs and policies are important, and the groups that decide *how* to carry out those policies and programs.

The Davis government has already announced the establishment of a Department of the Environment — something Robert Nixon has been urging for several years.

An urgent priority, we believe, is the establishment of a Department of Urban and Local Affairs — a ministry whose responsibility would embrace everything that affects the quality of life in our cities. It's not enough to have a housing program, an urban transportation program, an income-maintenance program for the urban poor, plus separate programs for provincial and municipal fiscal reform. All these programs, which now function independently (and occasionally at cross-purposes) must be brought together under a new department with a new urban policy. Ontarians have a right to liveable cities; the structure we propose will help create them.

Another of the twelve new departments will be a Department of Social and Community Services, the product of a merger of the present Department of Health and the Department of Social and Family Services, plus some of the functions now handled by the Provincial Secretary's Department. Health and welfare has been one of the fastest-growing areas of government concern in recent years, and there are few areas where administrative reform is more urgently needed. Under the present system, for instance, old-age homes are the responsibility of the Social and Family Services Department, nursing homes are licensed by the Health Department and hospitals are administered by a quasi-independent body, the Ontario Hospital Services Commission. Yet all these institutions are part of a single system of health care for all residents of the province; it's time they were treated that way.

Another new department will be the Department of Construction and Supply, that will eliminate the overlapping which now prevails between the Department of Highways and the Department of Public Works. The new department will be responsible for an *effective* system of centralized purchasing which, we estimate, can save Ontario taxpayers \$20 million annually. (The "centralized purchasing system" which the present government established more than three years ago has been one of its more spectacular failures. After 18 months of operation, the department responsible was forced to admit that it had spent \$125,000 on salaries for its own staff — but hadn't actually got around to purchasing anything for the government!)

The Nixon government will also merge the three present Departments of Education, Correctional Services and University Affairs into a single Department of Education responsible for all phases of education in the province.

A sixth department, the Department of Resources, will combine the functions of the present Departments of Mines, Lands and Forests and Northern Affairs, plus some of the functions of the present Department of Highways. One of this Department's major tasks will be to end the second-class status of Northern Ontario, whose existence the legislators in Queen's Park frequently tend to forget.

The functions of the present Departments of Provincial Treasurer, Justice and Labour will remain as they are. The present Department of Tourism and Information will be merged with the Department of Industry, Trade and Development. Finally, the functions of the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, and of the Department of Consumer

and Commercial Affairs, will be expanded. (In the latter Department, the structure is already there, but not the staff. As a result, the legislative protection offered consumers and investors lags far behind that offered by the federal government.

There are some policies and programs which, because they affect so many areas of provincial life, cannot be the responsibility of a single Department. The traditional approach to dealing with problems like these has been to set up interdepartmental committees that are almost uniformly ineffective.

The structural reform we propose is a series of *task forces*, operating out of the Premier's office and reporting directly to him. The idea is to bypass interdepartmental rivalries, so that action can be achieved on the kind of problems that usually remain unsolved because no machinery exists to deal with them. One task force, for instance, will deal with the whole question of American influence on the Province's culture and economy. Another will deal with decentralization and regional development.

We also plan to utilize the resources and energies of an institution which, for the past decade or so, has been increasingly ignored — the Legislature. A key phase of our plans for governmental reorganization will be to upgrade the powers, the status and the responsibilities of M.P.P.'s of all parties. Mainly, this will be achieved through an expanded committee system. Under a Nixon government, for instance, any fee increases proposed by the Ontario Medical Association will have to be justified before the Legislature's Standing Committee on Health. Similarly, adequately-staffed legislative committees could be empowered to approve such things as hydro rate increases, and premium costs under a provincially-sponsored no-fault auto insurance plan.

Finally, a Nixon administration will strengthen the office of Provincial Auditor. As in the federal system, this official will operate independently of government, and be empowered to examine all expenditures. Strengthening the Public Accounts Committee with research staff and requiring the Auditor to give opinions on value received will give us modern controls and information on public expenditure for the first time.

ENVIRONMENT

We now have the technology, the financial resources and, most important, the public mandate to create a clean environment in Ontario. All that is needed is a new set of priorities that recognizes that economic growth isn't everything — and the toughness and leadership to implement policies which may, in the short run, affect some powerful private interests. But we *can* clean up Ontario. Action against pollution has been a commonplace of political platforms for years. But the new element in the situation is the people now *insist* on action, and are willing to pay the price. A Nixon government will utilize this to produce results, not rhetoric.

As Robert Nixon has been pointing out for several years, the many divided jurisdictions attempting to control pollution have produced nothing but subcommittees, stopgap measures and PR campaigns. (Nothing symbolizes the present government's approach to environmental problems better than

Ontario Place. The structure is a glossy PR-man's paean to the glories of Ontario — but it's been built in an expanse of stinking water, where few fish can live. Is there any place *you'd* rather be?)

Clearly, PR campaigns are no substitute for action. Under a Liberal administration, the Department of the Environment will be one of the most powerful ministries in the government. It won't merely pursue its own programs in seclusion and impotence — but will have a major say, at cabinet level and below, in the ecological implications of *all* development in the province, from pulp mills to high-rise apartments. The problems are enormous, and it will take a super-ministry to tackle them.

The Department will be well financed and staffed by trained ecologists. It will incorporate the functions of the Ontario Water Resources Commission, which now is a separate entity. It will place a high priority on intergovernmental co-operation, since pollution doesn't respect political boundaries. It will level with the public, naming names and sharing all it knows with whoever wants to assist in the fight against pollution. It will help finance bona-fide anti-pollution groups, and it will give grants for the development of environmental studies programs in schools and universities.

One of the first tasks our government will assign to the Department is a *province-wide ecological study* of the natural environment. This study will attempt to assess the needs of wildlife, rivers, vegetation and the biosphere, as well as the needs of man. And the study, when completed, will serve as a guideline for the province's future development. We want to see "whole earth" planning in Ontario — and an end to short-sighted development policies that put the GNP ahead of everything else. *Man is a guest on this planet*; sensible government action can ensure that he behaves like one.

As an additional public safeguard, we will establish an *Environmental Council*, to provide an independent assessment of our progress in the fight against pollution. Its job, like the Economic Council in Ottawa, will be to call the shots as it sees them, and to pinpoint environmental problems on a regular basis. Naturally, the council will be well-financed to provide for research, information, public hearings and — most important — field work. The council's membership will be drawn from the ranks of conservation and anti-pollution groups, the scientific community, industry and citizen's groups.

We will also take the initiative that will bring together all levels of government on both sides of the border to co-operate in the urgent task of cleaning up the Great Lakes basin. Ontario and other jurisdictions must cede sovereignty in this area to the International Joint Commission or some equivalent body — something that the Governor of Michigan has proposed, but the former Premier of Ontario has refused to consider. The crisis of pollution in the Great Lakes is such a threat that only a body that transcends provincial and national boundaries can act with speed and decision.

Another important reform will be amendment of the law to permit *class actions* against polluters. Under present law, the fact that you're breathing polluted air is not enough to justify launching a lawsuit against whoever is responsible; you have to show a property interest. The rather fundamental change we propose will give the poisoned an important new weapon against the poisoners. The government will be prepared to assist in the costs of such actions.

The changes we propose will also allow the Attorney-General to sue polluters on behalf of specific groups of people. At present, he can sue only on behalf of the Crown — which means that the people most directly involved (such as fishermen who lose their livelihood through mercury pollution of lakes) aren't entitled to a share in the proceeds of any damage award won by the Crown.

Under a Nixon government, all new chemicals or chemical processes that could enter the air, water or soil will be deemed guilty until proven innocent. They won't be allowed on the market until we are convinced that they are ecologically neutral. To implement this new legislation, the Environmental Council will establish a *Chemical Products Review Board*, to which any citizen or group could appeal a government decision to license any new chemical process.

In addition, a Nixon government will:

- * Use its taxing powers, plus financial incentives, to encourage re-cycling of wastes, including containers, junk cars and appliances, and paper. Non-returnable bottles, beer cans and non-biodegradable plastic containers will be banned. The LCBO will give refund on its bottles.

- * Increase penalties for polluters and make officials of offending companies *personally* responsible for unjustified violations. Under a Nixon government, it is possible that the first Ontario executive will be sent to jail for allowing his company to poison the environment after ignoring ministerial or court orders.

- * Provide low-interest loans to firms installing pollution controls, and abolish the sales tax on pollution abatement equipment.

- * Introduce effective anti-noise legislation with special attention to cars, planes, snowmobiles, construction, and mini-bikes.

Give financial assistance to municipalities to install secondary water treatment by 1976, and tertiary treatment by the end of the decade.

- * Halt the eutrophication of our lakes and rivers by eliminating, where possible, all nutrients in detergents. We will also investigate the entire area of phosphate and nitrate pollution from other sources.

- * Carry out optimum population studies, to find out how many people various regions of the province can reasonably support. (Planning can't be truly effective until we know how much population is *too* much.) We will also launch an educational program to make family planning information available to all citizens.

- * Give immediate priority to the establishment of a government-subsidized mass transit system. (The present government for many years has paid 75 percent of the costs of expressway studies; but it wasn't until last April that they got around to doing the same for studies of the feasibility of rapid transit!)

- * Set effective standards for exhaust emission controls, and require pollution-free cars on Ontario highways by 1974.

- * Ban the burning of high-sulphur fossil fuels, unless effective sulphur recovery is carried out, and require, as soon as feasible, that the engines of all jets landing at Ontario airports be equipped with afterburners.

- * Negotiate further national parks in Ontario (Ottawa has already issued the invitation) and declare Quetico Park a wilderness area.

- * Launch a comprehensive study of the whole problem of recreational land in Ontario, and accelerate the acquisition of open space close to urban areas.

The need for action in this area is demonstrated by the government's bungling of the Niagara Escarpment issue. It is the only large stretch of green space within easy driving distance of three million people — half the population of Ontario. Three years ago, the government was urged by its advisors to spend \$26 million over four years buying up this land to preserve it for future generations. So far, however, less than \$2 million has been spent — and much of that on the acquisition, at generous prices, of Escarpment land owned by friends of the Conservative party.

We, therefore, propose the formation of a new Niagara Escarpment Authority, a crown corporation that would buy land and be responsible for zoning and development control of this priceless natural asset. For about what it costs to build Ontario Place, the government could have secured 55,000 acres of desperately-needed green belt land at bargain prices. Swift action is needed now to preserve an asset that the Tories have done so much to dissipate.

URBAN LIFE

Planning is an art — perhaps the highest art of democratic politics. Provincial governments are now charged with the responsibility for managing a process of economic growth that is accelerating at an awesome rate — nowhere more swiftly than in Ontario.

The provincial government's role in this process is a delicate one. We must somehow avoid the chaos of unplanned development on the one hand, and the dangers on the other of autocratic, centralized control

The penalties for failure in this game are truly frightening. According to a study recently prepared for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Toronto will be a city of *six million* by the end of the century. But what kind of city? Another New York? And what kind of province will surround it? Another New Jersey?

What is needed, and what a Nixon government is firmly committed to provide, is an *integrated* approach to the management of development. All the systems and subsystems (transport, housing, industrial development, education and so on) must somehow be pulled together so that the growth process will be orderly and humane. Example: planners tell us Toronto will need 400,000 new dwelling units by the end of this decade. But if present trends continue, only one-third of these homes will be priced at levels that people can afford! What is the point of devising the administrative machinery to get those houses built, if we fail to provide the means (public housing, rent subsidies, mortgage assistance) for people to inhabit them?

All these issues of growth are interdependent. What kind of tax policies can we devise to enable our cities to provide the services that people (and property) need? Which regions should grow, and which have grown large

enough? Must northern Ontario forever be saddled with its status as Ontario's Gaspé? Is the expressway obsolete, and if so, what can replace it? These are the kind of questions that are now being tackled by a wide assortment of government departments and agencies, each doing its own thing in its own separate way. (The OWRC recently built a trunk sewer up the middle of Peel County, practically without the knowledge of the Toronto Planning Board). Everybody else is in the act, too: Ontario Hydro, the Ontario Housing Corporation, the Department of Municipal Affairs, the Treasury Department's regional planning branch.

Ontario is going to grow: of that much we are certain. But we don't know where, we don't know how, we don't know by how much, and we most emphatically don't know whether the province will be fit to live in by the year 2000. We don't know these things because we haven't decided what we want; and we haven't decided because astoundingly, there is no provincial plan for the development of the province.

We have plenty of plans, in other words, but no comprehensive plan for all Ontario, and no central authority to co-ordinate the decisions of all these bodies to ensure maximum development with the least harm to our environment.

A Nixon government will attack this problem with a freshness and a resolution which the present government has failed to exhibit. Immediately upon assuming office, a Liberal government will:

- * Give planning the priority it deserves by establishing an Urban Affairs Department, with responsibility for developing urban policy for the entire province.

- * In consultation with the municipalities, establish a *comprehensive* 30-year development plan for all Ontario to stop urban sprawl, conserve green areas, channel industrial development and control urban growth in specific areas.

- * To co-ordinate all the plans and projects going forward in this area, we will establish a planning secretariat as part of the premier's office.

That is the administrative machinery. Here are some of the ingredients of the planning philosophy underlying it:

- * We must decentralize. The government's recent Toronto-centred Regional Plan anticipates that an even higher proportion of Ontario's population will live in the 90-mile area around Toronto. Even if a Toronto of six million population is larger than anybody wants, we're apparently committed to letting it happen.

The weakness of this approach is that it ignores the leverage that government can exert to promote healthier patterns of development. A Liberal government will use tax incentives and other inducements to create new modes of development around major new power sources — Nanticoke on Lake Erie, Bruce on Lake Huron and Lennox on Lake Ontario.

- * We will pass a New Cities Act to provide the administrative, financial, and political structures for the development of new communities.

- * We must exploit the potential of mass transit. Until recently, government policies contained a built-in bias in favour of expressways. Queen's Park now will pay part of the costs of building expressways and

rapid transit systems. But to date, cities have had to pay roughly 75 percent of transit costs, but only 25 to 50 percent of the costs of expressways. Once a facility is built, this bias is even more pronounced. The province pays half the cost of maintaining local streets — including urban expressways — but up until a month ago paid nothing to support the operating costs of mass-transit systems. The movement of cars was thus heavily subsidized, the movement of people has not been.

To avoid future Spadina fiascos, and to reduce the bias in favour of expressways over transit that existed until last month, a Liberal government will undertake to pay not 50 percent but 75 percent of the approved construction cost of mass transit systems, and will make operating grants on a per passenger basis to municipal bus and subway systems at rates more than equivalent to the road maintenance grants. We will also extend the GO train service beyond Metropolitan Toronto; join with Ottawa in underwriting experiments to find new ways of using neglected transit options, such as abandoned rail lines and express buses; review major highways projects in terms of their impact on the communities and properties that would be affected; and urge Ottawa to get the railways to lower rentals on its rights-of-way, or open them to other carriers.

- * We must restore municipal autonomy, and promote local involvement in the planning process. The present government's approach has been to centralize — regardless of local feelings, local needs and local priorities and, in some cases, in flagrant defiance of plain common sense. When regional government was imposed on the Niagara region, for instance, residential mill rates in St. Catharines increased drastically — a perfect example of the folly of imposing new municipal structures on an area without providing the tax reforms that would make the new system work.

Regional government, Tory-style, has been such a shambles that at least one municipality is actually contemplating a form of secession. The only way to avoid similar debacles in future is to postpone regionalization of an area until the municipalities concerned take the initiative in demanding it. From there, it should be up to the local governments themselves to work out the details. The province should provide advice, encouragement, financial aid and logistic support. The Province should also disclose, in advance, what effect such reforms will have on municipal budgets. But the thrust of the effort must come from the local level.

Most important of all, the province must provide the financial arrangements that will ensure that, under a regional system, no local government is worse off financially than it was before. This means a rational system of equalization grants — not the *ad hoc* patchwork which is the present government's substitute for policy. It must also institute tax reforms that will enable local governments to shoulder their new responsibilities. Accordingly, a Liberal government will place a moratorium on all existing proposals for new regional governments until Queen's Park assumes a larger share of the costs of education. At present, municipalities must raise 45 percent of their school costs from property taxes. Under a Liberal government, the province will assume 80 percent of these costs within four years — instead of the present 55 percent. Until that happens, plans for further regionalization shouldn't be allowed to proceed.

- * Finally, we must restore the county assessment system. No single aspect of the present government's mergermania has caused more hardship,

more confusion, more unnecessary exasperation, than its decision to centralize the assessment function at Queen's Park. Deciding what property is worth for purposes of taxation is one of the most intimate, most important functions of government. It must be performed at the local level, under provincial guidelines that allow local discretion to meet local needs.

Local governments need a partner in Queen's Park, not Big Brother. Reforms that are imposed from above never work as well as reforms that surface from below. Under a Nixon administration, Ontario's municipalities will operate in an atmosphere of partnership, not paternalism.

- * We will make larger unconditional grants to local governments, and end the present chaotic system of conditional grants.

- * We will ensure that, once an official plan has been adopted by a municipality and approved by the Ontario Municipal Board, the province's role is at an end. This means developers won't have to apply to Queen's Park for approval of each individual plan; approval will be granted or withheld at the local level.

- * Bona-fide tenant associations and community action groups will be eligible for provincial assistance from a special fund that will be established by the Department.

No urban problem, however, is more urgent than housing. We believe adequate shelter is a basic right. Our first priority will thus be to eliminate the tragic gap between public housing starts and present waiting lists.

- * We will also increase private housing starts through a provincial mortgage bank. Pension funds and insurance companies will be encouraged to invest more funds in mortgages. Lower production costs in housing construction will be encouraged through research grants and tax incentives.

Government supervised or controlled assembly and servicing of land will be used to eliminate speculators' huge profits. Tax provisions will be used to encourage home-owners to renew and improve their existing housing, and not to penalize them as at present. Cooperative housing projects, combining government, corporate and public financing will be encouraged.

Public housing tenants should have a major voice in management, with a view toward ultimate individual ownership on a condominium basis. Under a Liberal administration, the Ontario Housing Corporation will place more emphasis on turning rented units into condominium units. Public housing units would no longer be concentrated in high-rise ghettos but be distributed throughout the community, using rent supplement programs.

All tenants and roomers, especially in Ontario Housing Corporation buildings will have: (a) a right to a lease and (b) notices of eviction. Rent increases would have to state reasonable cause. Tenants' associations would be given financial assistance to establish themselves as spokesmen for their housing community.

On specific projects, we would not proceed with the Metrodome idea unless it were desired by a large majority of Ontario citizens and unless taxpayers shared in the profits if it were financed with public money. Similarly, we are opposed to the Harbour City Project in its present form, which was developed without consulting Toronto authorities, which lacks credible cost estimates, and which constitutes a serious threat to the Toronto Island park and recreation area.

THE CONSUMER

Today's consumer is a contestant in an immensely unequal struggle. On one side is an individual who needs a new car or a T.V. set. On the other side, arrayed against him, is the entire defensive apparatus of the corporate state — sales contracts, fine print, collection agencies, escape clauses and the centuries-old legal doctrine of *caveat emptor* which says, in effect, that if a customer gets shafted it's his own tough luck.

Under a Liberal government, the policy of the Consumer and Corporate Affairs Department will be fight on the consumer's side in this lop-sided contest between buyer and seller. In an increasingly complex and credit-oriented economy, the old doctrine of *caveat emptor* needs some serious modification.

Much of this can be achieved simply by enforcing or amending legislation that is already on the books. Under the Ontario Consumer Protection Act, for instance, we already have the power to ban misleading advertising. Under a Nixon government, this Act would be enforced by injunction.

Through amendments of various other acts, we will force the sellers of major appliances to honour their product guarantees — even if the stove or refrigerator has been bought on time, and the sales contract then sold to a finance company. Strict liability will be imposed on manufacturers for product defects which cause physical injury to customers. Availability of spare parts will be guaranteed for certain products — such as cars and farm machinery — under a law similar to one that has been proposed by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission.

The Liberal government will also regulate credit and other organizations which collect and trade information on individuals. Individuals will be given the right to look at their files in the hands of such organizations, the right to correct erroneous information, the right to know what the information will be used for, and the right to sue for damages or an injunction against organizations furnishing or using incorrect information about him. The government draft bill is seriously flawed — it does not even apply to personal and character reporting agencies, does not make it mandatory to send an individual a file that is opened on him, or the sources of their information, does not let the individual insist on corrections, and does not let the individual sue the agency if he has been hurt by false information given out by it.

We will also adopt Part 10 of the Federal Bankruptcy Act which allows an individual debtor the protection of the Court to consolidate his debt and pay it off over three years. It means he is no longer hounded by his creditors every month, and the creditors have the protection of the Court Order. Liability to owners of credit cards which are stolen or misplaced will be limited to \$50 unless negligence is proven.

NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

Northern Ontario is a colony. Its economy is managed from some where else, usually Bay and Wall Streets, and usually for the chief benefit of people who don't live there. It is one of the main sources of Ontario's wealth

— and yet the area is consistently short-changed by provincial development policies, and its people are consistently denied the opportunity to participate in the decisions that affect their lives, their environment and their livelihood.

Under a Liberal government, responsibility for changing this situation will be the main task of a newly-organized Department of Resources. M.P.P.'s working under a single Resources Minister will deal with the mining, forest and fishing industries in Northern Ontario, under clearly-defined lines of responsibility. The activities of the new Resources Department will embrace policies and programmes that are now divided with the usual duplication and overlapping between the Departments of Mines, Lands and Forests, Northern Affairs and Transport.

In addition, the government will establish a Northern Development Board and, under its direction, a Northern Development Fund. The board will consist of Northern Ontario M.P.P.'s of all parties, plus citizen representation from all sectors of the northern communities. The board's head office will be located in the north. It will be staffed by northerners. The board, not the government, will be responsible for setting expenditure guidelines, and it will have control of the Ontario Northland Railway. It will also be empowered to designate land-use programs, develop proposals for expansion of tourist and recreational facilities and, in co-operation with the Resources Department, oversee reclamation of land formerly used for mineral extraction.

The Development Board will be the government's prime instrument for generating local involvement in the decision-making process. To bring government closer to the people, a Liberal government will also make every effort to locate the Resources Department's main departmental offices in northern Ontario, and will establish a regional ombudsman's office there.

In addition, a Liberal government will:

- * Insist that the future hydro rate increases be permitted only after examination by a legislative committee. The committee will also be directed to examine hydro rates which place Northern Ontario pulp and paper mills at a competitive disadvantage.

- * Insist on strict enforcement of Mining Act provisions which require processing in Canada of minerals mined in Ontario.

- * Reform forest management policies. Present licensing procedures will be re-examined, to ensure better management and to guarantee reforestation. Timber companies will no longer be allowed to hold large tracts which they do not intend to use within a reasonable time. Canadian-owned ventures will be given first choice on at least 55 percent of all areas up for licensing. The government will also encourage the formation of consortia — that is, agreements between several forestry firms — for the co-operative management of large, well-defined forest areas. In some cases, the government itself may become a member of such consortia.

- * Expand the role of the Ontario Northland Railway. Besides being a transportation system, it must now become a development agency. In line with this policy, the ONR must be encouraged to create rate structures which promote the development of secondary industry in the north.

- * Halt the operations of resources industries in parklands and, if necessary, subsidize the transfer of these industries elsewhere in Northern Ontario.

- * To encourage development of the tourist industry, and to ensure that Northern Ontario remains a good place to visit, a Liberal government will sell no more Crown land in recreational areas, and will insist that all recreational land owned by non-residents be either developed or resold. We will also study the establishment of a Centre for Recreation Management — an educational facility that would bring together tourist camp operators and management consultants in seminars that would study various aspects of the recreation industry. The Centre will also provide courses on all aspects of recreation management.

- * Vigorously promote, by subsidies if necessary, the use of air travel throughout Northern Ontario. The recently announced government air service programme ignores Northwestern Ontario completely. The north needs more airports in more places, and more flights in and out. A Liberal government will not take the view that this is a matter of concern only to the federal Department of Transport.

- * Move actively to upgrade the standards of health care in Northern Ontario to the level prevailing in the south. The most urgent need is more doctors and nurses. A Liberal government will actively explore the idea of re-encouraging medical and nursing personnel to take part of their training in the area.

- * Give active consideration to implementing the Mid-Canada Development Corridor concept, which envisions a ribbon of medium-sized cities across Canada's "green north".

- * Insist that native labour be used in any government projects in northern Ontario and that, in any development schemes for the area, ecological principles be strictly observed.

The fundamental ingredient of our policy for northern Ontario is our belief that the region's economic disparities are *not* the result of inexorable economic forces. This is a rich area — rich in resources, rich in human ingenuity. The fact that its economy does not now reflect this abundance is no accident. It is the consequence of a sort of absent-minded colonialism that has been perpetuated by successive governments for far too long. A Liberal government *can* change things in Northern Ontario, because we happen to believe that northern Ontario exists.

EDUCATION

Education is a provincial government's costliest concern, and it is getting more so all the time. Spending on schools, vocational institutes, universities and community colleges now accounts for 41 cents of every dollar spent by the Ontario government. In absolute terms, the current budget calls for an expenditure of \$1.55 billion — which is ten times higher than a decade ago.

We now have Canada's largest, costliest, best-staffed, most experimental and most innovative educational system. Unfortunately, it is not the most efficient, nor the most effective. It is wasteful. It is administratively top-heavy, it is remote from the people who pay for it. It is sometimes extravagant, it is occasionally grandiose, and it does not always teach the right things. And too often it ignores Canada's cultural heritage. The

educational priorities of a Liberal government will be directed toward efficiencies, greater effectiveness, and more control on costs. The system has been built; the task now is to get it running properly. Education in Ontario must become more responsive to the people it serves — and more responsible to the people who pay for it.

This can't be done under present financial arrangements. Education today is simply too big a business to be financed by municipal property taxes.

* Accordingly, a Nixon government's most fundamental reform will be the transfer, within its first term of office, of 80 percent of education costs away from land assessment. Twenty percent of \$1.55 billion is quite enough for municipalities to raise from land assessments; provincial revenues must pay for the rest.

The first step of this policy will be to provide relief for farmers from the burden of education assessments. A Liberal government will make a flat extra payment to school boards equivalent to 30 percent of the funds they now receive from property taxes on farms; this payment would then be passed on to the farmers in the form of tax reductions.

* Our second basic reform is more a matter of emphasis than of legislation. In every way possible, a Nixon government will attempt to restore the spirit of local autonomy in education which the Tory government, with its arbitrary attempts at centralization, has done so much to undermine.

The remaining elements of the Liberal educational policy are directed towards increased efficiency and cost control. A Nixon government will:

* Reduce the costs of school and university buildings by requiring architects to submit competitive tenders. (In one school district, North York, this technique resulted in savings of 20 percent.)

* Merge the Department of Education and the Department of University Affairs into a new Department of Education. Since rehabilitation is an integral part of the educational process, the present Department of Correctional Services will also be included in the new department.

* Establish a cabinet committee on education, training and rehabilitation services, to co-ordinate decision-making among all the departments and agencies involved.

* Establish an independent University Commission to oversee the development of post-graduate education centres in Ontario. At present, there is no agency which can scrutinize applications for new graduate programs in the light of manpower demands and duplicated facilities elsewhere in the province. Post-graduate education is one of the costliest elements in our total "mix"; a Liberal government hopes to ensure that, at a time when we're short of doctors, the graduate schools aren't busy turning out nuclear physicists who can't find jobs.

* Insist that universities and community colleges adopt the trimester system. We can no longer afford to have costly buildings standing idle about one-third of the time.

* Empower the legislature's Committee on Human Resources to carry out a wide-ranging public investigation of education costs, to determine the extent of the duplication that exists in various areas between the colleges of

applied art and technology, the secondary schools, the agricultural institutions and the universities. The Committee's enquiries should be assisted by independent management consultants.

The present government's approach to this idea provides an interesting contrast. The most searching review of educational costs now underway is being conducted under the authority of the former deputy minister of education — the civil servant who, along with Bill Davis, had the most to do with incurring them! The accused is standing in judgment of himself, so no one should be surprised at a "not guilty" verdict.

* Pass legislation requiring provincially-assisted universities and colleges to make full disclosure of their accounts according to uniform categories determined by the provincial auditor; and empower the auditor to establish regulations concerning budgetary and financial control procedures.

* Grant equal tax support to separate school boards up to the end of Grade 12, providing such schools are open to children of any religion, and promote co-operation on the local level between school boards.

***Phase out Grade 13 over a period of four years.

* Experiment with new modes of decision-making within selected secondary schools, involving teachers, students and parents from the local community, in an attempt to find alternatives to the present authoritarian system.

* Restructure university governments by creating unicameral governing councils that would have limited government representation, community representatives and university management as ex officio members, and not less than 50 percent representation from within the University.

* Study ways of improving financial assistance to needy secondary as well as post-secondary students in order to open up post-secondary education to all social and ethnic peoples in Ontario.

* Insist that the Department of Education establish a publications policy which gives a realistic picture of Indian history and cultural heritage.

* Finally, a Nixon government will take strong action to halt the casual Americanization of our educational system. Teaching materials and text books must reflect Canada's cultural heritage; and "Canadian Content" rules must apply to the staffing of Ontario universities. These Liberal proposals in this area are discussed in greater detail in the Foreign Control section of this booklet.

POVERTY

The welfare system in Canada has frequently been called a jungle. Perhaps "maze" is a better word. Or labyrinth. Whatever it is, people get lost in it, and it doesn't work. It was a process of piecemeal tinkering which produced the present bureaucratic nightmare; and no amount of additional tinkering now is going to improve the system.

What's needed to replace the present patchwork of programs and unrelated assistance schemes is a guaranteed annual income program, based on a negative income tax. Far from an impractical "pie-in-the-sky" position, the program must use our scarce resources in money and facilities to give

assistance where it is needed and eliminate the waste of present overlapping irrational programs. A Nixon government will institute the GAI within four years of its election. Such a program will be based on the Economic Council of Canada's definition of the poverty line, and will be financed with the aid of the federal government which, under the Canada Assistance Plan, is committed to bear half the cost. One of the plan's most important features will be the assistance it provides to the working poor, who now get no help from the government of Ontario. The GAI will also end one of the major injustices of the present non-system: people on welfare won't be penalized for going to work, as they are now.

We don't think a guaranteed annual income is the whole answer to the poverty problem, but it is an important part of it. We must not forget that, despite our widespread affluence, one Ontarian in five suffers from poverty.

A Nixon government will also enact a Bill of Social Rights and Responsibilities for all Ontario citizens — a declaration that all citizens, *as a matter of right*, are entitled to a standard of living that provides decent standards of food, shelter, education and health care. In return, the citizen's responsibility is to maintain his health, employment and environment. Under this charter, recipients of social assistance will have the right to a public hearing before social assistance boards.

ONTARIO AND CANADA

Ontario's size and economic importance dictates that we must play an increasingly active role in Confederation. A Liberal government will emphasize the importance it attaches to our national role by establishing a secretariat in the premier's office to achieve co-ordination in all areas where provincial programs intersect with federal responsibilities.

What is insufficiently recognized is that Ontario, with half of Canada's wealth, is already a major partner in Confederation. Our interests are interrelated to an extent that is seldom appreciated. More than 40 percent of Ontario's budget comes from funds transferred to the province by Ottawa, or remitted to Queen's Park under various tax-sharing agreements.

This means we've got to start acting like partners, not enemies. The present government has adopted a posture of mindless confrontation in its dealings with Ottawa. In its recent budget statement, for instance, the Davis government threatened to block constitutional reform unless its tax demands are met. Similarly, our Minister of Agriculture insisted on ramming through laws giving him the power to seize and destroy farm products entering Ontario from other provinces — at a time when the whole matter was under review, both in Ottawa and in the courts. Is this responsible federalism or is it sand-pile bickering?

Federal-provincial relations under a Nixon government will be characterized by firm, constructive dealings. Among our negotiating goals:

- * To preserve a strong central government with the ability to effectively regulate the economy, while at the same time securing additional shared powers for Ontario over, for example, railways and interprovincial air transport, to enable it to effectively plan its growth.

- * The Davis government has suggested imposition of a provincial

income tax. We're against it, mainly because it would mean creating yet another tax-gathering bureaucracy in Ontario. Instead, we'll negotiate an agreement with Ottawa whereby the federal government, for a fee, will collect Ontario's corporate income taxes, just as they now collect personal income taxes.

In addition, a Nixon government will:

- * Include municipal representatives in its delegations to constitutional and other federal-provincial conferences.

- * Propose that the process of constitutional revision be accelerated, with particular attention given to the division of powers in such areas as credit controls, regulation of the economy, the environment, the cities and consumer affairs. Regardless of the status of constitutional revision, we *must* have effective co-operation in these areas between Queen's Park and Ottawa.

- * Support the creation of a national Securities Commission.

- * Promote continuous consultations between Queen's Park and Ottawa on spending priorities and on tax policies.

LABOUR

In the 1970's we believe the key issues in labour relations will be the impact of new technology and the crucial question of industrial harmony. In addition, the Department of Labour, under a Liberal Government, would give high priority to legislation guaranteeing and expanding the rights of employees. Over the past 50 years, Canadian workers have managed to establish the rights of certification, collective bargaining, and the right to strike, but the impact of industrial rationalization, the lack of communication between labour and management, and sex discrimination, are three areas where there is ample scope for meaningful reform.

A Liberal Government is pledged to promote new patterns of collective bargaining. The public interest demands an end to long disruptive labour disputes. We will give high priority to promoting continued consultation and negotiation between labour and management throughout the life of labour contracts. Legislation should provide for early mediation at the request of either party and continuing mediation for the period of an agreement.

We will also establish a tripartite commission of representatives from labour, management and government which will sit continuously. The commission's objective will be to foresee technological changes, industrial rationalization, mergers, and takeovers which can result in closure and large layoffs, such as occurred at DeHavilland, Dunlop, and General Electric, and to recommend policies to soften the impact of such changes.

The Labour Department under a Nixon government will also move towards reform along the following lines:

- * In the construction industry, employer and employee bargaining units should be established on a Province-wide scale. The trades should be encouraged to bargain together to prevent bumping.

- * Issues of technological change and rationalization should be negotiated during the life of an agreement. In cases where such changes lead to plant closures, layoffs and relocations, we will require substantially more

notice than is allowed for in the present legislation. A Liberal Government will also provide job retraining in such cases, will compensate the workers, and may require payment of compensation by the companies involved.

- * Certification procedures must be reformed. 50% plus one should ensure certification without a vote instead of the present 65%.

- * A Liberal Government will vigorously support the principle of equal pay for equal work and equal job opportunities for men and women.

- * We will promote the establishment of day care centres on working premises.

- * Provincial minimum wage legislation will be amended to automatically reflect changes in cost of living.

- * Employee representatives should sit on joint boards to administer employee pension plans and all pensions should be portable.

- * We will amend the Labour Relations Act to make it possible for those employees who have individually contracted with management to be represented by a union.

- * We will also support the trend within the labour movement towards "Canadianization" of the Canadian branches of U.S.-based unions. Canadian members of such unions should have the power to elect not only their own directors to international executives, but to elect Canadian executives to deal directly and independently on behalf of Canadian workers. At present, most international unions elect Canadian officers by vote of the entire international.

WOMEN

Women now make up one-third of the labour force. A significant and growing minority of these working women are the sole bread-winners in their families. When they apply for jobs, they are penalized for being women. When salary scales are set, they are penalized for being women. When promotions are considered, they are penalized for being women. When they have children while working, they are penalized for being mothers.

Although sexist attitudes in a male-dominated economy may be slow to change, there is still plenty of scope for legislative action to upgrade the status of women in Ontario. A surprising amount of the conflict over "women's liberation", after all, boils down to bread-and-butter economic issues. Women — like the black majority of South Africa — are discriminated against in an economic system which couldn't function without them.

The Liberal Party believes that, although the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation, it emphatically does have a place in the nursery. To help working women, a Liberal government will:

- * Broaden the scope of Ontario's Equal Opportunity Employment Act. At present, this law requires companies with more than 25 employees to grant maternity leave to female employees. This exemption for small firms means that about one-quarter of the female labour force aren't protected. Accordingly, we'll amend the act so it applies to *all* businesses, not just the larger ones. Another amendment will extend maternity leave to cover abnormal pregnancies. Nearly 20 percent of all pregnancies involve

some form of complication; and the present law denies additional leave to the women who need it most.

- * Negotiate with Ottawa to extend unemployment insurance benefits to compensate women for any loss of income suffered through childbearing.

- * Plug loopholes in the Equal Opportunity Act so that sexual discrimination in employment is completely forbidden. We'll also amend the Ontario Human Rights Code so that any form of discrimination on the basis of sex — on the job, in accommodation, or wherever — is strictly prohibited.

- * Day-care centres are no substitute for parental care. But in an economy that is so heavily dependent on female labour, they are an absolute necessity. Here's the steps we plan to ensure that adequate day-care facilities are accessible to every woman who needs them:

- * The province already pays 80% of the operating costs of municipal day-care centres. As additional encouragement, a Liberal government, will pay 80% rather than the present 50% of the cost of building such centres.

- * We'll insist that day-care fees be based on a sliding scale related to income. We'll also inject more flexibility into present provincial standards for day-care staffs; as it is, arbitrary regulations are hampering volunteer and citizens' groups who would like to start their own centres.

- * We'll move strongly to encourage the acceptance of women in more responsible jobs, starting with one of Ontario's biggest employers — the provincial government. We'll make special efforts to attract women trainees to the provincial public service, and make sure that opportunities for advancement are available. We'll also insist that companies doing business with the government don't discriminate against women; in fact, we'll insert a clause to this effect in our contracts.

INDIANS

A provincial government can do much to alter the second-class status of the Indian people — but only if the initiatives and the decisions come from the Indian people themselves.

In every area where provincial jurisdiction applies, a Nixon government will adhere to this approach. We won't appoint new commissions or task-forces, we won't launch further studies, we won't set up new bureaucracies. But wherever possible, we'll move to give Indian people more control over their own land, their monies, their business transactions, their community and local government activities.

Most important is control over education. Schools on reserves should be under local band councils, with all the authority of a regular Ontario school board, rather than under federal control. In this way, curricula could be shaped to meet the needs of the Indian people. We also need incentives for more Indian teachers; and in non-native schools, Indian culture should be taught by people from Indian communities.

No changes can be imposed from above. Accordingly, a Nixon government will stress the role of community development workers, and support the program proposed by the Union of Ontario Indians, which

envisioned a grass-roots community development effort, managed and executed by Indians, for Indians.

AGRICULTURE

Ontario agriculture is in serious trouble. Farming requires larger investments than ever before, and the return on this investment is smaller than at almost any time in our history. In a single five-year period between 1961 and 1966, the average investment in Canadian farms grew from \$27,000 to \$44,000. During the 1960's, the cost of goods and services used in farm production rose nearly twice as fast as the average price of agricultural commodities. There is an apparently irresistible trend towards fewer, larger farm units.

In Ontario, 3000 farmers are leaving the land every year. Hog prices — have sunk to the level of twenty years ago. Ontario egg producers are selling eggs for half what it costs to produce them. There are some elected politicians who think the subject of hog and egg prices is too hilarious to merit discussion in the Legislature. This attitude explains a lot about Ontario agriculture's present malaise.

There are very few sectors of our economy which have encountered such disruptive change. It's not merely an economic problem — but a human one. A way of life is being uprooted, a way of life whose qualities and texture are needed more than ever in an increasingly urbanized world.

The Liberal Party of Ontario does not believe in "agribusiness". We believe the family farm *must* be preserved, and that the economic means to preserve it must be found.

One way is through tax reform, which has already been referred to in another section of this booklet. Present tax policies practically ensure the decline of the family farm, and burden farmers with an unfairly large proportion of the costs of education. In surveys taken by the Ontario Federation of Agriculture in two counties, Lennox and Addington, it was found that farmers paid an average of \$654 in property taxes for education, while urban property-owners paid an average of \$233. That means farmers were paying an average of 9 percent of their income in property tax — more than three times the proportion paid by schoolteachers or physicians.

Instead of devising new handout programmes, a Liberal government will end this inequity by assuming 80 percent of the costs of education. We will abolish succession duties and this action combined with Ottawa's decision to eliminate estate taxes, will mean that farm families will no longer be forced to sell their property to pay death taxes. Further, we will return to the county system of assessment, so that property-owners can *see* the people who are making the decisions which so drastically affect their lives and incomes.

A basic objective of Liberal agricultural policy is to raise farm incomes. This can't be achieved without more efficient utilization of land. Some land is so marginal that no amount of economic reform will make it pay. In such areas, farmers should be encouraged to convert it to other uses — forestry, recreation and green belts. In some cases, the government may buy farmland to reserve it as a green belt outside expanding urban areas, then lease back this land to its previous owners for agricultural purposes.

As a corollary of this policy, a Liberal government will join with Ottawa to develop special man-power programmes that will give farmers, previously engaged in farming marginal or uneconomic units, the chance to develop other skills — including park and recreational land management. The government's industrial development policy will also emphasize decentralization, to provide nonfarm employment in smaller centres, and to give young people an alternative to urban migration.

Land-use adjustments must be made — but they must be made fairly. Thus, a Liberal government will establish safe-guards to ensure fair treatment for farmers in cases where their land is acquired, or its value is reduced, as a result of planning and development programs, including rezoning. One such safeguard will be to appoint farm representatives immediately to the Land Compensation Board.

More effective land-use is only one aspect of our program for raising farm incomes. Another aspect is vigorous action to reduce production costs. A Liberal government will strive to bring produce prices to a level that will accurately reflect costs of production. In particular, we will work with Ottawa to reduce the cost of farm machinery and encourage the standardization of farm machinery parts.

Farm produce marketing policies must also be improved. A Liberal government will establish marketing boards with agency powers for any product threatened by dumped or subsidized imports. Within two years, the appointed members of such boards would be replaced by members elected by the producers themselves. Similarly, producers will be more strongly represented on the Farm Products Marketing Board, with a majority of its members being elected by the respective marketing boards. (Political appointments must not be allowed to interfere with the interests of primary producers). A Liberal government will also work with Ottawa and other provinces to achieve common subsidy and marketing policies; interprovincial trade wars, like the recent "chicken and egg war", are wasteful and avoidable. We intend to avoid them.

Farm credit policies must also be overhauled. A Liberal government will work with Ottawa to develop a joint system that avoids duplication of programmes. Among the features of such a reformed farm credit system:

- * Establishment of an Agricultural Industry Bank to make long-and-short-term loans, and second-mortgage loans, at competitive interest rates.
- * *Forgivable* loans to farmers who are modernizing their operations to produce products that are in short supply.
- * Rent-for-purchase agreements so that qualified young farmers can start operations without a large downpayment. This program would enable farmers to lease an operation with an option to purchase after a specified time. The accumulated lease money would then be considered the downpayment.
- * Interest rates on farm improvement loans will be brought into line with those prevailing in other provinces.
- * Enactment of a new Farm Land Rental Act that will provide for a standard, easily-understood farm lease. This reform will clarify the relationship between landlords and farm-tenants.
- * Government loans will be made on the security of stored grain.

* Finally, a Liberal government will develop an improved system of crop insurance, designed to meet with greater acceptance from the people it is intended to serve. At present, only one out of twenty Ontario farmers are enrolled in the existing scheme, which is a pretty fair indication of its usefulness. At this level of participation, the system can't possibly pay its way. Our remedies: the provincial government will pay 50 percent — instead of 25 percent — of the premiums, and lower rates will be available for farmers with low crop-loss histories. Marketing boards will be allowed to negotiate on behalf of their members for lower group rates, and the premium will be payable in two instalments — half in the spring, the remainder after harvest. Insurance will be available for all crops grown in commercial quantities.

LAW REFORM

The law must be the servant of the people: Our legal system must be our friend and protector, not our enemy and oppressor. It must reflect the collective conscience of modern Ontario.

Unfortunately, there are still too many archaic laws haunting Ontario, too many delays, too many abuses of discretion. Justice is often too expensive, too inefficient and too mysterious. A fresh breeze must blow through the cobweb of the law, if it is to earn the continuing respect of the people it is meant to serve.

A Nixon government is pledged to making justice both just and accessible to people. Accordingly, these are some of the reforms, goals and priorities that will be pursued by the Justice Department in a Liberal government:

* We will appoint an ombudsman who will have independent power to investigate arbitrary action by government officials, to make reports to the minister responsible or, if no action is forthcoming within thirty days, to the legislature.

* We will end the practice of introducing general legislation which conceals its true objective and leaves real policy-making to the bureaucrats.

* We will introduce information programs to make the law more accessible to the public, including a codification of the law.

* A Nixon government will move to protect individual rights against the powers of the courts themselves. In particular:

* We are putting too many people in jail who don't belong there. To minimize the dangers of detention without trial, a Liberal government will insist on twenty-four-hour criminal courts and bail facilities in all cities. The use of summons rather than arrest, and personal bail rather than cash bail, will become the general rule throughout Ontario.

* The whole question of judges' powers of contempt, and of public discussion of pending proceedings, will be reviewed with a view to protecting individual rights and permitting proper discussion.

In addition to reviewing the powers of the courts, a Nixon government will take strong action to improve the quality of justice they deliver. The courts must be made swifter, more efficient, more humane. Specifics:

* We will appoint a full-time commission, with public representation, to overhaul the archaic rules and procedures in provincial courtrooms. The object will be to make the courts function in the public interest — without days off, at the public's service, and at minimum cost. Procedures must be simplified. Documents must be modernized. The very design of courtrooms, with not enough space for the public in police headquarters, must be re-examined.

* A Liberal government, instead of insisting that each county have a court, will establish a system of judicial districts, with continual sittings, so that *litigants* have access to the court at all times. To handle the extra work-load that these reforms will create, the Supreme Court will be expanded beyond the presently proposed four extra judges. Continuing education programs, with regular sabbaticals, for judges at all levels of the system, will be expanded.

* To promote liaison between the judicial and executive arms of government, both federally and provincially, a deputy attorney-general will be given the job of reviewing court decisions which indicate the need for changes in the law, and of maintaining contact with the federal Justice Department.

* The modernization of the land titles system will be speeded up, and a province-wide title insurance scheme will be set up. Our long-term goal will be to establish a centralized province-wide computerized land records system with computer terminals in each county. The computer would record ownership, all encumbrances, municipal tax assessments, zoning and other relevant information.

DOMESTIC AND FAMILY LAW

* Overhaul and greatly expand the family court system. A new family court will be formed to replace the present family divisions of the supreme, county surrogate and provincial courts. The new court will have vastly increased facilities and personnel for counselling and probation, with jurisdiction over divorce, custody, support, delinquency and property actions between family members. It will have night sittings, and will include an information bureau dispensing information on housing, welfare, birth control, medicare and hospitalization.

* Confine juveniles and children in conflict with the law in separate detention facilities, complete with facilities for physical and psychiatric care. Juvenile court records will be expunged after five years of good conduct.

* Supervise and follow up custody orders to ensure that children are protected.

* Revise the Married Women's Property Act, so that married women receive full property rights, as though they were single. Dower will be abolished.

* Expand day care facilities for children and homemakers' services.

* Establish and expand after-care services for the infirm, retarded and mentally ill and meaningful outlets for the retired.

OTHER REFORMS

* Educational and training standards of police will be upgraded. Courses in community relations must be a part of the training process, and the Ontario Police College should be expanded to train municipal police as well as OPP candidates. Recruitment for provincial and municipal forces should include psychological testing. Police forces will be opened to members of ethnic communities, notwithstanding height requirements.

* A "Good Samaritan" statute will be enacted, providing for compensation of people injured while attempting to assist others. At present, a doctor who stops to render assistance at a traffic accident, or a man who tries to rescue a drowning child, enjoy no protection under the law; if they die or are injured in the attempt, there is no way they or their relatives can be compensated.

* The Workmen's Compensation Act will be revised to enable workmen and their dependents to sue for higher awards in court, as an alternative to workmen's compensation. At present, a WCB claim is entertained only on condition that the claimant waive his right to sue in court for a higher award, and awards are usually less than a court would allow.

* The system by which victims of crime are compensated will be overhauled. Instead of appealing to an administrative board, victims will be able to sue for a proper award — in place of the criminal — a Registrar of Crimes Compensation appointed by the government. Persons wrongfully detained in jail will be entitled to compensation without having to go through the civil courts. Provision will be made for independent investigation of citizens' complaints against police.

HEALTH

Health care, like most social programs, experienced an explosive growth during the 1960's. The task for the 1970's is not so much a matter of further expansion, as of consolidation. We need streamlined administrative procedures that will eliminate duplication, that will put facilities where they're needed most, that will bring health services' costs under control (they've tripled over the past five years), that will implement a *total* health policy for Ontario.

The blueprints for a comprehensive health policy are already available. In the past five years we have had two royal commissions, one task force and a nine-volume report on health services by the Ontario Council of Health, whose recommendations provide the basis for the reforms we propose to implement. Among them:

* A Liberal government, as part of its plan for government reorganization, will establish a Department of Social and Community Services. This new department will have responsibility for all health-care services, which are now spread among several departments. (Nursing homes, for instance, are now the responsibility of the Department of Health, while homes for the aged come under the Department of Social and Family Services.)

* The new department's job will be to develop and execute a comprehensive policy for health and social services in Ontario. One of its priorities will be to accelerate the unification of medicare and hospitalization. These two services, each with their own separate bureaucracies, are part of the same process of total health care; under a Nixon government, they will be treated as such.

* A Nixon government will also move towards abolition of premiums for both medicare and hospital insurance. Since almost everyone must pay them, premiums are actually a kind of tax — a tax whose burden is proportionately greater for lower-income groups. Abolition of premiums will remove this inequity — and also save Ontario taxpayers the \$15 million it now costs to administer the two premium systems. Instead, medicare will be financed by a 1% surtax on personal taxable income, and a contribution by employers equal to 1% of their total payrolls. Self-employed persons will not be charged twice.

* A Nixon government will insist that medical fee increases be a matter of negotiation between the government and the medical profession subject to automatic review every two years. At present, the profession can unilaterally give itself a raise, and medicare payouts which are based on a percentage of the profession's going rate — rise accordingly. We will also insist on professional audits and controls of the business affairs of physicians, conducted through the Ontario Medical Association. Through the profession's own organization, this step would protect the public against the tiny minority of doctors who are milking the Medicare system for much more than they're worth.

* If doctors have a responsibility to hold the line on health care costs, so do patients. A Nixon government will take steps to educate the public in the economic, responsible use of the medicare system.

* We must increase the *diversity* of health facilities, in the interests of efficiency and better care. We will build more convalescent hospitals, for instance, to reduce the pressure on active treatment hospitals. We will strive for a more efficient allocation of resources between convalescent and active treatment hospitals, and between nursing homes, home-care programs and out-patient facilities.

The basic idea is to cut costs by eliminating "over-care". The more immediate facilities and programs we provide, the less pressure on hospitals, and the lower the unit costs of total health care. As part of this process, hospital insurance benefits will be extended to include nursing-homes — but immediately, not a year from now. "Half-way" residences will be established for psychiatric patients who are making their way back into society.

* The same approach is needed in our allocation of human resources in health care. We must make more effective use of paramedical personnel, especially in isolated communities. We must start licensing — and, where warranted, de-licensing — nursing home administrators. We must give more support to the development of home care programs for temporarily ill or convalescent patients. We must place more emphasis on using existing hospitals as training centres. We must encourage the establishment of new nursing homes, and of group medical practice, by financial incentives if necessary.

* A Liberal government will give high priority to the extension of

medicare and hospitalization coverage to include prescription drugs and dental care.

* Finally, a Nixon government will actively encourage the establishment of community health clinics, which are medium range medical institutions which can perform many of the simpler health-care functions of hospitals. The Davis government refuses to extend financial assistance to local groups wishing to start such clinics, unless they qualify as "experimental", a policy which a Nixon government will reverse.

Innovations such as these — which promise to lower health costs by fitting the institution more closely to the need — should be promoted, not discouraged. A Nixon government will experiment with other ideas as well. Why couldn't several hospitals in a single area experiment with cost-saving techniques such as pooled purchasing? Why can't we produce more doctors for less money by developing less costly techniques of medical education? A Nixon government will try to answer such questions, in an attempt to end our present spendthrift approach to medical care.

THE ECONOMY

It's well known that government policy — mainly decisions on how to tax and how to spend the proceeds — have a crucial effect on a nation's economy. What is less well known is the fact that, in Ontario, the economic decisions of the *provincial* government can carry as much, or more, weight, than those made in Ottawa. Why? Simply because the provincial government — and the municipal governments under provincial jurisdiction — spend more money in Ontario than the federal government does. (During 1968-69, Ontario and the municipalities spent \$5.18 billion; federal expenditures in Ontario, however, amounted to only \$3.86 billion).

What do these figures mean? They mean that if unemployment is high in Ontario (it is), if inflation persists (it does), if economic growth is lagging (it is), then a major share of the blame rests with the Davis Government.

The Liberal Party in Ontario is thus pledged to getting the province's economy moving again. Many of the tools to accomplish this aim are in provincial hands; but they must be used effectively. By meshing our policies on taxation, on borrowing, on government spending and on economic development with those of Ottawa, a Nixon government will help promote full employment, balanced growth and stable prices. It can be done — all it takes is a government in Queen's Park that is prepared to accept responsibility for prosperity.

After all, Ontario's economy represents a significant proportion of the national economy. Our industrial strength entitles us to a say in the formulation of federal economic policies that could make us or break us. A Nixon government will fully exercise this mandate. We believe that full employment is our most urgent economic priority — even if, to achieve it, we must accept a degree of inflation. Since Ontario's prosperity is so profoundly affected by Ottawa's fiscal, monetary, tariff and competition policies, we intend to make our views known, as strongly as possible, in Ottawa.

In the provincial field of action, however, the prime responsibility for

creating new jobs lies with the Department of Trade and Development. It must work actively to narrow the economic gap between the have and have-not areas of Ontario. To this end, a Nixon government will:

* Expand the program of grants to encourage industries to locate in slow-growth areas of the province.

* Decentralize various government departments and agencies; government should "live" everywhere in the province, not just Toronto.

* Merge the Department of Tourism and Information with the present Department of Trade and Development, and work actively to promote the growth of tourism in northern and eastern Ontario. To this end, the existing program of information, marketing advice and management consulting for the tourist industry will be expanded.

* The policies and functions of the Ontario Development Corporation will be strengthened. Instead of subsidizing new industries at random locations around Ontario, the ODC must be directed to promote development only in *selected* growth centres. If enough new industries locate in a single area, that area will start generating economic growth on its own. But if the same development is scattered through a dozen towns, further economic growth seldom occurs.

* The ODC must also be directed to stop subsidizing the U.S. takeover of Ontario's economy. Such incentives must be made available *first* to Canadian-owned firms; and where loans or grants are made to U.S. subsidiaries, they must be encouraged to offer a portion of their stock to Canadian investors. Where possible, such loans or grants would be made on condition that the firm purchase its equipment and supplies from Canadian sources.

* The ODC, or some other provincial agency, must be empowered to buy shares in companies, as well as making loans or grants. Without this power, Ontario taxpayers are required to take too many of the risks, but not enough of the rewards. Also, it must be empowered to assist primary and service industries, as well as manufacturing.

* Ontario must develop a *total* industrial policy, so that we'll know how we want our economy to develop. We need to decide, for instance, on the permissible rate of exploitation of our resources, jurisdiction over which is given to us in the constitution. We need a policy on research and development; as it is, too much of the work of innovation is farmed out by Ontario subsidiaries to their U.S. parents. We need a science policy, shaped in concert with the federal government, which will help us decide what kind of things we want to invent. (Should we be concentrating on computers or nuclear reactors or what? At the moment, the government has no idea.) As part of this total industrial policy, we must also develop a comprehensive approach to manpower planning in Ontario. Too many young people are now being trained for jobs that no longer exist. Finally, a total industrial policy must find ways to develop better managers, better entrepreneurs. Canadian-owned business can't develop unless the people are available to start them and run them. And recent studies by the Economic Council of Canada have shown a serious lack of co-ordination between industry, government and the universities in this area.

FOREIGN CONTROL

Under a Nixon government, Ontario will no longer be for sale, at cut-rate prices, to outsiders. Foreign investment will continue to be welcomed. But it will be welcomed on *our* terms, in accordance with a policy that will encourage Canadians to take the risks, and reap the rewards, that for too long have been left to others. A Nixon government will also take steps to ensure that education in Ontario properly reflects Canadian ideals and traditions.

Although the main thrust of a policy of economic and cultural independence must originate in Ottawa, we do not believe it is exclusively a federal problem. There is much the provinces can do, especially in the constitutional areas of property rights, natural resources, the land, and education. Ontario could take the lead among the provinces in devising policies which would mesh with federal legislation to create a set of sensible rules and incentives to promote Canadian control of the Canadian economy.

Under the direction of a task-force reporting to the premier, and with the co-operation of the departments concerned, a Nixon government will do just that. We believe, as do the federal authorities, that a workable policy on economic independence can only be arrived at in the context of an overall industrial policy. The task, in other words, is not just to discourage foreign control of our resources and industries. We also have to find new ways of bringing together Canadian talents, Canadian energies and Canadian capital to make this country — already one of the world's storehouses — into one of the world's great workshops as well.

Accordingly, a Nixon government will set up a foreign Investment Review Board that will work towards our long-term goal: Canadian control of all corporations doing business in Ontario. The Board will have the power to screen all proposals for foreign takeovers and substantial direct foreign investment in Ontario. They won't be approved unless it can be shown that (a) all possible sources of Canadian capital, public and private, have been explored, and that (b) the investment is otherwise in the public interest. One of the Board's important guidelines will be that foreign loan capital is preferable to equity investments; it is better to have outsiders loaning us money than taking a controlling piece of the action.

In other words, we want to see more Canadians starting new companies, and we want to see established companies remain in Canadian hands. To help this process along, a Nixon government will expand the present role of the Ontario Development Corporation, whose main function now is to promote development in slow-growth areas of the province. The ODC, in addition to its present functions, will become a buyer of last resort in cases where a takeover is imminent in such key areas as communications or finance. In cases where the owners of Canadian firms in key sectors of the economy want to sell out to foreigners, the ODC could help that firm's employees to buy the company themselves. (If we had tried that a few years ago, Royal Securities might not be run from Wall Street).

But last-minute interventions in undesirable takeovers are not a substitute for overall policy. We're not out to discourage foreign enterprise, so much as to encourage the Canadian variety. This means setting up machinery that will make it easier for Ontario residents with sound

commercial ideas to set up their own companies — and for established Canadian-owned companies to expand.

What we propose, then, is that the Ontario government should go into the venture-capital business — *as a silent partner*. The big weakness of many government investment schemes — including the ODC — is that they tend to be cautious, slow-moving and subject to political pressures. The way to get around this, we believe, is by the formation of a number of *private* venture-capital firms. Their job would be to provide “seed money” to promising young ventures — not in the form of loans, but in equity. A Nixon government would be prepared to buy up to 40 percent of the shares of these venture-capital companies; this indirect guarantee would make it easier to raise the remaining capital from the investing public. Result: a pool of public and private money, managed by businessmen, not bureaucrats, that would invest at the early stages in young Canadian enterprises. The government's investments in these venture-capital firms could be made through the ODC, whose policies would be integrated with those of the federally-incorporated Canada Development Corporation.

In addition, a Nixon government will institute several basic reforms designed to improve our ability to encourage Canadian control of the economy. Federal law now requires, for instance, that “private” companies with assets of more than \$5 million — including subsidiaries of foreign firms — make full disclosure of their financial affairs; we believe identical disclosure requirements ought to apply in Ontario to provincially-incorporated firms.

We will also *enforce* the law requiring processing in Canada of minerals mined in Ontario (the Tories haven't), and will work with industry to improve the quality of Canadian management.

Cultural independence, however, is just as important as economic independence. The kind of textbooks our children read are just as important as the kind of cars their parents drive. A Nixon government, mindful of this fact, will take steps to halt the casual Americanization of our educational system.

Ontario schoolchildren probably know more about Abraham Lincoln than they do about Sir Wilfred Laurier. This is a symptom of a general disinterest in Canadian studies that pervades our educational system. To help change this state of affairs, a Nixon government will:

- * Require that, within five years, 80 percent of the textbooks and learning materials used in Ontario classrooms be produced by Canadian-controlled companies.

- * Provide grants for the development of programs in Canadian studies, and related learning materials.

- * Canadianize the teaching staffs of Ontario universities. A Liberal government will insist that, within two years, a majority of the total teaching staff of each Ontario university be Canadian citizens. Within six years, we will require that at least two-thirds of the teaching staff of each individual department be Canadian citizens. The president of any institution that cannot meet these guidelines must justify his position to the Human Resources Committee of the Legislature.

A Nixon government will also try to discourage branch-plant unionism. Ontario locals of U.S.-based unions must be encouraged to elect their own officials, hire their own staff, acquire certification in the name of their own districts, ratify their own agreements and control their own assets.

The free-for-all giveaway of prime recreational land to foreigners must be stopped. A Nixon government will not permit non-residents to buy Crown land, although they may hold it under long-term lease where Canadians have had right of first refusal. We will also control the sale of *private* recreational land to non-residents by requiring that all such lands be either developed or resold to Canadians at fair market value, and by making the government the buyer of last resort if necessary. No resident, or non-resident, will in the future, be able to purchase more than 2 acres of recreation land, without a permit from the Minister of the Environment.



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