




**RENEWING
OUR STRENGTHS**

LIBÉRAL



POLICY PROGRAM
POLICY COMMISSION
QUEBEC LIBERAL PARTY



JL
259
A5
L5
A25
1988e

259
A5
L5
A25
1988

Table of contents

FOREWORD	1
----------------	---

INTRODUCTION	3
--------------------	---

CHAPTER I: BUILDING THE FUTURE	9
--------------------------------------	---

I. ACCOMPLISHMENTS	9
II. CONTINUITY IN ACTION	11
III. NEW PRIORITIES	12
IV. DEVELOPING HUMAN RESOURCES	12
V. CONTINUING TO IMPROVE GOVERNMENT FINANCES	16
VI. OPENING OUR DOORS TO THE WORLD: AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY	18
VII. ACCELERATING THE MODERNIZATION OF QUEBEC'S ECONOMY	20
VIII. PROMOTING MORE BALANCED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT	23
IX. BUILDING A PROSPEROUS FUTURE	24

CHAPTER II: PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT	27
--	----

I. A TIMELY CONCERN	27
II. THE ENVIRONMENT: THE LIBERAL AGENDA	30
1- Objectives	30
2- A group project	31
Sharing responsibility	31
A need for leadership	32
A balanced approach	32



III. THE LIBERAL PLAN OF ACTION	33
1- Ensuring Environmental Safety	33
2- Restoring the St. Lawrence River	34
3- Applying the Principle of Sustainable Development to Manufacturing	34
4- Managing Solid Wastes	35
5- Strengthening the Environment Sector	36
6- Environmental Education	38
IV. RESPECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT	39
 CHAPTER III: ENSURING THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT	41
I- DEMOGRAPHY: THE STAKES ARE HIGH	41
II- THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT: MEETING THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE	43
1- Deflecting, then Reversing Demographic Decline	43
2- Adapting to the Shock of Changing Demographics	44
III- WAYS OF MEETING THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE	45
1- The Liberal Record	45
2- Reversing the Demographic Decline	45
Political Support and Concrete Help for Parents	46
Enriching Quebec Society	50
Learning to Live Together	51
3- Adapting to the Shock of Changing Demographics	53
A Place for the Elderly	53
Developing a Culture with Strong Powers of Attraction	58
IV. OUR CHOICE: ENSURING THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT	59
 CONCLUSION: RENEWING OUR STRENGTHS	61



Foreword

In 1985, the Quebec Liberal Party invited Quebecers to move resolutely back onto the road to recovery, in order to meet the challenges of international competition and to ensure that Quebec takes its rightful place within Canada.

It is on the basis of that program that Quebecers placed their full trust in Robert Bourassa's team, a trust that has not been betrayed.

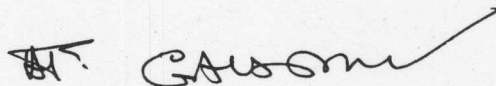
The mandate that is coming to an end has enabled Quebecers to regain full confidence in their strengths and assets. That confidence will be extremely useful in helping Quebecers to achieve well-being and prosperity over the coming years. In the manifesto entitled **Ready for Tomorrow**, adopted at the Party convention in February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party established three priorities: to bring unemployment down even further by focusing on economic growth, to make environmental protection a main priority, and to reverse the declining demographic trend.

The Policy Committee of the Quebec Liberal Party adopted the major orientations of that manifesto as a foundation for the political program herewith submitted to the members for approval.

This political program demonstrates the will of the Quebec Liberal Party to keep in touch with Quebecers' current priorities and their aspirations for the future.

Many Party activists have contributed their knowledge and expertise to this program. We would like to offer them our sincerest thanks for their hard work and devotion.

We would also like to express our heartfelt appreciation to the people who work for the Quebec Liberal Party Headquarters, and especially those in the Communications and Research Department, for their loyal and ongoing support.



Henri-François Gautrin, President
Policy Committee of the
Quebec Liberal Party

Foreword

In 1985, the Quebec Liberal Party invited Quebecers to move resolutely back onto the road to recovery, in order to meet the challenge of international competition and to ensure that Quebec takes its rightful place within Canada.

It is on the basis of that program that Quebecers placed their trust in Robert Bourassa's team, a trust that has not been betrayed.


The mandate that is coming to an end has enabled Quebecers to regain full confidence in their strengths and assets. That confidence will be extremely useful in helping Quebecers to achieve well-being and prosperity over the coming years. In the manifesto entitled *Policy for Tomorrow*, adopted at the Party convention in February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party established three priorities: to bring unemployment down even further by focusing on economic growth, to make environmental protection a main priority, and to reverse the declining demographic trend.

The Policy Committee of the Quebec Liberal Party adopted the major orientations of that manifesto as a foundation for the political program presently submitted to the members for approval.

This political program demonstrates the will of the Quebec Liberal Party to keep in touch with Quebecers' current priorities and their aspirations for the future.

Many Party activists have contributed their knowledge and expertise to this program. We would like to offer them our sincerest thanks for their hard work and devotion.

We would also like to express our heartfelt appreciation to the people who work for the Quebec Liberal Party Headquarters, and especially those in the Communications and Research Department, for their loyal and ongoing support.


Henri Gauthier, President
Policy Committee of the
Quebec Liberal Party

Introduction

Quebec has regained confidence in itself. Everywhere you look, in all sectors of society, Quebecers have seen their situation improve during the Liberal mandate. Whether they be workers, entrepreneurs, artists or scientists, Quebecers have felt the change.

After years of fruitless confrontations with Ottawa, this mandate has been marked by substantial gains: the Space Agency, the Canadair maintenance contract, and the National Optics Institute. After years of isolation, there has been a productive dialogue. With the Meech Lake and Free Trade Agreements, Quebec has regained its role as a major partner in Confederation. After some pretty turbulent years, labour relations have improved: in 1988, 93% of collective agreements were renewed without work stoppages.

People have started investing again, which is a sign of renewed confidence in the future and a calmer and more favourable political climate. Several major projects that had been put on hold for years have now been resumed. Take the Matane paper mill; it had been talked about for over 20 years. And the General Motors plant at Boisbriand: a good example of economic decline transformed into success. And then there are the aluminum projects: Alcan, Becancour, Reynolds - putting Quebec on the world map in terms of aluminum production.

Although the Quebec government has been a catalyst for many of these projects, it is the people of Quebec who, inspired by a strong will to achieve progress in Quebec, deserve the credit for these accomplishments. By adopting a new style of government, the Liberal team has conveyed a clear message to the population: that development depends mainly on individuals. When the government acts, it is to support initiatives taken locally, regionally, or within particular sectors, initiatives that result from Quebecers' determination to take action and improve their situation.

This style of government is based on the Quebec Liberal Party's philosophy, which focuses on five main ideas. These ideas must be reaffirmed now that this political program is being presented.

Liberalism

Firstly, the Quebec Liberal Party believes in **individuals**, their abilities, and their right to freedom. Quebecers' desire to improve their situation is the best stimulus for achieving a flourishing and prosperous society. People must be given the opportunity to use their imagination, skills and energies. In order for Quebecers to exercise their initiative and take action, individual freedoms must be protected.

But individuals evolve within **society**. The freedoms of one person stop where the freedoms of another begin, and the freedoms of an individual living within society are indissociable from his/her responsibilities toward fellow citizens. The Quebec Liberal Party therefore acts as an advocate regarding certain values it considers to be deeply rooted in Quebecers: individual freedoms, social justice, openness, and respect for differences. These are the foundations of liberal thought.

The Liberal Party cares about the most disadvantaged members of our society, and those who have the most meager means. It is working toward greater **social justice**. In concrete terms, the Party has proposed and carried out reforms aimed at reducing inequalities and creating the conditions essential to equal opportunity:

in the 1960s, the right to elementary and secondary education; in the 1970s, the right to health and social services; and during the mandate that is coming to an end, income security.

The Quebec Liberal Party has identified economic development as the best way of distributing wealth and assuring social justice.

The Quebec Liberal Party recognizes that private enterprise is the driving force behind economic development. But at the same time we believe that when it comes to the economy, the government must catalyze initiative, ensure respect for the environment, and mediate between free enterprise and workers' rights. In short, the government must create a climate conducive to a type of sustainable economic growth which is accompanied by social peace and political stability.

The Quebec Liberal Party is profoundly attached to the French fact, and dedicated to promoting it. The Party has identified the government of Quebec as the only one in North America with a mission to protect and promote the French language. The QLP believes in a type of federalism in which Quebec, as the seat of the French language in Canada, is a major partner, and asserts its distinct character while at the same time participating in the economic, social and cultural development of Canada.

The Quebec Liberal Party believes that **the government should serve the people**. In its practices, the government must listen to the people, and show them all the respect that is their due. In its structures, the government must give people opportunities to help make the decisions that affect their well-being, and encourage them to take advantage of such opportunities. In its composition, the government must reflect the diverse cultures and backgrounds that make up our society.

In action, the Quebec Liberal Party focuses on the major issues that face Quebec with each new decade. It is the party of enduring reform, ready to meet each new challenge as it comes along.

Ensuring Steady Progress

Now, as we move into the 1990s, the Quebec Liberal Party looks at the progress that has been made. In education, following the immense efforts of the 1960s, Quebec has caught up to its main competitors. In the health-care sector, thanks to the huge investments of the 1970s, we now have a system that -- despite certain weaknesses -- is envied by many of our neighbours. In the economic realm, Quebec's strong economy has created 233,000 new jobs since the beginning of the current mandate. Substantial progress has been made.

From a broader perspective, the last quarter century has been characterized by spectacular progress in the fields of science, technology and medicine. But there has also been a brutal awakening in several regards: we have become aware of the interdependence of national economies, the serious threats to the world ecosystem, and, in our western societies, the dramatic drop in the birthrate.

To be qualified to govern, a political party must be on top of history-in-the-making. In its 1985 political program entitled **Mastering Our Future**, the Quebec Liberal Party had already identified growing international competition as a catalyst for new alignments, as well as unprecedented opportunities. Recognizing this unavoidable reality, the Liberal government has worked hard to take advantage of it. The phenomenon still applies and will require additional effort.

Today, at the dawning of the third millennium, we must examine the new challenges facing Quebec. The Quebec Liberal Party has focused on two of these challenges: protecting our natural heritage, and ensuring the future of the French fact in Quebec.

The stakes involved in these two areas are of a special nature. They concern the very survival of our society as we know it. Are we to be the last to appreciate the benefits of a healthy environment? To benefit from our natural resources, which used to be considered inexhaustible? Will we form the last generation of Quebecers whose population is sufficiently large for us to claim that we are a distinct society? If such were the case, we would be moving, slowly but surely, toward certain assimilation.

The message is clear: do we take enough pride in what we are to want to perpetuate ourselves in the future, and to assure the ongoing viability of the French fact in Quebec and its enviable territory and distinct character? The Quebec Liberal Party answers a resounding yes to these questions which concern us all.

The Foundations

Just as buildings rest on foundations, societies must also count on certain foundations to ensure their well-being. These include economic prosperity, a healthy environment and a growing population. When these foundations start to crumble, the building becomes unsteady. Cracks start to appear, such as depletion of our forests, deterioration of arable land, or the financing difficulties of the Quebec Pension Plan.

After some time, the building may start to crumble. Entire economic sectors that depend on dwindling natural resources may be wiped out. Precious social programs may collapse, due to an insufficient number of taxpayers. A responsible government must know how to recognize these eventualities. Better still, it must act while there is still time.

The foundations for development are interrelated. Everything is part of a cohesive whole. Thus, certain firms that use sophisticated technology are now looking for areas with clean air when considering where to locate, not only for the benefit of their employees, but also because their instruments can be damaged by pollution. Conversely, our efforts to clean up industry often the result of the existence of alternative technologies.

Moreover, the population flow in and out of a region depends largely on its relative prosperity. But economic growth depends to a considerable extent on domestic consumption, and, therefore, on population levels.

Thus, action must be taken in the three following areas to preserve the foundations of our individual and collective well-being: reinforcing economic prosperity, protecting our natural heritage, and maintaining the demographic balance.

Once these foundations are assured, individuals, businesses and organizations of all types can help to build -- each in their own way -- the type of society they wish to have. It is within individuals and within society as a whole that the strengths of Quebec reside. The government must know how to support them in their actions.

Clear Orientations

This policy program comprises three chapters, each developing one of the Quebec Liberal Party's three priorities for its next mandate.

1 - Prosperity: A Constant Concern

The economic recession of the early 1980s has affected us all. There is no need to go into detail here, but suffice it to say that the Quebec Liberal Party learned the following from the recession: that economic prosperity is closely linked to the quality of life. For many Quebecers, in fact for the majority, the economic situation is not an abstract collection of charts and figures. It affects them in tangible ways. All sorts of personal plans depend on the economic situation, including, sometimes, the decision to have a child. Consequently, we must never lose sight of economic concerns.

The Quebec Liberal Party made economic prosperity one of its central themes in 1985. Once again today, we are doing the same. This does not mean that substantial progress has not been made in the past four years. But if economic prosperity is to be a constant concern, consistent efforts must be made in terms of both ideas and actions.

The first chapter of this political program provides an update on the current situation, presents the recent progress that has been made, and brings out relevant trends. Even more important, it outlines the orientations of a Liberal government's second mandate with respect to economic development. These orientations tie efforts already undertaken to the implementation of new initiatives.

2 - Achieving Development While Protecting the Environment

The environment does not belong to anyone. Nevertheless, everyone is responsible for protecting it, and the government has a great responsibility in this regard. We are all guardians of the natural heritage that previous generations have left us. Thus, it is up to us to protect the environment, so that future generations will be able to benefit from it as well.

The second chapter of the program establishes protection of the environment as the major challenge for the end of this century. It invites all individuals, business leaders and decision-makers to put their shoulders to the wheel and work hard to protect our natural heritage. In order for us to succeed, this effort must equal the effort that Quebec put into developing our education system twenty-five years ago.

3 - The Future of the French Fact in Quebec: Meeting the Demographic Challenge

Like economic prosperity and environmental conservation, demographic growth is one of the foundations of our society's continued well-being. If the opposite were to occur, i.e. demographic decline, this would result in inevitable assimilation. World history, as well as Canadian history, abounds with examples of this phenomenon. As proud Quebecers, Liberals refuse to accept this path as our destiny.

The third chapter proposes a series of measures to ensure the future of the French fact and preserve our distinct character, by fighting against demographic decline. It also presents ways of assuring that Quebec will adapt to the phenomenon of an aging population.

Quebec's Future: Renewing our strengths

The Quebec Liberal Party asks Quebecers to judge its political program on the merits of its priorities. It is up to Quebecers to judge whether this program corresponds well to their concerns and aspirations.

Prosperity, the environment and the French fact are the priorities for the Quebec Liberal Party's next mandate. Profoundly attached to Quebec, to its natural heritage and distinct character, our Party believes that its chosen priorities are the essence of Quebec's future, the wealth we hold and pass on in sacred trust.

Quebec's Future: Renewing our strengths

The Quebec Liberal Party asks Quebecers to judge its political program on the merits of its priorities. It is up to Quebecers to judge whether the program corresponds well to their concerns and aspirations.

Presently, the environment and the French fact are the priorities for the Quebec Liberal Party's next mandate. Proudly attached to Quebec, to its natural heritage and distinct character, our Party believes that its chosen priorities are the essence of Quebec's future, the wealth we hold and pass on in sacred trust.

Building the future

In 1985, the Quebec Liberal Party proposed to the people of Quebec a new economic strategy based on a positive climate for economic development, job creation and social justice. At the end of its first mandate, the Quebec Liberal Party is stepping back to evaluate Quebec's economic performance in recent years and to identify the new challenges which await us in the future.

The early 1980s were marked by the very poor performance of Quebec's economy: low growth in productivity, stagnation of real income, the loss of more than 222,000 jobs between August 1981 and August 1982, and chronic weakness in investments. Moreover, in the absence of any corrective measures, the PQ government's administration of public finances would have led to a deficit of \$4.5 billion in 1985. The government formed by the Quebec Liberal Party found itself with a far from enviable economic inheritance.

But since then, the situation has improved greatly. The past three and a half years of expansion have brought about renewed productivity, 233,000 new jobs, significant progress in the total rate of investment, and a major improvement in public finances. The financial situation of Quebec's businesses has improved; many of them have become more competitive, revitalizing their operations through the use of new technologies.

Progress has thus been substantial, but Quebec must remain vigilant. The future holds new challenges. The changing world economic picture, an unemployment rate which is still too high, the lag in high technology, and regional disparities are concerns that must be added to those of the previous decade. Quebec must now successfully meet the challenge.

Ready for Tomorrow, the policy paper adopted by the Quebec Liberal Party in February 1988 proposed that the people of Quebec use the present government's economic policy as a springboard to the future to boldly build a more open, prosperous society -- one which truly cares about social justice. Sincerely wishing to give Quebec the solid foundation necessary for its future prosperity, the Quebec Liberal Party is proposing an economic plan on which Quebecers can build their future.

I - ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1 - The Economic Strategy of the QLP in 1985

As the election of 1985 drew close, the Quebec Liberal Party presented its political program. One of its major objectives was the achievement of full economic potential for our society. **Mastering Our Future** examined the best means to build an open, productive and competitive economy.

The QLP based its actions and its major orientations on four main principles. Firstly, a dynamic, prosperous economy had to be based upon a constant search for greater competitiveness and a more favourable investment climate. Secondly, within the context of industrial redeployment based on small and medium-size businesses, the training, skills and adaptability of workers were the indissociable partners of investment. Thirdly, clear support for Canada and our participation in the French-speaking world became factors of political stability indispensable to economic growth. Lastly, the Liberal government's actions had to henceforth reflect the notion of the "government as facilitator" rather than the "government as entrepreneur".

Eroded by underemployment and underinvestment, Quebec's economy was losing speed. The government's duty was to encourage the development of new momentum as rapidly as possible. More specifically, the QLP proposed:

- * to curb underemployment and find more acceptable levels of unemployment and employment by 1991 at the latest; this objective required the creation of 80,000 new jobs per year over five years;
- * to bring up the volume of investments in order to reach a level of approximately 20% of Quebec's gross domestic product;
- * to progressively bring taxes and taxation into line with the other Canadian provinces;
- * to progressively reduce the deficit in order to stabilize the Quebec government debt at a constant percentage of the gross domestic product;
- * to establish a comprehensive policy for the privatization of Crown corporations;
- * to take steps, as soon as possible, towards finalizing contracts for the long-term sale of electricity with states in the northeast U.S. , thus justifying the acceleration of Quebec's hydroelectric investment program;
- * to adopt a policy for manpower training, based on closer links between the education system and the workplace, as well as on the contribution of business to vocational training and retraining.

2-A Solid Foundation: 1985-1989

Since 1985, Quebec's economy has experienced an economic upswing that very few analysts had predicted. Cumulative growth for the last three years was 13.5%, for an annual average of above 4%. Job creation also reached new heights: since December 2, 1985, almost 80,000 new, permanent jobs have been created in Quebec each year.

Thanks to the effective and responsible management advocated by the Quebec government, the deficit was reduced by half, in other words, by \$1.7 billion. The government was also able to greatly reduce the tax burden borne by taxpayers, its goal being to improve the condition of families, to increase the incentive to work, and to stimulate productive, strategic investments. These gains are all the more impressive since they have come at a time when Quebec's budget is greatly suffering from a marked decrease in federal transfer payments.

As well, the Quebec Liberal Party's privatization objectives have, for the most part, been reached. Quebec taxpayers have saved substantially through the reorienting of publicly owned companies. This is a double gain for Quebecers, since the privatization policy has also had a positive impact on regional economic development by stimulating local entrepreneurship. For example, the privatization of Cambior, Madelipêche and certain subsidiaries of SNA have brought about the development and the strengthening of regional entrepreneurs.

Until 1985, the previous government's strategy for exporting hydroelectric power was essentially to sell surpluses to our neighbours. In 1986, the Liberal government anticipated the possibility of making export sales before actually carrying out hydroelectric projects. Since coming to power, the Liberal government has negotiated contracts for total electricity sales of 2,400 Mw, for an estimated income of more than \$34 billion. And even more important, economic growth has brought about a large increase in the demand for electricity in Quebec, especially for industrial use. Hydro-Québec is therefore now in a position to plan on investing \$50 billion over the next ten years. As the true dynamo of Quebec's economy, these investments should ensure sustained growth in the 1990s.

3-A Changing Future

We can, therefore, look towards the future with optimism. In addition to Hydro-Québec's investment plan, the economy will greatly benefit from its new competitiveness, access to U.S. markets thanks to the Free Trade Agreement, as well as from the possibilities afforded by the Europe of 1992.

Conditions are such that Quebec should enjoy economic performance equal to or better than that of Canada as a whole over the next few years. But this will not happen without work on our part.

Now that growth is again taking place, we must first make sure that it continues, and then transform it into real economic development. Some of the Liberal government's economic policies implemented in the 1990s will be the logical continuation of those in place since 1985. Others will constitute an important change of direction in relation to the political program of 1985. Let us now examine each one of them.

II - CONTINUITY IN ACTION

The Quebec Liberal Party will continue with its efforts to improve public finances. Reducing Quebec's debt will protect and improve its competitive edge, and will build and strengthen the confidence with which its economic partners face the future. Now that the goals we set in this area are in sight, it will henceforth be easier to pursue our objectives with respect to social justice.

Secondly, **the Quebec Liberal Party reiterates its intention to make Quebec competitive on the international scene.** The world economic landscape is profoundly changing. During the post-war years the United States held clear economic hegemony over the world. Since then, other countries have been bridging the gap, and though we cannot yet speak of parity, three major centres of economic power do exist: North America, the European Economic Community and the Pacific Rim countries. It may even be possible that in the near future, the Communist block will play an important role in the world's economy.

Closer to home, the Free Trade Agreement with the United States will accelerate the already noticeable trends towards an integrated North American economy. Tariffs between the two countries will be progressively eliminated and, for the first time in our history, we will benefit from relatively sure access to a market of 250 million consumers.

All this indicates that more than ever, foreign trade will be a vital factor in our economic future. It is therefore essential to pursue a strategy based on improved competitiveness, increased productivity, Quebec's economic presence on the international scene, and the conquering of new markets.

Moreover, our prosperity will remain largely dependent on maintaining favourable economic conditions for investment and export. This means that in the immediate future, Quebec must continue to demand that the federal government maintain interest rates and the value of the Canadian dollar at levels compatible with economic growth and job creation.

Thirdly, the **Quebec Liberal Party proposes to continue and to accelerate the modernization of Quebec's economy, especially in the area of technological development.** Progress in pure and applied research and the resulting technological benefits will create possibilities in the future once only imagined in science fiction. Despite appreciable efforts and some progress, Quebec still has a long way to go in meeting the technological challenge.

Lastly, the **Quebec Liberal Party will promote greater regional balance in growth and employment possibilities.** Despite the growth of recent years, major regional disparities remain, especially with regard to employment, unemployment and the level of economic activity. Moreover, the regions constitute a variety of entities; they have their own special characteristics, resources and potential. Thus, in order for Quebec to reach its highest economic potential, all regions must participate fully, each in its own way.

III - NEW PRIORITIES

In its policy paper, **Ready for Tomorrow**, the Quebec Liberal Party identified two new priorities which have an important effect on the Quebec government's economic policy. They are the protection of the environment, and the demographic challenge. Although we will deal with these two topics in later chapters, let us now examine them from a strictly economic point of view.

Protection of the environment will henceforth be a major economic policy issue. Growth, yes, but clean, long-term, sustainable growth! We will also have to make up for lost time with respect to the treatment of industrial waste, solid waste and agricultural pollutants. The environment must be considered in development plans, industrial projects, and natural resources development. And since this requires large investments, we will have to ensure the greatest positive economic results for Quebec.

A Liberal government will also use its economic policy to take up the demographic challenge. Economic conditions greatly determine immigrants' attraction to Quebec. Their successful integration into our society adds to society's growth and increases its development potential. Economic factors may also play an important role in the evolution of the birth rate: parental wage assistance, access to housing, labour standards, etc. In particular, Quebec will continue to recognize the contribution of those who raise a family by ensuring that they benefit from large income transfers.

Lastly, we are convinced that it is time to concentrate on a major economic component: the development of human resources.

IV - DEVELOPING HUMAN RESOURCES

In 1980, on the eve of the recession, Quebec had 294,000 unemployed, and its unemployment rate was 9.8%. Eight years later, despite a considerable drop in the number of young people entering the labour force, despite the major upswing in investments and the intense modernization of an economy in its sixth year of uninterrupted economic growth, Quebec still had 311,000 unemployed, with an unemployment rate of 9.4%.

Why did the impressive economic growth of recent years not result in a more substantial reduction in the level of unemployment, as it has in Ontario, for example?

A closer look at unemployment statistics helps to explain the situation. Throughout the 1970s, on average, young people aged 15 to 24 comprised approximately half of the unemployed in Quebec. In 1980, for example, this percentage was 45.9%. But the proportion of unemployed youth has constantly decreased since then; today, young people make up only a quarter of the unemployed. It is striking to note that workers aged 25 years or more have replaced the young in the ranks of the unemployed. Their number has in effect increased by 64,000 since 1980, an increase of 40%. Moreover, the number of long-term unemployed amongst them has almost doubled, reaching 115,000 in 1988.

This situation is due to the fact that unemployment itself has profoundly changed in recent years in Quebec. In the past, underemployment was a problem found largely amongst youth, and indicated insufficient economic growth. It was therefore necessary to stimulate economic expansion in order to reduce unemployment. But this prescription is no longer enough: beyond a certain threshold, the battle against underemployment comes up against a hard core of unemployed, largely made up of those who have trouble adapting, who lack mobility, or who suffer from serious problems of employability. As the Economic Council noted in its twenty-fifth annual report, **Back to Basics**, it is probable that the recession and the impressive growth that followed actually accelerated this process, by hastening the disappearance of traditional activities and replacing them with modern sectors of production. Although thousands of positions are available, unemployment remains. We are faced with a rising number of poorly qualified workers to fill the positions available in a rapidly modernizing economy.

Given these facts, it is easy to see the importance of developing human resources in today's Quebec. To effectively battle unemployment, we must not only maintain a high level of activity; we must also fight the structural problem posed by a growing segment of the labour force which is unable to do the work available. In order to be effective and all-encompassing, such a policy should pursue three major objectives:

- 1- the acquisition, before entering the labour force, of solid basic training, as well as the theoretical and practical knowledge required to work in a modern economy;
- 2- broad access, for the working population as a whole, to ongoing training, on-the-job development courses, technological adaptation courses, and retraining. In other words, whatever would help workers to constantly improve their skills according to the needs of an ever-changing economy;
- 3- the real possibility of entering the labour force for those who have serious problems of employability: dropouts, those on social assistance who are fit for work, the illiterate, older workers who have been laid off, work accident victims, etc.

The first point basically concerns the education system. The other two call upon the participation of different sectors, including employers, trade unions, educational establishments and the manpower training system.

1) The Education System and Training

At the very time when we absolutely need to promote flexibility and adaptability in the labour force, our education system is not responding adequately to the needs of a constantly changing world. Dropout rates

are too high, and an alarming number of high school graduates are functionally illiterate and very weak in mathematics. Following the example of its competitors, Quebec must ensure that the basics are properly assimilated at the high school level, especially mother tongue, mathematics, the sciences, and a second language. In today's world, "learning to learn" is the essential prerequisite for all individual growth and successful participation in the labour market.

In 1986, the Liberal government began its reform of secondary school vocational education in order to create a more versatile, functional labour force. This reform introduced two new streams for vocational training. The first prepares the student for a highly qualified trade and leads to a diploma in vocational studies. The second prepares the student for a trade requiring the acquisition of more physical skills than theoretical knowledge, and leads to a certificate in vocational studies. In addition, this reform offers possible solutions for the improved distribution of programs throughout the province, the strengthening of links between education and business, and the harmonizing of secondary and CEGEP-level education and adult and youth training courses.

This reform puts Quebec on the right track. Extra effort is nevertheless needed to further strengthen links between education and business. The education system must become more aware of the labour market's qualitative and quantitative needs in order to constantly and rapidly adapt to them. It must use the resources of business to educate students and help teachers up-date their disciplines. And finally, it must ensure more coherence between education and the demands of technology in today's society.

In certain European countries, Switzerland and West Germany for example, the government has set up a vast apprenticeship system. It is geared towards the majority of youth between the ages of 15 and 20, and ensures a smooth transition, over several years, between school and the workplace. In comparison, the apprenticeship schemes existing in North America are rudimentary. Without trying to copy what is done elsewhere, the Liberal government can nevertheless learn from such examples as it re-examines this greatly underdeveloped sector of activity in Quebec. To address this issue, an integrated apprenticeship policy will be elaborated.

2 - Training of the Labour Force

Presently, labour training programs - on-the-job or elsewhere - cost Quebec approximately \$600 million yearly. These are federal-provincial programs for retraining, reclassification, or training aimed at improving the employability of workers in difficulty. In total, they reach less than 1% of the working population; their impact is minimal given the challenge before us.

On-going training must become a way of life for workers, rather than emergency assistance in times of trouble. Businesses must see the development of human resources as a type of capital investment. We will not achieve this without changing procedures, attitudes, operating methods and mentalities.

That is why the Quebec Liberal Party will invite Quebecers to think seriously about the issues surrounding ongoing manpower training and the means to achieve it. A task force, chaired by a minister, will be set up to develop the issues which will then be submitted for broad public consultation. Issues of common interest will serve as a basis for the establishment of mechanisms to facilitate ongoing training.

The Jean Commission, which studied the issue several years ago, and more recently the De Granpré Commission, proposed a general tax on the total payroll to finance ongoing training. The Quebec Liberal Party does not agree with this point of view, essentially because of the negative impact such a tax would have on job creation and its unequal effect on small and large firms. The QLP instead recommends an approach by incentives, similar to that which led to the creation of private pension funds, by creating, for example, registered group retraining plans and group vocational training plans similar to supplementary pension plans.

The government formed by the Quebec Liberal Party intends to modify the Vocational Training Commissions (VTC) in order to strengthen and broaden their mandate.

Thus, resources presently scattered throughout the Travail-Québec network, the VTC's and certain departments of the Ministère de la Main-d'oeuvre et de la Sécurité du revenu could be grouped together within the new Labour Development Commissions. These commissions would thus become the sole port of entry to deal with labour issues throughout the regions. This should promote better communication between all concerned parties and more efficient programs.

3 – Increasing Employability

Presently, numerous resources exist to help those who are vulnerable to unemployment or hard to place in the labour force. We must, nevertheless, do more.

In order to encourage the transfer of labour from one business or sector of activity to another, and to ease the integration of older workers into vocational training programs, the Liberal Party proposes setting up a system of recognition for experience or skills. In Quebec, many workers came into the labour market with little preparation, driven by the need to earn a living. Most of these workers gained valuable on-the-job training which enabled them to reach semi-specialized or specialized positions. There is, however, no official recognition of these skills. Such recognition would increase workers' mobility and thus their ability to deal effectively with change.

Moreover, in concert with the federal government, a Liberal government will improve the Program for Older Worker Adjustment, for older workers who have been victims of mass layoffs. Presently, this program, which exists in all sectors, is only open to workers 55 years of age and older.

Generally speaking, a Liberal government will improve access to labour programs and simplify their administration. For example, there is a need to modify eligibility requirements for the Industrial Training Support Program (ITSP), in order to make it accessible to certain businesses with over 200 employees. The Workplace-based Training Program should be changed so as to eliminate the obligation to use public training institutions. We believe that private enterprise could often offer this type of training at a lower cost and under better conditions, given its greater expertise.

Lastly, the Liberal government will rapidly and energetically apply measures aimed at encouraging the return to work of those on social assistance who are fit to work. To do so, it will provide them with a range of generous and flexible programs so that they may gain confidence in their abilities, and complete their training and education.

V - CONTINUING TO IMPROVE PUBLIC FINANCES

For the Quebec Liberal Party, the improvement of public finances is essential to the future economic prosperity of Quebec. The responsible attitude adopted by the Liberal government in the management of government programs, coupled with Quebec's remarkable economic performance, has brought about a substantial improvement in the state of public finances. The government has succeeded in checking the growth of spending, lowering the deficit considerably, and stabilizing the growth of the debt as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP).

The government of Quebec must now consolidate its efforts. In three years, the deficit was cut by half, going successively from \$3.3 billion in 1985-1986 to \$2.8 billion in 1986-1987, to \$2.3 billion in 1987-1988 and then decreasing again to \$1.6 billion in 1988-1989 despite tax cuts of \$1.5 billion announced during this period. As a percentage of the GDP, the deficit will have gone from 3.8% in 1984-1985 to 1.1% in 1988-1989, lower in proportion to that observed since the mid-1970s.

During the same period, the average rate of growth for government spending was maintained at 4.7% per year. This progression was only slightly higher than the average rate of inflation, which was 4.2% per year.

The improvement in Quebec's financial situation has allowed it to substantially reduce its net borrowing needs: in 1988-1989, they decreased by \$396 million in comparison to the preceding year. They will be less than \$1 billion this year, for the first time since 1975-1976.

While freeing large sums of money to meet the urgent needs of the population, especially in the health and environment sectors, these policies have also helped Quebec lay the groundwork necessary to prepare itself and its industries to be more competitive both within Canada and throughout the world.

Despite great progress made in righting the financial situation of the Quebec government, new problems are arising. Firstly, the federal government is rapidly withdrawing from the financing of health programs and higher education. Quebec will therefore have to increase the amounts earmarked for these two sectors, not only because of the rapid growth in expenditures, but also in order to compensate for reduced federal government contributions.

Moreover, the federal government has announced the introduction of a value added tax. So, the context in which Quebec must expand its financial manoeuvring room will be more difficult. But it is essential to do so if Quebec is to improve its competitive position and assume its responsibilities, especially with respect to the environment and the demographic situation.

1 – Implementing a Cautious Budgetary Policy

During the last elections, the Quebec Liberal Party promised to, first of all, eliminate borrowing to finance what we call "the grocery bill". In other words, government spending apart from its capital expenditures and employer contributions to employee pension plans in the public and para-public sectors. For us, it was a question of equity and sound management, since a budget which finances a large part of its current expenditures through borrowing is simply transferring to future generations the cost of public services provided to the present generation. This is also a principle of sound management, since interest payments can compromise a balanced budget over a period of many years.

This stage has already been completed. We nevertheless believe it necessary to go even further so that future generations will not have to assume the burden of current expenditures due to government pension plan contributions. This is not a trifling sum; for example, in 1989, Quebec's financial commitments to the pension plans of its employees amounted to more than \$2.1 billion. The Quebec Liberal Party therefore believes that the government must maintain a balance in its finances and only borrow to finance its total capital spending.

2 – Responsible Management of Public Finances

The government must respond to the needs of the people while at the same time recognizing their ability to pay. If we want a long-lasting improvement in public finances, it is essential that the government continue to keep a tight rein on the situation.

Government management must thus ensure that spending grows at a lower rate than that of the economy. While Quebec government expenditures represented 26% of the GDP in 1983-1984 and 23.6% in 1987-1988, they were only 22.4% in 1988-1989. The Quebec Liberal Party believes that the overall growth in public expenditures must be limited to a level below that of GDP growth. On one hand, the government must continue to review the budgetary bases of existing programs. The Quebec public sector must be competitive, and this means watching the effectiveness and the efficiency levels of all public expenditures and weighing the current value of certain government services. We must also check the automatic growth of program costs.

The privatization policy implemented by the Liberal government has had a positive impact on public finances. Having completed this stage, the next Liberal government intends to pursue its policy of privatization and reorienting of Crown corporations, proceeding on a case-by-case basis, and evaluating how they may best contribute to our economy. Crown corporations that are kept will have to strengthen their structural activities within Quebec's economy, especially at the regional level, while remaining complementary to the private sector. Thus, any Crown corporation participation should constitute a minority interest and be redeemable at fair market value when the businesses in question become sufficiently viable.

3 – More Competitive Taxation

In the area of taxation, the Quebec Liberal Party's two major objectives are to maintain and strengthen the competitiveness of our economy, and to ensure social justice. Quebec tax reform is based on making our tax system as competitive as Ontario's. To do so, in the last three years the Liberal government has substantially reduced the tax burden of individual taxpayers and families as well as improved the taxation system for industry.

While the maximum marginal rate of taxation was 33% when we took power, it was reduced to 28% in 1985-1986 and then to 24% in the Budget Speech of 1988-1989. Tax reform has moreover considerably simplified tax tables, in particular by reducing the number of tax brackets from 16 to 5. With regards to tax relief resulting from this reform, in 1988, \$605 million was returned to taxpayers thanks to a provisional tax table. Moreover, the 1988-1989 budget statement provided for an additional reduction of \$259 million for the 1989 fiscal year. The Liberal government's tax reform measures reduced by three-quarters the extra tax burden borne by Quebec taxpayers as compared to those in Ontario. New fiscal action undertaken by the government should increasingly help the family.

Other measures significantly enhanced the competitiveness of the tax system for businesses. While in 1985, the gap between the tax burden in Quebec and Ontario was 9.6%, it is only 1% in 1989. A Liberal government will stabilize the tax burden for our private sector, and if possible, lower it even more within the next few years. We have no choice if we want Quebec businesses to be truly competitive. It is therefore necessary to further stimulate entrepreneurship while supporting, through appropriate taxation measures, the establishment of ongoing labour training.

Moreover, to avoid an adverse effect on Quebec's public finances due to the federal government's efforts to curb its budgetary problems, discussions must begin with the federal government in order to establish a tax-sharing system which takes into account the respective constitutional jurisdictions of the two levels of government.

VI - OPENING OUR DOORS TO THE WORLD: AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

In order to strengthen Quebec through greater reliance on the private sector, an environment which encourages the productivity and competitiveness of Quebec business is essential. In a small, open economy, being competitive is fundamental to economic growth and development, in particular in the area of job creation.

There is no doubt that international trade competition is intensifying. New sources of competition, and the speed at which technological innovations and production techniques are spreading, have made all the more urgent certain fundamental issues concerning Quebec's economic future.

We should not try to hide from this competition, but rather seriously seek an ever-freer trade environment and establish more open trade.

1 — Conquering New Markets

Foreign trade is an important factor for Quebec's economic growth. We export close to 20% of our gross domestic product to markets outside Canada. In comparison, Japan exports 15% of its GDP, and the United States barely 10%.

The Liberal government intends to actively support Quebec business in its exporting of goods and services. It is extremely important for Quebec that trade borders remain open between all nations, especially between Canada and the United States. The United States is by far the main destination for our exports. The Quebec Liberal Party is convinced that the Canada-U.S. agreement on the liberalization of trade will make Quebec a more productive, competitive society and will encourage job creation.

The Liberal Party proposes to diversify and broaden trade, both from a geographic and a sectoral point of view. Private enterprise remains the prime mover in implementing measures aimed at conquering new markets. The government, for its part, must catalyze energies at every level, thus supporting the initiatives of business.

The Quebec Liberal Party therefore proposes to maintain and improve the assistance programs for exportation (APEX), which assist businesses in penetrating foreign markets. Essentially, these programs offer businesses financial and technical assistance adapted to their exporting needs.

In addition to the need to diversify export markets, the promotion of Quebec goods and services outside of Quebec must also be facilitated. Thus, the creation of firms specialized in distribution and exporting should be encouraged. Indeed, the Quebec government should provide Quebec entrepreneurs with expertise to encourage their interest in foreign trade and to increase their knowledge and abilities in the field of exporting.

Quebec economic offices and delegations in other countries are an important resource for businesses. This resource must be used as effectively as possible and must respond to the needs of Quebec businesses.

2 – Strengthening our Economic Leverage

Competition poses a challenge for Quebec, not only in other countries but also within its own market. In order to hold our position, products from Quebec must be competitive both in terms of price and quality. Conquering new markets will be all the easier for Quebec industry if the infrastructure allows local entrepreneurs to develop, to fully finance their endeavours, and to adapt easily.

In the 1990s, Quebec will inevitably have to make choices. The government will pay special attention to the sectors of highest activity, those with the best outlook for the future, and those able to make a special contribution to Quebec's economic development. Fiscal policies and investment strategies in promising sectors must be pursued, for they are the true pillars of economic development.

The internationalization of our economy will increasingly lead to the arrival of foreign firms in Quebec. Our financial institutions will find themselves up against massive institutions used to dealing with highly specialized, international markets. Institutions able to confront such foreign competition are therefore important to Quebec.

This objective can only be reached through the deregulation of the financial sector. This is why the Liberal Party considers it essential that financial institutions under the jurisdiction of the Quebec government be permitted to have commercial dealings. The government will thus create conditions favourable to the full development of Quebec financial institutions, which will allow them to increase their market share and withstand the fierce competition to come.

Generally speaking, financial institutions' investments must be channeled into economic development and capitalization of businesses. A network of dynamic institutions subject to a regulatory framework adapted to the modern world will permit a greater channeling of savings into industry and commerce. Moreover, while improving existing programs, the development of new means of investment and capitalization will ensure a source of financing for businesses and contribute to economic development, especially on a regional level.

Hydro-electric power is a strategic asset for Quebec's economy. It enables us to attract large, energy-hungry industries such as aluminum smelters, and also acts as leverage to support economic activity through the acceleration of public investment when there is a slowdown in private investment. The Quebec Liberal Party intends to secure the greatest possible economic benefits from hydroelectric resources by encouraging the setting up of new businesses and the expansion of existing businesses working in the processing of raw materials.

However, in recent years, Quebecers have questioned Hydro-Québec's reliability due to numerous outages in the transmission network and lack of sufficient maintenance in the distribution network during the years

following the recession of 1982. Some have even perceived a link between the blackouts and the new export contracts, whereas the facilities required to supply firm energy needs for these contracts have not even come on stream yet.

Nevertheless, the Quebec Liberal Party recognizes that reliability is a real problem within the network. Consumers have every right to benefit from a reliable transmission and distribution system and efficient customer service. A Liberal government will give priority to measures which will ensure Quebecers of quality service. To do so, Hydro-Québec will be urged to develop a viable program for the maintenance and replacement of equipment, which should never be compromised by new development projects.

The Quebec Liberal Party will not go back on its plans for hydroelectric power. In the years to come, the government intends to develop this resource, and thus ensure that hydroelectric power continues to be a key sector in Quebec's economic evolution.

VII - ACCELERATING THE MODERNIZATION OF QUEBEC'S ECONOMY

Scientific and technological development is increasingly the essential condition for Quebec's economic progress. If Quebec does not want to find itself losing out to international competition, it must concentrate its efforts on technological research and development in order to manufacture better quality, better priced products.

Quebec produces less than 1% of world technology, and devotes only about 1.25% of its GDP to technological research and development. We are in the mid-range of technological performance on the international scene, on a par with the 10th rank of OECD's 24 member-countries. Nevertheless, Quebec is far behind its principal trading partners: the United States, England, Germany and Japan.

Quebec's lag is partly the fault of industry. At 0.73% of the GDP, Quebec's private sector contribution to R&D is far below that of the major industrial countries: 2.07% in the United States, 1.88% in Japan and 1.40% in France.

Moreover, Quebec has not obtained its fair share of federal government funding for research and development. For example, in 1985, the federal government spent only \$2.70 in Quebec in R&D for each dollar spent by the government of Quebec, while spending \$10.20 in Ontario for each dollar spent by that province's government.

Firmly convinced of the importance of investing in research and development, the Liberal government plans to increase its support of R&D by \$1.2 billion during the period from 1989 to 1994. In particular, \$300 million will be put towards the creation of a new fund for technological development. Added to existing programs and measures, these new Liberal initiatives will bring the government's support for technological development up to \$2.5 billion over the period.

Quebec must increase its investments in research and development, above and beyond government contributions. Technological development in Quebec must be based on its distinctive strengths. Greater encouragement should be given to technology transfers as a strategy for technological development, finding a better balance between technological development and basic research, and greatly improving the relationship between business, on one hand, and universities and research centres, on the other.

1 – Research and Development

The Liberal government's approach to research and development stresses strengthening the private sector's capabilities in this area. It is essentially based on tax measures meant to encourage the birth of a synergy between business, universities, research centres and investors. Additional support would come in the form of direct assistance and the improvement of technological infrastructures.

Tax initiatives put forth by the Liberal government have stimulated the growth in research and development achieved by Quebec businesses, and encouraged the setting up of foreign businesses working in high-tech sectors as well as the regrouping of businesses. Recent budgets have provided Quebec businesses investing in research and development with tax shelters that are very competitive with Ontario and the U.S., our direct competitors.

The Quebec Liberal Party believes that Quebec must continue to search for a true synergy between business, universities, research centres and investors through diversifying its means of action.

Presently, Quebec R&D tax credits are taxed as income by the federal government. In addition, Quebec credits must be subtracted from R&D expenses in order to determine the amount of R&D expenses eligible for federal credits. To correct this situation, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes harmonizing its fiscal policy for technological research and development with that of the federal government. In order for businesses to evaluate commercial opportunities for their technological projects and better direct their efforts in research and development, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to broaden the list of activities which will receive government assistance by including "commercial studies to explore directions for research".

In order to increase financing for technological development, the participation of financial institutions must be encouraged. The government should allow the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec to join with financial institutions in forming regional funds for technological investment. In addition, the government and financial institutions will together explore new avenues of participation for the latter in the commercial and industrial financing of technological development.

The granting of contracts through the government's purchasing policy must enable businesses to acquire overall expertise in specific areas. All too often in the past, businesses have found themselves having to fulfill partial contracts, which prevented them from developing overall expertise and then building on such expertise. Rather than a "jack of all trades, master of none" attitude, the Quebec Liberal Party is encouraging industry to find its "niche" in specific areas of expertise.

Still in the area of research and development, the Canadian Space Agency to be established in the greater Montreal region will give Quebec a leadership role in the high-tech aerospace sector. The Quebec Liberal Party will ensure that Quebec receives maximum benefits from the Space Agency.

To do so, the Quebec Liberal Party promises to encourage the concrete participation of all those potentially involved in the space industry (businesses, universities, research centres). The government must encourage the participation of business and Quebec institutions in foreign space programs. Lastly, the government of Quebec must make sure that through the development of space-related activities will bring Quebec the greatest possible economic and technological benefits.

2 – Technology Transfers

Small economies cannot, in general, claim to be world leaders in innovation, nor can they compete with the large multinationals in the area of research. It is, moreover, much less expensive to buy technology than it is to develop it -- thus the importance of technology transfers.

To accelerate the modernization of Quebec's economy, the government must facilitate the acquisition of new technology by Quebec businesses. It has a strategic role to play in setting up measures to assist businesses in pursuit of technological alliances and agreements with other countries. It must encourage consortiums and support the acquisition of foreign technology through the purchase of licenses, patents or know-how.

In addition, given the rapid evolution of technology and its impact on business strategies, the Quebec Liberal Party will encourage the development of technological analysis, advisory and brokerage services.

3 – Basic Research

Quebec has great potential in the area of basic research; many of its researchers are amongst the most qualified and productive in Canada. The Quebec Liberal Party believes that basic research is also essential to our technological development. We believe that the government must encourage research, especially by recognizing the essential role of universities in the training of highly qualified human resources. Developing and maintaining a strong and healthy scientific base in Quebec will require realistic and effective action.

Quebec must establish a coherent strategy aimed at strengthening and developing its areas of expertise. Prominent researchers must be encouraged to join teams and research centres. Cooperation between researchers is an important means of encouraging the flow of ideas necessary for the rapid development of quality teams able to compete on the international scene.

The creation of a Scientific and Technological Development Fund with a budget of \$300 million over five years will permit the government to strengthen the research capabilities of universities. The additional sums will be used to improve scientific equipment, create bursaries, assist in setting up "research developers" and offset the indirect research costs incurred through federal programs.

The Scientific Development Fund can also be used to assist with large-scale, "catalyst" projects. Without returning to state intervention, it is important to encourage simultaneously projects most likely to create rapid innovation and technological transfers in many areas. These projects depend on the joint collaboration of business, universities and governments, bringing together teams and researchers from different public and private research institutes in Quebec.

Lastly, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to ease the contracting and exchanging of scientific resources amongst universities, between universities and CEGEP's, and between universities and CEGEP's on the one hand and business on the other. Thus, there is good reason to reopen the program that supports the transfer to industry of university and CEGEP scientific resources. The new procedures for implementing this program should make it more flexible and responsive to the needs of the different regions.

VIII - PROMOTING MORE BALANCED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Economic progress depends on Quebec's encouragement of regional vitality. Despite clear improvements in the situation of the so-called outlying regions, disparities persist. The Quebec Liberal Party believes the government should pay special attention to regional disparities. Not only must we continue to reduce the gap between the regions and prevent the appearance of new forms of disparity, but we must also ensure that each region has at its disposal the means to stimulate its own development.

In October 1988, the Liberal government published its plan of action for regional development entitled "**À l'heure de l'entreprise régionale.**" In it, the government firmly resolved to encourage both the creation of new, permanent jobs and the development of new, strongly competitive businesses. The talent for innovation and entrepreneurship of all players will be further encouraged through reliance on each region's inherent vitality.

1 – Adapting to Regional Needs

We believe that it is essential to adopt an approach towards regional development which is both adaptable and flexible. The government's first and foremost responsibility is to stimulate regional strengths and to collaborate in developing each of the regions while respecting their inherent differences. The government must make its contribution without supplanting the creative spirit of individuals, by adapting its programs to suit the local environment.

Working together at the regional level is of utmost importance. Regional development demands a coherent approach, and strict adherence to discipline on the part of all concerned parties and the government of Quebec. Changes introduced by the Liberal government to improve procedures for regional socio-economic conferences are promising for the future. Since 1986, regional conferences have resulted in the signing of four-year framework development agreements between the regions and the government that include the holding of halfway-mark biennial conferences between the government and whatever regional organization is responsible for follow-up on the agreement.

It is advisable nevertheless to improve regional socio-economic coordination in order to optimize the effects of private and public intervention. The existence of coordinating committees should be seen essentially as the best means of utilizing the region's financial and human resources. All participants should be further urged to identify the priority axes of development and to suggest "catalyst" programs. Such projects would demand greater involvement at the municipal level, increased public and private financing, and the participation of entrepreneurs who are willing to take risks.

In addition to leaving room for local initiatives and coordination, the Liberal government intends to adapt its programs to respond more adequately to regional needs. Quebec's regions are not all at the same level of development, nor do they all have the same socio-economic characteristics or the same degree of diversity. The government must thus take into account the situation of each region so that programs may impact more strongly on regional development. Management and evaluation of programs must also be adjusted on a regional basis.

2 – Supporting Local Entrepreneurship

The government can no longer replace local initiative in the development and decision-making process, nor can it be the cure-all for regional problems. The Quebec Liberal Party promotes the notion that individual initiative and entrepreneurship are the driving forces behind regional development. The Liberal government intends to stay on the course first charted in 1985, by creating a positive climate and environment for entrepreneurship in order to encourage the creation of new businesses within the regions.

The present government has implemented many measures which have had a significant impact on regional development both in terms of investments generated and jobs created. For example, the Liberal government modified the Act respecting the Caisse de dépôt et placement to allow its financial participation in the development of regional businesses. In addition, the setting up of regional SPEQ's, the establishment of start-up grants, the lowering of gas taxes in outlying regions, and the development of a regional purchasing policy have all contributed to the rise of a new spirit of regional entrepreneurship.

To follow through on these efforts it is essential to encourage new businesses with start-up assistance. Regional development must be further stimulated through the financial participation of individuals and financial institutions. The government will therefore increase its support of the "Sociétés de placement dans l'entreprise québécoise" (SPEQ's). For example, financial assistance could be given to open a SPEQ and, in certain regions, to improve the existing SPEQ.

3 – Quality Development

It has been observed in recent years that the "quality of life" factor is playing an increasingly important role when choosing a business location. Indeed, it is harder today to attract industry just by painting a glowing picture of such classic factors as the transportation costs, salaries and taxes in a particular region, because the laws of the marketplace are such that these factors end up balancing themselves out between the different locations or regions.

The growing interest in qualitative factors when choosing a business location has led certain companies like IBM and General Electric to adopt new policies: new production plants now generally locate outside of major urban centres. The presence of both modern management techniques and a top quality environment, for example, greatly influenced Hyundai's decision to settle in Bromont.

We believe that the attractiveness of a location should be emphasized through investment in culture and tourism, and the use of marketing techniques for industrial promotion which stress the quality of life. To better promote the distinctiveness of a location or region, municipal governments should recognize the importance of such development. In our opinion, this level of government is the key player needed to reach this objective. Thus, municipal regulations concerning the development and protection of the quality of life are both a priority and an investment in the future.

IX - BUILDING A PROSPEROUS FUTURE

As the 1990s approach, the Quebec Liberal Party is revising its economic strategy so that Quebec may fully benefit from its strengths.

While respecting the notion of "continuity in action" put forth by the present government, this strategy indicates a major change of direction in terms of the development of human resources. To create jobs in the 1990s and fight imbalances in the labour market, Quebec must greatly improve its policies in the areas of education, training and development of human resources. In an era of technological progress and a global economy, investing in human capital is vital.

We must also pursue and further explore certain priority areas advocated by the Liberal government in order to achieve real economic development.

The economic priorities identified by the Quebec Liberal Party (development of human resources, improvement of public finances, involvement in international competition, modernization of the economy, and more balanced regional development) give priority to key factors in the development of our economy. They are essential to sustained growth.

Quebec is in a good position to benefit from the advantages of a changing economy. By establishing a solid foundation, it will be able to build a more prosperous, open future for the generations to come.

While reinforcing the notion of "continuity in action" set forth by the present government, this strategy indicates a major change of direction in terms of the development of human resources. To create jobs in the 1980s and fight imbalances in the labour market, Quebec must greatly improve its policies in the areas of education, training and development of human resources. In an era of technological progress and a global economy, investing in human capital is vital.

We must also pursue and further explore certain policy issues advocated by the Liberal government in order to achieve real economic development.

The economic priorities identified by the Quebec Liberal Party for development of human resources, improvement of public finances, involvement in regional economic development, modernization of the economy and more balanced regional development give priority to key factors in the development of our economy. They are essential to sustained growth.

Quebec is in a good position to benefit from the advantages of a changing economy. By establishing a solid foundation, it will be able to build a more prosperous, better future for the generations to come.

Protecting the environment

I - A TIMELY CONCERN

The biggest challenge for society well into the next millennium will be to protect the environment.

The ecological balance of our planet has deteriorated to such a degree that all of humankind must rally to preserve it. The Quebec Liberal Party and the government it forms have already joined the ranks of those who are taking action: they have made the environment one of their top priorities.

This political program summarizes the Liberal Party's positions and achievements, and sets out its priorities in a progressive plan of action.

1- The State of Our Environment

There are many visible signs pointing to the deterioration of the environment: water contamination, acid rain, air pollution, increased waste, and over-development of natural resources. In order to accurately assess the magnitude of the problem, the Quebec Liberal Party drew up in 1988 a comprehensive status report on the environment, a first for our province. Many of the findings contained in that report point to the severity of some of our society's environmental problems:

- In certain cases, the levels of mercury and organichlorides found in some fish, such as eels, pike and yellow perch, exceed Canadian standards for human consumption. Public health is threatened.
- In farming areas, recent findings have shown excessive levels of ozone in the soil, which could explain the damage to certain crops in southern Quebec such as potatoes, tobacco and beans. The rural economy is affected.
- Roughly half of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence River around Montreal, on the south shore of Lac St. Pierre and in the Quebec City area, are already quite polluted. Swimming is becoming dangerous, and the quality of life is deteriorating.
- The number of beluga whales in the St. Lawrence has dropped drastically: of the 5000 belugas at the beginning of the century, only 750 are left today, and their survival is in jeopardy. Our wildlife is threatened.

Moreover, the same government report estimated that the price tag for pollution, including damages and clean-up costs, is \$3 to \$5 billion per year in Quebec alone. That is the price we must all pay for decades of neglect.

2- A New Context

In Quebec

We are all increasingly aware of the numerous and often drastic environmental problems facing us. Day after day, the media reports new assaults on the environment, here and elsewhere. The environment has become

a constant and overwhelming source of concern for our society. This concern is becoming characteristic of Quebecers who, much more than other Canadians, consider pollution to be our major problem.

In Quebec, the government has considerably increased its efforts to protect the environment over the past few years. While the fight previously focused on a limited number of pollutants called "conventional products", it now includes a wide variety of toxic products and micropollutants.

Today, managing the environment requires integrated policies. We can no longer be satisfied with piecemeal measures. The interrelation of problems at all levels calls for constant interaction among those involved; pollution crosses all boundaries.

Pollution in one region affects the quality of life in another. Pollutants are carried from continent to continent in the air, in the oceans and waterways or in ground water. Likewise, deforestation in our country can result in drought in other countries, turning them into deserts. Acid rain, holes in the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect are other dramatic examples of environmental problems affecting all citizens of the world.

Around the World

More and more, governments all over the world are recognizing that environmental problems affect the whole planet. Since the historic Stockholm Conference in 1972, international cooperation in the field of environmental protection has grown considerably. The report of the World Commission on Environmental Development was a milestone. This document, known as the Brundtland Report, resulted in the creation of the National Task Force on Environment and Economy and the "Table Ronde Québécoise sur l'Environnement et l'Économie".

3- The Liberals' Achievements

We will now review the headway made by the Quebec Liberal Party and the current government since December 1985.

"Ready for Tomorrow"

The Quebec Liberal Party Convention held in February 1988 was a turning point. For the first time in Quebec's political history, the Quebec Liberal Party made environmental protection one of its political priorities.

The discussion paper and the resolutions adopted during the Convention focused on three fundamental principles:

- Each individual is entitled to a clean environment.
- Prevention and conservation must be government priorities.
- Polluters must be held financially responsible for their actions: "the polluter must pay" principle.

These principles are now entrenched in our Party's program, along with other key positions that were adopted during the same Convention: cooperation with the Federal government and other provinces; strengthening of Quebec's leadership in environmental matters among Francophone nations; compilation and follow-up of a comprehensive status report on our environment; setting up of a conservation fund; improving existing programs to better control specific sources of pollution; more stringent enforcement of laws and regulations; integration of environmental protection strategies and economic development strategies; and coordination of the efforts of educators, the labour movement and other parties who are in a position to alter consumer habits.

The Record of the Liberal Government

First, while the Party adopted these principles and positions, the government actively continued its clean-up of municipal liquid waste and streamlined the program to improve cost-efficiency.

Then, recognizing the increasing severity and complexity of environmental problems, it revised its environmental priorities, objectives and strategies, published a policy statement entitled **A New Environmental Cap Strategy** and ensured its implementation.

Moreover, the government attacked pollution on other fronts and searched for better ways to protect the environment.

Several ad hoc measures were taken to solve specific problems. To illustrate, it was decided that Hydro-Québec's sixth powerline would cross the St. Lawrence River under water, American waste was no longer brought into the Eastern Townships, and Quebec obtained \$100 million from the Federal government to clean up the St. Lawrence River.

Two new laws were also passed: the Act Respecting the Protection of Non-Smokers and the Pesticides Act.

In addition to efforts to clean up city waters, farming and industrial areas received special attention. A crop improvement program, including new regulations, was set up. The government will invest \$538 million over a ten-year period.

A new strategy to reduce industrial waste was adopted. It is based on an integrated water-air-soil approach and is aimed specifically at the most polluting sectors. This strategy should reduce pollution by 75% within ten years. It places very strict requirements on industry, and has led to the enactment of a law under which fines and penalties for offenders under the Environment Quality Act are substantially increased.

In addition, the Ministère de l'Environnement created the Direction des Inspections et des Enquêtes, "the Green Police", in order to better control and monitor pollution.

Over the past three years, many cleanup agreements were also signed with major polluters of the St. Lawrence River. These companies have officially undertaken to invest several hundred million dollars in nonpolluting processes and equipment. In addition, some 200 lawsuits were filed by the Ministère against polluters, among which are major companies such as Eldorado Mines.

Several measures were adopted to curb acid rain: a cleanup agreement with Noranda Mines, an agreement with the State of New York, and the creation of a network of monitoring stations in forest areas.

To improve drinking water quality controls, the micropollutant sampling program was improved, the Drinking Water Regulation was revised, and a first status report on drinking water in Quebec was issued.

Recognizing that these problems are interrelated, Quebec was very involved at home and elsewhere: it signed cooperative agreements with Ontario, Vermont and Holland, and was a member of the Brundtland Commission for the development of a world-wide conservation strategy.

Although the Quebec Liberal Party is satisfied with what the government has done to protect the environment over the last three years, efforts will have to be stepped up in years to come if we are to win the fight against pollution.

II - THE ENVIRONMENT: THE LIBERAL AGENDA

1- Objectives

In accordance with the positions adopted during the Quebec Liberal Party Convention in March 1988, the government, in its policy statement entitled **A New Environmental Cap Strategy**, set out two objectives: to maintain the ongoing diversity and productivity of ecosystems, and to reduce exposure to toxic substances.

The Quebec Liberal Party is firmly convinced that the time has come to reexamine these positions and objectives in light of recent events and developments here and abroad. In this respect, it is now proposing a plan of action that will ensure the continuity of its policies and enable it to meet new challenges. Thus, the Quebec Liberal Party recommends that Quebec's environmental policy be based on four major objectives.

- providing a safe environment;
- ensuring sustainable economic growth;
- improving the quality of life;
- restoring the natural balance of the ecosystems.

Providing a Safe Environment

For our Party, a safe environment means, first and foremost, protecting public health. In order to achieve this goal, the government must continue to give priority to problems that have a real or potential impact on people's health. Therefore, it is obvious that the management of dangerous or toxic waste must be given top priority.

Ensuring Sustainable Economic Growth

Business and industry leaders are very aware of the danger of allowing our natural resources to suffer from irreparable damage, since entire sectors of our economy depend on these resources.

Unfortunately, this could eventually happen in several sectors, namely forestry, agriculture, tourism, hunting and fishing for sport, as well as commercial fishing. There is increasing evidence that our resources are being exhausted or altered.

For too long, protection of the environment has been sacrificed for the sake of economic development. The Quebec Liberal Party is firmly convinced that the only way to ensure the continuous growth of these sectors is to protect the environment and devise new ways of managing resources.

Improving the Quality of Life

Until recently, improving the quality of the environment was seen only in terms of how it would improve the quality of life. For example, waterways would be cleaned up for recreational purposes, certain areas would be set aside for outdoor activities, and projects for parks or urban planning would only be geared to improving the quality of life.

Of course, this was before the imperatives of a safe environment and sustainable growth changed the order of priorities. Nowadays, we must take these two factors into consideration if we are to improve the quality of life.

This means that we must take immediate action in order to make up for past errors and years of neglect.

Quality of life remains a priority, but as a corollary to the two wider, complementary objectives.

Restoring the Natural Balance of the Ecosystems

Pollution and certain types of development unavoidably deplete, and in some cases destroy, the unique and irreplaceable ecosystems of our planet. Immediate action must be taken to regenerate or preserve them.

2- A Group Project

Sharing Responsibility

Quebec's environmental agenda will require the active involvement of citizens, business and industry. The environment belongs to no one in particular: it is common property, a common need, and we are all responsible for it. Each of us, according to our abilities, authority and means, must take this responsibility into account in all we do.

Businesses, in particular, must act quickly. Business leaders and professional associations must lead the fight against environmental pollution. They must also make sure that, as of today, the environment does not suffer as a result of their development.

Moreover, it is imperative to work closely with local and regional elected officials at all times. They are close to the public, and everything they undertake has a direct or indirect impact on the environment. They must also act in a monitoring capacity. In order to define clearly the duties and responsibilities of various levels of government, communication is a must.

Each day, the environment is affected by everything we do individually or collectively. Many of our habits have become second nature and are therefore hard to break. All of us have become aware of and, in some cases, concerned with the environment. But have we changed the way we think and the way we act? This is the critical factor in the fight against pollution. It is this change that will bring about real progress. Government action alone is not enough.

A Need for Leadership

Saving the environment will require a gigantic effort. Twice before, Quebec successfully took up a similar challenge: in the sixties, to build our comprehensive education system, and in the seventies, to set up our health care system.

Both times, Quebecers rose to the occasion, each in their own way. Naturally, the government was entrusted with coordinating collective efforts, since we had a great deal of catching-up to do in a very short time.

Today, we face a similar challenge; our task is enormous and time is of the essence. We must be firm in our new commitment to the environment. The government's new role will be to focus our collective efforts on a common and clearly defined goal.

A Balanced Approach

We are convinced that, in order to succeed, the private sector must fulfill its responsibilities.

Although the government must lead the way, it should not shoulder all the responsibility. In other words, the fight against pollution must no longer be caught up in bureaucratic red tape. We must move away from this trend, which results in a counterproductive lack of accountability.

In this respect, we reiterate our belief that **government action must be based on the strict enforcement of the principle that "the polluter must pay."** This means that whoever causes damage to the environment must be held financially and legally responsible.

We are fully aware that negotiation will be necessary in certain areas, for example in single-industry areas where protecting the environment may result in lost jobs. In such cases, it will obviously be necessary to compensate financially the communities in question and help them move into other types of industries. Quebec will not allow the environment to deteriorate further by being lenient with noncompetitive companies. The principle that "the polluter must pay" must be applied fairly and across the board.

However, we would not be violating this principle, as defined by the OECD, if we were to adopt financial and fiscal policies that would encourage investments in nonpolluting technologies, thereby reducing pollution.

Government may give financial assistance to companies currently using obsolete technologies that pollute the environment in order to help them make the transition to new technologies that meet environmental standards. This does not mean that it will subsidize unprofitable or non-viable regular operations.

Government action must promote and support initiatives and commitments made by individuals as well as public and private organizations. It will be up to them to decide how to reach the desired result, within the flexible framework set up by government. Therefore, government controls must focus on the end rather than on the means, so as to favour and support innovations in the field of technology.

III - THE LIBERAL PLAN OF ACTION

An integrated environmental policy requires actions in many sectors.

In order to focus this action, we propose six main areas of involvement:

- ensuring environmental safety;
- implementing a major development project for the St. Lawrence River;
- enforcing the sustainable economic growth principle;
- managing waste;
- strengthening government environmental policies;
- educating the public on the environment.

1- Ensuring Environmental Safety

Since the accident in St-Basile-Le-Grand, concern over dangerous materials has reached a new high among Quebecers. It showed rather dramatically that we lack the proper controls and procedures to prevent and deal with this type of situation. It also emphasized the dangers we are exposed to because of our carelessness in the past. The time for action has come.

Urgent long-term solutions must be found to deal with the dangers to which several Quebec communities are exposed: storage of dangerous materials, such as caustic soda, cyanide or sulfuric acid, used as raw materials in manufacturing; the accumulation of dangerous waste materials, the by-products of industrial and human activities, such as PCBs, solvents or tires; the presence of dangerously contaminated sites, vestiges of an industrial activity out of control; and the transportation of waste or dangerous materials by various means throughout the province.

These toxic, explosive or flammable products endanger public health and safety. Numerous ecological accidents, some more serious than others, which have occurred world-wide during the past few years, show that these risks are very real, and justify people's fears.

Under the Liberals, the Quebec government will do its utmost to upgrade safety standards and clean up

"high-risk sites" as soon as possible. It will also strengthen current measures aimed at curbing pollution, and make sure that in the event of an accident, it will be able to intervene effectively. Consequently, measures will be implemented to ensure that polluters pick up the tab. Government will properly inform the population on potential dangers and on procedures in the event of an emergency. To do so, it will give the Ministère de l'Environnement the human, financial and material resources needed to fulfill its mission.

In the wake of the St-Basile-Le-Grand incident, a one-year mandate to investigate storage and elimination of toxic waste in Quebec was given to the Bureau des Audiences publiques sur l'Environnement.

It is already apparent that Quebec must create a network of permanent transfer and disposal centers for dangerous waste. Emergency plans will be designed and buffer zones will be set up to protect citizens from toxic waste.

The Quebec Liberal Party has made environmental safety a top priority. There must be no margin of error. From now on, we must be able to deal effectively with ecological catastrophes whenever and wherever they occur.

2- Restoring the St. Lawrence River

In 1987, Quebec proposed to the Canadian Task Force on the Environment and the Economy that each province adopt a large-scale environmental project encompassing environmental and economic considerations. This recommendation was approved, and Quebec implemented the St. Lawrence Plan of Action.

There were two reasons for choosing this project: first, although the St. Lawrence River is one of Quebec's most important ecological and economic resources, this once-beautiful waterway has now become a dumping ground; second, its economic potential will not be developed to the fullest until all interested parties cooperate. The challenge is to make the St. Lawrence River a symbol of sustainable development, proof that economic development and a clean environment can go hand in hand.

A task force drawn from several milieus is drafting this plan, which will integrate the concerns, actions and responsibilities of all: federal and provincial governments, urban and rural communities, regional county municipalities, municipalities, companies, universities, research centers, associations, organizations and citizens.

The purpose of the St. Lawrence development project is to restore the river and its shores so that we can tap its full potential. This plan will focus mainly on developing the river's resources to make it a mainspring for the economic development of Quebec and Canada.

The ten-year plan will involve restoration, protection, conservation, development and promotion.

3- Applying the Principle of Sustainable Development to Manufacturing

Ready for Tomorrow set out the principles of an environmental policy aimed at reducing and eliminating sources of pollution. To attain these objectives, Quebec will need a sustainable economic growth strategy in

the years to come. Accordingly, the Quebec Liberal Party now proposes that manufacturers integrate environmental concerns into product design and manufacturing. This is what we call the environmental approach to manufacturing.

This could be achieved by having each company draw up an environmental status report that would be verified by "external auditors", somewhat like the balance sheets of corporations and major public institutions.

This environmental status report would allow the detection of environmental hazards. The companies at fault would be asked to replace their manufacturing processes with existing "clean" technologies.

For example, do users of renewable raw materials contribute to their regeneration, as is the case in the pulp and paper industry? Do users of nonrenewable raw materials look for substitutes when supplies of raw material are being depleted? Can the finished product be recycled? If not, can its composition be changed to make it recyclable? Can we dispose of it without endangering the environment? Is the residue harmful? If so, can the manufacturing process be changed to make the product safe?

The Environment Quality Act was amended in December 1988, so that environmental concerns could begin to be integrated into industrial operations. This law authorizes the Ministère de l'Environnement to issue a certificate to companies that operate within environmental standards, namely with respect to residues from manufacturing processes. It is called the "Waste Management Certificate".

The Quebec Liberal Party recognizes the potential of this new approach, and proposes to broaden its scope to include every phase of the manufacturing process. From now on, not only residues but also raw materials and finished products should be considered. The waste management certificate would be given to companies on the basis of their environmental status report. If this status report revealed environmental hazards endangering public health and safety and the integrity of our natural resources, the Ministère would require the company to adopt a plan of action to remedy the situation. If the company does not comply, it could be penalized and even shut down. Once society is committed to protecting the environment, we believe that government must take firm action against offenders.

This proposal would be implemented progressively, starting with priority sectors. After the initial breaking-in period, it would be applied gradually to other sectors.

4- Managing Solid Waste

Problems related to solid waste are increasing. There is an insufficient number of sanitary landfill sites (both major sites in the Montreal area are scheduled to close within five years). Several sites are poorly managed, and the public is reticent about allowing new sites to open. Efforts to reduce the volume of solid waste have given limited results.

Given this situation, better management of industrial and solid waste is now an urgent priority. The problems that result from industrial processes and consumption of finished products really amount to one problem -- how to eliminate waste.

Therefore, we propose that policies for managing industrial and solid waste be integrated in order to find the source of the problem, correct the problems resulting from past mistakes, control disposal procedures, and make polluters assume their responsibilities.

In accordance with the principle of sustainable development, a Liberal government will also encourage reduction of solid waste at source and promote recycling. Groups who work towards these goals will receive technical and financial support.

It will also favour the development of scientific and technical expertise as well as set up relevant education and information programs.

Finally, measures will be taken to optimize disposal procedures, namely by amending the Regulation Respecting Solid Waste.

5- Strengthening the Environmental Sector

A Stronger Ministère de l'Environnement

We recommend strengthening the powers of the Ministère so that the government of Quebec can carry out its responsibilities with respect to environmental protection more effectively and on a larger scale. In addition, given that the Ministère's first mandate is to **enforce all** of Quebec's laws and regulations, we feel that government will have to do everything in its power to ensure that these laws and regulations are enforced strictly.

The Ministère de l'Environnement du Québec must improve its performance with respect to inspection, control, fines, and prosecution of offenders.

In addition, the Ministère **will set up a permanent environmental monitoring system** that will detect major pollution incidents more quickly and accurately, and allow it to intervene without delay if necessary.

It will also develop reliable indices that will be used to monitor the quality of the environment. And, based on the scientific information thus gathered, it will produce more accurate environmental status reports.

As early as February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party hinted at the need to compile **an environmental status report** in order to evaluate and reorient government action if necessary. We propose that this be done every three years. This would lead to new, better-defined policies, and provide a yardstick to measure our progress in relation to our goals.

Considerable effort will be required to bring out new legislation and new programs in order to **tighten environmental standards**. These laws and programs will be designed and implemented through negotiation and through the involvement of all those who play a role in the development of Quebec.

To illustrate, we will continue to raise the quality standards for drinking water. Regulations, controls, research and technology will have to focus on the new dangers affecting the quality of drinking water, namely the presence of micropollutants and undesirable by-products in the water supply.

Widening the Scope of Environmental Studies

Government, through its departments and bodies which enforce laws and administer technical or financial aid programs, already reviews thousands of projects each year, issues thousands of authorizations of all types, negotiates hundreds of agreements, and proposes numerous laws and regulations which still do not fall under the Ministère's jurisdiction. This situation must be remedied so that, in future, all government decisions will take environmental concerns into account. We feel that there is a need for more and better government studies. In fact, for a growing number of decisions, environmental studies should become as automatic as the financial, technical and legal studies required before the government approves a project.

To this end, environmental services could be created wherever necessary, especially in the economic sector. We propose that the ministère de l'Environnement be given the mandate to coordinate all these services.

Government must set an example. It must make sure that none of the organizations under its jurisdiction, such as schools, hospitals, government office buildings, research centres and all other public bodies, violate environmental standards. This is quite an undertaking.

Promoting Cooperation

Ecosystems cross all boundaries. Acid rain, the thinning ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and over-development of the Amazon forests have an impact on the whole planet. No country, no government can escape these dangers or eliminate them without help.

In view of this, Quebec must provide strong leadership.

First, it must be assertive when dealing with Ottawa and other provinces. Quebec must continue to influence Canada's international policies with respect to the environment, as has generally been the case during the past few years.

Quebec's involvement is all the more important since negotiations with the rest of Canada and the world will be stepped up considerably during the next few years. The Ministère will have to assert itself during these negotiations and earmark all the resources it needs to effectively accomplish its mandate.

The Liberal Party intends to have Quebec play a very active role in the environment on the international scene. Quebec and Canada, present in both the Francophone world and the Commonwealth, are in a good position to promote the establishment of universal standards for environmental protection.

Quebec can also make a substantial contribution with respect to the transfer of environmental expertise and technologies, particularly in developing countries. These countries can benefit from Quebec's experience (policies, legislation and programs), as well as its expertise in certain critical areas (purification of liquid waste and improvement of air quality). We propose that the government broaden the mandate of the Société québécoise d'assainissement des eaux so that Quebec firms can get environmental cleanup contracts with these countries, which at the same time would benefit from technology transfers with the Société.

Consolidating Environmental Legislation

Environmental legislation must be developed and streamlined. In general, this type of legislation meets with many obstacles because it is difficult to establish liability.

It is often hard to prosecute offenders because of the technical nature of the evidence presented.

We think that it is of utmost importance that laws be enforced more effectively. Therefore, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes the creation of an Environmental Tribunal that would be made up of magistrates specialized in environmental matters. This would speed up the handling of cases and ultimately improve the enforcement of our environmental laws.

It should also be made easier for individuals to undertake class action suits since, as we stated before, each individual has the right to a clean environment.

With respect to sanctions, the Quebec Liberal Party has already said it is in favour of amending the Criminal Code so that offenders can be prosecuted. In fact, this has already been done by a few governments in North America and elsewhere. It is a measure of the value a society places on environmental protection.

Environmental legislation is still rather new, but it will become a major part of an effective environmental program. Government must do all it can to promote this type of legislation.

An Environmental Fund

The Quebec Liberal Party proposes setting up an environmental fund to finance more protection measures for our environment and resources.

From this fund, loans or subsidies would be granted for research, development, education, and restoration or capital spending projects in public and private sectors, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

This fund could be financed by fines paid by offenders and by taxes or specific duties on products that harm the environment.

6- Environmental Education

Many people are very concerned about the environment. Government must channel this interest to involve more citizens in the fight to protect our natural heritage.

Primary and secondary schools will have a pivotal role to play in making future generations of Quebecers aware of the many facets of environmental protection. The Quebec Liberal Party proposes that more time be spent educating young people on the environment. It also encourages school boards to take more initiatives aimed at making our youth aware of the environment.

To better inform consumers and the general public, **special labelling should be used on products potentially harmful to the environment**. For example, labels will have to show the method of disposal (reuse, recycling, controlled disposal) as well as the dangers inherent in the products' use.

Finally, the government will also have to formulate a **policy to support organizations working in the environmental field**. This policy will be designed especially for those organizations that promote public awareness and carry out research and development to find solutions to environmental problems in local communities.

IV - RESPECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

In 1987, the Canadian Task Force on the Environment and the Economy made it clear that society has but two alternatives: to change its socioeconomic policies immediately, willingly and methodically, or to wait for the ecological balance to break down and then be forced, at the last minute, to take drastic and extremely costly measures.

After the Liberal Party Convention adopted its objectives for reform in February 1988, the government began implementing significant measures along these lines during its first mandate. The political program we are proposing today demonstrates the strong commitment of the Quebec Liberal Party to continue what we have begun, to broaden government action to include new problems, and to base this action on specific, realistic and dynamic principles.

The implementation of this plan of action will require considerable effort. Many sectors in our society will be asked to contribute. Our objectives can only be achieved through this collective effort.

If protecting the environment is indeed the challenge of the nineties, as education was in the sixties and health in the seventies, financial resources will have to be earmarked in order to achieve the objectives we have proposed.

In February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party asked the following question to introduce the problem of the environment: "What future will our children inherit from us?" Other generations, at other times in our history, doubtless asked themselves the same question with respect to other basic concerns. Their answers and the measures they took required some sacrifices, but they made Quebec what it is today. From them, we inherited a distinct and proud society.

It is now our turn to be progressive, bold and innovative. We must remember that we are the trustees of our natural resources and that, as such, we have a duty toward future generations: to protect our resources so that new generations, in turn, can benefit from them.

If we do not live up to this challenge, we would be admitting that we are the last generation to have known Quebec as it is. This choice would undermine all the efforts we have made to ensure the survival of Quebec.

Loving, protecting and promoting Quebec also means loving the land, protecting its natural resources, and promoting its development while respecting the environment.

Finally, the government will also have to formulate a policy to support organizations working in the environmental field. This policy will be designed especially for those organizations that promote health awareness and carry out research and development in the solution to environmental problems in local communities.

IV - RESPECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

In 1987, the Canadian Task Force on the Environment and the Economy made it clear that society has two alternatives: to change its socioeconomic choices immediately, willingly and methodically or to wait for the ecological balance to break down and then be forced, at the last minute, to take drastic and extremely costly measures.

After the Liberal Party Convention adopted its objectives for 1988, the government began implementing significant measures along these lines during its first mandate. The political program we are proposing today demonstrates the strong commitment of the Quebec Liberal Party to continue what we have begun, to broaden government action to include new problems, and to pass this action on specific, realistic and dynamic principles.

The implementation of the plan of action will require considerable effort. Many sectors in our society will be asked to contribute. Our objectives can only be achieved through this collective effort.

Protecting the environment is indeed the challenge of the future, as education was in the sixties and health in the seventies. Financial resources will have to be reoriented in order to achieve the objectives we have proposed.

In February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party stated the following question to introduce the problem of the environment: "What future will our children inherit from us?" Other generations, at other times in our history, have asked themselves the same question with respect to other basic concerns. Their answers and the measures they took required some sacrifices, but they made Quebec what it is today. From them, we inherited a distinct and proud society.

It is now our turn to be progressive, bold and positive. We must remember that we are the trustees of our natural resources and that, as such, we have a duty toward future generations to protect our resources so that new generations in turn can benefit from them.

If we do not live up to this challenge, we would be admitting that we are the last generation to have known Quebec as it is. The choice would be made as the efforts we have made to ensure the survival of Quebec.

Caring, protecting and promoting Quebec also means saving the land, protecting its natural resources, and ensuring its development while respecting the environment.

Ensuring the future of the French fact

I - DEMOGRAPHY: THE STAKES ARE HIGH

A falling birth rate. A negative migration flow. An aging population. Trends and statistics on these phenomena, which have been common knowledge for some years, have been analyzed endlessly. We must face up to reality: the survival of the French fact in North America is at stake.

Quebec is aging. The median age of the population rose by five years between 1951 and 1981; according to the latest projections, it may rise a further ten years by the year 2000. Half the population will then be over 40—a paradoxical situation for a society that has always seen itself as "young".

The age pyramid in Quebec is currently suffering from an imbalance. The baby boom was followed by a drop in the birth rate. We are now in a demographic decline. If these trends continue, the population of Quebec will start to decline around the year 2000—barely 11 years from now.

In these circumstances, protecting the French language, proclaiming our distinct character, and supporting our artists will, though necessary, be futile unless we succeed at the same time in averting the demographic decline threatening our society.

Conscious of the struggles of generations of Quebecers to ensure the survival of the French fact, the members of the Quebec Liberal Party reject any such scenario. We are proud of what Quebec has become, and very attached to our culture. So we, in turn, take up the challenge of reversing the demographic trend.

Ensuring the future of the French fact in Quebec is for the Quebec Liberal Party the major social challenge for the 1990s since it means ensuring the survival of our society.

The Situation Today

The Quebec birth rate has plunged faster than almost any in the western world. In 1957, the rate was 4.08, among the highest. Thirty years later, the rate had fallen to 1.39, among the lowest, after West Germany and Italy. For more than 20 years, it has been below 2.1 children per woman of childbearing age. This rate of 2.1 is the minimum required to ensure that the population figure remains stable. In the past 20 years, the proportion of young people in our society has dropped by one half, from 35% to 17%.

This distorted age pyramid is coupled with a negative population flow. Between 1965 and 1985, more people left Quebec than came here to live.

The population of Quebec is also getting older; the number of people over 65 has almost doubled in the past 20 years. Today, they represent 10% of the population—and that figure will double over the next 20 years, given higher life expectancies.

The Stakes

The figures cited above can easily be labelled alarmist, and dismissed from public debate on those grounds. Many who feel powerless in the face of this phenomenon may be understandably tempted to make facile statements or remain indifferent. But a brief examination of what those statistics mean for Quebec will show their importance for the survival of our society. The effect of the situation on our collective future has already been discussed in the paper entitled **Ready for Tomorrow**, which was adopted by members of the Party at our February 1988 convention.

The evolution of the French fact has always been central to the historical development of Quebec, and demographics are undoubtedly the most important factor affecting that development. That is why the reduction in the number of young people in Quebec, coupled with problems related to the mastery of the French language, casts a long shadow over our society's future in North America. Quebec is running the risk of losing not only its distinctive cultural vitality, but also of weakening its ability to assert itself among major population groups in North America and losing its ability to attract immigrants.

In addition, the relative weight of Quebec's population in proportion to the whole of Canada will fall from 26.5% in 1981 to 24% by 2006, while the relative weight of western Canada's population will rise from 28.7% to 30%. Demographic decline is eroding Quebec's position in Confederation, which will inevitably cause our political weight to erode as well.

The vitality of our economy stems from our labour force. In the short term, the imbalance of the demographic pyramid is reflected in a higher concentration of individuals in the age groups between 16 and 65, which increases the proportion of available manpower in the population and the number of consumers of durable goods. The result is a fleeting and artificial prosperity.

Within about ten years, the trend will be reversed. If no steps are taken to correct this situation, the domestic market will dwindle, investments will drop, and the labour force will shrink, thereby slowing down economic activity. If this occurs, the remarkable economic progress made in recent years could be compromised. It would be irresponsible to let this happen. We must prevent the long-term negative effects of the demographic imbalance by doing our utmost to rectify the situation while we still have the time and the means to do so.

The future of certain social programs, which are so precious to Quebecers, is in danger, given the aging population and the trend toward demographic decline. In the health sector for example, we see that demand for services largely results from the needs of persons over 65. In 1987, it was estimated that these persons-9% of the population of Quebec-consumed between 35% and 40% of health care services. The aging of the population will increase demand for health care services while the pool of young taxpayers who finance these services will decrease. Immediate action is needed to avoid a foreseeable budget deficit and maintain accessible, high-quality social programs.

As in the health sector, forecasts on rising costs for income security programs show that there is cause for concern. According to actuarial studies done by the Régie des rentes du Québec, we need to take in more money if we hope to fulfill our obligations to those who have paid into the plan. In 1981, there were seven adult contributors for every retired person in the Quebec Pension Plan. If demographic trends continue, by

the year 2000 that proportion will be five to one, dipping to 2.5 to 1 around the year 2050. If we are to ensure the financial balance of the Quebec Pension Plan, an appropriate formula must be devised.

II - THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT: MEETING THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE

We have now come to the moment of truth. Quebec must ensure the future of the French fact in North America. There is no use beating around the bush; no language law alone can protect the French fact against demographic decline.

The French fact is first and foremost **a matter of people**-a community that not only exists but prospers, with sufficient self-confidence to want to perpetuate itself in the future.

As the North American government best placed to protect the base of the French fact, Quebec ultimately has a duty not only to administer its part of the country today, but also to look ahead to tomorrow.

With the stakes so high, demographic reversal is the major social challenge we face as we enter the 1990s. As the custodian of our collective interests, the government of Quebec must rally our strongest forces in order to meet the challenge.

Meeting the Challenge

The laws of nature dictate that in the short term, it is impossible to halt the aging of the population. Government action will necessarily extend over a long period. In the short and medium term, our society must equip itself better to offset the phenomenon of the aging population. The Quebec Liberal Party proposes a series of measures designed to halt the current trend toward demographic decline, in order to prepare Quebec for the aging of our population.

1- Deflecting, then Reversing the Trend Toward Demographic Decline

The initial objective of Liberal policy will be to create conditions favourable to increasing the **replacement rate**.

The Quebec Liberal Party is well aware that the decision to have children is a matter of personal choice and does not concern the government. However, the government can help create an atmosphere more favourable to the family. A Liberal government will therefore adopt a plan of action for the family, a plan that consolidates efforts to enhance the position of families and children, provide support for parents, and lifts the barriers that stop people from having the children they want and then fulfilling their parental duties.

In any plan to effect a demographic reversal, the population flow plays a crucial role. The Quebec Liberal Party has therefore set the objective of welcoming about 40,000 immigrants per year--reaching the upper limit under federal-provincial immigration agreements. That figure is comparable to the level of immigration we saw in the 1950s.

While welcoming more immigrants, the Quebec Liberal Party wants to make sure they are able to integrate fully into Quebec society. We need to become more open to the contributions of all Quebecers, whatever their origin.

In addition, available data on emigration show that Quebec had a negative population flow until 1985. This phenomenon is critical to our demographic balance. The Quebec Liberal Party believes that it is imperative to create an economic and social environment that will convince people who are contemplating leaving to stay and continue to contribute to Quebec's growth.

In this context, we firmly believe that the anglophone community is an essential component of the Quebec of tomorrow, and should be able to live and develop here with the powers and resources needed to ensure the survival of its institutions. A great deal has been asked of these Quebecers, who had to give up the right to post outdoor signs in their language in the years to come in order to protect the future of the French language and culture in Quebec, Canada and North America. Despite this decision, which was avowedly painful and, unfortunately, poorly received, the Quebec Liberal Party is still convinced that **the anglophone community must maintain its place within Quebec society**, and we will defend this principle with determination. The government must ensure that the community has the means and tools to continue to live and prosper in its own language.

New arrivals, just like members of the established cultural communities, must be made to feel at home in Quebec so that they will decide to stay here, prosper, and hopefully raise their families here. **Quebec must learn to make a proper place for people from cultural communities.**

The Quebec Liberal Party proposes that in order for us to learn to live together in harmony, we must meet the challenge of achieving mutual respect and full recognition for people from all backgrounds.

2- Adapting to the Shock of Changing Demographics

Despite our efforts to counter demographic decline, Quebec will still have to adjust in the immediate future to the realities of a demographic shock. The rise in numbers of the elderly are bringing new needs to the fore. In the meantime, we must also preserve our fundamental societal characteristics while moving toward a better balanced Quebec.

As the ranks of the elderly swell, we must develop new attitudes; we must recognize the full potential that this age group holds for our entire society. The elderly will therefore have to receive more assistance from the government to remain independent in their own homes for as long as possible. This autonomy is an essential ingredient in their quality of life, and we must do everything in our power to maintain their independence.

The aging of the population, coupled with higher costs for new medical technologies, is already **exerting great financial pressure on the health and social service sector**. That pressure can only grow worse at a time when the government's room to manoeuvre is being steadily eroded. For the Quebec Liberal Party, what is at stake is **maintaining a health and social service system that is accessible to all Quebecers, while at the same time striving to humanize care and taking into consideration the taxpayers' ability to pay.**

The greatest challenge Quebec will have to face in adapting to the demographic shock will be to preserve its **language and cultural vitality**. With a population concentrated in the intermediate age groups, Quebec society shows an unprecedented level of cultural vitality. However, since the younger generations will

include a larger number of immigrants whose mother tongue is not French, and since English exercises a natural and undeniable attraction in North America, **we must step up our efforts to maintain the appeal of the French language and increase our level of support for cultural development.**

III - WAYS OF MEETING THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGE

The Liberals' demographics policy focuses on two major goals: countering the trend toward demographic decline, and adapting to the aging of the population. Before discussing the measures this will require, let's look at the progress already made by the Liberal government.

1- The Liberal Record

In **Ready for Tomorrow**, published in February 1988, the Quebec Liberal Party recognized the urgency of redressing Quebec's demographic balance. We proposed a policy based on efforts to boost the low birth rate, and increased openness to immigration. It was proposed that a favourable climate be created for the growth of families. It was also asserted that we should take full advantage of the federal-provincial immigration agreements, while at the same time ensuring that these new arrivals were integrated into our society. The government's demographics policy has developed along these two major lines.

With respect to the plan of action for the family, the Liberal government issued a policy statement in December 1987 acknowledging the fundamental value of the family and proposing better financial support for parents to offset rising costs. A "Conseil de la famille" was also set up, with a mandate to advise the government on measures to be taken to provide more assistance for families.

The May 1988 budget contained a number of substantial financial benefits for parents. An extra \$800 million was allocated to families. Among the measures was an allowance of \$500 upon the birth of a first or second child, and \$3,000 upon the birth of a third child, clearly indicating the government's desire to support families with several children.

In November 1988, the government released a policy statement on daycare services. The major plans announced in this area were to improve the quality of existing services, and create 60,000 new spaces in the next five years -- particularly in the workplace and in schools, effectively doubling the number of spaces currently available.

The measures taken by the Liberal government are beginning to produce modest but promising results. The birth rate has stopped falling, and the projected fertility rate climbed to 1.44 in 1988. Is this the sign of a new trend? It is still too soon to tell, and we are convinced that the government must do more.

With respect to immigration, the Liberal government has increased the number of immigrants to Quebec by 86% since 1985. We currently welcome 26,000 immigrants per year. To ensure their integration, the government has increased funding to francization and intercultural-development programs by 40% over the last three years.

2- Reversing the Demographic Decline

The demographic policy we are now proposing aims to reverse the demographic decline through action in three areas; firstly, creating a favourable environment for parents and children via our plan of action for the

family; secondly, promoting immigration in order to improve our demographic balance in the short term; and thirdly, striving to put an end to the negative emigration trends observed in recent years, by doing our utmost to help all Quebecers learn to live together.

Political Support and Concrete Help for Parents

To ensure the future of the French fact in North America, we must first look to the replacement rate. To achieve replacement, the rate - which is currently 1.44 children per woman - must rise to 2.1. The gap is enormous. We are facing a major challenge, but we must not be frightened by its magnitude.

The Quebec Liberal Party, in taking into account this reality, proposes a policy designed to help parents who want to have children, varying the degree of government support according to the number of children for which they are responsible.

Our target audience group is clearly parents. Government action must first and foremost be addressed to them, the men and women who have primary responsibility for raising children. Since a plan of action for the family will be slow to bear fruit, we believe that the fertility rate could rise from 1.4 to 1.8 in the medium term.

To attain this goal, the government should recognize the essential contribution that parents make to our society. The Quebec Liberal Party believes that there is a need to foster a greater respect for parents and the family. The decision to have a child, more than any other personal decision, merits society's political support and concrete assistance.

To achieve this, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to continue increasing financial support to parents and promoting various work options for them.

Better Financial Support for Parents

Before discussing the details of our financial assistance policy for parents, it is important to establish the fundamental principles of these measures.

Some people blame the falling birth rate on the high cost of raising children. We, on the other hand, believe that it is the high opportunity cost, or the price parents must pay in terms of lower income, goods and services than the majority of the population. This factor goes a long way toward explaining why children are now sometimes perceived as a "burden".

But having children must not be reduced to a simple matter of financial considerations, although these are on everyone's minds. From a more positive viewpoint, the Quebec Liberal Party prefers to provide financial support for parents as tangible evidence of society's gratitude.

To accomplish this, we propose to gradually raise family allowances. In addition, we recommend that these allowances be the same regardless of birth order.

Since the birth of a new baby in a family that already has several children may entail additional expenditures, particularly for housing, the Liberal government will grant additional financial assistance to parents for third and subsequent children.

At present, government assistance is in the form of allowances and tax credits. Since the psychological effect of the measures adopted is so crucial, we are convinced that the forms of assistance can be changed to meet parents' needs and expectations more fully. In the area of family assistance, therefore, the Liberal Party will give priority to direct rather than indirect transfers.

Giving Parents More Career Options

The massive entry of women into the labour market is often wrongly cited as a reason for the low birth rate. The Quebec Liberal Party feels that the problem is not so much this trend, but rather, the rigid structure of companies. The labour market should adapt to the lifestyles of men and women, and not the other way around, as has too often been the case.

Some parents would like to take a sabbatical from work, or work part time while raising their children. Sometimes both spouses would like to remain in the workforce. And still other parents would like to stay at home to raise their children, making parenthood their career. The situation is complex. The government must respect these entirely legitimate preferences. We must provide a range of measures which, taken together, meet the varied needs of parents.

The government must support all parents in their desire to have children. We must give them an opportunity to reconcile the demands of work and children, and we must reassert the value of the work performed by those who remain at home.

This is why the Quebec Liberal Party's measures will address needs relating to the labour market and daycare services, while at the same time promoting recognition for the work of a parent who remains at home to raise a family.

a) The Labour Market

The presence of women in the work force is an important variable that affects all measures aimed at improving the standard of living of families. Since the labour market has been slow to adapt to this reality, the various levels of government have had to introduce various measures: the 18-week maternity leave, 15 weeks of unemployment insurance for women on maternity leave, and preventive leave for pregnant or nursing workers. These benefits have been further sweetened in some collective agreements, especially those in the public and parapublic sectors. In general, however, we must do more to help parents reconcile the demands of family life and work.

- **A New Maternity Allowance Plan**

The government of Quebec is already studying the possibility of setting up a maternity insurance plan to replace the current use of the unemployment insurance plan during maternity leave. We must now negotiate with the federal government to transfer the funds already paid for unemployment insurance into this new plan, and set up a complementary plan to meet additional needs, where necessary.

We feel that this new plan should reassert the value of motherhood instead of tying it to the unemployment insurance program, which has negative connotations. In addition, this new plan should increase the length of maternity leave and the amount of insurable earnings.

- **Changing Minimum Labour Standards**

To reconcile the demands of parenting and paid work, we must modify minimum labour standards to include specific regulations regarding parental leave.

A Liberal government will change work standards, introducing new types of unpaid parental leave, such as:

- paternity leave;
- parental leave to be taken by either parent after the maternity leave is over;
- a certain number of days off per year for parenting activities relating to the care, education and health needs of children.

We should also consider the possibility of changing our standards so that parents can refuse to work overtime without being penalized if they do not receive sufficient advance warning.

- **Incentives for More Flexible Working Arrangements**

Reconciling the demands of paid work and parenthood will require changes in time management in the workplace. The Quebec Liberal Party proposes that joint employer-employee mechanisms be established province-wide to discuss making work schedules more amenable to parenting responsibilities and tying the number of parental leaves to family size. Incentives will initially be implemented in sectors where it will be easier to make these changes.

- **Promoting Part-Time Work**

Many parents would like to be able to work part-time or take an extended leave, in order to devote more time to raising their children. These options should be encouraged.

This formula is already used in the Quebec public service, where employees can take a further unpaid two-year leave or work part-time for two years after their paid maternity leave is over. Benefits are maintained, proportionate to the amount of time worked, and other advantages such as job security, are fully maintained. However, the existing public sector plan clearly cannot be automatically applied to the private sector.

Studies appear to show that the productivity of parents working part-time and therefore having more time with their children is greater than the productivity of a person working full-time and finding it difficult to fulfill his or her parental responsibilities.

The Liberal Party proposes that the government bring in incentives for businesses to promote, on a voluntary basis, the opportunity for parents to work part-time, with benefits proportionate to the number of hours worked, as a complement to parental leave.

b) Daycare Services

Developing daycare services that reflect parents' choices remains a priority for the Quebec Liberal Party.

In our 1988 policy paper on daycare services entitled **A Better Balance**, the government sketched the broad lines of a policy under which 60,000 daycare places would be added over a five-year period, and funding for

existing daycare centres would be increased. Since the federal government decreased its daycare funding in its last budget, the five-year deadline could be extended. Nevertheless, the objectives of this plan will remain a top priority.

The plan places particular attention on accelerating the development of daycare in the workplace and schools, to provide after-school care.

Red tape frequently slows the development of new daycare services. The Liberal Party proposes to review regulations carefully to eliminate any obstacles to development, while at the same time keeping safety and hygiene standards in daycare centres in mind at all times.

The quality of daycare services is also a concern of the Quebec Liberal Party, and staff training plays a crucial role in ensuring quality. If additional qualifications are required, appropriate remuneration will have to be provided as well. We must also respect the autonomy of each daycare service. Increased assistance to daycare services in accordance with government policies should make it possible to improve remuneration in this sector. The Quebec Liberal Party recommends that the government continue to make every effort to improve pay scales and working conditions for daycare staff.

c) Recognition of Parenthood as a Career

If they had the choice, many parents would prefer to look after their own children - at least while the children are very young. This is frequently the case for parents who want to have several children. We want the government to consider this decision as a career choice.

Given our objective of boosting the fertility rate in Quebec, we believe that couples with three or more children must be given financial assistance. From the third child on, it becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile the demands of working and family life. Frequently, one of the spouses has to leave his or her job.

Currently, government financial assistance is provided indirectly to parents who elect to use daycare services, through grants to daycare centres. Parents who decide to leave their jobs either temporarily or permanently to take care of their children receive no such assistance. We believe that the government must respect their choice. Their contribution to the future of our society has all too often been unfairly ignored. **We therefore recommend that in the future, the government's financial support to parents be awarded as neutrally as possible with regard to the child-rearing choices they make.**

We believe that the work of parents staying at home to raise children should receive recognition in the form of a refundable tax credit, which would reimburse them for part of the money the government saves because their children are not using daycare services. Another form of assistance could be a family allowance given to all parents who stay at home to raise a third or subsequent child of pre-school age. This allowance would be considered partial compensation for the money lost by a parent who decides to quit the work force and stay at home to care for a child or children of pre-school age on a full-time basis. This assistance will be provided for full-time care of pre-schoolers.

Streamlining International Adoption

The Quebec Liberal Party also recommends that the government continue its efforts to humanize international adoption procedures, and break down the barriers that lengthen waiting periods for couples

wanting to adopt a child. The government will have to do an in-depth review of legislation and regulations in order to streamline procedures and cut waiting time. A reasonable goal would be that no one should have to wait longer than 18 months.

The government will also actively continue the steps taken so far to obtain the cooperation of other countries with a view to streamlining adoption procedures.

To ensure that adopted children are well treated, government child protection authorities should pay particular attention to following up on private organizations and community groups involved in the adoption procedure, as well as adoptive families.

Enriching Quebec Society

The second major focus of the Quebec Liberal Party's demographic policy involves promoting immigration and the integration of immigrants.

Until quite recently, Quebec had a negative population flow. Even today, new arrivals barely replace the number of people who are leaving Quebec for other provinces. The plan to reverse this phenomenon should strive to make up for the demographic deficit resulting from low fertility, by promoting a positive population flow.

In 1986, Quebec welcomed just under 20,000 new arrivals. The government has declared its intention of gradually raising that figure to 40,000 a year, which is a level that corresponds to our demographic weight in Canada.

Immigration is not a new phenomenon in our society. In the past, Quebec society has welcomed and integrated many people from other countries, notably Ireland, Italy, and most recently from Greece, Portugal, Haiti and Asian countries. Between 1977 and 1986, 26% of immigrants to Quebec spoke only French, 11% spoke both French and English, 23% spoke only English, and 39% spoke neither French nor English. These figures demonstrate that we must make special efforts to integrate new arrivals into the francophone majority.

An Active Search for Immigrants

In recent years, Quebec has not met its immigration quotas, largely due to obstacles caused by red tape: lack of information, slow procedures, and so on. We recommend that the government make its policies less stringent, and improve its administrative procedures. In addition, since francophone immigrants find it easier to integrate into Quebec society, **the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to facilitate francophone immigration by adjusting selection criteria to increase the number of applicants admitted, particularly younger ones, and actively recruiting immigrants from francophone countries with a French or Latin tradition.**

Welcoming and Integrating Immigrants into Quebec Society

The extent to which Quebecers will react positively to increased immigration depends largely on the establishment of clear policies for integration of immigrants into the francophone majority.

Federal immigration policies must take into account Quebec's **unique** and additional immigration responsibility.

While welcoming more immigrants, the Quebec Liberal Party wants them to be able to integrate fully into Quebec society, both socially and economically.

Although knowing the french language is a prerequisite, it is not enough. Immigrants should also have an understanding of the society they are entering.

First of all, there must be support for the non-profit groups and organizations that look after immigrants upon arrival, find them accomodation and jobs, and ease their transition into our society. In this respect, the francophone community has fallen behind, and must implement the necessary measures to improve the situation.

The government has already done a great deal to promote the learning of French, but we must do more. The survival of the French fact in North America depends on the action we will take. A Liberal government will increase funding for francization programs designed specifically for immigrants who are not yet in the workforce, and will make it easier for allophone workers to learn French near their workplace.

In addition to learning French, new arrivals must learn our way of life, a factor that is indispensable to facilitate their integration into our society. We recommend that the government set up a new program to address this need, and look to groups with socio-economic or community objectives to help implement this program.

Since schools are among the best places for new arrivals to come in contact with our society, the government will support educational projects in the schools designed to promote the integration of immigrant children. We also believe that not only must we promote the tolerance, respect and generosity which are already part of our culture, but we must also fight racism, xenophobia and simple ignorance by providing more information and appropriate programs, in the schools and in the workplace.

Learning to Live Together

Reducing emigration is an important aspect of the Liberal policy for demographic reversal. In addition to the attractiveness of our new economic vitality, which is reducing emigration to other provinces, the Quebec Liberal Party believes that all Quebecers, regardless of their origin, should be made to feel at home in Quebec.

The Anglophone Community

If one can understand that the demographic decline also affects Quebec' anglophone community, which is particularly affected by interprovincial migration, one will be able to understand some of the reasons why that community feels insecure about its future.

If one can understand, also, that the members of the anglophone community have chosen to live and work here to build a better future for our society, one understands the depth of their attachment to Quebec.

- **Ensuring the Preservation and Development of Anglophone Institutions**

There are a certain number of anglophone institutions in Quebec that have traditionally served the entire population, whatever a person's mother tongue may be. Some educational and health-care institutions have acquired international reputations that reflect favourably on Quebec as a whole.

These institutions are here to stay, and they must be allowed to develop, just like their francophone counterparts.

For the Quebec Liberal Party, Quebec's English community is an integral part of our society's distinct character. To support and develop a dynamic anglophone community, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes the following:

- **Improving the Teaching of English as a Mother Tongue, and French as a Second Language**

As in the French system, we must make sure that children are taught good language skills, both oral and written, at all levels. Cognitive objectives should be better defined in the programs, however, and we must put greater emphasis on the quality of language when evaluating examinations at the CEGEP and university levels. We should also consider adding another hour per week of language study at the elementary level.

- **Supporting English Cultural Organizations**

English cultural life reposes on a certain number of cultural organizations specifically designed for an anglophone audience, such as theatre, media, and so on. These institutions are necessary to the survival of the community, and like their francophone counterparts, they must be able to count on the technical and financial support of the government for existing programs.

- **Ensuring True Participation in Decision-making**

Quebec anglophones must participate fully in the government's political and administrative decision-making process. The Quebec Liberal Party wants to increase the number of Quebec civil servants whose mother tongue is English.

The Cultural Communities

The cultural and economic contributions of Quebecers from the cultural communities have greatly enriched our society. In return, Quebec must make from for these individuals so that they may take their rightful place in our society. To accomplish this, the government will call on the cooperation of all its partners. Collectively, we must take up the challenge of giving full recognition to people from cultural communities.

We must integrate the members of the cultural communities, rather than assimilating them. For the Quebec Liberal Party, integration means building bridges between members of the cultural communities; it means bringing together Quebecers of different origins, while stressing respect for each individual culture. Such integration requires a change in mentality on the part of the host society, and a willingness on the part of immigrants to become part of our culture.

Understanding that Quebecers from cultural communities want to integrate into the francophone majority without forgetting their origins is the first step in learning to live together.

- **Awareness of the Contribution of the Cultural Communities**

We believe that government information and awareness campaigns must provide a more adequate reflection of the multicultural dimension of our society. To achieve this goal, members of the cultural communities must occupy their rightful place in our society. In addition, the government will urge companies to include members of the cultural communities in their advertising.

The ministère de l'Éducation will pay particular attention to the training of teachers working in a multicultural environment.

- **Awareness of the Potential of the Labour Market**

Members of the cultural communities tend to work mainly in two major sectors: manufacturing, and the service sector (e.g. restaurants, hotels and schools). We must therefore establish awareness campaigns and ad hoc programs in ethnic communities to make them more aware of the employment opportunities in Quebec, and increase their representation in all economic sectors - particularly the public sector.

3- Adapting to the Shock of Changing Demographics

In the short term, the aging of the population is inescapable. We have already reviewed all the consequences of this phenomenon. Increased immigration will also present new challenges for our society. To meet this challenge successfully, we must do as much planning as possible, and prepare ourselves for what lies ahead.

Three fundamental issues relating to the demographic shock are discussed in this paper: the role of the elderly in an aging society, the financing of certain social programs, and the protection of the French fact in an aging and increasingly multicultural society.

A Place for the Elderly

In social terms, it is difficult to maintain a cohesive society if one neglects the contribution of the elderly. We must not only attempt to maintain their autonomy in view of the high cost of dependency, but we also make sure that their active presence is considered an essential aspect of a healthy balance of values, without which our society would be much poorer. We need to rediscover the meaning of old age, based on more than just gratitude and well-deserved rest.

Our society should not exile its elderly. We must adjust to the fact that they now constitute 10% of the population and that in 20 years, that figure will double. We must recognize that elderly Quebecers are somewhat marginalized, and we must ask society as a whole to make the necessary social adjustments in its values and attitudes. That is why the Quebec Liberal Party invites every Quebecer to reconsider the role of the elderly, so that we can ultimately design an integrated policy on the elderly.

To make a proper place for the elderly, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to begin by pursuing two lines of action: reducing the isolation of the elderly, and developing the necessary health care and social services.

Reducing the Isolation of the Elderly

More than any other group in our society, the elderly are lonely. Many of them are independent but alone, with no families. To escape their solitude, some opt to live in public or private homes, even if they are still able to lead active lives. Living in an institution frequently accelerates the natural decline of their capacities.

For a number of years, we have seen the generation gap widen. The elderly suffer most from this rift. The Quebec Liberal Party believes it is necessary to bring the generations closer together. Government action, however, can only be indirect and limited in this sphere.

Housing is an area where we can do a great deal to bring the generations together. A Liberal government will promote housing concepts that will enable elderly people to share their homes with other persons if they so wish. We will also provide financial assistance for families who decide to keep independent parents with them in their homes.

By reducing the percentage of income these individuals pay out for housing costs, such measures will enable many people who live alone and do not have families to escape their loneliness and improve their economic situation.

Adapting Health Care and Social Services to the Needs of the Elderly

The Liberal government is planning to set up geriatric units in hospitals. In addition, we must recognize the health and social services offered at residences belonging to the network of private housing facilities.

The development of home care for the independent elderly should be encouraged, but it should not be considered a panacea. The administrative burden and the uncontrollable rise in costs could jeopardize the efficiency of such services. That is why the Quebec Liberal Party hopes to involve non-government and community resources in providing these services, in conjunction with the CLSCs and the public network. Research on gerontology and geriatrics should also be strongly encouraged.

Our society must adapt health care and social services to the needs of the elderly. That will be one of the great social challenges of the 1990s.

Maintaining the Social Programs Dear to Quebecers

The aging of the population, together with the shrinking pool of taxpayers we have already mentioned, could jeopardize the future of some social programs upon which Quebecers have learned to depend.

Ensuring Funding of the Quebec Pension Plan

Of all social programs, the Quebec Pension Plan is one of the most affected by demographics. In order to pay benefits to one generation of workers, the Plan relies partially on the contributions that will be paid by the children of these workers. Given the trend toward demographic decline, the Régie des rentes du Québec expects the reserve to be depleted by 2004, fifteen years from now.

Based on these data the Régie should either increase contributions, limit pensions, or both. However, this would penalize all members of the plan who have children and have therefore contributed to the stability of the plan. It would be more equitable to take into consideration the number of children that the participant has, when calculating either contributions or pension benefits. A Liberal government will develop such a formula in order to ensure the survival of this program, which Quebec pensioners need to maintain their quality of life.

Maintaining a Strong, Accessible Health and Social Service Network

The Liberal government has already set out a series of substantial reforms in a major policy paper on health. It reiterates the government's determination to ensure accessible, good quality health and social services. Objectives and orientations are stated, and a plan of actions is outlined for making the necessary corrections to the system, and for involving the institutions, community groups and the public at large to a much greater degree.

It offers a much needed development strategy and a method of rationalization. The aging of the population, the development of medical technologies, and the emergence of new health problems are already exerting upward pressure on expenditures in our public system. We are now approaching the critical threshold.

There are limits to how much taxpayers can pay. In view of the government's other important commitments, it would be difficult to devote more than 9% to 10% of the GDP to health and social services. The matter is all the more critical in that the federal government's contribution to health-care funding continues to go down, despite representations by the provinces.

The growing demands being placed on this system, which is public, universal, accessible and free, may soon cause the system to "overheat". Some regulations may be necessary. We must immediately devise new and more effective ways to use our inevitably limited resources. We must also show imagination, and be innovative in many regards.

Until now, governments have attempted to rationalize the supply, which has its limitations and can result in a restricted supply. Indiscriminate controls on supply (e.g. closing hospital beds or emergency wards) are unfair. People who are seriously ill could be penalized if they are diagnosed and treated too late. Not only is this socially unacceptable, but it could ultimately result in higher costs.

Instead of restricting supply, we must substitute mechanisms designed to regulate demand. Rather than applying user fees, we must make people aware of the costs of health care, and the importance of using appropriate resources.

The Quebec Liberal Party proposes to inform users periodically of the costs of health-care services in easily understood terms, to help them make the right choices, and to determine which services are medically and socially necessary. It will also stress the need to provide, throughout the public network, effective basic services that are distributed equitably and at a reasonable cost.

Better information on access to the system, as well as increased availability of diagnostic services, will allow Quebecers to use health-care services more efficiently, thereby easing the burden on the system.

Other measures may be adopted to deal with the demand for health-care services. To illustrate, the health insurance card could be accompanied or replaced by a "health notebook" in which all physicians consulted would have to write the date of the consultation as well as the number and types of X-rays and lab tests done. This control, while respecting the right to confidentiality, would eliminate duplication of tests and treatments.

In addition to these measures, the Quebec Liberal Party will organize a debate in the next few years to obtain a consensus on the orientations that should be adopted to deal with the demand for social and health-care services. Just like all Quebecers, the Q.L.P. is very attached to our social programs, many of which were created by Liberal governments. But since it can foresee problems in the future, it is calling on everyone's cooperation to help ensure the future of our social programs.

Forging a French Culture with Strong Powers of Attraction

Although it has been the historic home of the French language and civilization in North America, Quebec has over the past few decades become a pluralistic society with an international outlook. It must continue to do everything in its power to protect and promote its distinct character, while at the same time deriving full benefit from anglophone culture and the cultures of our new immigrants.

Given that demographic decline threatens the French fact, Quebec must pay particular attention to the quality of the French language and the vitality of our culture. In fact, our vitality and richness are the forces that will enable us to preserve our distinct character in Canada and North America.

Improving the Learning of French

Parents are initially responsible for instilling in their children a respect for their language, but structured language learning takes place at school. We feel that schools have a major role to play in improving the quality of written and oral French.

a) Improving the Teaching of French at the Elementary and Secondary Levels

In 1988, the government put forward a plan of action in this area, and asked school boards and teachers to initiate measures to improve the quality of French. Students are now tested at the end of grade six, and at the end of Secondary Five.

We must, however, do even more.

- **Upgrading Educational Objectives**

An evaluation of the courses and programs at the elementary and secondary levels has shown that the objectives with respect to learning French are not high enough. To remedy this situation, the government must review the courses and programs offered by the school boards.

- **Improving Teaching Materials**

Improving the learning of French requires good teaching tools. For example, library facilities must be enhanced. The Quebec Liberal Party recommends that the government implement a policy in this regard, as soon as possible.

- **Adding More Class Time for the Study of French**

While financial constraints must be kept in mind, French language learning would be improved if more class time were devoted to the subject. The government will hold discussions with the school boards and teachers on the possibility of changing existing programs and adding one hour of class time per week for the study of French.

b) Assessing French-Language Skills at the CEGEP and University Levels

Various reports have shown deficiencies in the level of written French among CEGEP and university students.

Although these weaknesses stem from the elementary and secondary levels of our education system, CEGEPs and universities are also involved since most of their graduates will be called upon to perform job functions that demand a high level of French language skills.

To solve this problem, some universities have already taken the initiative of establishing French tests for entry-level students. Little by little, language skills are becoming a criterion for admission.

A Liberal government will encourage CEGEPs and universities to establish procedures making the quality of a student's French an element in the evaluation process in every discipline.

c) Enhancing the Role of Teachers and Continuing Education

To a considerable extent, the success of the measures suggested to improve the quality of French depends on our teachers. For the Quebec Liberal Party, the professional role of the teacher must be respected. Teachers do more than perform a simple job; they perform work that is essential for the survival of our community.

The government will, together with school boards, put together a program designed to correct the deficiencies in French-language teaching. The program would identify and implement corrective measures, and provide staff and materials conducive to the learning of French by giving teachers professional development seminars appropriate to the goals pursued.

d) Availability of Books

Reading is an essential part of mastering a language. It is therefore important to have easy access to books. Over the last thirty years, books have become more readily available. Public libraries are largely responsible for this. The current state of the French language demands further action. There is a definite need to improve the quality of libraries and make them more accessible, given that almost 900,000 Quebecers living in remote areas cannot go to a public library.

The Quebec Liberal Party proposes that in a second mandate, it will improve the quality of libraries; it will do so by further increasing the budgets for purchasing books, and, in cooperation with the cities and municipalites, increasing the number of libraries in its public network.

Developing a Culture with Strong Powers of Attraction

The development of an attractive culture is a crucial factor in ensuring and consolidating the cultural security of Quebec society and increasing its appeal to new arrivals.

Since the Liberal government came to power, the rate of growth in ministère des Affaires culturelles spending has been about double the rate of growth of Quebec's budget. The government has also given additional tax incentives to cultural enterprises in the film and television industry.

In 1988-1989, roughly 0.8% of the province's budget has gone to promote culture, whereas the figure was 0.6% in 1985-1986. The government has thus tried to reach the objective of spending 1% of the budget on culture. The government's financial efforts cannot necessarily be focused just on spending, given our intention to limit its growth in proportion to the GDP. But this objective, which is still very important for our Party, could be attained through fiscal measures.

Of course, it will always be up to the creators to create, and it is not the government's role to define what is culturally valuable. We are convinced, however, that the government can and must encourage individuals by improving the economic conditions under which they work, making culture more accessible to the general public, and encouraging the promotion and distribution of our cultural products.

- **Supporting Production and Creative Activities**

Because the value of these products depends on numerous factors, few markets are as risky as the arts, which places people in the creative sector in a situation of great financial insecurity. The Liberal government has already helped to improve the situation by giving artists and performers a special fiscal status.

The Quebec Liberal Party attaches great importance to supporting young artists and performers. The government will encourage organizations receiving government financial assistance to make more room for creative young people, and will also support young creative artists in the establishment of cultural enterprises. The government will also support festivals, competitions, and other cultural events that give younger artists and performers a chance to become better known.

- **Promoting the Dissemination of Quebec Culture**

The cultural market in Quebec is limited. That constraint, which is a challenge to the cultural vitality of Quebec, means that government action is needed to promote Quebec products.

The Quebec Liberal Party proposes to assist in disseminating Quebec cultural creations in the form of tax shelters for people investing in the works of Quebec artists. It also recommends that groups in the dramatic arts who receive government assistance must be required to do more to promote Quebec works.

We must also do everything possible to encourage initiatives aimed at increasing the dissemination of Quebec culture. In particular, the Quebec Liberal Party proposes to set up a "dissemination assistance fund" to promote the accessibility of Quebec cultural works on an international scale.

IV - OUR CHOICE: ENSURING THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT

Quebec faces a demographic situation that requires immediate action if we are to ensure the survival of the French fact in North America.

It is all very well for Quebec to pass laws to protect the French language, and to proclaim our distinctive character and support our artists and performers. But it will all be in vain unless we make choices today to meet the demographic challenge of tomorrow.

This is why we have identified the reversal of the demographic trend as one of the major social challenges for the 1990s and the year 2000. To meet that challenge, we propose that Quebec society pursue two major objectives: to halt current demographic trends, and to adapt to the aging of a major segment of our population. Quebec society must make the social adjustments needed to reestablish a balance, and it must do so now if it is to ensure its future in Canada and the North American continent.

IV - OUR CHOICE: ENSURING THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH FACT

Quebec faces a demographic situation that requires immediate action if we are to ensure the survival of the French fact in North America.

It is all very well for Quebec to pass laws to protect the French language, and to proclaim our distinctive character, and support our artists and performers. But it will all be in vain unless we make choices today to meet the demographic challenge of tomorrow.

This is why we have identified the reversal of the demographic trend as one of the major social challenges for the 1990s and the year 2000. To meet that challenge, we propose that Quebec society pursue two major objectives: to halt current demographic trends, and to adapt to the aging of a major segment of our population. Quebec society must make the social adjustments it needs to reestablish a balance, and it must do so now if it is to ensure its future in Canada and the North American continent.

CONCLUSION:

Renewing our strengths

The Quebec Liberal Party is present when history is being made. In the early 1960s, it developed our education system. In the 1970s, it made health care accessible to all. Then, in the early 1980s, it identified economic renewal as its most important objective. During the mandate that is now coming to an end, Quebec has become prosperous once again.

Today, to ensure that we have the foundations on which to build our collective well-being during the coming decade, the Quebec Liberal Party is proposing to orient the actions of a Liberal government toward the consolidation of economic prosperity, protection of our natural heritage, and reversal of the trend toward demographic decline.

Economic prosperity is essential to Quebecers' quality of life. To assure continued prosperity, the Quebec Liberal Party is proposing to undertake a renewed effort on five strategic fronts.

Firstly, human resource development, which is the cornerstone of economic strength, will be the focus of considerable energies, with particular emphasis on vocational training. Secondly, efforts to improve public finances will continue; we owe it to future generations. Thirdly, the ability of Quebec companies to take advantage of new opportunities created by the opening up of national economies will be reinforced. Fourthly, a Liberal government will support technological research and development to accelerate the modernization of our industrial infrastructure. And finally, with a view to social justice, a Liberal government will orient economic development in a manner that will promote a better balance between the different regions.

Protecting the environment is everyone's responsibility, but first and foremost, it is the responsibility of the government. It is one of the main priorities of the Quebec Liberal Party for the upcoming decade.

Above all, a Liberal government will act to ensure that the environment is safe for Quebecers. In addition, it will strive to integrate environmental and economic concerns in the vast St. Lawrence River development project, and through a new environmental approach to manufacturing.

One particular problem requires immediate attention: the solid waste produced by our society in phenomenal quantities. The Quebec Liberal Party is proposing measures to manage this waste in a more ecologically sound manner.

In addition to these efforts in specific sectors, a Liberal government will adopt a series of measures to advance the cause of environmental protection, within the government itself and throughout society. Specifically, it is planning to step up efforts to educate the public about the environment.

Reversing the trend toward demographic decline is the most effective way of fighting for the survival of the **French fact in North America**. The Quebec Liberal Party is profoundly attached to our distinct character, and will treat this concern as the major social challenge of the next mandate.

To halt and reverse the current trend in Quebec toward demographic decline, a Liberal government will adopt a family policy that will translate into political support and concrete assistance for parents. It will also increase

immigration, as well as efforts to integrate newcomers into our society. All Quebecers must learn to live together in harmony.

Full of hope and determination, but at the same time realistic and pragmatic, the Quebec Liberal Party is proposing a series of measures to help Quebec adapt to an aging population: promoting the French culture, making a place for the elderly, and protecting social programs that are threatened by demographic decline.

Prosperity, the environment, and the French fact. This political program presents the priorities of the Quebec Liberal Party for a second mandate. We believe they are the right tools to build a truly flourishing society, because more than ever we view Quebec's wealth as a trust to be safeguarded.