I Establishing the New Terms of Confederation

The most urgent task facing Canadians is to come to terms with the new conditions for our survival as one country. Canada was created and will be strengthened by a voluntary and renewing act of will on the part of both our founding races and of all who have shared with them in building this country.

The pace of change has made Confederation out of date in many important respects. Ending our present crisis means finding the new terms by which Canada can continue.

- We must create our own constitution, embodying guarantees for the civil rights of all Canadians and the assurance that no one will suffer because he speaks just one of our two major languages.

- We must ensure that French-speaking communities outside Quebec can claim the same language rights as the English-speaking minority in Quebec have enjoyed for over a century.

Confederation involves more than language and culture. It is a federal system, struggling to meet enormously expanded government responsibilities with financial resources allocated for the needs of a different age. The crisis of Confederation flows from the many solitudes—cultural, regional, social and economic—that are Canada.

Canadian federalism needs a central government able to give overall direction to our economy and to overcome regional disparities of wealth. Equally, our federal system demands that provinces (and municipalities) have the funds to meet their particular responsibilities. The costs of almost every new expansion of services, from super-highways to medicare, has fallen, in the first instance, on provincial governments.

A new basis for modern federalism means:

- We must replace secret, hurried premiers’ conferences with permanent machinery for consultation and co-operation, including a Federal-Provincial Planning and Development Council to make sure that the economic and social plans of our levels of government dovetail.

- We must find new arrangements for making needed finances available to the provinces and promoting joint agreements to provide funds for broad objectives such as low-income housing, urban transportation or the fight against pollution of our air and water.

Our federal system must also have the flexibility to recognize the particular position accorded to Quebec since 1867 as the centre of the French-speaking community in Canada. She must have the right and the funds to fulfill government responsibilities which affect the community—such as social security, education, town planning and community development.

By accepting this particular situation, Canadians elsewhere can seek federal action in these fields without creating misunderstanding, frustration and intolerable strains to our Confederation.
Canadians are face to face with decisions which will determine our economic future.

We have gained our present prosperity largely by becoming an industrialized state. The condition for keeping our prosperity is accelerated economic growth and the rapid modernization and development of our industrial structure.

Canadians realize increasingly that these vital goals cannot be achieved without effective economic planning, without vastly expanded scientific and technological resources and without the power to make key economic decisions for ourselves.

Economic Independence for Canada

New Democrats have become convinced that recovering our economic independence is a crucial step in securing our future prosperity. This is not a matter of narrow nationalism nor does it hinge merely on the foreign or domestic ownership of our industry and commerce. It does mean that Canadians must be free to plan and create the kind of economy that is suited to our needs.

A New Democratic government will seek economic independence for Canada by:

- Increasing the democratic control of our economic activity by increased government participation in appropriate phases of our industrial and commercial life and by replacing the Economic Council by a properly designed economic and social planning organization, involving federal and provincial governments.

- Establishing a Canadian Capital Resource Fund (CCRF) controlled by the government, mobilizing Canadian capital for development and research and keeping Canadian savings at home. In addition to providing a logical place for the investments of corporations and insurance companies, the Fund would attract some of the savings now going to private pension plans, by selling group and individual annuities.

- The capital resources of the Fund would be used for investments necessary to the overall development of our economy.

- Part of the Fund would be used in universities and corporations and in financing and developing those innovations which will allow our industry to specialize and compete in world markets.

Science and Technology

Further advances in the Canadian economy and in the quality of life of our people depend on the progress of science and technology. Yet, partly as a consequence of our branch-plant economy and partly because of the indifference of our own Canadian government and industry, our investment in research and development has been proportionately smaller than that of any other advanced industrial state.

In addition to providing high quality scientific education, we must provide centres where graduates can use their knowledge and training and which can be the focal points of new science-
based industries which must become the basis of our industrial growth.

An NDP government will establish a Department of Science and Technology with the task of:

- Establishing scientific-technological research centres in co-operation with universities and industry to stimulate developments in fields of social concern or economic importance.
- Creating a Canadian Research and Development Corporation to invest in, or develop, promising new inventions and industrial processes. In some cases, new crown corporations will be founded to use the new techniques or to produce and market new products, on the model of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited.
- Keeping in touch with research and development in Canada, determining national scientific priorities and encouraging and co-ordinating theoretical and applied research in our universities and research organizations.

Pollution and Conservation

A problem of increasing concern to Canadians and of vital importance to future generations is the frightening rate at which our air, water and soil have become polluted. Almost too late, we have realized the extent of the danger to our resources.

Pollution and the conservation of our resources are problems which concern all levels of Canadian government. A federal New Democratic government will:

- Work with the provinces to establish pollution standards and controls, giving urgent priority to existing areas of serious industrial pollution.
- Make research into pollution and its consequences a high priority in its expanded scientific research program.
- Undertake a complete inventory of our water resources and make plans for future diversions to supply areas of water deficiency within Canada.
- Refrain from any policy of water export until Canada's own long-term needs and resources have been balanced.
In a complex industrial society, people must turn to government to provide them with a broad range of community services and to guarantee that the necessities of life like food and shelter will be available at prices we can afford.

Entangled in their conservatism, Canadian governments have been slow to assume these responsibilities and faltering in carrying them out. A New Democratic government will take office with a long agenda of community needs to fulfill.

In Canada’s federal system, most of the services which affect the quality of our daily lives are the direct responsibility of provincial governments. There are, however, many fields in which the central government must give leadership. It is an obligation which arises from its duty to provide all Canadians with a fair share of opportunity and social justice wherever they may live in our country.

One of the first jobs of an NDP government in Ottawa will be to tackle Canada’s housing crisis. When a quarter of our people live in sub-standard housing and when young families cannot find a decent place to live, it is a national disgrace that housing construction should actually have slowed down.

For twenty years, the shelter needs of low-income families and the aged have been almost totally neglected by all levels of government, while the only serious federal housing program was largely devoted to serving the needs of those with upper and middle-level incomes.

To New Democrats, housing is a basic social service, not a matter to be left to the vagaries of the market. Its financing is an urgent priority, no easy source of revenue or a fiscal tap to be turned off and on at government’s whim.

An NDP government will create a federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. Working closely with the provinces, it would:

- Provide generous financial assistance to meet the housing crisis—100% of the cost of land assembly and servicing, 100% of the cost of public housing and 75% of the cost of rehabilitation subsidies.
- Bring down the cost of mortgage money by setting a subsidized ceiling for co-operative housing, homes for low-income families and for the rehabilitation of present housing.
- Support the principle of integrated community development so that transportation, schools, recreation and shopping facilities are developed together with new and renewed housing.
- Encourage the development of New Towns in areas of urban congestion.

A Program For Consumers

Canadians expect their government to protect them in their role as consumers, having learned from experience that the market does not automatically serve their needs and wants. Extravagant advertising, promotional and packaging expenditures add to living costs without creating product improvement or consumer enlightenment.
New Democrats will establish a government department exclusively concerned with working for the consumer. It will:

- Test consumer products and publicize the results.
- Enforce honest labeling and packaging regulations.
- Create a Prices Review Board to investigate unjustified price increases and publicize its findings.

Consumers have already banded together to help themselves in organizations such as Co-operatives, Credit Unions and Caisses Populaires. A New Democratic government would help these movements by allowing incorporation of federal co-operatives and of a Central Credit Society with access to the Bank of Canada.

The Parliamentary Committee on Consumer Credit showed the need for low-cost credit for low-income families. In addition to meeting that need, an NDP government will:

- Require full disclosure of the cost of credit.
- Enforce reasonable interest ceilings on consumer loans.
- Protect consumers from unethical and unconscionable sales practices.

There is a special need to protect the public in the field of drugs. An NDP government will license drug manufacturers, and, if necessary, produce drugs under public auspices. It would encourage the sale of drugs under their generic names and provide more means to test drugs before they reach the market.

The Work Force

Working Canadians today are, on the average, younger, better educated and more highly skilled than ever in our history. They are demanding a new place in society, not merely with security and a fair share of the wealth they have created, but also with the right to negotiate concerning the decisions which affect their lives.

Trade unions have played an important role in working towards economic and social equity but their activities are increasingly being brought within the orbit of the law. Progress of labour-management relations during the last half century gave promise of greater harmony in the world of work.

Instead, Canadian labour relations have returned to a past age, with compulsory arbitration, the abuse of the injunction process and the jailing of trade unionists. Fundamental civil rights have been set aside.

A New Democratic government will introduce a new era in labour-management relations, with legislation to:

- Develop new safeguards for the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively, extending these rights to groups now legally
excluded from them. Ex parte injunctions have no place in industrial relations: they must be ended.

- Establish that technological changes and dislocations during the life of a collective agreement would, as the Freedman Report urged, be as open to the full processes of bargaining as the original contract.

- Improve the machinery for settling disputes and encourage more voluntary procedures between employers and unions.

A New Democratic government will take definite steps to protect workers from the adverse effects of technological change, through implementation of the Freedman Report recommendations and other measures. Full-scale planning of our manpower needs and resources, plus expanded placement, training and relocation facilities and much more generous scales of allowance are needed if we are to achieve full employment and economic growth.

Sharing Affluence

There are still many whom our society has failed to serve. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians suffer the effects of unemployment or under-employment. Millions of Canadians are ill-housed or pay too much for their shelter. The needs of working women (particularly working mothers) are still largely ignored.

To New Democrats, correcting these failures is one of the highest priorities facing Canadians. The huge resources of Canada make it possible for us to eliminate poverty and to provide the range of community services which are necessities in a complex, urbanized society.

Social Priorities

One of the priorities in the face of poverty is the provision of an income 'floor' below which no Canadian should be allowed to fall. A New Democratic government will ensure a Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) for every Canadian. This income, when combined with a broad program of social services, would be set sufficiently high to ensure a standard of living compatible with health and self-respect.

The guaranteed income would not replace other existing social insurance schemes but New Democrats believe that it would provide the only way of ending poverty and of wiping out assistance programs based on needs or means tests. The level of guaranteed income would be subject to regular review, not only to preserve its purchasing power, but to keep it in line with improvements in our standard of living.

In addition to the guaranteed annual income, a New Democratic government is committed to:

- Medicare — fully comprehensive health care including dentists, drugs and appliances, supplemented by a program of cash sickness benefits to maintain the income of wage and salary earners and the self-employed.
Immediate reduction of the age of entitlement for the old age pension to 65 and an increase of the benefit to $125 a month without a means or income test, with future benefits tied to the cost of living.

Canada's Native Peoples

After more than a century, Canadians are coming to understand their responsibility for the position of the Indian and Eskimo. It is a history of paternalism, exploitation and cruel indifference.

Canada's native people must have the right to make their own decisions. They must have the dominant role in controlling the economic development of their communities and they must have the resources to make it a success.

Education

Education in Canada is a provincial responsibility; but there are areas where a strong federal initiative is possible which, always respecting the particular position of Quebec, may be welcomed by the provinces. Many provinces will need federal assistance to achieve the NDP goal of free higher education for all who can qualify academically for it.

Broadcasting

A New Democratic government is committed to increasing the financial support of the CBC to make it less dependent on commercial advertising, to make possible long-range development planning and to expand encouragement and development of Canadian talent. The encouragement to Canadian cultural self-expression and the development of a Canadian identity provided by our centennial year, must be sustained as a responsibility of all levels of government in Canada.

Women and the Family

Our society has been conservative and unimaginative in adjusting to the modern position of Canadian women. Whether they are working in their homes or in the economy, women are suffering from needless and unfair disadvantages.

It will be the business of a New Democratic government to remove them.

- Whether they work inside or outside the home, mothers need the assistance of child care centres. They also need special back-to-work training and vocational guidance when their children have grown up, if they wish to enter or re-enter the labour market.

- Mothers who are making a fulltime job of caring for their children deserve credit through the taxation system as a partial offset for the salaries they are foregoing.

- Women in employment have a right to equal pay with men doing equal work—and equal opportunities for promotion.
IV Agriculture

In few areas of the Canadian economy has the technological revolution been moving faster than in agriculture. Yet farmers have not profited from increased productivity. Their share of the food consumer’s dollar fell from 56¢ in 1949 to 41¢ fifteen years later.

People

We must assure adequate incomes to people who work the land. The establishment of guaranteed prices for specific products will ensure adequate returns to our farm families.

To administer such a pricing system, federal marketing machinery must be established. Provincial or regional producer-controlled marketing boards must be keyed to this system in order to market agricultural products anywhere in Canada or in the available export markets.

Income assistance should include programs of aid to the farm family to increase productivity, as well as retraining programs for those wishing to leave farming to seek other vocations. The transition of those who choose to leave their farms must be assisted by meeting transportation and retraining costs and by providing living allowances during the period of readjustment.

Further, general productivity and incomes will be increased by encouraging individual units to form groups which could benefit jointly from cooperative management of machinery, land and capital programs.

Export

Canada should be prepared to sell agricultural products to any country and must make long-term credits available for this purpose, where necessary. Well-financed research and support programs must ensure that these products maintain their comparative advantage on world markets, while bringing adequate returns to the producers.

Land Resources

Land resources must be used carefully and conserved against future needs. Hence, new land areas should only be opened up as the need for more production becomes evident.

Where possible, the use of productive soil by industry and urban development near large centres of population should be avoided. Tax policies must encourage the use of such land for farming and discourage speculation for real estate purposes.

Fiscal policy should encourage the establishment of viable farm units and discourage corporate and hobby farming. Emphasis will be placed on family or co-operatively owned farm units, with special consideration to young farmers seeking to establish themselves.
New Democrats believe that Canada is ready to play an independent and positive role in the world. On a planet threatened by nuclear destruction and already afflicted by widespread starvation, Canadians are involved in humanity's peril.

Speaking and acting for ourselves is not abandonment of traditional friends and allies. Canadians are becoming aware that we can serve our common cause better by speaking out than by standing silent while folly and wickedness are committed in our name.

Canada has an enormous stake in helping to build a world community responsive to the rule of law. To back that stake, we need a new set of priorities and a new style in the conduct of our international affairs.

We have no alternative to the United Nations. We must back it in every possible way, by channeling our external aid through its agencies, by providing it with the services of our armed forces and by assuming a greater share of its financial burden. In spite of disappointments, we must support the U.N. peacekeeping role while insisting in future that social and economic changes must be promoted in concert with any police duty.

The time is overdue to dismantle the series of military alliances which were our foreign policy twenty years ago. In the mortal struggle for peace, we must:

- Work for a world disarmament treaty and oppose use or testing of nuclear weapons.
- Seek to replace NATO and the Warsaw Pact by a European security system, with Great Power guarantees, until such time as a strengthened United Nations can provide security.
- Withdraw from our obsolete NORAD agreement while co-operating in the detection of any invasion of North American air space.

In a world of nuclear weapons, no conflict can be tolerated and no threat to peace ignored. For its own sake and the world's, Canada must use all the influence it possesses to end wars before they begin. That is why Canada, in spite of rebuffs, must work to return China to the world community through diplomatic recognition and through support of her membership in the United Nations.

The war in Vietnam must be stopped. It is a threat of fearful dimension to world peace. It has also become a war of limitless and pointless barbarity. Canada must use every influence at her command, public and private, to end the conflict. When fighting has stopped, Canada must help to rebuild both parts of this tortured land.

In Vietnam and elsewhere, the real enemy of world peace is not conspiracy but human misery. This is the enemy which Canadian resources must fight. New Democrats believe that Canada, to play its part in this crucial struggle, should be spending at least 2% of its national wealth production each year in external aid. Canada's food contribution to a hungry world must be generous.
The report of the Carter Royal Commission on Taxation is a stinging indictment of half a century of Liberal and Conservative tax policy. It concludes that the present Canadian tax system is not fair, is not based on ability to pay, bears too heavily on the low and middle income groups and has restricted our economic growth.

In proposing reform, the Commission accepted that taxation must be used to redistribute income, that it must bear fairly on all families and individuals and that, in consequence, the progressive personal income tax, imposed on a broad base and including capital gains as a form of income, was the most just form of taxation.

It is no wonder that New Democrats have welcomed the Carter report and its main recommendations. They are an endorsement of positions which the New Democratic Party has sustained for many years. In particular, we welcome proposals which will make our tax system more fair, which will encourage economic growth and Canadian ownership and which will end unjustified tax concessions to mining, oil and gas companies and to banks, insurance and mortgage companies.

A New Democratic government can be relied upon to begin work immediately to put into effect the principles and major recommendations of the Carter Commission.
What kind of government do Canadians want?

New Democrats think that they want a government which is as confident about Canada as they are—and just as determined that long-standing national problems are going to be solved.

They want a government ready to serve the needs of a modern industrial economy, with policies to cope with our housing crisis, the rising cost of living and the unfairness of our taxation system.

They are looking for a government that knows its own mind, with a little flair and a lot of determination to get things done. Canadians are ready to back that kind of government in renewing Confederation, regaining control of our own economy and giving Canada her own positive voice in the world.

That's why Canadians are looking to New Democrats to establish the first truly progressive government in our history. We don't make light of the problems and we don't promise never to make mistakes. But we do challenge Canadians to join in building a society as free and generous as the land in which we live.
Demand a Fair Tax Structure

Protect Your Civil Rights

Fight Against Pollution

Demand Honest Labeling
Fair Interest Rates!

Demand Low Income Housing!

Fight against Pollution

Fair Prices for Farmers!

Ben Lickur Tests!
Demand Low Income Housing!
Fight against Pollutes
Protect Your Civil Rights!
Fair Prices to the Consumer!
Language Rights!
And Fair Interest Rates in Loans
SHN Nuclear Tests!