

# **ON THE ISSUES**

## **Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Agenda**

**Statements of Policy and Principle**

**July 1984**



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"What is policy?"

A 73-point statement to clean up Revenue Canada.

A 18-point program to develop the offshore resources of Canada.

A 9-point program that promises economic equality. The Vancouver Sun said that that program was the most dramatic ever set out by a federal leader.

A 9-point program to bring accountability and reform to crown corporations in this country.

A clearcut statement on minority rights, such as has never been seen before.

This is policy."

Brian Mulroney on  
CTV's "Question Period"  
June 24, 1984

And there's more...

## THE ECONOMY

" Now is the time to fix firmly in our minds what the Brian Mulroney Conservatives stand for:

- . More research and development in Canada;
- . More investment, both domestic and foreign;
- . Increase Canadian trade with the rest of the world by more than 30 per cent over five years;
- . Simplify the tax system ...
- . Increase business self-reliance and decrease government subsidies and other forms of intervention.

Someone could make a lot of money printing these commitments on a poster so that we, the electorate, don't forget them when the time comes to vote."

Dian Cohen  
syndicated columnist  
and economist.

June 18, 1983

MANAGING ECONOMIC CHANGE

- \* "Alfred North Whitehead, the British philosopher, once wrote that the art of progress is to preserve order amid change and to persevere change amid order. In my view, this adage suggests the manner in which Canada can respond to global realities and achieve economic and social progress.

It is necessary for Canadians to preserve domestic order amid technological change -- to manage our economic transition and ease the adjustment. It is clear that if we are to be competitive at home and abroad, we cannot stop change. Rather, we must take full advantage of technological innovation."

Article by  
Brian Mulroney,  
Chimo Magazine  
Feb.-Mar. 1984

- \*\*\* "Managing change means changing our attitude towards growth. It means ending our complacent reliance on natural resources, and shifting our efforts to human resources.

For years, we have been living off our natural capital -- depleting the nation's finite resources. If we have learned anything from the past decade, it is that the real source of wealth is human resources: the ingenuity, intelligence and ideas of people."

Rotary Club,  
Ottawa  
May 14, 1984

"I think much of this trendy talk is missing the point. The production of high technology is indeed important. But let's not lose perspective.

The essence of the so-called information revolution is not the production of technology, but the use of these new technologies in old industries -- in farming and fishing, car-making and steel production, textiles, mining and the forest industries.

If we are going to manage economic change properly, we have to remember that over ninety percent of the labour-intensive industries which exist today will require that technology to remain competitive and viable in the decades ahead..

That's why I say we are witnessing an information evolution as farmers, fishermen and other businessmen apply new ideas and technologies in their existing enterprises."

Ottawa,  
May 14, 1984

(continued)

MANAGING ECONOMIC CHANGE (continued)

- \* "Managing technological change means amending the Unemployment Insurance Act to allow recipients to upgrade their skills through retraining and experience in the voluntary sector, thereby minimizing the despair recipients feel when their benefits run out.

It means ensuring that women do not bear the brunt of technological change; that they are given the skills and the opportunity to secure economic equality.

And perhaps most importantly, managing change means changing our attitude towards growth.

It means ending our complacent reliance on natural resources, and shifting our efforts to human resources.

For years, we have been living off our natural capital - depleting the nation's finite resources.

If we have learned anything from the past decade, it is that the real source of wealth is human capital."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

- \* "We are going to create a new economic environment in Canada by making it clear for everybody that it is the private sector, not the State, that is the driving force of the economy."

Montreal  
March 10, 1984

- \* "The relationship with business and labour has to change. Here again, the Government at all levels, not just the political, must co-operate with the business community and organized labour.

At the political level, I have noted with interest the experience in Australia where Prime Minister Hawke, within days of his election, convened a national economic summit conference involving business, labour and other levels of Government, not only to review the state of the economy, but also to reach a consensus on national economic objectives.

The final communique of his summit provided the country with a framework for economic recovery. I am considering, and consulting, on a proposal to initiate a similar summit immediately after the next election."

Toronto,  
May 5, 1984

A FOCUS ON GROWTH

\*\*\* "Our framework for growth can be stated simply.

We plan to rebuild the economy on 4 pillars.

Lower interest rates through policies which strengthen our dollar;

Trade Expansion, which will enable us to recapture our lost share of world trade;

Technology, where our investment in R & D must be doubled if Canada is going to share in the riches of technological progress;

Training, the urgent social response to human problems of the next decade.

Winnipeg,  
June 7, 1984

\* "A Progressive Conservative government is going to make up the ground lost through fifteen years of negligence.

We're going to:

1. double our collective national commitment to research and development (R&D) within the life of our first government mandate;
2. change and simplify the tax laws to strengthen the capital base of Canadian companies so they can undertake R&D;
3. set priorities in close consultation with the provinces and develop a coordinated approach to government-sponsored research;
4. improve the linkage between public sector laboratories and the private sector;
5. encourage the production of new technologies and ideas by Canadian industries;
6. end the confrontation between high technology companies and the tax man by broadening the tax definition of 'development';
7. recognize that R&D is an integral part of the manufacturing process, not a distinct activity;

(continued)



A FOCUS ON GROWTH (continued)

8. provide greater support and better financing arrangements for Canadian companies endeavoring to export technological developments to other countries;
9. facilitate the introduction and adaptation of innovative technology developed abroad;
10. encourage the diffusion of modern technology and know-how across the country."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

- \* "We can lessen our dependence on U.S. interest rates over time, without causing an exchange rate crisis, if we put upward pressure on the dollar, through a strong export performance and an inflow of job-creating equity capital; through a realistic plan for deficit reduction and, most importantly, through the election of a Progressive Conservative government.

Now I'm not saying we can turn the situation around in a day. I am saying it can be turned around, if we start to put our own house in order."

London, Ont.  
April 12, 1984

- \* "We simply cannot finance massive public sector deficits and the recapitalization of Canadian industry.

Clearly, there can be no drastic deficit reduction until interest rates are lower and the country gets back to work. Massive cuts would kill the recovery, however halting it appears to be.

However, we believe there are steps which can and should be taken regardless of the level of the deficit.

In government operations, we must remove the many constraints to productive management in the public service, starting with the constraints identified in the Auditor General's 1983 report.

We must improve the budgetary process so it challenges on-going programs.

Controls on Crown Corporations are clearly necessary to get a handle on the "hidden" deficit.

And delivery systems must be made more efficient.

(continued)

A FOCUS ON GROWTH (continued)

In the energy sector, we believe there are significant savings to be found, and new wealth to be created.

In the economic development area, we want to see who is paying the \$8 billion in corporate taxes, and who is receiving the \$8 billion in government expenditures.

We will also be looking at the effectiveness of capital works spending.

We seriously question whether these tax dollars are promoting economic growth, or Liberal party election prospects.

Finally, we will be examining tax laws regarding transfer-pricing and other forms of tax avoidance.

On the social side of the ledger, we believe the answer lies through tax reform. Any such reform should be preceded by a discussion paper which shows Canadians the real after-tax impact of our income support programs; the cumulative effect of all relevant credits, deductions and expenditures. Only in this manner will thoughtful debate be encouraged on this important subject.

Housing programs will be reviewed to ensure the state is helping those who need help, and not subsidizing the lifestyle of wealthier Canadians.

And in the area of pension reform we believe our proposed homemaker's pension will result in significant savings.

If government investment is necessary in the short term to secure savings over the longer run, we will make that investment. This attitude will guide our approach in such areas as health care and skills training."

Toronto  
April 18, 1984

\* "We have to overcome at least four major obstacles in our quest for industrial health.

1. The structure of our industrial base.

Too many of our companies are structured to produce a wide range of products solely for Canadian markets. They lack the economies of scale and specialization to be internationally competitive.

(continued)

A FOCUS ON GROWTH (continued)

2. The second challenge is to improve our deplorable record in research and development and technological innovation.

Whether we like it or not, Canada is in a global technology race. It's a race not only to produce new technologies, but to apply them in our factories, farms and offices. And we're running behind the pack.

3. The third hurdle is the financial weakness of many Canadian-owned companies.

Far too many of our businesses - both small and large - suffer from undercapitalization. Simply put, that means they have too much high-cost debt and not enough low-cost equity. They are operating on borrowed money, and that means they are operating on borrowed time.

If we want our companies to grow and prosper, and to provide jobs for Canadians, it is imperative that we lower interest rates to cut their debt load, and shore up their capital base with a massive infusion of equity capital.

4. There's a fourth barrier blocking the way to growth and prosperity -- the lack of a large customer base for our producers.

It is a fact of Canadian economic life that our domestic market is often too small to support efficient production lines, or to recoup the huge front-end costs of research and development.

If our companies do not have secured access to foreign markets, we're going to have great difficulty in maintaining our international competitiveness.

That's why we say Canada doesn't trade for prosperity -- we trade for survival."

London, Ontario  
April 12, 1984

GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

\*\*\* "If a government constantly rewards economy and punishes profligacy, it can effect a change in atmosphere in the whole public administration."

Toronto,  
May 5, 1984

(continued)

GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT (continued)

\* "It is no secret that this uncontrolled growth has impeded efficiency and lessened productivity both in the private and public sector.

It has also completely overwhelmed the ability of Parliament to influence public policy and to hold the Government accountable for its actions.

Government today is accountable to no one.

Why?

Because the Liberal Party clearly does not believe in accountability, efficiency or productivity. To the Liberals, there are no votes in good management.

We in the Progressive Conservative Party disagree with this cynical view.

We think the Canadian public will support a political party dedicated to more efficient and productive public administration.

We think the Canadian public will support a political party committed to restoring accountability in government.

We think the Canadian public will support a political party committed to enhancing the role of our elected representatives in the management of government."

Toronto  
Feb. 23, 1984

\* "There can be no greater indictment of the current malaise than the report by the Auditor General that 30 per cent of the public servants he interviewed don't even know their job mandate."

Toronto  
Feb. 23, 1984

\* "We must deliver government services more efficiently by:

1. greater use of electronic funds transfer systems for government payrolls and social outlays,
2. greater use of our financial institutions in such areas as export development and economic programs, and,
3. greater reliance on the tax system rather than bureaucratic grant systems.

(continued)

GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT (continued)

The less we spend on the means, the more resources are available for the ends of public policy."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

\*\*\* "Coming to Ottawa from the private sector, I have been appalled by the waste of time and talent involved in this obsessive, all-consuming passion to reorganize.

I intend to get those people away from the organizational charts and put them back to work on the problems of the country.

Some branches of the administration are superfluous.

They can be collapsed quickly and their disappearance will straighten out lines of authority, responsibility and communications."

Toronto,  
May 5, 1984

\*\*\* "There's been too much comingling between the Liberal party of Canada and the senior ranks of the civil service.

There's too much intermarriage and there's too much cocktail party-going and there's too much you-scratch-my-back-and-I'll-scratch-yours. This has gone on for 25 years, and we're going to bring it to an end."

Cherrington Interview  
Radio Station CHCH  
Hamilton, Ontario.

CROWN CORPORATIONS

\* "We will regain control over the 400 Crown corporations, which have become a state within a state, spending \$44 billion per year -- that is almost half the federal budget -- with no accountability."

Montreal  
March 10, 1984

\* "If we are to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, if we are to ensure that public funds do not flow unchecked to companies like Canadair, if we are to reassert control over these enterprises, then reforms are urgently needed.

During the past few months, a Progressive Conservative Party Task Force has been examining this important subject.

(continued)

## CROWN CORPORATIONS (continued)

Some of the interim recommendations include:

1. rationalizing and clarifying the Government's relationship with Crown Corporations, based on a return to a system of effective individual ministerial responsibility;
2. a revised classification system for Crown Corporations based on the extent of a corporation's reliance on government financing and its role in implementing public policy objectives;
3. stringent measures to restrict the incorporation or acquisition of Crown Corporations, subsidiaries and affiliates;
4. a requirement for the submission of three-to-five-year business plans by each parent corporation for government approval and for tabling in Parliament;
5. expansion and clarification of the role and responsibilities of the Auditor General in auditing Crown Corporations and in his relationship with private sector auditors;
6. improved accounting procedures and practices for Crown Corporations conforming to principles and practices accepted in the private sector;
7. clarification of the role and responsibilities of directors and officers of Crown Corporations, including a requirement that the duties, responsibilities and liabilities that apply in the private sector also apply to Crown Corporations, and;
8. creation of a joint Senate and House of Commons Standing Committee on Crown Corporations, with the mandate and resources to undertake effective cyclical reviews of individual corporations."

Toronto  
Feb. 23, 1984

## GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

- \* "We must cast a critical eye on the subsidies and grants going to business.

The government currently collects \$8 billion in taxes from the corporate sector, and hands \$8 billion back.

We have to see who is winning and who is losing; whether robbing Peter to pay Paul helps, or hinders, job creation and economic growth."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

PRODUCTIVITY AND LABOUR

- \* "What we need now are cooperative solutions to the problems of labour force displacement, training and retraining programs. We must define mutual goals recognizing that business, labour and government each have a critical role to play. We must end the lack of consensual leadership in our country which has resulted in labour, business and government pursuing contrary objectives to the detriment of all."

Article by  
Brian Mulroney  
Chimo Magazine  
Feb.-Mar.1984

- \* "A major element to which this Government should address its attention in the most urgent manner is our anaemic productivity. I acknowledge readily that it is not a glamorous matter. It happens to be the most important question facing this country today. The principal challenge of Canada is the sale of quality products at internationally competitive prices. That is what it is about. You cannot do that without enhancing productivity. Productivity is what the economy of a country runs on and it is all that it runs on...

This country has not grown. Jobs have been lost because our productivity since 1970 has been in a straight fall."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

- \* "What is productivity?"

Let me take a second to explain the dimension of the problem. We take 10,000 tonnes of low grade crude ore from Labrador West, beneficiate it and run it 226 miles down the railway to Sept-Isles. We segregate the cargo, sending 5,000 tonnes 750 miles up the Seaway to southwestern Ontario where a Chevrolet Citation is made, we bring it 750 miles down the St. Lawrence, 266 miles to Labrador City and sell the automobile. The other half of the segregated cargo is sent 14,800 miles to Japan where it is turned into a Toyota Corolla. It comes 14,800 miles back to Canada, transported 266 miles on the railway, and is sold in Labrador City for \$1,300 less than the Canadian competitor. It takes 30.8 hours to make that product in Japan almost defect free and it takes 59.9 hours in southwestern Ontario."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

(continued)

PRODUCTIVITY AND LABOUR (continued)

\* "There are five steps to enhanced productivity in the public sector.

1. a philosophy of productivity management that reaches all levels of the public service;
2. effective planning and budgetary controls which challenge the effectiveness of existing programs;.
3. making the workplace the focal point for human resource planning;
4. greater use of modern information technologies, and
5. a review of existing delivery systems.

Nothing fancy. Just common sense.

Toronto  
February 23, 1984

\* "Productivity must be pointed out as the single most important weakness in our economy. Management and labour musbe brought together. Labour must be part of the process."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

\* "The workers of this country must always be treated with dignity. No one will co-operate to enhance productivity if it means being put out of a job; no one will co-operate in that regard. Productivity has to be recognized and rewarded."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

\* "Another component of industrial progress has to be a major commitment to civilize labour relations in this nation. You do not learn about this program in the PMO. You learn about it from those who have grown up in the area and understand the problems of living, breathing people.

Organized labour and labour that is unorganized are the key to the development of any industrial strategy in this country. They are told: 'After 15 years, we want you along'. I am glad the invitation was extended. The hour is late and the challenge is even greater."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983



TRADE

\* "Canada, as a trading nation, doesn't trade for prosperity  
-- we trade for survival.

Some 2 million Canadians work in industries directly or indirectly related to export.

Our unemployment crisis has come about in large measure because the government has ignored world trade and international competitiveness.

In 1968, Canada exported more than the Japanese. Today, Japan's share of world trade is twice that of Canada.

We have fallen from fourth to eighth place in world ranking.

This, is one of the major reasons why 1.5 million Canadians, including over half a million young Canadians, are out of work.

We must become first class world traders.

We must become reliable suppliers of quality goods and services at competitive prices.

This is our greatest industrial challenge."

University of Toronto  
March 14, 1984

\* "In the last year alone, our share of world trade has declined from 4.7 per cent to 4 per cent. This decline is one of the major reasons why 1.5 million Canadians, including 538,000 young Canadians, are out of work.

Our goal is to regain our historic share of World Trade.

A PC government will:

1. fight against the forces of global protectionism and support efforts to begin a new round of GATT Multilateral negotiations.
2. work to create an international framework for trade in services to enable our engineering, financial and other service companies to compete worldwide.
3. pursue bilateral discussions with the United States in specific sectors.

(continued)

TRADE (continued)

4. strengthen our export marketing support through the Trade Commissioner's Service and better market intelligence.
5. support exports by integrating the services of private and public sector financial institutions.
6. ensure our tax system encourages greater export trade.
7. work with the provinces to develop regional export strategies.
8. seek to establish export trade zones.
9. ensure better financing and marketing of agricultural and small business exports.
10. become a more competitive force in the new global environment of trading houses, export consortia, barter and countertrade.

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

- \* "Since there are few Canadian industries that can be internationally competitive based on our small market alone, obtaining secure access to foreign markets is absolutely essential."

University of Toronto  
March 14, 1984

- \* "In our view, secured access to foreign markets is essential if we are to nurture an investment and export-led recovery.

To that end, we will vigorously pursue a new round of multilateral talks; we will be at the forefront of international discussions to develop a functional framework for trade in services; and we will continue the current sectoral discussions with the United States.

In particular, we will be seeking to eliminate the current systemic bias against value-added processing prior to export; the liberalization of agricultural and fisheries trade; and the liberalization of procurement practices, particularly in the area of telecommunications and capital equipment."

Toronto  
April 18, 1984

## INVESTMENT

- \* "The Progressive Conservative Party wants to encourage an inflow of investment capital -- because equity inflows mean less reliance on debt.

If we do not begin to rebuild our capital base now, thousands of existing jobs will be at risk at the next economic downturn which the Conference Board predicts will be upon us in 10 months time.

In short, encouraging equity investment by Canadians will be a top priority of a Progressive Conservative Government."

Ottawa  
February 9, 1984

- \* "We should examine the viability of restoring the small business bond in its original form, as a development bond.

We believe the extra sales and income tax revenues flowing from increased economic activity and the savings from decreased unemployment outlays more than justify initiatives such as this."

Ottawa  
February 9, 1984

## FOREIGN INVESTMENT

- \* "We believe the nationality of ownership, while important, is less important than its behaviour.

As a growing country, we need a certain amount of foreign capital to fully develop our potential and create employment for Canadians.

That foreign capital can either be in the form of equity or debt.

And if the present problems of Mexico and Argentina teach us anything, it is that excessive reliance on foreign debt is a greater impediment to independence of action than the presence of foreign equity.

These are some of the reasons why we believe Canada should welcome foreign investment unless it is detrimental to the national interest, rather than making it unwelcome unless it is deemed to be of 'significant benefit'."

Toronto  
April 12, 1984

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

- \* "This is the only OECD country where research and development has actively declined as a commitment to the creation of a climate in the private sector for contributions to research and development. We spend less on research and development than any civilized country in the western world, with the exception of Iceland and Ireland."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

- \* "Whether we like it or not, Canada is in a global technology race.

And we're running behind the pack.

In 1968, Canada was spending 1.3 per cent of our gross national expenditure on research and development. The Liberal government said that wasn't good enough. So what happened? Spending declined below 1 per cent in the 1970's. And fifteen years later, we are spending the same 1.3 per cent of GNP and research and development.

As the principal of McGill University has stated, 'we are writing a suicide note for our competitive capacities in the 1990's'

University of Toronto  
March 14, 1984

- \* "A Progressive Conservative government is going to make up the ground lost through fifteen years of negligence.

We're going to:

1. double our collective national commitment to research and development within the life of our first government mandate; we believe this will create hundreds of thousands of new jobs and billions in new sales for Canada each year.
2. change and simplify the tax laws to strengthen the capital base of Canadian companies so they can undertake R&D.
3. set priorities in close consultation with the provinces and develop a coordinated approach to government-sponsored research;
4. improve the linkage between public sector laboratories and the private sector;
5. encourage the production of new technologies and ideas by Canadian industries;

(continued)

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (continued)

6. end the confrontation between high technology companies and the tax man by broadening the tax definition of "development";
7. recognize that R&D is an integral part of the manufacturing process, not a distinct activity;
8. provide greater support and better financing arrangements for Canadian companies endeavoring to export technological developments to other countries;
9. facilitate the introduction and adaptation of innovative technology developed abroad;
10. and, encourage the diffusion of modern technology and know-how across the country."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

\* "We have lost a complete generation because of the absence of commitment to science and technology and to research and development.

One company in West Germany has more people on its industrial research and development payroll than the entire nation of Canada; 94 per cent of the patents granted in Canada in the last decade were granted to foreigners.

Canadian youth is just as intelligent. They do not want to be cutting trails in the forests. They want real, solid, tangible jobs in their own neighbourhoods or regions."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

RETRAINING CANADA'S WORKFORCE

\*\*\* "Today, and in the future, training and re-training are the keys to prosperity."

Ottawa  
May 14, 1984

(continued)

RETRAINING CANADA'S WORKFORCE (continued)

\*\*\* Principle number one is the Critical need for greater cooperation. We will initiate:

1. A Federal-Provincial action plan to combat adult illiteracy;
2. An inter-Provincial agreement on occupational licensing criteria and labour mobility, so that skilled tradesmen can go where the jobs are; and
3. A joint business/labour/provincial conference to examine the training issue, particularly apprenticeship training.

Principle number two is A more creative approach to unemployment insurance

4. Unemployment Insurance benefits should be payable for:
  - a) assisting in labour market adjustments
  - b) increasing the skill of individuals
  - c) facilitating mobility
  - d) providing counselling and training, even in non-government-sponsored programs
  - e) gaining experience in the non-profit sector
  - f) providing capital for new business

Principle number three is Greater emphasis on bottom-up initiatives, community self-help, and more flexible locally-based application of public resources.

THAT MEANS

5. Amending the program of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission to integrate training and job creation with local economic priorities and strategies;
6. Launching a program of community self-help through the establishment of a Canada opportunity development board and local opportunity development corporations; and
7. Establishing local training councils to provide a more sensitized forecast of skill requirements; and to help educational facilities adapt to local market conditions.

Principle number four is A greater focus on the individual.

WE SHALL CREATE:

8. A registered training account, - an R.T.A. - which would allow individuals to accumulate savings which could be invested in their own development.

(continued)

RETRAINING CANADA'S WORKFORCE (continued)

In fact, we are examining the possibility of integrating the R.T.A. with the existing Registered Retirement Savings Plan and the proposed registered pension plan to create a flexible and portable means to short term self-improvement and long term pension security.

Next, focussing on the individual means:

9. Low-interest loan programs to allow cash-poor individuals to improve their status.

This might mean the expansion of current student loan programs or the development of a publicly insured "educational" mortgage plan;

Finally, we shall

10. Treat certain educational costs as an investment, and hence deductible from income from any source.

Principle number five is Challenging and encouraging the private sector - both profit and non-profit organizations

11. Tax laws should be changed to accelerate the depreciation of state-of-the-art equipment for training purposes;
12. A refundable employment tax credit, applicable against the up-front labour costs of a firm, should be implemented to encourage the employment of young Canadians.
13. Educational proposals should be actively solicited from non-profit and profit-making sectors.

We believe the private sector employment opportunities of a major training strategy are enormous.

Principle number six is the Dissemination of timely and relevant information

14. Accelerate current federal efforts to collect and provide timely information on job opportunities and skill requirements.
15. An on-line national registry to provide information to both the unemployed and employers.
16. A well-designed advocacy advertising campaign to promote educational consumerism and particular to encourage the functionally illiterate to seek training.

Winnipeg  
June 7, 1984  
(continued)

RETRAINING CANADA'S WORKFORCE (continued)

- \* "There must be a massive commitment, in co-operation with labour, management and government, to the development of the most thoughtful and generous manpower retraining program a civilized society has ever put together. What will we do with a man who is 43 or 44 years of age and becomes redundant? Will it be forever? He must be retrained. He is a priceless asset."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

- \* "There are ways by which a Progressive Conservative government will increase job opportunities for young Canadians:

1. We will provide increased incentives to employers to hire and train young people.

A Progressive Conservative government will significantly expand wage subsidy programs, such as the Career Access Program.

We will also institute a program of refundable employer tax credits.

A Progressive Conservative government will also promote measures, in these and other programs, to provide young people with training and retraining in high technology skills.

A Progressive Conservative government will work with the universities, industry and labour to ensure that women are not victimized by technological change.

2. A Progressive Conservative government will greatly improve existing 'information exchanges' through which young people become aware of job opportunities.

Today, too many young Canadians graduate from training programs or educational institutions and can't find work, not because their skills aren't in demand, but because they can't make contact with the employer who needs them.

Fully 50 per cent of the graduates of classroom training courses are still out of work three months later. Clearly, as job placement agencies, the Canada Employment Centres are not performing adequately.

(continued)



### RETRAINING CANADA'S WORKFORCE (continued)

3. We will institute programs specifically designed to address the chronic unemployment which tragically plagues certain regions of Canada.

In the province of Newfoundland, 37 per cent of young people, that is, 37 per cent of persons between 15 and 24 who are seeking work, are without jobs.

In New Brunswick, the figure is 27 per cent; and in PEI, 26 per cent.

Wage subsidies and refundable employment tax credits will, unfortunately, be of little value in these regions.

Therefore, in such areas, we plan to institute programs of community-based entrepreneurial development.

We want to assist individuals and groups wishing to start new enterprises to raise capital, cut through red tape, identify markets, train workers and establish constructive working relationships with local workers, educators and financial institutions.

Our Party offers you what the Liberals have denied over half-a-million young unemployed Canadians -- a future."

University of Toronto  
March 14, 1984

### ENERGY

\*\*\* "We want energy policy to be a unifying force in Canada - not an instrument of division so favoured by the Liberals.

This change will occur because a brand new Conservative administration will provide accelerated development under a revised national energy strategy.

We will send out a positive signal to private investors and exploration companies, by honouring all existing exploration agreements.

We will introduce a new energy regime that will provide unparalleled opportunities for Canadians to invest and participate in real economic growth in Atlantic Canada, especially for small and medium size Canadian companies."

St. John's,  
Newfoundland  
June 14, 1984

(continued)

ENERGY (continued)

- \* "The Liberals never told Canadians the real purpose of the NEP.

That "hidden" agenda was to replace the oil and gas industry centred on provincial lands with a new oil and gas industry under federal control on Canada lands.

And the methods of the NEP were not designed to meet the public objectives -- of Canadianization, fairness and self-sufficiency.

They were determined by the hidden agenda of political power.

And, tragically they worked."

Calgary  
March 30, 1984

- \* "What has happened since the Liberals returned to power and implemented the NEP is nothing less than the destruction of the Canadian oil and gas industry, the loss of thousands of jobs for Canadians, and a flight of capital unparalleled in our history.

The objectives of the NEP were to have been 'reasonable' and 'desirable', we were told:

Security of oil supply, self-sufficiency by 1990, increased Canadian ownership, fair pricing and reasonable revenue sharing.

But the programs concocted to implement them constitute the most self-defeating pile of taxes and red tape that has ever been unleashed upon a single industrial sector in the history of this country.

The results are there for all to see."

Calgary  
November 8, 1983

- \* "One of the main priorities of a Progressive Conservative government will be to establish a constant dialogue with the producing provinces and with the industry, in a positive and co-operative manner to produce a stable, straightforward and reliable energy policy for Canada.

Energy policy in this country must once more reflect a sense of realism.

(continued)

ENERGY (continued)

We must stop chasing away investment through excessive taxation, retroactive nationalization and mountains of red tape."

Calgary  
November 8, 1983

- \* "The oil and gas industry, which thrives on new ideas, initiatives, risk-taking and market discipline, has been all but suffocated at the hands of federal regulations and taxation.

It is time for some common sense in the setting of energy policy in this country.

And I want to make a commitment to you tonight. With a majority Progressive Conservative government you've seen the last of the confiscatory and punitive provisions of the NEP."

Calgary  
November 8, 1983

- \* "There are a few key changes a new government must initiate:

First, the search for new reserves must be given new impetus through a fiscal regime that adequately rewards private initiative and through a marketing environment that allows the optimum level of oil and gas to be sold.

Second, the wasteful and inefficient PIP program must be changed to ensure simplification and efficiency and to remove discrimination against foreign companies.

Third, the federal government must back off its debilitating intrusion into exploration management."

Calgary  
November 8, 1983

AGRICULTURE

- \* "Until the 1950's, increases in farm production came as a result of putting more land into cultivation.

Since then, more food has been produced because of a greater use of energy imports.

In the future, production increases will lie in new technology -- in biotechnology and genetic research. According to the experts, Canada is 10 to 15 years behind the world leaders in this type of research.

That is just unacceptable.

(continued)

AGRICULTURE (continued)

It is especially inexcusable when one realizes that agricultural R&D funding produces a rate of return of between \$12 and \$18 on every dollar spent.

We are going to close that gap by making biotechnology and genetic research a top priority."

Calgary  
March 30, 1984

\* "Farming is also a high tech industry, and farmers must be trained for the information age.

An integral part of future farming will be the effective use of home computers to maximize financial controls and gain access to state-of-the-art information.

We're going to work with financial institutions, farmers and farm organizations to ensure that our farmers have the skills to exploit this technology, thus maximizing their efficiency."

Calgary  
March 30, 1984

\* "Mr. Brian Mulroney: My question is for the Prime Minister. Grain freight rates have already increased 18 per cent since the Crow legislation came into effect ...They are projected to be up more than 400 per cent by the end of the decade...Western agricultural costs are projected to increase by another 31 per cent within the next two and a half years.

Given the enormous burden on the farmer and fishermen of the high cost of fuel, will the Prime Minister advise...if the Government will give consideration to removing the 9 per cent federal sales tax on diesel fuel and gasoline used by farmers and fishermen?

Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau:...I cannot give an answer, of course, without looking into the cost of such relief...

Mr. Mulroney:...any time there is a request on behalf of farmers or fishermen there is a price tag or condition attached to it by this Government. Western agriculture is where the biggest productivity gains have taken place in 15 years and it should be rewarded, not penalized."

House of Commons  
April 11, 1984

(continued)

BUDGET PROCESS

- \* "We must implement budgetary controls that challenge the usefulness of on-going programs. Right now, such controls do not exist.

Sunset laws, the role of the Comptroller General, zero-based budgeting -- these and other mechanisms must be examined."

Montreal  
March 22, 1984

- \* "I believe we should be opening up the process by requiring formal pre-budget hearings, so that all options can be publicly canvassed.

We should consider a regular timetable for bringing in the budget.

We should also be examining the British concept of a Finance Bill, so that tax proposals advanced in the budget can be carefully studied prior to becoming law."

Ottawa  
February 9, 1984

House of Commons  
April 11, 1984

(continued)

ISSUES OF CONCERN TO WOMEN

\*\*\* "I intend to do everything I can to ensure that my daughter -- my children -- and yours inherit a country in which the legal, economic, social and attitudinal barriers to women's equality are but a dim memory from an era long past.

This is my commitment to you."

Toronto, Ontario  
May 25, 1984

\* "Restoring and revitalizing our economy is the cornerstone of our policy orientation. Yet throughout our policy process we must not lose sight of Simone de Beauvoir's very accurate statement that equality for women will only stem from economic equality.

To plan for the future, Canadian women must be secure in the knowledge that options are open to them whether they choose to, or must, participate in the labour force ... that there are opportunities for advancement, training and retraining.

A Progressive Conservative government will ensure that government operations and programs are directed towards that goal of economic equality."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

\*\*\* "I take this opportunity today to announce the intention of a new government to convene an economic summit, on an urgent basis, to set new national goals for Canada.

Furthermore, I would like to announce that the question of the barriers to women's economic equality will be placed at the top of the agenda of this summit.

It is my hope that discussion of this question will encourage a thoughtful and comprehensive debate of the principles underlying economic equality and the means to achieve this goal."

Toronto, Ontario  
May 25, 1984

\*\*\* "We are committed to:

1. Full pension reform that will guarantee Canadians, men and women equally, fair and adequate pension benefits for their retirement years.

(continued)

ISSUES OF CONCERN TO WOMEN (continued)

2. We are committed to the concept of a homemakers pension with the Canada pension plan. Women should have, in their own right, a measure of future security.
3. We are committed to doubling women's representation on federal decision-making boards, commissions and regulatory agencies during our first term in office.
4. We are committed to revisions to the divorce act provided these contain the inclusion of essential criteria for maintenance orders, the establishment of a central registry for maintenance and custody awards and an enforcement system concerning these awards throughout Canada. It is alarming that a third of all maintenance awards are never collected and 75% are in default after 5 years. I know we can and must remedy this situation.
5. We are committed to improving federal housing, employment and public education programs to assist victims of family violence.
6. We are committed to ensuring that companies seeking to provide services to the federal government hire increasing numbers of women to perform such services. When seeking government business these companies will be required to detail their actions plans, timetables and programs for attracting, training and advancing women within their operations.
7. We are committed to taking whatever legislative steps are necessary to define and control pornography and to protect the young who fall victim to sexual exploitation.
8. We are committed to instituting major training and re-training programs so that women are prepared for the new occupations of the technological era.
9. We are committed to a serious examination of the entire issue of child care. This is not a women's issue nor is it a welfare question -- it is a family issue and a societal issue. I am prepared to initiate discussions with the other levels of government and business on this question as soon as we form a government.

These then are some of the commitments our Party is prepared to honour when we form the next government."

Toronto, Ontario  
May 25, 1984

WOMEN: Technological Change

- \* "Studies have shown that as many as one million jobs held by women in the service sector could disappear in the next ten years.

A Progressive Conservative government will work together with industry and labour to ensure women's full and equal opportunities.

We will ensure that women have the opportunity to acquire those skills which will be so important to our economy in the coming years."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

- \* "The microchip has no bias in regard to sex, creed or race. Therefore, it opens up a brand-new opportunity for millions of women, almost a million of whom will be put out of jobs unless the Government comes up with something serious in the area of manpower retraining to prepare for this revolution.

For the first time, thanks to the chip, women as a group will have the opportunity to break out of the low paying work ghettos, and there must be a commitment not only by the Government of Canada but by the Parliament of Canada to ensure that millions of Canadian women can attain the kind of economic equality that we wish for them."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

WOMEN: The Public Sector

- \* "In 1980, there were 1,248 jobs on federal boards and commissions, and only 15 per cent of these jobs were held by women.

Our goal is to double that percentage and I believe this is a realistic goal.

We cannot forget those women in unfortunate circumstances who need our caring and compassion.

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

WOMEN: The Private Sector

- \* "In the coming fiscal years, 1984-85, the Liberal government will spend \$2.7 billion on professional and special services, consultants and the like.

The Liberals pay no attention to ensuring that women are equally represented in the performance of these services.

(continued)



Women: Private Sector (continued)

A Progressive Conservative government will ensure that companies seeking to provide services to the federal government hire increasing numbers of women to perform those services.

We will ask these firms to show us, as part of their tendering responsibilities, how many women will be hired to fulfill those contracts.

All such firms will have been advised that such information will bear directly on all subsequent decisions regarding the disposition of such contracts."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

WOMEN: Pension Reform

\* "We have heard many times from the Liberals that they will act on reforming occupational pension plans.

Meanwhile, only 41 per cent of the women in this country's workforce have any kind of private pension coverage.

I assure you that a Progressive Conservative government will work without delay with the provincial governments for full pension reform."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

\* "I am deeply concerned, first of all, with the injustices shown to Canada's elderly women. Most of these women have worked all their lives, either in the home or in the paid labour force. They deserve to be adequately prepared for their retirement years.

Fully 62 per cent of single, widowed or divorced women over 65 in this country live in poverty. That is a shocking fact.

I believe that the increase in the guaranteed income supplement which was recently announced in the federal budget provides a measure of long-awaited assistance. But it is a band-aid solution.

We in the Progressive Conservative Party must and will strive to secure that future. At the moment, our Party is giving extremely careful consideration to the recommendations of the Parliamentary Task Force on Pension Reform.

Changes must be made to both private and public pension programs, so that all Canadians may be assured of adequate retirement incomes ... I first noticed a potentially serious problem in this area while I served as a company officer in the private sector.

(continued)

Women: Pension Reform (continued)

While most of our employees contributed to a pension plan, very few had opted to include any benefits for their surviving spouse or other family survivors. Accordingly, I not only encouraged employees to include survivor benefits in their negotiated plans. I made it mandatory and announced on December 21, 1981 that all employees would henceforth receive survivor benefits, paid for by the company."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

WOMEN: Homemaker's Pension

\* "There is another hardworking and important group of women, though, who don't have the option of an employer-sponsored pension plan.

I am speaking of those women who work mainly in the home.

It is a great injustice that the work of the homemaker is so undervalued in this society.

The Task Force's recommendations addressed this problem, and provided a very specific plan for a homemaker's pension.

This plan would also assist those homemakers who work outside the home, but have low earnings, as well as those homemakers already over 65.

Again, any such proposal will require extensive negotiation with the provinces before it can be implemented.

But I assure you tonight of my personal conviction that a pension for this country's homemakers is both just and equitable.

And I will personally urge our Party and the provinces to give their consent to a program resulting in a homemaker's pension."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

WOMEN: Maintenance Awards

\* "I am personally distressed that our systems of support for Canadian women are inadequate when the family unit is broken through death or through divorce.

While we recognize the need to reduce the financial and emotional costs of divorce, we could not, in all conscience, support the latest proposal by the Minister of Justice.

(continued)

Women: Maintenance Awards (continued)

The maintenance provisions, weaker than in the current legislation, do not consider the 10 per cent of divorces which affect women over 50 who find it difficult to re-enter the workforce.

The bill also neglects to address the problems which result from divorce ... the difficulties women have in enforcing maintenance and custody orders ... or in obtaining a fair assessment of their contribution to a marriage.

Five years after divorce, only 25 per cent of child support agreements are still being honored. In fact, in one-third of maintenance awarded, no payments are made at all. If more of these women were given the support they need to enforce maintenance awards, we could at least take a first step toward reducing this terrible social injustice.

I am happy to see that the government finally recognized the force of our argument. They are now speaking of establishing a central registry for maintenance and custody awards.

Now, you know as well as I do, given this government's record, how likely this is to happen before the next election.

It will fall to our government, and I assure you that a Progressive Conservative government will establish a central registry for divorce act maintenance and custody orders.

And furthermore, we will work with provincial and federal authorities to make sure those awards are enforced."

Ottawa  
March 3, 1984

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

\* "I will outline for you three ways a Progressive Conservative government will increase job opportunities for young Canadians.

1. We will provide increased incentives to employers to hire and train young people.

We must make it more attractive for employers to hire and train young people coming out of our schools, colleges and universities.

To achieve this, a Progressive Conservative government will significantly expand wage subsidy programs, such as the Career Access Programme.

We will also institute a program of Refundable Employer Tax Credits.

(continued)

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT (continued)

This measure will credit employers with a portion of their income, or federal payroll taxes, where they agree to hire and train young people for a fixed period.

A Progressive Conservative government will also promote measures, in these and other programs, to provide young people with training and re-training in high technology skills.

2. A Progressive Conservative government will greatly improve existing 'information exchanges' through which young people become aware of job opportunities.

Today, too many young Canadians graduate from training programs or educational institutions and can't find work, not because their skills aren't in demand, but because they can't make contact with the employer who needs them.

A Progressive Conservative government would challenge the private sector to assist government in setting up state of the art information exchanges, on job openings, and worker availability by skill -- exchanges easily accessible to employers and prospective employees.

We believe that such an approach would increase the proportion of graduates finding jobs by 10% in the first year.

3. We will institute programs specifically designed to address the chronic unemployment which tragically plagues certain regions of Canada.

In such areas, we plan to institute programs of community-based entrepreneurial development.

We want to assist individuals and groups wishing to start new enterprises to raise capital, cut through red tape, identify markets, train workers and establish constructive working relationships with local workers, educators and financial institutions."

University of Toronto  
March 14, 1984

REVENUE CANADA

\*\*\* "Consider for a moment the differing approaches taken by my Party and the Liberal government.

First, our Members of Parliament, by listening to their constituents detected in the past year significant problems in the management and accountability of Revenue Canada.

(continued)

REVENUE CANADA (continued)

Second, the Task Force we established in February travelled to 23 cities and towns across Canada and heard 300 oral briefs and received many more written statements.

Within eight weeks of its mandate the Task Force issued a report making recommendations respecting collections, political accountability, communications, appeals, personnel and tax simplification.

Most of these recommendations were based on the experiences of individual Canadians.

Because we provided access for the average Canadian to have a say, we were able to make recommendations which make sense.

Cost: \$100,000, paid for by the P.C. Party.

What was the Ottawa Liberal approach to our initial enquiries on the management of Revenue Canada?

First, they denied that the problem existed. Then they blamed the deputy minister, after which they fired him.

In the meantime, an internal consultative process was established to make recommendations after a year of study and 1.5 million dollars in expenditures paid for by the Canadian taxpayer.

Consulting with the people of Canada should be what government is all about.

The process of consultation is underway, and will not stop -- it will intensify, when we form a government."

Toronto, Ontario  
May 5, 1984

\*\*\* "The Progressive Conservative Task Force on Revenue Canada has been for me personally a very encouraging experience despite the unfortunate reasons which made it necessary.

First, it has reinforced my belief in Canadians in their ability to express what is wrong and to want to do what is right.

Second, it has proven to me once again that while nobody ever said governing a modern society was easy, you have to start with two things which are not now being done.

They are very simple.

One, you have to listen.

Two, you have to act."

Statement  
April 20, 1984

MEDICARE

\* "There must be certain things that are above politics -- there are certain things in Canada which must be safeguarded against any partisan attack -- and Medicare has to be one of them at all times."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

\* "As far as the Conservative Party is concerned, Medicare is a sacred trust which we will always preserve."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

UNIVERSALITY

\* "Opposition to means tests and the acceptance of universality in social programs constitute a cornerstone of our Party's philosophy."

Ottawa  
March 7, 1984

EDUCATION

\*\*\* "In recent weeks, the Liberal government in Ottawa has been attempting to turn education into the next federal-provincial battleground.

This cannot be allowed to happen. The federal government must respect the fact that the provinces have constitutional jurisdiction over education. We shall not arbitrarily intrude into a vital area of provincial responsibility. The last thing this country needs is another constitutional battle.

What we do require is a cooperative effort between all three levels of government to maximize educational opportunities and to ensure the best possible educational system for Canadians.

As the new government of Canada, we would work in a spirit of genuine co-operation with the provinces; we would assist them wherever possible in implementing retraining and re-employment programs."

Winnipeg  
June 7, 1984

## FEDERALISM

\*\*\* "I have no doubt about the need for a strong central government.

But I believe profoundly in co-operative federalism as the most politically, culturally and regionally sensitive way to operate -- and as the most effective way to provide good and caring and responsive government where it really counts -- on the ground, and where people live."

National Newspaper  
Awards Dinner  
Toronto, Ontario.  
May 5, 1984

\* "This is a country of regions. There will be regional tensions which will surface from time to time and which must be harmonized in the national interest. I don't accept that federalism implies, as Mr. Trudeau suggests, a process whereby one homogenizes Canada. There is a commonality of purpose which comes from our citizenship, which is a very honourable station in life and that's being a Canadian.

I don't find anything inconsistent with the need, the desirability of strong regional and provincial presences; and the capacity of a mature and thoughtful leader to harmonize those various impulses into a coherent and eloquent statement of Canadian citizenship."

Interview  
Edmonton Journal  
October 10, 1983

\*\*\* "No genuine consensus can be imposed by one level of government.

It can only be created in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding between east and west; French and English, labour and management, men and women and all three orders of government.

My goal, as Prime Minister of this nation, will be to nurture this atmosphere of respect and trust; to start the search for a genuine Canadian consensus; to stop stressing our differences and start emphasizing what we share in common; to make sure that a Progressive Conservative government is part of the solution -- not part of the problem.

That is why I am inviting business, labour and other levels of governments to come together in a national economic summit, should my Party be called upon to govern."

Winnipeg  
June 7, 1984

(continued)

FEDERALISM (continued)

\*\*\* "If we are going to meet the challenge of change, common sense tells us that all three orders of government in this country must begin to work together.

All governments in Canada must come to recognize that they serve the same public. That is the only way we can reestablish public confidence and trust in government. And that is the only way we can turn the threats of today into future opportunities."

Winnipeg,  
June 7, 1984

\* "I pledge to you that I shall not rest until such time as Western Canada is brought back into the decision-making process in Canada."

Calgary  
November 8, 1983

\* "Genuine cooperative federalism requires a spirit of generosity."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

\*\*\* "I am not afraid to burden Newfoundlanders with the benefits of prosperity, I am not afraid to preserve the great traditions of this proud province. I am not afraid to challenge what is best in Newfoundland to contribute honourably, and well, to the well-being of Newfoundland, of Atlantic Canada, and of our country, Canada.

This commitment today is an indication that new attitudes and new approaches to common problems can transform them swiftly into splendid opportunities for economic growth and prosperity."

Speech on Offshore  
Development Nfld.  
St. John's, Nfld.  
June 14, 1984

\*\*\* "I was out there fighting the Referendum day and night all during the Referendum period when Mr. Turner was sitting in Toronto. I was there defending the rights of the English-speaking minority and other minority groups, fighting off the separatists day and night. I was the vice-chairman of the Council for Canadian Unity that organized the umbrella group that fought on behalf of Canada in that debate. I wasn't sitting on the sidelines in Toronto; I was down there right in the trenches fighting for Canada."

Cherrington Interview  
Radio Station CHCH  
Hamilton, Ontario.



### GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS

\*\*\* "The vulgarity of the Liberal patronage machine is such that we're all going to have to take a second look at our partisanship. I think there is going to have to be coming from us, from a new government... a determination to get away from it once and for all... In any (appointment made by a Progressive Conservative government) the overriding criteria will be competence and a willingness to serve Canada."

CTV's "Question Period"  
June 24, 1984

### MINORITY LANGUAGE RIGHTS

\* "It is my fundamental belief, as it was Sir John A. Macdonald's, that real national unity will never be achieved until French-speaking Canadians living outside Quebec enjoy no less rights than English-speaking Canadians in my native province.

That was Macdonald's message 114 years ago. It is my message today."

Winnipeg  
March 29, 1984

\* "The goal of language guarantees is not to make all Canadians bilingual -- to force people to become something they are not.

The purpose of language guarantees is to ensure that English and French-speaking Canadians can be themselves, that they can live their lives, communicate with their governments and with each other in one or the other of Canada's two official languages.

The real purpose is to ensure that English-speaking Canadians can feel at home in Quebec, and that French-speaking Canadians do not feel like strangers in their own land, once they cross the Ottawa River."

Winnipeg  
March 29, 1984

\*\*\* "I said on the issue of minority rights, that I would defend French-speaking minorities in Manitoba with the same degree of enthusiasm as I would defend a million English-speaking people in the province of Quebec.

Mr. Turner tried to, with his language policy, sell one million anglos down the river and deliver them into the hands of Rene Levesque. I said "No", the Conservative party will never do that and its leader will never do that.

(continued)

MINORITY LANGUAGE RIGHTS (continued)

Mr. Turner was trying to send out two different signals, one to Western Canada and one to French Quebec, and he got caught with his hand in the till."

Cherrington Interview  
Radio Station CHCH  
Hamilton, Ontario.

- \* "The Parti Quebecois would love to diminish the rights of the English-speaking minority in Quebec and anything that happens outside of Quebec to French-speaking minorities encourages them in that view.

That is why the parti Quebecois promptly and enthusiastically endorsed the position of a leading Liberal leadership candidate on this issue.

The parti Quebecois dearly loves a federal leader who would sell the English-speaking minority in Quebec down the river, and deliver almost one million people into the hands of Rene Levesque.

Well, I for one will not do it, not today and not tomorrow and not any day.

That is why I defend with equal vigor across Canada the rights of the English-speaking minority in Quebec and French-speaking minorities elsewhere."

Winnipeg  
March 29, 1984

- \* "I propose to protect the English minority in Quebec with the same degree of vigour as I protected the French minority in Manitoba. I'm not trying to ram anything at anybody. I'm just trying to speak for the country."

CKAC interview  
March 16, 1984

- \* "Bilingualism is a valued principle and an indispensable dimension of our national life. The program, however, must be implemented with fairness and equity. It is diminished if it comes to be perceived by large numbers of Canadians as an instrument of division or unfairness."

House of Commons  
October 6, 1983

(continued)

MINORITY LANGUAGE RIGHTS (continued)

\*\*\* "When you start to take judges from British Columbia and send them to the south of France, you're a long way from the idea of bilingualism.

When people are being penalized at the end of their working lives because of the manner in which bilingualism is implemented, that's unfair; and I've said many times in Quebec that I propose to put an axe into that, that's unacceptable.

But by and large, I don't think that anyone would quarrel with me for defending, as I've done, the English-speaking minority in the province of Quebec and French-speaking minorities elsewhere. I think it's important that a society like ours have that dimension of tolerance and that leaders speak up for minorities."

Cherrington Interview  
Radio Station CHCH  
Hamilton, Ontario.

\* "The issue before us today is also one of simple justice.

There is no painless way to proceed. There is no blame to be apportioned. There are no motives to be impugned.

There is only the sanctity of minority rights. There is no obligation more compelling, no duty more irresistible in Canada than to ensure that our minorities, linguistic and otherwise, live at all times in conditions of fairness and justice."

House of Commons  
October 6, 1983

CULTURAL MINORITIES

\* "There can be no doubt where I stand. There can be no question as to where the obligation of a national political party lies. It lies today, Mr. Speaker, and it shall tomorrow in ensuring that our minorities in Canada are treated at all times with dignity and with justice."

House of Commons  
February 24, 1984

\*\*\* "I would like to describe my personal priorities.

My first goal relates to Political Equality.

I want to increase the presence in my Party, and in the House of Commons, of the 9 million Canadians whose ancestry is neither English nor French. I want the Progressive Conservative Party to be a home for all Canadians. And I know we are making great progress.

(continued)

## CULTURAL MINORITIES (continued)

But increased public participation goes beyond more Members of Parliament. It means that competent and committed men and women who reflect our cultural diversity are appointed to positions on government boards, agencies, crown corporations and the senior public services.

\*\*\* If the first priority is political participation, the second is Equality of Economic Opportunities.

Within government, we must examine hiring, promotion and training practices to ensure they not only do not impede, but that they actually encourage the upward mobility of racial and cultural minority groups.

We have to eliminate systemic barriers in the public and private sector; from unnecessary weight and height restrictions which automatically disqualify many Canadians from certain careers, to the elimination of penalties for work absence caused by the observance of one's religious beliefs.

Goal number three is Equal Access to Government programs and services -- from the encouragement of more cultural minority and community relation committees at the municipal level to the provision of federal government services in non-official languages in neighbourhoods where numbers warrant.

I want to follow the lead of many Canadian cities and do whatever we can to make those citizens feel as welcome and as comfortable as possible; to help them make the difficult adjustment to life in their new country; to make them feel at home in Canada; and to allow them to communicate with their government.

Goal number four is equality of Educational Opportunities.

I want to help Canadians understand their roots through heritage language training and cultural retention studies. But even more important, we must step-up our efforts to ensure that new Canadians -- both young and old -- have the opportunity to learn one of the two official languages.

its Goal number five is to Stamp Out Racism wherever it rears ugly head. The new Progressive Conservative government will be acting on many of the recommendations of the recent report on visible minorities.

Those are five personal goals.

(continued)

CULTURAL MINORTITIES (continued)

Multicultural diversity is part of our national identity. To reject it is to reject the essence of our society.

But I also say this -- unity does not depend on uniformity. Rather it depends on shared experiences, shared values, mutual respect and mutual goals. And whether our heritage is Irish, Italian, Yugoslavian or Chinese, I know we share common goals for Canada -- that there is a common sense of purpose.

I know that all of us want to make this country a vibrant democracy, where the people once again can have faith that their government is acting in good faith."

Progressive Conservative  
Multicultural Conference  
Toronto, Ontario.  
June 2, 1984

\* "I recognize that respect for Canadian duality will not alone solve the problem of national unity.

It is equally essential that those who see Canada as a nation of two founding linguistic groups understand that, to millions of Canadians, multiculturalism is the passport to equality of treatment without regard to history or size of population.

That is why I believe the successful promotion of duality must go hand-in-hand with concrete measures which recognize our multicultural heritage."

Winnipeg  
March 29, 1984

\* "The Canadian challenge is to allay the fear that acceptance of linguistic duality means the rejection of cultural diversity -- to find common ground between the two great visions of our country.

The defeatists say we must take one or the other.

I say Canada can have both."

Winnipeg  
March 29, 1984

\* "Under a Progressive Conservative government the removal of all barriers to full participation in Canadian society for members of any racial, language or heritage group will be a top and an absolute priority at all times.

(continued)

CULTURAL MINORITIES (continued)

If this involves the need for special assistance to help new Canadians adjust and adapt, as it does, support will be provided.

If provisions against discrimination need to be tightened up in Canada, as they do, tightened up they shall be.

We can't afford to let precious human talent be wasted because of ignorance, intolerance or prejudice."

Toronto  
November 19, 1983

- \* "A Progressive Conservative government would also ensure that our cultural communities are adequately and appropriately represented when the time comes for us to form a new government.

Our appointments to boards, agencies and the senior public service are going to reflect the competence of committed men and women who want to serve Canada. I guarantee you that we are going to find competent men and women to serve Canada who reflect the diverse cultural reality of this nation.

I reject cultural conformity as a requirement for government service just as I reject it in a society.

I want senior representatives of the cultural communities sitting with us in Ottawa, where the decisions are made."

Toronto  
November 19, 1983

WORLD PEACE

- \* "I have three young children at home and I want to leave for them a world free of nuclear war.

This would be the greatest gift we could leave for the children of the world."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

- \* "We in Canada must never shrink from telling the world what we have always stood for -- and you in this room know just as well as I that this country has stood for peace. We have fought for it with courage on battlefields too numerous to mention and have laboured for it in the United Nations and across the world. This country has never failed to support the just cause or the honourable position."

Concord, Ontario  
October 2, 1983

(continued)

WORLD PEACE (continued)

\*\*\* "I told him that, however slim the hope, that hope would justify any initiatives that he might take, because the overriding concern of Canadians and people generally was the issue of world peace, and that risks should be taken to achieve that noble objective."

Brian Mulroney  
reveals conversation  
with U.S President  
Ronald Reagan  
June 21, 1984

\* "Nuclear weapons cannot be disinvented. They are a terrifying reality which political leadership must seek to constrain. Yet a failure to incorporate a credible nuclear component within NATO's overall strategy would be an invitation to nuclear blackmail with consequences too terrible to contemplate. So in this sense the real question before us is how can we best achieve policies which reduce the recourse to nuclear weapons in Europe and elsewhere.

My Party and I approach this most important question through three fundamental principles:

1. Canada's foreign policy should rest on a bi-partisan search for consensus.
2. The cornerstone of our security is NATO solidarity.
3. Only through the strengthening of the non-nuclear deterrent can we reduce the present reliance on nuclear weapons."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

\* "While we cannot -- at least in the foreseeable future -- hope to escape from using nuclear weapons to deter aggression, we must make an energetic attempt to reduce NATO's present dependence on the early use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent.

Only after conventional defence improvements are in place could NATO Ministers then consider setting in motion a series of plans and programs which could ultimately reduce the recourse to nuclear weapons.

As a result, arms control could be used as a means to introduce incentives which would help move nuclear forces away from provocative and destabilizing postures.

(continued)

WORLD PEACE (continued)

We stand ready to accept this policy. We believe that the overwhelming majority of Canadians are prepared to accept this approach."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

- \* "Negotiations and dialogue must go forward but these, I insist, must be conducted by the Western Alliance with a healthy measure of realism.

The objectives must be mutual, balanced and verifiable disarmament. Naivety is no substitute for informed understanding."

St. Francis Xavier University  
Antigonish, N.S.  
December 2, 1983

- \* "We must never succumb to the easy temptation to believe that war cannot be avoided, because we are at that point in history where we will not survive nuclear confrontation. Nor can we afford a conventional war that might lead to the ultimate count-down.

Let there be no illusion on that score.

A nuclear count-down any time in the future means a count-down for all humanity. There are no exceptions. There are no safe havens.

We are here to re-dedicate ourselves to the wearying road of compromise and negotiation in the search for peace."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

- \* "Peace must remain the goal of all people of goodwill.

I can only remind you of the complexity of the issues, of the folly of unilateral disarmament, of the need for honest brokerage, East and West.

The peace-maker must be patient and persevering; the search for peace demands all the wisdom and the courage that all of us can summon.

(continued)



WORLD PEACE (continued)

To contemplate the alternative, nuclear annihilation, or the grotesque euphemisms, 'nuclear accident' or 'limited nuclear war', is to contemplate the ultimate tragedy, the destruction of our planet, the destruction of all the works and arts that man has so ingeniously devised, and finally, the destruction of man himself.

There could be no greater tragedy but that God's creatures destroy His greatest creation -- themselves."

St. Francis Xavier University  
Antigonish, N.S.  
December 2, 1983

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

\* "In Toronto last December 4, prior to his departure for Brussels, I asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs to urge further consideration of the existing non-first strike policy within the private councils of NATO Foreign Ministers.

I recognize the sensitive nature of my urgings and I want to return to the substance of this proposal, but the forum -- private NATO Ministerial Meetings -- is equally important."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

\* "In April, 1969, the Prime Minister unilaterally cut our NATO commitment in half saying 'Canada had no foreign policy of any importance except that which flowed from NATO. This is a false perspective for any country.'

Under this Prime Minister, defence spending as a percentage of GNP has been cut by 38 per cent.

This policy of wilfull neglect of our contribution to the collective security of the alliance has led to a situation in which Canada spends less per capita on defence than any other nation in the NATO alliance, with the exception of Luxembourg.

This pattern of neglect of the conventional deterrent has damaged our reputation for reliability among our allies.

It has commensurately diminished our influence in the same councils...

(continued)

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE (continued)

Such neglect of the conventional deterrent has contributed to an over-reliance on nuclear weapons. You can't have it both ways.

You can't echo support for NATO and consistently neglect support for our armed forces so that our alliance commitments cannot be honoured. Nor can we continue to flail at the nuclear umbrella and not be prepared to enhance the conventional deterrent.

A determined effort must be made to reduce our present dependence on a possible early use of nuclear weapons by substantially improving the conventional component of our defence."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

\*\*\* "Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal pals have done the ultimate disservice to Canada by running down our armed forces to the point where we spend less per capita on GNP on our armed forces than any other country in the Western alliance with the exception of Luxembourg.

This is unacceptable! This is a first-class country, and we're going to go first class in the area of conventional defence under a new Progressive Conservative government. We are not going to ask men and women to represent the honor of Canada in third-rate ships, in fourth-rate aircraft, and in tanks that are 28 years old. We are going to do it first class - first class equipment, deployment capacity and first-class wages - those are the conditions under which they're going to represent Canada.

And I think in doing that, then we've paid our own freight to NATO and to NORAD and we have the respect and trust of our allies. That enables us to make pretty substantial strides in the area of peace negotiations when we come to the table to talk."

Cherrington Interview  
Radio Station CHCH  
Hamilton, Ontario.

\* "I tell you clearly:

We are a Western Nation, a member of NATO. We are committed to the ideals of individual and collective freedoms. We are children of liberty. On these principles we cannot and shall not compromise.

We are prepared to accept neither the inexorable Finlandization of Europe nor a neutralist Canada.

We in the Western Alliance are prepared to defend ourselves against attempts to impose alien and odious systems on us through the use of force or threats of force."

House of Commons  
February 9, 1984

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE (continued)

- \* "We in the Western Alliance must show a common resolve and common sense if we are to convince the Soviet Union that there can and there must be an absolute reduction in the number of nuclear warheads, that world peace urgently demands that this be done."

Concord, Ontario  
October 2, 1983

- \* "The position of this Party, Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, and of the Government of Canada must be an unshakable commitment to the integrity of Israel at all times."

House of Commons  
December 9, 1983

- \* "I do not know what opportunities may arise for Canada, alone or in concert with others, to make some modest contribution to stability and peace in the Middle East.

But whatever the situation, there are some things that so far as I am concerned, are immutable and are not negotiable.

One is our close historic, democratic ties with Israel, our support for the integrity of Israel and for the "idea" that is Israel.

Another is that peace negotiations must deal not only with Israel's recognition by Arab states, but also with her legitimate security concerns.

We recognize that a settlement of the Palestinian question is a key to achieving an overall peace settlement.

Israel must accept its share of the responsibility to resolve the plight of the Palestinians.

We strongly support the efforts to bring Jordan and Israel to the bargaining table.

We recognize that the Palestinian people must be represented in any negotiations: but those who represent them, or would purport to represent them, must forswear the use of violence and terrorism, recognize the state of Israel, and commit themselves to a political solution.

That done, the nature of a Palestinian homeland within the West Bank and Gaza areas, should be a principal subject of negotiations.

(continued)

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE (continued)

Canada, having participated in all the U.N. peacekeeping efforts in the Middle East, should offer its services in future if there is a reasonable expectation that peace can be maintained."

Montreal  
April 1, 1984

- \* "We are going to set out, as a matter of important national policy, to rebuild the constructive and productive relationship that must exist between the government of Canada and our closest friend, neighbour and ally, the United States of America.

Seventy per cent of our trade is with the US. That is where the direction is. This has been tarnished by a government which seems to have gone out of its way to make enemies out of our friends, and the other way around."

Montreal  
March 10, 1984

- \* "Because of the increase in unilateralism -- due to domestic pressures and the contrasting political perspectives among the citizens of Canada and the United States -- we need an added dimension to the existing structures - but not a wholesale change of approach.

We need an improved consultative process but we do not need to interpose some new institutional mechanism within the already complex bureaucracies of each country in order to achieve this.

I would therefore like to endorse a proposal which envisages the designation of a focal point -- a small tight secretariat -- one for each country, which would be permanently staffed with a small group of experts in Canada - U.S. affairs.

Its function would be to analyse the potentially adverse effects of new policies on each country and anticipate such policies and their effects, in advance.

Capable of being immediately activated, both of these small groups could quickly mobilize sub-groups of experienced technical experts in their respective countries.

This approach would act as a needed deterrent to the the linkage of existing bilateral irritants."

Montreal  
May 1, 1984