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NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

NEW



PROGRAM FOR ONTARIO

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NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY/PROGRAM FOR ONTARIO

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CONTENTS

THE GOALS OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT	5
<i>A range of crises, Ontario's role in Confederation.</i>	
EDUCATION	7
<i>The student's world, primary education, secondary education, special education, further education, university education, a Canadian education, teachers, parents and the community, students as citizens, financing education, shifting the tax burden, separate schools, adult education, the rest of the nation.</i>	
HOUSING	13
<i>A tenant's bill of rights, public housing.</i>	
URBAN LIFE	15
<i>Municipal government, urban renewal, land use.</i>	
HEALTH SERVICES	17
<i>A healthcare plan, healthcare services, public health, dental care, sickness and accident insurance, mental health.</i>	
THE CONSUMER	22
<i>Consumers' bill of rights, price and rent review boards, co-operatives and credit unions.</i>	
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING	24
<i>Democratic planning, objectives of planning, participation by the public, planning in action, democratic control, the role of small business, poverty.</i>	
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT	29
<i>Full economic potential, a policy for the north, regional government, aiding Ontario's Indians.</i>	
LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT	34
<i>Genuine co-operation, labour and government, employee's rights, minimum standards, industry-wide standards, industrial safety, workmen's compensation, apprenticeship training.</i>	

AGRICULTURE	37
<i>The cost-price squeeze, the income-incentive programme, bolstering market power, policy for milk producers, helping the working farmer, providing better services.</i>	
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	41
<i>Government department, automation, social consequences, animals and scientific research.</i>	
TRANSPORTATION	43
<i>Automobile insurance, vehicle safety.</i>	
RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT	47
<i>Controlling our resources, water resources, energy resources, mineral resources, forest resources, control of pollution.</i>	
FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES	54
<i>A modern, realistic attitude, Canada Assistance Plan, basic schedules, relief from tax burden, child welfare, pensioners, voluntary agencies.</i>	
CULTURE AND RECREATION	58
<i>Opportunities for recreation community centres.</i>	
→ INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS	59
<i>Freedom is essential, citizen's government, bill of rights, individual choices, cultural choice, data banks.</i>	
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE	61
<i>Adequate facilities, penal reform, probation services, the police.</i>	
↘ A HIGH STANDARD OF GOVERNMENT	64
<i>Code of ethics, electoral reform, legislative reform, elimination of patronage.</i>	
REFORMING OUR TAX SYSTEM	67
<i>Paying the bill, new democratic tax reform, federal-provincial tax sharing and planning.</i>	
WOMEN	70
<i>The liberation of women, women in the labour force, birth control and abortion, day care, houseworkers, women and education.</i>	

THE GOALS OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

History and geography have combined to place Ontario in the forefront of Canadian economic development. Industrialization and the intensive exploitation of our natural resources have come early to this province. In their wake have come all the problems of contemporary growth — urban congestion, pollution, concentrations of high income and poverty, and almost intolerable strains on our sense of community as human beings.

A quarter century of development has made some people very rich and many more quite comfortable. It has also locked more than a million Ontarians into a poverty which is all the more intolerable because of the wealth around them. We have become a province of city-dwellers but our cities are often ugly, dreary wildernesses, cruel to all who live in them. Sometimes, they seem like the revenge of the countryside for the simultaneous destruction of Ontario's rural communities.

All at once, Ontario is waking up to the price of this kind of progress. People are realizing that the sort of development celebrated by generations of traditional politicians and businessmen has utterly failed to deliver its promises. They seek alternatives. The task of New Democrats is to offer not just alternatives but also to demonstrate that people can use political power to control their own lives. It is our task neither to praise progress nor to resist it but to civilize it.

In the following pages, detailed and specific proposals are presented to meet problems which have arisen in virtually every area of government responsibility. They are policies which have been worked out in a long series of regional conferences and technical seminars and finally adopted in full New Democratic Party provincial conventions.

Animating each proposal is a broad concept of the role of government in contemporary society. This is the sense that an elected government can be held to account for the quality and dignity of life. The basic criticism which New Democrats bring against past governments is that they have allowed themselves to be driven by events. They have been forced to act only when crisis has brought the price of intervention to an exorbitant level.

A range of crises

Today, people in Ontario are confronted by a range of crises which the old complacency cannot overcome.

- Rising prices and a deliberate government decision to create unemployment have combined to deliver a brutal blow to our standard of living.
- Foreign domination of our branch plant economy, of our resource industries and even of the avenues through which Ontario people develop their ideas and their identity poses a serious threat to our present right of self-determination and to our future prosperity.
- Our tax system has shifted the burden of public expenditure to the shoulders of those least able to carry it—with disastrous consequences for our educational system and our social services.
- An ill-shared prosperity has concentrated growth in a few centres leaving vast areas of Northern and Eastern Ontario as twilight zones of decline and unemployment.
- A free-for-all economy has successively undermined basic Ontario industries such as agriculture without thought for the present welfare of those involved or of the future needs of every person in this province.

Having a New Democratic government in Ontario would mean that these problems would be tackled with a kind of pragmatic radicalism which would engage the minds and energies of everyone in this province. New Democrats call their goal a New Ontario because they feel that the unleashing of imagination and activity which their program demands would, indeed, mean the creation of a new Ontario.

Achieving the economic and social goals of their program is not the limit of the New Democratic thrust. Perhaps their most important intention — certainly the most radical — is the goal of establishing a new relationship between the citizen and his government. In an age when the individual finds himself dwarfed by huge institutions, New Democrats are determined that their government shall find new means of expression for the voice of the individual and new defences for his rights.

Ontario's role in Confederation

Ontario is but one province in a great nation, a nation presently suffering the tensions and conflicts which come with social change and re-evaluation of the past. An NDP government will take an essential part in the great debate now shaping the nation and will take the leadership in defining what we all wish Canada to be, by:

- (1) Clearly recognizing that English-speaking Canada's desire for an effective federal government is compatible with the evolution of the historical position that Quebec has held within Confederation;

- (2) Striving for a definition and distribution of powers under which both federal and provincial governments will have the financial resources to discharge the programs for which they are responsible;
- (3) Clearly recognizing the bilingual fact within this country and assuring French-speaking Canadian citizens who form significant elements of the population of Ontario that they need not fear assimilation because of the inadequacy of law or institutions; that they will have access to schooling, justice essential government service and legislative process, indeed to all possibilities of social evolution, in the language of their fathers.
- (4) Making this province the most democratic and progressive in the nation, in effect the leader of a revolution in social and political life which will set the pace for the rest of the nation;
- (5) Standing clearly and unequivocally, as the geographic and economic centre of the nation, for the preservation of Canada as a nation by taking measures to preserve our economic birthright and cultural identity.

EDUCATION

Attitudes to education are the test of any community. Not only must education be available to all, but the process of educating must be an inspiring, liberating experience developing the minds, the creative abilities, and the critical awareness of the members of a community. Education must be seen as more than mere economic investment. It has a responsibility to improve the quality of life and to relate our lives to a world-wide civilization. The freedom of the individual, his capacity to live a worthwhile happy life and to participate responsibly in a democratic system all depend on the educational opportunities provided by his community. This is the challenge a New Democratic government will meet in Ontario.

Education in Ontario absorbs over 40 per cent of the provincial budget, and, on average, more than half of every dollar raised in local taxes. The result is the largest single industry in the province and by no means the most productive, save in securing the life-chances of those already favoured by their choice of parents. It is an education system preoccupied with numbers and status, in which actual learning often seems to be a poor relation. Our concern must be to develop an educational programme which offers genuinely equal opportunities to all Ontario children, which offers scope for ability without distorting it with inordinate rewards, which

values scholarship and sensitivity and humane inclinations and which, above all, fits into the community at every point instead of shutting it out.

The student's world

Ontario education has been a matter of neglect, qualified by "hit-or-miss" alterations for the last twenty years. Primary education has been largely ignored, while hasty and piecemeal changes forced on the government by rapid growth have brought chaos to the secondary and post-secondary fields.

The concept that children should pursue a continuous path from kindergarten to the end of their post-secondary education needs to be re-examined. Education in Ontario must emerge from a fixation with classrooms, buildings, and separation from the real world. We should be more flexible about attendance, more imaginative in combining work and learning, more realistic in training for careers and for life. Physical fitness should be an educational objective for all, rather than concentrating on team sports for the few. The financial obstacles which confront a mature student seeking to return to education must be overcome by appropriate levels of assistance.

Primary education

Primary education is particularly important since research shows that the quality of such education has a profound effect on a student's progress through the rest of the system and in life. The responsibility for high school dropouts is often to be found in the primary school. A child's natural curiosity and wonder must be fostered here. Rigid grading systems and mark-conscious report cards must be replaced by a freer atmosphere in which the child is more able to follow his own inclinations with closer personal attention from the teacher. In emphasizing the primary schools, a New Democratic government will substantially increase the per-pupil grants in primary education, provide for the buildings and equipment needed in modern education, and reduce the number of pupils per teacher. As well, it will provide a system of voluntary pre-school institutions in which culturally deprived, economically disadvantaged children will be able to gain the wide experience, the background knowledge, the inspiration to benefit as much from the primary school system as children from more fortunate homes.

Secondary education

In secondary education, the system must be changed to develop students' minds rather than their capacity to pass examinations based on memory work. A New Democratic government will improve the facilities for guidance counselling in Ontario by improving the

quality and amount of training given to guidance personnel and providing for the use of an adequate series of tests to enable students to realize their full potential. It will also co-operate with the economic planning agencies of the government in assessing the nature of the skills required for the future so that vocational, trade and technological courses can be shaped to provide them. Students must be given the freedom to form organizations, such as high school political clubs, if they wish. Senior school maintenance grants beyond the present wholly inadequate youth allowances are needed to help young people who wish to remain in school after 16 to the stage of university or community college entrance.

Special education

In the provincial system as a whole, facilities for Special Education will be extended not only for the gifted, but for the mentally retarded and maladjusted, and grants will be given to encourage teachers to enter this specialized field.

Children with learning difficulties should remain in normal classes unless their handicaps are too severe, but they could be assisted for part of the school day by itinerant special teachers.

To encourage innovation while seeking to control the growing number of independent private schools, particularly at the elementary level, there should be a programme within the public system providing for support to privately launched experiments in education. The schools and staffs involved would have to be genuinely engaged in educational research, children could be accepted without any element of social exclusivity and reasonable criteria of financial responsibility would have to be satisfied. Experiment within all public schools would be encouraged.

Further education

The community's responsibility for the education of its citizens no longer stops the day they graduate from secondary school. The demand for post-secondary education is growing as larger numbers of students seek more than a high school diploma. A New Democratic government will respond to this demand by planning better use of universities, technological institutes, community colleges and trade schools and involving the community in their development. To ensure that no capable student is "locked out", adequate arrangements will be made to ensure that there is always a possibility of transferring from the colleges of applied arts and technology to universities.

The academic achievements of both sectors should receive parity of esteem to prevent growing class differences between the systems.

University education

Our objective should be to develop universities which are democratic, critical and sensitive to Canadian needs. This will include free access to universities for all qualified students, adequate living allowances and sufficient space in graduate schools for eligible Canadian students who want to proceed to higher degrees. It will also involve restructuring university government to give faculty, students, administrators, and the community a share in decision-making. Efforts must be made to ensure that Canadians have a preponderance on teaching staffs and that all available posts in Ontario universities are effectively advertised in Canada. Emphasis should be placed on Canadian studies, including relations between English and French Canada, the problems of our other ethnic groups and the social and economic issues of our own community.

The Ontario system of 'formula financing' its universities has led to many wasteful practices and distortions of objectives. Even with expansion, universities remain a minority opportunity for Ontario young people — but an opportunity of declining academic value. Formula financing has also produced the present over-production of graduate students, particularly in the sciences, by providing universities with an irresistible incentive to expand expensive facilities, with little consideration of the consequences to society as a whole. It is time to cut the losses and move on to a new basis of support which can relate to real university needs, the special qualities of particular universities and the over-all resources the province may choose to devote to this aspect of education.

A Canadian Education

To enable the students of today to enjoy the benefits of a rich bicultural nation when they graduate, a New Democratic government will immediately make the teaching of English and French languages mandatory for all pupils in the province from kindergarten up, in a manner best suited to the community. The revision of present certification policy to enable qualified bilingual teachers of French from outside Ontario to obtain provincial certification more readily will be essential. A New Democratic government will provide more facilities to instruct New Canadian children in the English language so that they need not fall behind their classmates.

It would also accept Ontario's responsibility to help maintain an independent Canadian publishing industry by sponsoring the preparation and publication of Canadian textbooks for all levels of education.

Teachers, parents and the community

The teachers and the parents of this province are also deeply involved in education. There is widespread dissatisfaction among

teachers about the nature of their professional training. Instead of being centres of inspiration and reform, many Ontario teacher training institutions are bastions of conservatism. A New Democratic Minister of Education will undertake radical reforms of teacher training to make it an enriching, more useful experience. A first step will be a substantial increase in practice teaching opportunities.

Places of learning should be encouraged and assisted to move from the traditional concept of the administrator, teacher, student relationship. Instead they should become community resources with advisory councils involving students, parents, teachers and administrators, responsible to their local populace and run on democratic principles.

Such advisory councils, in addition to formulating local policy would serve by having open discussion on such subjects as grading, curriculum, structure, qualifications, Board regulations, in fact, the totality of the educational environment.

School Boards should be encouraged to appoint a permanent mediator to resolve disputes between students and school authorities, with fairness to both sides.

Students as citizens

Students are also citizens and as such have rights as do other citizens, applicable even with the school system. An NDP government would enact a Student Bill of Rights guaranteeing to students the normal freedoms available to the general public such as:

- (1) freedom of speech
- (2) freedom of assembly
- (3) freedom of publication and distribution
- (4) freedom from arbitrary invasion of privacy
- (5) freedom of religion, conscience and thought, and
- (6) right of appeal for decisions of disciplinary bodies
- (7) freedom to share in developing the learning environment best suited to one's needs, including modes of evaluation and progression, in consultation with respective professionals.

Further to this, courses in sectarian religious instruction and religious opening exercises will be optional, and it is hoped that with additional options such as courses on comparative religions and ethics would be made available.

Also, an NDP government would abolish the use of corporal punishment as a deterrent.

Financing education

The cost of such an educational system will not be low. But investment in the future happiness and satisfaction of our citizens and in the future prosperity of our economy is absolutely essential.

By revising the grants structure to assist schools with a high proportion of poor children who need added educational expenditure, achieving a more equitable sharing of the burden of educational costs between the province and the municipalities, we can meet the cost of building a school system of which any civilized community can be proud. At the same time, we can fulfil the basic principle of assuring equality of educational opportunity for all children in all parts of this province.

A New Democratic government will meet these basic objectives through the full application of the Foundation Program in Educational Finance.

The Foundation Program would naturally be applied to each of the two elementary school systems in Ontario. The right to maintain the dual system was embodied in the compromise which was the basis of the Canadian Confederation, and is guaranteed by Section 93 of the British North America Act. The New Democratic Party has shaped its policies in recognition of this historic right.

At the same time, an NDP government will explore ways of bringing educational costs under better control and obtaining improved value for the educational dollar. Replacement of school boards by committees of the new regional government councils, which would then have to compete with other committees for the taxpayers' dollar is one approach to be studied.

Shifting the tax burden

The burden of education costs must be shifted from property taxes which are both regressive and too inflexible to provide the increased revenue which is necessary. A New Democratic government, in its first term of office, will raise the present provincial share of 50% overall to 80% by the end of its first term of office. Making the shift in a step-by-step way will enable municipalities to plan ahead and will permit the provincial government to find the large sums of money required through a restructuring of the tax system and general economic growth. Further assumption of educational costs will be reviewed when the 80% is achieved.

Separate schools

The New Democratic belief that education must be equally accessible to every child must also apply to Roman Catholic children. Although the existence of two school systems is embedded in the constitution and in the history of Ontario, the present public separate school system suffers bitterly from the limited grants to Grades 9 and 10 and the lack of grants to Grades 11, 12, and 13. The separate school system must be enabled to provide equal opportunity for its students with a minimum of cost and programme duplication.

Therefore the New Democratic government would institute the "Concept of Sharing" plan. Full grants for Roman Catholic children from kindergarten through Grade 13 would be provided on the condition that separate and public school boards together plan shared facilities and services to meet the needs of all students in their community. This co-operation can be extended to such areas as buildings, provision of special consultative services, and school buses.

Implementation of the "Concept of Sharing" promises justice to both the majority and minority in Ontario.

Adult education

A New Democratic government will work with the Federal government to fulfill the community's responsibility in the retraining of the unemployed, re-equipping them to meet the new demands of the labour market in modern society, and up-grading the skills of the already employed, an increasingly necessary task in a time of rapid technological advance.

Education for adults must also be concerned with the quality of life of our citizens, self-improvement and the need to fill productively and satisfactorily the new hours of leisure made possible in our society. In meeting this challenge, a New Democratic government will give increased aid to adult education in all its phases, to the arts, and to the library system and athletic activities. A regional system of grants and assistance will be established to help those more remote sections of this province where these facilities are not as well developed. In this way, using all available facilities, including public schools, it will seek to promote a creative, freely participating, enjoyable community.

The rest of the nation

Education is a matter for individual provinces, granted to them by the BNA Act in 1867. However, there is a great deal that can be done in the field of educational research and co-ordination by an agency working for all ten provinces. A New Democratic government in Ontario will take the lead in trying to establish such an agency on a basis that will enable the provincial governments to draw the federal government into their work as well.

HOUSING

A New Democratic government will use all available means to expand the housing supply to meet the shelter crisis of the next 10 years. With or without federal help, it will provide loans at reasonable

interest rates, loan guarantees and grants to speed the creation of new housing for all income groups. It will give real support to the co-operative housing movement.

Housing shortages and most of the problems of urban development in our province are related to land speculation and soaring land costs. An NDP government will acquire development rights to land around urban centres and will adopt special taxation measures to control speculation. Large parcels of land near our urban centres will be acquired by public authorities and leased for development as carefully planned suburban areas and as new satellite towns.

Recognizing the dynamic relationship between housing, city planning and urban renewal, an NDP government will establish a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, responsible for administering the provincial share of housing finance and land purchase. The Department will also be responsible for providing advice, consultation, technical services, education and financial support for local governments in these areas and will take direct responsibility for special problems such as migrant housing or the stabilization of land prices around urban areas.

A Tenants' bill of rights

New Democratic members of the Legislature have indicated the kind of action that would be taken to protect tenants. Specifically they have advocated the following measures:

- (1) The establishment of a rental and tenancy review board;
- (2) The enactment of a standard form of lease to be used by all landlords;
- (3) Prohibition against landlords cutting off utilities;
- (4) The prohibition of fees charged by landlords for permission to sublet apartments;
- (5) The outlawing of all clauses in leases restricting tenants' rights to purchase milk, bread, other foodstuffs and personal services from the merchants of their choice;
- (6) The prohibition of charges for extra occupants;
- (7) The establishment of minimum standards of maintenance, safety and health;
- (8) The requirement that all landlords carry liability insurance;
- (9) Authorization for the courts to delete any clause of a lease which, in the court's opinion, is unreasonable.

A workable rent control scheme would be established, based on the premise that rent is a payment for the use of services and accommodation and not a speculative means of financing the building or gaining an unconscionable profit for the landlord. Provincially uniform guidelines would be administered at the municipal level by an impartial rent officer who would be responsible for inspecting

accommodation and arbitrating disputes between landlords and tenants. There would be a right of appeal to the rental and tenancy review board.

A New Democratic government would recognize collective bargaining rights for tenants through tenants' unions similar to labour unions. These unions would be recognized as legal entities if 51% of the tenants of a building or of an individual landlord were members. They would have legal bargaining power over matters such as rent, service provided, compensation if the building is demolished, and the ultimate right to a rent strike.

Public housing

The principle of housing as a public responsibility can be accepted in much the same way as education and medicare are public responsibilities. A basic low rent related to family income should be established, with the actual cost of housing being borne initially by general public revenues.

Public housing should be organized, developed and constructed by the Ontario Housing Corporation but its design should, so far as possible, incorporate the ideas of future tenants. Furthermore, actual housing management should be left, where possible, to municipalities and community-level organizations, acting within the guidelines of regulations which would protect the rights of tenants and ensure them a substantial voice in the operation of their housing. The corrosive consequences of creating social ghettos through public housing would be prevented now if a deliberate policy were immediately fostered of making such housing available to all social classes and to families of all ages and sizes.

The Ontario Housing Corporation will also operate as a provincial land assembly and land banking agency to acquire land from the speculative market for socially useful purposes.

URBAN LIFE

Municipal government

The process of urbanization is going to continue in Ontario. Unless we are prepared to accept major adaptations in both the structure and financing of local government, both growing and declining municipalities and the people in them will face increasingly intolerable tax bills in return for declining levels of service.

To save the benefits of local self-government in the conditions of the Seventies, regional governments must be established with the resources and the prestige to provide a growing variety of services without being by-passed or over-ruled by largely undemocratic commissions, authorities and agencies within the provincial government.

One feature of the strengthening of regional government would be the elimination of school boards and the transfer of their responsibilities to regional government councils, to be exercised through education committees of councillors, parents, teachers and students for both the public and the separate systems.

Regional governments will be given limited access to the federally-collected income tax as a supplement to existing property taxes and as a progressive source of additional revenue. However, the principal way in which they will be ensured the services needed to fit their responsibilities is through the Municipal Foundation Plan proposed by the New Democratic Party in 1968 and the shifting of education, health and welfare responsibilities to the province.

Once the goal of public ownership of urban land has been accepted, municipalities could be encouraged to acquire and retain land within their boundaries, granting long-term leases to developers and other users, with the provincial government assisting with the financing and in the creation of urban land banks in growing areas.

To stabilize, and, if possible, reduce the interest costs for municipal debentures, one responsibility of a new Ontario Capital Resources Corporation would be to establish a municipal loan fund to facilitate borrowing for capital development.

The provincial government would encourage the professional development of municipal civil servants by sponsoring scholarships, sabbaticals and exchanges both within the province and beyond its borders.

Urban renewal

Some of the larger Ontario centres have already reached the stage of overage and overgrowth where renewal and redevelopment must form the basis of dual plans. The decaying centres of our older cities must be restored and protected from blight. Many existing buildings which are now and will be for some time important sources of housing must be protected and improved.

The New Democratic program for urban renewal and redevelopment will be accomplished with a minimum disruption of the people and their way of life. The people involved will be consulted at all stages. Loans and grants will be available to help residents of urban renewal areas to improve their own homes. Programs will include the restoration of existing community facilities such as streets, schools and parks.

When property must be taken for a program, replacement cost for a similar property, moving, legal and appraisal expenses will be paid to the individual owner, although speculative values will not be countenanced. Independent courts of appeal will be established to act between citizens and government bodies. An NDP government will also assume responsibility for the necessary financial assistance and social services to help residents resettle. Land taken for urban re-

newal will be held by public authorities and, when appropriate, leased to private commercial or industrial users on terms that will ensure that the public interest is served.

The goal of urban renewal must not simply be to restore small, isolated areas, but to protect and improve housing in all parts of a municipality. To this end, an NDP government will help municipalities to enforce housing codes instead of leaving them to face speculators and slumlords on their own.

Land use

In regional and urban development, in provincial transportation planning and even in agricultural and recreational policy, the first priority for Ontario is a comprehensive, province-wide land-use plan.

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

The development of towns and cities will be based on an improved and more dynamic concept of official plans. The present system of zoning will be discontinued; municipalities would be encouraged to acquire and retain land within their boundaries, granting long-term leases to developers and other users, with the provincial government assisting with the financing and in the creation of urban land banks in growing areas and in leaving unique natural features untouched.

To reverse the trend to expressway and highway construction within major Ontario cities, the province would provide financial assistance, instead, for central city transportation projects and for mass rapid transit facilities where necessary.

In order to avoid the vast, inefficient conurbations now so familiar in the United States, a New Democratic government would lighten the population pressures on our major cities by making life in our countryside and smaller cities economically more attractive through organic regional planning and industrial decentralization. We must move quickly if we are to avoid the massive problems of congestion, housing shortages and rising costs that loom before us in our metropolitan areas.

HEALTH SERVICES

The right to health services is as basic in a democracy as the right to education or the right to vote. Experience has proved that the only way to provide these health services for all who need them

is through a medical care plan to which all contribute according to their means and upon which all can draw in time of need.

A Healthcare plan

Ontario people are entangled in a welter of expensive, complicated and inadequate health insurance plans. Premiums are high, many essential services are not covered and most patients face extra billing. The New Democratic Party has developed its Healthcare proposals to create a comprehensive system of public health care services, universally available and without economic deterrents. Healthcare would combine all forms of health insurance in a single plan, financed by a low premium and by taxes on ability to pay.

Healthcare would pay hospital and medical bills. Coverage would be extended to include prescription drugs, dental care, chiropractic services and nursing home care, ambulance service, visiting homemaker assistance, prosthetic appliances and the cost of a simple funeral. Healthcare would be financed chiefly by an 8% surtax on income tax (equivalent to a 2% actual increase, but fairer to low income groups) and a 3% corporation income tax. Families would face a premium of \$10.00 a month (roughly a third of the present combined premium) and single persons would pay \$5.00 a month. Premiums would gradually be replaced altogether by more progressive forms of taxation.

Machinery would be provided for the determination of fee schedules for physicians and other professional people, and extra billing of patients under Healthcare will be eliminated. The medical profession will be invited to co-operate in the formulation of the Healthcare system. All medical decisions will be made by the medical profession. Doctors will be free to practice outside the plan if they wish.

Healthcare services

As the Report of the Committee on the Healing Arts makes clear, the supply of most health services in Ontario is not adequate at present and will become progressively less adequate unless immediate corrective actions are taken.

To improve the health care system, a New Democratic government would:

- (1) Provide incentives for the formation of group practices which are prepared to expand their range of services by using auxiliary personnel;
- (2) Immediately plan for the funding and establishment of two new medical schools to improve Ontario's present physician/patient ratio;
- (3) Remove discriminatory restrictions against osteopaths for more favourable utilization of osteopathic skills and resources;

- (4) Remove discriminatory restrictions against optometrists and allow them to use drugs which aid in diagnostic accuracy;
- (5) Repeal the Chiropractic Act and allow chiropractors and chiropractors to be independent practitioners entitled to carry on private practice without a referral from a physician;
- (6) Allow the registered clinical psychologist, social worker, and psychoanalyst who is not a medical practitioner to take patients directly and treat them;
- (7) Objectively evaluate foreign medical schools by allowing their qualified graduates to take the Medical Council of Canada Examination as a standard for licencing to practice in the province.
- (8) Implement the usage of paramedical personnel such as physiotherapists' assistants, mental health technicians, and dental assistants;
- (9) Establish an Accreditation Board including representatives from all health disciplines to regularize the relationship between various disciplines and prevent domination by one profession of other professions;
- (10) Place general hospitals under municipal control, to be run by a committee of the City Council. There will be no restrictions against practising in these hospitals by any doctor who is properly licensed to practise medicine under the laws of Ontario. There will also be a constant review of hospital admission forms and procedures;
- (11) Place all ambulance services under public ownership, to be paid for through the new Ontario Healthcare Commission.

Public health

Efficient public health services are essential to ensure early diagnosis, preventive medicine, pre- and post-natal care, the organization of home nursing and many other aspects of an adequate and modern health system.

In Ontario, public health has been treated by the Department of Health and by local authorities with an indifference and contempt which has brought some parts of the province near to a health emergency. At a time when needs have been growing at a rapid pace, the powers and means of public health officers and nurses have been outstripped.

A New Democratic government will re-write the present Public Health Act to provide:

1. A timetable by which health units will become regionalized on a logical basis. In the meantime, the province will provide a full time health service for Ontario people who now have access only to a part-time service;
2. Adequate salaries for medical officers of health on the provincial payroll, with a minimum starting salary which will be comparable

- to the earnings of other members of the medical profession. Minimum salary scales will be set for other health employees;
3. Mandatory services in all the essential areas of public health including mass immunization, preventive dental care, simple multi-phasic screening clinics, home care programs and automobile accident studies;
 4. Provincial financing for 75 per cent of both salaries and services in public health and the necessary plant and equipment, pending full transfer of this function to the province.
 5. A Public Health Division of the present Department to supply help and advice for all provincial health units.

Dental care

High priority will be given by a New Democratic government to the establishment of new schools of dentistry and the expansion of the number of places in existing schools so that the overall shortage of dentists may be overcome.

As a first stage in a universal dental care program a New Democratic government will provide free dental treatment for all children. There must be no financial barrier to the provision of adequate dental treatment in the early years of a person's life. As the shortage of dentists is reduced, the program will be extended to the rest of the population.

A New Democratic government will set up a program of financial incentives to encourage dentists to establish practices in smaller towns and villages where there is inadequate service. To provide service in remote areas of Northern Ontario, mobile clinics will be organized.

Sickness and accident insurance

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

This is a problem that can best be handled federally, but failing federal action, a New Democratic government in Ontario would replace the Workmen's Compensation Act with a universal program of comprehensive social insurance, providing for (a) immediate compensation for every injured person, both for permanent physical disability and for income losses (regularly adjusted to cost of living), (b) similar compensation to those incapacitated by illness, and (c) abolishing the right of court action based on fault for injuries.

The scheme would be financed by the whole community — from a levy on employers based on wages and salaries paid, from a levy on operators of motor vehicles, and as appropriate, from universal premiums and/or general revenue.

Mental health

As in other fields of medical care, there is a serious shortage of qualified personnel for the care of the mentally ill. Moreover, the predominant nature of psychiatric practice ensures that those who most desperately need help are least likely to have access to it. Most of the psychiatrists in Ontario are still largely in private practice and their patients are largely middle-class, neurotic and comparatively well. The establishment of psychiatric units in general hospitals has tended to create a two-class system of care for the mentally ill, with the less fortunate characteristically entering the provincial psychiatric hospitals by police referral.

A New Democratic government would use its Healthcare plan to eliminate the differential incentives which, at present, subsidize psychiatrists in private practice or treating physician-referred patients in general hospitals.

It would also explore new models of mental health care. For example, the "social psychiatric" model allows for the fact that mental health problems are multi-factorial in origin and recognizes that the medically-trained psychiatrist is not necessarily the ideal person to deal exclusively with such problems. Many mental health problems are less medical than social in origin and the most effective help may come from someone who gets intensive training in social and psychological sciences rather than in medical sciences. This approach opens a whole new reservoir of skills and personnel which can be brought to bear on the problem of providing mental health care.

Existing mental hospitals located near large centres will be gradually converted into locally administered public hospitals authorized to care for a variety of illnesses as well as to provide active psychiatric treatment for patients in their immediate areas and specialized services for patients with special psychiatric problems. In larger centres, hospital facilities will be supplemented by day and night care programs. Evening psychiatric out-patient clinics will be established, as well as clinics for special problems such as the disturbed child, mental retardation, alcoholism and other addictions, and emotional disturbance in children.

A long-term plan will also be undertaken to develop a wide range of mental health services on a community basis. Mental health services will, as far as possible, be integrated with an improved public health system. The family physician will be encouraged to play the central role in case finding, referral and rehabilitation.

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

Ontario law, and such restraints are often harmful to them. Strong representations will be made to Ottawa to modernize antiquated definitions in the Criminal Code and other federal statutes to ensure that mentally disordered people who are convicted of crimes will receive treatment rather than punishment.

THE CONSUMER

The consumer protection legislation recently passed by the Conservative Government is inadequate. It establishes a Consumer Protection Bureau which has no power to test products, require "truth in labelling", standardize package sizes or ban promotional gimmicks. The Bureau is simply expected to investigate complaints of violations of consumer protection legislation which is mainly confined to disclosure of the terms of consumer credit and licencing of used car dealers and mortgage brokers. The Bureau is also empowered to provide information and counselling services but has no authority to enforce corrective action when it discovers that shoddy goods are being foisted off on consumers.

Consumers' Bill of Rights

New Democrats have worked out a series of legislative measures which will firmly place the power of the government behind the consumer. These policies are based on a four-point Consumer's Bill of Rights: the right to be informed, the right to safety, the right to choose and the right to be heard.

To give practical effect to these principles, an NDP government would take the following specific steps. If conditions demand, it would take any further measures necessary to give reality to the principles of its Consumers' Bill of Rights.

A New Democratic government will greatly broaden the powers of the Consumers Bureau to overcome the deficiencies mentioned above and make it a genuine instrument for consumer protection. It will also extend the consumer credit, used car and mortgage broker legislation to outlaw unfair contracts and shady practices connected with repossessions and collection of debts. The Unconscionable Transactions Act will be made more effective.

Legislation to protect investors in securities and in finance and acceptance company obligations will be strengthened. Another fiasco similar to the Prudential Finance collapse must not be permitted.

More stringent regulation of insurance policies will also be introduced. Because of the variations and gimmicks in combined insurance-savings policies, purchasers have great difficulty in comparing rates

and terms and in measuring insurance saving against other forms of saving. Companies will be limited to a number of standard policies to eliminate deceptive advertising and selling techniques.

A Provincial Mediation Board will be established to hear cases of alleged hardship arising from agreements already made. It will not be empowered to take legal action but will have authority to hold open hearings and give its findings publicly. The Board will have a qualified advisory staff capable of giving advice and of mediating between consumers and suppliers where it considers it necessary and advisable to do so.

The Consumer Bureau will examine advertisements for the correctness of their claims and their conformity with the law. Results will be given publicity where appropriate. Legislation with respect to misleading advertising will be strengthened and strictly enforced.

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

Price and Rent Review Boards

At the present time the processes of collective bargaining and conciliation subject requests for wage increases to considerable publicity and workers are required by this process to justify their demands in both economic and social terms. No similar procedure precedes price and rent increases and the public has no way of knowing whether they are required on economic grounds or are simply an opportunist move to take advantage of shortages and grab a larger share of the pie.

A New Democratic government will establish Price and Rent Review Boards to throw the spotlight of publicity on price and rent increases. The Boards will have power to investigate increases of substance which it appears should be brought before the bar of public opinion. They will be able to call witnesses, examine books and demonstrate whether increases are justified. The Rent Review Board will also be authorized to review all the terms of leases and rental agreements.

Co-operatives and credit unions

A New Democratic government will pass a comprehensive Co-operative Act. The lack of such legislation and of a Department of Co-operatives constitute a major failure of the government to recognize the social and economic importance of this form of popular activity. Through a Department of Co-operatives, an NDP government will provide all the advisory, auditing and other services that are available to co-operatives and credit unions in other provinces. It

will establish a Co-operative Loan Fund to support accredited co-operative enterprise, including housing. The role of the government will be confined to advice and assistance without interference.

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

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING

Only a strong economy can be an independent economy. Ontario's economic health is important to Canadian development and Canadian independence. Over 40% of Canadian production originates in Ontario. More than one-third of the population resides here. Nearly 45% of corporation income arises from Ontario activity.

Because of its keystone position, Ontario must give leadership in the development of Canadian economic independence through the full utilization of its resources, both human and physical. The New Democratic Party is acutely aware that the welfare of our people ultimately depends on a growing and flourishing economy, and that Canadian independence will require public decision and planning. To this end it will plan the development of our resources, primary and secondary, and will enlist the co-operation of consumers, labour, industry and agriculture in the planning process.

Genuine, democratic planning

The New Democratic Party is the only party that offers genuine democratic economic and social planning. Starting with the needs of the people and giving them priority over profits as a criterion for investment and action, and arriving at final decisions by a fully democratic process, New Democratic planning will reflect the real interests of all the people of Ontario—not just those of the few who own shares or hold high managerial positions.

A New Democratic government will replace the ineffective Ontario Economic Council with a full-scale program of planning which will examine the needs of the people of Ontario and establish priorities and targets for the development of all the resources of the province and their equitable distribution.

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

Objectives of planning

The aims of New Democratic planning will be:

- (1) to meet the needs of the people of Ontario and to raise their standard of living;
- (2) to produce a steady and continuous rate of growth which will help us achieve and maintain full employment of manpower and resources;
- (3) to conserve and replenish Ontario's great natural wealth.
- (4) to achieve a just and rational balance in the allocation of the wealth produced in the province to public and private purposes;
- (5) to distribute that wealth in such a way as to assure every individual and his family a decent standard of living and an opportunity to develop their talents to the full;
- (6) to foster Canadian independence by developing a strong and diversified Ontario economy.

Canadian control

Ontario can play her part in reasserting Canadian control over our economy by:

- (1) establishing a provincial development corporation to actively develop resources, and secondary industry, and to stimulate new enterprises through Crown corporations or in conjunction with co-operative and private ventures;
- (2) mobilizing investment capital by requisitioning a proportion of the funds now in the hands of financial institutions and corporations and planning overall investment patterns so that capital goes into the most socially productive operations. Reliance on foreign capital could be greatly decreased in this way;
- (3) stopping incentive grants to foreign based corporations, giving them instead to Canadian enterprises in return for an equity interest so that the people share in any profits;
- (4) establishing a Take-over Review Board which would examine proposals for take-overs by foreign interests and work out methods of retaining Canadian control and/or protecting Canadian interests;
- (5) amending the corporation and securities laws to provide for full disclosure of the operations of foreign-controlled subsidiaries;
- (6) setting limits on the degree of foreign ownership in provincially incorporated companies according to the needs of each industry and activity and the implications of foreign ownership in each industry.

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

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

Participation by the public

People will participate in the planning process through their various economic organizations.

An Ontario Planning Council, fully representative of the municipalities, industry, labour, agriculture, consumers and other major groups will be established. The government and the central planning organization will consult it regularly, testing performance and proposals from council members.

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

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

Planning in action

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

Public investment, however, will not be regarded as a mere supplement. It may be used to build a more efficient infrastructure for economic development, including the transfer to social ownership of major transportation and communication facilities. It may also be required to help provide the new and costly technology without which industry cannot compete in the space age. To maintain a proper balance between social and other forms of investment and to give recognition to priorities, occasions may arise when it will

be necessary to channel investment into projects of the highest importance, whether public or private.

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

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

Democratic control

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

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

The role of small business

The independent businessman, partnerships and the smaller companies will not be ignored in the planning process since a large part of Ontario's prosperity depends on their ability to provide a decentralized and diversified range of goods and services. Steps must be taken to ensure their efficient development and to counteract the forces which threaten their existence, whether they result from unrestrained competition or the monopolistic practices of over-powerful corporations.

A New Democratic government will assist small business to fulfill its important role in the economy by providing business and technical consultants to offer managerial advice and help in finding markets. It will also make financial assistance in the form of loans at reasonable interest rates and repayment terms available for the expansion of viable enterprises.

To end the chaotic store hour situation in the retail trade, a New Democratic government will establish uniform store hours broad

enough to allow all consumers adequate time for shopping but limiting night shopping in order to remove the unfair advantage enjoyed at present by department, chain and discount stores which profit by unlimited hours.

A New Democratic government will also outlaw other practices which result in unfair competition and will co-operate with municipalities in restoring blighted shopping areas through urban redevelopment programs so that residents of those areas will enjoy equal shopping facilities with people in newer areas.

Poverty

Over a million Ontarians live in poverty. This includes about one-third of all unattached individuals and about 13% of all family units, according to estimates for 1969 prepared by the Ontario Department of Treasury and Economics.

Present welfare approaches are not solving this problem. Human potential is being wasted, lives are being stunted and our overall well-being is jeopardized by our failure to eliminate poverty. A radical change in policies is needed to root out this cancer in our society.

The New Democratic Party believes that all members of society are entitled to a basic share of its resources, goods and services as part of their birthright.

We re-affirm our support of the principle of a guaranteed minimum income as a sensible and efficient way of guaranteeing this birthright. At the same time we do not regard it as a complete answer to the problem of poverty nor as a substitute for all existing social security programs.

We call for a commitment by all Ontarians to a conscious policy of diversion of income, investment and social energies to the eradication of poverty. In particular, we propose four general areas of commitment:

- (1) An increase in personal disposable income for all Ontarians living in poverty. This would be accomplished through a guaranteed annual income, tax reform, increased minimum wages and cost of living policies which would stabilize prices and rents. The guaranteed income would ensure that all those unable to provide for themselves — the disabled, the aged, single parents, etc. — would receive their share of community wealth as a right, without degrading means or needs tests. The working poor would also be entitled to a minimum income, with incentives provided to earn above the minimum.
- (2) An increase in investment in employment and economic growth. This would include stimulation of investment in both the public and private sector, regional development policies, labour mobility programs and expansionary economic policies designed to increase productivity and employment opportunities.

- (3) An increase in public services of all kinds for both individuals and communities living in poverty. This would include accelerated extension of services such as housing, education, health care, sanitation, day care, transportation and communication and general improvement of the living environment.
- (4) An increase in support and encouragement for self-realization and self-determination of individuals, communities and regions. The New Democratic Party believes in giving priority to human needs and in the practice of democracy at all levels of society. To make this truly possible, funds and encouragement must be provided for community organizations, opportunities opened up for the poor to plan their own rehabilitative programs, and energies directed to building a society in which people have effective control of its institutions.

A comprehensive and radical anti-poverty program of this sort is the only approach which will end the political and economic isolation of the poor and bring this alienated group into the mainstream of society. While such a program may appear costly at first sight, we cannot afford to say we can't afford it. In the long run it will increase our overall wealth, both human and material.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Ontario is a microcosm of Canada in that it has its own underdeveloped areas and pockets of poverty. Despite the fact that we have the highest per capita national income of any province, many of our citizens do not command adequate incomes or services. Until we eliminate these regional disparities, we cannot expect to attain our highest level of economic growth nor develop true equality of opportunity in our society.

A central aim of New Democratic government policy will be to produce a more balanced development of the various regions of the province. To date there has been over-development of a few regions, resulting in severe congestion and all the costs and frustrations which that entails, and underdevelopment of most others.

Full economic potential

Underdeveloped regions will be helped to reach their full economic potential through the provision of adequate power and transportation facilities, tax and other inducements to industry to locate in such regions where it is economically feasible, and training programs to provide qualified labour. Broad community interests as well as the interests of particular enterprises will be given consideration in

the location, licensing and movement of industry. Secondary industry will be encouraged to develop in areas where raw materials are found.

A policy for the North

For more than a century, both the problems and the exciting possibilities of Northern Ontario have been the playthings of politicians and businessmen, often remote from the scene, invariably unwilling to challenge the conventional values of a competitive and individualistic society.

Northern Ontario accounts for 80% of our land area but less than 12% of the population. We would all benefit if the treasure chest of its natural resources is unlocked through an integrated development plan involving better transportation, communication and municipal facilities, up-to-date forestry policies, aid for mining exploration, assistance in developing resource-based industries and the establishment of northern research centres to work with regional development councils.

A New Democratic government in Ontario can change the future of the North because it would give an impetus to policies of cooperative and public enterprise which are essential for any developing region. No other region of Ontario has suffered so directly from the inadequacies and destructiveness of the free enterprise system: no other region has so much to hope for from the New Democratic Party.

In more specific terms, an NDP government in Ontario would:

- (1) Spur the processing of Northern raw materials and the development of secondary and tertiary industry in the North by the establishment of a Northern Development Fund and by concentrating growth in a number of carefully selected Northern Ontario centres, reversing present Tory government plans for Northern Ontario to become a permanent economic colony of a Toronto-centred region.
- (2) Establish a Crown Corporation for mine exploration and development, working with private companies and, if necessary, forcing the pace of expansion through public enterprise. The Northern Ontario mining industry is in serious trouble. In some cases valuable ore bodies are held from production in hope of speculative profits, regardless of the economic fate of nearby communities. New Democrats see a fully active mining industry as one key to equalizing the prosperity of northern and southern Ontario.
- (3) Promote the development of a science-technology centre in Northern Ontario, comparable to the one proposed for Southern Ontario, but focussed on problems specific to the economy and future of the North.

- (4) Use the Ontario Northland Railway for the purposes its motto purports it to serve, as Ontario's 'development railway'. The O.N.R. can be used to provide services to people and industry which the two national railways are apparently determined to abandon. A government-run air service for the North would supplement the services of existing carriers and, tied in with the O.N.R., would provide Northerners with a flexible means of overcoming problems of distance and isolation. And further, the road standards in Northern Ontario would be brought up to the standards of Southern Ontario, taking into account climate and traffic conditions in Northern Ontario.
- (5) Adopt special measures to preserve the Northern environment. The assault of pollution on Northern Ontario is, as yet, not nearly as advanced or as destructive as in more southerly regions. At the same time, where pollution has occurred, climate and geography have combined to make its effects even more devastating. The environment of the North will prove a far more valuable heritage for our children than all the minerals torn from the ground or trees wrenched from the soil and it is with that sense of priority that an NDP government will act to preserve it in its policies of forest management, leasing of mineral rights and resource control. At the same time, Northern working people will not be allowed to suffer from policies which will benefit all of us.
- (6) Launch a critical study of the Mid-Canada Corridor proposals. The idea of corridor development deserves to be examined on its merits. To win the support of an NDP government, any such plan must guarantee protection of the environment, planned, rational growth, and effective control, not just for Canadians but for people of the Mid-Canada region.
- (7) Develop a high quality of social services for Northerners. An NDP government would establish a system of air ambulances, salaried doctors and dentists, backed up by centralized clinic and diagnostic services.
- (8) Involve Northerners in all the planning and decision-making processes for Northern development.

Regional Government

One of the basic components of a virile democracy is strong municipal government. The small municipalities of a century ago can no longer handle the demands of a modern society. So they are dwindling in importance and power and, with the exception of the larger cities, their functions are gradually being assumed by new regional creations of the Provincial Government.

Many of Ontario's municipalities are really integral parts of larger economic regions and for them to attempt to preserve individual existence is to ignore reality.

Ontario Cabinet Ministers, recognizing the fact that most present municipal units are too small and too weak to be of use in departmental administration, ignore them and arbitrarily set up their own administrative units with little regard to the boundaries established by other departments. The result is a hodge podge of administrative units of varying sizes, some including towns and cities and some excluding them, with no common pattern.

Strong local government can be restored in Ontario, but only if the small municipalities combine around strong urban centres into regional municipal governments, and then only if the functions now being removed from them today are handed back to political units large enough and powerful enough to administer them successfully. To this end the Provincial Government must give the lead in setting up regional municipal governments in Ontario over the next decade.

The new regional government should generally encompass the territory serviced by a city or combination of cities. Each region should form one municipal political unit with a council elected by the people in it. The council would elect its own Mayor. Terms of office for council members should be four years. The council should plan overall development of the entire region.

Present municipalities or combinations of them might form wards or communities within the region. These would be natural community groupings which could foster community life and community spirit.

Regional governments would have jurisdiction over such matters as trunk watermains and sewers, water purification plants and sewage and garbage disposal, planning, police and large regional parks. Locally elected community councils would supervise local parks, streets, sidewalks, local traffic, details of planning within the master plan, and provide a link between the citizen and the larger regional bodies.

Regional governments will be given limited access to the federally collected income tax as a supplement to existing property taxes and as a progressive source of additional revenue.

To stabilize, and if possible, reduce the interest costs for municipal debentures, one responsibility of the Ontario Capital Resources Corporation would be to establish a municipal loan fund to facilitate borrowing for capital development.

Aiding Ontario's Indians

In recent years, Canadians have been forced to see the outcome of over a century of Indian policy. We have been forced to realize that it is the white man who has set the limits of Indian life and that he has set them at levels which have guaranteed hunger, poverty and despair.

We have also been forced to see that even programs endorsed by friends of the Indian people, like integration, have totally failed because they have not evolved from the will of the Indian people themselves. We have been forced to realize that responsibility for Indian affairs cannot be left to the Federal government but that some vital responsibilities fall to the provinces and the municipalities as well.

Any program to put right more than a century of cruel neglect must be based on sincerity and respect. Paternalism must be eliminated, even at the cost of the early elimination of all existing government agencies in Indian affairs.

The keys to the Indian future in Canada must be chosen by the Indians themselves. The place of any assistance program must be to widen the options open to the Indians and to help them to implement their own decisions. Again and again, success and failure in community development programs has depended on meeting these criteria.

The New Democratic policy in this field is based on the recognition that Indians may choose many futures — on the reserves in total assimilation in the white community and in many intermediate situations. Whichever options particular Indians may choose, there must be a continuing recognition that Indians are a people of a distinct and valuable culture, a people whose skills and ingenuity were essential for European settlement of North America.

A New Democratic government in Ontario would take the following steps to meet our collective responsibility to the Indian people:

1. Grant municipal status to the reserves, to establish the principle of Indian administration.
2. Establish an autonomous Committee on Indian Development responsible to the Legislature to carry out a program of community development for Indian peoples. Half of its members would be appointed by the government and half would be nominated by the Union of Ontario Indians. Its goal would be to make life on the reserves an economically viable proposition.
3. Insist that decision-making in all agencies and organizations dealing with the Indians be decentralized to alleviate the present sense of frustration and paralysis.
4. Broaden the scope of existing Human Rights legislation to allow complaints against government officials.
5. Insist that staffing of agencies or services dealing with Indians so far as possible be by Indians themselves or by men and women who have received special training.
6. Recognize education and health services for Indians, both on and off the reserve, to be a provincial responsibility, although federal grants should cover part of the cost.
7. Make additional Crown lands available to the Indian people to allow room for development.

The New Democratic Party is determined to restore a great and authentic Indian culture, to benefit from Indian talents in the care and protection of our environment and ecology, and to recognize the rights of Indians to share in the planning and management of policies affecting them.

LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT

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

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

Genuine co-operation

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

Such an atmosphere will be fostered by democratic planning. Management and labour will have the opportunity to work together with the government, consumers and other groups in devising and implementing plans for the full use of our resources and full production in our industries. This will give them a new appreciation of their mutual interdependence within the community and the need for co-operation to achieve the community's goals.

A New Democratic government will encourage labour and management to find more mature means of solving their problems, as has been done in countries such as Sweden where social democratic governments have been in power. Such alternative methods must be worked out by labour and management themselves, however. The government cannot impose them from above.

Labour and government

A New Democratic government would overhaul the Labour Relations Act to make it more flexible. Trade unions would be encouraged and the law would be altered to make it easier to organize unions among low-paid workers and other categories of employee whose access to free collective bargaining is now severely limited. Certification and conciliation procedures will be streamlined. Decertification will not be allowed while a legal strike is in process. The admini-

strative machinery of the Labour Relations Board will be simplified. The many discriminatory and retrograde features introduced by the Conservative government in 1970 will immediately be withdrawn by a New Democratic administration. In particular, the requirement of 65% for automatic certification will be restored to 55%.

The Department of Labour will be completely re-organized so that it will be better equipped to help management and labour deal with the rapidly changing problems they face in this age of changing industry techniques and consumer demand.

Employees' rights

All workers without exception, including professional personnel, should have the right to belong to unions of their choice. The rights of workers to belong to unions, to bargain collectively, to strike and to picket are recognized in our law and are but specific instances of the citizen's freedoms of association, contract, assembly and speech. However, these rights have been seriously undermined by the claims of employers to exclusive managerial control in all matters not covered by collective agreement and by the abuse by employers of injunctions granted by courts in labour disputes. The injunction was never designed for strike situations and its use in these circumstances adds to, rather than diminishes, labour-management tensions.

All injunctions in labour disputes should be outlawed. Normally, companies should cease to operate during the period of a legal strike, thereby making injunctions unnecessary. There should be no restriction of peaceful picketing and demonstration provided its purpose is limited to persuading and informing the workers and the public about a dispute.

The New Democratic Party recognizes the right of the employer, as of any citizen, to the protection of his property. At the same time, it believes that the theory of residual rights has no application to the present industrial scene, since what it amounts to is a claim to make arbitrary decisions affecting the rights and welfare of others. The general security of our society requires that an employer cannot be permitted to displace his labour force by hiring outside strike-breakers or by the unilateral introduction of automated processes during the life of a collective agreement. Technological changes often have far-reaching effects on conditions of employment and can affect a whole community if they result in plant dislocation. Workers should have a right to consultation and negotiation on all items that affect them. This should include pensions and medical plans and other fringe benefits, as well as safety, health and environmental conditions. Increasingly, law and custom must recognize the workers right to be involved in the decisions affecting his workplace. Workers must have the right to withdraw their labour or to threaten to do so. This includes strike action during the term of a collective agreement as a final determination of issues not in the agreement, such as

increases in the work-load, contracting-out, cut-backs in the work force or relocation of the enterprise, and other items that could not have been anticipated at the time the agreement was signed.

A New Democratic government would also ensure that employees adversely affected by technological changes and dislocations are fully protected through re-training, severance pay, financial and whatever other assistance is required to take care of their special situation.

Minimum standards

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

A New Democratic government will therefore establish the following minimum standards by law:

- (1) a minimum wage of \$2.50 an hour for both men and women, with a cost of living escalation.
- (2) eight statutory holidays with pay;
- (3) three weeks' annual vacation with pay for employees with at least one year of service and four weeks for those with ten years or more;
- (4) a reduction in the standard work week from 48 to 40 hours without reduction in take-home pay.

It will pass legislation to ensure payment of wages, replacing the obsolete and offensive Master and Servant Act.

The province will automatically carry the Healthcare premiums of the unemployed.

Present legislation will be amended to require established pension plans to include pension re-insurance to guarantee full payment for an employee's years of company service in the event that the company liquidates before the pension plan is fully funded.

Industry-wide standards

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

Industrial safety

The same principle will be applied to safety in industry. A New Democratic government will not pass the buck to the municipalities in the enforcement of important safety standards, as the present

government is doing. It will accept that responsibility itself, but in doing so, it will give management and labour a major role to play in devising and enforcing standards. Employees must be protected from discharge for exercising their right to refuse to work under hazardous conditions.

Workmen's Compensation

Pensions paid to workers and to the dependents of workers who were permanently disabled before benefits were increased to their present level will be brought up to present standards. The principle will be established that workers receiving compensation will not have their benefits reduced on the ground that they are fit for light work unless such work is actually available. Existing legislation for Workmen's Compensation will be altered to offer all Ontarians insurance coverage against sickness and injury, pending action in this field by the federal government.

Apprenticeship training

A recent survey shows that Canada is twenty years behind European countries in apprenticeship and manpower training. Canadian youth coming out of school is being deprived of the opportunity to learn a trade because less than 16% of Canadian industry takes part in any kind of manpower training or apprenticeship programs.

In order to keep our economy growing it is absolutely imperative that a comprehensive program for training apprentices be established in every single apprenticeable trade in order that we may have enough qualified and skilled tradesmen.

AGRICULTURE

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

The New Democratic Party re-affirms its conviction that the independent operation, enlarged to meet modern needs and conditions, is a basically sound unit for agricultural production and a desirable social institution. It provides a unit of production in which families may exercise ownership and management, and it fosters personal responsibility and human dignity. The New Democratic Party is opposed to the integration of large corporations into farming operations.

The cost-price squeeze

Most of the difficulties faced by farmers today stem from inadequate income. Ever since 1951 Ontario farmers have been caught in a cost-price squeeze that has been tightening relentlessly.

The piecemeal and abortive policies of the Conservative government have helped to cripple the full-time farmer. In Ontario farmers are leaving the land at the rate of 3,000 a year. The farmer's net income has not risen since 1952, but the costs of inputs and of living have increased. In 1967, the return on capital in industrial sectors was 15%, but the return in farming was less than 3% in spite of the fact that the agricultural sector showed the highest increase in efficiency. For the well-being of the farmer and of society, steps must be taken to reverse this trend.

The consequences of this ruthless shakedown in the agricultural industry might be dismissed more casually if only marginal farms were being eliminated. But the significant point is that today the most militant farm protest has emerged in the best farming areas where it is the efficient farmers who have their backs to the wall. Their sons are working off the farm, and have no intention of returning. We are facing nothing more nor less than the liquidation of the independent agricultural industry — with the government presiding over the process.

Unless we are content to see land taken over more and more by the hobby farmers from the city, or by the corporate factory farm, policies must be shaped to meet the needs of the full-time farmer who wants to remain in the business of producing food. Ontario agricultural policy has traditionally emphasized production, research and extension work; these are important, and they have resulted in a substantial production increase in Canada. But their importance is now transcended by the problem of farm income which must be solved if the farmer is to survive.

The income incentive program

At the special Vineland conference on agriculture convened by the Government in response to the tractor demonstrations in the Fall of 1966, the income incentive program was born. It is based on the recognition by farm leaders of the following underlying principles:

- (1) that a cheap food policy is not only inevitable but desirable if food prices are to be kept within family budgets;
- (2) that experience has proven that farmers are not now able to earn enough income in the market place, even with the assistance of marketing plans;
- (3) that because of these facts, farm income gained in the market place must be supplemented with payments from federal and provincial governments. Such payments should be regarded as a consumer subsidy to keep prices down and should assure

farmers of enough income to cover their costs of production, capital needs and a decent family income.

The New Democratic Party wholeheartedly supports the basic principles of an income incentive policy for agriculture. These income incentive payments would replace the hodge-podge of piece-meal, stop-gap assistance which is now given on a short-term emergency basis. In short, adequate farm income would be assured to maintain food production for our own needs, and those of a hungry world.

Bolstering market power

The New Democratic Party believes that producer-controlled marketing boards can assure farmers an improved return and will reduce the supplements needed under an income incentive program. Until the program is established, effective formula-pricing for farm produce would help raise farm incomes. At present many prices are "managed" by processors and chain stores with the result that the primary producer tends to get what is left when the growing number of middlemen have taken their 'cut' from the consumer's dollar.

Furthermore, farmers have been frustrated in their efforts to build effective marketing plans by the excessive paternalism of Queen's Park which has resulted in government-controlled rather than producer-controlled marketing. Marketing boards have too often been reduced to puppets manipulated by the government through the Ontario Farm Products Marketing Board in response to behind-the-scenes pressure from the trade. A New Democratic government would provide for equal representation of farmers and government on the Ontario Farm Products Marketing Board.

The New Democratic Party will restore farm marketing to a sound basis and assist, with subsidy-bolstered prices, where necessary to make it possible for the efficient farmers to continue in operation.

A policy for milk producers

The New Democratic Party endorses the principle of a co-ordinated approach to marketing envisaged in milk pooling and urges that the Ontario Milk Marketing Board move as quickly as possible with province-wide implementation of this principle. This will assure top prices to all producers of grade A milk and remove the inequities of the present quota system. It will also assure that surpluses from one branch of the industry will be directed to the most marketable produce and thereby avoid creating chaotic conditions which depress prices.

An effort should be made to develop formula pricing for all milk marketed in Ontario so that prices received by the farmer will automatically reflect his cost of production and not require periodic protests to correct the situation. The Milk Marketing Board should have full powers, and exercise them, to audit the books of dairies

in order to assure that an excessive proportion of the consumers' dollar is not dissipated to the middlemen, thereby reducing the income of the producer.

Helping the working farmer

A New Democratic government will implement policies designed to assist the working farmer and cut the costs of production. Specifically, it will undertake:

- (1) to eliminate monopoly control over prices of fertilizers, weed sprays and other basic supplies, through co-operatives where possible. The use of chemicals would be limited until a safety seal was awarded. Treatment of land and crops with residual sprays and dusts would be recorded for future reference;
- (2) to pass a Farm Machinery Act to provide for mandatory testing of machinery offered for sale in the province, making the results known to both farmers and manufacturers, to enforce stocking of spare parts and to eliminate unwarranted promotional and advertising campaigns. The Act would provide for the creation of a Crown corporation to act as first purchaser of all farm machinery and as a distributor to local dealers. Standardized parts could be achieved through the Corporation's buying power.
- (3) to relieve the burden of education costs on farm lands as distinct from residential and other farm property, and to implement a Municipal Foundation Plan to equalize local taxes throughout the province. Land and other productive facilities would be exempt from education taxes and would pay property taxes at a lower rate. Feasible and public ownership where necessary.
- (4) to provide long-term credit to the individual farmer for the financing of adequate acreage and other capital requirements for modern farm operations at an interest rate more closely related to the earning capacity of agriculture;
- (5) to provide more generous credit to co-operatives and marketing boards for the development of their operations;
- (6) to encourage co-operative and publicly-owned facilities for storage, processing and distribution of food products;
- (7) to establish a Department of Co-operatives, with a full-time Minister, to encourage the greatest development of programs of self-help.

Providing better services

The New Democratic Party recognizes that adequate social and other services are vitally important to raising rural living standards. The present agricultural extension services will be improved. Special efforts will be made to provide rural dwellers with the same high standard of medical service and hospitalization, education, trans-

portation and communications, household and community facilities as the New Democratic Party seeks for those who live in the city. Every assistance will be given to encourage decentralization of secondary industries so as to diversify the economy of rural areas and small towns and to provide a fairer distribution of job prospects. Combined with such a program will be wider opportunities for vocational training to equip rural young people in modern farm methods or for alternative employment without their being forced to crowd into our already congested urban centres.

A New Democratic government will establish a publicly-sponsored insurance program to meet the growing hazard of farm accidents which will provide coverage for reasonable premiums.

Finally a New Democratic government will press for and co-operate fully in a national program of resources conservation and development, which will include the effective utilization of land and shifts in production to meet changing market demands. It will also urge the development of consumer programs to improve domestic levels of nutrition and the orderly distribution of food products, particularly when they are in surplus. It will work with farm organizations, marketing boards and federal trade commissioners to expand markets abroad and develop a world food policy.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

It is vital for the future of Ontario and of Canada as a whole that we share in the current explosion of scientific knowledge. Without research facilities, our industry will be unable to serve the world, our schools and universities will fail to attract the best educators. At present we produce scientists and engineers at one-third the rate of the United States, because our governments aid research at a sluggish rate. Many of our best minds leave because of the lack of challenging opportunities in Ontario.

Government department

As a first step towards joining in the technological revolution, a New Democratic government in Ontario will establish a Department of Science and Technology, with duties and power:

1. to institute immediate studies of research needs in Ontario, in co-operation with various professional societies;
2. to establish a Science Grants Council as an agency to provide and administer grants for basic research on the basis of scientific merit and determined priorities;
3. to establish scientific-technological research institutes, in co-operation with industry and universities, to develop focal points

for scientific development and to provide the equipment and staff that is beyond the resources of any present institution;

4. to study and report regularly on the ways and means of encouraging applied research and development in Ontario industry;
5. to establish Crown corporations in new areas of research where private institutions lack the capability for industrial research and development along the lines, for example, of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., which has helped put Canada in the forefront in the development of nuclear energy;
6. to work closely with the federal government in developing policies to meet the challenges of the scientific age.

Automation

Automation promises to lighten the burden of man's work and increase his material wealth. But if it develops without planning it will lead to growing unemployment, human waste and suffering, and the eventual dislocation of the entire economy.

There is now no agency or organization, in either government or industry, that has a comprehensive picture of what is happening or what the economic and social effects may be.

A New Democratic government will establish an Automation Division of the Ontario Research Foundation. This division will gather and analyze information not only on automation in the narrow sense but on industrial innovations generally—new materials, new products, new processes, new sources of energy and so on.

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

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

Social consequences

As an essential step towards more effective social planning and adaptation to a changing society, a New Democratic government would establish a Social Research Institute. The research would relate to the concerns of the Departments of Education, Health, and Social and Family Services.

The Institute's responsibilities would include initiating studies of the impact of technological change on individuals and communities, providing grants to universities for the conduct of basic research

on opportunities for self-realization in an industrial society, and discovering methods of increasing grants and scholarships to students in the humanities and social sciences.

Animals and scientific research

The New Democratic Party recognizes the necessity of using animals in medical and biological research and that most of these animals will inevitably experience some discomfort and some will be subjected to painful experimentation. In order to be as humane as possible, an NDP government would establish a committee of representatives in medical schools, biological departments, pharmaceutical companies, veterinarians, class A and B members of Humane Societies and informed lay members of the public to draft legislation that would:

- (1) Ensure an inspection system that would include unannounced surprise inspections at all hours by inspectors, some of whom would be nominees from Humane Societies;
- (2) Set up non-profit government-operated breeder establishments that would ensure the provision of healthy genetically sound animals, which, although treated kindly, have not been raised as pets with the affection and involvement with humans that pets experience;
- (3) Restrict unnecessary duplication of or frivolous experimentation on research animals;
- (4) Require Humane Societies to turn over unwanted animals for research in non-painful experimentation under full and terminal anaesthesia, and
- (5) Prevent the movement outside of provincial boundaries of all animals for research purposes.
- (6) Exclude exemptions at ministerial discretion.

TRANSPORTATION

There is an ever growing concentration of population in urban centres. People have to traverse densely crowded traffic routes, especially at peak periods, to reach their places of work, education, marketing or recreation. As our cities grow bigger, transportation into and out of them, and within the cities themselves, becomes an ever worsening problem. Local authorities can no longer deal with it adequately; it calls for co-operation between neighbouring municipalities and the active assistance of the provincial government.

The private automobile is reaching the limit of its usefulness in these crowded areas. It requires an ever-increasing amount of road

space per traveller and it consumes valuable land area when it reaches its destination. It is effectively choking off the centre of our major cities. It is also a major source of pollution.

The fastest and cheapest means of transportation are railways, subways, streetcars and buses. A New Democratic government will give every encouragement to the development of public transportation with adequate parking facilities at suburban points. Diversion of commuting traffic to rail lines, as is being done with new GO commuter service in the Golden Horseshoe area, will be extended. Financial and other assistance will be made available for modernizing transportation systems so as to encourage railway or rapid transit travel rather than expressways.

The Department of Transport of a New Democratic government will establish a comprehensive research unit to study passenger and goods transportation with special reference to urban conditions and the social consequences of different kinds of investment. Road building investment will be carefully scrutinized and its cost related to the volume of traffic that may be moved as well as to the alternative value of investing the same money in other transport facilities.

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

Automobile insurance

The New Democratic Party stands for a program of publicly-operated automobile insurance for Ontario.

It does so because it believes that public car insurance can provide the most efficient coverage, at the lowest cost, for all those involved in an accident, and for all the liabilities that can flow from that accident.

It recognizes that there are great and growing social problems in relation to car insurance. On the one hand they involve proper driver training, highway safety, regular inspections to ensure car safety, and the difficult but necessary action of ruling off the road drivers whose records show a consistent pattern of unreliable or unsafe driving.

On the other hand, this social problem also involves disabilities or income loss for thousands of our people. Government programs cannot ignore these results because they represent personal and family hardship.

A public car insurance program will provide all the people of Ontario with a better insurance bargain, and at the same time create safer driving conditions.

There is growing recognition today of the principle of compensation without regard to fault in automobile accidents. Negligence

on the highways can be dealt with under the criminal law, but those who suffer injury or damage as a result of accidents should not have to establish negligence by another party in order to get compensation.

The failure of the Government in Ontario to establish a satisfactory system of automobile accident insurance has had three serious consequences:

- (1) Ontario motorists have had to pay exorbitant premiums to private insurance companies for inadequate insurance coverage;
- (2) Victims of traffic accidents and their families have no compensation at all in a high proportion of cases received. The Linden study reveals that 37%, just over one-third, of the economic loss was recovered from car insurance. Another 23% was recovered from other sources, such as hospital or medical coverage, and the remaining 40% had to be met by the person himself.
- (3) Court battles to establish guilt and liability jam our courts and often drag on for years.

In Saskatchewan, where a publicly run auto insurance plan has been in operation for more than 20 years, 85 cents of each premium dollar is returned in compensation, with just 15 cents of the premium dollar being required for administration. In Ontario, where auto insurance is sold by more than 200 private companies, only 65 cents of each premium dollar is paid out in compensation, with 35 cents of the premium dollar being required for profit, commissions, and the large administrative costs which result when hundreds of companies scramble for the same premium dollar.

A New Democratic government will institute a universal, publicly-owned auto insurance plan under an Auto Insurance Commission to provide a minimum insurance package for every motorist in Ontario. Compensation will be paid regardless of fault so that lengthy and expensive law suits to fix the blame for accidents will be eliminated. The settlement of claims will be quickly and economically handled by an Accident Compensation Board established by the Auto Insurance Commission.

A publicly run auto insurance plan would reduce the premiums Ontario motorists presently pay at least 20%. This would be accomplished in the following manner:

- cutting out the need for an underwriting profit..... 2%
- plowing investment income from unspent premiums back into the plan's funds..... 4%
- streamlining administration through use of the existing facilities of the Department of Transport..... 4%
- eliminating promotion costs, needless competition and agents' commissions10%

Private insurers will be free to offer additional coverage over and above the minimum insurance required for all by law. The

government will establish an insurance agency to provide optional supplementary coverage. In addition to greatly reduced premiums, accident victims will receive adequate compensation without delay.

In order to reduce premiums even further, a New Democratic government would give consideration to financing part of the cost of the plan through a surcharge on the drivers' license fee and on the vehicle registration fee. These surcharges will permit variations for the age and size of the car and the nature of its use, as well as higher fees for those with poor accident records, but without discrimination in regard to race, sex and age. Premiums could be further reduced, and perhaps eliminated entirely, if a major portion of the cost of the plan was financed through a small increase in the gasoline tax. This latter procedure would relate the cost of insurance to the number of miles travelled by each vehicle.

A public scheme in Ontario would have attached to it a research office with the responsibility for suggesting improvements in auto construction, highway design, driver training, and so on. Claims could be reduced substantially if, for instance, bumper design was standardized. To the extent that claims could be reduced by such changes, further premium savings would be possible.

Following the general principle that persons whose livelihoods are jeopardized by social change should be protected, an NDP government would work out a plan for compensating those insurance agents who suffer loss of their livelihood as a result of the introduction of public auto insurance. What we believe for industrial workers we would no deny to others.

Vehicle safety

An Ontario NDP government will insist that basic, life-saving features are incorporated in every motor vehicle sold, including snowmobiles. In particular, safety regulations for school buses will be revised to make crash-padding and seat belts mandatory. The provincial government would also press automobile manufacturers to produce more durable and less easily damaged vehicles. Systematic and regular testing of vehicles will be undertaken to reduce mechanical hazards. Unsafe vehicles will be removed from the highways. Highway design and construction will incorporate modern safety features and traffic regulations will be revised in the light of safety needs.

An intensive, year-round campaign for safe driving will be conducted. Grants now being made to school boards for students who enrol in driver-training courses will be increased. Drivers' examinations will be made more exacting and vigorous prosecution will be undertaken to reduce the number of impaired, drunken and dangerous drivers.

RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT

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

All the resources of our province belong to the people of the province. But old party governments in past years have permitted some of them to be sold outright to private interests and others to be effectively given away by granting long term leases on very favourable conditions to exploiters.

In many instances the chief beneficiaries of these policies have been foreign companies. Not only have they drained the earnings from our resources across the border, but by sending much of the material out in a raw or semi-processed form, they have exported jobs and deprived us of the industrial development from processing and new secondary industries.

What is more, the priorities for the development of our resources have been set in accordance with the needs of foreign owners.

Applications for exemption from the new Ontario law requiring processing in Canada showed that 75% to 80% of equity capital in the mining industry of Ontario was foreign owned. Over one-third of the companies operating in the province were granted exemptions from the "processing at home" law, including such giants as Inco, Texas Gulf and Algoma Steel.

The continentalists who dominate old party governments and the leading corporations, both national and multi-national, are now moving towards a complete integration of our water, hydro, uranium, oil and gas and other resources with the rest of North America.

World demand for resources gives us tremendous bargaining power. If we yield to the continentalists, we simply throw away that power and at the same time face an inevitable rise in the prices of these materials for Canadians and the loss of jobs from processing and utilization at home.

Controlling our resources

A New Democratic Government in Ontario will make a concerted effort to regain control of our resources. The policies which it would adopt for this purpose would include the following:

- (1) The sale of any Ontario resource to foreign interests would be subject to approval by an Energy and Resources Board and would not be allowed in quantity until a study of Ontario's future needs had been made.
- (2) All new resource discoveries and unexploited ore bodies would be examined by a provincial Planning Board to decide whether

they can best be developed by a Crown Corporation, a joint venture with private capital in which the government has a controlling interest, or by other methods which will protect the public interest and result in the greatest degree of home processing and secondary industry development.

- (3) All existing timber leases would be re-examined and re-negotiated where necessary to ensure the fullest utilization of our forest resources in the interests of the Ontario people and with full recognition of the principle of preservation of our renewable resources. Where timber resources are not being adequately utilized Crown Corporations would be set up to undertake development. Adequate logging profits taxes and tenure charges would be imposed on operations left in private hands to ensure that the people of Ontario recover all forest protection costs and obtain a proper return from their timber resources.
- (4) Companies exploiting mineral resources which have been alienated from the Crown would be required to pay mining profits taxes at a level which would ensure that the people of the province get an adequate share of the return from their resources. Mining companies would also be subject to full municipal assessment and be expected to pay a special Resource Tax if their operations require the establishment of communities in remote regions where community costs will be above average.
- (5) Public funds available for resource development would be primarily used for the development of new and unexploited resources and related processing and secondary industries. Using scarce capital simply to change the ownership of existing resource operations from private to public would neither create more jobs nor result in a substantially greater return to the people beyond what could be obtained by adequate taxation. Nor is it sensible to pay large sums of public money to private companies, many of them foreign, for resources which were improperly given to them by old party governments. Better to recompense the public for this sell-out by more adequate taxation policies.
- (6) Full regulatory powers of the province would be used to require existing mining and forest companies to process more of their ores and timber in Ontario, and to operate at their fullest potential and to comply with overall provincial planning and anti-pollution regulations.

Vigorous pursuit of these policies will increase the degree of public ownership and control of our resource industries, reduce our reliance on foreign capital and provide an effective stop to the sell-out of our resources to the United States.

We recognize, however, that Ontario will need parallel policies from Ottawa in areas of joint or exclusive federal jurisdiction. As a first step, Ottawa must be pressed to impose a freeze on all sales of energy resources to the United States until we have made a full inventory of our resources and needs.

Water resources

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

A New Democratic government will give every possible assistance to the work begun by the conservation authorities. It will tackle with vigour whatever action is required by the province in implementing the joint programs covered by the federal Agricultural and Rural Development Act (ARDA). It will step up as quickly as is technically possible a reforestation program to restore to forest the millions of acres of Crown land which were ruthlessly exploited in the past.

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

Energy resources

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

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

of the Commission and will speed up implementation of this principle of power at average cost.

This, however, will not be enough to meet our future power needs. Readily accessible hydro power sites have now been almost fully developed and we must find economical new sources of power if future growth is not to be stifled. Nuclear energy is one bright prospect with which we should continue to experiment, and research can produce improved methods of using traditional fuels.

Natural gas offers the greatest possibilities in the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, the present government has permitted gas distribution to be a happy hunting ground for speculators and profiteers. The operation of the profit motive is standing in the way of the most economical and efficient use of this great new resource. The best example of this is the energy deal made in 1970 between the federal government and the United States in which 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas will be exported to the United States over the next 15 to 20 years. To prevent continued sell-out of energy resources, the New Democratic Party advocates the nationalization of the energy resource industries of Ontario not now in public ownership.

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

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

Mineral resources

Ontario's potential for the full development of its mineral resources has not been sensibly exploited. Known deposits have been left untouched, to suit the speculative interests of a few mining concerns. Meanwhile, communities have been left to languish at the mercy of decisions made in distant boardrooms.

A New Democratic government will assist individuals and companies in exploring for minerals and will establish a Crown-owned exploration company similar to that operating successfully in Quebec. It will also speed up the development of new finds by helping in building access roads, airstrips, communication facilities and town-sites.

The only sound basis for the development of our mineral resources must be the well-being of our mining communities and the

long term economic needs of the province as a whole. To this end, a New Democratic government will use its planning powers to develop our natural wealth to serve this and future generations.

Companies exploiting mineral resources which have been leased from the Crown would be required to pay mining profits taxes at a level which would ensure that the people of Ontario get an adequate share of the return from their resources. These mining companies would also be subject to full municipal assessment and be expected to pay a special Resource Tax if their operations require the establishment of communities in remote regions where community costs will be above average.

Forest resources

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

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

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

A New Democratic government will immediately initiate policies directed toward these objectives through a Crown corporation if necessary.

A New Democratic government will set up a Crown Corporation to initiate policies directed towards the following objectives either through public investment or in conjunction with private industry:

- (1) the production of maximum yields of high quality fibre from all accessible forest soils, both freehold and publicly owned. It is contrary to both provincial and national long-term interests to permit extensive areas to be left in an idle, unproductive condition. Ownership should not confer this right, and it must be recognized that a sound forest policy will necessitate some encroachment upon property rights as currently constituted;

- (2) the restoration to productivity of all idle private, municipal and Crown lands by a large scale reforestation program, particularly within areas accessible to existing mills;
- (3) a review of present timber licences to free those limits held in excess of present and contemplated mill capacity, thereby making limits available for further development of secondary industries, or the use by secondary and ancillary industry of species and log types not used by the present holders of limit licences;
- (4) the requirement that the holder of a timber licence must build a basic road structure without which it is impossible to implement a modern forest management plan with sustained yield cutting. A New Democratic government will share the costs of building such a structure on an amortized basis, through financial arrangement along the general lines now in effect in British Columbia. Such roads will be open to the public for recreational purposes;
- (5) the implementation of silvicultural procedures in conjunction with all logging operations, particularly in the northern part of the province, to maintain the productivity of areas which have been cut over, as to species, quality and quantity and to reduce waste resulting from present cutting methods. Large scale clear cutting operation will be prohibited;
- (6) the administration by the province of adequate standards of regeneration, these standards to be established in the light of varying economic and physical conditions in the different forest administration regions of Ontario.

In order to help settlers and farmers, the government will create an authority to assist the creation and operation of pulpwood marketing co-operatives so that prices for pulpwood will reflect the real cost of its production.

Control of Pollution

The technology that has produced our affluence has had its price in the defilement of our environment. As our population increases in numbers and density, the problems and the risks arising from the pollution of air, water and soil cry for correction. The good life will not be ours unless we can make sure that our population can live in a clean and wholesome province.

The attack on pollution must not only be thorough, it must also be comprehensive. We must look to our total environment. Man pays a terrible moral and spiritual price for his uncontrolled advance if he has to live in a landscape which is not only a hazard to his health but an offense against his sight and his hearing. A full concern for the quality of the environment in which we and our children must live will only be manifest if we are determined to take action.

A New Democratic government will take action by establishing a Department of Environmental Control to assemble the scientific manpower necessary to collect and interpret data from the research results and environmental experience of other countries, to co-ordinate research in government, university and industrial laboratories, to provide comprehensive inspection services which can deal with known pollutants and new ones as they appear, and to make recommendations on standards of environmental quality and methods of attaining and maintaining such standards.

Other steps which a New Democratic government would take to protect our environment would include:

- (1) strict conservation of all non-renewable natural resources;
- (2) elimination of chlorinated hydro-carbons and other hard pesticides and minimal use of all synthetic pesticides;
- (3) complete ecological testing for all new chemical processes;
- (4) recycling of waste products and banning the sale of beer and soft drinks in non-returnable containers;
- (5) assistance in the development of an emissionless vehicle to replace conventional propulsion by the internal combustion engine.
- (6) heavy fines for companies and individuals convicted of environmental pollution with provision, if necessary, for takeover and imprisonment;
- (7) establishment of a crown corporation to manufacture and market pollution abatement equipment for Ontario industry;
- (8) control of noise pollution through traffic control, setting standards of sound insulation in multiple dwellings and through restriction of specific noise nuisances;
- (9) prohibition of sale of Ontario natural resources to governments or industries which contribute to serious environmental pollution;
- (10) efforts to keep the population at a tolerable level, while recognizing the right of individuals to control the size of their own families;
- (11) control of unsightly displays of automotive junk and other refuse which are sources of ugliness in our community.

The New Democratic Party's concept of environmental defence involves close co-operation with all interested groups in the community. It is the efforts of these groups which have successfully brought the environmental crisis to the level of public consciousness; their continued work will be essential if that consciousness is to be permanently altered. At the same time, because pollution is a community problem, the costs of fighting it cannot be left to fall on a few, vulnerable groups, such as employees thrown out of work because their company faces a clean-up order. And industry, which has enjoyed high profits in the past while polluting, must bear its proper share of the costs of ending pollution.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The New Democratic Party's approach to social aid is based on belief in and respect for the dignity of the individual and on a recognition that the welfare of all depends on the well-being of each. A civilized community can only be as well off as its least fortunate member.

Other parts of this program of action describe social insurance plans which will be established by a New Democratic government in this province. These plans will provide the people of our community with a wide measure of social security as a right attained through contributions made by them or on their behalf.

Even so, there will still be situations in which individuals and families suffer misfortune not covered by any form of social insurance. The New Democratic Party believes that as human beings, as integral members of our community, these people have a right to assistance at a level sufficiently high to provide a healthy and decent standard of living and a chance for rehabilitation.

A modern, realistic attitude

Public welfare in Ontario is a reality of red tape, meagre funds, and decaying facilities. There is a staff shortage of major proportions, created partly by lack of training facilities, but chiefly by the attitude of provincial and local welfare authorities. Against the bright and shallow facade of permissive showpiece legislation in this province today, the stark fact stands out that in many basic welfare fields essential services either do not exist, or struggle for survival. Among the neglected services are day nurseries, home help, debt counselling, meals for shut-ins and a whole range of services which should be available in a complex, urbanized society.

The Canada Assistance Plan

The Ontario Government's welfare program is now wrapped in a shiny new package symbolized by a change in the name of the department from Public Welfare to Social and Family Services. But when the package is opened, the contents turn out to be tinselly window-dressing and the programs actually violate most of the principles to which the Government is now giving lip service when it says it supports the federal-provincial Canada Assistance Plan.

The main principle behind the Canada Assistance Plan is that all welfare categories and means tests are to be abolished and assistance is to be provided on the basis of the actual needs of each individual or family. The provincial legislation implementing participation in the Plan violates the first objective by establishing two new categories—those on the sold so-called categorical programs and those on general welfare assistance. This division permits the latter

group to continue to be stigmatized as the less deserving poor. It appears that the distinction is retained because the province wishes to operate a provincial plan for the former group and to continue to leave the second group as the responsibility of the municipalities and provide no increase in the provincial percentage for this responsibility. This means that the determination of needs will be based on one set of standards for the provincial group and on a multitude of municipal decisions for the second, and that municipalities will still be saddled with 20% of the cost for the second group.

The second principle of assistance on the basis of need is also violated by the present government's approach. Instead of permitting social aid officers to assess the actual needs of each person or family, it has set a series of arbitrary ceilings for various types of expenditure—food, clothing, rent, etc. and these add up to a starvation budget, particularly when unrealistic ceilings are included for rent in today's tight housing market. Supplementary payments may be granted in special cases but they too have a ceiling of \$20 a month. Since the federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan is prepared to pay a full 50% of whatever assistance the province gives, there is no excuse for this miserly approach.

Nor is there any excuse for the failure of the province to enter into some of the new areas for rehabilitation and aid to the working poor now covered by the Canada Assistance Plan.

Basic schedules

Under a New Democratic government, basic schedules for food, clothing, personal needs, etc., will be established but social aid administrators will be permitted to increase the amounts in cases of special need. An escalator clause to keep all schedules in line with the cost of living will be written into the law. Shelter costs will be paid completely provided the recipient is in suitable accommodation and paying rent at the going rate for the area.

A program truly based on need cannot be implemented without substantial increases in administrative staff and the upgrading of existing staff. The failure of the provincial government to move in this direction is further evidence of its insincerity towards the principles of the Canada Assistance Plan.

A New Democratic government will abolish "welfare" as a concept and will re-orient existing community services and social assistance programs towards the goal of help and rehabilitation. For those without sufficient income, it will establish a broad program of aid based on a decent standard for each individual and family. It will work towards a guaranteed annual income as the ultimate solution to the problem of insufficient income.

Relief of the tax burden

The municipalities will be completely relieved of responsibility for social aid costs because the property tax is not broad or flexible enough to carry burdens unrelated to property. This will mean one set of administrative standards will apply across the province and there will be no excuse for continuing to divide recipients into categories. There will be more adequate provisions for appeal from the decisions of social aid administrators, and for notifying recipients of their rights.

Administration and personnel

Compartmentalized administration of services for families, children and other individuals is no longer adequate. Their problems must be considered as a whole. To implement this new approach, a New Democratic government will establish an Interdepartmental Committee to co-ordinate the various provincial services offered in the fields of aid, education, health, retraining and rehabilitation.

It will give local government agencies the financial and professional assistance which they now lack and will promote the development of regional welfare administrative units large enough to give comprehensive and co-ordinated services.

More financial assistance will be provided for schools now training social workers and aggressive action will be taken to develop trained, non-professional field workers and to bring back other workers who have dropped out of the field. Scholarships and bursaries will be offered to men and women undertaking training in social services.

A New Democratic government will undertake continuous research into rehabilitation methods in every field and will work out development plans for every area of public assistance.

Larger units will permit the strategic distribution of knowledge and skills and the use of modern equipment in clerical and financial operations. They can also become a focal point for community participation in social rehabilitation. Administration will be the responsibility of the regional government but the province will pay the costs and will set standards which must be met.

Child Welfare

A child having problems that cannot be solved within the present home situation must be placed in the custody of the person who can best help the child. Also, in cases of family break-up, the father's right to custody of the children must be more fairly considered. A mother, just because she is a woman, is not necessarily more qualified to be a parent than a father.

The provincial government must provide financial resources for the establishment of community run day care centres and nursery

schools, especially in low income areas, as one method of ensuring that the physical, emotional and development needs of all children are met.

Pensioners

In spite of the present Income Supplements, people receiving old age and other pensions, and who do not have any other income, are still living below the poverty line. A New Democratic government would provide a supplement of \$40 per month to everyone who receives Old Age Security until the federal government raises the pension to at least the "poverty line". Escalator clauses to keep all pensions in line with the cost of living, would also be introduced.

Persons over 65 will also be relieved of education taxes on their homes and those renting accommodation will receive an equivalent grant to offset this rising burden on persons living on fixed incomes.

Voluntary agencies

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

CULTURE AND RECREATION

Cultural activities are one of the most seriously neglected areas of government activity in Ontario. A vigorous provincial lead would result in both federal and civic authorities doing more. From it would flow the development of native talent, the enrichment of our people, and even a significant contribution to the economic life of the province.

The New Democratic government will make more funds available to the Ontario Arts Council so that it can extend its activities.

Opportunities for recreation

Though it is only through our own choices that we enrich our cultural lives, it is also only through the exercise of public concern that we can have the space and time in which to make these choices.

There is not much point in having open space if it is out of reach; there is not much point in leisure if most of it has to be spent in getting to centres of recreation.

A New Democratic government would set an objective of access to a wide range of outdoor recreational facilities within one hour's travel of every urban resident. Most of our provincial parks are far removed from the centres of population. Private ownership of riverside and lakeshore property has made access to many of our beaches and public waters impossible for large numbers of citizens, particularly those in lower-income brackets. In addition, large amounts of recreational lands are being sold to non-Canadians. In 1969-70, 20% of Crown sales of cottage lots were to non-Canadians — 63% in some northern districts.

To remedy the situation, a New Democrat government would ban sales of recreational land to non-residents. Short-term leases might be granted where there is a surplus of land for Canadian needs. The high water mark would be reinstated as the boundary of private property along the shorelines to reopen beaches on the Great Lakes. A Provincial Recreation Fund would provide grants and loans to operators of recreational facilities and to buy back lands as they come on the market. Provincial park facilities would have to be greatly expanded and pre-booking facilities instituted. An Ontario Summer Housing Corporation would develop low cost summer recreation housing, lease camping, boating, and fishing equipment, and ensure transit facilities to recreation areas.

Community centres

Community centres are lacking in many areas and recreational facilities, particularly for adolescents, are totally inadequate. At the same time schools in built-up areas are often idle many hours of the year. A New Democratic government would encourage municipal councils and boards of education to integrate these schools into the recreation system. Consideration would be given to the establishment of a provincial youth recreation department. Full advantage will be taken of the assistance offered by the federal physical fitness program.

As the working day and week get shorter, the opportunity for leisure time activity increases and physical plans must provide for this. Every district should be planned to leave ample space for churches, schools, recreation centres, swimming pools and unspoiled park land for healthy outdoor exercise.

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

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

A nation, a province, a community can be more than the mere sum of its members, the people who inhabit it. And the worth of any community is the extent to which it provides the freedom, security and inspiration to enable its citizens to live happy creative lives in a civilized environment. This must be the ideal for the community in which we live, the Province of Ontario.

The individual rights, the freedom of all the people in this province, must be guaranteed and extended, and their participation in democratic decision-making must be assured. An educational system, open to all, must seek to develop the individual as a creative human being. With a sense of fairness and justice, the community must provide for the social and economic welfare of all its members. And in the community, there must be effective government which is responsive and concerned at both the local and provincial levels.

Freedom is essential

Only in such a community can there flourish the freedom of a man to live his life as he wishes within those areas of choice which do not impinge upon the freedom of others. The rights and liberties of the individual, which are basic to democratic government, must be protected not only against the power of dominant groups and individuals, but also against the abuse of power by the government itself.

A citizen's government

Too often government is considered a body apart, above the individual and inaccessible to him. An NDP government will re-establish the principle that government is of, by and for the people by establishing simple lines of communication to government, and providing institutional means for the rapid redress of the abuses of power to which government boards and departments occasionally can be prone.

An NDP government will establish a Public Information Office within the reach of all by toll-free telephone. This office will be staffed by experts in government organization who will handle many of the problems and questions of the citizens and be able to give preliminary advice. Certain staff members will be proficient in languages other than English or French.

A Legislative Commissioner, on the model of the Scandinavian "Ombudsman", will be appointed. He and his staff will be responsible directly to the Legislature, not to any government department. He will have the power to investigate all unresolved grievances from the Public Information Office for which he will also be responsible. The Commissioner will then have discretion as to whether or not he takes action.

In addition, an NDP government will remove all archaic restrictions on the right of a private individual to sue the government of this province, a right which now depends upon the government's consent.

Finally, consideration will be given to the establishment of a special Ontario Administrative Court, on the pattern of the French "conseil d'état", to deal with complaints against administrative bodies. It should have the power to rectify bad decisions and to award damages in appropriate cases.

A Bill of Rights

To protect and develop our fundamental freedoms, a New Democratic government in Ontario will seek the passage of a constitutional amendment incorporating a Bill of Rights in the Canadian Constitution. Pending such action, an NDP government will attempt to protect these liberties in all matters under the jurisdiction of the Ontario Legislature by a provincial statute. The freedoms protected will include:

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

This Bill of Rights, along with a concise summary of basic laws and procedures, will be made available to the public at cost.

Individual choices

A truly modern government will permit a man to grow through the choices he alone can make in the area which are closest to him, marriage and family life. The state has very little business interfering, and then only on the most highly qualified definition of what constitutes the public good, in the decisions affecting an individual's personal life.

The age of majority would be reduced from 21 years to 18 years of age, enabling young people to enter into civil, social, economic and legal rights and obligations at a more realistic age. This would include voting, running for public office, entering into contracts and drinking.

Cultural choice

The adult's right to cultural choice will be protected in that a New Democratic government will seek out and remove whatever vestiges of archaic and coercive legislation and regulation remain to curtail what he may want to read, see, or hear in full awareness of his own well-being and development. It will also assure the indi-

vidual's right to privacy by passing legislation clearly prohibiting electronic eavesdropping and other undue forms of investigation undertaken by private concerns and public bodies.

In line with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ontario will be declared a bilingual province. Education, social services, and government information shall be available, were required, in both languages.

Data banks

The creation of data banks by credit agencies is a serious threat to individual privacy. Such collected information may not only be used to an individual's detriment, it could be combined with sophisticated advertising techniques as a further device for public manipulation.

A New Democratic government would therefore require all data banks to register with an appropriate government department. It would also:

- (1) forbid information on Canadian citizens to leave this country without permission;
- (2) limit information gathering to a person's credit status only;
- (3) require agencies to notify the person under investigation;
- (4) require agencies to allow a person to see his own file;
- (5) establish judicial procedures to allow cases against these information-gathering agencies to be heard.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The ability to obtain justice from the courts in a rapid and equitable manner is the mark of a civilized community. In Ontario today, inordinate delays and heavy expenses in many higher court proceedings too often mean denial of justice for individuals. A disputed claim of a few thousand dollars can cost well over five hundred dollars in fees. An NDP government will open the courts to every worthwhile claim, regardless of the claimant's ability to pay. Closing of the courts for a full two-month vacation each summer will be ended. The courts and legal aid will be re-organized to give all citizens the right to prompt and effective justice, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of right.

Adequate facilities

An NDP government will provide adequate court facilities, particularly in the large urban areas where case loads are heaviest. It will also establish a permanent committee of judicial, professional

and lay representatives to review court procedures and facilities and recommend improvements.

The appointment of provincial judges must cease to be a reward for long membership in the legal profession or faithful service to a political party. To achieve this aim, salaries for provincial judges must be made comparable to other incomes in the legal profession and positions on the Bench must be filled by competition and be subject to periodic review. Appointees should also be required to become familiar with penology, rehabilitation, sentencing and the social sciences.

There are grave defects in the way Ontario deals with criminal offences, from the issuing of traffic tickets through to the trying of more serious cases. The volume of cases in police courts in many urban areas has produced what is almost an assembly line system of trials in which delays put most accused at a severe disadvantage.

An NDP government will insist on a complete re-organization at the magistrate's court level. Defendants should be able to apply for their case to be heard at a time convenient for all parties. All accused will, if they so desire, be provided with legal advice before any court appearance, and will be able to count on the services of a lawyer at their trial without charge if necessary. This provision of adequate legal defence will be ensured by the appointment of a Public Defender who will have sufficient staff. In the more serious cases, the accused will have access through his counsel to research and investigating laboratories equivalent to that provided to the police. The system of bail must be completely revised so that no responsible member of the community is held in jail before his trial except in cases where his freedom could be a real danger to society or the course of justice.

At the same time, an NDP government will ensure that the "Good Samaritan", the person who aids others attacked by criminals or threatened by fire, drowning or other hazards, does not suffer financial loss or personal harassment without compensation. It will pass legislation fully compensating for any loss of property, loss of income, payment for medical treatment or other losses incurred by those who come to the aid of their fellow-citizens.

Penal reform

Despite the valiant efforts of groups like the John Howard and Elizabeth Fry Societies, and of individuals like Agnes Macphail, Ontario's treatment of convicted offenders cries against its claim to being a civilized community. The need for penal reform is desperate.

The New Democratic Party believes that the state has a duty to the public to ensure that released offenders are as unlikely to commit further crimes as can be made possible. It further believes that the state has a duty to equip the offender physically, psychologically and intellectually to live a creative life in society on his release. The present government works on the Nineteenth Century belief that

if criminals are put into fortress-like prisons, they will somehow change their way of life and repent. The present laws assume that those who commit crimes are always professionals who weigh the possibility of capture against the rewards of crime.

The fact is that most criminals are amateurs. They are frequently people with social problems, who lack friends and satisfying work, or who are unable to manage money, or alcohol, or family life. The kind of reform institutions Ontario operates makes them even less able to deal with the complexities of modern society when they are released than when they were sentenced. They are more, rather than less, likely to commit crimes when freed than when convicted.

The scandal of unfair and inconsistent sentencing in our courts is largely due to the fact that magistrates have so few alternatives. A New Democratic government will provide the facilities to treat the social misfit in a way appropriate to him. Widely expanded probation services will permit the close supervision of those who can most benefit from living in the community. Institutional services will also be expanded. The offender who is removed from the community may start in a closed, diagnostic setting, where his needs and chances for rehabilitation can be assessed. He will move as rapidly as he is able through a program where he is given greater and greater freedom and responsibility and his performance can be watched. The institutions will work closely with the departments of education and labour, so that the inmate will be equipped to do useful work on his release. At a fairly advanced stage, an inmate will be wearing civilian clothes, working in the city alongside free citizens during the day and visiting his home on occasional weekends.

Probation services

This kind of treatment system will require expansion of our parole and probation services. The replacement of a philosophy of custody and punishment with this philosophy of treatment will also require major changes in staff training and salary standards, essential to attracting and maintaining able, dedicated people needed to make such a system work. Until such time as the federal government's Canadian Penitentiary Service reforms itself to provide this kind of treatment, the NDP will resist demands that all effective treatment of the offender be transferred to federal authority.

The philosophy of the judicial and policy systems needs to be changed from that of punishment and apprehension to protection of citizens' rights and the treatment of anti-social behaviour. In keeping with this philosophy, anyone under the age of 18 will be considered a juvenile under the law and all juvenile offences will be stricken from the record when the offender reaches majority. Further, for all offenders, records of an offence will be erased five years after the expiration of the sentence of the offence.

In order to prevent the prisoner's family from being punished by being thrown on welfare, the prisoner will be allowed to work for a fair wage while in detention, with an allowance deducted for room and board.

The police

The administration of justice does not start in the courts but with the citizen's first contact with the police. The majority of a Police Commission must be appointed from elected offices, in order that the Commission be responsive to the interests of its citizens. The Commission's powers should be limited to the administration of police activities.

An independent Citizens' Review Board on Police Relations with a staff, budget, and legal power is essential to investigate complaints of police misconduct, and where necessary to establish an independent Board of Enquiry to conduct full and fair public hearings.

A New Democratic government would require police officers to have higher academic standing, psychological testing, and sociological training. A positive concern for civil liberties and the protection of people rather than property will be encouraged. Policemen should not be armed on routine patrols. All disputes involving discipline and collective bargaining will be resolved through impartial arbitration. Pay and status must be adjusted to the enhanced responsibilities of police officers.

A HIGH STANDARD OF GOVERNMENT

No society can exist without government. The building of a free and creative society requires government in which the citizens can take pride and take part. So that it may carry out its leading role, government must be fully representative, honest, efficient, concerned and responsive. The day has long past when government could be merely a supreme magistrate supervising the negative concerns of the community.

Code of ethics

The New Democratic Party believes that the community can insist on high standards of conduct from all elected representatives. It will enact a code of ethics relating to the public activity of members of the Legislature and municipal representatives. Readily enforceable penalties will be established for violations; particular attention will be given to defining precisely what constitutes conflict of interest.

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

Electoral reform

Elections are the greatest exercise of democracy in our society and if choice is to be fairly made, the undue influence of wealth in the electoral process must be curbed. The principle of representation by population must be recognized in fact as well as word, the exercise of the franchise by the individual voter must be facilitated and the earlier maturing of the population must be recognized.

The following comprehensive program of electoral reform will be undertaken by an NDP government to implement its philosophy:

- (1) Independent redistribution commissions will be established on a permanent basis to revise automatically the boundaries of constituencies and wards as soon as possible after each census.
- (2) Constituencies and wards so established will be as nearly equal in population as possible so that, except in a few areas of extremely low population density, the population of a constituency will not vary more than 20% from the average.
- (3) A system of permanent returning officers will be established. These officers will co-operate with federal and municipal officials in establishing uniform polling subdivisions.
- (4) The party affiliation of candidates, if any, will appear on the ballot and on other official election documents. In municipal election, voters' lists will be made available to political parties to whom candidates are affiliated.
- (5) A system of voting by mail will be established to ensure that no voters will be disenfranchised because illness, disability or legitimate absence prevents their attendance at the regular polling station.
- (6) A permanent voters' list will be established. A qualified voter whose name is omitted from the voters' list and is not added at the revision will be able to vote in urban as well as rural polling districts if he is identified by a voter on the list in that subdivision and takes an oath as to his identity and eligibility to vote. An enumeration will also be held prior to municipal elections.
- (7) All civil servants except senior civil servants at the policy making level will be able to participate in political activity and to stand as candidates on the same basis as other citizens. Legislation will be passed permitting any eligible voter to stand for election without fear of reprisal or discrimination.
- (8) The voting age will be lowered to 18. Property qualifications will be abolished.

- (9) Polls will remain open until at least 8:00 p.m. in all elections. All voters will be informed of the exact location of their polling stations at least two weeks prior to election day and the stations themselves will be distinctly marked.
- (10) A system of free time on an equal basis for all parties will be made mandatory for all radio and television networks and stations; it will not be permissible for either private or public radio or television to sell time for political purposes.
- (11) Every qualifying candidate will be entitled to mail one item post free to every voter whose support he is seeking.
- (12) Every central party organization will be required to publish a statement annually showing its expenditures in detail and the source and amount of every contribution it receives in excess of \$500 in cash or the equivalent in kind. It will also be required to publish, within a reasonable time after every election, a statement showing the same information with regard to its campaign.
- (13) Every candidate will be required to publish a statement showing his campaign expenditures in detail and the source and amount of every contribution in excess of \$50 in cash or in kind.
- (14) The statements referred to in 12 and 13 above will be audited and certified by licensed public accountants. They will be deposited and retained in a central place where they will be available for inspection by the public.
- (15) Limitations will be imposed on campaign expenditures on the following lines:
 - (a) for a central party organization, 10 cents for every voter in all constituencies in which the party is running candidates.
 - (b) for a candidate, 15 cents for every voter in an urban polling subdivision, and 20 cents for every voter in a rural polling subdivision in the constituency.
- (16) No person or organization will be permitted to undertake any expenditure on behalf of a party or candidate unless specifically authorized to do so in writing. Such expenditure will then be included for the purposes of Section 15.
- (17) Candidates shall, by law, be granted paid leave of absence during the campaign, and if elected, leave of absence without pay during their term of office.
- (18) The publishing of opinion polls on the subject of the forthcoming elections shall be prohibited once the elections have been called.
- (19) A fixed date for provincial elections will be set, except where a government is defeated on a simple non-confidence vote.
- (20) The Municipal Act will be amended to provide for the by-election of municipal representatives where necessary.

Legislative reform

A New Democratic government will give private members, particularly those in opposition groups, adequate research and secretarial assistance, as well as office accommodation, to place them in a position to scrutinize government proposals and performance thoroughly. The outmoded committee system will be completely overhauled to enable private members to contribute effectively to the analysis of government legislation, departments, agencies and Crown Corporations.

Elimination of patronage

Contracts for government work will be awarded according to a strict system of tenders. The law prohibiting political contributions by government contractors will be enforced.

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

An NDP government will recognize and enter into written collective agreements with representative organizations of all public employees.

REFORMING OUR TAX SYSTEM

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

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

Many of the New Democratic proposals, such as automobile insurance, will be self-financing. Others, like the extension of medicare to drugs, and dental services, will largely represent the replacement of unco-ordinated private expenditure by planned community effort without much extra cost overall. Welfare expenditures which are rehabilitatory in nature will reduce the assistance bill in the long run. However, the New Democratic Party is realistic enough to recognize that new money will have to be found for the new and expanded services which it believes a majority of the people want.

Paying the bill

Oliver Wendell Holmes said "with taxes I buy civilization". New Democrats recognize that public programs must be paid for and that an increasing number of our wants can be met only through community action. No one can buy clean air at the department store nor a mile of superhighway as an extra with his car.

If a greater proportion of our national and provincial product is going to have to go to the public sector in order to meet our needs, we want to be doubly sure that the transfer from private pockets and the corporate till to government coffers is done in the fairest possible way.

No one likes paying taxes, but it takes the sting out if we feel that everyone is bearing their proper share of the load and we are getting value for our money.

The argument that the principles of tax equity must be departed from in order to stimulate job-creating investment is largely fallacious. Growth and investment come in response to purchasing power in the hands of consumers, not from tax concessions to well-heeled taxpayers. Corporations now can shield themselves from paying their legitimate share of taxation.

Nor will true tax reform come from a patchwork system of rebates which are really nothing more than repayments to taxpayers of excess taxes collected and are very cumbersome to administer.

New Democratic tax program

A New Democratic Government in Ontario would pay for its programs in these three ways:

1. It would pursue expansionary economic policies which will raise productivity and increase the gross provincial product and employment. Every 1% reduction in the unemployment rate brings an increase of from 1% to 2% in gross provincial product.

2. It would eliminate waste and improve governmental efficiency by applying modern techniques of forward planning, regional organization, program budgeting, cost-benefit analysis, operations research, centralized purchasing, etc., to the provision of public goods.

3. And finally, it would institute a fair share tax system to pay for our collective needs on the basis of ability to pay. Such a system would include:

- (a) The development of a tax mix which places its chief stress on the dynamic and progressive taxes—personal and corporate income taxes and levies on transfers of wealth between generations—taxes whose yield grows as fast or faster than the provincial product. Less emphasis will be placed on regressive sales taxes, property taxes and social security premiums.

- (b) Reform of the personal and corporate income taxes to make them more progressive and to close loopholes. This would have to be done in conjunction with the federal government. Income now exempt such as capital gains should be made fully taxable. Adequate tax credits should be provided for child care, employment and educational expenses. The family home and family farm should not be subject to capital gains tax, but speculative profits on land would be.

- (c) The present grossly unfair burden of taxation on the lower income groups will be relieved by devices such as floors on taxes, tax credits*, cash rebates and exemption of additional necessities of life from the sales tax.

- (d) The heavy burden of the regressive property tax will be lightened by the provincial government progressively assuming education, health and welfare costs, by promoting efficiency through regional governments, and by greater provincial equalization grants under a Municipal Foundation Plan.

- (e) Pensioners will be relieved of all education property taxes immediately, with the provincial government reimbursing the school boards for this loss of revenue. An equivalent rebate would go to pensions who pay rent.

- (f) Regional governments will be given access to the most progressive and dynamic form of taxation by allowing them to contract with the federal government to collect one or two extra points of income tax for their use.

- (g) A fair contribution will be obtained from the industries which exploit our natural resources, sufficient to cover the costs of services to these industries and ensure a substantial return to the people for the use of their resources. The \$34 million estimated for 1970-71 is an entirely inadequate contribution from our resource industries in view of expected after tax profits by Inco of at least \$200 million in 1970.

- (h) Ideally, as Carter suggested, inheritances and gifts should be taxed under the Income Tax Act, a share of the proceeds going to the provinces. Pending this reform, provincial succession duties

*Credits are fairer than increased exemptions. For example, every \$1000 increase in exemption means a \$200 tax saving for the taxpayer whose top rate is 20% and a \$500 saving for the taxpayer whose top rate is 50%. A tax credit of \$200 would give the same benefit to both.

will be revamped to bring back to the province a larger proportion of estates, after generous provision has been made for widows and dependent children. To avoid hardship, instalment payment of duties over a period of years will be permitted and special arrangements will be available to prevent break-up of family businesses and family farms, including payment of duties in ways other than by cash.

(i) Motor vehicle and gasoline taxation will be kept to a level sufficient to cover the motorists' proper share of the costs of providing road systems. A weight-distance tax for truckers will be considered.

(j) Combined premiums for OHSIP and OHSC will be reduced to not more than \$10 per month per family and will be gradually replaced altogether by more progressive forms of taxation.

Implementation of these changes will result in a reshaping of of the Ontario tax system from a regressive to a progressive one based on ability to pay, and in a substantial redistribution of income.

Federal - provincial tax sharing and planning

A tax jungle is developing in Canada with the federal Liberals refusing to consider the accelerating needs of the provinces and municipalities in their tax planning and the provincial and municipal governments resorting to more and more regressive taxes to meet their growing responsibilities.

This is not the path to national unity or a viable federalism.

Nor is it the way to eliminate regional disparities.

A New Democratic Government will work for the development of an integrated fiscal policy involving all eleven governments.

It believes that when it is deemed desirable and necessary to channel a greater share of the national product into social capital and public services, the onus for raising taxes must be shared by all levels of government and be done in concert with a view to the overall economic consequences.

Increases should be mainly in the dynamic and progressive tax fields and be based on ability to pay.

The sharing of such tax increases must be worked out by all levels of government in the light of our national goals and priorities and the decisions announced in a joint pre-budget statement.

WOMEN

The liberation of women

Women in Canada form a group of second-class citizens who lead narrowly pre-planned lives as housewives and mothers or as cheap labour in the market place. A woman, of herself, has almost

no social status. Her status comes from the achievements of her husband family. Yet, her work in the home is not recognized as work. And, if she is employed outside, she still must perform her non-work when she comes home.

A woman does not even have the right to control her own body. Other people — a hospital committee — will decide if she can have a legal abortion, and money and 'contacts' will determine whether she can have one illegally.

The struggle for the liberation of women is a vital part of the struggle for socialism in Canada. The struggle is not simply for equal job opportunity in an exploitable society, but for equal opportunity in changing that society.

Women in the labour force

Women as a group form a large and cheap pool of unemployed labour that can be brought into an expanding economy (as during World War II) or forced out when the economy no longer needs them. They are often paid less and receive fewer benefits than men in the same jobs. While a few women have attained professional status, the vast majority are in service, clerical or semi-skilled jobs. Many women who must work part-time receive proportionately lower wages and are refused the fringe benefits given to a full-time worker. While women constitute 30% of the work force in Canada, they constitute 17% of organized labour.

One reason often given against hiring women is that of pregnancy. But child-bearing is an essential social function and women must not suffer for it. Therefore, a New Democratic government would require employers to provide maternity leave with full pay and benefits for a period up to three months and leave of absence without pay for a period up to six months, with no loss of seniority. If it is decided instead that the father is to stay home to care for the new-born child, the same leave would be granted to him.

Labour unions must encourage participation by female members and establish internal education programmes as to the role of women in the labour movement. Unions should be encouraged to organize more women.

Persons, such as waitresses, who receive meals on the job, can be paid as little as 90¢ an hour. A decent minimum wage will be enforced, whether or not meals are served. Part-time workers must receive pay and benefits proportional to those received by full-time workers.

Employment advertising that specifies sex must be abolished along with private and temporary help agencies which charge a fee of the applicant. The provision of employment is a social responsibility and employment agencies should be run by the government.

Firms who do contract work for the government will be ordered to actively recruit women workers and include them in their training programs.

Retraining programs with allowances for women at secondary and post-secondary levels without requiring previous employment will be established by the Department of Manpower. Women must be encouraged to enter new areas of the labour force.

When a husband and wife work together in the husband's business, her income is deemed to be his for income tax purposes. A New Democratic government will consider a woman working in her husband's business to be earning an independent income, like any other employee.

Birth control and abortion

A woman's right to control her own body is an integral part of her right to control her own life. Therefore, she must be able to choose whether or not she wants to bear a child. To this end, birth control knowledge and contraceptives will be available to all men and women at puberty, and community controlled hospital and/or clinic facilities will be established to provide birth control information, pregnancy tests, abortion, maternity care, sterilization and vasectomy as requested.

Day care

The care of pre-school children is as much a public responsibility as the education of older children. Community, co-operatively run, day care centres and centres in work places are necessary if women are to be allowed to work outside the home.

Houseworkers

Unpaid housework in industrialized societies is estimated to be 44% of the national product on the basis of production for the market. This work is an essential component of our society. A New Democratic government will pay a houseworker's allowance to one spouse while the other works outside the home.

Women and education

The full development of female students is hindered by sex discrimination in school texts and teachings. Primary readers will be revised to portray women in a variety of roles; history courses will be revised to show the advance and achievements of women. Shop courses to develop manual skills, and homemaker courses to provide minimal housekeeping and child rearing skills will be made available to both sexes. Sex education, including information on birth control, problems created by early pregnancy, and parental responsibilities, including illustrations of single parent families, will be provided in the pre-puberty years.

Training programs for guidance counsellors and teachers will include instructions on methods of encouraging women students to develop themselves intellectually, and of avoiding discriminatory channelling of women students into certain occupations and areas of study.

University centres are needed to provide academic information and special counselling to female and adult students. Financial assistance must be available to help the adult part-time student. Universities will be encouraged to set up courses on women, or an institute of women's studies.

Women trained for university teaching or academic research must be encouraged to return to a career. Also, a New Democratic government will encourage the National Research Council, the Canada Council, and like bodies to subsidize research projects that can be carried on at home without university affiliation.