# 2015 Federal Election Voting Guide



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## In the upcoming federal election, fairness and equality are at stake

HE upcoming federal election is shaping up to be one of the most hotly contested votes of the last 30 years. The main parties have radically different visions for the future of our country. Much is at stake.

By constitution, the National Union of Public and General Employees is non-partisan. But that doesn't mean the National Union doesn't have a position on the issues over which this election will be decided. On the contrary, the National Union has a set of strong values that have been formed and informed by our 360,000 members through the open and transparent structures of our provincial Components. The National Union's values have been formulated and refined through resolutions and debates, and forged by democratic vote.

These values boil down to a simple core: fairness. The National Union believes that Canada is at its best when its government is dedicated to ensuring that everyone has a fair and equal shot at prosperity and happiness.

Every political party lays claim to fairness and equality. But history shows us that some parties champion policies that actually make Canada less fair and less equal.

To help you decide which candidates are most likely to champion policies that will truly make Canada more fair and more equal, we've produced this voting guide. We've carefully analyzed the platforms of each of the main parties and, where applicable, the records of the parties while in power.

We hope it helps you find the candidate and party whose values most closely reflect your own. And most of all, we hope it helps inspire you to vote.

James Clancy

**NUPGE National President** 

## Rising Income Inequality

## Fast facts

- Income inequality is growing in every province. It's grown by 10% across the country since 1981 and shot up by 14% and 19% in Ontario and Alberta.
- The wealthiest 10% hold almost half the country's wealth.
- 15% of Canada's growth in income inequality during the 1980s and 1990s was the result of declining unionization.
- Since 1999, everyone except the wealthiest 20% has seen their share of the country's wealth decline.
- In June 2015, the International Monetary Fund said, "If the income share of the top 20% increases, then GDP growth actually declines. In contrast, an increase in the income share of the bottom 20% is associated with higher GDP growth."

#### HIGH INCOME INEQUALITY HURTS US ALL

The National Union believes that income inequality is too high in Canada—it's shot up by 10% since the 1980s to the highest level since just before the Great Depression—and that we're all suffering as a result.

A growing body of evidence shows that there are a variety of consequences when income inequality is this high: people become less healthy, less well educated, less social, and less safe. The economy suffers, too: high income inequality means less growth and less prosperity.

Fortunately, high income inequality is not inevitable. It is the direct result of decisions made by governments.

Unfortunately, recent Liberal and Conservative governments have made a variety of decisions that have worsened income inequality in Canada. These decisions include

- Cutting taxes to corporations and the wealthy
- Cutting and privatizing public services
- Restricting labour and other human rights
- Taking a hands-off approach to industrial development, giving corporations free rein to exploit workers and the environment alike

It is time for a government that will make decisions designed to reduce income inequality to a less destructive level.



	<b>Conservative</b>	NDP*	Liberal
GOO JOB: & TH ECONO	There are 400,000 fewer	Will develop a "green economy" with investment and R&D support, e.g., a "green car" industry.  Will discourage bulk export of oil and raw resources and provide incentives for manufacturing and processing here in Canada.	When last in government, the Liberals caused the "double-dip" recession by making deep cuts to public services. One of the results was that while US wages rose nearly 15% from 1993 to 2006, Canadian wages stagnated.
TAX FAIRN	I schemes like income-splitting and	Will increase corporate tax rates, ensuring they are closer to the G7 average, and will close capital gains loopholes that benefit the rich.  Will block the use of off-shore tax havens and prosecute money launderers and tax evaders.	Will reduce income taxes for most Canadians, but those earning more than \$90,000 a year will benefit the most.  While last in government, the Liberals instituted tax cuts in which the richest 8% of Canadians received 75% of the benefits.
LABO RIGH	Made it illegal for women to	Will repeal Bill C-377, which hobbles unions by forcing them to spend millions every year to disclose highly detailed financial information.  Will encourage pay equity, increased unionization, and will improve access to EI.	Will repeal Bill C-377, which hobbles unions by forcing them to spend millions every year to disclose highly detailed financial information.  When last in government, the Liberals imposed a five-year wage freeze on federal civil service workers.
QUALI PUBL SERVIO	IC	Will reverse Canada Post's plan to end door-to-door delivery, and will restore funding to CBC and health care.  Will encourage reduced tuition fees and student debt by increasing education funding to provinces.  Will create a national public child care program.	Will reverse Canada Post's plan to end door-to-door delivery, and restore funding to CBC and health care.  When last in government, the Liberals imposed a 40% reduction of spending on public services and social programs, which led to program cuts and job losses.

## Good Jobs & the Economy

## Fast facts

- More than a million Canadians who want full-time work can find only part-time jobs.
- The unemployment rate is twice as high for Canadians younger than 25.
- There are 6 unemployed
   Canadians for every job vacancy,
   (but tighter eligibility rules mean that less than half of unemployed Canadians now qualify for El).
- The CIBC says the quality of Canadian jobs hasn't been this bad for 25 years.
- Since 1990, the average Canadian's personal debt has doubled.
- Since 2000, the number of Canadians working for minimum wage or less has doubled.
- Since 1982, the richest 10% of Canadians have seen their income grow by 80%, while the rest of us have seen our incomes grow by just 3%.
- Canadian employers spend 40% less on training than they did in the 90s. Canadian employers now spend just half of what American employers spend on training.
- Canadian corporations are hoarding cash—\$630 billion at last count. Bankers call this "dead money," because it does nothing to help our economy.

#### WE ALL BENEFIT FROM FULL EMPLOYMENT

The National Union believes that one of government's most important responsibilities is ensuring full employment. Ensuring, in other words, that as many people as possible are able to work at safe and sustainable jobs that have decent wages.

Over the past 40 years, Liberal and Conservative governments have taken a different approach, a hands-off approach characterized by corporate tax cuts, low safety and environmental standards, and a focus on rapid resource extraction and "free trade" agreements that allow corporations to employ far fewer Canadians and pay far lower Canadian taxes. The results for most Canadians and Canadian small businesses have been disastrous: rising income inequality (see pages 2-3), stagnant or falling wages, higher unemployment and more people in precarious work, and skyrocketing personal debt. Throughout, our natural resources have been rapidly depleted and our environment has been degraded.

It's time for a government that will recommit to its responsibility to ensure full employment in four key ways:

A modern industrial strategy that creates good, well-paying jobs—Government must play a key role guiding, supporting, and investing in industries that provide solid and sustainable jobs. Past Canadian governments have played this role well, fostering the creation of highly successful industries in everything from communications technology and car manufacturing to movie making and international education. Government can also ensure that the jobs delivering the public services we rely on are good jobs: permanent, decently paid, and meeting real needs in our economy.

Labour rights and decent wages—The Bank of Canada identifies weak consumer demand as the main challenge facing business. Unions ensure the healthy wages that sustain consumer demand. Government shouldn't be preventing workers from joining and participating in unions.

**Education and training**—Just as government must play a key role in creating jobs, it must also play a key role ensuring Canadians have access to the training and education they need to get those jobs.

**Unemployment support**—The government must ensure that Canadians who've fallen into unemployment receive appropriate supports. Without these supports, they're at risk of abandoning the labour market altogether.









Caused the current recession by focusing almost exclusively on the oil industry.

Negotiating trade deals with Europe and Pacific Rim countries that would give corporations the right to sue us over environmental regulations, job-creation programs, or the desire of provinces or municipalities to keep things like schools or clean water public.

Trumpeting their time in government as an economic success, Canada actually has 400,000 fewer permanent full-time jobs than when the Conservatives came to power in 2006.

Cut more than 50,000 public service jobs.

Left more than \$100 million in job training and creation funding unspent.

Restricted EI rules so that fewer than 40% of Canadians who've paid EI premiums are eligible for EI benefits or training that can help them get back to work.

Gave Volkswagen a \$500 million loan to help build factories in Mexico and low-wage states in the U.S.

Will cut small business tax rate from 11% to 9% but not until 2018 at the earliest.

Will oppose new trade deals with Europe and Pacific Rim countries if they allow corporations to sue Canadians over environmental regulations, job-creation programs, or the desire of provinces or municipalities to keep things like schools or clean water public.

Will actively promote Canadian technology and manufacturing industries around the world.

Will develop a "green economy" with investment and R&D support, e.g., the "green car" industry.

Will discourage bulk exports of our fossil fuels and unprocessed natural resources (including an outright ban on the export of raw logs), and provide incentives for manufacturing here in Canada.

Will establish "Buy Canadian" procurement policies and target tax credits and incentives to companies that create Canadian jobs.

Will set a national minimum wage of \$15 an hour.

Will immediately cut small business tax rate from 11% to 9%.

Will increase El eligibility and benefits.

Will change labour laws, EI and CPP to ensure that self-employed, temporary, and contract workers are treated the same as full-time workers.

Will support trade deals that allow corporations to sue Canadians over environmental regulations, job-creation programs, or the desire of provinces or municipalities to keep things like schools or clean water public.

When last in government, the Liberals broke their campaign promise to cancel the just-signed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), allowing corporations to cut 350,000 Canadian manufacturing jobs.

Will spend \$200 million a year to support innovation and clean technologies in the forestry, fisheries, mining, energy and agricultural sectors

When last in government, the Liberals caused the "double-dip" recession by making deep cuts to public services. One of the results was that while US wages rose nearly 15% from 1993 to 2006, Canadian wages stagnated.

When last in government, the Liberals reduced the number of people who could collect El benefits, and the number of weeks they could collect those benefits. The Liberals also repeatedly raided El surpluses (the amount collected in El premiums not paid back out in benefits), which meant less money for skills training, further weakening the economy.

#### Tax Fairness

## Fast facts

- Since taking office, the federal Conservatives have forgone an estimated \$43 billion a year because of tax breaks that primarily benefit the wealthy and large corporations.
- In 1972, the top personal tax rate was 70%. Today, it is between 40% and 50%.
- In 1972, the top corporate tax rate was 52%. Today, it is less than 26%.
- Over the past 10 years, Bell Canada has paid just 4.5% in tax. Canadian Pacific Railway, 1.8%. Shopping mall owner First Capital Reality, just 1.25%.
- Canadian corporations made twice the profits in 2013 that they made in 2000: \$1.3 trillion compared to \$640 billion. But the amount they paid in taxes in 2000 and 2013 was exactly the same: \$200 billion.
- Until 2014, a majority of the federal government's tax revenues had come from business taxes. But in 2014, for the first time ever, the majority came from personal taxes.
- Income from stock options and capital gains is taxed at only half the rate of earned income.

#### THE HIGH COSTS OF LOW TAXES

The National Union believes that income tax cuts that have primarily benefited large corporations and the wealthy have made the tax system less fair and increased income inequality in Canada.

For a generation, governments have been cutting income tax, promising that as the wealth of corporations and rich individuals grew, that wealth would trickle down to the rest of us.

It hasn't worked. Since the 1980s, corporate taxes and income taxes on rich individuals have been cut in half. As a result, corporations and the rich have indeed become more wealthy, but the rest of us have barely been able to tread water.

Even the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and the Bank of Canada acknowledge that taxes are much less a problem for business than is weak consumer demand.

Worse, since we're now collecting billions less in tax from corporations and the rich, we're constantly struggling to properly invest in the quality public services that help us all. Cut backs, user fees, tuition hikes, and privatizations often seem like the only answer.

It's time for a government that will resist the easy political points of "tax cut" talk. It's time for a government that will remind Canadians that taxes are an investment in ourselves, and that will ensure we're all investing our fair share.

#### **CRACKDOWN ON TAX CHEATS**

At last count, corporations and rich Canadians had sent \$199 billion to off-shore tax havens, robbing us of nearly \$7.8 billion of government revenue a year.

Around the world, governments are cracking down on the use of tax havens, and it's time for a Canadian government that will follow suit.









Will cut taxes of Canadian property owners by up to \$600 a year if they renovate their property.

From 2006 to now, have significantly cut the taxes for wealthy Canadians in a number of ways:

- Created new loopholes to reduce the amount investors pay in capital gains taxes, and cut corporate taxes by 30%.
- Created income-splitting tax breaks for married couples with children. The incomesplitting tax break is of no benefit to 85% of Canadians, but it will cost the treasury more than \$2 billion a year.
- Created and expanded Tax Free Savings Accounts (TFSAs), which disproportionately benefit wealthy Canadians (those who can afford to save \$10,000 a year).

Cut \$250 million and 300 jobs from the Canada Revenue Agency, making it harder for the government to prevent tax evasion and fraud.

Charities whose work the Conservative government dislikes are far more likely to be audited than those the Conservative government likes. Will tax income from stock options at the same rate as other income (stock options are currently taxed at half the rate of other income).

Will use the additional revenue from closing the stock options loophole for an enhanced Working Income Tax Benefit and an enhanced National Child Benefit Supplement to assist middle- and low-income families.

Will increase corporate income tax rates, ensuring they are closer to the G7 average, while cutting tax rates for small business.

Will target tax reductions to ensure they help the middle class, working families, and the poor.

Will take action to block the use of off-shore tax havens, will prosecute money laundering, and will ensure the Canada Revenue Agency has sufficient resources to deal with tax evasion.

Will end Canadian opposition to international efforts to crack down on tax havens and will support measures like identifying the true owners of offshore accounts and shell companies.

Will reduce the middle-income tax bracket from 22% to 20.5% and introduce a new tax bracket of 33% for annual incomes over \$200,000. While the Liberals call this "a middle-class tax cut," the people benefiting the most would be people with incomes between \$89,401 and \$200,000. Even some people making over \$200,000 would pay less. Someone earning the median income of \$31,350 would receive no benefit.

When last in government, the Liberals instituted tax cuts that meant \$100 billion less for the public coffers. The richest 8% of Canadians received more than \$77 billion of that forgone tax revenue.

When last in government, the Liberals repeatedly pledged to repeal the GST because it unfairly adds tax burden to lower and middle-class income earners, but then broke that promise once elected.

When last in government, the Liberals instituted an immigrant head tax that places an unfair tax burden on new and often struggling Canadians.

## **Labour Rights**

## Fast facts

- The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that the right to collective bargaining is protected for all Canadians by the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- Two hundred and sixteen out of 223 laws passed in Canada since 1982 have violated our labour rights.
- Canada has faced 106 International Labour Organization complaints, more than any of the other 34 countries in the OECD. Of all the world's countries, only Colombia, Peru, and Argentina have faced more.
- Because of changes to labour laws, people who want to form a union in Ontario (or in any federally regulated workplace) are now 20% less likely to succeed.
- Higher union membership encourages greater participation in elections. When union membership is lower, so is voter turnout.
- In general elections, union members are 10% more likely to vote.
- In the 1988 federal election, voter turnout was 75%. In 2011, it was 61%.
- The top ten unionized countries have a 77.9% voter turnout, while the ten least unionized countries have a 61.8% voter turnout.

#### UNIONS MATTER

As a union of more than 360,000 working Canadians, it will come as no surprise that the National Union believes unions are vital, not just to their members, but to every Canadian.

Unions empower Canadians to speak their minds and assert their rights.

This leads to higher wages (for both union members and non-members alike), lower income inequality, a stronger economy, healthier public services because of a bigger tax base, safer workplaces, higher voter turnout, and increased equality for women, people with disabilities, people in the LGBT community, and visible minorities.

Since 1982, federal and provincial governments have passed more than 200 laws that made it more difficult for Canadians to either join unions, bargain collectively, or exercise their Charter right to strike.

Such laws hurt us all in the long run—it's time for a federal government that understands how much unions matter and that won't interfere with Canadians' constitutional labour rights.









Passed more anti-union legislation than any other federal government in the history of Canada.

Made it illegal for women to collectively file pay equity human rights complaints (and imposed a \$50,000 fine on unions that help or encourage members to do so).

Passed Bill C-377, which hobbles unions by forcing them (along with other non-profit groups) to spend millions every year to disclose financial information they already disclose to members.

Imposed new rules on people trying to form unions in federal workplaces, essentially forcing them to vote twice on whether they want to unionize. Similar rules in other jurisdictions have allowed employers to intimidate workers, resulting in a 20% drop in successful union drives.

Passed back-to-work legislation to strip workers at Air Canada, CP Rail, Canada Post, and the Canadian National Railway of their constitutional right to strike.

Passed (against Canada Post workers) the only back-to-work legislation in Canadian history that imposed a contract worse than the one offered by the employer.

Will repeal Bill C-377, which hobbles unions by forcing them to spend millions every year to disclose highly detailed financial information.

Will modernize labour laws to ensure that part-time and contract workers are able to exercise their Charter right to join and participate in unions.

Will guarantee equal pay for work of equal value.

Will set a fair minimum wage for employees under federal jurisdiction.

Will ban the use of replacement workers in all disputes under federal jurisdiction.

Will promote women's economic equality by ensuring pay equity, encouraging unionization, and improving access to El.

Will repeal Bill C-377, which hobbles unions by forcing them to spend millions every year to disclose highly detailed financial information.

When last in government, the Liberals weakened federal civil service employees' bargaining power by banning binding arbitration and by giving government exclusive power to declare essential services during a strike.

When last in government, the Liberals regularly declared strikes illegal, including strikes by public service workers, postal workers, railway workers, and port workers.

When last in government, the Liberals imposed a five-year wage freeze on federal civil service workers and suspended for three years their right to bargain for job security provisions.

## **Quality Public Services**

## Fast facts

- 20 years ago, government spending accounted for more than half of our GDP. Today, it's down to 40%.
- "Unemployment benefits, health care, child care and income security for the elderly and persons with disabilities, play a major role in cushioning populations from economic shocks"— International Monetary Fund
- Thanks to education funding cuts, universities and colleges have had to double their tuition fees since 2006.
- Canadians spend just \$33
   per person on our public
   broadcaster, CBC. In Japan,
   it's \$67 a person. In the
   UK, it's \$97 per person. In
   Germany, \$124 per person.
- Key details of many privatization deals are kept confidential, but the vast majority of Canadians believe this is wrong. Of 1,100 people surveyed in May 2014, 93% said "the public's right to know if tax money is being wisely spent" is more important than "a company's right to keep information secret from competitors."

#### NO MORE CUTS OR PRIVATIZATIONS

The National Union believes that quality public services give every Canadian a fair shot at life.

Medicare. Canada Pension Plan. Old Age Security. Canada Post. The CBC. Via Rail. National programs and institutions like these—not to mention our longtime commitment to public education, safe food and water, government science, and well-maintained roads and bridges—all ensure that every Canadian can build a prosperous and productive life, no matter how wealthy their parents, where they were born, or the colour of their skin.

Quality public services require investment, but Canada is living proof that we all reap significant rewards from that investment: we've built one of the safest, healthiest, and most prosperous countries in the world.

But over the past generation, Liberal and Conservative federal governments have told us that "we can no longer afford" this investment. Playing to our fears and anxieties, they have convinced us to cut back on those investments, or through privatization, let corporations make a profit at our expense. Either way, the result is the same: Canada becomes less fair and therefore less productive and less prosperous. We all suffer.

We needn't suffer. The truth is that it only seems like we can't afford to invest in quality public services, because Liberal and Conservative governments no longer ensure that the wealthiest Canadians shoulder their fair share of that investment (See Tax Fairness, pages 6-7). In other words, we don't have a spending problem, we have a revenue problem.

It's time for a government that understands the true value of investing in quality public services and that will ensure all Canadians are contributing their fair share towards that investment.

#### IT IS BETTER TO BUILD THAN TO CUT

Building quality public services isn't just good for our productivity and prosperity, it's good for our confidence, our spirits, our souls. Not since the 1960s, when Medicare was expanded to cover all Canadians and when the Canada Pension Plan and Old Age Security were established, have we come together to build something we can all be proud of.

After more than 50 years, the National Union believes it's time again to build. There are many fine projects from which to choose, including national public child care and national pharmacare programs. (See pages 14-17).









Cut more than 50,000 federal public service jobs.

Cutting \$36 billion from health care funding increases.

Cut more than \$130 million funding from the CBC.

Supported Canada Post's decision to end home delivery (and discouraged Canada Post from exploring revenue-generating projects such as banking).

Used partisan politics, not evidence of need, to decide on infrastructure and job creation funding: 4 of every 5 projects funded under the "Building Canada Fund" are in ridings that voted Conservative in the last election.

Forcing every municipality seeking federal infrastructure funding to use P3 privatization schemes for projects, increasing overall costs (by hundreds of millions in some cases, such as Edmonton's LRT project) in order to meet corporate profit margins.

Oppose any new national public programs, including national public child care and national pharmacare.

Cancelled the mandatory longform census, which provided key information for the creation of evidence-based public policy. Will reverse Canada Post's plan to end door-to-door delivery.

Will encourage reduced tuition fees and student debt by increasing education funding to provinces.

Will restore the \$130 million in funding to the CBC that has been cut by the Conservatives.

Will invest in public transit and rail, including strengthening Via Rail, with its own legislation to guarantee stable and long-term funding.

Will enhance the Gas Tax Fund to ensure municipalities and provinces can count on a stable and long-term funding pool for maintaining and building critical infrastructure.

Will stop insisting on privatized "P3" schemes to finance, build, and operate new infrastructure.

Will recognize the public sector's role as a wealth creator and important provider of decent jobs.

Will immediately begin negotiating with the provinces on a new "health accord" to provide sufficient, stable, and long-term funding for health care. Will reverse Canada Post's plan to end door-to-door delivery.

Will continue to privatize public services and infrastructure through P3 financing and operations. When last in government, the Liberals pioneered this sort of privatization of infrastructure financing, which left communities across the country facing higher costs than necessary in order to meet corporate profit margins.

When last in government, the Liberals imposed a 40% reduction of spending on public services and social programs. The public service was reduced to the size it was in 1951 and, as a result, economic growth was reduced by more than 3% and the country was forced into the "double-dip" recession.

The Liberals' massive cuts also meant that universities and colleges found themselves facing the lowest funding levels in 30 years; over the following decade, tuition fees more than quadrupled and student debt more than doubled.

When last in government, the Liberals completely eliminated the social housing budget in 1995, making Canada the only developed country without such a program.

#### **Access to Health Care**

## Fast facts

- Health care is the No. I election issue for a majority of Canadians.
- More than 4 million Canadians do not have access to a family doctor.
- More than half of Canadians are unable to get a same-day or next-day appointment with their family doctor.
- A third of Canadians older than 55 must wait more than a week to see a nurse or doctor.
- The Canadian Cancer Society says a lack of federal leadership is causing a crisis: "Our next government must take strong sustained action to repair dangerous holes in our publicly funded health system."
- The Canadian Institute for Health Information says "Access to primary health care remains a challenge in this country and has not improved since 2007."

#### HEALTH CARE IS THE DEFINING ISSUE

Like the majority of Canadians, the National Union believes health care is among the most important issues of this federal election.

With an aging population and the potential rewards of advancing technology, there is no escaping the fact that keeping Canadians healthy and productive will continue to take significant investment. Liberal and Conservative federal governments have been trying to convince us that we can't afford this significant investment and that our health care system needs to be cut and privatized.

But the truth is that with tax fairness (See pages 6-7) and a different approach—a sensible and coordinated approach—we can afford to invest in a system that ensures all Canadians have timely access to quality health care. It's an approach that requires three things:

Federal leadership—The provinces are responsible for delivering health care, but an effective and truly universal system requires strong federal co-ordination along with stable and long-term federal funding. When Medicare was established, the federal government paid 50% of the cost of health care. Cuts by successive federal governments mean the federal share has dropped to 20% in 2013. If proposed cuts go through, the federal share will drop to 18% by 2024.

**Imagination**—Health care requires significant investment, but there are limitless ways in which we can be making the most of our investment. A national pharmacare program, for example, could save billions every year. As could a renewed focus on preventative medicine. Or effective home care. Or a national mental health and addictions strategy.

**Enforcement of the law**—The spirit of the *Canada Health Act* is clear: corporations are not meant to profit from Canadians who are sick or hurt. But Liberal and Conservative federal governments have refused to enforce the Act, giving profiteers tacit approval to insinuate themselves into the margins of our health care system, be it by providing for-fee surgery facilities, for-profit MRIs, or privatizing hospital laundry or restaurant services. Any health care privatization means profiteers are reducing the amount of money our health care system has. It must stop.









Cutting \$36 billion in funding increases from the health care system.

Openly favour the continued privatization of health care and refuse to enforce the Canada Health Act.

Changed the health care funding formula so funding is now based not on the needs of a province's population but on the growth of the province's economy.

Repeatedly refused to convene a meeting with provincial health ministers to strategize and prioritize the future of our health care system.

Will overturn Conservative cuts to health care funding and will ensure the provinces have stable, appropriate, and long-term health care funding.

Will stop and roll-back the privatization of health care using existing mechanisms in the Canada Health Act.

Will provide funding for pharmacare programs and coordinate inter-provincial pharmaceutical bulk buys.

Will guarantee that abortion is a fully funded and universally accessible medical procedure.

Will invest in not-for-profit home care for seniors and people with disabilities.

Will convene a national health care council to ensure the Canada Health Act is enforced and expanded to cover home care, palliative care, and prescription drugs.

Will overturn Conservative cuts to health care funding and ensure the provinces have stable, appropriate, and long-term health funding, but when last in government, the Liberals inflicted massive health care funding cuts when they slashed transfers to the provinces by \$25 billion.

Support public health care, but when last in government, the Liberals refused to enforce the Canada Health Act when Alberta's Conservative provincial government passed a law legalizing for-profit hospitals.

Will guarantee that abortion is a fully funded and universally accessible medical procedure.

Support a national Pharmacare program, but when last in government, the Liberals broke their promise to create a National Pharmacare program.

When last in government, the Liberals tightened drug patent laws so pharmaceutical companies could hike drug prices and their profits.

Support a national home care plan but when last in government, the Liberals broke their promise to create a national home care plan.

#### **National Pharmacare & Home Care**

## Fast facts

- A national Pharmacare program could help save the country more than \$14 billion a year.
- The costs of salaries and facilities aren't driving health-care costs: money paid to corporations for pharmaceuticals are. Spending on prescription drugs in Canada has jumped from \$2.6 billion in 1985 to \$27.7 billion in 2012.
- More than 2 million Canadians have to spend more than \$1,000 a year on medicine.
- There are more than 1.5 million Canadians receiving home care, and more than 5 million Canadians providing home care.
- I in every 6 Canadians older than 64 are receiving home care.
- Just 4% of Canada's health care funding is spent on home care.
- Personal support workers provide approximately 70% of home care services but are among the lowestpaid workers in the entire health care system.

#### PHARMACARE: THE ULTIMATE BULK BUY

The skyrocketing costs of prescription drugs are the main reason our health care costs are increasing.

Spending on prescription drugs increased by a whopping 701% between 1985 and 2012—and that's without the effects of inflation. Two million Canadians now face annual drug costs of more than \$1,000 a year.

It doesn't have to be this way.

A big part of the reason that drug costs are so high is that we're not marshalling our buying power—individual provinces simply can't negotiate prices as low as they could if they were negotiating together with the other provinces.

But if we coordinated our efforts, we could realize massive savings. That's the idea behind a national Pharmacare program, and some reports suggest it could save us \$14 billion in health expenses every year.

#### THE FUTURE OF HEALTH CARE IS HOME CARE

Canadians receive excellent care in hospitals, but hospital care is stressful for patients and expensive to the system. Not all care has to be delivered in hospitals; in fact, many patients do better when they're able to receive their care at home.

But at the moment, much of the home care provided in Canada is being provided by family members who receive little if any support, putting a strain on their finances and their own wellbeing.

It's time for a federal government that will provide national leadership on the issue of home care: a federal government that will develop national standards of care and provide funding levels that ensure that individual Canadian families are not left holding the bill.









Reject the notion of a national Pharmacare program.

Negotiating trade agreement with the European Union (CETA) that will extend monopoly protection for brand name drug manufacturers that will result in further spikes in prescription drug prices.

Instituted the "Family Caregiver Tax Credit," which can reduce the annual taxes of those caring for a relative at home up to a maximum of \$309.

Cutting \$36 billion in funding increases from the health care system.

Repeatedly refused to convene a meeting with provincial health ministers to strategize and prioritize the future of our health care system. Will expand and maintain public coverage to ensure every Canadian can afford essential prescription drugs.

Will expand the Canada Health Act to cover prescription drugs.

Will develop Pan-Canadian standards for home care and ensure targeted funds for the entire spectrum of home care, long-term care, and palliative care.

Will ensure that friends and family members who care for loved ones on an informal basis have appropriate supports and financial assistance.

Support a national Pharmacare program, but when last in government, the Liberals imposed billions of dollars in funding cuts on the health care system and broke their promise to create a national Pharmacare program.

The Liberals tightened drug patent laws in the 1990s, so pharmaceutical companies could hike drug prices and increase their profits.

Support a national home care plan, but when in government, the Liberals broke their promise to create a national home care plan.

#### **National Public Child Care**

## Fast facts

- For every \$100 Quebec invests in its universal public child care program, it earns back \$107 in tax revenue and \$254 in social benefits.
- Quebec's universal public child care program boosted the province's economy by nearly \$5 billion a year.
- A TD bank study found that every dollar invested in early childhood education earns back between \$1.50 and \$3.
- Canada remains the only G7 country without a national early childhood education program.
- If it were as easy for women to work as it is for men, the Canadian economy would experience a 12% jump in GDP.
- Evidence shows that non-profit child care centres provide better quality care, but most new child care centres in Canada are forprofit and privately owned.

#### A BOOST FOR THE WHOLE ECONOMY

The National Union believes that establishing a national public child care program should be a priority of the next federal government.

Research from across Canada and around the world is conclusive: investing in high-quality yet affordable child care that focuses on providing early education pays a number of significant benefits—

- Student achievement goes up.
- Female workforce participation goes up.
- The economy grows more quickly.

Ten years ago, Quebec instituted a \$7-a-day child care program, and the results were dramatic: 70,000 women were able to return to the workforce, which helped fuel a significant boost to the province's economy, which in turn helped fuel a significant boost to both provincial and federal coffers.

Clearly, a national public child care program would help every Canadian, not just parents of young children.









Reject the notion of a national public child care program.

Instituted a \$100/month cash payment to parents of children younger than six. In some provinces, the payment covered less than a sixth of child care expenses, even for unregulated care.

On the eve of this election, Conservatives increased the payment to parents by \$60 a month, but because the benefit is taxable and the child tax credit was eliminated, families may only get to keep 3% of the increase.

Introduced an income-splitting tax rebate as a "child care initiative," but only the richest 15% of households are eligible, and less than half of the \$8 billion a year that it will cost will go to parents with children younger than 13.

Will establish a national public child care program that will ensure parents pay no more than \$15 a day for child care.

Will expand access to parental leave.

Will enshrine national public child care with the Canadian Early Childhood Learning and Care Act, a cornerstone piece of legislation similar to the Canada Health Act.

Will provide long-term and stable funding to the provinces for early childhood education and child care services.

The Liberals reject the notion of a national public child care program, but when they last held government the Liberals repeatedly promised to establish a national public child care program, and very nearly did in 2006.

Will increase the amount of money given to parents for child care, up to a maximum of \$533 a month for a child younger than six.

When last in government, the Liberals repeatedly fell short on their promises to increase the number of regulated child care spaces in the country. By the end of the Liberals' time in government, more than two-thirds of Canadian kids were still in unregulated care.

## **Dignified Retirement**

#### Fast facts

- Canadian families are only saving half as much money as they were 25 years ago.
- Only one in four working Canadians is covered by a traditional pension plan. In other words, I I million working Canadians don't have a workplace pension.
- As savings and workplace pensions have decreased, seniors living in poverty have tripled from 4% in 1995 to 12% in 2012. 65% of seniors in poverty are women.
- Half of the people in the middle class are facing a 25% drop in their standard of living upon retirement.
- With no improvements to the CPP, the annual cost of OAS and GIS will triple to \$130 billion by 2030.
- Fees for mutual funds are more than five times as high as pension plan fees. Those fees can eat up to a third of a person's retirement savings.

#### EXPANDING THE CPP IS EASY & EFFECTIVE

The National Union believes that every Canadian should be able to retire in dignity at a reasonable age. It's a matter of what's right, but also of what's sensible.

The simple demographic fact is that by 2030, nearly one in four Canadians will be of retirement age (up from one in eight in 1990). As a country, we have to ask ourselves a simple question: Do we invest now in adequate pensions that will support our retirees, or do we pay much higher costs later when poverty-stricken seniors put a huge demand on our public services?

The Conservative federal government has been choosing to stall, and already the costs are adding up. Poverty rates among seniors are rising, especially among senior women. And the number of Canadians without any sort of workplace pension has topped a staggering 11 million (again, the majority are women).

This represents a huge challenge, but it is far from insurmountable. In fact, we already have the answer right in front of us: the Canada Pension Plan (CPP).

The CPP's low management costs mean it can deliver the retirement security Canadians deserve. Because it pays out benefits until death, people don't have to worry about outliving their savings.

With an investment of a few dollars a day, the CPP will have the resources to support those without workplace pensions. A small investment to make now instead of larger costs to bear later.

Expanding the CPP will be a huge help, but it's not the only step we must take.

We must also address the fact that so few Canadians now have a workplace pension. Our governments have made it harder for Canadians to join and participate in a union (See Labour Rights, pages 8-9), leaving employers free to strip pensions from their workers.

Allowing more Canadians to exercise their labour rights will lead to more workplace pensions and will reduce the strain on CPP, OAS, and GIS.









Will allow Canadians to further deplete their retirement savings by loosening RRSP withdrawal rules.

Pushed the retirement age from 65 to 67, which will require the majority of Canadians to wait two extra years before collecting their Old Age Security (OAS) pension and their Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS).

Refuse to enhance the CPP by increasing mandatory premiums, but will consider allowing people to voluntarily contribute more to CPP (yet without forcing employers to match those voluntary contributions).

Implemented a privatized retirement savings scheme called Pooled Registered Pension Plans (PRPPs), which has resulted in more Canadian workers paying higher fees to the mutual fund industry.

The Conservatives say they created Tax Free Savings Accounts (TFSAs) to encourage people to save for retirement, but the evidence clearly shows they're not being used for retirement at all. TFSAs are mostly being used by wealthy Canadians to avoid paying their fair share of taxes (See Tax Fairness, pages 6-7).

Will expand the CPP.

Will allow workers and employers to make further voluntary contributions to the

Will repeal the Conservatives' decision to push the retirement age from 65 to 67. Repealing this decision will mean Canadians who are now younger than 50 won't have to wait an extra two years to begin collecting their Old Age Security (OAS) or their Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS).

Will increase funding for the GIS and ensure automatic eligibility for OAS and GIS.

Will create an ombudsperson for seniors and ensure that workers and retirees participate on private pension boards. Will look at ways to accomplish a "gradual enhancement" of the CPP, but when last in government the Liberals rejected increasing CPP benefits in favour of RRSP limit increases that disproportionately benefited wealthy Canadians.

Will repeal the Conservatives' decision to push the retirement age from 65 to 67.

The Liberals doubled CPP contributions in the late 90s, but refused to raise CPP benefits — effectively cutting benefits.

When last in government, the Liberals used CPP surpluses to balance their government budgets while their massive cuts to social spending helped double the poverty rate among seniors.

## Gender Equality & Human Rights

## Fast facts

- According to the United Nations, a government caucus must be at least one third women before it will begin to truly respond to women's concerns.
- 7 out of 10 part-time jobs are held by women.
- On average, Canadian women earn 71% of what men earn annually.
- Retired women are twice as likely as retired men to live in poverty.
- In July 2015, the UN slammed Canada's recent human rights record with respect to mining companies working abroad, lack of action on violence against Aboriginal and minority women, and rights abuses enabled by the new security legislation Bill C-51.

#### **EQUALITY DOESN'T JUST HAPPEN**

The National Union believes that every Canadian should share equally in the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship. One of the most important responsibilities of our government is to ensure that nobody enjoys unfair benefit or suffers unfair hardship because of their gender, sexual orientation, age, race, religion, physical ability or wealth.

Setting the stage for equality is not easy; there are many significant obstacles and challenges.

Take, for example, the issue of gender equality. Although few would argue that women deserve to be paid less than men for doing work of equal value, the fact is that women are still paid less than \$4 for every \$5 paid to men for work of equal value.

What's worse is while most people acknowledge that this pay gap is a serious injustice, we are only addressing it at a snail's pace. If we continue at the pace we've been going over the past 30 years, pay equity won't be achieved in Canada until the eve of the next century.

There are many things our federal government could be doing to foster equality for women and all other groups of people suffering discrimination:

- Lead by example—take steps to ensure that a diverse range of voices and opinions are reflected at leadership levels.
- Zero tolerance—set laws, policies, and regulations that simply make it illegal and unacceptable to discriminate against people.
- Foster diversity—rules and regulations are important, but even more important is simply creating an atmosphere of acceptance. Support initiatives and groups dedicated to equality. Design programs and policies with equality as a starting point.









20% of Conservative candidates are women.

Made it illegal for federal public sector workers to file human rights complaints over pay equity (and established fines against their unions if they supported them in doing so).

Pursued an economic strategy that is leading to a replacement of full-time jobs with part-time and temporary jobs, which is hurting women disproportionately.

Reject the notion of a national public child care program that would allow hundreds of thousands of Canadian mothers to return to work.

Closed 12 of 16 Status of Women offices across the country and removed the pursuit of "equality" from its mandate.

Closed the Court Challenges program, which had helped women and members of the LGBT community facing physical and mental challenges fight for their constitutional rights.

Refuse to launch a national inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of more than 1,000 missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

Blocked Bill C-279, human rights legislation for transgendered persons.

41% of NDP candidates are women.

Will introduce "proactive pay equity legislation" requiring immediate action from employers.

Will establish a national public child care program that will allow hundreds of thousands of Canadian mothers to return to work.

Will launch a national inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of more than 1,000 missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls.

Successfully introduced a law removing the GST (or the federal portion of the HST) from feminine hygiene products.

Introduced a law that would have led to gender equality on the boards of directors of Crown corporations within six years.

Introduced a law that would have added gender identity provisions to the Criminal Code and the Canadian Human Rights Act.

Support the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Gender Equality.

32% of Liberal candidates are women.

Will ensure that half of its cabinet are women.

Will launch a national inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of more than 1,000 missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls.

Reject the notion of a national public child care program that would allow hundreds of thousands of Canadian mothers to return to work.

#### **Veterans & Armed Forces**

## Fast facts

- 20 years ago, no country committed more troops to peacekeeping than Canada.
   Today, 64 countries do more for peacekeeping than we do.
- More armed forces personnel have committed suicide over the past 12 years than have been killed in combat.
- Canadian soldiers injured in the line of duty receive significantly less compensation than disabled soldiers in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States. Injured UK soldiers are eligible for payments of up to \$1 million Cdn; Canadian soldiers are eligible for just \$300,000.
- Data from Veterans Affairs indicates that psychiatric conditions are the second-most common of all causes of disability claims among those who served in Afghanistan. It is reported that depression, PTSD and substance abuse are the most common form of mental health problems among military personnel.
- The New Veteran's Charter of 2006 means soldiers released from the military for medical reasons, including post-traumatic stress disorders, receive an unsustainable lump sum payment instead of a pension.

#### WE HAVE A DUTY TO THOSE WHO SERVE

The National Union believes that military force is a last resort. There are usually many other ways to keep Canadians safe and help spread our values of democracy, equality, and freedom and they are often far more effective. Before we ask the men and women in our armed forces to risk their lives, we have a duty to make sure all other options have been explored.

The National Union also believes that since the federal government can depend on Canadian Armed Forces members to step into harm's way, the federal government must also accept responsibility for caring for those who suffer physical and mental harm as a result.

It is time for a federal government that is willing to show simple decency and loyalty to our veterans.

It is also time for a government that will show simple decency and loyalty to the women serving in our armed forces. It is time for a government that will exercise true leadership and enforce zero tolerance for sexual assault and harassment within the ranks.









Closed nine Veterans Affairs offices across the country in 2014, even though that same year, Veterans Affairs returned \$1.1 billion in unspent funding back to the treasury.

Cut the staff of Veterans Affairs by nearly a quarter.

Announced improvements to benefits for veterans in the 2015 budget, but staffing cuts mean veterans may have difficulty accessing those benefits.

Told Parliament the troubled F-35 aircraft would cost \$14 billion, when internal documents indicated they knew it would cost at least \$25 billion.

Spent \$700,000 fighting a Charter of Rights violation lawsuit from veterans. The Conservatives' defence during that lawsuit was that the government has no "social contract" to care for veterans.

Announced a \$200 million investment in mental health care for veterans but downplayed that the investment is to cover 50 years of treatment.

Supported armed forces leaders who rejected the recommendations made by a judicial panel investigating systemic sexism and sexual assault in the ranks.

Will implement the 10 recommendations in the Deschamps report on Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces.

Will reopen the nine Veterans Affairs offices closed in 2014.

Will reaffirm that the primary purpose of the Canadian Forces is peacekeeping, defence, and support during emergencies.

Will subject any proposed military intervention to a Parliamentary vote.

Will improve the living and working conditions of personnel and their families.

Will extend the Veterans Independence Program and increase survivors' pensions from 50% to 66%.

Will end the unfair reduction of pensions for retired and disabled veterans and the unjust offset of Service Income Security Insurance Plan benefits.

Will offer better support for PTSD and other operational stress disorders, and initiate discussions for new Health Care Centres of Excellence specializing in veterans' care.

Will ensure peer-reviewed medical evidence is used when assessing veterans' disability applications.

Will appoint an Injured Veterans Ombudsman and expand the role of the Veterans Ombudsman to provide independent analysis and reports to Parliament. Will implement the 10 recommendations in the Deschamps report on Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces.

Will reopen the nine Veterans Affairs offices closed in 2014, but from 1993 to 2006, the Liberal government imposed massive funding cuts on the armed forces. A former chief of defence staff called it "the decade of darkness."

When last in government, the Liberals eliminated burial and funeral benefits for veterans whose families earned between \$12,010 and \$24,000.

#### The Environment

## Fast facts

- 97% of peer-reviewed climate studies support the scientific community's consensus that man-made global warming is real and that burning fossil fuels is a significant cause.
- If Canada did its share to control climate change, it would prevent 700 premature deaths a year due to air pollution and would create 71,000 renewable energy sector jobs.
- In 2014, Canada ranked dead last among the world's 58 most industrialized countries when it came to making progress on cutting greenhouse gas emissions.
- In 2015, economist
  Robyn Allan withdrew
  from the National Energy
  Board's review of the
  Kinder Morgan pipeline
  project through the Rocky
  Mountains because the
  "review is not conducted
  on a level playing field ...
  the game is rigged."
- The economic costs of extreme weather damage are increasing rapidly—\$3.2 billion in Canada in 2013 alone.

#### A STRONG ECONOMY DEPENDS ON A HEALTHY AND CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

The National Union believes that the environmental impact must be part of every economic and political decision we make.

The scientific evidence is now clear and irrefutable: human activity has already significantly and perhaps even dangerously changed our climate. We can no longer afford to ignore the environment.

This is not to say that the days of large-scale industrial development are over. It simply means that before we invest in or approve such a development, it must be subject to a rigorous and open review process that includes meaningful input from all of the stakeholders—including those who will own the project, those who will work on the project, and those whose lands and waters might be affected by the project.

This requires a federal government—in concert with municipal, provincial, and First Nations governments—that is committed to ensuring the integrity and authority of these reviews.

It also requires a federal government that is committed to engaging in independent, public science. A federal government that is committed, in other words, to the long-term and stable funding of departmental science, and which won't interfere with departmental scientists' rights and obligations to speak publicly about their scientific findings.









Pledged to reduce carbon emissions by 30% from 2005 levels by 2030, (a lower emissions cut than agreed to by the US and the EU).

In 2009, the Conservatives agreed to reduce emissions by 17% from 2005 levels by 2020, but expansion allowed in the tar sands means Canada will miss that target by at least 50%.

Will consider purchasing international emissions credits, which means funding green projects in other countries.

Actively promote pipeline projects such as Keystone XL, Energy East, and the Northern Gateway, despite the fact that these projects have yet to undergo meaningful environmental review.

Pledged in 2009 to phase out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies, but have continued to subsidize fossil fuels.

In 2006, withdrew Canada from the Kyoto Accord, the worldwide agreement to cut gas emissions.

Drastically reduced environmental protections on our lakes and rivers (in order to encourage pipeline development and fracking). Cuts to the Environmental Assessment Agency resulted in cancellation of thousands of assessments.

Made environmental assessments of major energy and industrial projects much shorter and less rigorous.

Will rescind tax breaks and subsidies for fossil fuel industries while protecting workers and their communities.

In consultation with First Nations, municipalities, provinces, and territories, will establish and implement a National Water Strategy with legislation to guarantee access to clean water as a basic human right.

Will establish binding targets to cut greenhouse gas emissions and will create a revenue-generating carbon market to ensure corporations pay a price if they miss their emission targets.

Will impose strict efficiency and emissions standards on vehicles, appliances, and buildings.

Will invest in research and development of new sources of clean energy, and promote provincial and territorial sharing of renewable energy sources.

Will assume an international leadership role to halt climate change.

Will fulfill Canada's G-20 commitment to phase out subsidies for the fossil fuel industry.

Will provide support to provinces to help them develop and meet carbon emission reduction targets, instead of implementing Canada-wide standards to reduce carbon emissions.

When last in power, the Liberals signed the Kyoto Protocol, agreeing to cut greenhouse gas emissions. In the same year, however, the Liberals also signed agreements with Canada's oil industry, absolving them of any responsibility to cut emissions to 1990 levels. By the time the Liberals left power in 2006, emissions were 27% above 1990 levels.

Will review Canada's environmental assessment processes, but when the Liberals were last in power, Canada's environmental record was ranked 28th worst of the 30 countries in the OECD at the time.

Increase the amount of Canada's marine and coastal areas that are protected from 1.3% to 5% by 2017, and 10% by 2020.

Will suspend admission fees to Canada's national parks in 2017.

## Reconciling with Aboriginal Peoples

## Fast facts

- First Nations schools receive \$3,000 less per student than non-First Nations schools.
- In 2011, 44% of people living on reserves had graduated from high school.
- Between 2006 and 2011, the employment rate on First Nations reserves fell from 39% to 34%. The employment rate in 2011 for non-Aboriginals was 61%.
- Income inequality between people living on reserves and people living in the rest of Canada grew between 2000 and 2011.
- In 2011, the number of residences needing major repairs was six times higher on reserves than off.
- The average income of Aboriginal workers is \$20,000 a year, a third less than the average income of non-Aboriginal workers.
- As of May 31, 2015, there were 127 Drinking Water Advisories in effect in 88 First Nation communities across Canada – and that's without including British Columbia.

#### WE MUST STOP BREAKING OUR PROMISES

The National Union believes that we cannot have a truly healthy and prosperous Canada without first forging a healthy and respectful relationship with Aboriginal people.

Forging this kind of relationship after more than two centuries of oppression and abuse will not be easy.

It must begin with a genuine recognition that Aboriginal people have an inherent right to self-government. With this recognition must come action.

There are clear road maps for action, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the dozens and dozens of recommendations from such bodies as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and, more recently, the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Unfortunately, Liberal and Conservative governments have repeatedly decided to ignore these road maps. To great shame, for example, Canada is one of the few countries in the world that continues to refuse to sign the UN declaration.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued its long-awaited report in June 2015, and it included 94 specific recommendations. They run the gamut from eliminating the large difference in education funding received by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to the provision of long-term and stable funding to Aboriginal healing centres.

Enacting the 94 recommendations won't benefit Aboriginal people alone; we will all reap the rewards of stronger Aboriginal Peoples. Their prosperity will increase our prosperity.

It is time for a government that will move beyond simple statements of regret and apology and show a willingness for meaningful action and reconciliation.









Apologized in 2008 for the damage done by the residential school system, but have offered no commitment to implementing the 94 recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the residential school system.

Refuse to call a national inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of more than 1,000 Aboriginal women and girls.

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development has left more than a billion dollars of its budget unspent. Will embark on building a new nation-to-nation relationship with First Nations, Inuit, and Metis with the goal of implementing self government.

Will launch a national inquiry into the deaths and disappearances of more than 1,000 missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls.

Will implement the principles of the United Nations
Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Will work with First Nations, Inuit, and Metis to address their specific health care challenges.

In consultation with First Nations, Inuit, and Metis communities, will establish and implement a National Water Strategy with legislation to guarantee access to clean water as a basic human right.

Will begin the work of closing the education funding gap between Aboriginal schools and schools outside Aboriginal communities. Will immediately launch a national public inquiry into missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls in Canada.

Will recognize and respect
Aboriginal title and rights, including
treaty rights, but when last in
government, the Liberals broke
repeated promises to recognize First
Nations' right to self-government and
to wind down the Department of
Indian Affairs.

Will make new investments in Aboriginal education, but no amount or goal specified.

Will lift the 2% cap on funding for First Nations programs, a cap that was imposed by the Liberals when they last formed government.

Will implement objectives of the Kelowna Accord, but when last in government, the Liberals dismissed the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples as too costly and put a cap on the amount that Aboriginal communities could receive from lands claims.

## **Democracy and Security**

## Fast facts

- Stephen Harper's government is the only Commonwealth government in history to have ever been found in contempt of Parliament.
- Bill C-51, which gave our intelligence services unchecked new powers to spy on all Canadians, was strongly opposed by a broad range of Canadians and organizations, including four former prime ministers (Joe Clark, Jean Chretien, Paul Martin, and John Turner), the Canadian Privacy Commissioner, and hundreds of law professors and business leaders.
- Intelligence service accountability measures recommended by the Maher Arar inquiry were never implemented.
- In the 1988 federal election, voter turnout was 75%. In 2011, it was 61%.
- Conservative changes to our election laws use USstyle "voter suppression tactics," making it harder for seniors, the poor, and racial minorities to vote.

#### **DEMOCRACY IS THE ULTIMATE SECURITY**

The National Union believes that an educated and engaged citizenry is, by far, the best defence against extremism and terrorism.

The more we engage in civil and respectful conversations and debates that grapple with issues of inequality and mental illness, the better able we'll be to diffuse violence and hatred.

The National Union therefore stands resolutely against the "security" policies of the Conservatives and the Liberals.

By voting in favour of Bill C-51, the Liberals and the Conservatives are helping to promote, not stem, the spread of violence and hatred inside our borders and beyond. Giving intelligence services unchecked powers will only breed fear and resentment, the very seeds of violence.

#### FAIR AND OPEN ELECTIONS

The National Union believes that a key responsibility of any democratic government is to encourage people to take part in democracy.

The Conservative government is intent on doing the opposite:

- The Conservatives have been convicted of, or pleaded guilty to, breaking election laws in all three federal elections since 2006.
- The Conservatives stripped from Elections Canada the authority to enforce laws that protect people's democratic rights, and even made it illegal for Elections Canada to encourage people to use their right to vote.
- The Conservatives have placed onerous new identification requirements on people who want to vote. Students, seniors, members of Aboriginal communities, and many people living in poverty won't be able to meet those requirements, and won't be allowed to vote.





Created Bill C-51 giving intelligence services unchecked new powers to spy on, disrupt, and imprison Canadians.

Will make it illegal for Canadians to travel to areas where "terrorist organizations" operate, even if they have family in those areas.

Despite little evidence of voter fraud, instituted new voter-ID rules that could prevent many students, Aboriginal people, and people living in poverty from voting.

Made it illegal for Elections Canada to encourage people to vote.

Stripped Elections Canada's ability to investigate cases of elections fraud such as

- The Conservative Party pleaded guilty in 2011 to breaking election laws during the closely contested 2006 federal election, in which Stephen Harper first came to power. The party admitted it filed fraudulent spending records.
- In 2014, a Conservative Party staffer was sentenced to nine months in jail for his role in the "robocall scandal," in which the party misled thousands of non-Conservative voters in Guelph about the locations of their polling stations.
- In 2015, Stephen Harper's former Parliamentary Secretary, MP Dean Del Mastro, was sentenced to one month in jail, four months of house arrest, and a year-and-a-half of probation for breaking campaign laws during the 2008 election.

Appointed 59 Conservatives to the Senate, some of whom are now under investigation or facing criminal charges.



Opposed and will fully repeal Bill C-51, the law that gives intelligence services new and unchecked power to spy on and arrest Canadians.

Will enhance oversight of intelligence agencies.

Will end racial profiling.

Will invest in crime prevention, focusing on at-risk youth and gangs.

Will emphasize rehabilitation and reintegration wherever possible, particularly for those with addictions and mental health problems.

Voted in favour of legislation imposing mandatory minimum sentences for gun crimes.

Will implement a strategy for a country-wide system of supports for victims of crime, including gun violence, and their families.

Will reform our electoral system through mixed-member proportional representation.

Will ensure voter identity regulations do not unduly restrict citizens from voting.

Will abolish the unelected Senate.



Supported Bill C-5 I giving intelligence services unchecked new powers to spy on, disrupt, and imprison Canadians.

Will repeal "portions" of Bill C-51 but refuse to say which portions or when.

Will ban partisan government advertising, but when last in government, the Liberals spent \$1 billion on partisan government advertising.

Will restore the voter identification card as an acceptable form of identification for voting to make it easier for people to vote.

Will end partisan appointments to the Senate.

# 2015 Federal Election Voting Checklist

- ☐ Ensure you're registered to vote by visiting www.elections.ca or calling 1-800-463-6868.
- ☐ Encourage three other people to ensure they're registered to vote.
- ☐ Vote (in an advance poll if possible).
- Encourage three other people to vote (in an advance poll if possible).





