

Vision Green



Table of Contents

Forward

Introduction

Part 1: The Green Economy

1.1 Principles guiding the Smart Economy, the Green Economic Plan

1.1.1 Reducing waste and pollution: Enhancing social justice and genuine prosperity

1.1.2 Get the prices right

1.2 Applying these principles to economic decision making

1.3 Reporting the well-being of the nation more accurately

1.4 Fair taxes – fiscal reform

1.5 Balanced budget – debt reduction

1.6 Removing corporate subsidies: Distorting the market

1.7 Income trusts

1.8 Labour

1.9 Open source computer software

1.10 Small business loans and entrepreneurial incentives

1.11 Co-operatives

1.12 Railways – re-establishing the national dream

1.13 Green urban transportation

1.14 Infrastructure and communities

1.15 Agriculture and food

1.16 Genetically engineered organisms

1.17 Fisheries

1.18 Green forest vision

1.19 Expanding cultural tourism and ecotourism

1.20 Mining

1.21 Energy industry: No to nuclear

Part 2: Addressing the challenge of the Climate Crisis: Enhancing economic performance while safeguarding our future

2.1 Making real reductions in GHG emissions

2.1.1 Climate and Energy Policy

2.1.2 Government operations

2.1.3 Buildings

2.1.4 Efficiency

2.1.5 Renewable energy

2.1.6 Transport

2.1.8 Industry

2.1.9 Forestry

2.1.10 Agriculture

2.1.11 Fossil fuels

2.1.12 Global

2.2 Adapting to climate change within Canada

Part 3: Preserving and Restoring the Environment

3.1. Air quality

3.2 Water protection and conservation

3.3 National Parks

- 3.4 Species at risk
- 3.5 Toxic chemicals and health risks from radiation
- 3.6 Environmental science support: Restore federal science capacity
- 3.7 Zero waste
- 3.8 Commercial seal hunt
- 3.9 Commercial whale hunting
- 3.10 Animal welfare
- 3.11 Arctic strategy
- 3.12 Measuring and protecting Canada's natural accounts

Part 4: People

- 4.1 Family-focused program
- 4.2 Relief for the middle class
- 4.3 Child care
- 4.4 Seniors
- 4.5 Physician-assisted death: Living and dying with dignity
- 4.6 A fair deal for youth
- 4.7 Healthier people – healthier health care
- 4.8 Health promotion
- 4.9 Ending the war on drugs
- 4.10 Rights, respect, and dignity
 - 4.10.1 Women's equality
 - 4.10.2 People with disabilities
 - 4.10.3 Immigration and new Canadians
 - 4.10.4 Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights
 - 4.10.5 Indigenous Peoples
 - 4.10.6 Protecting access to excellence in post-secondary education
- 4.11 Striving for justice
 - 4.11.1 True justice, Real security
 - 4.11.2 Protecting rights of sex trade workers
 - 4.11.3 Reforming the Divorce Act
 - 4.11.4 Cracking down on organized and white collar crime
 - 4.11.5 Anti-terrorism and border security
 - 4.11.6 Corporate accountability
 - 4.11.7 Access to justice
 - 4.11.8 Gun control and ownership rights
- 4.12 Eliminating poverty
- 4.13 Reforming the Employment Insurance system
- 4.14 Ending homelessness
- 4.15 Fair and respectful policies for veterans
- 4.16 Arts and culture: Beauty and integrity

Part 5: The Planet Needs Canada (and Vice Versa)

- 5.1 Canada's role as global leader in peace-building, poverty alleviation, and environmental protection
- 5.2 Making poverty history
- 5.3 International Financial Transaction Tax
- 5.4 Press for the elimination of all nuclear weapons

5.5 Reform the United Nations

5.6 Defence policy

5.7 Africa

5.8 Address the crisis of global population growth

5.9 Rebuild Canada's traditional diplomatic muscle

5.10 The Israel – Palestine Conflict

5.11 Iran

5.12 Maintaining a healthy relationship with our closest neighbour

5.13 Latin and South American partnerships

5.14 Haiti

5.15 Trade and sovereignty

5.15.1 Investor-State Agreements (FIPAs)

5.16 North American Union (NAU) by increment

Part 6: Good Government

6.1 Democratic renewal and proportional representation

6.2 Increasing government accountability and ethical conduct

6.3 Affirming the right to collective bargaining

6.4 Making government a leader in ethical purchasing

6.5 Allowing charitable societies to advocate for change

6.6 Supporting the free flow of information

6.7 Open Government Data

6.8 Reducing concentration of ownership of the media

6.9 Ensuring Canadian ownership of vital resources and industries

6.10 Restoring public confidence in the RCMP

6.11 Emergency preparedness and public safety

6.12 Rebuilding federal/provincial/territorial relations

6.13 Quebec's place in Canada

Conclusion

Forward

In 2006, my then Deputy Leader Adriane Carr and I set out to create a foundational policy document for the Green Party of Canada. Working with the members of our Shadow Cabinet, we compiled and explained the policies approved by Green Party policy conventions over the years. Our goal was to make it easier for the public and members alike to find out where the Greens stood on major public issues.

I remember when Adriane came up with the assertive preamble for each set of action items: “Green Party MPs will.” At that moment it was a leap of faith to know that Canada’s Parliament would have Green Party MPs. And to know what those Green MPs would fight for.

On May 2, 2011, I had the enormous honour of being entrusted by the voters of Saanich-Gulf Islands to represent them in the House of Commons. They also made a leap of faith in casting their ballots to elect Canada’s first Green MP. Since that day, I have worked tirelessly, primarily in the interests of my constituents, and less so as the leader of the Green Party. I believe that is how it should be.

In spring 2013, Greens in British Columbia made history again, with the election of that province’s first Green Party MLA, respected climate scientist Dr. Andrew Weaver. In December 2013, our federal caucus doubled with the decision by Independent MP, Bruce Hyer (Thunder Bay-Superior North) to join me in Parliament and become Deputy Leader of the Green Party of Canada. And in September 2014, the leader of the Green Party of New Brunswick, David Coon, outdid us all, being elected but also forming the third party in the New Brunswick legislature, with official party status. In May 2015, David Coon’s success was matched by Prince Edward Island Green leader Peter Bevan Baker who became the only non-Liberal or Conservative MLA in Prince Edward Island – also achieving recognized party status.

2017 saw us go from four elected Greens, each sitting as lonely leaders in our respective parliaments, to seven elected Greens! The May 2017 election in British Columbia made history with three Green MLAs being elected. Adam Olsen and Sonia Furstenuau joined Andrew Weaver, becoming Canada’s first elected Green caucus. In November 2017, a by-election in Prince Edwards Island allowed for Green MLA Hannah Bell to join Peter Bevan-Baker. Most recently Green Party of Ontario Leader Mike Schreiner made history by becoming the first elected Green MPP of Ontario!

Now that we have Green MPs, I can add more to our list of commitments.

Green MPs will:

- Set the standard for transparency and accountability (we were the first to scan all original receipts and post all expenses on our websites);
- Conduct ourselves respectfully in the House of Commons, through our commitment to never heckle;
- Practice ‘high road’ politics, never using *ad hominem* attacks, but sticking to issues in debate;
- Work hard, placing the interests of our constituents and of Canada above those of our party;
- Be the only party with a policy of no whipped votes; and

- Strive to find common ground with other parties, working across party lines in the public interest.

Vision Green, our hopes for re-building the Canada we want, is more real with every passing day. Please join us.

Elizabeth May, O.C.

Leader, Green Party of Canada

Introduction

Since 2007, the Green Party of Canada has presented a comprehensive statement of our policies and programs. In every election, we distill our top priorities in an election platform which is thoroughly costed and accompanied by a budget. Vision Green is not an election platform. It is both too lengthy and detailed for an election statement of priorities. What it does is give any interested Canadian a more complete understanding of the full range of public policies Green Members of Parliament will work to implement.

Periodically, we update and expand Vision Green to ensure we are ready to put forward a positive vision, grounded in current realities.

Vision Green presents a well-researched analysis of critical economic, environmental, and social challenges facing Canadians from coast to coast to coast. In this document, we present practical solutions that can be achieved if there is the political will and leadership to take forward-looking action. It was developed by our Green Cabinet and was informed by experts, activists and citizens who participated in policy workshops held across Canada. Our vision is based on policies approved by the membership of the Green Party.

Our solutions are realistic because they follow ‘best practices’ already in place in parts of Canada and around the world. These practices are cost-effective, deliver results, and benefit people, the economy and the environment.

The Green Party’s down-to-earth solutions will work in Canada because they have worked around the world. Many have been successfully applied in Europe, where Greens are elected at all political levels, including the European Union and national parliaments. Countries where Greens have served in government are the countries creating new high-paying jobs while simultaneously meeting targets to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. They are the countries where the gap between rich and poor is small and the standard of living is high. These countries don’t trade off the environment for the economy. Their economies and environmental laws are both strong.

Green Party solutions are rational because the Green Party, unlike other parties, understands the scientific reality of limits to growth set by the carrying capacity of our planet. We must work within these limits. Otherwise, we will exhaust resources, degrade our environment and put our economy, health, and children’s future at risk. Many people find it hard to position the Green Party on the old political spectrum. We believe in sound fiscal management, fostering small business, and strengthening our economy while ensuring that it is sustainable. Does that mean we are ‘right wing’? We believe that government must provide needed social services while protecting our environment and the rights of women, minorities, and disadvantaged people. Does that make us ‘left wing’? We don’t think so. More and more people are simply thinking of the Green Party as the party of the future.

The Green Party is different from other parties in another important way. We will never place the pursuit of power above principle. We will not allow partisan politics to get in the way of good ideas and needed action. We agree with Canadians who say it’s time for parties in parliament to stop bickering and get on with the job of governing, combating climate change, and taking better care of our environment, our health, and our economy.

The Green Party of Canada, founded in 1983, is now a major force in Canadian politics. We are a Parliamentary party with two current members. Nearly one million Canadians voted Green in the 2008 federal election. More than one in ten Canadians are now saying they plan to vote Green.

Green directions point to more jobs, more time with family, and a livable world, now and for our children and their children.

We will strive to support a society where the pressure to make a living does not crowd out having a life; where having more does not supplant being more.

We believe that the function of governments is to foster fairness and equality in social aspects like nutrition, education, and justice. We want to serve you in a government that does the following:

- encourages the creative, the industrious, the generous, and the sustainable
- protects the weak, and
- regulates corporate behavior to achieve these ends.

In our green vision, Canadians enjoy a higher quality of life, experiencing health and wellness, education and meaningful work, prosperity and economic success supported by ecological health.

In our vision of Canada, ability or disability, economic, racial, or cultural backgrounds do not preclude individuals from contributing to and benefiting from a prosperous Canada.

Canadian communities – urban and rural – thrive in our green vision, including communities dependent on fisheries, forestry, and agriculture.

Canada plays a positive role in the world, working cooperatively with governments, North and South, to ensure equity, global peace, and security.

“The era of procrastination, of half-measures, of soothing and baffling expedients, of delays, is coming to its close. In its place, we are entering an era of consequences.”

Sir Winston Churchill

In her last book, *Dark Age Ahead*, the late Jane Jacobs, Canadian urban planner and visionary, wrote that the five pillars of our civilization and culture are under assault. She wrote that government policies have been contributing to the “ominous signs of decay” eroding family, community and education. She warned that family, community, and higher education, as well as the practice of science and proper taxation, were “in the process of becoming irrelevant, and so are dangerously close to the brink of lost memory and cultural uselessness.”

We feel this in our bones. Yet, what political party is addressing the threat?

Real policies in the real world can lead us to a better future. Poor policies, badly conceived, imperfectly imagined and poorly implemented, could leave our children and their children in an unlivable world. The Green Party believes improvements can be made immediately while recognizing that long-term planning is essential if generations to come are to benefit.

This is the Green Plan for Canada. These are the steps we will take when we form government. These are the policies we will advance to other parties until that time. We will work

collaboratively in the House of Commons to shift priorities, to promote those innovative ideas whose time has come.

“Nothing else in the world...not all the armies...is so powerful as an idea whose time has come.”

Victor Hugo

We start with a vision of the society we want.

- Does it advance the common good?
- Does it advance global peace and security?
- Does it address the needs of children?
- Does it ensure Canada’s continued quality of life and economic health?
- Does it make families more secure?
- Does it protect, enhance, and restore the life support systems of the planet?
- Does it promote systems – cultural, institutional, and technological – that are resilient and capable of adapting to shocks in a more unpredictable world?

The Green Government will jettison the baggage of currently stagnant political thinking. The Greens will leave the old-line parties to fight for turf at the cutting edge of the status quo.

We have a vision. With your vote and your help, we can make it real.

“Without vision, the people perish.”

Proverbs, Hebrew Testament

What kind of Canada do we want in 2025? How do we get there from here?

The Green Party holds a positive vision of Canada, now and into the future.

Part 1: The Green Economy

Green economic principles are pragmatic. Thanks to the influence of Green parties around the world, these core principles have been tested. They work.

Central to our policies is understanding that there is no conflict between environment and economy.

A smart economy is one that is resilient. A smart economy is diversified, less vulnerable to global shifts. A smart economy enriches localized value chains, producing more goods and employing more Canadians. According to numerous studies, notably Michael E. Porter's work at Harvard Business School, the more ambitious environmental standards and regulations are adopted, the more competitive and productive is your economy.

Most Canadians enjoy one of the highest qualities of life of any people in the world. We are blessed with abundant resources and a skilled and educated workforce.

While thanks to a regulated banking system we endured the 2008 financial melt-down better than many other countries, our economic indicators are flat-lining. Our employment picture is relatively stagnant. Youth unemployment is particularly worrying, at double the national level.

We face a serious crisis of lack of productivity. Productivity is a measure of innovation and investment in Research and Development. We are falling far behind the United States for the first time since productivity has been measured.

Since the 1970s, our economy has shifted from a majority of our exports being manufactured goods to our current majority of exports being unprocessed raw materials. With this shift, we have lost Canadian jobs in 'value-added' but we have also lost ground in productivity. Raw resource production as a sector invests far less in Research and Development and innovation than manufacturing.

During the era of the Harper Conservatives, government policy supported ever-increasing exports of raw material. Value-added was ignored and our economy was skewed towards the export of raw bitumen. Since 2015, the Liberals have continued this push for fossil fuel infrastructure most notably in subsidizing the Trans Mountain pipeline. Putting all our eggs in the bitumen basket was never good economic policy. The low price for a barrel of oil makes this more transparent, but even if oil prices rebound to historic highs, the threat to Canada's productivity remains a real drag on our economic health.

“Productivity may not be everything, but in the long run, it is almost everything.”

Paul Krugman, Nobel Prize winning economist

Canadians are also among the most overworked citizens in the industrialized world. A report from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) states that the richest 10% of Canadians are the only ones not working longer hours. The report concludes that, despite being better educated and working harder, Canadian families are now “running faster just to stay put and the bottom half is actually falling behind.”

It is essential that we become far more creative in reducing our unbalanced dependence on trade with the U.S., and that we significantly invest in a National Clean Tech/Energy program to

remain price competitive and sanction-free. And finally, that we conserve natural resources and invest more in long-term education and re-training.

This generation has the potential to capitalize on the single biggest business opportunity in human history: the shift to a post-fossil fuel economy. Whether this is driven by the need to end the recession through economic stimulus, high energy extraction costs, or collapsing oil prices, strategic geopolitical threats to foreign oil, the climate crisis, or all of them combined, the country that mobilizes resources to develop and commercialize smarter technologies (e.g. alternate fuels, renewable energy, and energy efficiency) will survive and thrive.

Canada should be that country.

1.1 Principles guiding the Smart Economy, the Green Economic Plan

1.1.1 Reducing waste and pollution: Enhancing social justice and genuine prosperity

Greens are committed to improving our collective well-being. Greens recognize that we need new measurements of our societal health and prosperity. Greens know that the notion of unending economic growth is a dangerous illusion. We can do far more with far less. The central driving principle of Green Economic Policy is to improve well-being by increasing efficiency and eliminating waste. Our society has embedded wasteful practices at every turn. We waste raw materials, waste water, and waste energy. In fact, of all the energy used by Canadians, more than half is wasted. Green economic policies aim to improve the efficiency of resource and energy use by a factor of four.

In their seminal book, *Factor Four*, Ernst von Weizacker, Amory B. Lovins and L. Hunter Lovins concluded:

“The amount of wealth extracted from one unit of natural resources can quadruple. Thus we can live twice as well – yet use half as much.”

There is abundant evidence to support this contention. Improvements in labour productivity drove economic growth after World War II. We must now repeat the exercise as we improve the efficiency of resource and energy use.

1.1.2 Get the prices right

To get there from here, market distortions created by a failure to internalize externalities must be removed. In other words, we must get the prices right. The single most significant government policy tool to advance or retard economic sustainability resides in the fiscal framework.

Our fiscal plan is straightforward. Use the tax system to help meet societal and ecological goals. Get the prices right. Allow business to pursue profit, with clear signals of environmental and societal objectives.

The Green commitment to Green tax relief will:

- Reduce income taxes;
- Reduce payroll taxes;
- Raise taxes on profits of large corporations to the mid-range of OECD countries;
- Recover taxes hidden in off-shore tax havens;

- Introduce a carbon price through a carbon fee and dividend system, sending a clear economic signal that wasting energy and resources implies real costs.

According to an editorial in *The Economist*, September 9, 2006:

“Ideally, politicians would choose the more efficient carbon tax, which implies a relatively stable price that producers can build into their investment plans.”

While the Trudeau Liberals have embraced the importance of a carbon tax across Canada, it is unclear how funds will be distributed as each province will make its own decision.

Under the Green Party of Canada “carbon fee and dividend” plan, carbon fees collected at the well head or coal mine will be paid out to every Canadian on a per capita basis. This will foster the efficient and more sustainable use of dwindling fossil fuels, and it will also serve as a fair and efficient income redistribution mechanism.

The Greens will also eliminate large corporate subsidies and grants programs.

It makes no sense to subsidize the wealthiest companies on Earth to make the world’s most profitable product – a barrel of oil. The 2010 report of the International Energy Agency called for the removal of fossil fuel subsidies. Globally, they amount to over \$300 billion a year, while renewables received approximately \$30 billion. These perverse subsidies must be removed. It makes sense to reduce taxes on things we want - income and employment - while increasing taxes on things we do not want, like greenhouse gases (GHGs) and pollution that causes smog.

Canadian businesses want two things from their government: predictability and policy coherence. A Green Government will ensure that the rules are clear, the playing field is level, and decision making is transparent.

Key societal goals:

- Ensure Canadians have more time for friends, family, and community engagement.
- Send the right price signals to the economy. The days of cheap, abundant energy are over. A carbon price will send that signal and promote a shift away from polluting energy choices.
- Eliminate perverse corporate subsidies. No more ‘corporate welfare bums.’ No more unpaid ‘loans’ to government granting agencies.

1.2 Applying these principles to economic decision making

The bigger the challenge, the greater the opportunity. Canada and the world community face an environmentally-linked energy challenge of historic proportions. The reality of increased losses due to extreme weather events caused by the worsening climate crisis, higher global temperatures, and worsening pollution levels will make mitigation and adaptation responses absolutely essential. Focusing community economic development and investment towards clean technology and services is both a smart economic development strategy and a superb investment opportunity.

Green technology has been called the greatest business opportunity of this century. All levels of government need to advance this green economic approach through effective tax and policy measures, and appropriate skills and trades training at the secondary and post-secondary levels.

As part of the federal government's contribution to advancing this green economic vision, Green Party MPs will advocate for gradually and progressively shifting current consumption taxes onto products and services that harm people and the environment, while reducing taxes on income, products, and economic activities that do no harm. As taxes on pollution and products that undermine health and well-being increase, other taxes, such as income and payroll, decrease. This approach is called being 'revenue neutral.'

By moving to 'true' or 'full-cost' accounting, whereby products and services are priced according to the positive or negative impacts they cause throughout their life cycle, our society can make rational market choices that will guide the economy toward environmental sustainability.

1.3 Reporting the well-being of the nation more accurately

By some accounts, the Canadian economy is performing quite well. But national prosperity is more than just the exchange of dollars. The gross domestic product (GDP) – our national bottom line – is a measure of money changing hands without regard to whether we are reducing social inequalities, advancing sustainability, or safeguarding our natural capital of primary resources such as wild fish populations, natural forests, and fertile soils. Oil spills and clean-up costs actually increase local GDP, as Kinder-Morgan's submission to the National Energy Board boasted in an ill-conceived appeal to silver linings in the event of disaster. Most economists agree that GDP is a poor measure of economic well-being or quality of life, yet our government continues to use it as the basis for its most important taxation and policy decisions.

The Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) is a new and innovative accounting method that embraces a more systematic and comprehensive definition of well-being. Literacy, health and fitness, housework, family time, public infrastructure, cultural institutions, community volunteerism, water and air quality, forests, farmland, wetlands, and employment are all measured by the GPI. Other countries, led by France following a ground-breaking study by Nobel award winners in economics Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen, are working to broaden measurements of prosperity beyond the GDP. Canada needs to catch up.

Green Party Members of Parliament (MPs) will:

- Introduce legislation to establish a national GPI, such as the Canadian Index of Well-being developed by the Institute of Well-being, to provide the government with better information so it can do a better job of taxation and revenue-sharing with the other levels of government;
- Modify Canada's existing system of national accounts so that annual changes in the depletion and addition to Canada's principal natural resources are measured as an integral part of Canada's worth.

"Too much and for too long, we seemed to have surrendered personal excellence and community values in the mere accumulation of material things.... The (GDP) counts air pollution and cigarette advertising and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage... Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning,

neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country. It measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.”

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, 1968

1.4 Fair taxes – fiscal reform

Most Canadians do not like paying taxes, especially if they think that the taxes are unfair or do not deliver good value for money. People do not like wasteful spending by an over-bureaucratized government. Fair enough. However, about half of Canadians say that they would not mind paying more taxes for a cleaner environment, better health care and education, and to support people in need.

Taxation and spending policies shape society by sending signals about which sectors of society governments think are important. Over the last six years, both the Conservatives and Liberals have used our tax system to benefit large corporations, reducing federal corporate taxes. Back in 2000, the general rate of taxation on corporate profits was 29.1%. By 2006, when the Harper government came into office, the corporate tax rate had been cut to 22.1%.

Canada moved into a deficit just before the economic meltdown in September 2008. Due to cutting the GST, cuts to corporate income taxes, and increased spending, the Harper government had eradicated the surplus just in time for a recession. For the first time since former Finance Minister Paul Martin under Chrétien slayed the federal deficit – at enormous cost to health care and education – Canada started running deficits. Deficits can be managed, but debt erodes public revenue through interest payments. The debt has ballooned. Under the Liberals, the federal debt now stands at more than \$600 billion. It’s estimated that the cost of servicing our debt in the next five years will be over \$40 billion per year.

Meanwhile, all through the recession, the Conservatives continued to cut the corporate tax rate. In 2008, the rate fell to 18%. By 2012, it fell to 15% – the lowest tax rate on big corporate profits in the industrialized world. The Trudeau administration has done nothing to correct this bargain rate. Canada’s tax rate on the largest and wealthiest corporations on earth is now half that paid by corporations in the U.S.

When the corporate tax rate was slashed, the spin from the Harper Administration was that the largest corporations in Canada were ‘job creators.’ The justification for eroding government revenues in favour of greater corporate profits was that it would result in a big boost in employment.

However, the evidence is now in. Corporations have not used the extra cash to create jobs. They have not re-invested it in the Canadian economy. In the words of Mark Carney, former Governor of the Bank of Canada, the money that would have gone to pay for critical infrastructure, veterans’ benefits, and environmental research is “dead money.” It has not created jobs. It is sloshing around in the bank accounts of Canada’s biggest corporations. It is an astonishing \$629 billion – 35% of Canada’s GDP. Again, this Harper-era policy remains in place under Trudeau.

At the same time, the cost of living has increased. Canadians save less, carry more debt, and work more hours for the same money. Even before the recession hit, people were having a harder time providing for their families and paying for a decent place to live. Today the average Canadian consumer debt is over \$22, 000.

The Green Party believes in reforming our tax system to make it fairer and more in tune with Canadians' desire for a healthy environment, a sustainable economy, and a vibrant, caring society. It makes no sense to subsidize the wealthiest corporations on Earth. We must remove these perverse subsidies immediately, but so far, the Liberals have failed to even identify the majority of these subsidies, let alone eliminate them. The Liberals have also, perversely, focused on taxing small business instead of increasing the taxes on the large and profitable transnational corporations.

The Green Party will reduce taxes on income and employment, and we will increase taxes on things we do not want, like pollution that harms people and our environment.

Our 'green tax cuts' will be progressive, with a schedule that gives industry time to gear up or gear down. The ecological fiscal reform undertaken by Greens will include more robust and equitable carbon pricing that will help us meet our Paris Agreement commitments, as well as taxes on cancer-causing substances and junk food that harms our children. They will be revenue neutral, because a tax shift is not a tax grab. Income and payroll taxes will decline and the changes will help, not hurt, less fortunate members of our society. In the case of Green carbon pricing, the funds collected will never enter the general revenues of Canada, but will be redistributed in full to Canadians. This system is called 'Carbon Fee and Dividend.' The fee is charged at the point of production and the funds are divided equally among all Canadians, received as a cheque for your share of the carbon dividend. Those with lower incomes will receive a proportionally bigger amount, as the cheque received will be a larger percentage of their total income compared to those of higher income.

To set the right prices, we have to change to a 'true' or 'full-cost' accounting method that incorporates economic, social, and environmental costs and benefits in the national accounts. Using this method, products and services are taxed, and thus priced, according to the positive or negative impacts caused throughout their lifecycle. We have already done this with tobacco products. Such taxes help consumers make more rational choices.

There are other ways to put taxes to work improving our society. Our tax system must be designed to reduce poverty, encourage environmentally-beneficial activities, and generate more wealth for the 90% of Canadian families who are currently working harder without getting further ahead.

The Greens' fiscal plan is straightforward: gradually reduce our debt, give clear tax signals that enable companies to pursue profits on a level playing field, and shift taxes to ensure that both revenue streams and expenditures meet social, economic, and ecological goals.

Green Party MPs will:

- Institute a full range of 'polluter pays' taxes, including a carbon fee and dividend designed to reduce the use of fossil fuels by sending a market signal to producers. All these taxes will be revenue neutral;
- Apply border adjustments to ensure Canadian businesses do not face unfair competition from polluting jurisdictions. In order to maintain a level playing field for Canadian businesses with respect to foreign competitors, carbon-based tariffs will be introduced against countries that apply no carbon tax (or other equivalent mechanism to curb GHG emissions) or apply a lower rate of carbon tax than Canada. These border adjustments will also be distributed in the 'dividend' to Canadians;

- Return Corporate Tax rates, except for the Small Business tax rate, to the 2008 level;
- Eliminate personal taxes on incomes below the low-income cut-off (no taxes on incomes of \$20,000 or less);
- Review the economic and fiscal implications of returning to borrowing from the Bank of Canada;
- Work with the provinces to increase taxes on tobacco and alcohol;
- Encourage use of Canada Revenue Agency's online NETFILE tax filing system (which saves Revenue Canada money) by giving users an automatic \$10 tax credit;
- Develop a specific tax-shifting schedule to provide tax incentives and direct rebates to businesses and individuals investing in the modern clean-tech economy (e.g. installing solar hot water systems, refitting homes and businesses to conserve energy);
- Provide increased tax breaks for Canadians who donate to registered charities.

(See Part 4: PEOPLE for more on family-friendly taxation)

1.5 Balanced budget – debt reduction

Canada's debt is over \$600 billion. The cost of servicing that debt, as discussed, will be approximately \$40 billion in the next 5 years. Our government pays over \$100 in interest every day. That debt burden drains support from essential government programs. Imagine what \$40 billion could do to alleviate poverty and provide affordable housing and affordable post-secondary education in Canada.

Being indebted to external creditors also makes our political decision makers vulnerable to pressures from outside our country. The 1994 International Monetary Fund (IMF) Report to Canada recommended that our government reduce the number of hospital beds, convert student bursaries to interest-bearing student loans, and cut funding to the National Film Board, the CBC and VIA Rail. The government of the day implemented all of these cuts. Canadians lost 10% of our hospital beds the following year and today we have a wait time crisis in our healthcare system. If we had no debt, we would no longer be beholden to the IMF and global credit rating agencies.

The Green Party believes in living within our limits, ecologically and fiscally. We are committed to a balanced budget and to reducing the national debt. It won't be easy. To pay down the debt, particularly the Liberals' large deficit increase, while supporting programs that meet immediate social, economic, and environmental needs, we must maintain a healthy and fair level of taxation and we must ensure that Canadians get good value for their tax dollars.

Green Party MPs will:

- Ensure that we do not transfer the deficit from our financial statements to our bridges, waterworks, and other critical infrastructure needs. Pay attention to the ecological, social, and infrastructure deficit;
- Set a disciplined schedule to gradually pay down the debt while maintaining public services and programs that meet immediate social and environmental needs, increasing debt reduction over time but starting with modest targets to permit investment in critical programs.

1.6 Removing corporate subsidies: Distorting the market

“Governments are not adept at picking winners, but losers are adept at picking governments.”

Mark Milke, *A Nation of Serfs*

The federal government has paid the nuclear industry \$17 billion in subsidies over the last four decades. Various regional development programs (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Western Economic Diversification, and Canadian Economic Development in Quebec) have funneled billions into failed enterprises. Since 1982, Industry Canada has made grants totaling more than \$5.8 billion to some of Canada’s largest corporations. Technology Partnerships Canada has swallowed up \$2 billion and the accelerated capital cost allowance to the oil sands industries totals over \$1.3 billion a year.

Perverse subsidies distort the market and send mixed messages: reduce carbon/use more fossil fuels; create jobs/reorganize through lay-offs. Subsidies to Canada’s oil and gas industry from 1996 to 2002 totaled \$8.3 billion. With the purchase of Trans Mountain at a minimum we can add another \$4.5 billion to the \$8.3 billion. From 1996-2002, the government allocated \$3.7 billion to achieve its Kyoto greenhouse gas reduction targets. The funding to meet Kyoto has been abandoned, but the fossil fuel subsidies continue.

Greens want an end to corporate subsidies and a start to the green tax shifting that will make the fiscal system more coherent.

Green Party MPs will:

- Eliminate perverse corporate subsidies and institute new taxes on corporate activities that harm the environment;
- Introduce more effective antitrust laws in concentrated industry sectors;
- Require corporations to provide detailed information about their records of compliance with labour, environmental, human rights, consumer, health and safety, criminal, competition, and tax laws or policies, and protect those who expose non-compliers;
- Support broad-based, democratically-structured citizens’ watchdog groups to monitor major sectors of the economy.

1.7 Income trusts

Based on the Conservative Party’s 2006 campaign promise to allow income trusts to retain their non-tax status, more than a million Canadians invested in income trusts. Within hours many older Canadians saw their retirement savings disappear.

The reason given for breaking the promise was that the government was losing revenue because the trusts did not pay tax. Finance Canada proceeded as if there was no tax revenue from income trusts. This was wrong. The trusts made payments to their investors and those payments were taxed.

There are public policy reasons to constrain or even discourage income trusts. If it could be proved that, over time, such arrangements led to a failure to re-invest profits in modernizing and expanding Canadian operations, action would be appropriate. So far this reasoning is intuitive

and not empirical. What is clear is that the stated reason for breaking the promise, tax leakage, was not justified.

The decision to tax income trusts has left Canadian companies more vulnerable to foreign takeover. It will be years before we fully understand the damage caused by this decision.

Green Party MPs will:

- Review and redress the significant damage to Canadians caused by the broken promise and adjust tax rates in light of that error;
- Instruct Finance Canada to complete a study sampling full-cost accounting of income trusts, including lost corporate revenues and personal income tax revenues from investors, to determine a fair taxation rate on income trust incomes and dividends;
- Push government to adopt these fair taxation rates. Ensure foreign holders of income trusts are taxed at a higher rate. In the interim, tax income trusts at 10%;
- Inform both companies and investors of the process to determine fair tax rates on income trusts.

1.8 Labour

Canadians are among the most overworked people in the industrialized world. The Green Party wants to help restore balance in the lives of Canadian workers by increasing paid vacation entitlement at the federal level, and supporting provincial policies mandating shorter working hours.

The Green Party will raise the minimum paid vacation entitlement to three weeks. Many countries with minimum standards of four weeks and longer also have more productive and internationally-competitive economies than Canada's.

Countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands have much higher labour standards, higher average pay, and far lower rates of unemployment than Canada, resulting in lower social costs to the country as a whole. Scandinavian countries, with the world's highest labour and social standards, rank near the top in international competitiveness.

Recent studies show that a growing number of Canadians are not taking their full vacation or any vacation at all, and are working more unpaid overtime. This high-stress lifestyle is costing Canada's already overburdened health care system more than \$5 billion a year, according to the National Work-Life Conflict Study produced for Health Canada.

Canada's current payroll tax system discourages employers from hiring more workers, even when the business needs them. It is more cost-effective to hire temporary and short-term workers or get existing workers to work longer hours, including paid overtime, than to hire additional staff. This leads to greater worker and family stress.

The Green Party understands that decades of evidence proves that a society with a strong labour movement is healthier, has less income disparity, and a stronger middle class. Greens believe in the rights of workers to organize and in the free collective bargaining process. Labour rights are human rights. We believe in pay equity for women, in the equal treatment of organized and non-

organized workers, and in workers' right to fair wages, healthy and safe working conditions, and working hours compatible with a good quality of life.

Our jobs strategy is directly linked to the development of a green economy. There are tens of thousands of 'green collar' jobs, for example, associated with refitting Canadian homes and businesses for energy efficiency and renewable energy.

The Green Party wants Canada to follow the example of countries that treat their workers well and reap the benefits of low unemployment rates, less stress-related illness, and economies that rank among the world's best in productivity and international competitiveness.

The Green Party is the only federal party to have concluded that the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) is irredeemably flawed. We appreciate the need for workers in certain sectors, but the lack of rigour in assessing areas of labour shortage has allowed the TFWP to skew the labour market and undermine the proper salary by region for work, particularly in the service sector, but also in areas as diverse as helicopter pilots and professionals. At the same time, the program is exploitative of foreign workers, reminiscent of the shame of 'coolie' labour brought to build our railways. We need to place a priority on ending the high levels of unemployment among Canada's youth, while bringing in foreign workers as future Canadians – not as temporary and vulnerable workers.

Green Party MPs will:

- Establish a federal minimum wage of \$15 an hour under the Canada Labour Code;
- Advocate for changes in the Canada Labour Code that establish a minimum of three weeks paid vacation and a managed reduction in the standard work week to 35 hours;
- End the Temporary Foreign Worker Program;
- Create a domestic employment recruitment program to get willing young Canadians to job opportunities, modeled on how we have been bringing foreign workers to Canadian employers;
- Support federal 'anti-scab' legislation;
- Support changes to the Employment Standards law to provide equal protection to contract and temporary workers;
- Strengthen non-union workers' rights and protections to close the widening gap between union and non-union workplaces;
- Increase federal inspections and establish stronger deterrents to illegal unpaid overtime work to achieve full compliance with Canada Labour Code standards. This will save money by reducing the costs related to the stress and social impacts of this practice;
- Change federal labour law to include a requirement that a poster outlining workers' rights be placed in all federally-regulated workplaces as is the case under all provincial labour laws;
- Re-establish in law the rights to equal pay for work of equal value;
- Offer tax rebates to companies that provide on-site daycare, healthy food, and facilities for exercise and commuting by bicycle.

1.9 Open source computer software

As computer hardware improves, it is important that software programs are readily modifiable by the people who buy and use them. Developing alongside the proprietary software sector is Free/Libre Open Source Software (FLOSS). This software is generally available at little or no cost, making it very popular in the developing world. It can be used, copied, studied, modified, and redistributed with little or no restriction. Businesses can adapt the software to their specific needs.

Under the free software business model, vendors may charge a fee for distribution and offer paid support and customization services. Free software gives users the ability to work together, enhancing and refining the programs they use. It is a pure public good rather than a private good.

The Green Party supports the goals and ideals of FLOSS and believes that Canada's competitiveness in global information technology (IT) will be greatly enhanced by strongly supporting FLOSS.

Green Party MPs will:

- Ensure that all new software developed for or by government is based on open standards and encourage and support a nationwide transition to FLOSS in all critical government IT systems. This will make Canada's IT infrastructure more secure and robust, lower administration and licensing costs, and develop IT skills;
- Support the transition to FLOSS throughout the post-secondary educational system.

1.10 Small business loans and entrepreneurial incentives

The Green Party of Canada is the party for small business. Small businesses employ most Canadians, and the economic impact of their success primarily remains in Canada – circulating dollars in the local economy.

Raising venture capital has become a lot more difficult since the 2008 financial market meltdown, particularly for small businesses and new technologies. The shift to a smart, lower-carbon economy requires venture capital investment in a wide range of innovative firms across Canada, including smaller firms that historically have had a much more difficult time in raising capital.

An easily-accessible and integrated system for business development and growth must be made available in cities of all sizes in Canada to create the business climate that will entice home-grown entrepreneurs to stay. This model has been very successfully applied in Sweden in the form of Technology Centres or 'Incubators for Mutual Support and Shared Services.' Most successful applied research and commercialization is done by small and medium-sized businesses, and these business 'clusters' attract new businesses seeking the direct and indirect benefits of networking and collaboration.

Green Party MPs will:

- Establish a federally-funded Green Venture Capital Fund to support viable small local green business start-ups;
- Set up a Green Venture Capital Funding Program providing matching federal funds for locally-raised venture capital up to a set limit per community;

- Reduce the paperwork burden on small businesses by eliminating duplicative tax filings and red tape. Government agencies will operate using shared information from the same database;
- Bring in legislation to require a consideration of the impact on small business of all new legislation, based on a similar law in the European parliament.

1.11 Co-operatives

Co-operatives, whether operating as Credit Unions, housing cooperatives, or retail businesses, have historically played an important role in Canadian economic activities.

The Green Party believes that consumer and producer co-operatives should play a greater role in Canada's economy and society.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work to have the Government of Canada examine the laws, regulations, and tax system of Canada to determine how they may be changed to enhance opportunities for co-operatives, including co-operative federations incorporating banks or credit unions, such as the highly successful Mondragon and Valencia co-operative federations of Spain. This will require revisiting and repealing changes to the tax treatment of Credit Unions in several recent omnibus bills;
- Launch a Federal Co-operative Investment Strategy with two components: a Canadian Co-operative Development Fund and a federal Co-operative Investment Plan;
- Make the federal Co-operative Development Initiative permanent and expand it into the new area of conversions of existing business that are contemplating winding up into worker co-operatives;
- Re-establish funding for housing co-operatives through a newly mandated Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to help solve the growing problems of homelessness and shortage of affordable housing;
- Foster the creation and/or conversion of energy co-operatives to give more power to citizens and regions.

1.12 Railways – re-establishing the national dream

Canada's national rail systems are in decline. We are the only country in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) with no national transportation strategy. While Europeans have highly efficient inter-modal connectivity, with high speed rail linking downtown cores to airports, with bicycle lanes allowing people to move around cities safely, efficiently and pollution-free, with streetcars in the downtowns and even rural areas serviced by bus and rail, Canadian communities are increasingly stranded. Except for Vancouver, which has a downtown to airport rapid transit line built for the 2010 Olympics, and Toronto with a system currently under construction, nothing links our downtowns to airports other than a stretch of gridlocked traffic. Even along the Windsor-Quebec corridor, passenger rail is increasingly infrequent and outmoded. In much of Canada, rail routes that once moved thousands of people are abandoned. Edmonton to Calgary, Saskatoon to Regina, Halifax to Sydney have all been

axed, despite their profitability. Even the tracks for freight between Truro and Cape Breton are being abandoned, and with them any hope of re-establishing passenger rail service.

Sir John A. Macdonald understood that to be a nation, to have a sense of shared identity and common purpose, Canada needed effective east-west links in communications, in energy delivery, and in transportation.

To renew this 'national dream' today requires a complete overhaul of our rail system for both passenger and freight. It will mean wherever possible shifting cargo containers off highways and onto freight trains, driving the development of freight distribution nodes (off-loading containers onto local trucks) along new 'green corridors'. It will require a comprehensive plan for Alberta's bitumen to increasingly process it in Alberta and stop over-burdening our rail system with rail cars loaded with bitumen for export.

The rail system changes will, over time, move to separate lines for passenger trains, particularly in well populated corridors. At the moment, freight owns the tracks and controls the traffic signals. Passengers are at the mercy of freight. New high-speed commuter trains will almost halve the travel time between Toronto and Ottawa and Toronto and Montreal to about two and a half hours. With downtown-to-downtown service, the train will be faster than the plane, when security and other airport delays are factored in. Reducing air travel will reduce greenhouse gases and remove the need to expand airports or build new ones, including the Pickering airport near Toronto. Better rail service will take cars off the roads between major cities, reducing air pollution, congestion, and loss of life in traffic accidents. An improved rail system will make Canada more economically competitive and provide thousands of new jobs.

Green Party MPs will re-establish Canada's National Dream and:

- Re-invest in our national rail systems, building more train cars in Canada, increasing train speeds and phasing in high speed rail where feasible, and creating green transportation and energy infrastructure corridors in key regions;
- Give VIA Rail a statute-based mandate, modeled on the U.S.-laws that govern Amtrak;
- Improve rail infrastructure and intermodal connections, increasing joint federal-municipal light rail investments, as well as improving VIA Rail service nationwide;
- Work with railway companies to improve rail infrastructure and to restore VIA rail service to all major regional cities;
- Create a national clean freight initiative, using both regulation and financial incentives to improve fleet efficiency and safety;
- Bring forward regulations for Positive Train Control systems for passenger and freight, ensuring safer transport;
- Support the trucking industry, reducing pollution through add-on generators to avoid the need to idle to maintain air conditioning and refrigeration, while ensuring the right fit of trucking in a more efficient, rail-based intermodal system.

1.13 Green urban transportation

Urban sprawl means commuters crawl. More roads don't solve the problem; they make it worse. Gridlock means more air pollution and more GHG emissions. A transition to efficient light rail

transit and coordinated buses will take cars off our roads, breaking the cycle of an increasing number of cars on increasingly-crowded roads to make our cities more livable.

We must build our way out of the problem of clogged roads and smog-choked cities, not by building more roads and bridges and more distant suburbs, but by building ‘smart growth’ infrastructure. Excellent public transit and efficient housing in high-density nodes along existing transit corridors will make cities more livable and people-friendly. The federal government must take the lead in funding the ‘greening’ of Canada’s cities. (see Section 1.14 Infrastructure and Communities for more on federal-municipal relations.)

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase federal funding for pedestrian, cycle, and car-sharing infrastructure in towns and cities;
- Increase existing funding to stimulate a massive re-investment in public transportation infrastructure in all Canadian towns and cities to make it convenient, safe, comfortable, and affordable;
- Invest in a national grid supporting electric vehicles – cars, buses and trucks;
- Make employer-provided transit passes tax-free by exempting them from taxable benefit status, to encourage workers and businesses to use public transport, and provide financial support to provinces that provide free public transit passes to people living below the poverty line;
- Oppose funding for highway and bridge expansions that encourage urban sprawl, increase private vehicle use and truck transport of goods, and consequently increase GHG emissions;
- Ensure federal infrastructure funding does not go to expanding highways and roads, but is rather spent on more efficient light rail systems. Current infrastructure, such as the Trans-Canada highway, must be maintained at a safe standard.

1.14 Infrastructure and communities

At Confederation, Canada was a predominantly rural country where fewer than one in ten people lived in cities. Our constitution set up a taxation system that greatly favoured the federal and provincial governments over municipal governments. The municipal order of government is not even mentioned in our Constitution, yet today eight in ten Canadians live in urban areas.

The Green Party believes we must fundamentally re-examine the place of the municipal order of government within Confederation. Whether through opening the Constitution to give greater recognition and powers to municipal governments or through the appointment of Senators specifically selected as voices for the municipal order of government in our upper chamber, Greens believe it is a conversation that is long overdue.

Urban Canadians need their garbage collected, good transit services, safe roads, and dependable water supplies. They also want new investment in green urban infrastructure including recycling, mass transit, energy efficiency upgrades to buildings, water conservation, and community amenities like parks, sports fields, and arts, culture and community centres. Underlying this is an urgent need to replace aging sewer systems, roadways, and water pipes.

All of these are municipal responsibilities, but Canadian municipalities simply don't have enough money to do it all. According to the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 50% of Canadian tax revenue is spent on federal programs, 42% goes to the provinces and only 8% goes to municipal governments. Canada's biggest fiscal imbalance is the imbalance between municipal governments and everyone else.

As Jane Jacobs pointed out in *Dark Age Ahead*, taxes are collected disproportionately at the wrong level. Most Canadians' experience their government at the level where it collects their recycling, runs their buses, and provides their water.

The Green Party will redress the real fiscal imbalance facing the level of government least able to tax fully to cover its costs.

To support communities, we need to invest in critical infrastructure of transport and water works, to modernize and reduce energy demand. Green Party MPs will support the gas tax commitment to municipal governments. As well, Green Party MPs will advocate innovative strategies to liberate billions of dollars a year through RRSP deductions for municipal bonds.

Municipalities need stable and predictable funding so that they can invest in critical infrastructure such as mass transit, sewage treatment, energy efficiency improvements, better water systems to reduce waste and cope with erratic precipitation patterns of a changing global climate, as well as community amenities like sports fields, arts, and cultural opportunities.

The Greens will create a new pool of municipal infrastructure funding by changing tax rules to create a Municipal Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) bond that can be held in RRSPs and self-directed RRSPs. Between January and March 2011, Canadians spent \$9 billion in mutual funds. Imagine if even half of that was available to our communities.

This will be in addition to preserving the current allocation of the federal gas tax directly to the provinces for transfer to municipalities. Municipal governments must enter into agreements to ensure that sprawl is not facilitated through extensive infrastructure funding. Densification; speedy, safe, and pleasant mass transit; safe cycling paths; and other investments to conserve electricity and water will all merit stable financing.

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase the Gas Tax Transfer to municipalities to five cents/litre to be used in funding the above sustainable transportation initiatives such as public transit, cycling and pedestrian infrastructure, and rural roads;
- Recognize that access to high-speed internet connections is now a critical aspect of infrastructure and work to expand access to address the 'digital divide';
- Make employer-provided transit passes tax-free by exempting them from taxable benefit status, thereby encouraging workers and businesses to use public transport, and make employee parking a taxable benefit;
- Change tax policy to create a new pool of long-term municipal infrastructure funding by allowing municipalities to issue new Municipal Registered Retirement Savings Plans Bonds which can be held in RRSPs and self-directed RRSPs;
- Fund 'Green Cities' initiatives, ensuring (through contractual agreements) that the funding is not used in ways that encourage urban sprawl, but instead to reduce sprawl and GHG

emissions, conserve electricity and water, increase densification, expand convenient, safe, reliable and affordable public transit, and build cycling and walking paths.

This funding will be transferred through six Municipal Superfunds of \$500 million/fund/year (an average of \$100 for every citizen per year) to which municipalities can apply for grant funding to replace the less specific Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund (CSIF). The proposed funds are:

- Community Brownfield Remediation (CBR) Fund to provide assistance in cleaning up toxic and brownfield sites;
- Water and Waste Treatment Facilities (WWTF) Fund to upgrade water treatment, sewage treatment, and recycling facilities to make them efficient, safe, and sustainable;
- Sports, Cultural, and Recreational Facilities (SCRF) Fund to support the development of green recreational and cultural facilities and refurbish existing facilities;
- Mass Transit Promotion (MTP) Fund to improve and expand urban mass transit infrastructure and inter-modal connections, as well as car-sharing initiatives;
- Cycling and Pedestrian Promotion (CPP) Fund to support pedestrian and cycling infrastructure and smart-growth developments that transform urban areas and towns into walkable communities linked by transit to reduce the need for owning and using cars; and,
- Community Housing Options Promotion (CHOP) Fund supporting a national housing program to build energy efficient co-operatives and affordable housing units where there is a shortage of such housing options.

1.15 Agriculture and food

For centuries, family farms were the foundation of our society and economy. Over the last five decades, federal policies, subsidies, and changing technologies have shifted food production from small ecologically-sustainable family farms to giant agribusinesses. This shift has given multinational corporations control over our food supply. Meanwhile, farmers increasingly rely on off-farm income to survive.

Our food security and safety are threatened directly by agribusiness, as factory farms crowd chickens, turkeys, cows, and pigs into inhumane and unhygienic conditions, creating the risk of serious health threats from toxic spinach to mad cow disease and swine flu. Animals are often pumped full of antibiotics and hormones, while many crops are now genetically modified and treated with pesticides.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA) has a credibility problem. CFIA has an inherent conflict of interest, mandated to regulate for food safety, while at the same time mandated to promote Canadian food products in Canada and abroad. This, plus a lack of preparedness, accounts for the delay on blowing the whistle on the listeriosis outbreak due to Maple Leaf luncheon meats in 2008, in which 22 people died, or in the more recent XL beef scandal in 2012. The report on the Maple Leaf listeriosis outbreak from independent investigator Sheila Weatherill (former head of Edmonton's health system) noted that increasingly large-scale factory food preparation increased risks to health and safety. However, the recommendations

focused only on more inspections and more chemical cleaning instead of reforming the food system to encourage smaller, more traceable operations.

The health of Canada's population today and in the future depends on the environmentally sustainable production of wholesome food. We believe that local organic agriculture must play a role in mitigating climate change, providing food security, restoring soil health, improving human health, protecting water, and providing sustainable livelihoods for citizens. We must restructure our agricultural markets to sustain farming and provide farm families with a fair share of the consumer food dollar. We want to expand local small-scale agriculture and support a rapid transition to organic agriculture rather than subsidizing costly agro-chemicals, industrial food production, and genetically modified crops.

People need healthy food and the healthiest food choices are local. With growing concerns over economic and climatic instability, a reliable domestic food supply is essential. Family-owned and operated farms of small to medium size constitute the most reliable, high quality, and economical food production system, now and into our uncertain future.

The infrastructure needed to support local agriculture is rapidly disappearing. Increasingly, large corporations and centralized operations are shutting down small community slaughter houses to grain elevators and canneries. The lack of local control over means of production is forcing more and more farmers to abandon agriculture. Greens support family farmers as environmental stewards and as efficient producers of nutritious food. The family farm is the primary unit of production. Agricultural policies must be designed to keep family farms economically viable. We support the active participation of Canadian farmers in export markets where this is consistent with achieving their most important role – providing domestic markets with healthy food and sustaining Canada's agriculture resource base. We support education of Canadian consumers regarding the value of wholesome, locally grown food.

Green Party MPs will develop a National Agricultural and Food Policy which will:

- Improve food safety and boosts nutritional health by:
 - Amending the Canadian Food Inspection Agency mandate to remove any obligation to promote Canadian agri-business, ensuring the focus is on food safety and food safety only, with enhanced resources for inspection and monitoring;
 - Eliminating conflict of interest by removing food and agri-business representatives from federal food policy advisory bodies;
 - Acting to label sodium, sugar, and trans fats on food products;
 - Regulating the amount of trans fats in our food supply;
 - Removing tax deductibility from junk food advertising aimed at children;
 - Placing a manufacturer's levy on sugary drinks, earmarking the revenue to fund healthy living initiatives;
 - Ensuring the quality and wholesomeness of food by strengthening the monitoring of pesticides, herbicides, fungicides, growth hormones, non-therapeutic antibiotics, and insecticides in food production, processing and storage, with the goal of an orderly reduction in detectable residues of these substances until they reach undetectable limits;

- Establishing federally funded, community-guided school lunch programs across Canada to ensure that our children have daily access to healthy local food and can learn about sustainable food production and healthy eating;
- Strengthening Plant Protection and Health of Animals Programs with measures to ensure the integrity of farm food products;
- Improving and strengthening the Canadian Organic Standard;
- Providing transitional assistance for those switching to certified organic farming practices;
- Ensuring that no animal by-products are used in ruminant animal feed;
- Strengthening testing for BSE by implementing 100% testing (testing of every slaughtered animal) as soon as the process of detecting BSE in blood samples is perfected.

(Note: please refer to Health promotion in section 4.7 for greater detail on health promotion aspects of some measures listed here.)

- Provide food security by:
 - Moving towards regional food self-sufficiency across Canada, as we begin the shift to organic agriculture as the dominant model of production;
 - Supporting the ‘200 kilometre diet’ and locally grown food through expansion of farmers’ markets and local culinary tourism activities;
 - Promoting rooftop gardens, cultivation of green urban space for agriculture, food production in cities and suburbs, and community gardens;
 - Protecting the right of farmers to save their own seed;
 - Promoting heritage seed banks and seed exchange programs.
- Reduce corporate control of the food supply by:
 - Reforming agriculture regulations to challenge corporate concentration;
 - Ensuring that farm support payments are farm-based (not production-based) to encourage more farms and more farmers;
 - Encouraging organic farming methods to improve farm profitability and sustainability.
- Support local food markets by:
 - Enabling local areas without industrial-scale agriculture to develop area-specific food safety regulations meeting national standards without placing undue financial burdens on local farmers and food processors;
 - Assisting in re-establishing the architecture of local food production in canneries, slaughterhouses, and other value-added food processing;
 - Encouraging and supporting the consumption of locally-grown food by promoting adequate shelf space in grocery chains for products from local farms and local food processors.

- Improve agricultural research by:
 - Ensuring that new plant cultivars and animal breeds remain in the public domain;
 - Shifting government-supported research away from biotechnology and energy-intensive farming and towards organic food production;
 - Increasing publicly-funded research into organic farming techniques;
 - Establishing new policies for private research efforts to ensure that they are in the best interests of family farmers and consumers;
 - Preventing the patenting of life forms;
 - Ensuring that developers of genetically engineered crops are liable for any damage those crops cause.
- Ensure fair trade by:
 - Prioritizing fair trade in agricultural exports and imports;
 - Ensuring that supply management systems provide stable domestic markets, provide viable farm income and permit unregulated production by smaller and family farms that sell to local market;
 - Reviewing the impacts of abolishing the Canadian Wheat Board and considering re-establishing it to ensure the fair trading of high quality Canadian grains;
 - Eliminating the dumping of food into the economies of developing countries.
- Stop the loss of agricultural land to development by:
 - Calling for negotiated agreements with the provinces to secure the preservation of the prime agricultural land in Canada;
 - Reinstating the Canada Land Inventory program with adequate funding to update and keep current a comprehensive record of land capability and land use as a vital ongoing aid to local planning;
 - Providing sufficient fiscal incentives to other levels of government, including municipalities, to preserve farmlands under their jurisdictions.
- Support environmental stewardship by:
 - Protecting and improving the quality of water in our streams, lakes, and aquifers;
 - Restoring the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Board and its conservation measures;
 - Working with provinces to ensure that all livestock waste is recycled safely and contamination by agricultural run-off is avoided;
 - Introducing cost-shared programs to help farmers protect wildlife habitat areas and marginal lands, maintain water quality in streams, lakes and aquifers, and retain and improve soil quality;
 - Creating a national Environmental Farm Plan Program to provide new funding sources for implementation at the farm level.
- Assist farmers in climate change adaptation by:

- Encouraging farming methods that increase carbon sequestration and decrease water requirements;
- Establishing GHG emission targets for all components of the agri-food system, and collaborating with industry to meet targets;
- Restructuring Canada's Business Risk Management Programs to help farmers cope with climate risk, especially in disaster assistance.

1.16 Genetically engineered organisms

Genetically engineered (GE) organisms may pose a potentially serious threat to human health and the health of natural ecosystems. Many Canadians want to follow the example of the European Union and ban GE crops. At a minimum, GE products must be labeled, giving consumers the right to know and to say no to GE foods.

Although polls show that eight in ten Canadians want mandatory labeling of GE foods and food ingredients, the federal government has not acted. In 2004, the Standards Council of Canada adopted a Standard for Voluntary Labeling, but it has not been widely adopted.

The government is not exercising enough oversight and control. In fact, Agriculture Canada is promoting GE technology, forming partnerships with biotech companies and partnering in the research initiated by the biotech industry. Agriculture has already experienced the harmful impact of GE crops. Herbicide-resistant (Roundup Ready) canola has escaped and become a noxious weed.

Greens understand that GE organisms and 'terminator' technologies come with health and environmental risks. All food products containing GE organisms or their products must be labeled. It is up to the companies that produce and promote GE organisms to prove that they are safe. No such organism should be released into the environment until it is proven to pose no unacceptable risks to human or animal health or to the environment.

Green Party MPs will work to:

- Ban experimentation with planting and promotion of new GE crops. This includes a ban on further GE research (except for traditional seed selection and grafting) at Agriculture Canada and a ban on companies such as Monsanto owning patents to GE products developed through joint research with Agriculture Canada;
- Implement the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, a protocol within the UN Biodiversity Convention, which Canada signed and ratified in 1992 and which came into force in 2003. The Cartagena Protocol requires the adoption of new products to be guided by the precautionary principle, which balances the economic benefits of innovation with public health and ecological integrity;
- Require mandatory labeling of all GE foods and food ingredients;
- Support local, provincial, and territorial GE organism-free zones where these local jurisdictions declare that genetically modified plants and animals are not to be part of the agricultural mix;
- Prohibit field testing, commercial use, sale, and importation of 'terminator' (genetic use restriction) technologies;

- Maintain the ban on GE wheat and oppose GE alfalfa;
- Place a moratorium on field-testing genetically modified trees while an expert panel of the Royal Society of Canada examines the risks.

1.17 Fisheries

Canada's most conspicuous environmental and economic tragedy has been the collapse of our wild fisheries. We thought that the sea would give us unlimited fish forever. That erroneous belief led to the 1990s collapse of the Atlantic cod fishery after decades of year-round over-fishing by domestic and foreign fleets of large trawlers. This ecological disaster, the result of federal government mismanagement, resulted in the loss of 30 000 jobs. During the same period (1990 to 2002), British Columbia's salmon catch fell by 66% from 96 000 to 33 000 tonnes (\$263.4 million to \$51.6 million). The 2009 crisis of the missing eight million returning sockeye salmon in the B.C. wild fishery underscores how little progress has been made towards sustainable fisheries. The historically large return of B.C. sockeye in 2010 is equally mysterious. While undeniably good news, it does not answer the long-standing questions about how we sustainably manage Canadian fisheries.

Over the last few decades, the fishing industry has installed large, powerful gear on ships equipped with sophisticated navigation and fish-finding technology. This has caused serious depletion of cod, haddock, bluefin tuna, and other species, leading to the collapse of local economies and loss of important biodiversity from ocean to ocean to ocean. To save our gravely-depleted fish stocks, something must go: either the high-yield fishing technology or the excessive number of licenses to fish.

To make a dire situation worse, fisheries face other serious problems besides over-fishing: habitat destruction, and a lack of scientific knowledge of the status of marine resources and how oceanic food chains operate. Federal government policies allow the over-fishing of critical food chain species such as Pacific coast herring, ground fish, and Atlantic coast capelin. Current laws do not adequately protect marine habitat from a range of destructive forces, including the devastating practice of bottom-trawling, bioaccumulation of toxic chemicals that flow into the sea from various land practices, and spillage from oil and gas exploration. The coming years will see new threats to fisheries from ocean changes caused by acidification from increased CO₂ in the atmosphere and increased water temperatures and shifted ocean currents due to climate change. We must do the right thing today to protect our fisheries for tomorrow.

The harvesting capacity of our fishing fleets has far outdistanced our fisheries regulations, management skills, and the ability of fish populations to recover. But we believe that Canada can restore its wild fish populations and protect Canadian fishermen with strictly enforced regulations governing gear types, fishing practices, and catch limits. Because fish cross international boundaries, we must lead efforts for a global ban on harmful open-ocean fishing practices as part of a renewed commitment to sustainable fisheries management. This requires reforming the federal government's administrative and research priorities.

To protect precious fish habitat, we must restore the habitat protection provisions of the Fisheries Act, destroyed in omnibus budget bill C-38, passed in spring 2012. We must also place a permanent legislated moratorium on oil and gas exploration and development in ecologically sensitive areas, particularly the west coast of British Columbia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Fishermen must be allowed to have a greater role in managing fisheries through co-management

provisions yet to be activated through the Oceans Act. We oppose the current approach that favours fish farms and presumes that aquaculture can make up for dwindling wild stocks.

Green Party MPs will work to:

- Sign and ratify the global treaty to ban bottom-trawling;
- Repeal changes to the federal Fisheries Act found in spring 2012's omnibus budget bill C-38.
- Strengthen the Fisheries Act to:
 1. Require evaluation of threats to fish stocks and include provisions to protect fish stocks and the marine environment;
 2. Make protection of critical stocks and habitat mandatory;
 3. Require that the management and conservation of wild fisheries take precedence over aquaculture, wherever there are conflicts;
 4. Increase penalties for contravening the Fisheries Act;
 5. Improve public participation in decision making, under the principles of the Oceans Act, in particular engaging coastal communities in local fisheries management.
- Restructure Fisheries and Oceans Canada into three separate branches: Management, Monitoring and Enforcement, and Research;
- Strengthen legislation that protects fish habitats and fish stocks from over-fishing and pollution;
- Implement measures to quickly phase out open-ocean net-cage fish farms and ensure that this aquaculture industry does not continue to harm wild fisheries;
- Give funding priority to small-scale projects to restore and enhance wild fish stocks, especially with Aboriginal peoples and traditional fishing communities using traditional technologies;
- Enforce sustainable harvesting technologies such as long lines, cod traps, or significantly modified mobile gear to reduce by-catch of untargeted and threatened species and monitor results to ensure the return of healthy stocks and stop the loss of biodiversity;
- Shift from interception fisheries management practices to selective terminal fisheries;
- Ban bottom-trawling in domestic waters and work internationally to institute a global ban;
- Appraise and support development of different kinds of fishing gear that make a profit, while minimizing by-catch and habitat impact;
- Support development of more sustainable ways of harvesting marine resources, including value-added processing, and developing environmentally-friendly biochemical and pharmaceutical products;
- Support Research and Development of ecotourism as a non-consumptive use of marine biodiversity;
- Provide funding and support to ecological research to discover what factors have enabled natural marine ecosystems to work so well in the past with the objective of restoring abundant stocks and rehabilitating degraded systems;

- Establish an Independent Review Commission made up of marine biologists, ecologists, and resource economists to investigate (with input from fishermen, fishing communities and indigenous peoples) the causes of the enormous decline in Canada's fisheries resources, and recommend policies and programs to restore offshore and inshore fisheries;
- Repeal the Canada Nova Scotia Offshore Petroleum Act and the Canada Newfoundland Offshore Petroleum Act and adjust regional agreements to give fisheries greater protection from petroleum exploration and development;
- Extend permanent bans on oil and gas exploration and development in ecologically-sensitive areas, particularly the coast of British Columbia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence;
- Encourage a greater role for fishermen and Aboriginal peoples in managing fisheries through co-management provisions in the Oceans Act;
- Ensure that lighthouses remain staffed to perform the essential safety and security work they perform;
- Work with provincial governments to eliminate aquaculture practices that damage the marine environment and threaten human health and seek:
 1. A moratorium on new open-ocean net-pen salmon farms and a phase-out of existing farms within ten years;
 2. In the meantime, the fallowing of sea pens during wild-hatch salmon runs.

1.18 Green forest vision

Canada's incredible forest heritage – 300 million hectares or 10% of all the world's forests – is a source of enormous national pride and economic value. Thirty percent of the world's boreal forests grow in Canada and this great northern forest ecosystem, covering half of our country, acts as a huge carbon reservoir and sink.

The value of these forests is difficult to measure, but can be expressed in several ways: the wood and paper products industries directly employ over 350 000 people and generate over \$58 billion in sales annually – more than half our annual trade surplus. Economists estimate the value of carbon stored in Canada's boreal forest at \$3.7 trillion, but arguably it is priceless.

The Green Party understands that forests are the foundation of complex ecological systems performing important services that purify our air and water, prevent floods and erosion, and stabilize our climate. Two-thirds of Canada's plant and animal species live in forests. Large expanses of forest, especially old growth forests, must remain intact to maintain natural habitats and biodiversity. Our forests also sustain subsistence hunters and those who seek recreation and rejuvenation in the wilderness.

Canada cuts about 500 000 hectares of forest a year. While the forest industry has taken serious hits over the last decade, its economic impact is important to communities across Canada. Although forest management is under provincial jurisdiction, the federal government once played an important role in R&D and technological innovation. The federal government has largely withdrawn from its historical role in primary research with the closure under Harper of Canadian Forest Service research centres across Canada.

Canada is devoting very little attention to improving wood quality relative to Europe and UK, which would be a legitimate target for research by Industry Canada, the Canadian Forest Service (CFS), and National Research Council (NRC).

Working within the Canadian Boreal Initiative's corporate, First Nations, and conservation framework, we will also ensure that at least half of Canada's boreal forest is protected, while all is maintained in a state of ecological integrity. Its value as a carbon reservoir will far outweigh short-term economic gains from logging it.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work with Industry Canada and NRC-industry partnerships to encourage more value-added manufacturing, including products that would benefit from a greater focus on timber quality;
- Work to make funding available for research (by CFS) into improved timber quality, including making timber quality an explicit objective of silviculture and diversifying the mix of exploited species;
- Address the unused potential in Canada's hardwood forests and private woodlots. Moderate climate change may bring opportunities to restore and increase federal funding into climate change adaptation in Canada's forests. Work with the CFS to reinstate funding for a reinvigorated Canadian Model Forest Network;
- Restore funding to the Climate Adaptation Network working with partners in universities and other levels of government on adaptation measures for Canada's forests. Adaptation can encompass scenario modeling, silvicultural practices to foster resilient forests, changing the species composition of selected forests, and (acknowledging the inevitability of some level of climate change) using assisted migration of forest trees in the service of these goals;
- Promote the use of 'Triad' zonation of forest exploitation. Triad zonation proposes to zone forest estates into protected areas, standard (extensive) silvicultural zones, and intensive or even super-intensive silvicultural zones. Faced with rising transport costs over time and increasing demands for environmental protection (e.g. the Boreal Forest Agreement), as well as regional timber supply shortages, it is clear that intensification of silviculture on some part of the forest will have to occur for current production levels to be maintained. 'Intensification' can run the gamut from intensified wood production using silvicultural methods, including thinning, through to the growing of short rotation crops for biomass fuels;
- Provide tax relief, either through taxes foregone or through reduced interest rates on money borrowed for capital equipment, that would ease the path from our current extensive exploitation of cheap and usually low quality wood to a future in which (some) companies would focus on value-added and intensive silviculture on smaller areas of forest, located relatively close to processing facilities;
- Support enhanced wood quality from the 450 000 small woodlot owners in Canada. These private woodlots could be an important source of timber, a means to achieve future conservation goals in rural areas, and a proving ground for climate change adaptation strategies;
- Expand the range of some valuable hardwoods on small woodlots, which would benefit the development of industries dependent on hardwoods (e.g. some types of flooring, veneer etc.);

- Renegotiate trade agreements so that Canada has the power to encourage more domestic value-added manufacturing of wood products by restricting the export of raw logs with a substantial whole log export tax;
- Within the on-going Forest Accord process and in partnership with the provincial and territorial governments who have primary jurisdiction, shift all economic forests to eco-forestry practices, including certification by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC);
- With the provinces, First Nations and the logging industry, devise incentives that promote the use of single stem selection logging and longer rotations that conserve natural forest ecosystems and grow higher value wood;
- Support the Boreal Forest Conservation Framework agreement finalized in 2010 between a number of major forestry companies, First Nations, and environment groups to protect at least half of Canada's Boreal Forest in a network of large interconnected protected areas, and institute state-of-the-art ecosystem based management and stewardship on the remaining landscape;
- Provide more federal funding to research the best way to harvest pine beetle-killed trees, while leaving unaffected trees, and to mitigate the economic impact of the pine beetle epidemic;
- Develop a Genuine Forest Health Indicator (GFHI) that assesses the state of the forests every decade and measures changes in all forest values, including those that mitigate climate change directly or indirectly;
- Promote hemp and agricultural cellulose waste as sources of paper fibre to reduce the pressure on standing forests;
- Promote the use of wood waste, rather than foods such as corn, to produce bio-fuels.

1.19 Expanding cultural tourism and ecotourism

Travel and tourism is the world's number one employer and represents more than 10% of global spending. Canada was once in the top seven destinations in the world, but dropped to 18th. In reversing some of the previous government's anti-tourism policies the Liberals helped us climb from 18th to 17th most visited country. Returning to the top ten will require a lot of work.

Advertising for Canada by the federal government has once again been allowed in the US market. The Visa requirements for Mexico were reversed. But many still remain. The Conservative government removed the GST-HST rebate for foreign visitors and the Liberals have not been restored it. The predictability of employment insurance for seasonal workers was eroded, and has not yet been repaired. The requirement for tourists from all countries where visas are not required to obtain a permit from the Minister of Immigration (although exempting the USA through the Security and Prosperity Partnership) remains in place.

The tourism sector in Canada is unique in that it makes a significant contribution to every region's cultural and economic well-being. It goes beyond creating jobs and foreign exchange revenue. It enables Canadians to explore our land and helps knit our country together. With revenues of over \$74 billion in 2008, tourism constituted 2% of Canada's GDP and employed

over 660 000 Canadians. This is nearly as much as our forestry and agricultural industries combined.

The Greens believe we must foster a sustainable, green tourism industry and market it responsibly throughout the world. We believe we must provide exceptional tourist experiences by having the finest National Park system, the best museums and cultural activities, and the most hospitable service. To do this, the Canadian government must play a bigger role in promoting, coordinating, and guiding efforts across the entire country.

Green Party MPs will:

- Restore the GST-HST rebate to foreign visitors, reject the changes to penalize seasonal workers in the Employment Insurance system, and eliminate the requirement for a permit to visit Canada from those countries where no visa is required;
- Create a separate federal Department of Tourism to coordinate all aspects of tourism. This ministry will focus on helping the fastest-growing sector of global tourism, ecotourism, become stronger, and through special programs encourage Aboriginal Canadians to assume a bigger role in our tourism industry;
- Increase funding to the arts, culture, and heritage sector (see Part 4.15 Arts and Culture);
- Work to make sure our borders are open and security measures are reasonable;
- Build a low-carbon tourism sector based on intermodal rail and bicycle touring.

1.20 Mining

While the control of natural resources is allocated to provincial governments, the consequences of mining often encroach on areas of federal jurisdiction, especially on fisheries. This energy intensive industry (81 MT, NrCan 2014) also contributes more than four times as much to Canada's GHG emissions as do all domestic flights in Canada (2014- 17 MT GHG). The most energy intensive mining is in the oil sands.

The Greens support triple bottom line analysis, measuring social, environmental, and economic costs and benefits. Such an analysis must be conducted before approval is given for a mine. We should not be mining products in Canada, like uranium, that are highly toxic to our environment and to human health. The Green Party will require that mine reclamation plans include detailed plans and effective measures to deal with acid mine drainage and are in place before active mining begins. The Greens will also provide tax benefits to reward full recycling of metals, as recycling is a far more cost-effective way to produce metals than to mine virgin materials. Mining should be subjected to full cost accounting. The reality is that mining may contribute very little local employment, but leaves behind the residues, leaching ponds, poisoning of the water table, damaged roads due to heavy trucks (becoming a township, local taxpayer expense) and the real gains, if they are real, are in value-added jobs elsewhere. New mines, even exploration, often are a disincentive to other investments and land uses, since the threat of mining lowers land values. For instance, there is currently no monitoring of the impacts of uranium mining on groundwater, agricultural lands, or air quality as wind carries pollutant loads to other provinces.

Green Party MPs will:

- Call for government action to require life-cycle product stewardship of metals to ensure that once mined they remain in economic service for generations;
- Vigorously oppose the permitting of any new uranium mines and notify current uranium-permit holders of plans to phase out this industry in Canada, including exports;
- Prohibit the export of fissionable nuclear material;
- Push for an end to all subsidies to the mining sector to ensure full-cost accounting. End the tax benefits to flow-through shares promoting prospecting and exploration in unlikely areas. End prospecting for tax write-offs;
- Work with provinces, territories, and industry to ensure that all mining operations are insured for environmental liabilities, and have an adequate pre-funded plan for remediation, both for the short and long-term, when a mine closes;
- Introduce a Corporate Social Responsibility Act to regulate the mining industry, requiring the highest environmental practices both in Canada and wherever Canadian companies operate, and ensure that waters are not contaminated during mining operations and after a mine closes.

1.21 Energy industry: No to nuclear

Can nuclear power meet our energy needs and be the solution to climate change? Not when one considers the cost, pollution, and threat to global security associated with nuclear power.

The Greens insist that energy choices should be economically rational. The best energy choices to respond to the climate crisis should be those that deliver the greatest reduction of GHG per dollar invested. By this criterion, nuclear energy is among the very worst options. Reactors cost billions of dollars, take more than a decade to build, operate unreliably after about the first dozen years of operation, and only produce one type of energy: electricity. Even if the industry were “green and clean” as claimed by the pro-nuclear propaganda efforts, it fails on the economics. Nevertheless, it is neither clean nor green.

Recent studies also note that once the current high-grade uranium deposits are depleted, carbon emissions will greatly increase as low-quality ores have to be refined. In addition, radioactive emissions that routinely leak from current facilities in Ontario have a half-life of over 5000 years. The spent fuel has over 200 cancer-causing elements. Plutonium, for example, has a half-life of 24, 100 years, while other harmful substances persist for millions of years in our environment with no known safety treatment nor storage place.

Nuclear energy is inevitably linked to nuclear weapons proliferation. India made its first bomb from spent fuel from a Canadian research reactor. As well, depleted uranium waste is increasingly and routinely used to coat armor-piercing bullets and missiles in ‘conventional’ warfare, leaving a legacy of toxic metal and radioactive contamination as an on-going health and environmental threat to civilians post-conflict.

The least expensive energy alternative for Canada is investment in enhanced energy productivity through energy efficiency and conserving energy. With existing technology, fully implemented, Canada could easily reduce energy

demand by 50%. The Greens support a full portfolio of sensible energy choices – 100% clean and green power.

Canada's potential wind and tidal resources are amongst the best in the world. Yet, they have hardly been tapped. The Greens globally have said "no" to nuclear energy because it is neither safe, nor clean, nor economical. Federal climate change policies should encourage the most efficient, effective, and environmentally friendly measures to curb GHG emissions.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work with provinces to phase out existing nuclear power, to stem the buildup of nuclear wastes, and to institute a Canada-wide moratorium on uranium mining and refining;
- End all subsidies and supports to the nuclear industry except those required to maintain the safety of existing facilities, and assist in phasing out and decommissioning facilities and sequestering associated radioactive wastes;
- Call for the federal government to stop subsidizing all phases of the nuclear industry and Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) and stop promoting CANDU reactors;
- Demand that the operations of the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission (CNSC) and AECL are transparent and at arm's-length from government and require the disclosure of the minutes of all meetings with AECL. Repeal amendments to the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission Act that require the CNSC to consider production quotas and safety at the same time;
- Seek an amendment to the Nuclear Liability Act, increasing maximum insured liabilities from \$1 billion to \$13 billion (the amount for which U.S. reactors are insured) so that federal legislation will no longer limit the liability of the nuclear industry to a minuscule portion of potential costs of a nuclear accident.

Part 2: Addressing the challenge of the Climate Crisis: Enhancing economic performance while safeguarding our future

“If humanity wishes to preserve a planet similar to that on which civilization developed and to which life on earth is adapted, paleoclimate evidence and ongoing climate change suggest that CO₂ will need to be reduced from its current 385 ppm to at most 350 ppm.”

James Hansen, NASA’s Goddard Institute for Space Studies

Canada was once a leader in addressing climate change. During a Toronto heat wave in 1988, we hosted the first-ever international scientific conference on climate change, “Our Changing Atmosphere: Implications for Global Security.” The consensus statement from the assembled scientists was “Humanity is conducting an unintended, uncontrolled, globally pervasive experiment, whose ultimate consequences could be second only to global nuclear war.”

When the Kyoto agreement was signed, Canada committed to reducing its greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 6% below 1990 levels during the period 2008-2012.

Due to government inaction, our emissions during the Kyoto commitment period of 2008-2012 were about 30% higher than we promised. Meanwhile, other countries, such as Germany, Sweden, and England, have achieved double-digit emissions reductions since signing onto the Kyoto Protocol. In fact, nearly all the countries with targets under Kyoto exceeded them.

Canada could have met the Kyoto target. In fact, a plan was put in place in spring of 2005 that would have resulted in reductions just shy of the goal. But that plan was killed within the first few weeks after Stephen Harper became Prime Minister in 2006.

In the Harper years, Canada did serious damage to international negotiations. Canada was the first country to weaken the overall framework by changing the base year from 1990 (universal benchmark for Kyoto) to 2006 and then to 2005. Under former Prime Minister Harper Canada weakened our target, first to 20% below 2006 levels by 2020, then in Copenhagen in 2009 to 17% below 2005 levels by 2020, then to 30% below 2005 levels by 2030 (in May 2015). As well, Canada was the only nation to formally withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol (signally withdrawal in 2011, taking effect in 2012.)

Under the Trudeau administration at the UN COP 21 negotiations in Paris in November 2015, Canada once again emerged as a leader. Environment and Climate Change Minister Catherine McKenna was the first minister from an industrialized country to embrace 1.5 degrees as the target for the Paris Accord. She also said that the Harper target for greenhouse gas emissions – among the weakest in the industrialized world – would be ‘the floor’ for Canada. Prime Minister Trudeau claimed we would ‘meet or exceed’ those previous targets.

Following COP21, the federal government set out to negotiate a framework with the provinces with the goal of establishing a carbon tax across Canada. Negotiating with the provinces is admittedly difficult and the battle is far from over, especially when we consider the Ontario Premier’s recent pronouncement to repeal its cap-and-trade agreement and the Saskatchewan’s Premier’s reference on carbon tax to the provincial Court of Appeal. The federal government is now engaged in horse trading with the provinces, with pipeline and megaproject approvals as the quid pro quo for acceptance of a weak carbon price. Before the end of 2016, the Trudeau Liberals, while trumpeting support for the Paris Agreement, essentially abandoned it by

accepting that Canada's target would remain unchanged from Harper's last weakening of our commitment.

Greens continue to press for aggressive climate action, rejecting pipelines of bitumen for export, removing fossil fuels from electricity production, investing in critical infrastructure for an improved east-west electricity grid, ramping up renewable energy, energy efficiency, underpinned by a carbon-fee-and-dividend pricing scheme to transition Canada to a smart, post-carbon, prosperous economy.

Globally, emissions have risen along the line of the business as usual (BAU) trajectory model produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). If it is not mitigated, this BAU growth in GHGs will increase global average temperature up to 6 degrees C over pre-Industrial Revolution by the year 2100. Scientists place that level of warming as leading to catastrophic levels of climatic disruption, so severe it is unlikely human civilization could survive.

Currently, with less than a degree of global average temperature increase, glaciers are melting, threatening global water supplies. Polar ice is receding at an alarming rate and what remains is spongy and vulnerable, so many climate scientists now expect Arctic ice to disappear many decades ahead of when they believed just a few short years ago. Sea levels are rising, leading to evacuations of people from low-lying island nations and increasing the threats of storm damage due to tidal surges in coastal areas. Storm intensities with higher precipitation are increasing. Coral reefs are dying. Tropical storms are intensifying. The Amazon is drying out and becoming a tinderbox. Temperate forests are also burning more frequently and extensively. Many areas are experiencing unprecedented heat waves and droughts. Conflict in places like Syria is exacerbated by climate-induced drought, and heralds the arrival of resource wars fueled by the climate crisis.

The situation is getting worse. As the ice melts in the Arctic, less sunlight is reflected and the ocean heats up more quickly. This accelerates the melting of permafrost, releasing ancient deposits of methane (a GHG more than twenty times as powerful as carbon dioxide) into the atmosphere. These events are driven by what are called 'positive feedback loops.' They are serious because they threaten to eventually overtake any human efforts in the future to reduce emissions.

The oceans are slowly absorbing some of the increased atmospheric carbon, but this causes ocean acidification, which harms many of the organisms in the food chain on which our fisheries depend. We are already experiencing loss of commercial scallop and oyster production due to ocean acidification.

It is estimated that climate change now claims the lives of over 315 000 people annually and is expected to create 700 million environmental refugees by mid-century. If unchecked, it will reduce the Earth's human carrying capacity to less than a billion by century's end. Less than a tenth of humanity may survive unless we act now.

Canadians have already felt the impacts from coast to coast to coast: more floods and fires, droughts and water shortages, heat waves and smoggy days, hurricanes, catastrophic wind and ice storms shutting down communities, insect infestations killing millions of hectares of trees.

The permafrost from Siberia to the Mackenzie Valley is melting. As it melts, whole villages face the need to relocate, and caribou sink in the mud as they try to migrate. The glaciers, whether in the Alps, the Rockies, the Yukon, or the Andes, are all in rapid retreat.

The intensity of hurricanes is increasing. While some hurricane specialists are not yet convinced, increasingly research at MIT and Princeton demonstrates that the energy packed in the hurricane's punch has increased by 50-80% from 1950 to 2003. Warmer waters in the ocean lead to more severe hurricanes. In the fall of 2003, Hurricane Juan was the first full force tropical hurricane ever to slam into Nova Scotia. Formerly, cooler ocean water to our south would have downgraded Juan to a tropical storm, but, with warmer ocean surface waters, it hit Nova Scotia as a tropical hurricane.

Scientists are increasingly talking about climate change as being less a dial, than a switch. What is described in the literature as "non-linear perturbations" can be translated as 'nasty shocks' or sudden and abrupt climate catastrophes.

A number of scientists have determined that the risk of 'tipping point events' – the loss of the Gulf Stream, the collapse of the Western Antarctic Ice Shelf, and the melting of the Greenland Ice Sheet – is increased if global average temperature goes up by two degrees C above the pre-Industrial Revolution temperature. This, they estimate, could happen if concentrations of CO₂ in the atmosphere were to increase to somewhere between 400 to 450 ppm. We are now closing in on 400 ppm, up from 275 ppm in the 1800s, and now it is rising at three ppm per year. And yet, our government resists shifting to a low-carbon economy. Many other countries have begun to make this shift successfully.

Sadly, Canada has totally missed the target. In 2017, Canada's Commissioner for the Environment, within the Office of the Auditor General, found that no effort was being made within the government to meet the Copenhagen target. It has essentially been forgotten.

Meanwhile, the world's scientific body reviewing climate action, the IPCC, found that even if all Copenhagen targets were met, the avowed goal of avoiding 2 degrees would not be met.

Much more dramatic action is required. In fact, the IPCC is now calling for the world to cease using fossil fuels for energy entirely by the end of this century. The ramping up of renewable and green sources of energy is a global phenomenon.

The coming decade will largely determine the type of planet we will have at century's end and for millennia thereafter.

If we act boldly and decisively to reduce our dependence on finite polluting energy, we can still deliver a planet that sustains humanity and most other life. If we fail to change existing patterns, we will almost surely usher in an era of conflict and irreversible changes. Canada must once again become a leader in global climate negotiations. It must also, for the first time, make substantial progress in reducing greenhouse gases by embracing a truly green economy.

Canada must take the lead in global negotiations by adopting these positions on the targets we will meet:

- An opening offer to reduce Canadian emissions 30% below 2005 levels by 2025, and to 85% reduction below 1990 by 2050 regardless of what other countries do;
- A commitment to push for the global reductions in greenhouse gas emissions that are required to achieve a target of 350 ppm to cap the maximum global temperature increase at 1.5 degrees;
- Developing a global plan to attack emissions from international aviation and shipping, currently outside the Paris Agreement;

- A promise to adopt the far more aggressive emission reductions which would be required if other industrialized countries also participate;
- A commitment to periodically reassess these targets in light of emerging scientific evidence, to adopt more aggressive targets if needed, and to push for an international system of periodic review, reassessment, and target renewal.

Phasing out carbon emissions as quickly as possible until we become ‘carbon neutral’ by 2100 must be the overarching goal. A complete phase-out will occur eventually in any case as fossil fuels run out and the sooner we embrace a green economy, the better off we will be.

We must implement policies that make it possible to meet the GHG emissions targets to which we commit and then we must allocate the necessary resources to ensure that we actually achieve these objectives.

Finally, we must also commit to technology transfers and to provide the financing necessary to help developing countries achieve their emissions targets.

“We are risking the ability of the human race to survive.”

Dr. Rajendra Pachauri, Chair of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

2.1 Making real reductions in GHG emissions

Climate change remains a major concern for Canadians. Despite economic concerns and fears of terrorism, Canadians have (by large majorities) continued to say they will not trade away environmental protection to help the economy. In fact, Canadians understand that ending waste is good economics. Real solutions enhance the economy and the environment at the same time.

While completely phasing out carbon emissions seems daunting, the challenge looks much less intimidating when we realize that more than half the energy we release is never used, but escapes into the environment as waste heat. Even what is traditionally considered useful energy is questionably so. Is it useful to move 2 tonnes of steel, glass, and rubber when our real objective is to move an 80 kg person? Is it useful to heat a home that’s so leaky that most of the heat escapes within an hour? Is it useful to keep light bulbs and televisions on when no one is home? Our real energy needs are a fraction of what we use. Efficiency is our friend.

Creating energy from non-polluting sources is neither novel nor difficult. The only challenge is ensuring that energy is available when and where we need it. Fully renewable electrical grids are now being modeled in Germany. Canada is fortunate to have vast renewable energy resources and a sparse population which make a fully renewable electricity system much easier to achieve here than most places on Earth. For Canada’s particular challenges, investing in improvements in our east-west electricity grid will pay big dividends.

In his 2006 report to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Nicholas Stern, former senior economist to the World Bank, warned that, left unchecked, climate change could constitute a \$7 trillion hit to the world economy, create water shortages for one in six people planet-wide, cause the extinction of up to 40% of species, and result in up to 200 million environmental refugees. Since then, he and other economists have concluded his initial assessment underestimated the costs of inaction.

The Stern Report established that it would cost just 1 to 3% of global gross domestic product annually. In Canada, based on our 2010 GDP estimate of \$1.335 trillion, 1% means about \$13 billion – \$3 billion less than the government’s commitment to buy and maintain 65 stealth fighter jets.

We will build an economy powered by renewable energy sources. We will discourage wasteful practices, dramatically reducing our overall energy needs. By phasing out carbon emissions, we will simultaneously clean up our air, improve water quality, and help re-establish healthier forests. We will transform our buildings so they stay warm in winter and cool in summer without burning fossil fuels. We will change the way we move, rapidly bringing in an efficient and convenient public transit system supported by non-polluting personal vehicles. We will create thousands of jobs manufacturing, installing, operating, and maintaining wind turbines, solar panels, public transit vehicles and infrastructure, insulation, rail stock, and other elements of a clean and efficient economy. We will build local economies and strong communities responsive to local needs.

In addition to tax shifting and cap and trade of industry, a Green government will leave no stone unturned to establish practical and pragmatic programs in all areas of the economy to accelerate our reduction in carbon emissions.

2.1.1 Climate and Energy Policy

The first step in addressing the interlinked challenges of climate and energy is to have a national policy. Canada’s federal government must engage in a constructive and respectful fashion with other orders of government – provincial/territorial, municipal, and First Nations to set an overarching set of policy targets.

Canada is the only industrialized nation with no energy policy. We are also the only industrialized country with no climate policy. We need both and we needed them a decade ago. But a decade ago, many provinces, particularly Alberta, rejected any talk of a national energy policy. The legacy of ill will from the Pierre Trudeau NEP meant that politicians feared using the words ‘energy’ and ‘national’ in the same sentence.

Green Party MPs will press for the establishment of national goals.

We believe a national energy strategy can work to prioritize the following goals in a compatible and mutually supportive framework:

- Ensuring energy security for Canada;
- Promoting value-added jobs from all energy sources;
- Diversifying our energy mix to enhance our exceptional potential in renewable energy (including solar, wind, tidal, geothermal, and run-of-the-river hydroelectric);
- Maximizing energy productivity (i.e. dramatically improving energy efficiency);
- Shifting away from dependence on fossil fuels by embedding an aggressive climate action plan within our energy policy.

The following sections detail what the federal government can do.

2.1.2 Government operations

The federal government should apply the same national GHG reduction goals to all its own operations. All new federal government buildings must meet Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED®) standards. Federally-owned buildings must adhere to LEED® Gold; leased buildings LEED® Silver standards. Standards should be continuously upgraded.

Carbon conditionality clauses: A Green government will negotiate with the provinces and every business, NGO, institution, city, province or territory that receives funding of any kind from the federal government to establish benchmarks and policies to reduce its GHG emissions in accordance with Canada's goals. This will be phased in so that 25% of all funding will include carbon reduction requirements, rising to 100% by 2030. Carbon conditionality will be a part of a wider set of sustainability conditionality clauses, reflecting other changes that are needed on the road to a healthier economy.

2.1.3 Buildings

Most of today's housing stock will still be standing in 2040, the date we target to have achieved an 85% overall reduction in Canada's carbon emissions, so retrofitting Canada's existing stock of buildings for energy conservation is critical.

Green Party MPs will:

- Develop a national energy retrofit standard designed for a post-carbon economy that will reduce energy use in existing buildings by an average of at least 80% below that of 2009 average structures;
- Develop timelines and targets for raising existing building stock to the new standard with the goal of retrofitting 100% of Canada's buildings to a high level of energy efficiency by 2030;
- Promote the adoption of this high efficiency standard by:
 1. Restore the EcoENERGY program and provide revolving federal loans for retrofits to homeowners, as well as create cooperative programs with other orders of government, aimed at retrofitting the majority of homes across Canada in the coming decade;
 2. Dedicate \$250 million/year for five years for a low-income retrofit grant program (propose 50% cost sharing with provinces aiming to retrofit 50,000 homes/year, assuming an average cost of \$10,000/home);
 3. Funding a nation-wide program to upgrade all low-income rental housing on a phased year-by-year basis to be completed by 2030;
 4. Identifying the barriers to sustainable energy retrofits and eliminating them;
 5. Providing refundable tax credits for all energy retrofit costs, based on before-and-after EnerGuide or infrared heat tests for residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional buildings;
 6. Promoting tax-deductible Green Mortgages for homeowner energy retrofit costs;
 7. Introducing a national program of energy retrofits to public sector buildings such as universities, schools, museums, and hospitals;

8. Establishing a 100% Accelerated Capital Cost Allowance for all businesses for energy retrofit costs;
 9. Providing revolving federal loans for residential or business energy retrofits;
 10. Instituting mandatory energy audits of buildings that become available for sale and requiring that the audit results be made available.
- Work with provinces and territories to develop and implement within two years, and update annually after that, a new national building code that:
 1. Reduces overall energy demand to 15% of current conventional structures;
 2. Minimizes the use of fossil fuel based heating and cooling systems;
 3. Considers the embodied energy of construction materials;
 4. Results in structures, where possible, that produce more energy than they consume;
 5. Promotes structures that harvest, reuse, and purify their own water;
 6. Is performance-based, opening the way to innovation and unlocking barriers to green design;
 7. Require mandatory installation of solar hot water systems and pre-wiring for solar PV on all new buildings;
 8. Provide grants of 50% of the cost of solar thermal roofs or walls including solar hot water, as in Sweden;
 9. Promote Green Mortgage loans for the remainder of the cost. Establish free energy audits;
 10. Provide GST credits for all materials used in buildings that are LEED® Silver or better.

2.1.4 Efficiency

- Set high performance standards for all major appliances sold in Canada and continuously update this standard.
- Eliminate very inefficient appliances. Move to LED lighting.
- Encourage industrial efficiency for Large Final emitters (LFEs) through a cap and trade system. Support reductions in emissions through tax-deductible Green Industrial Mortgages, based on annual energy use per unit of production.

2.1.5 Renewable energy

Canada is currently the only country on earth not a member of the International Renewable Energy Agency. Failing to participate means that Canada is missing out on the global ideas market. We need to join and aggressively promote Canadian innovation in this field.

We are poised to be a world leader on tidal energy, yet the federal government is ignoring this potential. We need to work with our coastal provinces, particularly Nova Scotia and British Columbia, where potential for tidal is huge. By setting the global pace in this area we can position Canada with an attractive and growing export market.

We need to accelerate a rapid phase-out of coal. The Government of Ontario has taken the lead by shutting down its coal-fired power plants. We need to work collaboratively with those remaining provinces relying on coal-fired electricity (Alberta, Saskatchewan, and to an extent Nova Scotia) to encourage them to do the same. Alberta's plan to phase out coal by 2030 is undermined by its plan to move to another fossil fuel, inefficient natural gas to replace it. By 2030, Alberta should be ready to go to 100% renewable energy. Improvements in the east-west electricity grid can help make that happen.

A successful efficiency and building retrofit program coupled with peak load reductions could reduce the required capacity by 25%. Population increase could raise the capacity requirements again, as will the electrification of transport.

Electric vehicle producers should be encouraged to ensure the production of whatever additional electrical capacity (from renewable sources) their cars will require, as some producers offer to do. Vehicle batteries can provide useful support for load shifting to and from the grid, powering up at night when demand is low and potentially releasing energy back to the grid if it is needed at times of peak demand. This can make electric vehicles more affordable.

All carbon-based fuels will be subject to rising carbon fees, through a Carbon Fee and Dividend, as well as industrial cap and trade. Federal approvals for new oil or coal-fired power generation will not be granted. Permits to convert oil or coal-fired plants to natural gas will be allowed in the short term until renewable energy capacity increases to replace them.

Green Party MPs will:

- Ensure Canada joins the International Renewable Energy Agency;
- Establish the design and management principles of a trans-Canada nationally integrated electrical power grid capable of efficiently transporting high electrical loads and accommodating many diverse sources of renewable electrical energy;
- Develop a transition plan that will transform the existing electrical distribution system into a high efficiency national grid;
- Work with Canada's wind industry and the Canadian Wind Energy Association (CANWEA) to accelerate the rapid deployment of wind turbines to achieve 20% of Canada's energy needs by 2025;
- Restore the Wind Power Production Incentive and incentives for projects with approved Advanced Renewable Tariffs that provide power purchase contracts for a diversity of small renewable energy projects;
- Provide a two cent/kWh subsidy for renewable energy produced in any province or territory adopting ART+ (Advanced Renewable Tariffs, net metering, peak power pricing, and plans for renewable grid extensions);
- Support local energy co-operatives forming in provinces or territories adopting ART+;
- Provide substantial Research and Development (R&D) funding for ocean energy technologies in provinces and territories adopting ART+;
- Provide substantial R&D funding for electricity storage technologies in provinces adopting ART+;

- Provide support for power grid extensions to bring wind and ocean power from remote areas in provinces and territories adopting ART+;
- Work with the solar industry to rapidly install 25 gigawatts (GW) of solar PV;
- Work with renewable energy industries to introduce 12 GW MW of ocean energy and to set specific goals for production of biomass and micro hydro energy;
- Work with the geothermal energy industry and the oil industry (for their drilling expertise) in a well-funded R&D program to develop Enhanced Geothermal Systems (EGS), drilling down to ten km to extract 25 GW of power;
- Develop co-generation and peak power production from methane obtained from the anaerobic digestion of organic waste;
- Develop peak power production from burning demonstrably sustainable agricultural and forest waste as necessary to meet peak power demands but within the constraints of maintaining soil nutrients.

2.1.6 Transport

Employing currently available green technologies and encouraging transportation shareholders to be more efficient will dramatically reduce GHG emissions from the transport sector, which accounts for about 25% of Canada's emissions.

Carbon conditionality: Green Party MPs will work for transport-based carbon conditionality clauses affecting all federal funds and loans.

Walking and cycling: All bicycles and bicycle gear will be tax deductible and GST free. All federal staff will receive a cycling allowance equal to the vehicle allowance.

Green Party MPs will work to match provincial and municipal investments designed to increase walking and cycling, with a baseline contribution of 25% of the total cost, rising to 50% where provinces pay bicycle allowances to their staff and equip all government buildings with cycling facilities, and where cities do likewise, increasing the kilometres of cycling lanes and trails, and establishing policies to encourage smart growth and prevent sprawl.

Access to Canada's National Parks will be free to all those who enter on bicycles or on foot.

Transit and Light Rail Transit: Green Party MPs will advocate matching provincial and territorial investments in transit with a baseline contribution of 25% of the total cost, rising to 75% where municipalities have established working policies to encourage smart growth and prevent sprawl, and where transit authorities introduce progressive programs designed to increase ridership such as annual U-passes for colleges, eco-passes for neighbourhoods, commuter passes for businesses, and requirements that new developments must be served by transit. Green Party MPs will promote making it compulsory for developers to provide three-year transit passes for all their developments' new residents, as in Boulder, Colorado.

Long-Distance Coaches: Green Party MPs will advocate for the liberalization of the licensing for long-distance coach lines to encourage competition and greater ridership, while maintaining rigorous safety standards. It will eliminate the fuel tax for companies that sign a carbon conditionality agreement to upgrade their fleets to high efficiency technologies and train their

drivers in efficient driving. It will provide federal funding for upgrades to coach stations to a standard that will be attractive to everyone.

Rail: Green Party MPs will re-invest in our national passenger rail infrastructure, working toward highspeed rail connections in Canada's busiest passenger corridors. Green Party MPs will urge investment in intermodal connections, increase funding for joint federal-municipal light rail projects, as well as restore VIA rail service to all major regional cities. We will argue for a national clean rail freight initiative that uses both regulatory means and financial incentives to improve fleet efficiency and safety, such as through Positive Train Control (see section 1.12).

Teleworking: Green Party MPs will advocate for a no-trip vehicle allowance to all federal staff working from home, give a tax credit for the cost of establishing a home office, and establish a parking cash-out system (cash to employees not using a company parking space) to encourage reduced use of cars and parking.

Vehicles: When it comes to vehicle technologies, corn and grain-based biofuels pose an unacceptable cost in reducing food available for people, as well as having dubious net GHG reductions. Hydrogen will not deliver in the near-term nor possibly in the long-term due to inherent storage, distribution, and production efficiency reasons. Cellulosic ethanol offers some potential, but electric vehicles have recently leapt ahead. Plug-in hybrid electric vehicles can be 100% electric for short distance trips and fully electric vehicles are already available. Today's fully electric vehicles are economical for city driving and models are in development that can economically replace the full function of an internal combustion engine vehicle. As more electric and hybrid vehicles become available at affordable prices, non-hybrid internal combustion engine personal vehicles should be phased out.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work with the motor industry, provinces, territories, and other partners to develop a sustainable vehicles strategy, leading to an 85% reduction in emissions below today's level by 2040;
- Adopt California standards requiring a 30% reduction in GHG emissions from new vehicles sold in Canada by 2020, 50% by 2025, and 90% by 2030. This will drive the manufacture of zero-emission vehicles and the infrastructure to support them. It will also create fuel efficiency standards in line with leading U.S. states for the 2011 model year;
- Kick-start a national fast-charging electric vehicle infrastructure by investing \$12 million into travel corridor pilot projects around major urban centres;
- Provide tax incentives to electricity storage, to benefit renewable energy development in every province and territory and maximize the efficient use of existing infrastructure, specifically by amending Classes 43.1 and 43.2 of the Income Tax Act to specify that capital cost allowances apply to expenditures on tangible stand-alone electricity storage assets, regardless of the electricity source;
- Accelerate the market arrival of plug-in hybrid electric vehicles (PHEVs) and fully electric vehicles by signing the Plug-In Partners advanced purchasing agreement (creating a federal buying pool) with a commitment to buy large numbers of PHEVs for federal government use as soon as they are available. Carbon conditionality clauses in federal contracts will include a requirement for the purchase of plug-in vehicles as soon as they are more readily available;

- Work with all governments and businesses in Canada to join a Canadian green car buying pool and to join the Plug-In Partners buying pool;
- Offer scale-based rebates of up to \$5,000 for the purchase of the most efficient vehicles, including electric vehicles, and scale-based fees on the purchase of inefficient vehicles;
- Require mandatory vehicle fuel efficiency labelling, adopting the European system;
- Allow tax write-off benefits only for energy efficient company cars;
- Provide incentives for Canadian manufacturers of electric and plug-in hybrid electric vehicles;
- Establish a new authority to create a just transition fund for the automobile sector, funded by an additional fee on all sales of inefficient cars in Canada.

Even with electric and plug-in hybrid electric vehicles, liquid fuel will still be required though possibly up to 80% less than is used today. Green Party MPs will support Research and Development of cellulosic ethanol from domestic farm and forest wastes as long as these 'wastes' are surplus to the need to sustain soils. The Green Party opposes the development, manufacture and use of ethanol or biodiesel (biofuels) derived from food crops. The Green Party opposes current laws requiring the use of biofuels and will only support standards for biofuel use when supplies of biofuels that are derived from demonstrably-sustainable waste sources become available.

Aviation: Green Party MPs will work with the aviation industry to develop a sustainability strategy, leading to an 85% reduction in overall emissions by 2040.

All aviation fuel will carry both a regular fuel tax and the carbon tax. The carbon tax will be rated for the carbon equivalency of aviation impact. Long-distance flights at high altitude and night flights will pay a carbon tax at up to twice the regular rate to cover the climate impact of nitrous oxide emissions (which convert to tropospheric ozone, a GHG) and high level cloud cover which more slowly dissipates at night (which traps heat).

Green Party MPs will work with business partners to secure the installation of video-conferencing facilities in every community larger than 1000 people by 2018.

Video-conferencing facilities for meetings and conferences will be free of GST and will qualify for an Accelerated Capital Cost Allowance. The federal government will achieve a 50% reduction in meetings that would otherwise involve flying by 2020, and an 80% reduction by 2025. MPs with rural ridings will be encouraged to meet constituents by video-link.

Communities: Green Party MPs will advocate a methane tax on all landfills which will be charged based on the amount of emissions. After 2020, the tax will increase by 50% a year, and after 2025 no landfill will be allowed to operate without methane capture.

All federal support for municipalities will be subject to carbon conditionality clauses. All current federal funding that encourages urban sprawl and greater vehicle use will be eliminated. The existing Green Infrastructure Fund, gas tax, and other funding will continue.

Green Party MPs will support restructuring the Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund and establish 'Municipal Superfunds' for urban and suburban municipalities with funding contingent on a municipality regulating new developments to achieve higher densities that are conducive to

the development of mass transit while at the same time protecting open spaces and agricultural lands.

Support will be provided to local non-profits and associations that sponsor programs that concretely reduce GHG emissions.

Federal disaster assistance will be available to help communities prepare for climate change impacts (floods, storms, disasters), subject to carbon conditionality clauses. Provinces and communities that do not satisfy the clauses will not be eligible for federal disaster assistance. This requirement is similar to an insurance company refusing fire insurance on a building that does not meet code requirements for fire safety.

2.1.8 Industry

While the media narrative about climate change tends to focus on the idea that we are all responsible for the climate crisis through thousands of individual actions, the truth is that large industrial operations are much bigger polluters. Looking for the big polluters is easy. Go to the Environment Canada website for “Large Final Emitters (LFEs)” and you will find them mapped and described. Most recent figures are from 2015. Over 37% of Canada’s GHG come from 563 individual operations. They are overwhelmingly power plants, refineries, and cement plants.

Large Final Emitters (LFEs) will be subject to the Carbon Fee and Dividend and cap and trade policies described above. All industrial buildings will be eligible for incentives to become more energy efficient, as above, and structurally safe. Use of the greenhouse gas halocarbons CFCs, HFCs, PFCs, and SF₆ will be phased out by 2025. There will be federal support for R&D to develop new climate-friendly, non-toxic alternatives. A Nitrous Oxide Task Force will be established to recommend ways to reduce Canada’s N₂O emissions by 85% by 2025.

All federal grants and loans to industry will be subject to carbon conditionality clauses designed to steer all industry and manufacturing towards 100% sustainable processes and practices. Megastore retail outlets which depend on customer use of cars will be encouraged to adopt parking charges, combined with transit access and the home delivery of purchases by means of conditionality clauses signed with municipalities seeking federal funds.

Legislation will be introduced that requires all manufactured goods, including vehicles, to be designed for easy dismantling, re-use and/or recycling, and to contain 90% recycled materials by 2030, as in Germany.

Legislation will be introduced that requires all appliance and equipment retail outlets to receive broken and worn-out goods they have sold for recycling or repair. Industry will be helped to establish a national deposit system, recycling systems, and third party management to help them fulfill the obligation (like Germany’s Recycling Law).

2.1.9 Forestry

Canada will negotiate international agreements for forest preservation in parallel with emissions reductions. Forest protection will not be traded for reductions in fossil fuel emissions as meeting both targets is urgently required.

In addition to actions in the commercial forest, we should pay special attention to National Parks. Green Party MPs will strive to build resilient forests rather than maintaining any one species. We need to restore funding for parks' ecological services, and do research and experimentation that will lead to the forests of the future.

2.1.10 Agriculture

Livestock production is currently a major contributor to non-carbon dioxide GHG emissions. Of the GHG emissions generated from agriculture, 43% comes from dairy and beef herds emitting methane; 40% from poor soil fertilization practices releasing N₂O; 15% from poor manure management from penned livestock herds; and 2% from other sources. Because of the multiple benefits of organic farming methods, including a big reduction in GHG emissions, Green Party MPs will work to assist non-organic farmers who wish to transition to organics to make the switch. Local food production will be encouraged to reduce emissions from transport.

Green Party MPs will promote the use of manure and farm waste to build soil nutrition and organic content. We will pay farmers for carbon sequestration in soils within a domestic carbon market. This will promote no-till agriculture practices which will in turn slow and reverse the process of soil depletion. We will plan for transition to 100% organic farming.

Urban agriculture will be encouraged to provide more local food, including more green roofs, reducing air conditioning demand and run-off in deluge rains.

2.1.11 Fossil fuels

Green Party MPs will:

- Remove all subsidies and supports to the oil, coal, gas, and coalbed methane industries in Canada;
- Apply escalating Carbon Fee and Dividend to all CO₂, methane, N₂O, fugitive, and other GHG emissions;
- Apply a carbon fee to all producers of fossil fuels, redistributed as a dividend to every Canadian, as above;
- Work with provinces to ensure no new coal-fired electrical generation plants;
- Work with provinces to place a moratorium on horizontal fracking;
- Pass legislation to keep Canada's west coast crude oil supertanker-free, ensuring both that a new West Coast oil bitumen-diluent port will not be built and that current bitumen-diluent tanker traffic in the Port of Vancouver be rapidly phased out;
- Work to establish a Federal Ministry of Energy Transition Plan to co-ordinate the transition from a fossil fuel based economy to one based on renewable energy;
- Work to establish a Strategic Petroleum and Natural Gas Reserve to address secure domestic petroleum supply in the event of shortages both short term and long-term, a Natural Gas Emergency Preparedness Plan that addresses potential natural gas supply shortages, and an Emergency Preparedness Plan to address other energy supply crises.

2.1.12 Global

Green Party MPs will press Canada to work with other nations to implement the 2015 Paris Agreement. We need to “ratchet up” all current NDC’s (Nationally Determined Contributions) if we are to achieve the increasingly ambitious target of holding global average temperature to no more than a 1.5 degree increase over global average temperature before the Industrial Revolution.

Canada will commit to the necessary technology transfers and funding required for developing nations to transition to a post-carbon economy in a fair and equitable way, keeping in mind Canada’s obligations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to absorb some of the costs of mitigation and adaptation based on past responsibility for the crisis and our country’s capability to pay. Actions must also be integrated to our UN commitments to meet the 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

Canada will work to continue and enhance Kyoto’s Clean Development Mechanism to improve and strengthen verification of GHG reductions so that we can have a reliable method in place to invest confidently in GHG reductions in developing nations.

Canada will support the extension of the Paris Agreement to cover international aviation and shipping.

Green Party MPs will:

- Engage in multi-lateral diplomacy to increase the levels of ambition in all nations’ NDC as soon as possible, including through enhanced financing, adaptation measures, technology transfer, and capacity building;
- Commit at least \$500 million annually to support adaptation and mitigation activities in developing countries;
- Recognize the legitimacy of developing country calls for additional funding, not through the Green Climate Fund, for the costs of Loss and Damage.

2.2 Adapting to climate change within Canada

One of the binding commitments of nations signing on to the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was to prepare adaptation strategies to cope with that level of climatic disruption that is no longer avoidable. If anything, this commitment has been ignored by Canada even more than the obligation to reduce emissions. Sectors requiring immediate attention include agriculture, forestry, fishing, and tourism. Protecting vulnerable areas and population also need to be addressed. Climatic impacts have already cost the Canadian economy billions of dollars.

The Green Party believes that the federal government must show leadership in developing an adaptation strategy in collaboration with the provincial/territorial governments, municipalities, and First Nations governments that aims to mitigate and reduce the impacts of climate change. Even with significant global GHG reductions to stabilize the climate, it will take decades, perhaps centuries, to arrest climate change.

In 2017, the federal government allocated approximately \$80 million to an adaptation plan for Canada. Details of that plan remain unclear.

We must improve municipal infrastructure, especially water treatment facilities, to meet a changing water regime. We are already experiencing increased deluge precipitation events during which current systems allow raw sewage to bypass treatment. We must start curtailing developments in areas of high vulnerability (for example, floodplains, low-elevation coastal areas, steep hillsides, regions of permafrost, and places adjacent to forests at increased risk of fires). We must undertake greater flood control measures like raising dykes in areas made more prone to flooding because of climate change.

The most urgent community crises are in the Canadian Arctic where peoples of the North face losing their hunting culture and relocation of their communities due to the melting of permafrost and Arctic ice. Meanwhile in the interior of British Columbia, an area of forest twice the size of Sweden has been killed by a climate-caused pine beetle epidemic. The pine beetle epidemic is an economic disaster for many forest dependent communities. The standing dead forest coupled with a period of intense heat and drought created ideal conditions for the unprecedented forest fire season on 2017.

We need to pay particular attention to adaptation opportunities in restoring wetlands. According to Ducks Unlimited Canada (DUC), Saskatchewan and Manitoba alone have lost 350 000 ha of wetland over the last 40-60 years. Wetland loss may have amplified recent 300-year flood events on the prairies. As prairie potholes are drained, their formerly local, internal drainages are diverted to the regional drainage into rivers and creeks.

We must act to reduce emissions and we must prepare for the ‘new normal’ of a destabilized climate. These are not, as often presented, mutually exclusive goals. We need both and we needed them yesterday.

Green Party MPs will:

- Establish special task forces involving all stakeholders, all levels of government and scientific experts to prepare, over the next two years, area-specific climate change adaptation strategies. The first of such task forces shall be set up in places particularly vulnerable to climate shift and disruptions, the Canadian Arctic, coastal zones, the Prairies, and the Interior of British Columbia;
- Restore and enhance funding to adaptation planning and measures across Canada;
- Establish a Climate Change Adaptation Fund to assist those areas hard hit by ‘natural’ disasters linked to climate change;
- Work with provinces to restore riparian ecosystems. Restore critical wetlands, especially where they might serve to dampen flood levels. The U.S. has invested billions in restoring riparian buffers, while we have done little. Federal programs could be delivered through existing government agencies, such as the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration (PFRA) and ENGOs like Ducks Unlimited;
- Work with landowners (provide incentives/tax breaks) to restore and/or forego drainage on prairie potholes and wetlands that currently receive much of spring meltwater. There are some excellent models in existing provincial programs; for example, the Wetland Restoration Incentive Program (WRIP) initiated in 2008/09 as a partnership between Manitoba, DUC, and the Manitoba Habitat Heritage Corporation (MHHC).

Part 3: Preserving and Restoring the Environment

Our natural environment is the source of our wealth and our health. Canada's forests, water, soil and energy resources fuel our economy. However, if we treat our environment like a business in liquidation, those resources and our economy will suffer. The lack of federal regulation, monitoring, and action has made Canada one of the world's biggest and most tragic offenders against the environment. We rank amongst the world's worst for wasteful use of natural resources. Our soil, air, and waters are dumping grounds for toxic chemicals. Through inadequate environmental protection we risk leaving our children the deplorable legacy of a debilitated and degraded environment. How can we be so thoughtless?

The Green Party of Canada has set out its plan for a sustainable future grounded in fiscal responsibility, ecological health, and social justice.

As the only party working within a triple bottom line (economic, ecological, and social) approach to every policy, our position on key environmental issues is clear.

It is urgent that the Canadian government set real targets, with measurable objectives, and put in place the resources to deliver on those goals. Recent history makes it clear that purely voluntary efforts do not work. Recent history also demonstrates that policies must be consistently applied. For example, it is not possible to reduce GHGs while subsidizing the planet's single biggest environment-damaging industrial development project and most carbon-intensive oil – bitumen from the Athabasca oil sands.

We need to correct the perception that economic success is dependent on growth and build understanding of the benefits of a steady-state economy (non-boom/bust economy). Continued exponential growth is counter to the realities of a finite planet.

Overarching advance review of projects requires the restoration of the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act. Despite promises from the Trudeau Liberals to repair the damage inflicted under Harper to CEAA, the new Liberal approach essentially entrenches the far narrower review of far fewer projects. Adequate financing for the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency to ensure it can handle the breadth and number of reviews it did in 2006 is essential. The recommendations of the Expert Panel on Environmental Assessment, that CEAA operate as a quasi-judicial tribunal, should be enacted.

3.1. Air quality

Canada faces an epidemic level of respiratory diseases, exacerbated by poor air quality. On smog alert days our emergency wards are packed. Asthma is the leading cause of absenteeism from school and the third leading cause of work loss. Nearly four million Canadians, about 10.8% of the country's population (stats from 2011/12), and one in eight children suffer from asthma, and the numbers are increasing rapidly.

Yet, Canada's regulation of air quality lags behind that of other nations. Canada allows sulphur dioxide at concentrations of 115 parts per million (ppm) while the European Union, for example, allows 48 and Australia permits 80.

The issue of air quality is intimately connected with climate change. The formula is: air pollution + heat = smog. A failure to confront the climate crisis, directly and soon, will result in more

extreme heat conditions during the summer months. The more 30+ degree days that Canadians experience, the more smog days that will occur.

More stringently regulating to reduce the precursors of smog (particulates, sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide) as well as to reduce serious neuro-toxic contamination of air with mercury is necessary and is immediately possible within the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA). Regulating to reduce these contaminants must be coupled with reducing the burning of fossil fuels that emit particulates as well as climate-warming GHGs. Measures to meet climate protection targets by reducing reliance on fossil fuels will have important benefits in avoiding ever-worsening heat impacts and these contaminants.

Green Party MPs will:

- Strengthen CEPA with specific and strong regulations to reduce particulates, sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, and other airborne contaminants;
- Address smog-causing heat and pollution through solutions outlined in Part 2: Addressing the challenge of the Climate Crisis: Enhancing economic performance while safeguarding our future in this document.

3.2 Water protection and conservation

Freshwater is the lifeblood of Earth. Protecting and conserving freshwater is a major political challenge for the 21st century. Looking down from space, one sees that Canada encompasses one of the Earth's most freshwater-abundant regions. On the ground, however, the story is different. Our water use is geographically concentrated; 60% of our water flows north while over 90% of our population is concentrated along our southern border. Sadly, Canadians are among the world's most inefficient users of water, wasting more water per capita than any other nation on Earth except for the United States. While Europe has considerably reduced its water consumption, Canadians continue to put a heavy strain on water infrastructures and drain our valuable freshwater reserves.

As stewards of 9% of the world's renewable water, we are ethically bound to conserving it for this and future generations. Ground water in Canada makes up over 90% of Canada's fresh water. This resource is being exploited by oil and gas activities all across Canada with little to no knowledge of the impacts to major aquifers that are supported by the surface water. While most citizens have access to safe water, Health Canada indicates that as many as 85 First Nations communities (under the sole jurisdiction of the federal government) are under boil-water advisories. As our population, economic activities, and communities grow, water problems will become increasingly common. Some, like Walkerton and Kashechewan, are related to water quality; others, like recent droughts in the prairies and southern Ontario, are water quantity issues; some span provincial borders; others national borders. All speak to a need for renewed attention to national water policy developed by the federal government in partnership with provinces, territories, First Nations, NGOs, and municipalities.

Sustainable communities and sustainable livelihoods need healthy watersheds. The Green Party is committed to responsible water stewardship. That includes protecting watersheds from industrial and urban activities and restoring those that have been damaged by such activities. We advocate a renewed federal government role in water management, focused on strong regulations

and programs created in collaboration with provincial and municipal governments. When it comes to our vision for freshwater, the Green message is clear: Keep it. Conserve it. Protect it.

- Keep it. Pressure is mounting to export freshwater south of the border, with trade agreements such as the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) leaving us susceptible to relinquishing control over our water. The Green Party supports current Federal Water Policy that emphatically opposes large-scale exports (bulk exports) of our freshwater.
- Conserve it. The federal government must work to ensure sustainable use of our water resources and at the same time maintain and improve access to safe water for all Canadians. This includes water metering and pricing that both reflect a fair value for water and foster efficient use, and regulations that protect and enhance water quality and ensure that Canada does not become a haven for water-wasting industrial technologies.
- Protect it. To protect and restore freshwater ecosystems and their ecological services (e.g. as habitats for fish and freshwater species, as domestic water supplies for energy-generation and recreation, as sources of water for irrigation and other economic uses) the federal government has to use its powers, including the Fisheries Act, and its role in inter-jurisdictional water sharing. This is especially important when considering the changes in quality and quantity of Canada's freshwater that will occur due to climate change. The Great Lakes' levels will fall, resulting in higher concentrations of toxic chemicals and other pollutants. B.C. rivers will become over-heated, preventing salmon spawning; and farmers will face increasing drought. The Athabasca River is already experiencing significant declines in flow and water quality due to climatic impacts and oil sands developments.

The federal government needs to ensure that watershed protection is the first priority of water protection and establish in-stream flow needs in every 1st and 2nd order stream in Canada. Ecological function of river basins must be protected through strict land use management in those river basins.

Green Party MPs will:

- Protect the fundamental right to clean freshwater for all Canadians today and in future generations by amending the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to enshrine the right of future Canadians to an ecological heritage that includes breathable air and drinkable water;
- Restore the protections of the *Navigable Waters Protection Act* as prior to 2006;
- Establish a Canada Water Fund of \$215 million per year for five years to focus on long-term watershed health, alleviating the problem of run-off of pollutants and nutrients, and to fund the continuation of the Great Lakes Water Quality Protocol;
- Push government to strategically implement the 1987 Federal Water Policy to meet the requirements of sustainable water management – equity, efficiency, and ecological integrity – by:
 1. Passing federal legislation to prohibit bulk water exports, building on the current law banning exports from transboundary basins, and immediately remove water from the scope of the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) currently within the ratification process of the European Union;;

2. Take action to prevent radioactive waste shipments such as the highly radioactive worn out steam generators from nuclear reactors approved to be shipped out of the Owen Sound harbour, through the St. Lawrence Seaway and to Sweden;
 3. Establishing regulations and product standards to promote water-efficient technologies in Canada;
 4. Ensuring secure, safe water supplies for all citizens, with a focus on First Nations communities, through establishing regulations requiring protection of drinking water at its source, public inspection of domestic water supplies, and mandatory and regular drinking water testing;
 5. Provide funding to municipalities through a new 'Water and Waste Treatment Facilities Municipal Superfund' (see Section 1.14 Infrastructure and Communities for more on federal-municipal relations) to enable replacement of chlorination systems with ozonation, ultraviolet sterilization, sand filtration, and other safe water purification systems;
 6. Conduct an inventory of all polluted groundwater and water bodies. Develop and implement strategies for cleaning them;
 7. Enhance the capacity of federal departments and agencies to protect and restore the health of aquatic ecosystems.
- Ensure that water is managed in a way that helps create healthy, sustainable communities and fosters sustainable livelihoods by demanding that government:
 1. Replace federal guidelines for drinking water quality with binding national standards that secure clean drinking water and human health;
 2. Make federal funding for urban water infrastructure contingent on water efficiency plans that include measurable and enforceable goals and objectives;
 3. Provide adequate funding for local and regional flood protection and drought management planning;
 4. Provide strategic climate change program funding for water conservation on the basis that water conservation results in energy savings and reduced GHG emissions;
 5. Revive the InfraGuide program providing internships in leading-edge municipal infrastructure projects;
 6. Shift subsidies and funding away from dams and diversions (including feasibility studies) toward comprehensive 'ground to the glass' drinking water protection strategies, especially source water protection, watershed restoration, and community-based water conservation and efficiency planning and programs;
 7. Review federal agricultural subsidies and develop transitional strategies to shift production away from water-intensive crops toward less water-intensive local sustainable agriculture.
 - Address inter-provincial/territorial and international water-related concerns by demanding that government:

1. Restore ecosystem health to Canada's coastline and inland watersheds by funding improvements to municipal wastewater treatment systems, with particular emphasis on ensuring shoreline communities and industries stop dumping untreated waste into rivers, lakes, and oceans;
 2. Ensure that binding water-sharing agreements among provincial, territorial and federal governments are created within the Mackenzie Basin (within one year). The agreements must reflect contemporary scientific knowledge and principles of social equity, efficiency and ecological integrity. Elements to include:
 - a. Capping withdrawals from the Athabasca River based on assessment of instream flow needs;
 - b. Ensuring oil sands developers deal responsibly with polluted waters in oil sands tailings storage ponds (the largest man-made structures on Earth);
 - c. Placing a moratorium on further oil sands development (i.e. increases in annual production).
 3. Review the Prairie Provinces Water Board Master Agreement on Apportionment to ensure it is consistent with contemporary scientific knowledge and principles of social equity, efficiency, and ecological integrity;
 4. Address invasive species in the Great Lakes by developing stringent, science-based protocols for ballast water flushing prior to entering the St. Lawrence waterway, and funding for monitoring and enforcement of these protocols;
 5. Strengthen the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement to ensure it deals with emerging issues such as endocrine disrupters and pharmaceuticals.
- Support international momentum for the human right to water by establishing a national legally binding human right to basic water requirements for all Canadians (both quality and quantity);
 - Increase Canadian aid for access to basic water requirements and sanitation consistent with the Sustainable Development Goals;
 - Fulfill the need to increase science capacity related to water issues by demanding the government:
 1. Enhance funding for data collection and integrated information systems on water use, availability and quality;
 2. Link research spending in the natural and social sciences to water policy goals to ensure our higher education institutions create the knowledge base needed for 21st century water management (e.g. emerging issues such as endocrine disrupters, pharmaceuticals and toxics, instream flows and sustainable groundwater yield, climate change adaptation).

3.3 National Parks

Completion of the national parks system and the creation of Marine Protected Areas sufficient to protect marine ecosystems remains a goal, not a reality despite decades of promises. Key ecological areas remain under assault. The

UNESCO World Heritage Committee has warned Canada that we are allowing dangerous erosion of existing parks that are designated as World Heritage Sites, particularly Banff, Jasper, Kootenay, and Yoho National Parks, as well as several provincial reserves. The UNESCO Committee pointed to the risk of “adverse impacts of the operation of the Cheviot mine on the integrity” of Jasper, in particular. A critical concern is the impact of the Site C dam on habitat in Wood Buffalo National Park.

UNESCO also warned that Canada was not doing enough to ensure that “various mining, mineral, oil and gas explorations activities” around Nahanni National Park, located in the southwest corner of the Northwest Territories, not be allowed to erode the ecological integrity of the park. Only 10% of Canada’s landscape has been protected.

The most serious blow to the integrity of our national park system was the 2013 Sable Island National Park Act. This iconic Nova Scotia island is famous for its dunes and wild ponies. The Green Party was the only party to oppose creation of a national park allowing seismic testing inside the park and directional oil and gas drilling under it. The legislation for Sable Island National Park places the Canada-Nova Scotia Off-Shore Petroleum Board (CNSOPB) as the key regulator. The CNSOPB only has to inform Parks Canada about oil and gas activities inside the park – not even consult in advance. The Trudeau administration has ignored this damage enacted under the previous government, with the complete support of both federal NDP and the then NDP Nova Scotia government.

Canadians do care. Polls reveal that 90% of Canadians consider time spent in natural areas as children very important; 85% participate regularly in nature-related activities; 98% view nature as essential to human survival.

We are committed to reversing the dangerous recent moves of the previous administration that have been unchanged under the Trudeau administration. We must rapidly establish ‘no-take’ marine parks as a last chance to save our vast tracts of critically-threatened and over-fished coastlines.

Green Party MPs will:

- Restore funding to Parks Canada to ensure science can be conducted in our national parks;
- Amend the Sable Island National Park Act to remove the authorities of the Canada-Nova Scotia Off-shore Petroleum Board and re-affirm that industrial activities have no place in our national parks;
- Enforce previous policies that precluded private sector and privatized for-profit activities within national parks;
- Re-commit to the completion of the national parks system that consists of a representative network of Canada’s terrestrial and marine ecosystems, setting a target date of 2030 with emphasis on:
 1. Fast-tracking the establishment of ‘no-take’ marine protected areas: consultation with fisheries communities and sectors is essential, drawing on experience from New Zealand and elsewhere where ‘no-take’ areas have actually improved the economically viable fisheries;
 2. Extending, in partnership with provinces, territories, and Aboriginal peoples, Canada’s network of land, freshwater, and marine protected areas and linking them up with

provincial and territorial protected areas wherever possible, and establishing compatible-use buffer zones around national parks for the maintenance of natural biological diversity and ecosystem health;

3. Providing Parks Canada with the funding necessary to protect the ecological integrity of Canada's national parks.
- And to achieve our international biodiversity commitments:
 - Ensure federal funding to meet our Aichi targets – protecting 17% of our land and inland waters and 10% of our coastal areas by 2020;
 - Establish a National Parks Completion Budget of \$500 million annually to meet the goal of completing our National Parks and Marine Protected Areas Systems by 2030;
 - Implement the recommendations of conservation scientists for effective action to preserve:
 1. Critically threatened habitats;
 2. Keystone species, endangered species, and species of commercial or cultural value, especially those of value to First Nations communities;
 3. Habitats specifically threatened by climate change;
 4. Continuous interconnected tracts of habitat for wide-range migrating species sufficient to maintain viable populations.
 - Advocate the purchase of private land, where necessary, to help protect critical habitats, especially of endangered species;
 - Increase monitoring and protection efforts, including an increase in the number of park rangers and guides with interpretation skills to educate Canadians and visitors on the vast beauty and value of our national parks;
 - Work with provincial and territorial governments to end all trophy hunting in Canada while supporting subsistence hunting by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians of wild animals that are not threatened or endangered.

3.4 Species at risk

Globally, our wealth of species is being lost at an astounding rate. Canada's rich heritage of wildlife is disappearing. While Canada's Species at Risk Act (SARA), proclaimed in 2003, has some redeeming qualities, overall its flaws make it ineffective in protecting Canada's threatened species. It provides basic protection only for species on federal lands – about 5% of the lands in Canada. It lets the federal cabinet rather than the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) scientists decide which species are on the 'species at risk' list. Habitat protection and recovery plans are voluntary.

The legal listing of species at risk has become more political and less scientific each year. Cultus Lake sockeye salmon were not listed to avoid “significant socio-economic impacts on sockeye fishermen and coastal communities.”

In the last few years, despite rhetoric about 'safety nets', the federal government has refused to issue emergency orders to protect critical habitat on non-federal lands. Ottawa has looked the

other way as the B.C. government has permitted logging in Northern spotted owl habitat, condemning the species, with only a few pairs left, to extinction in Canada.

The Greens know that the conservation of species diversity is an essential part to a healthy environment. To conserve species, we must strengthen Canada's SARA and make it an effective tool that actually protects endangered species and their habitats everywhere in Canada including all federal, provincial, territorial, First Nations, and private lands. We envision an Act that includes powers to enforce prescribed measures to protect species at risk and stop acts of non-compliance. We believe the COSEWIC scientists should have the final say on the designation of threatened species and not have its recommendations subject to Cabinet approval, a condition that greatly weakens COSEWIC's power and ability to protect species at risk.

Green Party MPs will amend Canada's SARA to:

- Ensure that listing under SARA is based on scientific, and not political, processes. COSEWIC's determination will be the actual legal listing. Cabinet approval will be removed;
- Ensure that recovery-planning efforts identify and then appropriately manage, protect and/or restore the habitat that species need to recover, through consultative, collaborative efforts with stakeholders, land-owners, provinces, municipalities, and First Nations governments;
- Inject \$40 million/year for five years to renew the federal Species at Risk implementation funding;
- Make it a criminal offence, made punishable as a mens rea offence, to kill a listed species, regardless of whether the offence occurred on federal or provincial land;
- Identify ecologically significant areas and establish a Biodiversity Conservation Action Plan for Canada, working with the provinces to establish and protect wildlife corridors through land use management plans at the regional and provincial level.

3.5 Toxic chemicals and health risks from radiation

It is shameful that Canada ranked nearly last amongst Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in our generation of pollution and nuclear and hazardous wastes. (The 30 OECD member countries represent approximately 60% of the world's economy, 70% of world trade, and 20% of the world's population.)

Canada also lagged behind in the effectiveness of regulations covering toxic and chemical waste.

The Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) must be strengthened to enshrine the right of Canadians to a healthy environment. This key change was in the unanimous report of the Parliamentary Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development in 2017.

Greens remain concerned that Canada's key legislation to protect human health and the environment from threats posed by human-generated substances does not include pesticides or radionuclides. Now is the time to remedy this gap and amend CEPA to cover the non-commercial aspects of pesticides, thus allowing the Pest Control Products Act to continue to regulate the registration and use of pesticide products, but allowing banning of dangerous substances and handling of disposal and spills to move into CEPA.

The historic tradition of secrecy surrounding the nuclear industry has kept emissions from nuclear power plants off CEPA's list. Levels of tritium in Ontario's water are high enough to be

of concern, but they fall into a regulatory lacuna. Similarly, other harmful substances found in consumer products are not regulated by CEPA. While other laws such as the Hazardous Products Act (HPA) and the Food and Drugs Act (FDA) can sometimes be used to regulate such products, these laws are inadequate in addressing the human health and environmental risks. For example, the HPA bans lead in children's jewelry, but allows this proven toxic in a wide range of other products. The HPA and FDA also do not deal with substances that pose a threat to humans via their persistence in our environment, such as perfluorinated compounds and other substances that are persistent and bioaccumulative.

Despite having its objective of maintaining an 'ecosystem-based approach,' CEPA fails to provide specific protection for Canada's most significant and vulnerable ecosystems, in particular the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence basin, Georgia and Juan de Fuca Straits, and the Arctic. The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence basin is the world's largest freshwater ecosystem. It supports one third of Canada's population and generates one half of our economic activity. Nearly one half of Canada's air pollution is also generated within this region. Now the federal government is so lacking in precautionary judgment that it has approved shipping radioactive used parts of nuclear reactors through these waters for shipment to Europe. Juan de Fuca Strait on the west coast is home to an endangered population of killer whales whose bodies are so contaminated from bioaccumulation of toxins that they have to be classified as hazardous waste. Some of the pollutants generated in southern Canada end up in the high Arctic (through airborne contamination – see Section 3.1 Air Quality), causing irreparable harm to wildlife and poisoning the food system that many Inuit rely upon.

The Greens believe the onus should be on industry to show that the products they produce are safe, contrary to the current onus on government to demonstrate harm from these products. An industry onus is a key feature of the 2007 REACH (Registration, Evaluation, and Authorization of Chemicals) system for regulating chemicals in the European Union (EU). Europe is the largest chemicals market in the world. We believe that Canada must follow their lead. It is essential that the legal framework of 'toxic' substances not be eroded in CEPA, but rather, be expanded. We believe CEPA must be amended to cover the non-commercial uses of pesticides, thus allowing the Pest Control Products Act to continue to regulate the registration and use of pesticide products, while banning of dangerous pesticide substances and handling of disposal and spills are dealt with by CEPA. We believe CEPA should be extended to control toxic radionuclides, pesticides, and many other substances shown to be of significant risk to health.

Green Party MPs will:

- Amend the CEPA to:
 1. Enshrine the right of every Canadian to a healthy environment;
 2. Cover non-commercial handling and disposal of pesticides and radionuclides;
 3. Cover regulation of all substances shown to be a significant risk to human health, including those causing cancer, immuno-suppression, endocrine disruption, neuro-toxicity, birth defects, and/or genetic mutations;
 4. Register and restrict the use of the toxic chemicals mentioned above, with the goal of first eliminating the exposure of vulnerable groups within society (pregnant women, the

unborn, children, the sick, the poor, the elderly, and Aboriginals) to them and ultimately eliminating their use altogether;

5. Require a precautionary principle approach towards chemical management: instead of determining the safety or harm of a product after it is already in the marketplace, companies that make a chemical will be responsible for proving the safety of it before it can be used, as is done with pharmaceuticals;
 6. Add pollution prevention to the CEPA mandate.
- Establish a significant Toxic Chemical Tax (TCT) on harmful chemicals to make industry accountable for chemicals it produces and to prod industry to reduce and eliminate the production of toxic substances registered under the CEPA;
 - End the production and use of the most dangerous toxic chemicals in Canada by 2025;
 - End the use of pesticides for cosmetic purposes in Canada by 2020;
 - Establish a CEPA taskforce to focus on pollution reduction in the Great Lakes – Saint Lawrence Basin and the Juan de Fuca-Georgia Strait region;
 - Create a large Clean Canada Fund to clean up toxic sites;
 - Ban the importation of toxic waste and their incineration;
 - Clean up all toxic waste sites by 2035, with a priority placed on those communities most at risk;
 - Advocate for a ban of the use of nanomaterials in all food products and for mandatory clear labelling when these nanomaterials are used in all other products;
 - Support government research into the possible harmful effects non-naturally occurring nanomaterials may have on health and the environment;
 - Limit human exposure to extremely low frequency (ELF) magnetic fields and to radio frequency radiation (RFR) to meet or exceed German 2009 standards.

3.6 Environmental science support: Restore federal science capacity

During the Harper administration's war on science, many programs were eliminated while others were so severely slashed that effective work could no longer be done.

Despite the Liberal administration's proclaimed commitment to science, the scientific capacity of the federal civil service has not been restored. Restoring robust capacity in federal science will take more than reversing Harper era cuts.

The deep cuts in budgets through the 'program review' phase of the former Liberal Government happened to coincide with a widespread (or at least within the OECD) fad for 'smaller government' and the injection of a managerial fetish in the civil service. Many experienced scientists took early retirement on very favourable terms. Managers from other departments, without any policy strength or scientific background, moved into key positions in departments such as Environment Canada and Fisheries and Oceans.

Many decried the shift to a managerial culture, in which policy expertise is degraded in preference to some generic management experience. The professional union representing civil

servants has also noted that the careerist ambitions of the new civil service culture do not serve the public interest. The previous esprit de corps and expertise within scientifically-grounded departments better served the public interest.

While Greens do not favour big government for its own sake, it is penny-wise and pound-foolish to allow government policy to be starved of solid scientific in-house expertise. The Green Party notes another economic reality of operating with a 'leaner' civil service. Much work ends up being 'out-sourced' at a higher cost than if the government had its own scientific strength.

The Greens believe that the federal government must signal to the civil service that it values and supports a strong scientific capacity for the Government of Canada. That includes regularly seeking scientific advice regarding all levels of environmentally-related decision making.

We decry the slashing of core scientific capacity. Without federal scientific expertise and the consistent and reliable monitoring of key ecological indicators and levels of pollution, we are literally flying blind.

Green Party MPs will:

- Make it a priority to rebuild scientific capacity in the Government of Canada with particular attention to those departments that have incurred the most devastating losses – Environment Canada, Fisheries and Oceans, Parks Canada, and Health Canada.
- Create a new position for Parliamentary Science Advisor as an Officer of Parliament, independent from political control;
- Direct the Clerk of the Privy Council to reform the civil service to elevate core competence over a managerial culture;
- Include \$150 million annually to the federal budget to be used for adding knowledgeable scientific staff to Environment Canada, Health Canada, and Fisheries and Oceans (\$50 million each) thereby increasing their competency;
- Re-establish the post of Ambassador for the Environment and Sustainable Development, a position that was eliminated by the Conservatives in 2006;
- Re-instate federal funding to the Experimental Lakes Area to assist the Ontario government and the International Institute for sustainable development with management of the 58 inland lakes and their unique research;
- Re-establish the adaptation research group within Environment Canada and restore funding to climate science through the Canadian Climate Forum;
- Re-establish the Marine Mammals Contaminants Monitoring Program within the Department of Fisheries and Oceans;
- Track and verify promised restoration of funding and personnel to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans habitat protection efforts (following the repeal of the amendments to the Fisheries Act from the 2012 spring omnibus budget bill, C-38);
- Ensure the independence of the Commissioner for the Environment and Sustainable Development, through a stand-alone piece of legislation allowing the Commissioner to report directly to the House of Commons and serve as an Officer of Parliament;

- Establish a task force with expertise from science librarians, the Royal Society of Canada, and others with library and archives experience to review the closing of federal science libraries in the Harper era. A full review needs to be undertaken to verify if the federal law protecting our documentary heritage was violated, to assess damage and make recommendations for restoring scientific library capacity within the federal government. This review should be nimble and fast-tracked to report within 12 months.

3.7 Zero waste

Earlier generations grew up living by the aphorism “waste not, want not.” Our generation embraces “shop ‘til you drop.”

On solid waste, we are number one in the world. Not only is the green plastic garbage bag a Canadian invention, we create more solid waste per capita than even the usual number one in waste society, the U.S.

Yet we think we are more environmentally conscious than we are. We think we are green because we have a blue box on the curb, while the rate at which we waste water and create garbage has increased dramatically since the 1980s.

Landfills, formerly called garbage dumps, account for more GHG emissions than do mining, construction, and domestic aviation combined. Most of these GHG emissions are in the form of methane gas, which is over 20 times more heat absorbing than carbon dioxide. Landfills also leach toxic chemicals into soil and water. There has to be a better way to deal with garbage.

The Green goal is ‘zero waste.’ This means shifting from thinking of waste as a problem to considering waste as a resource. Canada’s failure to manage waste properly represents a huge loss of resources and revenue. Reusing and recycling wastes have been shown to generate 10 to 15 times more jobs than incineration or landfilling. We oppose any incineration technology that shifts landfill problems to air pollution and toxic contaminant dispersal in the atmosphere. We believe that strong incentives must be in place for industry and consumers to reduce waste to zero. Setting a goal of zero waste will provide direction and inspiration.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work in cooperation with provincial and municipal authorities to expand product responsibility programs where manufacturers are responsible for the entire lifespan of their products, including recycling at the end of usefulness;
- Provide assistance to municipalities (through the Waste and Waste Treatment Facilities Municipalities Superfund – see Section 1.14, Infrastructure and Communities) in carrying out major waste reduction activities including recycling and central composting facilities;
- Oppose waste-to-energy incinerators for the disposal of materials that can and should be recycled, composted, or down-cycled.
- Pass laws, such as those in Germany, requiring manufacturers to accept lifetime stewardship of all products, including packaging. Once goods are returned to the manufacturer, the materials are better designed to be re-usable and recoverable;
- Move to full reclamation of all electronic and hazardous materials by initiating a recycling deposit tax to be paid when purchasing goods;

- In cooperation with provincial and territorial governments, fund, implement, and adopt an expedient timetable to achieve a national phase-out of the use of landfills for the disposal of unsorted waste;
- Work with provincial and territorial governments to develop and implement a national e-waste collection and processing strategy to remove electronic equipment from the general waste stream and eliminate the export of these toxic waste materials to other countries;
- Introduce a green labeling system for products that are biodegradable, reusable, or recyclable, and for products that are primarily made from recycled materials.

3.8 Commercial seal hunt

The seal hunt is viewed by many people in Canada and abroad as unsound and unsustainable. This is particularly true now that climate change has increased pup mortality in spring due to thin ice and/or a lack of ice in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The annual seal hunt is the largest killing of marine mammals anywhere on the planet. The European Union ban on seal products has been upheld by the World Trade Organization, rejecting Canada's claim. The on-going hunt hurts Canada's international reputation for very little local value.

The Green Party does not support the current industrial, commercial seal hunt in Canada. We support hunting by Aboriginal peoples and local communities.

Green Party MPs will:

- End federal assistance to the commercial seal hunt and support an end to the seal hunt;
- Work with fishermen, fisheries unions, and local communities to develop a fair federal buyout of sealing licenses;
- Work with local communities affected to implement training programs and other resources needed to enhance a sealing industry buyout;
- Work with other levels of government to find sustainable economic alternatives for sealers and their communities, and provide full compensation to sealers for lost income.

3.9 Commercial whale hunting

Since 1972, Canada has banned commercial whaling in Canadian waters. Originally a member of the International Whaling Commission (IWC), Canada disagreed with efforts in 1980 to declare a moratorium on commercial whaling. Canada argued that, in the absence of a clear and scientifically-justified recommendation for such action from the commission's scientific committee, conservation requirements could be met under the commission's management procedure, which provides for selective moratoria. Canada's position on the moratorium issue earned a great deal of criticism from anti-whaling groups around the world. Canada withdrew its IWC membership in 1982 in protest over this issue. In 1986, the IWC adopted a moratorium on commercial whaling. Although Canada is no longer a member of the IWC, Canada continues to ban commercial whaling in its waters.

The Green Party believes that Canada should take a more active role in opposing whaling internationally.

Green Party MPs will:

- Actively work towards instituting a complete worldwide ban on commercial whaling including the so called ‘research whaling’ currently carried out by Japanese whalers and so-called ‘traditional whaling’ done by Norway;
- Oppose all hunting of bowhead whales, excluding Canadian Aboriginal subsistence hunting, due to the threatened state of this species.

3.10 Animal welfare

While everyone is against cruelty to animals, factory farming has been allowed to create systematic and routine cruelty to livestock production. Chickens are packed tightly in cages their whole lives, cattle crowd in feedlots, and pigs are kept indoors in cages on slatted metal floors all their lives. Most people believe that animals, including domesticated animals, have the right to be treated humanely.

The current federal laws protect animals from cruelty under the Criminal Code, but animals fall into the property section. Thus, cruelty to animal offences are among the very few offences that can only be convicted as summary convictions (minor offences, with limited penalties). As well, the Criminal Code uses the term “willful intent”, making it very hard to prove a person has violated the code. Many in law enforcement recognize that those who engage in wanton acts of cruelty to animals are more likely to commit crimes against fellow human beings.

We believe that animals should be treated humanely and with respect at all times. Farming practices must allow animals to live without undue stress and in conditions where they are able to exercise normal behaviours. Many animals that live in intensive farming systems show signs of stress such as stereotypes (repetitive behaviours with no purpose) and aggression. Some animals, such as chicken breeder broilers and sows (mothers of pigs used for meat), are kept in a state of starvation in order to keep them at healthy weight, despite their bred-in genetic predisposition to gain weight. Mortalities, disease, and injuries from long transport are a common occurrence, since abattoirs are often long distances from farms.

Green Party MPs will:

- Adopt animal welfare legislation to prevent inhumane treatment of farm animals including intensive factory farming methods. The Act will set minimum standards of treatment and have a timetable for the phase-out of intensive factory farming and other inhumane animal husbandry practices. It will set standards for distances live animals can be transported, conditions of animals in slaughterhouses, auctions, and entertainment, and it will prohibit trade in exotic animals;
- Update Canada’s criminal code as it pertains to animal protection, moving crimes against animals from the property section, and recognizing animals as sentient beings;
- Invest resources in the development and training of police officers to deal with cruelty cases;
- Establish a Parliamentary Committee on Animal Welfare tasked with examining legislation affecting animal concerns and dealing with the animal welfare community, creating a setting in parliament where animal welfare issues can be properly researched and debated and recommendations made as required;
- Work to improve conditions for animals during transport;

- Sponsor legislation that:
 1. Makes the acts of cruelty to animals an offence under the criminal code instead of a property offence;
 2. Clearly defines an animal as ‘a vertebrate other than a human being’;
 3. Changes the term “willful neglect” of animals used in the current legislation to simply ‘neglect’ with the term “neglect” being defined as ‘departing markedly from the standard of care that a reasonable person would use’ so as to make convictions under the Act more achievable;
 4. Makes it an offence to kill any animal without a lawful reason;
 5. Makes it an offence to train an animal to fight and receive money for animal fighting and training, and prohibit all spectacles, animal shows, and presentations that involve injuring, baiting, fighting, intimidation, harassment, causing fear and/or other negative actions that are potentially harmful to the animals involved, including bullfights, cock fights, and dog fights;
 6. Bans the use of animals as experimental objects in military research and cosmetic testing;
 7. Bans the importation of animals for zoos, except where importing will assist the overall conservation of that species;
 8. Prohibits the use of wild animals in circuses, novelty acts, travelling shows, and other temporary spectacles;
 9. Requires all zoos to be licensed, to operate at a professional standard, be subject to strict animal welfare and public safety regulations, and subject to regular reviews and inspections;
 10. Prohibits importing marine mammals for public display in zoos, marine parks, and aquariums;
 11. Prohibits the captive breeding of animals in zoos and marine parks, except for verifiable conservation purposes;
 12. Establishes strict animal welfare and public safety regulations for the use of wild animals in film and television productions;
 13. Establishes retirement/sanctuary facilities for wild animals seized by federal, provincial, and municipal law enforcement agencies;
 14. Strives for the reduction and ultimate replacement of animal use for research, testing, and educational purposes;
 15. Makes the use of animals for research, testing, and educational purposes unlawful where a non-animal method or approach is reasonably or practicably available (consistent with EU Directive 86/609);
 16. Establishes a coordinated approach to identifying alternatives to replace or reduce the use of animals for testing and research, and commits resources to developing and validating non-animal test methods in coordination with parallel efforts elsewhere;

17. Ensures the automatic regulatory acceptance of every non-animal test method deemed scientifically valid by the European Centre for the Validation of Alternative Methods (ECVAM) and the automatic prohibition of the animal-based test method it replaces;
18. Ensures that all new or revised animal and non-animal toxicity test methods are scientifically validated before their use is required, recommended, or encouraged by regulatory authorities;
19. Enhances the current system of oversight consisting of voluntary guidelines and peer review administered by the Canadian Council on Animal Care, a federally regulated licensing program, whereby prospective animal users must apply to a federal Animal & Alternatives Research Review Board, which will be responsible for:
 - a. Evaluating the costs and benefits of the proposed research;
 - b. Rigorously assessing the availability of non-animal methods or approaches;
 - c. Granting or denying a project license;
 - d. Where a license is granted, monitoring compliance with animal care standards; and improving government and industry accountability and public access to information regarding the use of animals for research.
20. Outlaws the mandatory surrender of dogs and cats from municipal pounds and animal shelters (known as ‘pound seizure’) for research use;
21. Bans all use of non-human primates for genetic manipulation and cloning, invasive psychological and behavioural research, substance abuse research, and warfare research;
22. Bans the use of animals to assess the safety of personal care and household cleaning products, as defined by the Coalition for Consumer Information on Cosmetics; animal-based tests for skin corrosion, skin irritation, skin absorption, phototoxicity, pyrogenicity, genetic toxicity to be replaced by scientifically-validated non-animal methods;
23. Bans ‘lethal dose’ toxicity studies on vertebrates;
24. Prohibits any industry involving single organ trade;
25. Increases monitoring and enforcement budgets;
26. Includes provisions to facilitate promotion of alternatives to use of wild animal ingredients by traditional medicine practitioners.

3.11 Arctic strategy

The Canadian Arctic is a stunningly beautiful environment. It has been the home of Inuit and northern First Nations peoples since time immemorial. And this highly sensitive region is now on the front line of climate change.

Reports from scientists and elders indicate that the Arctic will be free of summer sea ice within the next several decades. This is a profound change that will impact not only the Arctic, but the entire planet. What happens in the Arctic doesn’t stay in the Arctic.

The North is already experiencing high levels of development pressure from oil, gas, and mining; these are expected to increase as the ice melts, with additional pressures arising from commercial

shipping, fishing, and tourism. One can argue whether the development has more positive or negative effects, but there is no doubt that the impacts threaten to irreversibly change the northern environment and the unique way of life enjoyed by indigenous and northern peoples.

In recent years, we have also experienced pressure on our Arctic sovereignty. The offshore boundary between the Yukon and Alaska remains in dispute. Several nations claim that the Northwest Passage through our Arctic archipelago is an international waterway.

While the Arctic continues to melt, the United States Geological Survey has released a detailed study estimating that the Arctic holds approximately one-quarter of the world's oil and gas reserves. These factors have effectively created a land rush by those nations wanting to lay claim to parts of the Arctic. The North has now become politically significant on a global scale.

40% of Canada's land mass and much of its identity lies in the North. Rapid change is now inevitable. And it is a dark irony that the global use of oil and gas is melting out the Arctic, which in turn is providing access to the last great storehouse of oil and gas. We need to move quickly beyond the issue of sovereignty for its own sake, and chart a path forward that will sustain us through and beyond the challenges ahead.

The Green Party is committed to working with Northerners as the North realizes its true potential as a healthy and prosperous region within a strong and sovereign Canada. Decision making and action must build on the northern tradition of respect for the land and on the principles of responsible and sustainable development. And it is time we honour the intent of our Land Claims Agreements (see Section 4.9.5 on Aboriginal policy).

There is a clear rationale for Canada to claim as much of the sub-sea Arctic territory as possible. However, it is critical, at the same time, for the Canadian government (in close partnership with northern peoples) to establish a vision for how the Arctic will develop and how it will be protected. This vision should build upon the federal government's Northern Strategy in close collaboration with the three northern territories. Through the Arctic Council, we should seek to extend this vision throughout the Circumpolar North.

Green Party MPs will:

- Recognize and respect that our Arctic sovereignty is already established through the presence of Canadians in the North, including the continuous use and occupation of Arctic lands and waters by indigenous peoples;
- Reinforce Canada's Arctic sovereignty through community infrastructure development, regional sustainability projects, northern research, northern culture, and other regional socio-economic activities rather than through military presence;
- Recognize the sovereignty of the Inuit to the Arctic. Honour the spirit and intent of Land Claims Agreements, and uphold the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;
- Expand funding for Arctic research, including support for and recognition of traditional knowledge, particularly critical in light of the increasing climate change threat;
- Improve and increase monitoring of indigenous food (e.g. caribou, salmon, etc.) to ensure Inuit and First Nations, particularly pregnant women and nursing mothers, are not being over-exposed to persistent organic pollutants and heavy metals that build up through the

global food chain and pool at high levels in the Arctic. Work to develop collaborative community based education programs to promote the consumption of food with less toxicity;

- Address issues of food security and the unacceptably high prices for food for Canada's Northern peoples;
- Invest in renewable local energy sources to avoid the dependency on very expensive and polluting imported diesel;
- Support training and equipping the Canadian Rangers, many of whom are Inuit and First Nations people who live in the North and are experienced survival experts on land and sea, to comprise the backbone of emergency support throughout the Arctic;
- Commission a major class of icebreaker, capable of rescue work with any likely depth of ice;
- Develop a comprehensive pan-Arctic waste management strategy that addresses issues like dumping of wastes into water and open dump burning on land, and that integrates community, mining, fishing, tourism, shipping, and military waste management strategies;
- Establish, with the partnership of indigenous peoples, protected areas – terrestrial, marine, and ice – in an ecologically- representative network in the three northern Territories;
- Restore the post of Ambassador to the Circumpolar North;
- Extend Canada's sovereignty of Arctic sub-sea resources through a submission to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. Engage Canadians in an open discussion to create a development/protection plan for any new sub-sea territory and include in that discussion northern voices;
- Advocate for the Arctic Council to be the primary forum for the diplomatic resolution of Arctic territorial disputes and the negotiation of multilateral treaties, thus allowing for the formal participation of territorial and indigenous leaders;
- Seek a constructive multilateral Arctic maritime treaty, negotiated through the Arctic Council, to regulate all maritime activity in the Arctic, with the exception of traditional Aboriginal activity, such that the health and well-being of the Arctic ecosystem and its northern inhabitants are safeguarded;
- Promote the creation of an internationally- recognized Arctic Protected Zone where no mineral exploration will be permitted by any country, similar to the internationally- recognized Antarctic Protected Area.

3.12 Measuring and protecting Canada's natural accounts

The Greens support extending Canada's existing system of national accounts to include measures of annual changes in the depletion of and addition to Canada's principal biological resources. Wild fish, natural forests, and productive agricultural soils represent some of the real wealth of a nation. It is felt that as depletion or addition to fish, trees, and soils takes place, these should be reflected in measures of Canada's worth.

A serious analysis must be made of the economic costs/values/benefits of key ecological functions. This will allow better public policies and more comprehensive statements about the true economic value of biodiversity as a whole.

Purely economic measurements – such as GDP – ignore key factors underpinning well-being. The Green Party believes that the application of an evaluation method that seeks to account for key social, environmental, and long-term economic features in different parts of the country and local communities could provide new insights and rationales for the conservation of local and regional biodiversity. These tools stand to play a key role in making citizens aware of the attributes of strong biodiversity, and help achieve the intent of the Convention on Biological Diversity.

The Greens will continue to support ‘quality of life’ evaluation methods such as the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) as a means to improve quality of life and protect biodiversity. The Green Party will also support research into the economics of protecting biodiversity and the development of fiscal tools to limit the negative impact of human activity on the Ecosphere. Eliminating capital gains on donations of ecologically significant land and more appropriate land-use taxes are key measures to limit demand-side pressures on biodiversity (see Part 1: The Green Economy).

3.13 Oceans

As a country bordering three oceans, Canada has a huge responsibility for ocean protection. The UN special conference on the oceans in June 2017 increased global awareness of the multiple threats:

Ocean acidification;

Massive contamination of oceans by plastics;

Alarming declines in oxygen availability in coastal zones and the deep ocean;

Illegal fishing;

Unsustainable aquaculture;

and

Land-based sources of marine pollution.

Canada must take steps to reduce our own contribution to plastic pollution of our oceans. We must ban single-use plastic items and contribute to global efforts to rid the oceans of plastics.

We must create a national coastal monitoring programme to track ocean acidification. Currently DFO does not monitor pH levels along our coasts.

Reduce run-off of fertilizers promoting algal blooms in our oceans;

Ensure climate mitigation and adaptation programmes have a clear focus on oceans.

Part 4: People

The most important resource of a country is its people. To reach their full potential, citizens need an environment where they can grow as young people and mature within a safe, healthy, and secure environment and then be encouraged to participate fully in society.

Canada has been built on a diversity of cultures, religions, and ethnic backgrounds. Our success as a country is based on our ability to not just tolerate, but to accept and celebrate our differences.

This framework is best expressed in the set of values as stated in the Global Green Charter, the essence of which is respect. Respect for one another is detailed in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the subsequent specific Agreements and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. These Agreements recognize the equality and importance of all individuals and the right of free speech, assembly, and the provision of basic needs. It has been said that the greatness of the country is best expressed in how it takes care of its most vulnerable citizens.

Rights also entail taking responsibility as an individual within his or her community and promoting and protecting these rights at the national level, for the abuse of rights anywhere in the world impacts our own security and sense of dignity as human beings.

We have made considerable progress in the past as a country, but much remains to be done. The current trend to destroy civil society and spread distrust between one another will make it more and more difficult to live up to our traditional values of peace, the rule of law and the common good, and to be a positive force in the community of nations.

Once we envision the society we want, we clearly see its outlines.

Vibrant communities are places where, as Jane Jacobs described, people know their neighbours, streets are safe and friendly, and volunteering for the public good is common, leading to feelings of affiliation, belonging, and empowerment. Social networks are a key ingredient for community resilience.

Without intending to do so, government policy, by treating such goals as peripheral to economic growth, has allowed feelings of alienation, hostility, and selfishness to crowd out shared values of decades ago.

As Martin Luther King Jr. noted, you cannot legislate morality. Nevertheless, when the human scale of government policy is ignored, when the tax system, employment strategies, and labour policies all mitigate towards less leisure and family time, more time in long commutes, and an increasingly 'time-stressed' population, as measured by Statistics Canada, government policy should adjust its goals to re-balance and protect these fundamental pillars of our civilization – family and community.

In the last few years, quality of life, as measured in our ability to get ahead and enjoy more leisure time, has declined for 90% of Canadians. Homelessness, and mental health and drug addiction problems, have increased. The cost of post-secondary education and training has skyrocketed. The gap between rich and poor in Canada has widened. Women, on average, still earn far less than men. The middle class is struggling. Given the wealth and resources of our country, this is tragic.

4.1 Family-focused program

Increasingly, national and international studies document significant stress on Canadian children and their parents. While it is true that an unacceptably large number of Canadian families live in poverty, many more are suffering from ‘time poverty.’ Statistics Canada tracks time stress of Canadians and reports a steady increase in Canadians who report not having enough time in their lives to accomplish all required tasks. Longer commutes rob Canadians of time at home. Longer working hours rob community members of time for volunteer activities. Poorly planned transit and the lack of convenient workplace child care spaces rob parents of time with their kids.

There is a real cost to society as citizens have less and less time to contribute to community and school activities. Not surprisingly, Statistics Canada also reports a steady decline in volunteer hours donated by Canadians. Lack of time to contribute to community also leads to feelings of loss and alienation. On the other hand, time spent in effort to better our society leads to positive feelings of affiliation (belonging) and of empowerment (knowing one’s actions make a difference). Greens will address this multi-layered problem in many policies: fiscal, labour, and social programs.

The tax policy pursued by Green Party MPs will increase the opportunity for Canadians to spend more time with family. More and more adults with full-time employment outside the home are stressed and stretched to care for elderly parents, children, partners or spouses with debilitating illness, and any family members with disabilities.

Greens are committed to nurturing families and communities through integrated policies that focus on the welfare of the child, starting with prenatal nutrition all the way to affordable housing and accessible post-secondary education. We believe we must stop designing our communities around the car and start designing them around families and children. There are no easy solutions. We have to address the multi-layered problems facing families through new, innovative fiscal, labour, and social policies.

Green Party MPs will:

- Urge reforms to our tax and labour policies in ways that will increase the opportunity for Canadians to spend more time with family;
- Promote an integrated program of supports, tax cuts, and awareness-raising emphasizing that time spent with children and/or in the community is essential for the continuation of our society.

4.2 Relief for the middle class

A healthy democracy requires a large, strong, healthy middle class. The well-being of Canada’s middle class is threatened as the gap between the rich and the poor widens and middle class families find it harder to meet all their needs, in terms of both money and time. New revenue streams for all Canadians, with disproportionate benefits to middle and lower income Canadians will be funded through Carbon Fee and Dividend with cheques returned to every Canadian. Family-friendly programs in child care and greater access to community facilities in recreation and health promotion activities will boost health and community networks.

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase revenues for lower and middle income Canadians through dividends paid to each Canadian through Carbon Fee and Dividend.

4.3 Child care

Canadian families need access to affordable, high-quality child care as an aspect of early childhood education. There are also clear benefits to maximizing time together for parents with young children. Canadians want a program with flexibility.

The Greens are committed to a high-quality federally-funded child care program in Canada, accessible to any family that wants to place children into early childhood education. Workplace child care has been shown to improve productivity, decrease employee absenteeism, ensure quality care for children (because parents can ‘drop in’ at any time to see their young children), and permits longer breast-feeding of infants. Work-place child care spaces create other benefits. Emerging literature indicates small children benefit enormously from time with their mothers, especially when very young.

The beneficent spiral of providing workplace child care also includes making it easier for many working Canadians to use mass transit. When parents and children travel to the same destination, the trip can often be made in less time on public transit, enabling parents to spend more time with children.

Green Party MPs will:

- Restore and revamp the 2005 agreement reached between the federal government, provinces, and territories to achieve a universal access child care program in Canada;
- Create a national Children’s Commissioner, as recommended by UNICEF, to ensure children’s best interests are considered in policy development and that services across the country are better coordinated;
- Specifically ensure that Canada’s universal child care program provides workplace child care spaces wherever possible;
- Tax shift to make advertising directed at children ineligible for corporate tax write-offs;
- Accelerate the creation of workplace child care spaces through a direct tax credit to employers (or groups of employers in small businesses) of \$1500 tax credit/child per year;
- Value the decisions of parents who choose to stay home with children;
- Promote and facilitate access to the Roots of Empathy Program, an effective, award-winning program developed by a non-profit educational organization, to all Canadian children at some point in their elementary school years.

4.4 Seniors

Canada is an aging society. Baby boomers are now swelling the ranks of the senior population that is growing in both number and as a proportion of Canada’s total population. Canada’s seniors are also a diverse population, with varying levels of activity and health, living in urban, rural, and First Nations communities. The majority of these older Canadians are women.

Although it is frequently asserted that the aging population is responsible for rising health care costs, this is not the case. Still it is true that seniors will be demanding more health care. Life

expectancy is increasing and chronic diseases increase with age. Within 25 years, the number of people living with Alzheimer's disease or a related dementia could reach 1.3 million and will have the highest economic, social, and health costs of all diseases in Canada. Although many anticipate that this will precipitate a crisis for health care and social services, the Green challenge and opportunity is to provide our seniors with independence, well-being, and dignity.

Seniors have a wealth of experience and have contributed immeasurably to the development of the nation we currently celebrate. Seniors are a resource who can contribute to the economic and social life of their communities and country.

Older Canadians are also a vital and vibrant population, embracing healthy lifestyle choices and an active retirement. Many social policies impact the ability of aging boomers to stay active. Access to preventative and complementary medicine (see Health care section); access to convenient mass transit as driving may be limited (see climate policy); safe communities (see restorative justice); secure pensions and fairer taxes are all significant Green party policies with real benefits for older Canadians.

Pension reforms must be built upon the system that will best create decent pensions that will keep the elderly out of poverty, require minimum additional contributions, and have low administrative and investment costs.

The only system that is capable of meeting these goals is the CPP – a proven system that is the envy of many countries. Its systems can be modified to offer enhanced benefits. Everyone is familiar with the CPP, which is in sound financial health with the latest actuarial report noting that it is sound for at least the next 70 years.

Greens are concerned that the pension funds of the CPP have been, since 1997, under management of the Canadian Pension Plan Investment Board (CPPIB). In 2007, Stephen Harper legislated a far more aggressive approach to the management of those funds. The assets of the CPPIB were over \$200 billion at the end of 2013, placing it in the top ten of pension plans anywhere in the world. These dollars in the CPP are now being played in the global casino of mergers and acquisitions, wheeling and dealing in takeovers and other higher risk behaviours. Failures in the market could undermine the security of CPP. Greens believe that CPP funds must not be gambled in the market.

Approximately 35% of older citizens are still dependent upon Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) to keep them out of poverty. This is partly because the current CPP objective of just replacing 25% of the average industrial wage is too low. A 50% income replacement ratio would dramatically reduce the reliance on GIS to keep the elderly out of poverty and reduce the cost of GIS to the federal government by billions annually.

The Year's Maximum Pensionable Earnings (YMPE) should be raised to at least \$90,000 and consideration given to raising it to the full Income Tax Act limit for Registered Pension Plans (RPP) (\$122,222 in 2009) pending an evaluation/review in a decade. Subject to an actuarial evaluation, it is expected that these benefits could be achieved with a phased-in increase of CPP contribution rates, although not through increased contributions by employers or deductions from employee wages. Some of the increase could be covered by redirected reductions in workplace pensions for those with workplace pensions. Redirected GIS savings could be used to offset some of the required contribution increase.

An honest evaluation of the effectiveness of current tax policy will illustrate how inefficient it is for most retirement savings. Net federal RPP's tax expenditures (concessions) were worth \$17.6 and \$11.3 billion in 2007 and 2009. RRSP's cost \$12.1 and \$8.5 billion in the same years. The loss of provincial revenues adds another 35-40%.

Defined Benefit (DB) plans are much more efficient than Defined Contribution (DC) plans in that they produce significantly higher pensions for the same contributions, yet DC plans get the same tax support.

RRSP's are terribly tax inefficient in that for the \$8.5 – \$12.1 billion in annual net tax expenditures (around 30% of total contributions), the median value of RRSP assets by Canadians under age 65 is a woeful \$40,000 and those over 65 have less than \$55,000 – not enough to rely on to supplement to one's pension, especially at today's annuity rates. Only 25% of working Canadians contribute to RRSP's, only 6% with incomes under \$20,000. Prorating tax expenditures to the value of projected pension would bring fairness and equity back into the system.

Phasing in doubling the target income replacement rate to 50% and doubling the YMPE over the next 47 years is the most efficient way to ensure that future retirees will be able to retire with dignity without intergenerational subsidies.

Green Party policies will create age-friendly communities, where active living and well-being are promoted, where seniors have financial security, and where housing and transportation needs are met. In accordance with a Canadian Senate report in April 2009, the Green Party recognizes the need for improved support for mental health, and palliative care, and the need to combat ageism, abuse, and neglect.

Long-term care should not be the only housing and care choice. In a Balance of Care model, more care can be provided in a cost-effective manner by home and community support services.

We believe that the government must take the lead in educating the public about end of life issues, including the limits to artificial life support systems, surgical operations, and chemical therapies to extend life and postpone the inevitable transition from life.

Green Party MPs will:

- Review workplace policies to end mandatory retirement and provide for flexible retirement benefits for those seniors who want to continue working;
- Review federal and provincial laws regulating the administration of pension plans, laws which now allow failure of pension trusts, and the loss of pension benefits which workers have earned, with the view to enacting legislation to protect the pension benefits and recommend that the provincial governments prohibit any business from taking possession of a pension trust fund which it administers, or the earnings thereof;
- Ensure corporate pension plans protect employee benefits as secured creditors in any bankruptcy proceedings;
- Explore risk-sharing for pension plans, including the CPP, to ensure sustainability;
- Divest CPP from any and all fossil fuel investments;
- Resist the shift to voluntary defined contribution plans with inefficient and expensive fees for a myriad of market driven plans;

- Develop, in collaboration with provincial and territorial governments, a set of national home care objectives in a National Home Care Policy, that incorporates and improves upon existing policies affecting eldercare, including but not restricted to ensuring couples needing support and care can continue to live together, economic allowances (such as tax rebates), living choices, transportation, and respite care;
- Require that all corporate pension plans be audited to ensure that they are adequately funded and properly managed and set a policy directive to take corrective action when they are not;
- Work to enhance CPP by phasing in the doubling of the target income replacement rate from 25% to 50% of income received during working years;
- Ensure all seniors who qualify are made aware of available federal income supplements and instructed on how to apply for them;
- Review, in collaboration with provincial and territorial governments, the current social and legal policies to ensure that citizens and law enforcement officials recognize elder abuse, prevent it where possible, and proceed with appropriate charges and consequences when elder abuse has occurred;
- Help develop national guidelines for care of the frail elderly who have special needs and require care by geriatric specialists;
- Establish and fund a special program to provide grants to non-profit societies setting up palliative care hospices;
- Guarantee the right to draw up a ‘living will’ that gives the power to limit or refuse medical intervention and treatment so the person has the choice of dying with dignity.

4.5 Physician-assisted death: Living and dying with dignity

End of life issues are increasingly raised by those suffering from terminal illness, seeking to choose the time and means of their own death. A movement for Dying with Dignity has gained substantial public support across Canada, and that support base includes the Green Party. Advances in medical care can keep human beings alive much longer when, in the past, the limits of technology allowed death to provide relief. Those in unbearable pain at the end of their lives have repeatedly sought a court ruling that the provisions of the Criminal Code, prohibiting physician-assisted death must be adjusted.

In a unanimous decision on February 6, 2015, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) has reversed historic support for the position that assisting a death was an offence under the Criminal Code. The Liberal response falls short of the SCC ruling. We will continue to work for the reforms, as found in the rejected Green amendments in C-14, to ensure access to physician-assisted death in situations of irremediable suffering.

Green Party MPs will:

- Support changes to the Criminal Code to allow for physicians to assist death in limited cases and circumstances involving adults with full mental capacity to consent, who find their situation unbearable.

4.6 A fair deal for youth

A Nationwide Employment and Education Initiative for Youth 18-25.

Economic recessions – especially severe ones like the recession of 2009 – are especially challenging for youth at the beginning of their work careers or in post-secondary studies. They are vulnerable to economic and social dislocation because they lack the skills to compete strongly for scarce new jobs and yet cannot gain these skills without a job. They are in a Catch-22. That is why their unemployment and underemployment numbers often rise the fastest and ultimately go the highest among all demographic groups during economic downturns. To compound their predicament, they often have difficulty paying for rapidly rising post-secondary education tuition because they cannot save up at least some money from summer jobs or find part-time work during the academic year.

Despite recent increases in employment, and an overall decrease in the unemployment rate, unemployment among our youth remains nearly twice the national average – over 10%. This is not acceptable.

The long-term economic and social implications of a growing group of economically disconnected and socially alienated youth is very serious and very costly – in Europe they are called the ‘NEET’ group (Not in Employment, Education, or Training). Canada is headed in a similar direction if the economic recovery is slow, as many are now predicting. We absolutely need to be decisive – and not reactive in three or four years – in addressing this emerging youth unemployment/under-employment and education affordability situation while the cost of intervention is in relative terms still low.

Green Party MPs will:

- Provide clear and reliable data on labour markets, as recommended by the Advisory Panel on Labour Market Information, by investing \$15 million to establish a new set of Labour Market Information (LMI) measurements;
- Ban unpaid internships;
- Boost access to apprentice programs in key trades, supporting those with skills to train youth through financial support to tradesmen in electricity, plumbing, carpentry, pipefitting, welding, etc;
- Develop a Youth Community and Environment Service Corps that will provide federal minimum wage employment for 40 000 youth aged 18-25 every year for four years for a total of 160 000 youth positions. At the successful completion of each year-long program, there will be a \$4,000 tuition credit awarded to each participant that can be applied to further education and training. Youth Service teams will vary in size depending on the projects undertaken, and will be given opportunities for career counseling and employment skills training during the course of the program;
- Ensure Youth Community and Environmental Service Corps projects are developed in partnership with municipalities and based on local priorities. They can include numerous measures to minimize damage and injury from future climate change impacts, many different types of environmental protection and rehabilitation projects, specially-focused teams that provide social stimulation to institutionalized elderly through arts and music, assistance to

low income households for energy efficiency upgrades, recreation programs for children at risk, capacity building for local food systems, etc.

- This initiative will employ 160 000 youth over its 4-year life and is budgeted at \$1.25 billion dollars a year for a combined total of \$5 billion.

4.7 Healthier people – healthier health care

Governments keep telling Canadians how they are going to ‘fix’ the healthcare system. Yet many problems are actually getting worse, including longer wait-lists for diagnosis and surgery, overcrowded emergency rooms, and increasing shortages of family doctors.

The state of our health is getting worse, too. One in five Canadian children have asthma. Almost half of us face cancer at some time in our lives. There is an epidemic of obesity in adults and children. Since 1978, childhood obesity in Canada has tripled. A statistic that should move governments to action is that 31.5% of our children and youth are overweight or obese. Those excess calories are primarily entering their diet through sodas and sugary drinks.

Our unhealthy diet includes too high a rate of sodium intake and of trans fats. But despite recommendations from the 2006 Trans Fat Task Force, numerous studies on sodium, and recommendations from the Heart and Stroke Foundation, Canada has still not taken action to control salt, sugar, and trans fats in our kids’ food.

Children are subjected to hundreds of messages a day encouraging habits that will undermine their health while driving up costs to our health care system. Only one jurisdiction has taken action to limit marketing aimed at our children. Quebec’s ban on marketing to our children has resulted in the highest level of fruit and vegetable consumption in Canada and a 13% drop in fast food purchases.

Close to one million Canadians have been diagnosed with Multiple Chemical Sensitivities.

The Public Health Agency of Canada predicts that by 2020, 10 000 new cases of Lyme Disease per year will further burden our healthcare system while risking turning healthy and productive citizens into permanently disabled patients. Fortunately, the first Green Party legislation in Canadian parliamentary history, the Federal Framework for Lyme Disease Act became law in December 2014. Its implementation remains a priority.

Skyrocketing Pharmacare costs have now eclipsed all other health care expenditures. Throwing more money to the provinces, as the federal government has been doing in the last two governments, is not achieving concrete results. The 2004 First Ministers Health Accord committed \$41 billion to health care system improvements, including \$5.5 billion over ten years to reduce wait times. Benchmarks were established in December 2005 in five key health care areas that have been prone to longer waiting times.

Experts tell us that spending more money does not necessarily produce better results. Economies of scale can be achieved through creating centralized wait lists, moving from a paper system to electronic technology to share information, addressing the staffing shortage and in some cases, the facility and equipment shortages. These steps can help in reducing wait times, but the truth is that Canada does not have enough doctors, nurses, radiologists, and other health care providers. Short-sighted, government cut back on the

training of doctors in the 1990s and failed to help fast-track the certification of foreign-trained doctors and nurses. Now Canada ranks among the lowest of 30 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in the ratio of doctors and acute care beds per thousand people. In some parts of Canada, 60% of people have no family doctor. It is a matter of training more doctors and ensuring better allocation of doctors – more family doctors, fewer specialists, and channeling more doctors into working in rural areas.

We have also focused on treating acute health problems after they arise, and failed to place sufficient priority on preventing illness in the first place. We have also failed to provide adequate services for mental health, especially for the young. Services to assist young people and others with addiction issues are also woefully inadequate.

Greens subscribe to the World Health Organization's definition of health as "a complete state of physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." Our present health care system addresses only one dimension – the treatment of disease and/or trauma by qualified professionals in publicly-funded medical facilities.

Greens applaud the creation in 2007 of the Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC). The MHCC has estimated that mental illness costs the Canadian economy \$50 billion per year. We support the call from the Canadian Alliance of Student Associations that the MHCC's mandate be extended for another ten years (2015-2025) and to ensure a focus on the mental health of youth.

We believe we can solve healthcare problems, including excessive wait times for surgeries, within our public health care system, as is being done successfully in Alberta with that province's hip and knee replacement program, and as is being done in many parts of Europe.

The Greens fully support the Canada Health Act (CHA) and all of its principles. We oppose any level of privatized, for-profit health care. The five criteria of the CHA guiding the provincial public health insurance plans, which we believe to be non-negotiable, are:

1. Public Administration – The public health insurance plan must be managed in a public, not-for-profit fashion;
2. Comprehensiveness – All residents must be covered for 'medically necessary' health services;
3. Universality – All residents must be covered by the public insurance plan on uniform terms and conditions;
4. Portability – All residents must be covered by their public plan, wherever they are treated in Canada;
5. Accessibility – All residents must have access to insured health care services on uniform terms and conditions without direct or indirect financial charges, or discrimination based on age, health status, or financial circumstances.

The threat of a NAFTA challenge from the American for-profit health care industry cannot be overestimated. Allowing for-profit health care would be the 'thin end of the wedge' that jeopardizes our entire health system. Based on the rules for 'national treatment,' if Canada

allows increasing numbers of for-profit facilities, we run the risk of losing our entire universal single-payer system in a NAFTA challenge. We cannot take that risk. Fixing our healthcare system means protecting the core elements of universal single-payer health care.

We need to ensure that every Canadian has a family doctor. We should embrace the vision of 'Patient-Centered Primary Care' as developed by the College of Family Physicians of Canada. The health care team, centered on the patient, includes a large number of trained professionals. We can do more to make efficient use of nurse-practitioners, to ensure nurses are well supported with other workers performing cleaning and other essential services. We need more health care professionals and we need more beds to reduce the wait times. We also need adequate funding to ensure that the support staff of cleaners is not compromised. The spread of infection within hospitals has worsened as janitorial staff have been privatized with lower wages and cut back.

In order to keep healthcare spending from continuing to skyrocket, we must find a way to control the cost of drugs. Currently, 20% of our health care budget is spent on pharmaceuticals – and this is the area of health care in which costs are rising most quickly.

Pharmaceutical use must be more rigorously assessed on an evidence-based approach. Used as directed, it is estimated that prescription drug use leads to 150 000 deaths every year in North America. Health Canada has not performed adequately in assessing risks. Canada still lacks any requirement for mandatory reporting of side-effects from prescribed drugs. Far too often, conflict of interest in the relationship between those who advise government agencies, and even physicians who accept trips and promotions from the pharmaceutical industry, can influence decisions. There are two and a half drug sales representatives for every physician in Canada.

Getting a handle on the use of prescription drugs can both save lives and cut costs.

The best way to accomplish both life-saving and cost-cutting goals is through a universal Pharmacare program, a bulk drug purchasing agency, and make new drug patent protection times shorter. This national agency would follow the principles of the gold-standard for evidence-based assessment of the risks and benefits of pharmaceuticals – the Therapeutics Initiative at University of British Columbia. It is critical that no conflict of interest corrupt the drug assessment process. Drugs showing a greater harmful than beneficial effect will not be part of a national Pharmacare program. The Therapeutic Initiative (TI) approach identified Vioxx as such a drug, when Health Canada missed the risks. It is estimated that the TI assessment, and the willingness of the British Columbia Health Department to accept that advice, saved 500 lives in B.C. Advice to physicians from TI saved the provincial health care system approximately \$700 million/year. These kinds of savings – in lives and health care costs – must be pursued across Canada.

By bulk buying prescription drugs, based on a strong evidence-based assessment, costs will come down for the provincial delivery of health care.

As well, we used to have a successful generic drug market in Canada, but changes to the patent laws have almost wiped it out. As patents for a number of commonly prescribed drugs are set to expire in the near future, this presents a great opportunity for the government to step in and provide less expensive generic drugs. The Green Party accepts the principle advocated by the Canadian Diabetes Association that no Canadian should spend more than 3% of his or her total after tax earnings on necessary prescribed medications and other treatments.

Greens understand that health is about more than ‘health care.’ We are in the midst of a cancer epidemic, and no one is willing to speak of it out loud. Hundreds of chemicals used in our everyday life carry risks of increased cancer, infertility, learning disabilities and other intellectual impairment, and damage to the immune system. There are less-toxic substitutes for these products, but industry lobbies to maintain their registration and legal use drown out the voices of concerned health professionals and families concerned about health.

As noted above in the toxics section, the Green Party of Canada will act to remove from use those chemicals known to have a significant risk of human cancer, immunosuppression, endocrine disruption, neurotoxicity, and/or mutagenicity. The substances will be regulated within CEPA to restrict use and registration with the goal of reducing and/or eliminating exposure to vulnerable groups within society (pregnant women, the unborn, children, the sick, the poor, and the elderly). In addition, emissions of these substances will be subject to a Toxic Tax, offset by reductions elsewhere in the tax system.

We will clean-up toxic waste sites over a multi-year period, with a priority on those communities most at risk. The Green Party of Canada will not rely on ‘risk management.’ A Green government will operate to reduce and manage hazards, not delaying action based on discredited modeling designed to protect chemicals, not people.

Green Party MPs will:

- Eliminate two-tier health care:
 1. Identify and measure the extent of two-tier health care in Canada and strive for the elimination of two-tier health care as quickly as economically possible;
 2. Extend the national Health Accord;
 3. Use the full force of federal spending power under the Canada Health Act to oppose any steps that open the way to further two-tier health care in Canada.
- Improve our existing acute care system:
 1. Address the cost crisis that produces long waitlists by providing more money to hire staff to open currently closed beds, fully utilize existing operating rooms in hospitals, and purchase new diagnostic equipment;
 2. Provide funds immediately to begin training more doctors and nurses;
 3. Work with the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) to immediately establish qualification standards and on-the-job mentorship programs to fast-track certification of foreign trained health care professionals;
 4. Provide student loan forgiveness incentives for graduating doctors, nurses, paramedics, and other health care professionals who agree to staff rural facilities and family practice clinics where recruitment is currently a problem;
 5. Provide funds to expand provincial health insurance to cover proven alternative therapies that are less expensive and invasive;
 6. Improve access to midwifery services across Canada;

7. Focus resources on recovery beds to move patients to community-centered, lower cost recovery and post-op beds, relying on a decreased patient to nurse ratio, freeing up beds for those needing surgeries.
- Improve our existing chronic care system:
 1. Recognize autism spectrum disorder as treatable with costs of behavioural therapy covered by the health care system.
 2. Enshrine a policy that seniors' care must be provided in the communities where they or their families live;
 3. Expand home support and home care programs and assisted-living services to support people with chronic care needs, including the many seniors who wish to stay in their own homes and communities;
 4. Transfer funds to provinces to build and open more long-term care beds;
 5. Educate Canadians about end-of-life issues; increase funding for palliative care hospices in hospitals and our communities; enact 'living-will' legislation that guarantees people the right to limit or refuse medical intervention and treatment so people can make the choice of dying with dignity (see Section 4.4 Seniors and 4.5 Dying with Dignity).
 - Reduce the costs of Pharmacare:
 1. Advocate for immediate action on the 2004 Standing Committee on Health recommendation that Health Canada enforce the current prohibition of all industry-sponsored advertisements on prescription drugs to the public to help reduce the demand for unnecessary prescription drugs;
 2. Initiate a public inquiry into the rising costs and over-prescription of drugs;
 3. Require reporting of side-effects requiring a doctor visit or hospitalization due to prescribed drug use, building on the ground breaking Vanessa's Law passed in 2014;
 4. Establish, in cooperation with the provinces, a new crown corporation to bulk purchase and dispense prescription drugs, based on a rigorous evidence-based model, and to study the feasibility of establishing a national Pharmacare program that ensures that effective pharmaceuticals are available to all Canadians who need them.
 - Solve the medical isotope crisis

The use of medical isotopes in the diagnosis of cancer helps patients receive the treatment they need more quickly than with the use of other diagnostic tools. Medical isotopes are also used, to a lesser degree, to treat cancer. Canada has, in the past, been responsible for producing 1/3rd of the world's medical isotopes, using the research reactor at Chalk River. The Chalk River nuclear reactor now is 52 years old and has been shut down on numerous occasions since 2007, due to leaks of radioactive water.

The Green Party remains opposed to the use of nuclear reactors; however, we also recognize the benefits that medical isotopes provide to cancer patients. The Chalk River facility uses highly-enriched weapons-grade uranium to generate medical isotopes. For years, Canada has imported approximately 20 kg of bomb-grade uranium from the U.S. annually, to make isotopes; 97% of it remains unused. These leftovers, which are now in quantities large enough to create several Hiroshima-sized bombs, are stored at commercial sites. The risk of terrorist activity in order to

obtain this radioactive material for the proliferation of nuclear weapons is significant. International research has demonstrated that isotopes can be produced without a nuclear reactor/reaction. Both particle accelerators and cyclotrons successfully produce medical isotopes; however, further assessment is required in order to determine their economic feasibility. Greens will support funding research into these revolutionary alternative technologies, the primary goal of which will be to ensure that Canadians have access to a safe and effective source of medical isotopes.

- Achieve Better Health through Prevention
 1. Implement the Federal Framework on Lyme Disease Act to increase awareness for prevention, speedy diagnosis, and effective cures for Lyme patients. Focus on education of physicians to respond appropriately to patients presenting with possible Lyme disease;
 2. Remove from use those chemicals known to pose a significant risk to human health (see Part 3: Preserving and Restoring the Environment);
 3. Ban all advertisements for tobacco products, and once legalized ensure no advertising is permitted for marijuana products;
 4. Increase funding to tobacco awareness programs and marijuana-use prevention programs and set a goal for a smoke-free Canada;
 5. Increase taxes on products known to be deleterious or potentially deleterious to peoples' health (see Section 1.15 Agriculture and Food);
 6. Move to extend medically required and preventive dental care to the current list of treatments covered by Medicare. Due to costs of this measure, this is a multi-year goal;
 7. Provide more information to Canadians about healthy food choices and lifestyles;
 8. Commission Health Canada to do a nationwide body burden study identifying the presence of carcinogens, neurotoxins, hormone disruptors, and the toxicity levels of Canadians;
 9. Ensure clean drinking water for all Canadian communities by 2025;
 10. Prohibit by law human reproductive cloning and require a Health Canada license for any organization or institution that performs genetic manipulation for commercial or scientific purposes.
- Promote fitness, sport, and active living:
 1. Promote a broad-based national program of active living as a prescription for better health and lower health care costs, to be delivered in partnership with provincial, municipal, and non-governmental bodies to achieve the goal agreed to by all ministers responsible for physical activity across Canada of increasing physical activity by 10% over the next five years;
 2. Introduce a national standard of daily, quality participation in physical activity in schools, colleges, and universities to combat the epidemic of youth obesity;
 3. Make a strategic investment through Health Canada of \$500 million over five years to aggressively address inactivity and obesity;

4. Re-introduce a national school-based fitness-testing program;
 5. Promote the 'Walking School Bus,' as developed by the Toronto Atmospheric Fund, in which adult volunteers supervise neighbourhood children walking to school, thereby reducing pollution, improving fitness, and promoting community street safety;
 6. Endorse and promote the Olympic Movement's Agenda 21 for Sport, which advocates sport and recreation management practices that are sustainable and encourages sustainable practices at all sports events and facilities;
 7. Support the development of high-performance athletes both by encouraging broad-based participation in sport and by contributing to the provision of essential facilities, coaching, and medical support for high-performance athletes, as outlined in the 2003 Canadian Sport Policy;
 8. Structure the spending for sports to ensure there is a practical progression of long-term financial support for sport at all levels in the sports continuum;
 9. Establish a Canadian Sports Spending Accountability Act, to ensure the effective long-term use of tax dollars provided to high performance sports programs.
- Recognize environmental sensitivities as a health care issue:
 1. Implement legislation that will result in increased public health protection, by reducing the quantities and variety of toxic chemicals in products, buildings, landscapes, and foods, as Canadians move to using only least-toxic strategies, products, and materials;
 2. Promote the inclusion of environmental sensitivities in the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD) that is published by the World Health Organization;
 3. Earmark funding to provinces to include environmental sensitivities/multiple chemical sensitivities (MCS) in provincial health care billing codes;
 4. Work with provincial and territorial governments to ensure workplace accommodations, medical accessibility and treatments, access to buildings and other public areas, social support systems, and adequate monetary assistance for people with environmental sensitivities.
 - Promote a comprehensive approach to mental health:
 1. Extend the mandate of the Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC) for another ten years (2015-2025) at a cost of \$25 million/year.
 2. Increase transfer funding for non-institutionalized mental health patients including children and youth to provide adequate community-based support and outpatient and inpatient care by mental health practitioners, including in rural Canada where lack of facilities and trained professionals is acute;
 3. Support a public health initiative to reduce the use of psychoactive drugs through better rehabilitation and prevention programs, especially for children;
 4. Provide increased funding for a robust comprehensive mental health strategy for all Canadians in need;

5. Require greater involvement of people dealing with personal mental health problems in research planning, policy development, program evaluation, and other decisions that affect their lives and communities.
- Reduce drug addictions:
 1. Address opioid crisis by legalizing heroin and other opioids for clinic approved treatment as a temporary response to the fentanyl poisoning threat; focusing efforts on harm reduction, treatment, and prevention;
 2. Augment funding to the provinces earmarked to increase the number of detoxification facilities and treatment beds for drug and alcohol rehabilitation, establish more safe injection clinics, harm-reduction strategies, and needle exchange programs to provide certified addicts with prescription-procured drugs in small, safe doses, and develop educational prevention programs;
 3. Ensure the creation of spaces with a non-threatening climate for young people. Young people with drug addictions should not be sharing spaces with far older people going through detoxification programs.
 - Prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and better manage its impacts:
 1. Reduce the stigma associated with having HIV. This stigma is a significant barrier to delivery of effective, non-judgmental prevention and treatment programs;
 2. Put greater resources into the treatment and delivery of antiretroviral therapies to HIV-positive drug users, a marginalized group in Canada, which is currently receiving third-world levels of medical support;
 3. Put greater resources into harm reduction, prevention, and education efforts directed towards high-risk populations;
 4. Eliminate bureaucratic barriers of misunderstanding and prejudice for HIV-positive foreigners who wish to visit Canada;
 5. Be a world leader in providing low-cost AIDS medicines and medical services for HIV-positive people in third-world countries, especially the most impacted countries of Africa.
 - Combat Fetal Alcohol Syndrome:
 1. Take action to educate the public about the underpublicized but widespread problem of fetal alcohol syndrome;
 2. Develop and fund a program to greatly reduce the entirely preventable occurrence of fetal alcohol syndrome.
 - Sexual abuse survivors support:
 1. Advocate for the rights of male and female sex abuse survivors and for adequate federal funding for research, for public education, on judicial remedies, and for social service organizations that provide support for survivors.

4.8 Health promotion

“It is equally common sense for our health care system to place greater emphasis on preventing disease and promoting healthy lifestyles. This is the best way to sustain our health care system over the longer term. Keeping people well, rather than treating them when they are sick, is common sense.”

Roy Romanow, *Future of Health Care in Canada*, 2002

Health is more than health care.

Prevention and health promotion save lives and money.

A significant proportion of illnesses and deaths in this country are preventable. Many Canadians do not have the necessary information, the tools, or the encouragement, to lead healthier lives. Much needless suffering, premature loss of life, and considerable healthcare costs can be avoided through improved health research, screening programs, more timely diagnosis, earlier treatment, improved lifestyles (diet, exercise, and smoking cessation), and healthier public policies and environments. For example, it is estimated that at least 50% of cancers are preventable.

Yet funding allocated for health promotion has fluctuated in the vicinity of 1% of overall health system funding, despite the demonstrated cost-effectiveness of many disease prevention and health promotion programs.

Health promotion is about more than health care or health education. It is about recognizing the profound health impacts of determinants of health outside the formal healthcare system and working with many stakeholders (policy-makers, NGOs, health agencies, multiple levels of government, the private sector, and most important, affected communities themselves) to reduce, eliminate, or overcome those factors that harm health or act as barriers to health enhancement, and to promote those factors that enhance the health, well-being, and quality of life of all Canadians.

The number one determinant of health is poverty. Ending poverty is not only a moral imperative, it will reduce burdens on our health care system.

The Green Party of Canada recognizes the value of good health as a fundamental human right, and also the key to the most vibrant, inclusive, and sustainable Canadian society possible.

Greens want to move Canada towards being the world's healthiest country by making improved and sustainable health for all a national priority.

To make this vision a reality will require a long journey, a comprehensive effort touching many aspects of Canadian society. In the short term, we recommend the following actions to begin this journey. These recommendations can have an immediate, positive, and measurable impact on the health of Canadians, and turn us away from a health system focused on disease treatment to one where disease prevention and good health promotion are the priority.

Green Party MPs will:

- Push for renewed Canadian leadership in health promotion both nationally and on the international stage. We have some of the best minds, training programs, experienced practitioners, and progressive health promotion coalitions in the world. These can be key building blocks in a renewed federal leadership in health promotion;

- Specifically, we recommend the following actions to take place immediately:
 1. Restore funding for the Canadian Health Network, a key national resource for individuals and health professionals across the country;
 2. Create a Federal Healthy Community Initiatives Fund to which community organizations can apply for innovative local projects utilizing community development principles and practices to address both human and ecosystem health at the local level;
 3. Protect children from inappropriate exposure to marketing, especially of junk foods and soft drinks (see development of a National Food Policy below, and as in Agriculture and Food policy in section 1.15);
 4. Create a Canadian Healthy Living Guide, similar to the recently revised Canada's Food Guide but more comprehensive in scope;
 5. Work with provincial stakeholders to better compensate family physicians and other health professionals for health education and health promotion services work with key stakeholders such as the Chronic Disease Prevention Alliance of Canada (CDPAC), the Canadian Lung Association, Canadian Diabetes Foundation, the Heart and Stroke Foundation, and others to promote integrated, innovative, evidence-based, inter-sectoral, and comprehensive approaches to disease prevention and health promotion;
 6. Institute a GST Health Benefit Exemption for those products/services deemed to have significant health benefit such as sports equipment, fitness centre fees, and some health-promoting health services;
 7. Institute a Corporate Health Tax Reduction for workplaces that institute a qualified workplace health model or comprehensive healthy workplace settings approach such as that offered by the National Quality Institute;
 8. Work to reduce the use of pesticides, growth hormones, antibiotics, and other chemical and pharmaceutical agents in agriculture;
 9. Seek a Canadian ban on all forms and applications of Genetic Use Restriction Technologies through legislation;
 10. Promote environmentally sustainable, organic farming practices that protect the health of the land, farmers, and consumers;
 11. Restore funding for critical food safety testing and new product approvals processes;
 12. Institute a National Junk Food Tax for non-essential, empty calorie foods and beverages including high-fat, high-sugar, and high-salt snack foods;
 13. Support the development and adoption of a comprehensive national set of protective helmet standards for different sport and vehicle use and the allocation of federal funding for a national education program to encourage protective helmet use;
 14. Develop a federal Health Impact Assessment Board to incorporate health impact assessment as part of all federal government policy reviews, similar to the current Environmental Assessment Board;
 15. Support the development of initiatives to reduce the use of psychoactive drugs through better rehabilitation and prevention programs, especially for children;

16. Restructure education of health care professionals to incorporate adequate training in health promotion;
17. Provide computerized health promotion aids and make them accessible freely to all Canadians;
18. Expand healthcare coverage to include basic preventive dental care;
19. Establish a minimum budget for health promotion at 1.5% of the total federal healthcare budget.

4.9 Ending the war on drugs

Between 2008 and 2011, according to the Department of Justice, Canada spent \$311 million targeting illicit drugs, with a majority of that money going to law enforcement. Most of that was for the ‘war’ against cannabis (marijuana). Marijuana prohibition was also prohibitively costly in other ways, including criminalizing youth and fostering organized crime. Cannabis prohibition, which has gone on for decades, utterly failed and did not reduce drug use in Canada.

The Green Party of Canada was the first party in Canada to call for legalization of adult use of marijuana. Greens believe that drug addictions should be treated as a health problem, not as criminal offences.

Green Party MPs will:

- Create a regulatory framework for the safe production of marijuana by small, independent growers, ensuring that cannabis production not be restricted to indoor facilities with huge energy costs;
- Launch a public consultation on the decriminalization of illicit drugs, considering the current high costs of the law enforcement effort;
- Provide increased funding to safe injection sites, treatment facilities, and addict rehabilitation.

4.10 Rights, respect, and dignity

4.10.1 Women’s equality

Women make up over 50% of Canada’s population, the majority of seniors, and a disproportionate share of the people living in poverty in Canada. Pay inequity is still the rule. Women earn, on average, only 87 cents for every dollar earned by a man (2015 stat); women within visual minorities and Aboriginal women earn even less. Lack of access to affordable housing, affordable post-secondary education, and affordable child care make the lives of women, who head the majority of single-parent households, much more difficult. Women under 30 earn less than women in that age group, when adjustments are made for inflation, than they did twenty years ago. Due to changes since the 2015 election in by-election gains, there are now more women than ever in our history in Parliament, but, by December 2017, it is still only 27.2%.

The Greens will vigorously defend every hard-won victory for women’s rights and for women to advance forward towards full equality in Canada. Women’s equality is fundamental to a just

society. Among the best ways to break down barriers and advance opportunities for women are through poverty eradication, national affordable child care, programs to eliminate the financial barriers to post-secondary education, programs for affordable housing, and the adoption of a Genuine Progress Indicator that includes measures of unpaid and voluntary work by women (see Part 1: The Green Economy).

Green Party MPs will:

- Oppose any possible government move to diminish the right of a woman to a safe, legal abortion. We fully support a woman's right to choose. We will also expand programs in reproductive rights and education to avoid unwanted pregnancies, and expand supports for low-income mothers;
- Pass pay equity legislation, as recommended by the Pay Equity Task Force; immediately implement full pay equity for women employed in the federal sector and develop tax incentives for companies to meet the highest standards of gender and pay equity;
- Oppose the use of religious justice systems, such as Sharia Law, in Canada that run contrary to our existing rule of law and that specifically subjugate women and diminish the rights of women;
- Establish specific job re-entry programs for women with children who want to restart their working lives either part-time or full-time;
- Ensure that the criteria for new appointments to public boards and agencies include equal opportunity for women;
- Support greater engagement of women in the political life of Canada by advocating that all political parties nominate, train, and support more women candidates;
- Create better policies and programs to end violence against women;

4.10.2 People with disabilities

Canadians with disabilities and their families live with disproportionate levels of poverty and exclusion. To better understand the underlying factors, the Council of Canadians with Disabilities (CCD) and the Canadian Association for Community Living (CACL) commissioned the Caledon Institute of Social Policy to study the situation and propose solutions. It concluded that:

Canadians with disabilities are more likely to live in poverty than other Canadians. Poverty is a result of both exclusion and lack of supports, and it contributes to further exclusion and vulnerability in a 'vicious cycle'.

Children with disabilities are twice as likely as other children to live in households that rely on social assistance as a main source of income.

Poverty rates of Canadians with disabilities result in large part from the lack of needed disability supports, which enable access to education, training, employment, and community participation.

Canadians with disabilities are too often exiled to inadequate, stigmatizing, and ineffective systems of income support that were never designed to address the real income needs of Canadians with disabilities.

The federal government has a key role to play in addressing the poverty and income security needs of Canadians – they have done this through Employment Insurance, CPP/QPP, Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement, the National Child Benefit, and Child Disability Benefit, and various tax measures.

The Caledon Institute proposes that the federal government invest in a new initiative, which they have called the Basic Income Program, to best provide the support that Canadians with disabilities desperately need. This program is a floor for the access to resources for people with disabilities; it is not a ceiling. With additional programs to break down barriers, people with disabilities have every right to be full, equal partners in Canadian society.

The Green Party of Canada believes it is time to treat Canadians with disabilities with dignity. We endorse the Basic Income Program proposed by the Caledon Institute, which asserts that, when all factors are taken into account, the program will actually save the government money. We urge the adoption of this income security program for people with disabilities as soon as possible as an interim measure until a full poverty eradication federal-provincial program is established to provide for income security for all Canadians.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work to create a Canada Disabilities Act (CDA) to express Canadians' vision of a more equitable society rather than the current confusion resulting from the multiplicity of acts, standards, policies, and programs that prevail;
- Support a national equipment fund to provide equipment such as wheelchairs and accessibility tools to assist persons with disabilities with the tools needed to fully participate in work and community life (This can be a joint program with provinces – the concern is equal access and common standards.);
- Invest in social housing adapted as necessary to meet particular needs, with both rental and purchase options. This is simply an expansion of our housing program recognizing particular needs;
- Provide federal health transfer payments to provinces and territories directed to rehabilitation for those who have become disabled, e.g. loss of limbs etc.;
- Enforce the Employment Equity Act to ensure that persons with disabilities have equal opportunity to long-term employment and advancement. Disabled people are generally the last to find employment and the first to be laid off;
- Institute a basic income for people living with disabilities so that none live in poverty by:
 1. Converting the Disability Tax Credit (DTC) to a refundable credit as a first step in creating a national Basic Income program for working-age adults with disabilities;
 2. Redesigning the Canada Pension Plan/Disability Benefit (CPP/D) test to incorporate the DTC definition of disability and permit employment, rather than the CPP/D definition that requires a 'severe' disability to be life-long and to be the cause of any incapacity to pursue 'any gainful occupation.' The revised definition allows individuals to work while retaining eligibility for basic income.

4.10.3 Immigration and new Canadians

Canada is a multicultural society with a strong history of welcoming immigrants and celebrating cultural diversity. Canada currently accepts about 300 000 new immigrants annually.

Opportunities for new immigrants, however, vary. Studies show that immigrants from some countries do a lot better than others in securing jobs with decent incomes and opportunities for advancement. Access to immigration itself varies, as well. The criteria for granting landed immigrant status to refugees and other immigrants seem at times arbitrary and the process is frustrating and stressful for many. The backlog of files is too long. Over-cautious security officials have in some cases put the civil liberties of new Canadians at risk.

Our immigration policies must be revamped to ensure we stay true to our identity as a just, fair, and open country, and to be prepared for new challenges that are predicted to arise with increased numbers of environmental refugees seeking a safe new home in an increasingly perilous world.

Canada's multicultural diversity is an essential part of our national identity. New Canadians are a source of incredible skills and potential for our country. Immigrants and refugees come to Canada in search of a safer, more fulfilling life for themselves and their families, and to be full participants in Canadian society. We must make sure they are supported in achieving their hopes and ambitions as new Canadians. Our national tradition of welcoming newcomers and embracing social and ethnic differences gives us a unique opportunity to exert a positive influence on the rest of the world. Canada must embrace the energy and creativity of all our cultural communities and ensure genuine equality of opportunity and equal treatment of all Canadian citizens, regardless of their country of origin.

Green Party MPs will:

- Eliminate the Temporary Foreign Workers Program and increase immigration where labour shortages are established;
- Lead a national discussion to define 'environmental refugee' and advocate for the inclusion of environmental refugees as a refugee category in Canada and accept an appropriate share of the world's environmental refugees into Canada;
- Eliminate the valuation of foreign credentials for immigration purposes except in those cases where such credentials are recognized in Canada or a clear and expeditious path to Canadian accreditation is established, and instead establish realistic criteria for immigrants based on existing job opportunities for immigrants to Canada;
- Press professional societies to remove unnecessary barriers hindering the recognition of valid professional credentials of immigrants;
- Ensure professionals being considered for immigration will have the licensing requirements for their professions clearly explained before entry. Landed immigrants with professional qualifications will be supported and given the opportunity to obtain Canadian licenses consistent with public safety;
- Allocate much greater funding for training in official languages (ESL and FSL) for new immigrants, knowing that many new immigrants are not fluent in either official language, through earmarked transfers to the provinces for primary and secondary public school and free night school programs;

- Establish a program to deal with the estimated 200 000 people living in Canada without official status that leads to full landed immigrant status for those who have become contributing members of Canadian society;
- Work with municipalities and provinces to improve the integration of new Canadians into the multicultural fabric of our country;
- Support multicultural communities by assisting cultural organizations to obtain charitable status;
- Seek to have the regulations governing the practices of immigration consultants toughened and enforced and increase penalties in the Criminal Code for those convicted of human smuggling;
- Amend the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Public Safety Act to require that, after a reasonable length of time, formal charges be brought against all those detained;
- Repeal recent changes that encourage rapid deportation, ignoring rules of due process and natural justice;
- Open an investigation into allegations by the United Nations Human Rights Committee of Canadian officials cooperating with foreign agencies known to use torture;
- Ensure the ‘lost Canadians’ quietly being denied citizenship through archaic laws are protected and their citizenship restored. Although some significant progress has been made, some are still ‘lost’;
- Implement the recommendation made by the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration to immediately allow those who have refused or left military service regarding a war not sanctioned by the United Nations permanent resident status in Canada;
- Repeal legislation imposing jail time retroactively and targeting people who arrive by ship;
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4.10.4 Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights

Canadians believe in freedom from discrimination. This includes people having the right to live their lives without being discriminated against for their race, creed, ethnic background, political beliefs, or sexual orientation. A majority of Canadians applaud the fact that Canada was one of the first countries to sanction same-sex marriage. Existing legislation and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms do prohibit discrimination. However, we must be vigilant to ensure these laws are respected in practice and delivery.

In 1996, the Green Party of Canada became the first federal party to officially support the inclusion of same-sex couples in civil marriage, and we are pleased that this issue is now settled. However, much prejudice and discrimination remains, and transgender people are rarely even considered when laws and public policies are created.

Our vision is of a world free from discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression, a world in which difference is accepted and even celebrated.

Green Party MPs will:

- Support public education to end prejudice and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity;
- End the targeting by Canada Customs of LGBT bookstores and other LGBT businesses;
- Improve protections for trans people and raise awareness of the policies for inclusion, including respecting pronoun choices;
- Ensure Canada advocates internationally for an end to state-sanctioned discrimination and violence against LGBT people.

4.10.5 Indigenous peoples

The glaring exception to everything one loves about Canada can be found in the profound inequality of life on First Nations Reserves and life for off-reserve urban Aboriginal people across Canada. Water that is too hazardous to drink; serious health problems from diabetes to tuberculosis, addiction, and suicide; unacceptably poor housing stock; high unemployment rates – all make a mockery of our progress elsewhere in maintaining our ‘social safety net.’

Canadians like to forget that white South Africa based apartheid on the Canadian Aboriginal policy. Many non-natives are unaware of the fundamental human rights violations occurring within our midst. Canadian Aboriginal peoples, First Nation, Métis, and Inuit, know that the fundamental assumption of colonial powers since the first Europeans arrived in what is now Canada has been a policy of assimilation.

Unbeknownst to most non-native Canadians, and even some First Nations, the ultimate disposition of land claims agreement is the extinguishment of Aboriginal title. This is an inherent right of indigenous people and its extinguishment violates international human rights law. Various human rights committees within the United Nations system have frequently been critical of Canada’s treatment of and laws regarding Aboriginal peoples.

Finally, in November of 2010, after years of stalling, the government of Canada quietly signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The delay was unconscionable and embarrassing. Now action is required.

As government, the Greens will speedily move to implement the UN Declaration. The issues impacting Aboriginal people in Canada are complex and cannot be assessed without a full sense of the searing violence of generations of occupation and assault upon their traditional cultures and values. The legacy of the residential school system remains a factor in mental health and wellness. No Canadian should be satisfied with the failed policies of the Indian Act, the huge bureaucracy of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and the enormous outlays of funding for lawyers and ‘experts’ in the interminable comprehensive claims process.

Something fundamental needs to shift. That shift must begin with dignity for all Aboriginal peoples: respect, an end to policies of assimilation, and strong support for health and education on and off reserve. Health specialists and behavioural experts need to be trained from within communities to provide the proper support for fetal alcohol syndrome children. Work must be intensified to ensure more programs that involve elders mentoring young people. Employment opportunities in resource-based industries on Aboriginal territories will be encouraged. Trap lines will be protected. We will work to sustain the Inuit hunting culture that is under rapid

assault due to the impacts of the climate crisis. The Green Party of Canada will ensure that governments and corporations alike respect the 1990 Supreme Court of Canada Sparrow decision upholding Aboriginal rights such as fishing and the right of Aboriginal peoples to be consulted about decisions and accommodated in those decisions that impact their resources and their future. The June 2014 Supreme Court decision in the T'sicoltin case sets a blazing path for recognition of Aboriginal title. The intergenerational and communal nature of title must be respected.

We must work together to ensure no more communities are added to the list of shame in Canada: Oka, Ipperwash, Gustafson Lake, Sutikalh, Sun Peaks, Cheam, and Caledonia. Never again. Our shift in attitude will mean true nation-to-nation dialogue and negotiations. It will mean a just accommodation of Aboriginal peoples' aspirations and an equitable sharing of Canada's natural resources. It will mean full recognition of the cultural, political, and economic contributions of First Nations, Inuit, Innu, and Métis people to Canada and an end to the prejudice.

Green Party MPs will:

- Honour Canada's fiduciary responsibility, treaty rights, and other rights of Aboriginal peoples, including their inherent rights of self-government;
- Press Canada to follow the Green Party's example and repudiate the Doctrine of Discovery;
- In partnership with Aboriginal Peoples, work towards the creation of an Aboriginal Lands and Treaties Tribunal Act to establish an independent body to decide on specific claims, ensure that treaty negotiations are conducted and financed fairly, and ensure that treaty negotiations and claims resolutions do not result in the extinguishment of Aboriginal and treaty rights;
- Set a date for the Repeal of the Indian Act, ideally in less than 10 years, to allow all nations and interested parties to prepare;
- Immediately implement the lands claims agreements already negotiated and languishing for lack of funding, particularly for First Nations in the territories;
- Review all existing federal policies on self-government, in consultation with Aboriginal representatives, to ensure they are achieving the goals of Aboriginal peoples;
- Ensure that negotiations of treaties and self-government are not based on the extinguishment of Aboriginal title and rights, and on assimilation, but on reconciliation of rights and title, and that negotiations recognize the diversity of traditional self-governance;
- Fully implement the recommendations of the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, thereby embarking on true nation-to-nation negotiations on a full range of outstanding legal issues and land claims;
- Ensure that Canada upholds the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;
- Ensure that every First Nations, Metis, and Inuit child has access to quality educational opportunities based on the expressed cultural, political, and social priorities of the First Nations, Metis, and Inuit governments following meaningful consultation;
- Increase access for First Nations education by removing the 2% funding cap and fully funding the program backlog (at a cost of \$424 million);

- Ensure that governments and corporations respect the Sparrow decision (recognizing the Aboriginal right to fish), the Haida decision (the right of Aboriginal peoples to be not just consulted but their concerns accommodated regarding decisions that may impact their resources and their future), and the Tsilhqot'in decision;
- Negotiate and legislate primary hunting, fishing, trapping, and logging rights for Aboriginal peoples on traditional lands, especially lands under federal jurisdiction, subject to standards of sustainable harvesting;
- Respect the Douglas Treaties of southern Vancouver Island;
- Launch and maintain new processes driven by Aboriginal priorities and legal entitlements, to provide for interim measures prior to settlement of treaties, and address governance issues, a just and fair share of lands and resources, legislative inconsistencies, policy inequities, reconciliation and, if in accordance with the wishes of First Nations, the phased-out elimination of the Indian Act;
- Promote Aboriginal culture, language, and history as a fundamental source of Canadian identity;
- Support the development of Aboriginal education curricula that are language and culture specific;
- Assist the delivery of health care, education, and other services in a way that incorporates traditional practices and recognizes the role of extended families and elders;
- Set up task forces to address the treatment of Aboriginals in the Canadian justice system and to investigate and address the disappearance of Aboriginal women;
- Ensure, through consultation with indigenous organizations representing the concerns of Aboriginal women, that the rights of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations women are protected.

4.10.6 Protecting access to excellence in post-secondary education

Growing tuition fees and student debt are pushing post-secondary education out of reach for many Canadians. Tuition fees for Canadian universities have increased an average of 21% since 2009. On leaving university, one in three students will be weighed down by over \$20 000 of debt. Cost is the primary barrier to post-secondary education, both academic and trades-training.

While education is a provincial matter, the federal government can provide funding to increase the number of spaces at post-secondary institutions and can offer needs-based scholarships and bursaries to reduce financial barriers for potential students. This can easily be achieved through earmarked transfer payments.

Greens believe that universal access for every qualified individual to affordable post-secondary education and training is a basic right. Greens seek to eliminate financial barriers that currently prevent access. There are significant social returns when the government invests in education; it is the key to equity of opportunity, personal growth and enrichment, informed democratic debate and decision making, social mobility, and the Research and Development that are essential to deal with climate change and a multitude of other challenges. It is the key to a good economy and a prosperous society.

It is a perverse policy to claw-back student income. On income earned by students over \$100 per week, every dollar is clawed back under the Canada Student Loans Program In-Study Income Assessment.

The global economy is severely affected by crises such as the impact of an aging population and climate change. These challenges put pressure on the standard of living in industrialized nations. Canada can face these crises. To do so, we will need the best-educated, highly-trained, and creative workforce possible. Excellence in post-secondary education is pivotal to achieving this, and should be prized as one of our most valuable social policies. The Green Party is committed to innovative and cost-effective improvements to our system of higher learning.

We are transitioning into an information-based society. This transition is necessary for a green economy, which requires research, information, and innovation. What this transition requires is a robust post-secondary education system built around principles of accessibility, affordability, quality, accountability, ease of information sharing, and green innovation.

Green Party MPs will work to ensure that post-secondary education is based on realistic and effective policies and the following principles:

- Quality and excellence;
- Accessibility that is based on equality, merit, and willingness;
- Affordability for individuals;
- Accountability of funds;
- Ease of information sharing;
- Green innovation.

Green Party MPs will also:

- Increase federal transfers to provincial governments, ear-marked and tied to post-secondary education;
- Work toward abolishing tuition;
- Increase federal student grants by 25% (at a cost of \$173 million);
- Eliminate the Canada Student Loans Program In-Study Income Assessment;
- Extend grant availability to Graduate and Doctoral Students at a cost of \$31 million;
- Increase access for First Nations education by removing the 2% funding cap and fully funding the program backlog (at a cost of \$424 million);
- Establish a federal research program aimed at understanding and reducing barriers to post-secondary education in the absence of the 2001 Canadian Millennium Research Program;
- Work with the provinces to support lifelong learning programs aimed at enabling older Canadians to pursue post-secondary education to gain new knowledge and skills;
- Increase funding for a needs-based Canadian National Student Loan and Bursary;
- Work to eliminate student debt as a national goal;

- Invest in Early Intervention Programs through partnerships with other governments and through additional funding for Targeted Nonrepayable Assistance, Academic Support, Mentorship, and Campus Exposure Programs with an emphasis on low-income, first-generation, and Aboriginal students and communities;
- Transition from costly and regressive tax-based credits and RESPs as methods of supporting an affordable post-secondary education system;
- Allow all students eligibility for guaranteed student loans up to their rate of tuition regardless of parental income;
- Decrease the lending rate to that of the prime rate and extend the time period for which student loans must be repaid;
- Extend the payment grace period to two years after graduation in which time loans are interest-free;
- Establish a Student Education Funding Committee, with at least 50% of members having student debt, whose purpose will be to create a student education funding system that better serves the needs of Canadian students;
- Establish an Opportunity Grant under the Canada Student Grants Program for graduate students with high financial need;
- Exempt academic materials from the GST and/or any other federal sales taxes that may be implemented in the future;
- Increase funding to federal research councils by 15% annually for four years;
- Support integrated education and co-operative programs through the restoration and expansion of the federal student summer job program;
- Establish a Pan-Canadian set of comparable data and statistics to measure quality and progress similar to those of the medicare system;
- Invest in undergraduate research fellowships through the federal research councils to support innovation and increase research capacity;
- Earmark provincial transfers for post-secondary education outside of the broad-based Canada Social Transfer fund;
- Ensure that a portion of earmarked provincial transfers is long-term and predictable, provided that provinces remain accountable to quality metrics including increasing tenure track professors, as well as a higher ratio of professors to students;
- Ensure that copyright policy allows students to properly conduct and create research in a manner that is consistent with a thriving information commons, fair dealing principles, and moral rights;
- Emphasize funding to the federal research councils for environmental innovation and design, including but not limited to renewable energy, smart growth, environmental restoration, and climate change response strategies;
- Support expanding industry-based job training and apprenticeship programs to address shortages of trained workers in specific industries and workers in need of retraining.

4.11 Striving for justice

4.11.1 True justice, Real security

It is all about our communities. Safe, strong, and vibrant communities are at the heart of the Green Party's vision for the future of Canada – a Canada where we share responsibilities and respect for each other.

We are dedicated to responsible governance that protects our country and our fellow Canadians. This commitment shapes our approach to tackling crime, delivering justice, reducing recidivism, protecting Canada's borders, and combating terrorism.

The Green Party is also a practical party. In all our policies we seek to avoid over-the-top rhetoric and partisanship, and focus upon tackling the important issues. We take this same pragmatic and level-headed approach to the tough issues of criminal justice.

Canada is not in the midst of a crime wave.

In fact, the incidence of violent crime is down. Despite that fact Canada is still suffering from the consequences of Stephen Harper's 'law and order' sloganeering, a tactic designed to increase public fears of violent crime.

These laws, first legislated in the 2011 Omnibus Crime Bill C-10, and then through a series of more targeted changes, many of them presented as private members bills, have executed a transformational change in Canadian criminal law and the Trudeau Liberals have done little to repeal the changes as they too have proposed a bill on 'mandatory minimums', an approach tried and abandoned in jurisdictions like Texas.

The impacts are being felt at the provincial level with increased costs and over-crowded prisons, leading to more failed policies like double bunking.

Greens support smarter investments to further reduce crime through better programs in youth activity and early childhood education.

Still, even with the crime rate going down, we would all like to feel safer on the streets and in our own homes.

We do have problems in the justice system. Many Canadians see a disconnect between the severity of the crime, the length of prison sentences, and the availability of parole. Many Canadians support restorative sentencing that promotes a sense of responsibility in the offender and secures amends for the victims of crime. Additionally, many Canadians recognize that offenders are often unaccountable to the community upon their release from prison.

The Green Party will meet these challenges. We will ensure that those who break the law are held responsible and the needs of victims are recognized and accommodated.

Our vision is of a legal system that is effective and fair, connects with communities, is simple and transparent, as well as fast and effective – while maintaining Canadians' traditional commitments to justice and the rule of law.

It is also true that the Green Party does politics differently. One of the things this means is that we strive to get at the root of problems in our society and take a more integrated approach to governmental action. For example, it is not uncommon for Green candidates to speak about

health care, affordable housing, and education when asked about problems of crime. We are always seeking to get at the root of a problem.

Greens understand that true justice and real security cannot stand alone, out of our social and cultural context. We are committed to addressing underlying causes of crime such as poverty, racism, and inequality while ensuring offenders are dealt with fairly by means of proportionate sanctions. We believe a responsible government will see the big picture and have well-integrated policies that truly prevent crime and truly protect our communities.

The Green Party advocates for practical and integrated measures that will make Canada a safer place for raising families, being active in the community, and being productive in the workplace.

The first defense in reducing crime is to keep young people from becoming criminals. Green Party programs to alleviate poverty, to legalize marijuana, to increase physical fitness and sport, as well as investing in community health, will all pay big dividends in reduced crime.

The test for when a crime crosses that societal line in the sand will be when the perpetrator has been violent. Violent offenders must face more serious consequences, in setting bail, in sentencing, and in parole terms. On the other hand, the Green Party has consistently highlighted the high social and financial costs of incarceration, opposed fixed minimum sentences, and supported opportunities for holding offenders accountable outside the prison system.

Green Party MPs will:

- Repeal all the Harper era criminal laws creating mandatory minimum sentences;
- Review the Young Offenders Act to ensure it is not an inducement to youth crime, while retaining its core principle, that youth should not be treated as hardened criminals;
- Revise laws to increase penalties for domestic violence and ensure protection for the victims and survivors of domestic violence;
- Improve the Victims Bill of Rights to include the Marcy's Law provisions from California (ensuring victims are fully informed of their rights);
- Ensure meaningful and appropriate resources are available for communities that wish to use restorative justice and community healing programs in which wrongdoers make reparation to victims and their communities;
- Oppose any attempts to privatize prisons in Canada;
- Dedicate resources to computer crimes specialists combating the online sexual exploitation of children through child pornography and Internet luring. The RCMP must have the necessary resources and tools to tackle this problem on a national scale. The Harper era legislation fails to provide tools, while intruding excessively on privacy rights of law-abiding Canadians;
- Focus on education and meaningful work for offenders while they are incarcerated in order that they might pay at least part of the costs of their crime and housing in jail, as well as become better prepared for reintegration into society upon their release. Restore, wherever possible, the prison farm system;

- Provide guidance for judges making bail determinations to avoid release for violent crimes when there is a risk of re-offending. Those who post bail also need to be held accountable if the accused does not show up in court. Money pledged as bail must be collected;
- Restore merit as the primary criterion for selection of judges through the use of balanced review panels where no one political or ideological viewpoint is dominant.

4.11.2 Protecting rights of sex trade workers

In a landmark ruling in the Bedford case in December 2013, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Canada's current prostitution laws violated the Charter rights of sex trade workers. The horror of the serial killing of prostitutes on Vancouver's streets, with a trail leading to the Pickton pig farm that should have been found years earlier, woke up many Canadians to the severity of the problem.

Canada's laws drove sex trade workers into the shadows. Prostitution was not illegal but living on the avails of prostitution was. That strange formula meant it was not legal for sex trade workers to set up screening for clients through others, nor to have security or to operate a safe and health-conscious brothel. The Supreme Court ruled that the laws undermined the rights of sex trade workers to be secure from violence, and it gave Parliament one year to find a solution before striking down the status quo laws.

Too many women and men become involved in the sex trade due to human trafficking and we are also systematically failing the most marginal in our society who are drawn into the sex trade due to poverty. But when arguments about prostitution become conflated with issues of human trafficking the result is to fail both issues. Human trafficking is already illegal. Finding and liberating those held under conditions of indentured servitude, whether in sweat shops or by pimps, is a priority. More resources are needed. But attempting to make prostitution illegal will not help find and protect those victim to human trafficking.

It is recognized that a Basic Income, as recommended under our poverty elimination program, would provide an economic alternative to those being lured into the sex trade. We also recognize that some people have chosen, absent coercion or disadvantage, to be sex trade workers. There is a reason it is called the 'world's oldest profession.' Stamping out prostitution through harsher laws is a recipe for disaster. It is also unlikely to survive a Charter challenge.

Forcing sex work further into the shadows is not a solution.

We need to undertake legal reform in Canada with a focus on harm reduction, and we can learn a lot, both positive and negative, from countries that have decriminalized prostitution so that the safety of sex trade workers is improved.

The Green Party of Canada has advocated for comprehensive Criminal Code reform that removes criminal sanctions and develops regulations for legal prostitution between consenting adults.

Green Party MPs will:

- Repeal C-36 (the so-called 'Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act') and pass legislation that makes sense based on the New Zealand model;
- Protect the rights of sex trade workers and ensure their safety;

- Enhance the fight against human trafficking;
- Provide greater investment in addiction counseling;
- Provide more robust funding for social services to help those driven to prostitution by economic deprivation;
- Provide enhanced counseling and educational services to assist people trapped in the sex trade through poverty or addiction;
- Provide financial assistance for sex trade workers who want to find different employment.

4.11.3 Reforming the Divorce Act

Many Canadian couples experience a marriage or partnership breakdown. For those who enter the world of court-resolved divorce and child care disputes, years of unhappiness can follow. Increasingly, the non-custodial parent lacks meaningful access to his or her children. Grandparents can also be cut off.

There are no winners in these cases and children are the primary losers.

Upwards of 50% of marriages end in divorce, and an even higher rate of partner relationships suffer breakdowns. While the original intent of ‘no fault’ divorce introduced in 1985 was well-intentioned to make divorce easier and equally available to both genders, a quarter of a century later, virtually every Canadian is now aware of the many shortcomings and the unintended consequences of unilateral divorce through the direct experience of family or close friends.

The family court system has become dysfunctional and arbitrary: Children are at risk of being isolated from one parent as well as grandparents; bankruptcies occur for one parent in 50% of divorces; Child Support can become a thinly disguised form of Spousal Support; false allegations and perjury are not uncommon; court orders for access are routinely ignored or flouted by moving to another jurisdiction; legal costs often consume accumulated assets of separating family units; ‘deadbeat parents’ – some of whom deserve the title but some of whom are sick, unemployed, or below the poverty line – are subjected to counterproductive loss of licences and loss of passport as well as ‘debtor’s prison’; and legal aid is often not available for many family issues – arguably the most fundamental liberty interest of all. Resolution of this issue is made additionally and unfairly complicated by having responsibility split among provincial and federal jurisdictions for various aspects of divorce.

The very social fabric of Canada and its future is being systematically eroded by a broken and unnecessarily intrusive system that has multigenerational consequences.

The Green Party envisions a society where family breakdowns avoid the suffering of children, grandparents, and former spouses and which does not clog the courts. We will work to re-balance the current family law system, making it less adversarial, and place the on-going maintenance of healthy relationships, wherever possible, at the heart of the system.

The Green Party affirms the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

As in any disruptive life event, the state has an obligation to assist parties through the transition period of marriage dissolution.

The regrettable dissolution of family units should be handled in an economic and expeditious manner with maximum responsibility placed on separating parties with minimum reliance on adversarial legal processes. The role of the state is to facilitate the process.

Greens believe that two principles can operate together. The paramount principle is ‘the best interests of the child.’ Under no circumstances should parental interests trump the best interests of the child. To this, we assume that in most circumstances, a second principle, ‘equal parenting’ can be honoured. The best interests of the child are served through maximal ongoing parental involvement with the child, and that the presumption of equal parenting via joint responsibility and decision making is the starting point for judicial deliberations. Aside from joint responsibility and ongoing obligations to the child, separating partners should be free to arrange their own relationships under private law and, following dissolution, should be unencumbered in pursuing their own paths unless otherwise agreed beforehand.

To avoid children being treated like the spoils of war, the Greens believe the Divorce Act must be overhauled. The British Columbia family law provisions are a sound model. We will launch a consultation with Canadians, with the legal community, family therapists, and other experts to seek ways to reduce, and preferably eliminate, the adversarial nature of family law.

4.11.4 Cracking down on organized and white collar crime

Canada is widely regarded to be soft on organized and white collar crime. We seem to have a two-tiered justice system where people with money can work the system for their own advantage. The challenges involved in tackling economic crime are complex, and require clear leadership from the federal government, and concrete steps that will create tangible results.

Economic crimes are far from victimless. In a real sense, they are a theft of public property and harm all Canadians. Clamping down on these crimes to protect our investments and businesses will ensure that we secure not only the confidence of investors, but also the revenues needed to support our social programs. Tax evasion and fraud drain significant resources from the public purse and cannot be tolerated by a responsible government.

Economic criminal investigations are often quite complex and require highly specialized legal teams and sophisticated information management. Federal prosecutors must be given enough resources to build up the necessary legal teams to conduct effective and timely prosecutions of these commercial fraudsters. It is worth recalling that notorious U.S. gangster Al Capone finally went to jail for tax evasion, and not his links to crimes of violence. Giving our criminal investigators and prosecutors the tools to track down tax fraud and money laundering can help fight organized crime.

Green Party MPs will:

- Press for the creation of a Canadian Securities Crime Unit within the RCMP in order to provide for the public safety of our pension funds and personal retirement savings throughout Canada. If it is to be effective, securities crime policing must be done independently of the securities regulators and the investment industry;
- Pursue “white collar” crime in securities fraud, creating a specific and enforceable offence under the Criminal Code;
- Create and fund a criminal justice taskforce focusing on the nexus between money-laundering, securities fraud and financing terrorism;

- Pursue and collect funds held outside of Canada as identified in the Panama Papers;
- Allow for greater freedom in the issuing of subpoenas that would require witnesses to give a sworn statement during white collar criminal investigations;
- Amend the laws to provide for stiffer sentencing and greater restitution in white collar crimes. It is important that the sentences fit the severity of the crimes;
- Improve access to ‘lifestyle’ evidence and tax records of those suspected of involvement in organized crime. We need to enhance the tools available for pursuing the proceeds of crime if we are to get tough on economic and gang crimes;
- Provide greater resources for federal prosecutors so they can build up the necessary legal teams to conduct effective and timely prosecutions of white collar criminals.

4.11.5 Anti-terrorism and border security

A fundamental obligation of government is the protection of public safety. The Green Party is wholly committed to ensuring the security of all Canadians, and we will remain vigilant in our opposition to those who would threaten the safety of our communities. However, we agree with the majority of Canadians that true security within a democratic society will be gained from good governance and fair procedures that are administered according to the rule of law.

The Green Party views terrorism as an especially dangerous criminal offence and an aggressive, illegitimate political act. We believe that a responsible government will work diligently to track down and successfully prosecute these criminals as well as prevent terrorist acts by addressing the root causes of the crime. The focus must be peaceful assistance to local and international organizations working to resolve conflict, to protect local culture and sustainable practices, and to engage in the building of strong democratic institutions.

The safety of Canadians depends upon the effectiveness of our counter-terrorism and security laws. The Green Party is committed to ensuring our intelligence and law-enforcement agencies have adequate resources and the political leadership to deal effectively with these criminals.

The Green Party seeks security procedures that provide rigorous standards of procedural fairness and allow meaningful defences for all detainees. A responsible government cannot sacrifice human rights in the name of security or we will actually be opening the door for greater injustice and insecurity. Canada’s security policies must be consistent with the values of the democratic society we seek to protect, or else they will undermine those very values.

We also recognize that hundreds of people arrive every year in Canada illegally through the work of criminal organizations. Women and girls are trafficked into Canada and forced into prostitution in our cities. Although steps have been taken in recent years to combat this growing problem, more needs to be done. We must send clear signals that human trafficking will not be tolerated. We must provide sufficient resources to law enforcement agents and ensure we have more success in discovering, arresting, and prosecuting those who commit these terrible crimes.

Green Party MPs will:

- Introduce a Comprehensive Security Plan that will provide coordinated direction to the RCMP, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the Canada Border Services Agency, the Coast Guard, and Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. Effective security measures

must be coordinated among departments and agencies through integrated enforcement agencies;

- Provide CSIS, RCMP, and the Canada Border Services Agency with sufficient resources to conduct effective operations involving the gathering of intelligence, and the detention and prosecution of those who threaten our security;
- Ensure that individuals held under security certificates are given access to legal assistance and the right to trial within a reasonable period of time. In addition, this detention under security certificates must be subject to prompt and fair review by an independent and impartial court;
- Ensure that all detainees are treated with respect for their human rights and not subjected to any kind of torture, either physical or mental, for any reason;
- Support the strengthening of regulations governing the practices of immigration consultants and provide adequate resources for their enforcement;
- Provide support for the gathering of reliable police data to gain a clear picture of human trafficking and the sexual exploitation of immigrant women in Canada;
- Increase penalties in the Criminal Code for those convicted of human smuggling;
- Enact legislation to allow victims of terrorist acts to pursue compensation through the courts, tracking down the financial assets of the responsible organizations;
- Develop effective programs to prevent the ‘radicalization’ of Canadian youth, identifying those drawn to extremist movements and engaging clerics and communities where terrorist networks have been known to recruit. Part of these solutions will include better employment programs for Canadian youth;

4.11.6 Corporate accountability

The growth of multinational enterprises and global supply chains has been accompanied by growing concerns regarding labour standards, environmental protection, and respect for human rights in developing nations. The public is increasingly aware of the social and environmental impacts of business practices, and more and more people are beginning to demand that Canadian corporations act ethically and responsibly in Canada as well as abroad.

Numerous serious and high-profile breaches of corporate ethics have contributed to elevated public mistrust of corporations, and highlighted the need for improved corporate governance, transparency, and accountability. There are growing concerns that voluntary self-regulation is not leading to responsible and sustainable business practices. The Canadian government can create stable and fair standards that will ensure Canadian corporations operate in a responsible manner.

The Green Party understands the need for greater corporate accountability, and decries the lack of legal provisions that would allow for civil actions against the big polluters in Canada. Our businesses need to be both competitive and accountable, and our government needs to create a legal environment that will make this happen. We recognize that Canadians want to feel proud of the corporations that represent them abroad and we will take practical and balanced steps to ensure Canadian corporations are economic as well as ethical leaders around the globe.

Green Party MPs will:

- Adopt the recommendations of the Advisory Report from the National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility. This framework sets out clear standards and reporting obligations for Canadian corporations. It would establish an ombudsman office with the power to investigate and evaluate complaints from affected communities and determine levels of compliance with the established standards;
- Work with the provinces to establish a national Canadian Securities Commission and bring in a federal Securities Act to protect investors from unfair, improper, or fraudulent practices, and foster fair and efficient capital markets, as well as confidence in those markets;
- Introduce legislation to hold Canadian corporations that are working overseas to the same environmental and human rights standards as they are subject to in Canada;
- Prevent legal intimidation of ordinary people by limiting the rights of corporations to sue groups and individuals only for actual loss;
- Develop laws similar to the U.S.'s Alien Tort Claims Act that will allow those who are not Canadian to sue Canadian corporations for gross violations of basic human, environmental, or labour rights in their own countries;
- Prohibit the use of SLAPP suits (Strategic Litigation against Public Participation) so often used by large corporations to frighten and silence their critics;
- Reduce the disclosure requirements for prosecuting corporations. In a complicated stock market fraud or investment scam, disclosure can amount to hundreds of thousands of documents that have to be gathered, sorted, organized, and copied so they can be given over to the defendant and the defendant's lawyers as soon as charges are laid in a case;
- Oppose the takeover of Canada's stock exchanges, such as the Toronto Stock Exchange, by corporate entities based outside of Canada.

4.11.7 Access to justice

Canada seems to have a two-tiered justice system. The rising costs and complexities of litigation mean that only the wealthy have easy access to effective legal representation in our courts. Middle-class Canadians are increasingly unable to adequately defend themselves due to the cost and complexity of Canada's judicial processes.

Greens understand, however, that we won't have real justice in Canada until we have justice for all Canadians. This means affordable and accessible courts as well as laws that allow for the protection of our collective rights and the valuable natural resources we all hold in common. A responsible Canadian government can initiate a fresh approach to our justice system and ensure it becomes more fair and equitable.

The Green Party believes we, as a free and democratic society, must increase access to justice for the people of Canada through a range of measures. We also believe a responsible government must support lawyers who offer service to those in genuine need.

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase access to justice for all Canadians notwithstanding their financial situation, by working with the provincial governments to establish a comprehensive National Legal Aid plan that will provide stable, long-term funding;
- Simplify those matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Court of Canada or Tax Court (e.g. intellectual property, income tax appeals, CPP and disability claims). Reducing the amount of time spent in court on civil and criminal matters saves taxpayers money and helps ensure cases are not kicked out due to excessive delay;
- Increase the use of alternative dispute resolution processes, such as mediation and collaborative lawyering, in family and civil courts to reduce conflicts in relationship breakdowns;
- Amend the Divorce Act to ensure children are no longer treated like the spoils of war;
- Launch a consultation with Canadians, with the legal community, family therapists, and other experts to seek ways to reduce, and preferably eliminate, the adversarial nature of family law. The Child Support Guidelines were intended as a step in this direction through standardizing the quantum of child support and not forcing the parties to prove need and ability to pay in court (see section 4.11.3 Reforming the Divorce Act).

4.11.8 Gun control and ownership rights

Police associations across Canada have asserted that the gun registry helped keep law and order and save lives. Many rural Canadians and First Nations people found the gun registry restrictions onerous and discriminatory. We always believed compromise was possible in reforming the registry to accommodate the concerns of legal gun users while ensuring that law enforcement agencies had the tools they needed. We need to better balance these interests without allowing guns to be prevalent in society.

It is time to crack down on gun smuggling across the U.S. border. Thousands of handguns are coming across the border and into our urban centres. We need to work with each of the U.S. border states to press for action against gun smugglers and invest in tougher border measures to halt the movement of illegal firearms.

The risks created by having dangerous weapons in our urban centres are significant. We will introduce balanced and fair measures to ban handguns and semi-automatic firearms. However, the use of guns in our urban centres is typically not the same as the use of guns in our rural communities. We will ensure that law-abiding citizens pursuing legal activities in hunting with long guns are free from unreasonable fees and the threat of criminalization.

Green Party MPs will:

- Provide increased support for Integrated Border Enforcement Teams made up of officers from the RCMP, Canada Border Services, U.S. Customs, and the U.S. Coast Guard in their gathering of intelligence and arresting of gun smugglers;
- Put strict measures in place for those who attempt to cross the Canada/U.S. border with illegal firearms. Ensure that gun smuggling is prosecuted as a gun crime of the highest order rather than as a customs violation;
- Fulfill Canada's obligation under international agreements (United Nations Firearms Protocol and the Organization of American States Firearms Convention) to mark all imported

firearms, as recommended by the Canadian Association of Police Boards and the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police;

- Ensure that gun crime charges are not dropped to facilitate convictions on lesser charges;
- Work hard to create a registration system that is fair, free, and easy to use. Streamline the gun registry in consultation with First Nations, and with gun sports and hunter organizations. We support the elimination of registration fees for hunting rifles and will ensure law-abiding citizens do not have their firearms confiscated;
- Ban handguns and combat weapons, including semi-automatic rifles and assault rifles. Eliminate their use through consultation and a full buy-back program. Consult especially with holders of collections to ensure guns are rendered non-functional to eliminate usefulness to thieves, and with target shooters to establish safe and protected locations where target shooting can be practiced.

4.12 Eliminating poverty

“I am now convinced that the simplest approach will prove to be the most effective – the solution to poverty is to abolish it directly by a now widely discussed measure: the guaranteed income.”

Martin Luther King Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* 1967

The National Council of Welfare has estimated that over 15% of Canadians are living in poverty – about 4.9 million people. In a wealthy country such as Canada, this is unacceptable. Eliminating poverty while supporting healthy communities will pay for itself in reduced health care costs, as poverty is the single largest determinant of ill health. Eliminating poverty will pay for itself in reduced crime rates. Failure to eliminate poverty will cost our society far more than an effective program to make poverty history in Canada.

Of all of Canada’s social problems, child poverty is probably the most shameful. In 1989, the old-line political parties voted unanimously to end child poverty in Canada by the year 2000. Despite recent improvements in the rate of child poverty, far too many Canadian children still grow up in poverty. Child poverty rates are unacceptably high among new Canadians, Aboriginals, and single parent households headed by women. Canada now ranks a dismal 24th out of 29 ‘developed’ countries in terms of relative child poverty rates. (2017)

The reasons for persistent poverty are complex. Better food banks cannot bridge the growing disparity between wealthy and poor Canadians. Poverty is a systemic problem that arises from low minimum wages, a precarious job market, a shortage of social housing, reductions in EI benefits, and cuts in social programs.

We can eliminate child poverty in Canada. We must start by recommitting to a vision of Canada as a just society built around a progressive, fair, and compassionate social safety network. European countries (such as Denmark, Finland, and Norway) that have made a similar commitment have kept child poverty rates below 3.5%. Unlike the old-line parties, the Green Party believes reducing child poverty is more important than allowing our richest citizens to get

richer. The Green Party believes reducing child poverty starts with a stronger commitment to guaranteeing that all families have the ability to provide for their children.

The Green Party of Canada believes it is time to re-visit a major policy initiative – the use of a negative income tax, or Guaranteed Livable Income (GLI) for all. The use of a GLI could eliminate poverty and allow social services to concentrate on problems of mental health and addiction. The essential plan is to provide a regular payment to every Canadian without regard to a needs test. The level of the payment will be regionally set at a level above poverty, but at a bare subsistence level to encourage additional income generation. No surveillance or follow-up is required.

Unlike the current provincial welfare and federal Employment Insurance (EI) schemes, additional income is not ‘clawed back’ at income levels below subsistence. The incentive for illegal, under-the table economies is vastly reduced. Additional income is to be declared until the wage-earner becomes a taxpayer. For higher-income Canadians, the amount of the GLI is merely taxed back in whole.

Through policy coherence, municipally, provincially and federally, significant savings can be realized, while simultaneously reversing the negatives of a shame-based system that perpetuates poverty. To be cost-effective, however, government will require time to negotiate a coherent program with the provinces/territories and other levels of government. Various ‘poverty-industry’ programs of welfare, disability pensions, seniors benefits, unemployment insurance, would all be collapsed within one simple single payment system, administered through taxes.

The Green Party believes it is time to advance bold ideas such as this. Nevertheless, it will take time for study, reflection, and support from all three levels of government. We are committed to opening dialogue on the idea, while pursuing short-term measures to make progress in the near term.

Green Party MPs will:

- Remove taxes from the lowest income categories so that no taxes are paid by those below the poverty line (Canada’s Low Income Cut-off measure);
- Allow income assistance recipients to keep 100% of the wages they earn up to the Low Income Cut-off level to encourage people to get back into the job market;
- Offer people the mobility they need to find work, shelter, and other necessities through free transit passes for those on income assistance;
- Extend maternity/paternity leave for new parents outside of EI to two years and one additional year for parents who pay into EI;
- Increase the Guaranteed Income Supplement for seniors by 25%;
- Top up the income support for single parents on welfare during the time they are attending school or job training programs.;
- As a first step towards universal GLI, provide dividends to every Canadian from the carbon fee collected on GHG emissions. Through negotiations with each province, this modest income support payment will not be subject to claw-back;

- Support the provision of stable, long-term financial support for persons with disabilities by means of a targeted GLI;
- Ensure financial assistance for low-income spouses and relatives who provide end-of-life care at home for patients who would otherwise need to be hospitalized or in institutional long-term care;
- Augment the government's measurement of 'progress', our Gross Domestic Product (GDP), with a Genuine Progress Indicator, such as the Canadian Index of Well-being, that annually measures how well we are doing on quality of life indicators, including eliminating poverty (see Part 1: The Green Economy);
- Develop a comprehensive plan to improve our social safety network so that it eliminates child poverty, modeling this plan on European countries' programs that have the best track records in eliminating child poverty.

4.13 Reforming the Employment Insurance system

Recent changes to the Employment Insurance program have had the effect of reducing benefits, shrinking the time in which benefits can be paid, and denying benefits altogether for many employees. Cut-backs at Service Canada have left thousands of Canadians waiting unacceptably long times to access the benefits to which they are entitled.

After paying into it for years, recently unemployed Canadians are finding it far too difficult to access benefits. Changes were made to reduce the usefulness of the Employment Insurance scheme back in the 1990s. Prior to the changes, 82.9% of those who were unemployed could access benefits. By 1997, this fell to 43.8%, where it held steady through 2004. Workers had to log a longer employment period in order to qualify, and the benefits received also shrank.

Economists, such as Ian Lee, Director of the Spratt School of Business, have determined that spending on EI is especially effective in stimulating the economy. Those receiving benefits spend nearly every cent received in essential purchases (food, clothing, shelter). Expanding the EI system can be justified as a sensible economic measure, as well as a matter of equity. This is one measure that does not require finding new money. The EI system has a healthy fund built up, yet the majority of unemployed workers are denied its benefits.

Green Party MPs will:

- Restore employment insurance to seasonal workers;
- Restore adequate staffing to Service Canada to ensure access to the EI program for workers entitled to benefits;
- Dedicate taxes collected on chemical contaminants and unhealthy food to reduce EI premiums to workers and employers.

4.14 Ending homelessness

We have witnessed the disintegration of our social safety net to the point where many Canadians, through no fault of their own, have been forced into unsafe, unhealthy living conditions. Some are on the streets. Others are barely getting by. Homelessness began to escalate during the 1990s with federal government cuts to social housing programs and cuts in income support programs

by both the federal and provincial governments. As housing prices increased, even people working for minimum wage were increasingly unable to afford rental housing.

If the people who need help are not properly cared for, this puts a strain on everyone. Basic needs are not being met for a significant number of Canadians, and the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. The Green Party believes that our country has enough resources to care for all residents.

The Green Party believes it is the right of every Canadian to have affordable, safe, and secure housing. It enhances people's health, dignity, and life opportunities. It is an essential prerequisite to an equitable society. The Green Party supports the delivery of social housing dollars to provincial, territorial, and municipal governments through the traditional vehicle of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). The funding for social housing needs to be dramatically increased. CMHC programs must be directed to the communities most in need, and fast-tracked to provide homes for people at risk. The housing provided must be designed with energy conservation in mind.

Access to housing should be free from discrimination, including, but not limited to, ethnicity, race, cultural background, language, class, income, age, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, religion, political or other opinion, ability, health, status, or other personal characteristic or circumstance.

Universal housing will alleviate poverty. Universal housing provides a basis for employment, schooling, community services, and contacts. The development and delivery of adequate universal housing and emergency accommodation must be a high priority.

Green Party MPs will:

- Advocate the inclusion of a clause in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that specifically states that everyone living in Canada is entitled to safe shelter or affordable housing;
- Urge the government to appoint a Minister for Housing to oversee development and implementation of a National Affordable Housing Plan;
- Require the National Affordable Housing Plan to set an annual rate of building affordable housing so that lack of access to affordable housing is no longer a factor in homelessness by 2019;
- Change the mandate of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to include responsibility, as it once had, for affordable, non-market, and co-operative housing;
- Create a National Affordable Housing Program that provides sufficient funds annually through CMHC to community-based agencies across Canada to:
 1. Ensure that an adequate supply of new subsidized affordable homes is built: 20 000 new and 10 000 rehabilitated affordable units per year for the next ten years using capital grants and changes in tax and mortgage insurance regulations;
 2. Provide rent supplements or shelter assistance for an additional 40 000 low-income households per year, for ten years;

3. Provide credit and loan guarantees to non-profit housing organizations and cooperatives for the building and restoration of quality, energy-efficient housing for seniors, people with special needs, and low-income families;
4. Subsidize private developers to include a percentage of affordable housing in their housing projects;
5. Change the Income Tax Act to offer tax cuts for affordable housing, including incentives to stimulate construction and investment in the building of and maintenance of an ongoing supply of affordable, healthy, energy-efficient, multi-unit rental housing and to include tax credits for gifts of lands, or of land and buildings, to community land trusts to provide affordable housing;
6. Dedicate funding to the co-operative housing sector to enable more new affordable housing projects to proceed.

4.15 Fair and respectful policies for veterans

The people of Canada have a contract with our service personnel and RCMP. They sign a contract of unlimited liability, meaning we can send them anywhere, anytime, into any circumstance. In the line of duty, they risk life and limb. In return, we promise to care for them and their families in the event that they suffer physical or mental injury in the line of duty. We have abdicated our responsibility to honour our half of the contract.

Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC) was set up to distribute benefits and programs to returning soldiers and veterans. As a distribution network, it was tasked with making certain that all veterans in need were taken care of in a timely and effective manner. The benefit of the doubt was always given to the veteran, in the absence of irrefutable proof. This is no longer the case. VAC is now run like a for-profit medical insurance corporation. The policy manuals are specifically tailored to initially deny applications for programs and benefits based on a maze of confusing and contradictory eligibility requirements. VAC will not tell you what programs are available. You must know beforehand what programs are available and whether you qualify. VAC has subdivided veterans into several categories and bases eligibility on where they fall in a specific category, e.g.: regular forces, RCMP, reservist, trainer, combat, admin, SarTech, technical. Veterans hate this.

The New Veterans Charter (NVC) in 2006 changed how veterans are paid disability and pension funds. The most onerous of these changes is the lump sum payment that was designed to save the government money at the expense of fulfilling our contractual obligations of lifetime care for those injured while in service to our country. All three national parties unanimously passed the NVC and are thus complicit in the blowback that is happening across the country. "There is only one veteran" is a rallying cry for veterans. The Green Party of Canada affirms that we need to see an end to categorization of veterans according to areas of service. This is a key point of agreement among veteran's organizations.

The SISIP (Service Income Security Insurance Plan) claw back of disability payments is anathema to veterans. It is a sharp slap in the face to many disabled vets who as servicemen and women were obligated to pay into the plan. No civilian disability plan denies disability payments to employees based on income. (A veteran earning 75% of salary as pension is denied SISIP

disability payments.) Disability payments must not be tied to income. Again, veteran's organizations agree that this is particularly distasteful.

The Lump Sum Payment in lieu of lifetime pension for injuries sustained on duty for Canada must be scrapped. While it saves the government tens of millions of dollars annually, it short changes veterans. The lifetime pension for injuries under the Pension Act (which preceded the NVC) must be reinstated. All veterans will support this initiative.

The 25 member Veterans Review and Appeal Board (VRAB) currently adjudicates both new case files and files under appeal. This means the same people that initially denied claims are reviewing the appeal. Consequently, most appeals are automatically denied. There are currently only three members of the Board with military experience and one with medical training. The rest are appointees (most since 2007) comprised of former MPs, MLAs, Parliamentary assistants, and local supporters of the ruling party. VRAB must become two separate panels (Veterans Review Board and Veterans Appeal Board), each comprised of qualified experts in their field.

Green MPs will work to:

- End the Lump Sum Payment for injuries and reinstate the Pension Act benefits;
- Completely re-write the VAC policy manuals;
- Reinstatement of the Benefit Of The Doubt clause;
- Split VRAB into two distinct panels and populate it with qualified experts;
- Revisit the NVC with an eye to a complete re-write. The NVC was enacted as a living document but sits stagnant and out of touch with veterans' needs;
- Publicly support the class action suit in the Supreme Court of Canada by veterans to end the SISIP claw back.

4.16 Arts and culture: Beauty and integrity

“Arts and cultural activities are at the heart of communities – they make communities more attractive places to live, they help bring a community to life, they define a community's unique characteristics, they attract tourists and they help communities compete economically around the world.”

The Canada Council for the Arts

We couldn't resist. Shouldn't at least one political party speak in praise of beauty? We live in times of increasing utility and growing ugliness. Strip malls, parking lots, urban littered and graffitied streets do not ennoble us as a people.

It would be a fairly dubious notion that government anywhere could create beauty, but government can create the right conditions to protect and support those who do.

At every level of our society, arts and cultural activities help define our identities and communities. They unlock our individual and collective creativity, and help Canadians share our ideas worldwide. From surreal circus to incisive films, to renowned actors and singers, Canadians are experiencing cultural breakthroughs on the international arts and culture scene. Today, over 600 000 Canadians are employed in the cultural sector.

The Green Party understands that our future, our sense of who we are as a nation, depends on policies that ensure a thriving, diverse, and socially responsible cultural community as part of an inclusive Canada. We will continue and increase support for those cultural institutions that are within the Canadian Heritage portfolio: Canada Council for the Arts, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the National Film Board (NFB), and Telefilm Canada.

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase funding to all of Canada's arts and culture organizations including the Canada Council for the Arts, Telefilm Canada, orchestras, theatres, and publishers. The goal will be to make increases in this sector commensurate with increases in support over the years for other sectors such as transport, energy, and health care;
- Provide stable base funding for the CBC so it can continue to provide quality Canadian content television and radio programming in both official languages to all Canadians;
- Restore CBC international short-wave service;
- Reverse the CBC application and CRTC approval for commercial advertising on CBC Radio 2;
- Reverse cuts to supertime news and local programming in CBC and Radio Canada;
- Ensure that the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) reserves more bandwidth for independent and non-profit stations;
- Enact legislation that requires cinemas and video chains to have at least 20% Canadian content;
- Restore and improve arm's length principles in the governance of arts and cultural institutions and agencies under federal jurisdiction. In keeping with such a position, we believe that the heads of Canada's cultural organizations such as the CRTC, Canada Council, CBC, and Telefilm Canada should not be appointed by the political party in power but by an arm's length committee made up of competent people representative of the various diverse stakeholders in Canadian society;
- Seek greater support and adequate resources for arts grants programs;
- Set a small tax of 5% on internet streaming, such as Netflix;
- Seek increased funding incentives for artists and art events to tour Canada's rural regions;
- Provide protection for indigenous intellectual and artistic property rights;
- Increase support for community arts programs and facilities across Canada by establishing stable base funding at a set percentage of the federal budget;
- Equalize federal funding for arts and culture among provinces, territories, and municipalities to make it consistent with the provinces and municipalities that have the highest current standards;
- Provide incentives to all provinces and territories to restore and improve arts and culture components in schools and extra-curricular activities, not only in urban but also in rural areas;

- Extend income tax relief and incentives to artists (on the very successful models established by Ireland and the city of Berlin). Doing so will:
 1. Encourage artists to settle in Canada and build businesses here;
 2. Result in other (usually) white collar ‘clean’ industries that follow arts jobs and dollars;
 3. Help to provide meaningful jobs to university and college graduates;
 4. Enrich schools and their offerings, thereby attracting immigrants to settle in rural areas;
 5. Revitalize and discover talent in communities where traditional industries are declining and young people are leaving.
- Follow and implement recommendations of the Canadian Conference of the Arts in order to enable artists to access various social programs, including Employment Insurance, Workers’ Compensation, and the Canada Pension Plan;
- Change the Canada Revenue Act to allow arts and culture workers to benefit from a tax averaging plan that will take into account the fact that lean years often precede and follow a good year when a show is produced, a book is published, or a grant or a prize is won;
- Protect Canada’s cultural identity during trade negotiations;
- Restore the government-provided transport service to allow the transport of exhibitions between museums and galleries;
- Protect the copyright for artists so it is not surrendered to museums and galleries in the process of permitting exhibits.

“People want to live and work in vibrant communities filled with creative people and educational opportunities. An active Arts and Cultural life in a community draws members of the creative class to it. Thus not only for quality of life reasons but also for hard-nosed economic motives it is important to support a vibrant Arts and Cultural life in communities in order to attract talented people and companies to power the economies of those communities.”

Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*

Economic Rationale

The Green Party of Canada applies full cost accounting to its understanding of economics. We recognize that compared to other sectors receiving government support, the arts and culture sector is under-funded.

Given that arts and culture provide great quantifiable benefits to health and education, investments in arts and culture across communities and educational establishments may fall, in part, under investments in health and education.

Taking into consideration full cost accounting, the Green Party of Canada is able to substantiate that investment in the arts rapidly pays for itself many times over.

The Green Party of Canada will maintain breadth and flexibility in its economic calculations. We are able to think in terms of GDP and quantifiable economics, which can demonstrate that arts and culture not only makes an enormous contribution to the economic activity of this country – but also contributes to the Canadian Index of Well-being (see Part 1: The Green Economy)

Part 5: The Planet Needs Canada (and Vice Versa)

The Green Party is the only truly global party, with Greens in 70 countries and elected members of parliament in Europe, Latin America, Australia, Africa and New Zealand. Together we work to press the nuclear superpowers to meet their obligations for disarmament, to reduce and eliminate the nuclear threat. We work to shift military budgets to peacekeeping and peace-building. We work to ensure the education, health protection, and economic autonomy of women and girls around the world to address poverty and overpopulation.

The agenda set out in Vision Green would restore Canada to its historic role as respected global citizen.

5.1 Canada's role as global leader in peace-building, poverty alleviation, and environmental protection

“To meet the challenge of our times, human beings will have to develop a greater sense of universal responsibility. Each of us must learn to work not just for his, or her, own self, family or nation, but for the benefit of all mankind. Universal responsibility is the real key to human survival. It is the best foundation for world peace, the equitable use of natural resources, and through concern for future generations, the proper care of the environment.”

His Holiness, the Dalai Lama

Canada has strayed dangerously far from our peacemaking roots. Canada's international policy has evolved into what is called a '3-D' model. The D's are diplomacy, development, and defence. This integrative approach has achieved only a fraction of its full potential because the bureaucratic structure in Ottawa has not been reformed to prevent the inevitable competition for power and influence between departments. Consequently, the effectiveness of Canada's international activity has been unnecessarily limited.

The Green Party will re-establish Canada among the global leaders in peace-building, peacekeeping, and international diplomacy. We believe our foreign policy objectives must include multilateral disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and support for United Nations peacekeeping operations.

We strayed from those principles in backing military action in Libya and again in Iraq. Only the Green Party opposed both those missions in the House of Commons.

The Libyan action, sending bombers into the region, was justified under the emerging principle in international law of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). We backed Libyan rebels, even knowing al Qaeda forces were among their number. We bombed Libya, supported the toppling of Gaddafi and his public lynching in the street. The warehouses of his armaments flooded out to extremist groups – some to Mali, some to Syria.

Perhaps the worst mistake we made in Libya was to undermine the legitimacy of the R2P doctrine. Going into Libya claiming our goal was to protect civilians and then changing our mission to regime change ensured that we would not be able to rely on the R2P doctrine when innocent civilians were being killed in Syria by the al-Assad regime. We stood on the sidelines in Syria as pro-democracy rebels were slaughtered. If we had moved to a ceasefire and peace talks in Libya, we would have been better able to use R2P arguments within the UN. Due to the deceit

implicit in shifting to insisting on the removal of Gaddafi, the coalition forces created a barrier in the Security Council, allowing al-Assad's allies Russia and China to veto protecting civilians in Syria. Unintentionally, we gave the brutal Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad and his allies irrefutable evidence that R2P was a cloak for regime change.

By departing from insistence on the rule of law in international affairs, we made a bad situation worse. Our intentions were good, but their execution was lacking in evidence, perspective, and the understanding that decisions cannot be taken in a history-free zone. The Green Party sees international law and its institutions as the roots of international justice and stability. We must never by-pass the requirement for a United Nations resolution before engaging militarily. Detainment without access to a fair trial and the use of torture in questioning suspects held in military or any other detention centres contravenes international human rights treaties and institutions. Respect for international law and international conventions is not only the baseline for moral activity but is, in fact, the foundation of a just and secure world. We must no longer turn a blind eye to incarceration practices that weaken international law and civil society and therefore represent a deeper, long-term security threat.

The Green Party will restore the capacity for superb diplomacy, a traditional Canadian strength. We will increase our overseas development assistance and revamp the international development programmes within Global Affairs Canada (GAC) to focus more on developing green economies and on poverty alleviation. We will expand our defence role in UN-led peacekeeping missions and in emergency and disaster relief and equip it accordingly.

Green Party MPs will:

- Re-align our defence spending to increase our capacity and speed in delivering disaster assistance (e.g. through the DART – Disaster Assistance Rapid Response Team) and our contributions to UN peacekeeping forces and missions, and decrease our contributions to NATO war efforts;
- Rebuild the broken linkages among the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD), National Defence, and the Canadian Forces (DND/CF), and international development to effectively and efficiently plan, organize, and execute our missions abroad;
- Play a lead role in establishing a standing UN Rapid Response Force with a mandate for peacekeeping and environmental restoration in both international crisis situations and domestic catastrophes like floods, earthquakes, storms, and fires;
- Instruct Canadian Embassies and Consulates around the world to develop effective early disaster reconnaissance and assessment capabilities in order to speed up Canadian response times;
- Oppose the use of the United Nations Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine as a military solution to force aid relief on countries that are rejecting it;
- Focus Canada's development aid efforts and economic investment in the specific key areas that:
 1. Foster alternative fuels and energy sources that dramatically reduce the need to import oil and natural gas and further allow the growth of recipient nation independent and/or majority ownership of these sectors and/or businesses as they develop;

2. Focus on agriculture sectors that provide for food sovereignty through both subsistence farming and domestic commercial farming methods that are in keeping with green environmentally sound and gender equality principles;
 3. Increase bilateral trade, where possible, to facilitate the export of value added products from small island economies;
 4. Support and strengthen cooperation with regional organizations to further the goal of regional independence and sovereignty.
- Advance the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ensure its principles are at the core of Canadian foreign policy;
 - Create a Department of Peace and Security;
 - Review Canada's membership in military alliances including NATO and NORAD to ensure they are meeting Canada's priorities of diplomacy, development, and defence;
 - Press urgently for global nuclear disarmament and the conversion of military industries in Canada and worldwide into peaceful and restorative industries;
 - Pursue international criminal investigations of existing military detention centers where human rights violations have been reported in Iraq, Cuba, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, and strongly advocate for the closure of all military detention centres that exist outside of international law;
 - Oppose the use of Canada's public institutions for the development of military technology;
 - Oppose the development or use of space-based weapons on Canadian soil or in Canadian waters;
 - Oppose the militarization of space;
 - Insist on the adherence to the Geneva Convention by Canada and its allies;
 - Advocate that responses to terrorism must be carried out within a framework consistent with international law. Terrorism must be fought with the traditional tools of criminal investigation and prosecution;
 - Promote the Earth Charter and seek its endorsement by approving it in the Canadian Parliament;
 - Propose that Canada fulfill its obligations under the Convention on Biological Diversity by providing new and substantial funding for nature conservation in developing countries and by implementing policies aimed at protecting biodiversity throughout the world (The government of Canada should take the lead in organizing and arranging financing.);
 - Advocate gathering comprehensive collections of crop plants, varieties, and domestic animal breeds of the world able to preserve the genetic diversity required to safeguard the future of the human supply of food, fibre, and other biological products (This genetic heritage will be especially needed for low-input systems of farming suited to a resource-frugal future.);
 - Promote the recognition that the preservation of wild nature and the whole community of life, globally, nationally, and locally, is of crucial importance, not only for its own sake but also for developing sustainable agriculture and forestry systems in the future;

- Advocate that the Government of Canada encourage all levels of government in Canada to take effective action to protect, preserve, and enhance wild nature and the community of life.

“We must base ourselves in international law. It is the rock you can stand on when things become confusing.”

Paul Heinbecker, Former Ambassador for Canada to the United Nations, February 17, 2007, Address to the Green Party foreign policy forum

5.2 Making poverty history

The current state of planetary health and equity is not encouraging. Still, progress has been made. The number of people living in absolute poverty, recently redefined as living on less than U.S. \$1.90 a day, has dropped from 1.85 billion in 1990 to a 2017 total of 767 million. The Sustainable Development Goals, endorsed by Canada, calls for all poverty to be eliminated by 2030.

Canadians have rallied to the call to Make Poverty History. In 1992, at the Rio Earth Summit, Canada re-committed to increasing Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) to 0.7% of our gross domestic product (GDP). This commitment presented a target set by Canada three decades earlier. In 1992, Canadian ODA stood at 0.45% of GDP. In the ‘program review’ deficit-cutting era of the Chrétien Liberals, ODA dropped to 0.25% of GDP in 2000/2001. Subsequently, in 2002, Chrétien set a goal for 8% annual increases in ODA.

Despite rhetoric about boosting foreign aid, under Prime Minister Trudeau our ODA has dropped again. From Harper’s 0.28% of GDP in ODA, in 2017, Canada’s level of ODA dropped to 0.26% of GDP.

Meanwhile, a number of industrialized countries have, only within the last few years, met the 0.7% goal. In 2016, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg, the UK and Sweden met the target set by former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson.

Greens will work tirelessly to ensure that Canada meet its commitment to allocate 0.7% of GDP to ODA and meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). By offering far less than one one-hundredth of our GDP, we can help our world meet the most basic of goals: to make poverty history, reduce disease, foster democracy, and support ecologically sustainable economies.

We will ensure our commitments for the provision of HIV/AIDS retroviral drugs for Africa is fulfilled, and that Africa will be a significant focus of our development priorities. This will include support for African plans for adaptation to the increasingly devastating impacts of climate change in Africa.

“I said earlier this year that we are ‘sleepwalking towards disaster.’ in truth, it is worse than that – we are asleep at the controls of a fast-moving aircraft. Unless we wake up and take control, the outcome is all too predictable.”

Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General to the United Nations, November 28, 2006

Green Party MPs will:

- Re-establish CIDA as a stand-alone agency of the Government of Canada;

- Prioritize the restructuring of ODA delivery while making responsible and consistent increases that will achieve the target of 0.7% of GDP within a decade;
- Revamp CIDA to focus more on developing community-based green economies, on poverty alleviation and programs to combat and adapt to climate change, especially strengthening its Partnership Branch for the delivery of ODA;
- Fulfill our commitments for the provision of HIV/AIDS retroviral drugs to Africa;
- Instruct Canadian embassies and consulates around the world to develop effective and rapid early disaster reconnaissance and assessment capabilities in order to greatly speed up Canadian response time;
- Oppose using the United Nations R2P doctrine after a natural disaster to force aid relief on governments refusing it, as a military rather than diplomatic solution, as this can be counterproductive;

5.3 International Financial Transaction Tax

Globally, support is growing for an International Financial Transaction Tax (FTT). The proposal is strongly supported by France and has the backing of Germany, Belgium, and others. Canada traditionally has opposed the FTT.

The concept of an international FTT is a very small tax that is placed on all ‘speculative’ financial transactions. The initial proposal, known as the Tobin Tax (in reference to its first advocate, Nobel Laureate James Tobin), was to be a global tax applied only to currency speculation. This concept has since been expanded to include a small tax on hedge funds, derivatives, and bonds.

On March 23, 1999, the Canadian House of Commons passed Motion M-239 by a vote of 164 to 83:

“That, in the opinion of the House, the government should enact a tax on financial transactions in concert with the international community.”

At the time, Finance Minister Paul Martin and most of the governing Liberal party supported the opposition New Democratic Party in favour of the Motion, but it was non-binding and was not acted upon without prior international acceptance.

The economic collapse of 2008 was a result of ‘casino capitalism,’ an international casino where gamblers bet on speculative, unsustainable investments. Durable financial transactions could not compete with the return on investment (ROI) achieved in the casino when the bubble was growing. And as demonstrated in 2008, those bubbles inevitably burst.

When James Tobin described his idea, it was to ‘cool down the hot money.’ So much currency speculation was taking place, thanks to the decision to allow currency to set its own level in the market (it had previously been set by the International Monetary Fund), that the health and stability of whole societies could be up-ended by the currency devaluations caused by billionaire gamblers. One such gambler, George Soros, famously once devalued the British pound. The 1994 peso crisis, the collapse of the so-called Asian Tigers in 1997-98, the currency devaluations of the Thai baht and others throughout Southeast Asia, and the Russian currency crisis in 1999 have all been linked to the impacts of rampant currency speculation.

The 2008 economic meltdown went far beyond the currency speculators and included the trading of sub-prime mortgages, which built up in speculative value far in excess of real assets. The crash that ensued left the billionaires dusting off their trousers. The poor were impacted the most, the middle class was traumatized, and governments bailed out the gamblers, including major financial institutions, using the ‘too big to fail’ argument.

A further concern from the development community is the growing impact of gambling in commodities, which is driving up prices on oil and food.

The proposal is for a tax of 0.05% on all speculative transactions – or five cents on every \$1000 invested. The goal is to create some funds for governments to be prepared if speculation once again creates a disaster. It is also, as Tobin suggested, just enough money to take the edge off of multi-billion dollar transaction, but not deter prudent investment.

The ‘Robin Hood’ element is that these funds should be directed to achieving the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) goals (see Overseas Development Assistance note). We agree with France that the tax should be collected and kept in international funds, with at least 50% directed to achieving SDG goals as well as climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The Green Party believes a FTT will contribute to enhanced global stability while efficiently providing much-needed funds to fight global poverty. The Canadian Parliament passed a non-binding, all-party resolution favoring the similarly designed Tobin Tax in 1999. It is time to act on this declaration of support.

The Green Party of Canada will:

- Make the Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) a priority in international relations;
- Negotiate to bring a FTT within the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) as a prerequisite for admission to the World Trade Organization. The focus on the FTT in multilateral negotiations is long overdue.

5.4 Press for the elimination of all nuclear weapons

According to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, and leading Canadian experts like former Ambassador for Disarmament, the Hon. Douglas Roche, the world has quietly entered a second nuclear age.

On January 17, 2007, world scientists moved the hands on the ‘Doomsday Clock’ two minutes closer to midnight in light of the dual threats of climate change and the increasing effort to build nuclear weapons. And that was before the sabre rattling of US President Donald Trump.

Not since the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has the world been closer to the threat of nuclear war. Canada has simply not been doing its part to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to protest when allies violate the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In fact, Canada continues to press for sales of its CANDU nuclear technology around the world, without adequate safeguards. Canada has sold reactors to dictatorships, such as Argentina in the junta era. Canadian research-reactor waste in India allowed that nation to join the nuclear club. Phasing out nuclear energy as an aspect of nuclear military disarmament is essential. The Harper Administration’s decision to contract to sell nuclear materials to India, in contravention of the

terms of the Non-Proliferation Treaty concluded at the 2010 G-20 meeting, further eroded limits on nuclear weapons and global respect for the rule of law.

Canada needs to support the Five-Point Plan of the United Nations Secretary General, backed by the unanimous motion adopted by both the Senate and House of Commons in 2010. This effort to reinforce the Non-Proliferation Treaty through a Nuclear Weapons Convention has also been supported by over 800 members of the Order of Canada.

Canada refused to participate in the recent and successful negotiations for a U.N. Treaty to Ban Nuclear Weapons. Canada has not signed the treaty, now supported by 122 countries

The Green Party of Canada strives for global disarmament, and for the conversion of all military industries in Canada and worldwide into peaceful, sustainable industries. We, at the Green Party, realize that it is difficult for a single country to disarm unilaterally under the threat of another arming state, and that disarmament can be best achieved multilaterally, in harmony and communion universally, and at a global level, notably through the UN.

Green Party MPs will:

- Sign and Ratify the Treaty to Ban Nuclear Weapons;
- End subsidies to Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. (AECL) for promoting reactor sales abroad, and refuse to finance such 'sales' with tax dollars;
- Strengthen the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency to prevent nuclear reactor fuels from finding their way into nuclear weapons;
- Press NATO allies to get out of the nuclear weapons business;
- Move rapidly to multi-lateral negotiations to eliminate all nuclear stockpiles and prevent rebuilding of nuclear arsenals using such UN processes as the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CNTBT), a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty, taking U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons off alert status, legally binding guarantees by nuclear weapons states not to attack non-nuclear states, and enhanced verification techniques.

“In protecting the environment and promoting sustainable development, the Green Party should also highlight the imperative of the total elimination of nuclear weapons.”

The Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C., February 17, 2007, Address to the Green Party foreign policy forum

5.5 Reform the United Nations

The United Nations (UN) has grown since its foundation by 50 countries in 1945 to 192 members today: it is the only international organization to which virtually every country belongs. The UN has sent 63 peacekeeping missions into areas of conflict and peacefully resolved at least 175 international disputes. Unfortunately, the UN suffered a 'crisis of credibility' in 2003 when the UN Security Council split over the use of force in Iraq to oust Saddam Hussein. The U.S.-led war in Iraq was clearly illegal under international law. At the same time, the UN has proved ineffective in preventing genocide, as in Rwanda.

The Green Party supports the role of the UN in diplomatic intervention and international peacekeeping, including acting with a 'responsibility to protect' people in situations where a state is not protecting its own citizens, such as in Darfur. We believe Canada can and must

increase its commitment to the UN and that there must be significant UN reform to make the organization more effective, especially within the UN Security Council. The Security Council vetoes must be re-examined in a post-Cold War context. More balance in north-south representation must be achieved within the Security Council.

Green Party MPs will:

- Increase our commitment of resources, especially funds for peacekeeping and adequate training and provisioning of troops, to the United Nations;
- Promote the democratic reform of the UN Security Council to include more balance in north-south representation, elimination of bias in the treatment of, for example, Israel by the General Assembly, and ending the use of vetoes;
- Re-organize other powerful multilateral institutions – the World Trade Organization (WTO), the IMF and the World Bank – placing these institutions under the authority of the UN General Assembly, and shift the direction of international trade away from “free trade” to “fair trade” focusing on the global protection of human rights, labour standards, cultural diversity, and ecosystems;
- Move to make the UN Environment Program (UNEP) a funded organization of the UN system from its current status where donations from member nations are voluntary. Expand the UNEP mandate to a supervisory one over all multilateral environmental treaties, much as the WTO supervises all trade agreements within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT);
- Launch a global dialogue on the notion of a bicameral UN, with one house being the General Assembly of nation-state representatives, and a Peoples’ Assembly, as in the European Parliament, with direct election on behalf of the worlds’ peoples.

5.6 Defence policy

Increases in spending on militarism and war have been pledged by successive governments.

The Trudeau administration consultation on defence policy engaged very few members of the public. The unquestioned assumptions included maintaining membership in NATO and the need for fighter jets.

The most-discussed issue of defence policy and procurements has been the proposed purchase – the F-35s. The evidence that the Harper cabinet deliberately misled the Canadian public about the price and benefits of the F-35s was cemented by the 2013 report of the Auditor General. The benefits were over-hyped and the costs low-balled.

Even now that the decision has been postponed through the purchase of refurbished Australian planes, the debate about the F-35s has distracted Canadians from a full and transparent discussion about what the appropriate role is for our military in the 21st century. We need to seriously question the need for a significant increase in military spending. Why would Canada need stealth fighter jets, for launching an attack with first strike capability.

The Green Party supports members of the Canadian military, including their right to be properly equipped while in service and properly cared for as veterans.

We need to pursue a revised vision for Canadian defence policy with a focus on disaster response, search-and-rescue, and peacekeeping. In particular, we need to move ahead in purchase of ice-breakers, fixed-wing search and rescue (SAR) aircraft, and Coast Guard vessels.

Green MPs will:

- Pursue cost-cutting by reducing by 30% the \$2.7 billion spent every year on DND consultants, contractors, and other private sector contracts;
- Other savings could be achieved by asking Reservists, over 9 000, to choose if they would be ready for part-time positions;
- Move ahead with necessary procurement of fixed-wing SARs, ice-breakers, and coastal vessels.

5.7 Africa

We must work to end the international plundering of Africa's natural resources and turn our attention to supporting the emergence of strong African nations with full respect for their sovereignty.

We need support the African Union's leadership role in establishing cooperative peace and security treaties between countries, and reinforce solutions created by Africans for Africans. Now is not the time to abandon the African continent by withdrawing our support.

The Canada Fund for Africa has come to an end. Some programs will continue but the Harper Administration has largely withdrawn from constructive engagement. The casual decision, without discussion or debate in the House of Commons, to formally withdraw from the UN Convention to Combat Desertification was a further signal that Canada is no longer interested in Africa. Despite promises from the Trudeau administration to re-engage with the convention, we have not yet done so.

Canada has also refused to assist the UN peacekeeping efforts in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Africa needs a renewed commitment from Canada both financially and through peacekeeping.

Green Party MPs will:

- Re-engage with the African continent;
- Make development assistance target the poorest of the poor;
- Align our ODA to Africa with population and climate goals, providing ramped up assistance through the Global Climate Fund and to the Sustainable Development Goals (due for completion in 2030);
- Re-engage and ratify once again our commitments to the UN Convention to Combat Desertification.

5.8 Address the crisis of global population growth

The world's population has been growing at an exponential rate. Two thousand years ago, when the historical Jesus of Nazareth was born, he was one of an estimated 200 million people on the planet. It took 1500 years for human numbers on the planet to double to 400 million. In the last fifty years alone, human numbers have more than doubled from three billion to almost seven billion in 2011. The United Nations estimates that, thanks in part to reduced fertility levels, the population will not double again, but should stabilize at nine billion people by 2050.

The Worldwatch Institute warned us in 1999 as we reached the six billion mark that we were outrunning our water supply. Water tables were already falling on every continent, rivers were being drained dry before reaching the sea, and millions of people were lacking enough to satisfy basic needs. The question of the Earth's carrying capacity is a critical one. We only have one Earth. Exceeding it has dire consequences.

While consumption is a key issue, so is technology. Our ability to split the atom, and exhume fossil fuels from their burial places to burn them at profligate rates, threatens to tip the planet from its life sustaining cycles into catastrophic die-offs of human and non-human life forms.

Issues of migration, trade, equity, militarism and environmental degradation are all important factors in the question of whether there are too many humans. Yet, ideas for curbing population growth have, in the past, been ineffective and unacceptable. Some have violated basic human rights. Forced sterilizations of women are but one example of the worst kind of inhumane population policies.

Fortunately, the solution to population growth is within our grasp. It is well established that when poverty is alleviated and particularly when women and girls are educated, and have access to primary health care and family planning, political autonomy and economic power, fertility rates drop. This has been demonstrated time and time again, in nations around the Earth. One particularly instructive example is Saudi Arabia. It is the only nation where high levels of literacy and health care and economic well-being have not led to declining fertility. Saudi Arabian women lack economic rights and political autonomy. All elements are essential to respect women's human rights and to reduce the dangerous spiral in population numbers as much as possible.

Green Party MPs will:

- Significantly increase Canadian overseas development assistance focused on improving the education, and the social and economic power and status, of women and girls;
- Integrate goals for reduced fertility into the overall efforts to eliminate poverty;
- Ensure that maternal health programs funded by Canada do not limit access to any form of family planning and primary health care, including access to safe, legal abortions;
- Address the problem of global overpopulation through a foreign policy committed to environmentally sustainable local economies, improving education and health care, and fostering political and economic rights of women as equal participants in society;
- Integrate goals for improved health care and spreading knowledge of birth control methods and efforts that increase the availability of birth control equipment and supplies into the overall efforts to eliminate poverty;

- Provide development aid to assist countries in building up their capacity to support improved public services and provide greater income security for support in old age so that security is not dependent on the number of one's children;
- Recognize that the high level of per capita resource consumption in developed countries makes the impact of their populations much more serious;
- Realize that failure to stabilize and reduce human population within a reasonable time will result in the inevitable reduction of human population by means of high death rates as the Earth's human carrying capacity is not only exceeded but reduced by the consumption of resources and the destruction of biological capital, resulting in poverty, starvation, disease, great human suffering, and possibly social disruption.

5.9 Rebuild Canada's traditional diplomatic muscle

The Canadian Foreign Service is suffering from the neglect of successive governments. The Harper Conservatives, in particular, underestimated the importance of a robust diplomatic corps with highly-trained officers. As part of its fiscal program to dig Canada out of the deficit created under Stephen Harper, diplomatic properties around the world are being sold. This garage sale approach to diplomacy carries with it a heavy cost. Canada's influence around the world depends on the relationship forged in those elegant residences of Canada's ambassadors. Other nations will take note of the diminished level of interest Canada takes in the world when events hosted by Canada take place in hotels. It is a prime example of being penny-wise and pound-foolish.

Canada has traditionally had a fine foreign service. Its officers represent a standard of excellence envied by the world. Former Prime Minister Harper proposed to eliminate the notion of a career cadre of Foreign Service officers. Civil servants in foreign affairs were told that the departmental staff should all be transferable to and from other departments.

The Trudeau administration has renamed the department Global Affairs Canada (GAC). There is a more respectful attitude toward diplomacy and Ambassadors have been freed from gag orders under the previous government. But much more needs to be done if we are to rebuild our capacity in the foreign service.

Green Party MPs will:

- Restore adequate financial support to the hiring and training of an outstanding Canadian Foreign Service, and to embassies, consular services, and High Commissions around the world.
- Stop the sell-off of Canadian diplomatic residences overseas.

5.10 The Israel – Palestine Conflict

The conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians is often viewed as intractable and irresolvable. More than three regional wars and two Intifadas have left deep scars on the bodies and in the minds of the people of this troubled region. Strongly held views and historical claims are well entrenched on both sides, making this a complex and crucial conflict to understand. It is an unfortunate and continued source of tension for many in the Middle East and around the world.

It should be clear that continued support and use of military or insurgency strategies will not bring about an end to the conflict. The cycle of violence, loss of life, and desecration of human rights must come to an end.

The Green Party of Canada believes that any effort aimed only at one side in this conflict will not end the violent responses that exacerbate human suffering. Canada's role in the Middle East should be to reduce tensions, find working solutions, and uphold international humanitarian law, not to take sides in this chronic conflict. We must work towards a mutually acceptable compromise that will achieve a lasting peace between, and among, the Israelis and Palestinians.

The Green Party supports a two-state solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict that addresses the security, economic, and religious concerns of the both sides.

Diplomatic efforts to build constructive relationships between the two communities are required. Continued dialogue will build community support for the negotiated peace agreement, and will ease implementation and ensure that it does not break down from pressures within the Palestinian and Israeli communities.

Green Party MPs will:

- Endorse the recognition of a Palestinian right to statehood within the internationally recognized borders as described in United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, and support a two-state solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict that adheres to pre-1967 borders and incorporates an international plan for stimulating economic prosperity in both nations;
- Call on both sides to immediately stop the killing of civilians and adhere to international law;
- Protect as inviolable the right of the State of Israel to exist, in the absence of fear and conflict;
- Encourage the Canadian government to press for a mutually agreed-upon honest broker to engage in bi-literal and multi-lateral peace talks involving Palestinians and Israelis;
- Call on Arab countries to use their influence to broker an agreement between Hamas and the Palestinian National Authority to facilitate the promotion of peace amongst the competing Palestinian interests;
- Call for an end to the collective siege of Gaza so that medical and humanitarian aid can be provided;
- Call on Israel to stop expansion and the building of illegal settlements beyond the 1967 borders;
- Accurately label products so that consumers can differentiate between products of Israel and those of disputed areas;
- Amend the Canada-Israel Free Trade pact to allow for product differentiation;
- Actively support the efforts of civil society groups working for peace, human rights, and justice in the region.

5.11 Iran

The history of external interference and repeated rejection of offers of dialogue from past moderate leaders, especially the false 'Axis of Evil' doctrine, has contributed greatly to a

continued threat against real democracy and human rights in Iran. Equally, corruption and false rhetoric employed by some Iranian leaders widens the divide between the government and the Iranian people.

The highly educated Iranian civil society should be supported through active, cooperative engagement accompanied by public overtures of dialogue with the Iranian government. There can be no long-term stability in the Middle East if Iran is continually isolated. Real change must come from the Iranian people who in turn must receive a clear signal that nations like Canada not only understand this but are prepared to act in a peaceful, cooperative direction. It is imperative that the mistakes in recent decades not be repeated.

The Iranian economy and environment have suffered greatly from neglect and mismanagement and this plays a significant role in the internal struggle between the government and Iranian people as a whole. Iran faces increasing desertification and soil erosion, putting water and agricultural resources under future threat. Suspected corruption and the suspicions held by many Iranians concerning the safety of Iran's nuclear program amplify this economic and environmental dilemma. The Green Party recognizes and supports the enormous work of Iranian women who lead the Iranian environmental movement.

The Green Party of Canada condemns the development of, and possession of, nuclear weapons by any nation. We believe the dependence on oil and nuclear energy contributes far too much to global military conflict. Global security can only be achieved through peace, democracy, and real diplomacy.

Green Party MPs will:

- Actively re-engage Iran in a new diplomacy, fully cognizant of the history of the region and internal politics of Iran;
- Encourage the creation of cooperative programs that offer Iranian civil society members such as lawyers, legislators, judges, civil engineers, environmentalists, and other professionals to directly engage with their professional counterparts in Canada;
- Support the Iranian people in their quest to strengthen, through peaceful means, the democratic process within Iran;
- Condemn all human rights violations and judicial trials in which torture or police brutality is used;
- Support the environmental movement in Iran by working with other countries and the Iranian government to develop cooperative projects within Iran to address the increasing environmental degradation threatening the country;
- Call for full Iranian government cooperation with all IAEA inspections and requests concerning Iran's nuclear program;
- Offer any and all diplomatic assistance that facilitates engagement and dialogue between Iran and its regional neighbours to ease tensions and foster the stability and peace desired by citizens of the entire region.

5.12 Maintaining a healthy relationship with our closest neighbour

Canada must never ignore the importance of a healthy relationship with the United States. No matter who is in the White House and no matter how different our national perspectives may be, a close relationship is dictated through geography, history, and trade. Canada's level of respect and influence in the world is strangely measured both by how well we work with the United States, as well as by how well we simultaneously hold our course if different from that of the White House. With an unpredictable and potentially dangerous man in the White House, that relationship is tested as never before. Nevertheless, the United States is more than the Executive branch at the federal level. The Canada-US relationship must be built at many levels: federal government to federal government, as well as federal government to civil society, and other levels of government.

Canada and the United States share much. At the core of our relationship must be a respectful tone, even when we disagree. Together, we should be capable of advancing shared democratic ideals, and developing continental strategies for greater peace and security.

Core trading relationships are fundamental to both economies. Protecting those trade relationships depends more on mutual self-interest than on facile agreement.

Green Party MPs will:

- Build and strengthen relations with all levels of U.S. government – municipal, state, and federal – and with U.S. civil society;
- Expand networking opportunities for corporate Canada with an emphasis on small business to promote Canadian exports;
- Expand partnerships among cultural institutions, scientific research organizations, universities, and municipalities;
- Expand and promote mutual tourism opportunities, especially for young people, through low-carbon VIA-Amtrak partnerships;
- Promote Canada to U.S. visitors as a 'Safe and Friendly Neighbour' to help break down the fear factor that increasingly isolates our U.S. neighbours from the world;
- Develop shared missions to alleviate global poverty and show leadership on environmental goals;
- Expand public awareness in both nations of our extraordinary good fortune and our ability and moral obligation to help the less fortunate globally;
- Repeal the Foreign Accounts Tax Compliance Act (FATCA) and seek redress under appropriate arbiters (potentially the World Court, NAFTA, or the WTO) against any retaliatory measures by the U.S. government toward Canada's commercial banks.

5.13 Latin and South American partnerships

Green Party MPs will:

- Build neutral, independent partnerships with Latin and South American countries that display and reflect Green principles by:

- Actively engaging those countries in creating partnerships in development aid and economic investment that promote our mutual ideals of Fair Trade and promotion of strong civil society, human rights, and respect for indigenous peoples and the environment;
- Offering diplomatic assistance in furthering common objectives;
- Promoting and supporting the development of mutual peace and cooperation accords that respect sovereignty between The Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA)-aligned states and other states;
- Denouncing all outside interference that promotes internal violence and/or the violent overthrow of democratically elected governments in the regions.

5.14 Haiti

At the end of the year 2003, Haiti was a nation struggling to overcome two centuries of brutal dictatorships and ecological disaster. Haiti had succeeded twice in peacefully transferring power from one democratic government to another. It was denied a third chance due to international interference and a violent coup d'état.

Then, in January of 2010, a catastrophic earthquake hit Haiti, killing over 200 000 people and leaving 1.3 million people homeless. Survivors are still facing water, housing, and food shortages and, starting in the fall of 2010, a major cholera epidemic. With many areas still not rebuilt from the earthquake, in October 2016 Hurricane Matthew slammed Haiti.

Haiti needs Canada's help more than ever.

Green Party MPs will:

- Expand long-term aid to help Haiti recover and rebuild from recent natural disasters;
- Call for a full, independent inquiry into Canada's role leading up to the collapse of the democratic government of Haiti in February 2004 and its role in supporting a non-elected government guilty of committing human rights abuses;
- Support ecological reforestation projects that address both forest recovery and commercially viable tree crops that holds more monetary value for its crop yield than its value as wood and further continue the development of and/or support for the development of alternative energy sources such as wind and solar that can eventually eliminate the need for wood as cooking fuel while also significantly reducing the need for foreign oil and gas importation;
- Provide funding for the long-term support and expansion of a Haitian Ministry of the Environment including the training of forest rangers and agents with the responsibilities of monitoring and enforcing environmental laws and forest protection against human interference;
- Press for the speedy resolution of land title issues currently preventing the rebuilding of permanent housing and infrastructure. If necessary, move to an international land resolution approach to resolve the impasse quickly;
- Continue to assist the Haitian government with international/bilateral debt reduction and/or debt forgiveness.

5.15 Trade and sovereignty

Robert Frost wrote that good fences make good neighbours. The Green Party supports fair, global trade. We support trade built on the principles of global equity, Canadian sovereignty, human rights, and the environment.

Over the last fifteen years, international free trade agreements have become an important part of Canada's economy. Despite acknowledged benefits, there are some clauses and sections in these agreements that are not balanced. They put foreign and corporate business interests first.

Trade isn't just about the export and import of goods and services. Trade agreements also impact human rights, labour standards, cultural diversity, environmental laws, and even constitutional rights. The North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), for example, limits our government's will to enact new environmental legislation, labour standards, and human rights laws because they might be challengeable under NAFTA. Many Canadians and public policy think tanks now admit that NAFTA has not lived up to its promises. Some failures include: promises that the income benefits of NAFTA would be widely shared; promises that NAFTA-led integration would increase productivity; promises that NAFTA would help us escape the resource export trap as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The Green Party supports fair trade that puts sovereignty, human rights, and the environment first and does not support trade agreements that put the rights of multinational corporations first.

We recognize that trade is an important component of a sustainable economy but that it cannot hamper or undermine sovereign efforts to protect and enhance local quality of life and build local economies.

The Green Party is about transforming – shifting mindsets, shifting taxes, shifting emphasis in trade from a failed free trade model to a proven fair trade model, and it is about shifting emphasis from global to local development. We recognize the costs and limitations that fossil fuels will increasingly place on global trade and transportation, and the need for local and community participation to achieve sustainable communities.

Green Party MPs will work in each of the following areas related to trade agreements:

- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA):
 1. Immediately work to renegotiate NAFTA;
 2. Exempt bulk water transfers;
 3. Re-negotiate the NAFTA energy provision, recognizing Canada's need for an energy reserve and its own long-term energy security, as well as control over exports to be governed by environmental frameworks, with an emphasis on getting inter-provincial agreements in place first;
 4. Remove offensive disciplines, such as democratic decision making tribunals, specifically Chapter 11;
 5. Rewrite a fair trade agreement based on principles that protect human rights, workers' rights, jobs, and community rights; that recognize limits to resources, and ensure that

Canada retains its Charter position on limiting property rights; and that uphold environmental protection.

- Bi-Lateral Trade Agreements:
 1. Renegotiate bi-lateral trade agreements, and negotiate any new ones, to follow the format set for NAFTA as noted above.
- Free Trade Agreement of The Americas (FTAA):
 1. Oppose agreements in the style of the June 2009 agreements with Colombia;
 2. Negotiate fair trade agreements with countries in this hemisphere who have stated they do not want to be part of the FTAA, whose last meeting, in 2003, failed to reach agreement; these countries already form a valuable trading bloc.
- World Trade Organization (WTO):
 1. Propose reform of the WTO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, placing these institutions under the authority of the UN General Assembly;
 2. Shift the direction of international trade away from “free trade” to “fair trade” focusing on the global protection of human rights, labour standards, cultural diversity, and ecosystems.
- Canada European Union Trade Agreement (CETA):
 1. Oppose any extension of NAFTA-like provisions into a trade deal with Europe;
 2. Reject any inclusion of Investor-State provisions;
 3. Oppose provisions that favour pharmaceutical corporate interests over affordable prescription drugs for Canadians;
 4. Oppose provisions that undermine supply management for Canada’s dairy and poultry industries;
- Trade, Investment, and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA):
 1. Urge British Columbia and Alberta to pull out of the TILMA and devise agreements to ensure the sovereignty of sub-national governments, energy security, and food security for all Canadians, while ensuring Charter rights and refraining from embedding the supremacy of property rights into trade agreements.

5.15.1 Investor-State Agreements (FIPAs)

While investor-state agreements are sometimes associated – or even confused – with free trade agreements, they are not the same. A trade agreement opens up areas, or sectors, of national economies to allow other countries access. An investor-state agreement is different. For example, the Canada-China Investment Treaty did not open any new sectors to trade. China still refuses foreign investment in its energy sector – while it makes major purchases of Canadian energy companies.

An investor-state agreement gives a foreign company (an “investor”) the right to seek damages from a country (a “state”) in private arbitrations. These are not court actions, although the word

“sue” is often used. These are claims for damages arbitrated by a panel of three arbitration lawyers – usually in a posh hotel room somewhere. The first investor-state agreement in the world was Chapter 11 of NAFTA. In the late 1990s, an attempt was made through the OECD to extend Chapter 11 principles to all industrialized countries. The OECD proposal was called the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (the MAI). In what is viewed as the first global citizens’ campaign using the internet effectively, the MAI was defeated. The pro-MAI community then turned to advancing bi-lateral investment treaties. These are generally referred to as “FIPAs” standing for Foreign Investor Promotion and Protection Agreements. Hundreds of these FIPA agreements now exist, crisscrossing the globe with treaties that are, by their very precepts, fundamentally antithetical to democracy.

As referenced above, Chapter 11 of the North American Free Trade Agreement was the first investor-state agreement in the world. It would prove to fundamentally erode a government’s ability to enact laws, regulations, and policies that protect its environment or the health of its citizens. In particular, insufficient attention has been paid to an analysis of the arbitrations under Chapter 11 of NAFTA. Canada has been subjected to arbitration complaints numerous times by U.S. corporations. Canada has never been successful when we are brought to a Chapter 11 tribunal. We have paid out millions for banning a neuro-toxic gasoline additive (to MMT’s manufacturer Ethyl Corporation in Richmond, Virginia), as well as repealing our own law, for banning the export of PCB contaminated waste (to S.D. Myers – a PCB incineration company in Ohio), to Abitibi-Bowaters for actions by the Newfoundland government in attempting to keep that forest industry giant to the terms of its contract when it pulled out of the province.

The worst decision under Chapter 11 arbitration was likely the 2015 decision against Canada in favour of a basalt-mining company from New Jersey, Bilcon. Thanks to expert testimony in favour of Bilcon from an NDP MP, the arbitrators decided in a 2-1 decision that the environmental assessment panel had been unfair to Bilcon. The sole dissenter, and lone Canadian on the panel, Professor Don McRae of the University of Ottawa Law School, argued the decision will undermine environmental assessment law in Canada permanently. He described the ruling as “a significant intrusion” into Canada’s domestic jurisdiction.

On the other hand, when Canadian companies have sought to rely on Chapter 11 of NAFTA to sue the United States, not one company has ever succeeded. This is the pattern of the growing reliance on these FIPAs – arbitrators are neither fair nor neutral. A clear pattern exists globally that the larger economic power almost invariably succeeds.

“When I wake up at night and think about arbitration, it never ceases to amaze me that sovereign states have agreed to investment arbitration at all [...] Three private individuals are entrusted with the power to review, without any restriction or appeal procedure, all actions of the government, all decisions of the courts, and all laws and regulations emanating from parliament.”

Juan Fernandez-Armesto, arbitrator from Spain

In what will be regarded by historians as Stephen Harper’s single largest betrayal of Canada’s interests, he rammed through, without a vote in Parliament, a FIPA with the People’s Republic of China. This agreement is particularly disturbing. It is worse than NAFTA in several ways:

1. NAFTA can be exited with six months written notice; the investment treaty with China is in force for 15 years, then Canada or China could give a one year written notice to exit, but all existing investments would be covered for a further 15 years (31 year ‘lock-in’);

2. Even though it is egregious that U.S. (or theoretically Mexican) corporations can bring multi-million dollar claims against Canada for laws passed with no intent to discriminate in trade terms, the “investors” from China are not individual corporations. State Owned Enterprises of the People’s Republic of China are all branches of the government, with boards and CEOs appointed by the politburo of the Communist Party of China;
3. Under the Canada-China FIPA all claims begin with six months of diplomatic efforts to resolve the dispute. Under such a provision, the larger economic party – China – with all its corporate activities under central control will be able to link all its investments in Canada into a serious threat for economic retaliation. This is not something a U.S.-based firm would be capable of doing under NAFTA, and, in any event, a diplomatic process is not part of NAFTA.

Under the Canada-China investment treaty none of the claims made or arbitration decisions are required to be made public. While Canada’s government is permitted to tell the Canadian public about disputes, there is no requirement that it do so.

Green Party MPs will:

- Immediately press for a re-opening of the Canada-China FIPA, asking the People’s Republic of China to allow a re-negotiation;
- Be prepared to insist on maintaining any laws to which the People’s Republic of China objects if those laws are passed to repair the damage done by Harper’s omnibus budget bills, even if that means paying out significant arbitration awards to China;
- Ensure that Canada stops entering into FIPAs with any more countries (such as through the TPP) and renegotiates the ones we have joined (such as CETA);
- Open a global dialogue to rescind all existing bi-lateral FIPAs between and among all countries to rebalance corporate rights and domestic sovereignty;
- Negotiate a new Multilateral Agreement on Corporate Rights and Responsibilities. The effort from 1995 to 1998 to negotiate a Multilateral Agreement on Investment in the OECD failed as it lacked balance. The Green Party of Canada, working with Green Parties around the world, will press for new global negotiations to create a level playing field for multinational corporations and uphold countries’ sovereignty. The template will be based on the European Union’s (EU) in which no country’s environmental and labour laws can fall below the very most rigorous of any EU state. By ensuring that all corporations in the world must adhere to minimum standards to protect children, the environment and labour rights, no company could gain competitive advantage by trampling on these fundamental elements of responsible corporate citizenship.

5.16 North American Union (NAU) by increment

Bi-lateral and Tri-lateral negotiations – between Canada, United States, and Mexico – to ‘harmonize’ national standards and rules are continuing, notwithstanding the reported demise of the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP), proposed in 2005, that was exposed and discredited by an effective grassroots awareness-raising campaign.

In response to this temporary setback, proponents of a deep continental integration agenda now seek to advance their agenda by increments, and certainly without Parliamentary attention or

debate. The latest proposal is for a 'continental security perimeter' involving an integrated border with the United States. The limited information available thus far about this proposal has generated public opposition due to projected threats to Canadian sovereignty and Canadians' privacy. The need for confidentiality in diplomatic negotiations should not result in withholding public information about their results. The Green Party questions both the goals of this agenda and the means being used to further it.

The SPP process and the continental security perimeter plans emerged out of a continental integration agenda that capitalized on American post-9/11 fear about national security. It built on the NAFTA foundation and sought to bring Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. much closer to a common market and customs union. Some have described it as a future North American Union (NAU) using a process similar to that which led to the European Union (i.e. full economic integration first). The Green Party opposes this continental integration agenda as detrimental to Canadian national interests.

The proposed North American Union would be profoundly different from the European Union political model. The E.U. requires that the toughest environmental and labour standards of any one nation be the minimum standards for all. The E.U. model includes the direct election to a supra-national parliament. Continental integration as practiced in North America, on the other hand, appears to be primarily designed with the exclusion of civil society input and without the priority to environmental and labour standards. There is also a much greater balance of power between numerous European nation states comprising the E.U. than would exist in a North American Union comprising the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. As an example, if there were an E.U. version similar to the proposed North American Union then there would only be three countries – perhaps Germany, Norway, and Portugal – analogous to the U.S., Canada, and Mexico respectively. It is not hard to imagine which nation would completely control and dominate that relationship. Citizens of Norway/Canada and Portugal/ Mexico would in effect become second-class citizens in their respective continents.

Part 6: Good Government

Canadians deserve good government. Those elected have a duty to work hard for their constituents, not their political parties. Citizens have a right to expect respect from those in office, and that respect must be reflected in openness, access to information and diligence in pursuit of the common good.

The cornerstone principles of our system of government are that Members of Parliament represent their constituents, not their political party; that all MPs are equal, with the Prime Minister first among equals; that the Prime Minister reports to Parliament, not the other way around; and that Parliament controls the public purse.

People are also disillusioned with MPs' allegiance to parties instead of constituents, government inefficiency and wasteful spending, and the failure of government to address critical issues like the climate crisis. On top of this, we have an outdated voting system where the popular vote is not translated into seats, leaving many voters unrepresented. Many citizens, especially youth, are so frustrated that they don't even bother to vote.

When our government is at its best, it represents all of us and brings us together to accomplish things we cannot accomplish alone. Our Parliament should be a model of statesmanship and cooperation, working for the good of all Canadians. It should deal creatively and constructively with issues and spend taxpayers' money prudently. MPs should be elected through a fair voting system that ensures parties get a share of seats in Parliament that is equal to their share of the popular vote. Canadians should be proud of their government and trust that it is acting in their best interests.

6.1 Democratic renewal and proportional representation

The most breath-taking of Prime Minister Trudeau's violations of his election promises was in pulling the plug on his commitment to repair our flawed voting system.

The Special Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reform held hearings and public meetings in every province and territory between June and November, tabling a majority report on December 1, 2017. The Green Party through MP Elizabeth May and leagues of volunteers across Canada played a significant role in this effort. The majority report called for a system of proportional representation to replace the first-past-the-post voting system.

But the 2017 committee was not the first time a parliamentary committee had found that first-past-the-post (FPTP) was not an appropriate voting system for Canada. That first committee was in 1921. It found that any democracy with more than two parties would not be well served by a system in which the popular vote could so substantially diverge from the seat count and thus the election result.

Peter Russell, professor emeritus of political science at University of Toronto, coined the term "false majority" to describe the phenomenon only experienced under majoritarian systems like FPTP, where the minority of those who vote can elect a majority of Members of Parliament. The dangers of this are well understood by Professor Russell. When asked pointedly in the hearings of the Special Committee what harm had ever come to Canada from a false majority, he responded "climate change."

Of course, he is right. The previous administration under Stephen Harper never had the support of the majority of Canadians, and, in fact never campaigned on the promise to dismantle Canada's commitment to Kyoto. It was done effectively even when Stephen Harper only had a minority government. Once empowered with a false majority of 39% support of the 60% of Canadians who voted, Canada legally withdrew from Kyoto, dismantled environmental laws put in place by previous governments, from that of Brian Mulroney to Sir John A Macdonald.

A false majority is dangerous.

Our electoral system unfairly punishes Conservative voters in cities, Liberal and NDP voters in the west, and Green voters throughout Canada. Ultimately, it does not produce governments that reflect the diversity of people in Canada, nor does it do a good job of accurately reflecting voters' wishes. Canada is one of the last few free and prosperous nations in the world to still use the antiquated first-past-the-post voting system. Canadians have had it with winner-take-all elections which class half of all voters as losers unworthy of representation. We are ready for democratic reform.

The Green Party of Canada believes that Canada must change, immediately, to a proportional voting system that fairly and directly translates all votes into representation in Parliament.

We also believe that democracy requires reduced financial barriers to running for political office and lowering the voter age to 16 to encourage more youth participation.

Green Party MPs will:

- Legislate the end of first-past-the-post voting;
- We will empower a Democracy Commission to engage Canadians from coast to coast in a public inquiry into the interwoven and anti-democratic trends within Canada:
 1. The unhealthy power of the Prime Minister's Office;
 2. The lack of scope for independent action of individual MPs;
 3. The use of prorogation to avoid political embarrassment, in violation of Parliamentary practice and tradition;
 4. The abuse by the Senate of its role of 'sober, second thought' in voting down bills approved by the House, as in the case in November of 2010 in their defeat without debate of Bill C-311 (the Climate Change Accountability Act);
 5. The recommendations of the Commission will be presented as options to Canadian voters.
- Adhere to fixed election dates permitting political stability and fair elections;
- Eliminate any system that allows top-down control within parties of the nomination process for candidates;
- Slash the PMO budget by 50%.

6.2 Increasing government accountability and ethical conduct

The Green Party believes in the decentralization of decision making powers and in open, honest government.

Green Party MPs will:

- Amend the Accountability Act to ensure that all those who monitor government are selected at arm's length from those they monitor, to eliminate the blanket exemptions on public release of government documents, and to guarantee transparency and openness for all government activities;
- Update the Access to Information Act to permit greater transparency of government activities;
- Restore Parliamentary Committees as a vehicle for non-partisan, constructive improvement of legislation and require that the improved version of such legislation be the version put to parliament for vote;
- Enact effective whistle-blower protection for public and private sector employees;
- Institute a Code of Conduct and an independent complaints process to ensure that public funds are not used for pre-election partisan purposes;
- Institute mandatory training in ethics for MPs and their staff, requiring all MPs and staff to take in-house training on the basics of good management and ethics in Parliament;
- Reform the appointments system to discourage patronage by establishing an independent agency for ensuring that appointments to government tribunals, boards, and senior positions are done through a qualification-based process and are not politically motivated patronage appointments;
- Strengthen the mandates of Independent Officers of Parliament, including the Auditor General and the Information Commissioner;
- Implement stand-alone legislation to create an independent Commissioner on the Environment and Sustainable Development, removing the office from that of subservience to the Auditor General;
- Replace the current Ethics Commissioner, who reports privately to the Prime Minister, with an independent Ethics Commission reporting to Parliament and appointed through a merit-based process with strong powers to investigate government officials and lobbyists;
- Make the Parliamentary Code of Ethics enforceable;
- Provide Parliamentarians with independent regulatory audits through the Auditor General's office on the effectiveness of government regulations in meeting their stated public purposes;
- Make service improvements a higher priority for all agencies and departments, with systematic citizen feedback and a schedule for periodic program review;
- Require the independence of public sector employees who oversee industry (such as those responsible for such areas as fisheries, science, and drug licensing) from those industries;
- Require long-term public departmental service plans to report on government program purposes, costs, reforms, and performance;
- Strengthen the rules of conduct for lobbying. All lobbyists' contacts with politicians and government bureaucrats, both formal and informal, must be reported and made public.

6.3 Affirming the right to collective bargaining

The Green Party of Canada affirms the ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada in the B.C. hospitals case. In June 2007, the Supreme Court Justices ruled that the right to collective bargaining is a basic Charter right. As such, employers, whether private or public, are obligated to deal with their employees as a collective when seeking to make amendments to wages and working conditions. The Court made it clear that employers may not make such changes unilaterally wherever the employees have chosen union representation.

Green Party MPs will:

- Actively promote and encourage collective bargaining as a human right and a Charter right.

6.4 Making government a leader in ethical purchasing

The federal government is the largest customer for a wide range of goods and services in Canada. Our government should ensure it gets the best value for every dollar spent, but that means considering criteria that are essential to developing a just and sustainable society.

The Green Party believes that the federal government should set an example in its purchasing policies, ensuring that its expenditures support a strong Canadian economy, good labour practices, and environmental protection.

Green Party MPs will:

- Require that government purchase Canadian-made products and services wherever possible and, if imports are necessary, procure certified fair-trade goods (produced with responsible labour and environmental practices) wherever possible;
- Require that all government departments and agencies incorporate a ‘triple bottom line’ (social, economic, and environmental cost/benefit) analysis in purchasing goods and services and assessing their operations and programs;
- Require that all government departments and agencies meet the highest environmental standards including full recycling, purchase and use of small energy-efficient vehicles, and energy-efficient and toxic-free buildings with toxic-free grounds maintenance;
- Ensure transparency in purchasing decisions by making that information available for public oversight.

6.5 Allowing charitable societies to advocate for change

Charities across Canada have increasingly faced politically inspired, ideologically based repetitive audits and harassment. In 2012, the Harper budget increased the Canada Revenue Agency’s budget by \$8 million specifically to pursue charities with a focus on environmental protection. It has since been increased to \$13 million. Some environmental groups have had repeated audits without ever being given a report. This limbo state leaves them insecure and silenced in the face of the most devastating attacks on environmental laws and policies in Canada’s history. A similar ‘chill’ has hit charitable organizations working to end poverty in Canada and abroad, as well as for groups advocating for human rights. As evidence that this assault is ideological, the charitable status of the Fraser Institute has not been questioned.

Green Party MPs will:

- Promote revising and updating the laws relating to charitable NGOs, so that NGOs can participate in advocacy and be able to retain their charitable status and their ability to accept tax deductible donations.

6.6 Supporting the free flow of information

The internet has become an essential tool in knowledge storage and the free flow of information between citizens. It is playing a critical role in democratizing communications and society as a whole. There are corporations that want to control the content of information on the internet and alter the free flow of information by giving preferential treatment to those who pay extra for faster service.

The Green Party of Canada is committed to the original design principle of the internet - network neutrality: the idea that a maximally useful public information network treats all content, sites, and platforms equally, thus allowing the network to carry every form of information and support every kind of application.

Green Party MPs will:

- Pass legislation granting the internet in Canada the status of Common Carrier – prohibiting Internet Service Providers (ISPs) from discriminating due to content while freeing them from liability for content transmitted through their systems;
- Support Canada’s Advanced Research and Innovation Network (CANARIE);
- Increase infrastructure spending to accommodate increased bandwidth use and to improve access to rural and remote Canadians (see Section 1.14 Infrastructure and Communities);
- Review the economic model of how ISPs bill their customers;
- Improve support for small ISPs to improve competition and diversity choice for consumers;
- Ensure network neutrality by supporting the principles of fair use, consumer information privacy, communications market competition, and rationalization of the statutory damages provision.

6.7 Open Government Data

For all public data where there are no privacy, security, or other legal concerns preventing the data from being shared, data will be reviewed by the Privacy Commissioner of Canada via the Personal Information Protection and Electronic Document Act (PIPEDA) and made publicly available under the following conditions:

- With the highest level of granularity and detail possible which still maintains the privacy of individual citizens;
- In a timely fashion so that the value of the data is preserved;
- Accessible to the widest range of users for the widest range of purposes in a non-proprietary format;
- Machine processable and structured to allow automated processing, without having to mechanically harvest the data before using it;

- Non-discriminatory and available to everyone without having to register or self-identify as being interested in the data;
- With a license that does not encumber the user, and ideally without a license at all.

6.8 Reducing concentration of ownership of the media

During recent years, the ownership of the media in Canada has been concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. Today, Canada has the most concentrated ownership of any country in the ‘free world.’ Nearly all of Canada’s newspapers, radio stations, and television networks are owned by a handful of corporate players. The national public broadcasters, the CBC and Radio Canada, are exceptions, but they are fearful of losing funding. The 42 daily newspapers in Canada owned by PostMedia carry syndicated news and columns. We had a golden opportunity when the Canwest empire melted down and the 42 newspapers in its chain were up for sale. Tragically, the trustee in bankruptcy insisted all 42 be sold as a block. It was the perfect time to give some entrepreneur with a commitment to journalism a chance to bring the Kingston Whig-Standard and the London Free Press back to their glory days. The Green Party was the only party to call for the government to dismantle the corporate control of all 42 major dailies, and, in the end, Postmedia picked them up.

A free and diverse range of voices in our national and local media is an essential ingredient to a healthy democracy.

Green Party MPs will:

- Call for an Independent Commission to undertake a comprehensive study of the concentration of media ownership in Canada in comparison to other western countries and recommend how to diversify media ownership and strengthen the depth and breadth of news reporting, especially local news, in Canada.

6.9 Ensuring Canadian ownership of vital resources and industries

In recent years, more and more of Canada’s major companies and control over natural resources have been bought out by foreign-owned corporations. This is not in the best interests of Canadians.

Green Party MPs will:

- Sponsor and support legislation that restricts foreign ownership in Canada in strategic sectors so that Canadians remain in control of the destiny of Canada, reap the benefits from the exploitation of Canadian resources, and retain the right to determine their use and rate of exploitation;
- Key strategic resources (e.g. energy, communications, transportation, water) should be controlled by Canadian-owned or publicly owned corporations.

6.10 Restoring public confidence in the RCMP

It is a fundamental principle of a free and democratic state that its police must be exemplary and above reproach.

The Green Party supports RCMP officers across Canada. The Green Party supports a professional Royal Canadian Mounted Police force that not only has the highest conduct standards, but also commands the respect of all Canadians.

Green Party MPs will:

- Pass legislation that establishes an independent body to investigate complaints regarding the conduct of RCMP officers with full judicial inquiry powers and the requirement to report its finding publicly;
- Provide more funding to the RCMP, specifically to give more training to new recruits;
- Ensure RCMP in the line of duty are provided with the best technology in protective equipment and are always supported with adequate back-up in dangerous encounters with violent offenders;
- Create a Board of Management to monitor and advise with respect to the RCMP's organizational, administrative, and financial accountability. This Board would oversee the RCMP's operations in strategic planning and implementation, budget planning and financial management, human resources management, risk management, communications, and organizational performance management;
- Provide guidance to the RCMP in cultivating a promotion system that is based upon performance, skill, and ability. The morale and discipline of the force depend upon clear and transparent guidelines for the personal advancement of officers;
- Work in cooperation with the provinces and territories to establish the RCMP as a truly national police force re-focused upon the enforcement of federal laws;
- Ensure the RCMP has the freedom and independence to conduct investigations into government officials, bureaucrats, and corporate executives, without interference from politicians.

6.11 Emergency preparedness and public safety

The catastrophic 9.0 earthquake followed by a 3-metre-high tsunami wave and nuclear melt-downs that hit Japan in March 2011, coupled with catastrophic earthquakes in Haiti in February 2010 and in Christchurch, New Zealand in February of 2011, have put the need for national emergency preparedness at the top of Canadians' minds. Yet in 2010, our federal government cut \$35.8 million over three years from the budget of Public Safety Canada, resulting in cutbacks at Canada's only national emergency preparedness college, and reductions in Joint Emergency Preparedness Program (JEPP) funding for emergency preparedness infrastructure and training. These cuts were imposed on an already-inadequate budget and severely compromise Canada's emergency preparedness.

Canadian municipalities, which are charged with the responsibility of preparing for and responding to emergencies, do not, in the vast majority of cases, have the finances to put their local emergency plans into practical use. They need the help of the federal government. The 9-11 attacks in the United States and the SARS epidemic prompted the Government of Canada to provide special funds for emergency preparedness for terrorist attacks and pandemics.

The Green Party believes that the high likelihood of emergencies related to seismic events, tsunamis, and events related to climate change such as catastrophic storms, point to the need for

the Government of Canada to fast-track increased funding and support for national emergency preparedness.

Green Party MPs will:

- Work to greatly increase funding through Public Safety Canada and the Joint Emergency Preparedness Program (JEPP) for projects that implement municipal, territorial, and provincial emergency preparedness plans, including: public education and training programs; local emergency infrastructure, such as adequate tsunami warning systems; civil defence sirens and other communication systems; adequate marking of emergency evacuation routes; and means to supply essential services such as medical services, energy supplies, food, and water;
- Push Public Safety Canada to simplify the application process and expand the eligibility criteria for funding through the JEPP;
- Work to increase funding for emergency preparedness training programs for emergency responders, including the Canadian Emergency Preparedness College;
- Work to provide funding to fast-track seismic upgrading of public buildings such as hospitals, schools, and fire halls. The program for seismic upgrading should be coupled with the programs for energy retrofitting of public buildings, so as to ensure efficient use of public funds;
- Create a tax-incentive for building owners – residential, commercial or industrial - to retrofit their buildings to greater seismic resilience.

6.12 Rebuilding federal/provincial/territorial relations

After the 1982 patriation of the Constitution and the refusal of Quebec to sign the Constitution, after two failed federal accords, two referendums, asymmetrical federalism, a sponsorship scandal, and ‘nation within a nation’ legislation, many Quebecers and Canadians ask the obvious question: “Where do we go from here?”

The Green Party proposes to make Canada a true functioning Confederation in which the provinces and territories are more empowered and financed to meet the needs of their communities.

Green Party MPs will:

- Rebalance the funding formula to ensure fairness across regions and provinces;
- Remove the false choice for those provinces eligible for equalization to allow access to funds for health, education, and other services provided through equalization, and remove any requirement to abandon rights under the Atlantic Accord.

6.13 Quebec’s place in Canada

A key element in our multi-national federation is a commitment to flexibility and the accommodation of differences between provincial governments and between peoples. Asymmetry is an important means of fostering collective political identity and meaningful governmental consent when Canadians have multiple political allegiances. That is, it allows people to be comfortable as both Quebecers and Canadians.

Although Canada is a single country with a common public dialogue and a common set of values and political commitments, the existence of a common country does not require a uniform set of values, cultures, and laws. Canadians come from a great variety of backgrounds and cultures, and have varied political concerns. The Green Party of Canada therefore recognizes that Quebecers and First Nations people form a number of ‘nations’ within a united Canada. We also believe that different institutional arrangements and styles of governance can ensure fairness and equity for all Canadians.

It is important that Quebecers, just like Canadians in other provinces, have a say over the same kinds of political decisions, but that they are sometimes able to exercise their say in a provincial rather than a federal forum. Federal arrangements that reflect the cultural and linguistic diversity within Canada are able to enhance our diversity and our unity.

The Green Party of Canada is a grassroots party with a global perspective. We are all planetary citizens, but determine our rights and responsibilities based on our local empowerment. As such, the Green Party of Canada respects the rights of Quebecers to determine their own future.

Quebec and the rest of Canada must work together as partners, in the true spirit of Confederation, and work to solve their fiscal and cultural imbalances. Federal powers to regulate high environmental, health, and labour standards must be strengthened while at the same time moving funding and implementation to provincial levels.

Green Party MPs will:

- Ensure Quebec’s unique place within Canada is recognized and affirmed in all agreements between various levels of government;
- Respect Quebec’s right to opt out of social programs and be fully compensated by the federal government if it provides a reasonably similar program;
- Promote a form of federal-provincial tax-shifting that would gradually reduce the fiscal imbalance;
- Support Quebec’s official representation at UNESCO and ensure that if Quebec and the federal representative do not agree upon a matter then Canada would abstain;
- Rebalance the funding formula to ensure fairness across regions and provinces;
- Recognize the legitimate right of the people of Quebec to freely and democratically determine its full and undiminished sovereignty through a clear majority vote in Quebec on a clear question in favour of secession, provided it is politically and legally recognized by the international community.

Conclusion

Canada remains one of the best places in the world to live. Canadians are among the world’s most fortunate peoples. With our good fortune comes an obligation to the rest of the world and to our children.

Greens are committed to ensuring that we address the deficits that threaten our children’s future. We must ensure that our children are not burdened by our debts – whether economic,

social, or ecological. We have the potential to be the first country and the first generation to take meaningful steps to end poverty, to reward and expand the middle class, to improve the status of women, and to enter into a respectful relationship with First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples. We can be the people who set the pace for the transition away from carbon-polluting fuels and to brighter and more sustainable energy. We can be global mediators and peace-makers. We can change the world and rebuild the Canada we want. And, with your help, we will.