



A Vision for Canada

A Country for All

Bryan**Brulotte**.ca

My Vision for Canada

Imagine a Canada that is united, prosperous, strong and compassionate. Where people are equal, where responsibilities are embraced and freedoms are protected. Where each and every person matters.

I believe that we can achieve this vision and that ordinary people are capable of extraordinary things. I believe that Canada can maintain its heritage while making positive changes.

I am a businessman, veteran, academic, parishioner, volunteer, and family man. These experiences have provided me valuable skills and talents. At this point in my life I feel it is time to step forward and serve.

Regardless of age, gender, sexual orientation, race, or status, all Canadians are looking for the same essential needs in life. We want to be healthy – with affordable housing, healthy food options, clean water and air. We want to know that if our health is challenged, we have access to strong healthcare and programs that will help us.

We want to feel safe – through personal security, employment, abundant resources and prosperity. We want to know that if there is a threat to our personal or national safety, we are protected. We want to have love and a sense of belonging – in all our relationships, with family and friends and know that support is available to us when we need it.

We want to feel good about ourselves – by earning self-esteem, status, strength, recognition and respect. We want to contribute and live in a great nation.

The Conservative Party has a strong history focusing on what matters to Canadians. To institute government policy that helps us all live meaningful lives and feel empowered to be the best people we can be in a safe and prosperous country.

My vision for Canada includes, unity, prosperity, strength and compassion. Under my leadership, we will reach this by remaining true to our Canadian values and including everyone in our journey forward. Having the courage to make bold and innovative choices; while encouraging commitment to our country. And I have the vision and skills to win the next election.

In this document I provide my Vision for Canada. You will find much rooted in current party policy along with some bold ideas for the federation. A country for all!

Bryan Brulotte



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Federalism and Governance

We need *authentic federalism* that respects the provinces and their areas of jurisdiction, not the top-down federalism that has provoked a multi-generational backlash in Quebec and Western Canada. In this vein, it is important to define the basis around which a renewed federalism can bring Canadians together in common cause. There are clearly issues of national interest and national prosperity that bind us, and provinces need a federal partner that knows when we are one country, and when we are ten provinces with unique needs, aspirations, and goals. The work of various constitutional scholars has helped me to the following conclusions:

Canada is one of the oldest federations on earth, but in today's political climate it has become almost impossible for us to discuss it rationally and frankly. Too often, federal-provincial discussions involve the provinces banding together to demand yet more money from the government of Canada before turning on each other to argue over whether one province is fleecing another through the equalization formula.

We must return the national conversation around constitutional law to fundamental principles of the meaning and purpose of a federal system. Since 1982, constitutional myopia has taken hold. When we talk of the constitution, we talk and think of 'rights,' and rarely, if ever, of how best the federal system can be organized to promote governmental efficiency and to maximize collective wealth generation, interprovincial trade, and the fair redistribution of national resources. Hard thinking and decisive action are required to make the mechanics of the federation work for all the provinces of the country.¹

I am committed to the federal principle and to the partnership of strong provinces within Canada, including the reality of the Quebecois nation in a consensual federation. I believe the government should work co-operatively with the provinces to improve the lives of Canadians while respecting the division of power and responsibilities outlined in the Constitution. Furthermore, federal spending power in areas of provincial jurisdiction should be limited. Provinces should be authorized to use the opting out formula with full compensation if they believe a new or modified federal program in an area of shared or exclusively provincial jurisdiction does not work for them. I believe that Section 33, the notwithstanding clause, is a legitimate safety-valve to preserve democracy and the supremacy of Parliament and the legislatures.

FREEDOM

The fundamental principles of our democracy are the freedom of conscience and religion; freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression; freedom of peaceful assembly; and freedom of association². A Government under my leadership recognizes that open dialogue is vital. The Conservative party under my leadership will promote policies and legislation designed to protect these freedoms in Canada. They are the keystone of our parliamentary heritage which dates back to *Magna Carta* (1215) and beyond.

¹ Dr Ian Holloway, « 'Wexit' and the anemic state of Canadian federalism, » *Canadian Lawyer*, November 29, 2019. <https://www.canadian-lawyermag.com/news/opinion/wexit-and-the-anemic-state-of-canadian-federalism/323410>

² *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Section 2.

Federalism and Governance - cont'

THE SENATE

Canadians have been divided by Senate reform for decades. Two Conservative majority governments saw the Supreme Court refuse meaningful Senate reform. In reality, it is constitutionally fraught to attempt Senate reform, and it's not the time to reopen the constitution on that question. The current experiment to change it into a non-partisan house has also failed. Instead, the traditional system can and should work well.

The Senate is supposed to be partisan, with normal party divisions, but – and this is the key point – appointments must be of truly 'Senatorial' quality. As such, the Prime Minister should ensure, as the Fathers of Confederation intended, a reasonable balance in the upper house by appointing not only Conservatives, but also some members of another party who are well-qualified and appropriate for this high honour. The Senate's role is to provide regional representation and apply sober second thought to legislation. As the next Prime Minister, I will consult with provincial premiers on the appointment of Senators whose purpose is to represent the interests of the regions of Canada at the federal level.

VICE REGAL APPOINTMENTS

Unlike Senators, Vice-Regal appointments in our system must be non-partisan. We should elevate only the most distinguished persons to represent Her Majesty the Queen, only those individuals who understand the nature of *service*, in short putting oneself at the service of Canadians. As Prime Minister I would reinstate the unpaid non-partisan vice-regal appointments advisory committee to ensure that the Governor General and 10 Lieutenant Governors will always be competent, exemplary, non-partisan individuals who, above all, understand their Constitutional role and who possess a selfless service ethic. A vice-regal office-holder should not be a mere celebrity but capable of serving as a well-informed and distinguished Constitutional officer of the state.

QUEBEC

The House of Commons recognized the Quebecois people as a nation within a united Canada in 2006. A government under my leadership would respect the constitutional division of powers, and not engage in unnecessary intrusions.

NEW PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Canada needs an exciting, unifying vision. As leader of the next Conservative Government, I would take a bold approach to growing the prosperity and vitality of Canada. One of the initiatives that I would propose would be the negotiated entry of a Caribbean province or territory into the federation. Many Canadians would like to be able to holiday in a tropical country without leaving Canada. Billions of dollars Canadians spend annually in the Caribbean can and should be reinvested in the prosperity of the country. The entry of a new province or territory would allow Canada to expand its economic footprint and further Canadian prosperity and quality of life.

Federalism and Governance - cont'

RESOURCES

Canada is a resource rich country. The development, conservation and management of non-renewable and forestry resources is a provincial responsibility under the constitution . As Prime Minister, I will ensure provinces can develop their resources within their constitutional responsibilities as they see fit. This is how our federation was designed. To intrude and hinder progress in this area has only increased the threat of regional tensions and undermine our prosperity as a federation.

Indigenous & Northern Affairs

A fundamental obligation of the federal government is to improve the living conditions of indigenous Canadians, including the Inuit, and Metis in terms of economic opportunity, health, education, and community safety.

I believe the following principles should govern the administration of existing federal indigenous programs:

- the need for a legislated framework for federal indigenous expenditures;
- self-government – legal and democratic authority;
- transparency;
- respecting the Canadian constitutional framework;
- a framework for the settlement of comprehensive claims and self-government agreements;
- the resolution of existing specific claims and lawsuits against the federal Crown; and
- economic sustainability.

SPECIAL OPERATING AGENCY CONCEPT

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs was established in 1972. Over the past 48 years of existence, what became Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and most recently has become Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs and Indigenous Services Canada, has regrettably failed to earn the trust and respect of Indigenous stakeholders or other Canadians. As leader, I would form a working group of experts and stakeholders to explore a bold new approach to improve the outcomes of the Department. A major thrust of this working group would be to examine the feasibility of transforming the Department into a 'Special Operating Agency' (SOA). This would combine the best governance practices and mechanisms of a Members' Cooperative, Government Department, and Crown Corporation. The SOA could become a key driver of economic empowerment and growth. It could be led by a Chief Executive elected by its members. If well executed, it could potentially become self-funding within a generation.

Economic Growth

It used to be that when the U.S. economy was performing well, Canada's followed suit. That is not the case today. Canada's economy is stagnant, with (Gross Domestic Product) GDP growth as low as 0.1%³, while the U.S. economy has been growing at over 2%⁴.

As Conservatives, we have a responsibility to help Canadians understand our tax system and what benefits our economy. We cannot finance increased government spending while reducing income taxes or without efficient and fair consumption taxes like the GST/HST. Moreover, government revenues will diminish if the economy does not grow. Under my leadership, Canada would embark on an economic growth path while moving towards achieving a balanced budget within five years.

As a society, there is a widespread misunderstanding that only socialists and Liberals care about people. I'm a capitalist and I care. Because I know that free markets are the only system in history that can create opportunities and lift people out of poverty peacefully, under the rule of law, and while respecting people's rights. A government-run social safety net is vital, but it only helps people in the short term. I believe that the best welfare program is a job.

I would study moving towards a negative tax system in which tax rates would still increase as income levels grew. But at the lower-income levels, when income drops below a certain threshold, the government would credit a percentage to bring them up to par. The percentage would decrease as income rises. This would provide a fairer, more progressive, and more dignified safety-net. This would be combined with help in acquiring new skills to rejoin the ever-changing workforce.

We should have a top personal income tax rate of 33%, and a top corporate rate of 20%. It is unwise to attack "tax cuts for the rich" – because the fact is that the wealthy are the chief source of investment capital, those with sufficient wealth to invest in the ideas of others, to invest in people, and thus create jobs – and to increase the overall tax base of which the wealthy already provide a high proportion.

I believe that there should be no federally-imposed carbon taxes or cap and trade systems. The provinces and territories should be free to develop their own climate change policies and taxes, without federal interference, federal penalties or incentives.

Within ninety days of forming a Conservative Government, a non-partisan Royal Commission would be established with a mandate to update the complex Federal Tax regime that is in place. The Commission's recommendations would form the basis of a renewed and simplified Canadian Tax system. This renewal would be launched within the first mandate.

³ <https://business.financialpost.com/news/economy/weaker-gdp-than-anyone-expected-shows-canadian-growth-stalling>

⁴ <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-expansion-expected-to-continue-through-2020-wsj-survey-11576681200>

Economic Growth - cont'

NATION-BUILDING INVESTMENTS

The Canada East pipeline is an obvious national project to end Eastern Canadians' unnecessary and ethically dubious dependence on 29.1 million metric tons of foreign oil imports, often from countries that do not have the same respect for human rights we possess here at home.⁵ It would benefit Western Canadians by helping to reinvigorate their energy economies, and Eastern Canadians by reducing dependence on U.S., Saudi, Algerian, Russian, and other foreign oil. The home-grown energy and resource industry benefits all Canadians.

Canada's large size and relatively sparse population means that our country needs a great deal of infrastructure. Yet we lag far behind in many basic building blocks of a better economy. Canada needs a robust energy, communications and transportation corridor. It is a national scandal that Canada is the only G-7 country without high-speed rail linking our cities and our economies. We need a plan to build state-of-the-art high-speed rail corridors with dedicated lines connecting our major regional economic hubs, linking together Montreal and Toronto, Toronto and London, Montreal and Ottawa, Quebec and Montreal, Calgary and Edmonton, and as many other cities as we can connect. This is a nation-building project which will improve the lives, mobility, and opportunities of millions of Canadians while helping reduce greenhouse gas emissions by getting cars off our highways.

A BETTER LINK TO ATLANTIC CANADA

Ports, railways and highways carry an increasing quantity of goods in a globalized world and are crucial to the economic success of connected regions. As Canada's face to Europe and the eastern American seaboard, Atlantic Canada must have the most efficient transportation links in order to remain competitive, and to foster continued growth.

That is why as leader of the Conservative Party I will put my full support behind the proposed East-West highway, linking southern Quebec with Southern New Brunswick. This new link will get Maritime goods to American and central Canadian markets faster. It will increase tourism by reducing the drive from Montreal to St. John from eight hours to less than six. It will further link our large country together and provide the economic infrastructure for growth and prosperity.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

Under my leadership, Canada would commit to a multi-pronged national industrial strategy. These would be to ensure we have a strong shipbuilding industry, vibrant manufacturing sector, resource extraction infrastructure, and an innovative high-tech eco-system. I would seek out a blue ribbon panel, formed by a non-partisan forum of outstanding Canadian business executives from all sectors of the economy, to advise me on the best approach. A central piece of this national building investment would be to strongly support the inclusion of Indigenous communities in economic growth. Many First Nations are already outstanding partners in economic development and I believe it is in the national interest to build on their success.

⁵ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/566837/crude-oil-imports-to-canada-by-region-of-origin/>

Economic Growth - cont'

INTERNAL TRADE

I would act with provincial first ministers to break down interprovincial trade barriers, which cost Canadians billions of dollars and restrict investment across the country. Much work can be done to ensure that laws and regulations that prevent trade are useful and reasonable exercises of provincial jurisdiction, or not. Success could boost Canada's economy by \$90 billion, according to the International Monetary Fund.

FOREIGN POLICY & TRADE

Trade and strong relations with allies and sympathetic powers should be the main thrust of Canada's foreign policy, rather than posturing and pretending to be a global affairs "boy scout". Canada's diplomatic service, the department that supports them, and the roles we play in international organizations must be carefully reviewed to ensure that those who represent Canada always advance national and allied interests, rather than special interest groups, hostile powers or abstract virtue signalling.

Canada should pursue a Free Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom, ASEAN, and India, as part of the existing wider security and intelligence associations with the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore. Many are already Commonwealth members and a trade agreement would build some more heft into that old and honourable association. Britain is Canada's third-largest trading partner after the United States and China. Our relationship with China should be re-examined to ensure that it advances Canadian national interests, including vital security interests and long-term security needs. Canada-UK trade has only grown since the completion of the Canada-Europe Trade Agreement (CETA).⁶ Canada's biggest export market in the EU is already the United Kingdom, though we currently import the most from Germany.⁷

Canada should continue to challenge China's actions at the World Trade Organization and take a more determined approach to increase inspections on Chinese imports and theft of intellectual property. Canadians deserve a higher quality of product, from a more ethical source.

⁶ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/britain-brexite-trade-canada-1.5395251>

⁷ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ceta-anniversary-imports-exports-1.4823822>

Energy and Climate

ENERGY AND CLIMATE POLICY

For Canadians, Energy and Climate are inextricably linked. The world needs the natural resources we are so abundantly blessed with. Our trading partners do not want our rhetoric but our resources. We must develop a national awareness that without exporting our natural resources, particularly to the United States and the Asia-Pacific, Canada would quickly become a poor country with a shrinking GDP. It is important to remember that tax revenue and transfers, originating from resource extraction, pays for hospitals, schools, infrastructure, and many government programs to help those in need.

The Conference Board of Canada states that Canada's trade and foreign investment flows depend on natural resources. Future economic prosperity depends upon its ability to provide reliable infrastructure to allow Canadian energy resources "to fuel Asian economic growth at world market prices."⁸

We must get our energy resources to market. It is in the vital national interest to build the Trans-Mountain Pipeline, and other pipelines, to get Canada's landlocked energy riches flowing so that all Canadians can benefit, as they have so much in the past. Economic growth is the necessary prerequisite for all social programs. Without a strong and growing economy, a day of reckoning will come, and cuts eventually be unavoidable.

Canada imports 806,700 barrels of oil per day,⁹ even though this country should be capable of being energy-independent. Canada must move to end Eastern Canadians' unnecessary reliance on foreign oil imports.¹⁰ Building a trans-Canada pipeline would help eliminate Eastern Canada's dependence on U.S., Saudi, Algerian, Russian, and other foreign oil. The U.S. has the capacity and infrastructure to be energy-independent. Why not Canada?

CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change is happening. Under my leadership, we would begin by telling the truth. The debate on climate is regrettably polarized and obfuscated by special interests. There is no doubt that Canada must do its part to reduce its carbon emissions and exhort others to do so. My government would commit to a reasonable and practical non-partisan plan that would be presented to the Canadian public within six months of taking office. This plan would consider tax policy, innovative technologies, and regulation.

⁸ Canadian Chamber of Commerce, "Canada's Top 10 Barriers to Competitiveness in 2016," February 2016 report.

⁹ CIA World Fact Book, https://www.indexmundi.com/canada/oil_imports.html

¹⁰ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/566837/crude-oil-imports-to-canada-by-region-of-origin/>

Energy and Climate - cont'

Climate change is a global issue that must be dealt with on a global level. Canada's contribution to the world's carbon emissions is less than 2%. Canada, if it is attentive and careful, may have modest influence in Washington – but this country has minimal influence on the world's biggest emitters like China, Russia, Japan, the EU and India. Canada has had relatively stable Carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions for the last 30 years. Greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are projected to continue to greatly increase by the largest emitters, with the largest sector overall being power generation. Where we can wield influence, in conjunction with larger powers, is by engaging with countries such as China that are continuing to build coal burning power plants. This while Canada makes smaller and smaller gains on an already efficient economy. To note:

- In 2017, 82% of electricity in Canada came from non-GHG emitting sources;
- Energy consumption grew by 26% between 1990 and 2016;
- Energy efficiency improved by 31% between 1990 and 2016;
- Per capita energy consumption is 9% lower in 2017 than in 2000, and Canada used 20% less energy per dollar of GDP in 2017 than in 2000.¹¹

REDUCING EMISSIONS INTERNATIONALLY

As Prime Minister I will implement a strategy to get inefficient foreign coal power plants to be converted with green Canadian technology to burn Canadian natural gas, a far cleaner alternative. While Canada's total GHG in 2017 was 716 mega tonnes¹², these are the top five foreign emitters of GHGs, comprising 1,037 mega tonnes:

1. Huaneng Power International China 292,000,000;
2. ESKOM South Africa 214,000,000;
3. NTPC LTD India 182,000,000;
4. China Huadian Group Corp China 176,000,000;
5. China Power Investment Corp China 173,000,000.¹³

The current government likes to send massive delegations to UN conferences, and tell people Canada “is back” and will save the world from climate change. Canada must stop pretending that this can be done with ever tighter domestic restrictions affecting Canadian competitiveness, jobs and the cost of living. A leader who would address climate change seriously will go to where the problems really lie: with ever increasing GHG production overseas, and help solve it with Canadian technology and Canadian natural resources. This strategy will see lower GHG emissions globally and more jobs and prosperity for Canadians. A true win-win!

REDUCING EMISSIONS AT HOME

At home, Canada must still do its' part to reduce its carbon emissions. There are some ideas that need to be carefully considered. Where Canada can take a real lead is in investing in, and developing,

¹¹ <https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/science-data/data-analysis/energy-data-analysis/energy-facts/energy-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions-ghgs/20063>

¹² <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/climate-change/greenhouse-gas-emissions/sources-sinks-executive-summary-2019.html>

¹³ <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/11/071114163448.htm>

Energy and Climate - cont'

made-in-Canada green technologies that make reductions cost-effective and that do not undermine prosperity. Some Canadian companies are already leading the way in sustainability.¹⁴

To change the way people think about energy production in the long run will take time and incentives. I would create incentives for developing green technologies for energy production. I would initiate a policy that income made from Canadian-owned renewable energy systems, up to 200KW of energy produced, would be tax-free.

I would also work to ensure that most cars on our streets be hybrid vehicles by 2030. Rather than tax fuel, which punishes millions of Canadians whose livelihood depends on transportation and who have few alternatives, I would tax luxury and second vehicle purchases. As an incentive, there would be no tax when Canadians buy a hybrid car.

As the next Prime Minister of Canada I would partner with Ontario, New Brunswick, and Saskatchewan to research and build small nuclear reactors, the next generation of technology. To support fusion technology, the promise of infinite power with no nuclear waste, Canada will become a member of the ITER international collaboration for fusion research that is now building a reactor in France. Canada will also increase funding support to fusion research.

WATER

Canada is a freshwater-rich country. It is likely that no country in the world has as much of its surface area covered by freshwater. Our rivers discharge nearly 9% of the world's renewable water supply. About 200,000 square kilometers, or about 2% of Canada, is covered by glaciers and icefields. With climate change, it is predicted that 80% of glacier ice could be gone by 2100.¹⁵ Groundwater globally may be depleted faster than it is being replenished.¹⁶ At home, a major challenge that needs to be amended is that more than 300,000 Indigenous people live under long-term boil-water orders.¹⁷

The BBC reports that the world will be confronted by a freshwater shortage,¹⁸ The BBC reports that the world will be confronted by a freshwater shortage, and this is bound to affect Canada's water security. Canada must also consider the long-term outlook for North America-wide water needs: if the United States faces a severe freshwater shortage at some point in the 21st century¹⁹, perhaps in 50 years, what are the implications for Canada's water? To meet these possible issues Canada needs a national water strategy aimed at ensuring our long-term freshwater access. perhaps in 50 years, what are the implications for Canada's water? To meet these possible issues Canada needs a national water strategy aimed at ensuring our long-term freshwater access.

¹⁴ <https://www.jwnenergy.com/article/2019/1/suncor-ranked-highest-integrated-oil-and-gas-company-corporate-knights-sustainability-index/>

¹⁵ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/africa-capetown-water-shortage-drought-canada-rockies-glacier-1.4564616>

¹⁶ <https://agupubs.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/2015WR017349>

¹⁷ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/liberal-first-nations-boilwater-advisories-1.4500068>

¹⁸ <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20170412-is-the-world-running-out-of-fresh-water>

¹⁹ <http://sitn.hms.harvard.edu/flash/2019/widespread-water-shortage-likely-in-u-s-caused-by-population-growth-and-climate-change/>

Health Care

Canadians need to be told the truth about how healthcare is funded and the imminent challenges we are living through and will face on the horizon. Most experts agree that Canada is anticipating an acute crisis in its ability to provide healthcare as it is currently established. Canadian patients on average waited 20.9 weeks for medical treatment in 2019, compared to 9.3 weeks in 1993. Total wait times in psychiatry between referral by a general practitioner (GP) and actual treatment increased from 20.8 weeks in 2018 to 24.4 weeks in 2019.²⁰

The fundamental root cause is the accelerating change in national population demographics. The overall population of the country is aging, and relative workforce participation rates are declining. In essence, there are fewer citizens working and paying taxes, to support the growing number who have retired and who will use and require more health care dollars.

Under my leadership, I believe all Canadians should have reasonable access to timely, quality health care services, regardless of their ability to pay. Within six months of taking office, I would engage the Minister of Health to prepare a non-partisan plan that examines the key challenges Canada is facing and provide recommendations and solutions in consultation with the provinces and territories.

This plan would incorporate a number of key initiatives. First, the provinces and territories should have maximum flexibility to ensure the delivery of medically necessary health services within a universal, public health care system. Second, there should be flexibility for the provinces and territories in the implementation of health services. This should build on the balance that already exists between public and private delivery of care. Thirdly, the government should work with the provinces and territories in the development of national quality indicators and objectives. Lastly, the government should work with the provinces and territories and professional medical groups to increase the supply of health care professionals where shortages exist.

²⁰ <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/sites/default/files/waiting-your-turn-2019-rev17dec.pdf>

Immigration

I support a non-partisan, welcoming, and well-managed immigration system for Canada based on:

- a fair, transparent and efficient process that earns the respect and confidence of Canadians as well as of the international community;
- compassionate measures to assist in family reunification such as enhanced family visas and temporary resident permits;
- ensuring that Canada is successful in encouraging skilled immigrants and their spouses and children to make Canada their destination of choice;
- a clear, workable and efficient process for immigrants to obtain equivalency for their international skills, training and experience;
- addressing the need for adequate long-term funding for settlement services providers; and
- upholding Canada's humanitarian tradition of providing safe haven for refugees.

ECONOMIC BENEFIT TO CANADA

Under my leadership, I want to ensure that immigrants have the best possible opportunity to contribute to Canada's economic and social well-being. Support from settlement organizations and the broader community plays an important role. I believe in working cooperatively with the provinces and municipalities on policy relating to settlement support for immigrants. I recognize that temporary workers can be a valuable source of potential immigrants because of their work experience in Canada. I believe the government should continue development of pilot projects designed to address serious skills shortages in specific sectors and regions of the country, and that attract temporary workers to Canada. I endorse changes made to the applications process which minimize stress and uncertainty for applicants and their families while reducing the backlog and meeting the economic needs of Canada.

INTERNATIONAL CREDENTIALS

I believe in providing new immigrants and Canadians possessing foreign qualifications with the best possible opportunity to use their education and experience here in Canada. This is both a matter of fairness for New Canadians and their families and a means of ensuring that Canada receives the full benefit of professionals with foreign qualifications. I support working with the provinces to develop, in consultation with Canadian professional and trade associations, a process to evaluate standards in countries of origin in order to establish a workable system for assessing and recognizing credentials and experience while above all ensuring Canadians' health and safety.

Immigration - cont'

REFUGEES

I am proud of Canada's humanitarian tradition of providing safe haven to those who have had to flee their homeland. A Conservative government under my leadership would promote the integrity and fairness of our refugee determination system, and ensure that decisions are made expeditiously and with respect for due process and the safety of Canadians. The current appeals process is flawed, moves far too slowly, and in some cases requires more personnel.

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is a responsibility, and a privilege. A Conservative government under my leadership will review and enact legislation which will fully eliminate automatic birthright citizenship in Canada unless one of the parents of a child born in Canada is a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident of Canada. We will take every possible legal measure to strip Canadian citizenship from convicted terrorists and persons who engaged in espionage against Canada.

Education

Education spending on public schools across Canada has grown by more than \$15 billion during the past decade and a half, even though enrolment has been flat.²¹ And yet astonishingly Canadians' literacy skills have been *declining*. Literacy is not only the ability to read but to acquire and apply new skills, and to transition to a new job.²² So a failure to improve literacy handicaps our population trying to adapt in a changing economy.

Today, more than 40% of Canada's workforce does not have adequate literacy skills. Postsecondary education in Canada in 2013-14 was a \$35.1-billion industry. Half of university revenues are from direct government transfers. Those billions might be a good investment if the outcomes were stronger. Even Canadians with tertiary (post-secondary) credentials scored only 290 out of 500 in literacy, below the OECD average of 297. Only three countries had lower scores than Canada. And many tertiary graduates are unable to get a job.

I would work with the provincial premiers to study how we can get more from our education systems. My government would immediately establish a non-partisan National Education Committee to study the best European and Asian models and determine how we can set up our young people for success, and how to foster a *culture of excellence* that is not merely rhetorical but real and measurable.

SKILLED TRADES

That approach applies to encouraging more youth to try the skilled trades rather than lose time on degrees that make them neither employable nor literate. I would encourage more businesses to invest in apprenticeships in construction and other trades. Currently, even though governments in Canada spend more than almost any other country on skills development, Canada's private sector investment is at the bottom in the developed world.

For example, in Germany, private employers invest 38 billion euros in apprenticeship programs, and on average German youths start at age 16 and have a certificate by age 19 – equal in prestige to a university education. In Canada the average certificate age is 28, in many cases after a 'lost decade' that includes a bachelor's degree worth only the paper it is printed on. Canada needs to learn from the most successful skilled training systems in the world: those of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, and the Netherlands. In each case they promote "*parity of esteem*" between skills and other post-secondary education.

A career in skilled trades in Canada can pay anywhere from \$40,000 to more than \$100,000 a year. We should be giving youth that kind of experiential learning in their teens, not in their late twenties after they have invested four years in a degree that did not give them the right kind of competitive advantage in the job market.

²¹ Spending was up from \$48.9 billion to 64.8 billion or from \$10,901 to \$12,791 per student, while total enrolment declined by 1.8% and enrolment was at its lowest point in a decade (2011/12). https://www.fraserinstitute.org/sites/default/files/education-spending-in-canada-2019_0.pdf

²² Average scores of all age groups decreased between 2003 and 2011, according to the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS, 2003) and the Programme of International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC, 2013). Canada West Foundation, https://cwf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018-12-CWF_LiteracyLost_Report_WEB-1.pdf

Education - cont'

CANADIAN VOLUNTEER SERVICE

Young people today are in search of life skills, real experience, and personal growth. They represent one of the largest unemployed groups in the country. Paid service in some useful activity builds character as well as marketability. To meet that need, which exists in every generation, I propose universally available Canadian Volunteer Service with an annual capacity for 100,000 young participants for one-year contracts.

This need not be a big new federal program with more jobs for bureaucrats. Much of the infrastructure already exists in our local health centers, international aid agencies, Parks Canada, Coast Guard search and rescue, and the Armed Forces. Undoubtedly, sufficient investment would be required to train instructors and new volunteers, as well as, to make the experience rewarding, engaging, and useful. The Canadian Volunteer Service could be full-time, or part-time. Half of Canadian students today graduate with student debt averaging \$22,276.²³ A student who serves in the new Volunteer Service program could concurrently acquire a degree or certificate, a unique skill-set, a network of contacts, greater maturity and responsibility, and graduate *debt-free*.

As noted above, a Volunteer Service program will have several alternatives. In Canada these alternatives could be built around non-profits, healthcare, education, social or welfare work, such as elder or patient care, and basic administration. This type of work should be concentrated at the local level in order to connect youth to the real needs of the community they live in, and enable them to live at home if they choose to. Under my program, apprenticeships in the skilled trades, too, would be part of universally available Canadian Volunteer Service.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce lists the skills shortage as one of Canada's top 10 barriers to competitiveness.²⁴ The construction sector will need 320,000 new workers in the next 10 years. The mining industry will need 145,000 more workers by the end of the decade. In the next 20 years, about 8 million Canadians will be ready to retire, and their positions will need to be filled. A majority of Canadians — over 90% — are worried about the skills shortage and skills gap.²⁵ It is in the national interest of Canada to apply solutions like my proposed Volunteer Service program.

The benefits of service are recognized everywhere. Many countries have a national service. A few years ago, Chelsea Clinton and Jimmy Kimmel teamed up with the charitable organization Service-Nation to call upon the youth of America “to spend a year after high school or college serving in their communities,” the “Serve a Year” campaign.²⁶ The idea, said one supporter, was to “envision a day when you're as likely to hear young people ask each other ‘Where will your year of service be?’”

²³ https://www.pbo-dpb.gc.ca/web/default/files/Documents/Reports/2016/PSE/PSE_EN.pdf

²⁴ <http://www.chamber.ca/media/blog/160218-top-10-barriers-to-competitiveness-for-2016/>

²⁵ <https://business.financialpost.com/executive/careers/canada-needs-a-mindset-shift-to-fix-the-skills-gap>

²⁶ <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/chelsea-clinton-calls-hollywood-promote-783593>

Foreign Policy and Defence

Foreign policy and the defence of Canada is one of the primary responsibilities of the Federal Government. The government is bound by its moral obligation to defend the country and to measure up to its treaties and alliances.

Canada has committed to spending 2% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on defence. The Prime Minister's aides recently told him, during a press conference, that we are at 1.4% and rising. But in fact we are at 1.27% and defence spending has not been increasing. Regrettably, political spin has applied creative defence math to include veterans' and former bureaucrats' pension payments, and thrown in capacity-building overseas, and labelled them as "defence spending."²⁷ This is deceptive and wrong.

Canada needs a non-partisan, national-interests based defence policy designed to advance Canada's interests, not merely to attract votes on behalf of a political party. We should work instead through academe, think tanks, and the Parliamentary defence standing committees to develop a non-partisan consensus around defence.

Likewise politicians must stop using defence to posture on the world stage to signal to susceptible Canadian voters how virtuous Canada is. Too much defence rhetoric takes place in a figurative dream-land made possible by the overwhelming defence umbrella provided by the United States.²⁸ I believe that Canada needs its own comprehensive national defence strategy to determine how Canadians can better defend our sovereignty on three coasts and abroad.

NATO's relevance, cohesion, and effectiveness must be renewed, given that a confrontation persists today in modified form. There still needs to be a balance of power – and effective deterrence – in Europe as in Asia. Russia may not pose the same threat as it did in the Soviet era, but NATO's containment and counter-intelligence roles are similar in the era of cyber, unconventional warfare, and disinformation. Canada must bear its share of the North Atlantic defence burden.

In the Asia-Pacific, I would enlarge the parliamentary committee study of China and the Canadians held captive,²⁹ Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, into a wider study of the *manifold security threats* posed by China to Canada. Given China's cruel imprisonment of one million Uighur Muslims in a gulag system; its brutal failure to uphold "one country two systems" in Hong Kong; its continuing cultural genocide in Tibet and persecution of Falung Gong and other religious minorities, its aggressive posture in the international waters of the South China Sea, and its espionage, bribery, and harassment targeting Canadians and Canadian federal and provincial public figures – I would immediately revisit Ottawa's China policy, replacing it with a *China Strategy* confronting an ambitious and hostile power. Canadians already get it: 66% of Canadians have an "unfavorable" view of China; only 22% want closer ties.³⁰ It is governments that need to catch up with reality. In addition a new national strategy must assess realistically the need to protect our critical infrastructure, the "processes, systems, facilities, technologies, networks, assets and services

²⁷ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/nato-defence-spending-trump-canada-1.5381716>

²⁸ Roy Rempel, *Dreamland: Canada's Pretend Foreign Policy* (2006).

²⁹ https://nationalpost.com/opinion/john-ivison-lost-vote-over-special-committee-on-china-an-embarrassment-for-liberals?fbclid=IwAR-296ER8yBUfjBCoRKRg8HTzbqsfvtNckYVZi_6q6QaE7fEQENxr2iyfD0

³⁰ <https://nationalpost.com/news/growing-number-of-canadians-oppose-huawei-5g-bid-as-china-hardens-foreign-policy-stance-poll>

Foreign Policy and Defence - cont'

essential to the health, safety, security or economic well-being of Canadians and the effective functioning of government.”³¹ Canada loses \$3.12 billion to cyber-crime per year. Not only must government departments develop resilience, but businesses need help with their digital literacy and cyber defence.³²

THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

The equipment and organizational profile of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) must be elevated. Under my leadership, the Canadian Army would maintain its existing three regular brigade structure and its ten reserve brigade structure. Each of the three general purpose regular brigades would be prepared to engage in in the Arctic, NATO, or Asia-Pacific theatres. All brigades would be increased to full establishment and equipment levels. The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) is a key player in our nation’s ability to project power and maintain a constant presence on all three coasts. A Conservative government under my leadership would increase both the size and capability of the RCN. The necessary assets would include two amphibious-troop ships, fifteen frigates, twenty coastal patrol ships, twelve arctic patrol ships, and eight submarines. This is the minimum necessary to secure Canadian sovereignty, and meet international commitments. The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) currently have insufficient aircraft to engage fully on all three coasts and around the world. In the aggregate, this would lead to the expansion of its transportation, maritime helicopter, and fighter fleets. Moreover, it would be necessary to increase its embryonic Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) fleet. The RCAF and RCN combined, must have the assets and tools to deliver, protect, and sustain a brigade group in the Far North, Atlantic, or Asia-Pacific theatres.

An overhaul and re-investment in the procurement system will enable the DND-CAF to replace and upgrade aging equipment such as ships, aircraft, as well as ensuring that our special operations forces, regular, and reserve forces have everything they need to complete their tasks. This would be closely tied to a national industrial strategy. A Conservative government would radically improve procurement and supply operations. Under my leadership, a Defence Procurement Agency (DPA) would be established and functioning within eighteen months of receiving a mandate from voters. It would be formed by simplifying the currently fractured and dysfunctional procurement bureaucracy. It would be initially led by a highly competent and empowered Canadian executive who would be drawn from the private sector. This leader would have the responsibility to make it work and get it right.

Finally, the Canadian Rangers provide an extremely valuable presence in Canada’s North and play a community support role that is often overlooked. They are a highly valued group in many isolated and remote communities. Under my leadership, the Rangers would receive the optimal funding level they need to perform their supporting role in establishing Canadian Sovereignty.

³¹ *Public Safety Canada definition.*

³² *Canadian Chamber of Commerce, “Canada’s Top 10 Barriers to Competitiveness in 2016,” February 2016 report.*