

MACLEAN'S

THE **SMART VOTER'S** GUIDE TO THE FEDERAL ELECTION

Everything you need to know about
where the parties stand on the biggest
issues in this fall's campaign

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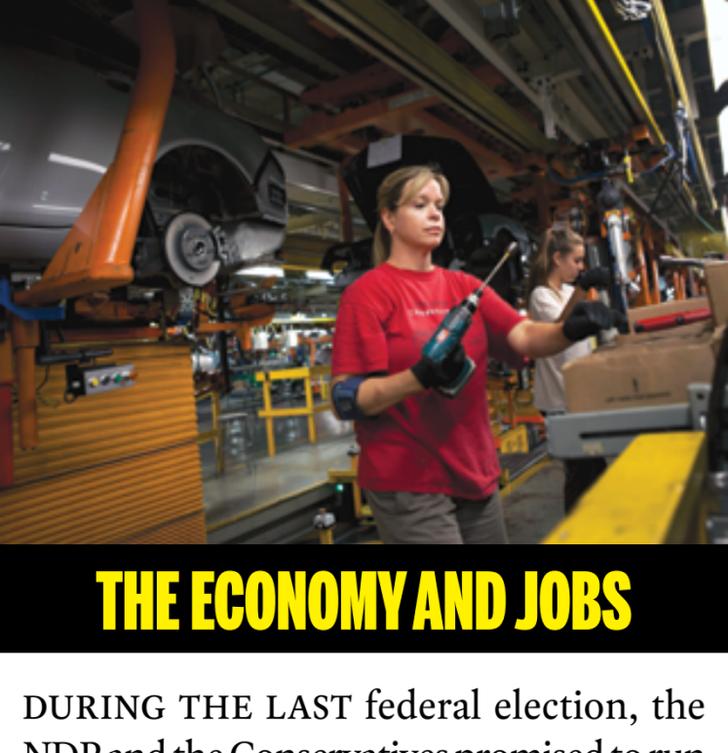


PUBLIC SAFETY
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THE ECONOMY AND JOBS

DURING THE LAST federal election, the NDP and the Conservatives promised to run four years of balanced budgets. The Liberals promised to run deficits at first and balance the budget by their fourth year in office—but that didn't pan out. This time, the Liberals are doubling down on deficit spending—even as the economy appears to be booming with healthy job numbers and GDP growth. But if the economy is chugging along so well, why are Canadians suddenly googling the word “recession” at the highest rate in over a decade? (And why so much government largesse?) Fears of an economic slowdown loom large, and with them pressure on the parties to prove they have a plan for uncertain times.

LIBERAL

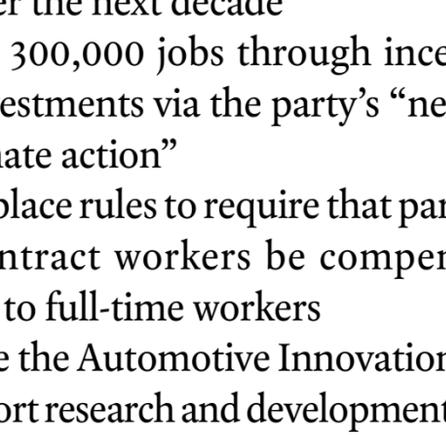
- Deficit spending of more than \$20 billion for each of the next 4 years, beginning with \$27.4 billion next year
- Provide up to 2,000 entrepreneurs a year with as much as \$50,000 to launch a new business
- Give \$250 to every new business looking to expand online services
- Cut the cost of federal incorporation by 75 per cent
- Invest \$100 million in skills training to ensure there are enough qualified workers to keep up with energy audits, retrofits and net-zero home construction

CONSERVATIVE

- Balance the federal budget in five years
- Review all business subsidy programs to eliminate \$1.5 billion in corporate handouts
- Reduce federal regulations by 25 per cent
- Implement a 2-for-1 rule, where for every new regulation added, two rules are dropped

‘When times are good, that is the time to pay down debts . . . There are some very troubling signs on the horizon that Canada may be heading into some difficult periods.’

—*Andrew Scheer, Sept. 12, 2019, at the Maclean’s/Citytv federal leaders debate*



NDP

- Ensure that Canada’s debt-to-GDP ratio falls over the next decade
- Create 300,000 jobs through incentives and investments via the party’s “new deal for climate action”
- Put in place rules to require that part-time and contract workers be compensated equally to full-time workers
- Restore the Automotive Innovation Fund to support research and development initiatives of companies in the automotive sector
- Require the use of Canadian-made steel and aluminum for infrastructure projects across the country
- Require employers to spend at least 1 per cent of payroll on training for their employees annually
- Overhaul employment insurance (EI), setting the qualification threshold at 360 hours to cover more workers, while creating a new worker’s development and opportunities fund to expand training options beyond those who qualify for EI
- Ban unpaid internships outside of educational programs

GREEN

- Balance the federal budget over five years
- Establish a sustainability fund for investment in trades, apprenticeships and education required for transition to a green economy
- Ban unpaid internships in private sector workplaces, with the exception of work-study or placements through post-secondary institutions
- Create a community and environment service corps as part of the federal Youth Employment and Skills Strategy
- Reject back-to-work legislation as a bargaining tool with unionized federal public service employees and the MMIWG inquiry
- Upgrade infrastructure to end drinking water and boil-water advisories
- Add representatives from First Nations, Métis and Inuit governments to a newly created council of Canadian governments, which will include federal, provincial, Indigenous and municipal governments

NOW LET’S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

“Between the effects of Trump, Brexit and China, slowing growth could morph into recession in Canada’s economy. We’ll need more than interest rate cuts to offset what the hit to the export-side of the economy could mean. But refocusing on policies to optimize the domestic side of the economy won’t come easy after decades of emphasis on export-led growth.

The next federal government has little influence over the traded part of the economy, except to slow it further still with retaliatory measures. But it has loads of influence on the domestic side of the economy. Federal policies and financing frameworks can improve Canadians’ skill development, reduce gaps in employment rates, increase fairness in pay and benefit practices, ensure adequate income supports when people are between jobs or too old or too young to work, and guarantee a plan to eliminate our \$270-billion infrastructure deficit. That’s a lot of influence, especially in an era of slowness (slow or no growth).”

—**Armine Yalnizyan,**

Ottawa-based economist

What’s being googled about Election 2019

Who is leading in the polls?

By popular vote, the Conservatives held a slight lead over the Liberals through the first half of the campaign.

The Liberals, however, came out on top by seat projection. Sorry, fans of electoral reform.

MOE DOIRON/THE GLOBE AND MAIL/CP; PHOTOGRAPH BY COLE BURSTON





HEALTH CARE

FIRST, SOME GOOD news about the health care sector: the number of doctors in Canada is growing at twice the rate of the country's population.

Now the bad news: some 4.7 million Canadians don't have a primary care provider, and Statistics Canada projections suggest one in five Canadians will be 65 and older by 2024, raising questions as to whether the country's health-care system will be able to serve the needs of its greying population. After the U.S. and Switzerland, meanwhile, Canada's patented drug prices are the highest in the world. And about six million Canadians forego an annual visit to the dentist because of the cost.

LIBERAL

- Ensure all Canadians have access to a family doctor or primary health-care team, as well as mental health services
- Introduce a universal pharmacare program
- Establish a national drug agency for bulk purchases
- Introduce legislation for "distinctions-based" health care for Indigenous peoples, emphasizing mental health, healing and long-term care
- Add \$6 billion over four years to the federal portion of health-care funding to add and improve services
- Add \$30 million in funding next year for pediatric cancer research
- Create a national institute for women's health to address gender gaps in research and care

CONSERVATIVE

- Increase the Canada Health Transfer and the Canada Social Transfer by at least three per cent every year
- Invest \$1.5 billion during their first term to purchase MRI and CT scanning machines

NDP

- Introduce a universal pharmacare program
- Declare a national public health emergency for the opioid crisis
- Establish a national suicide-prevention action plan
- Force drug companies to disclose confidential price rebates they offer to public and private drug-coverage payers
- Make dental care free for households making under \$70,000, with a sliding co-payment for those who earn between \$70,000 and \$90,000

'If you need medication in our country you should use your health card, not your credit card'

—*Jagmeet Singh, Sept. 20, 2019*



GREEN

- Introduce a universal pharmacare program
- Expand national health-care coverage to include basic dental care
- Pass legislation that gives Canadians the right to a healthy environment
- Declare a national health emergency over the opioid crisis
- End the ban on blood donations by men who have sex with men
- Ban for-profit blood collection services
- Implement the six Calls to Action from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission related to health care and public health for Indigenous peoples
- Ban and condemn the practice of medically unnecessary surgeries on intersex children

NOW LET'S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

"There's been a lot of attention the past few years over the lack of affordability of a lot of drugs. About 1.7 million Canadians have trouble affording one or more of their medicines every year. Nearly a million trade off expenditures on things like food or heating in order to afford their prescription drugs. Couple that with individual stories in the media about affordability issues, and that's pushed pharmacare to the forefront.

There's a political divide in terms of how parties see this as a federal or provincial jurisdiction. If you look across the platforms, you'll see everything from an incremental federal cost of \$26 billion [for universal pharmacare] to other parties that have committed zero dollars to this point.

The federal role in health care can compel certain things. They've done that in the past through health transfers, like targeting mental health as a trade-off for that funding. The federal government can really only compel through money. That's where these promises come from."

—**Michael Law**, professor and Canada Research Chair in Access to Medicines at UBC's Centre for Health Services and Policy Research

What's being googled about Election 2019



Who is Justin Trudeau? Does anyone really know? Recent scandals (see SNC-Lavalin, blackface) have added layers of complexity.

When is the election? Canada's 43rd general election will be held on Monday, Oct. 21, after a 40-day campaign—a quickie compared to 78 days in 2015.

STEVE RUSSELL/TORONTO STAR/GETTY IMAGES; ADRIAN WYLD/CP; JUSTIN TANG/CP





AFFORDABILITY

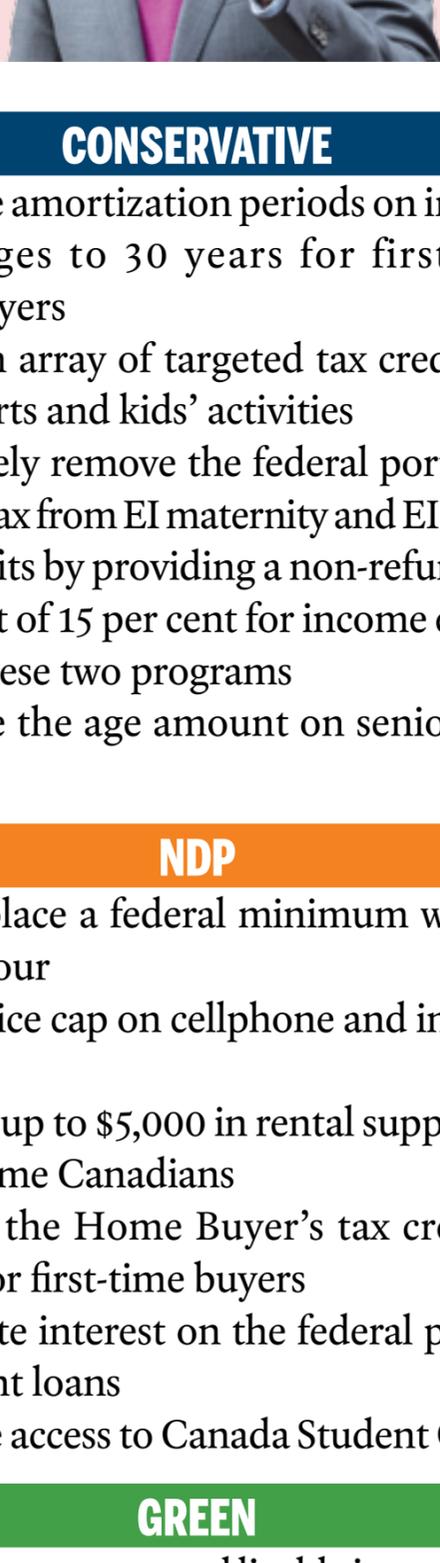
IN A COUNTRYWIDE survey last winter, 46 per cent of respondents said they were \$200 or less away from being unable to pay their monthly bills. Perhaps it explains why nearly a quarter of Canadians reported spending 40 minutes each day at work distracted by personal finances. It's hard not to think about where each paycheque is going. For example, a person working full-time at a minimum wage job can afford a one- or two-bedroom apartment in only 24 of nearly 800 neighbourhoods in Canada's 36 largest cities, according to the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. The CCPA also found that child care costs are outpacing inflation in nearly two-thirds of Canadian cities. And let's not get started on the price of a head of cauliflower these days.

LIBERAL

- Reduce cellphone bills by 25 per cent annually, in part by expanding the entry of network operators
- Increase Old Age Security (OAS) by 10 per cent once Canadians turn 75
- Increase the Canada Pension Plan (CPP) and Quebec Pension Plan (QPP) survivor's benefit by 25 per cent
- Expand the First-Time Home Buyer Incentive for people in Victoria, Vancouver and Toronto. The value of a qualifying home will go from \$500,000 to nearly \$800,000
- Lower parents' child care fees by 10 per cent across the country
- Boost the Canada Child Benefit by 15 per cent for children under the age of one
- Make maternity and parental benefits tax-free
- Increase Canada Student Grants by \$1,200 and allow student loan recipients to defer repayment until they are making more than \$35,000 annually
- Allow new parents to pause student loan repayment until their youngest child is five years old
- Create a national program to help 75,000 lower-income families spend up to four days a year in one of Canada's national or provincial parks—including camping accommodations and a travel bursary of up to \$2,000

'Canadians shouldn't have to choose between having a cellphone and heating their homes'

—Justin Trudeau, Sept. 22, 2019



CONSERVATIVE

- Increase amortization periods on insured mortgages to 30 years for first-time homebuyers
- Offer an array of targeted tax credits for sports, arts and kids' activities
- Effectively remove the federal portion of income tax from EI maternity and EI parental benefits by providing a non-refundable tax credit of 15 per cent for income earned under these two programs
- Increase the age amount on seniors' tax returns

NDP

- Put in place a federal minimum wage of \$15 an hour
- Put a price cap on cellphone and internet services
- Provide up to \$5,000 in rental support for low-income Canadians
- Double the Home Buyer's tax credit to \$1,500 for first-time buyers
- Eliminate interest on the federal portion of student loans
- Increase access to Canada Student Grants

GREEN

- Establish a guaranteed livable income program, which will replace various income supports, such as disability payments, social assistance and income supplements for seniors
- Put in place a federal minimum wage of \$15 an hour
- Eliminate post-secondary education tuition
- Forgive existing student debt held by the federal government

NOW LET'S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

"In thinking about affordability, . . . I look for whether prices have been rising faster than incomes. And, on average, we know that's not the case. Incomes are rising faster than prices. But when you dig into the data on prices, you can find prices for very specific items that have climbed a lot.

Prices for beef have skyrocketed the last few years, but I'm not worried about that because people can buy other foods and forms of protein that are cheaper. But then you have child care costs that have increased, and you can't find a good substitute for that without taking a family member out of their paid job.

Those are the issues people should think about in terms of affordability. What is the role of policy in helping people cover their expenses—what they need, or what they just want? There's always something I can't afford or would love to have somebody else pay for. But that's not necessarily the role of policy."

—Tammy Schirle, associate professor of economics at Wilfrid Laurier University

What's being googled about Election 2019

How tall is Andrew Scheer? The Conservative leader is 6-4. He towers over Green Leader Elizabeth May, who used a dais at the first leaders debate to be on the same level as her opponents. For the record: Trudeau is 6-2 and Jagmeet Singh is 5-10.

Who can vote in Canada? Canadian citizens who are 18 or older, are registered and can prove their identities and addresses. Tolerance for lineups in church basements is not mandatory, but helps.

CHRIS YOUNG/CP; ADRIAN WYLD/CP



CLIMATE CHANGE/ ENVIRONMENT

WHEN 16-YEAR OLD Swedish activist Greta Thunberg spoke at the UN Climate Summit, she told the world leaders: “The eyes of all future generations are upon you, and if you choose to fail us, I say, we will never forgive you.” A day later, Justin Trudeau said “we need to do more” about climate change, which the NDP rebutted with a four-word press release: “You. Bought. A. Pipeline.” There lies the challenge: Canada is trying to protect its natural environment while still relying economically on natural resources—we rank fourth in the world for oil production and exports. Scientists have sounded the alarm on climate change for years. The next wave appears to be a growing chorus of angry and soon-to-be-voting-age young people.

LIBERAL

- Commit to “net-zero” emissions by 2050, with legally binding five-year milestones
- Cut corporate tax in half for companies that develop/manufacture zero-emissions technology
- Create a grant of up to \$5,000 for newly built, certified net-zero-emission homes
- Make Energy Star certification mandatory for all new home appliances, starting in 2022
- Offer homeowners/landlords 10-year interest-free loans of up to \$40,000 for home retrofitting
- Allow a 10-per-cent rebate on the purchase of used zero-emission cars, up to \$2,000
- Conserve 25 per cent of Canada’s land and 25 per cent of its ocean by 2025
- Introduce single-use plastics ban (no date specified)

CONSERVATIVE

- Set emissions standards for emitters that produce more than 40 kilotonnes of greenhouse gases per year, and require them to invest in research and development of green technology
- Create a green patent credit that will reduce the tax rate to five per cent on income that is generated from green technology developed and patented in Canada
- Expand Export Development Canada programs to issue more green bonds that fund the development of emissions-reducing technologies
- Create a two-year tax credit for homeowners to help pay for energy-saving home renovations

NDP

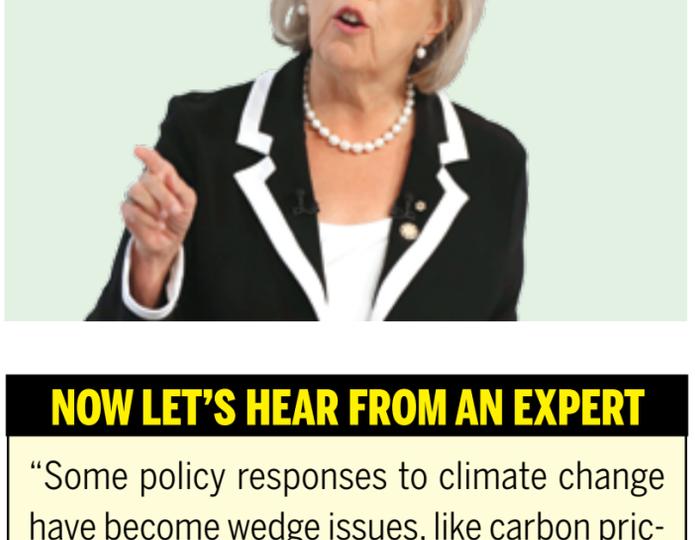
- Reduce Canada’s greenhouse gas emissions to 450 megatonnes by 2030, a 37 per cent reduction from 2017 levels
- Abandon the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion
- Aim to make 100 per cent of all new automotive sales zero-emission vehicles by 2040, using incentives like waiving the federal share of sales taxes on those vehicles
- Set a target to retrofit all housing stock in Canada by 2050 by providing low-interest loans repayable through energy savings
- Modernize and expand public transit and ensure that federal transit funding pays for low-carbon projects
- Set a target to power Canada with net carbon-free electricity by 2030 and move to 100-per-cent non-emitting electricity by 2050
- Establish a Canadian “climate bank,” capitalized with \$3 billion from the federal government, to spur investment in the low-carbon economy
- Eliminate fossil fuel subsidies immediately
- Ban single-use plastics by 2022

GREEN

- Double Canada’s emissions reduction target to 60 per cent by 2030
- End all new fossil fuel development projects
- Cancel the Trans Mountain pipeline
- Have 100 per cent of Canada’s electricity come from renewable sources by 2030
- Phase out Canada’s exporting of solid waste to other countries
- Ban the production, distribution and sale of all unnecessary single-use plastics (e.g., produce bags, balloons, straws) and non-essential packaging (e.g., Styrofoam packaging) by January 2022
- Expand marine protected areas from 10 to 30 per cent of Canada’s territorial waters by 2030
- Restore the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act
- Finance building retrofits and installation of renewable energy technologies via grants, zero-interest loans and repayment programs based on energy cost savings
- Buy water bombers for forest fire preparedness

‘We’re playing high-risk stakes with hanging on to human civilization’

—Elizabeth May, Sept. 14, 2019



NOW LET’S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

“Some policy responses to climate change have become wedge issues, like carbon pricing. The fact that it’s more a pocketbook issue means that it’s a bigger challenge to deal with climate change than it might be otherwise.

I’m particularly leery of policies that promise big technological improvements and radical reductions in emissions by targeting big emitters without any details of how to do it. This has proven to be very difficult in the past. All parties are guilty to some extent of making grand proclamations without backing them up.”

—Warren Mabee, director of Queen’s University’s Institute for Energy and Environmental Policy

What’s being googled about Election 2019



Where is Andrew Scheer from?

Ottawa, where his father worked for the *Ottawa Citizen* and his mother was a nurse. He now represents Saskatchewan’s Regina-Qu’Appelle riding.



INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS

THE IDLE NO More movement elevated Indigenous issues in the national conversation, and Justin Trudeau came to office four years ago proclaiming “no relationship is more important to me and to Canada than the one with Indigenous peoples.” The Liberals did make progress by reducing the number of boil-water advisories, but there’s been no shortage of anger over the Trans Mountain Pipeline decision, treaty rights and child welfare. The blueprint toward a better relationship between Canada and its Indigenous peoples is there for the next government—between the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report, the inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) and the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The “calls to action” just need some action.

LIBERAL

- Implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as Canadian law
- Reduce the number of Indigenous children in foster care by implementing the Act Respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis Children, Youth and Families
- Address all critical infrastructure needs (including housing, internet and schools) in Indigenous communities by 2030
- Expand First Nations policing and recognize it through legislation as an essential service
- Fully implement the Indigenous Languages Act

CONSERVATIVE

- No specific proposals at the end of September, when *Maclean’s* went to press

NDP

- Implement UNDRIP as Canadian law
- Work with Indigenous people to co-develop a national action plan for reconciliation
- Introduce Indigenous Peoples Day as a national holiday
- Lift all drinking water advisories by 2021
- Establish Indigenous history education programs for all Canadians, based on the TRC’s Calls to Action 62 and 63
- Create a northern infrastructure fund to fast-track investment and focus on improving infrastructure such as roads and internet in the North
- Ensure Indigenous-led, culturally appropriate home care and long-term care is available for Elders

GREEN

- Implement UNDRIP as Canadian law
- Dismantle the Indian Act
- Implement all calls to action from the TRC and the MMIWG inquiry
- Upgrade infrastructure to end drinking water and boil-water advisories
- Add representatives from First Nations, Métis and Inuit governments to a newly created council of Canadian governments, which will include federal, provincial, Indigenous and municipal governments

‘We have more Indigenous children in care now than at the height of the residential schools. This is a crisis.’

—*Elizabeth May, Sept. 12, 2019, at the Maclean’s/Citytv federal leaders debate*



NOW LET’S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

“Indigenous peoples have been trying for a very long time to convince Canadians to prioritize Indigenous issues, and it’s fallen on deaf ears. I think there’s a little bit of exhaustion of ‘please, pay attention to us! Vote based on our issues.’

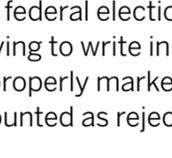
If Canadians were interested in justice and integrity, then Indigenous issues would naturally be part of the discussion this election. Treaties would be part of the discussion. Pipelines across Indigenous territories would be a part of the discussion. Complying with human rights tribunal rulings would be part of this discussion. That we don’t see that is a symptom of Canadians’ ongoing and profound neglect of any obligations to justice and integrity.

In the platforms, there’s a lot of platitudes without specificity. There’s attention to detail in all the other policy issues, but when it comes to Indigenous issues, it’s pretty vague.

What political parties in Canada have been able to do is marshal the symbolic gesture—they’ve perfected it, they understand the rhetoric. The government over the last four years has been really good at saying ‘nation to nation’ and ‘reconciliation,’ and Canadians don’t have the depth of understanding to know the difference between substantive and symbolic policy changes. I would encourage Canadians to listen to what Indigenous leaders and thinkers are saying. If they believe themselves to be allies, they should listen to those voices and show their solidarity.”

—**Hayden King**, executive director of the Yellowhead Institute at Ryerson University

What’s being googled about Election 2019

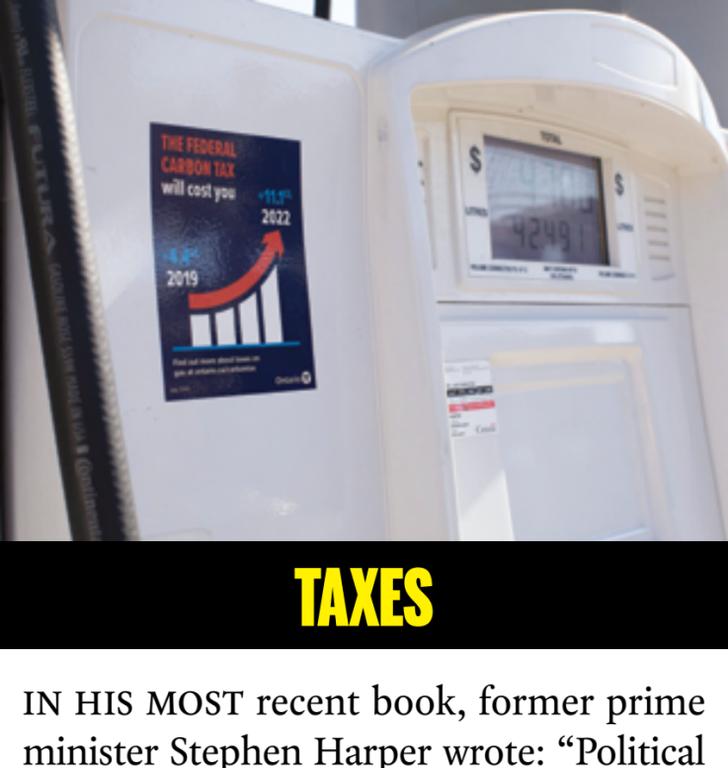


How old are the party leaders?

Not very. Scheer and Singh are both 40. Trudeau is the old man of the group at 47. May, if you must know, is 65.

Can I register a protest vote?

There is no none-of-the-above option in a federal election. And don’t bother trying to write in your own—any improperly marked ballot is counted as rejected.



TAXES

IN HIS MOST recent book, former prime minister Stephen Harper wrote: “Political parties, including mine, have won elections just by opposing a carbon tax.” Perhaps that explains why the Conservatives made fighting the Liberals’ carbon tax a centrepiece of their campaign (a strategy not without its risks as climate change fears continue to grow). Beyond that one high-profile battle, the main parties are largely fighting in this campaign over whose tax breaks and cuts will best serve families and the working class—at a time when the personal income and payroll taxes for Canadians already rank among the lowest of the 36 member countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

LIBERAL

- Raise the amount of income that’s not taxed to \$15,000 by 2023 for taxpayers whose annual salary is less than \$147,000
- Add a one per cent annual tax on residential properties owned by those who are not Canadians and who do not live in Canada
- Make maternity and parental benefits tax-free
- Put a 10 per cent tax on luxury cars, boats and personal aircraft over \$100,000
- Make foreign tech giants pay corporate tax on the revenue they generate in Canada
- Cut in half the corporate tax paid by companies that develop and manufacture zero-emissions technologies

CONSERVATIVE

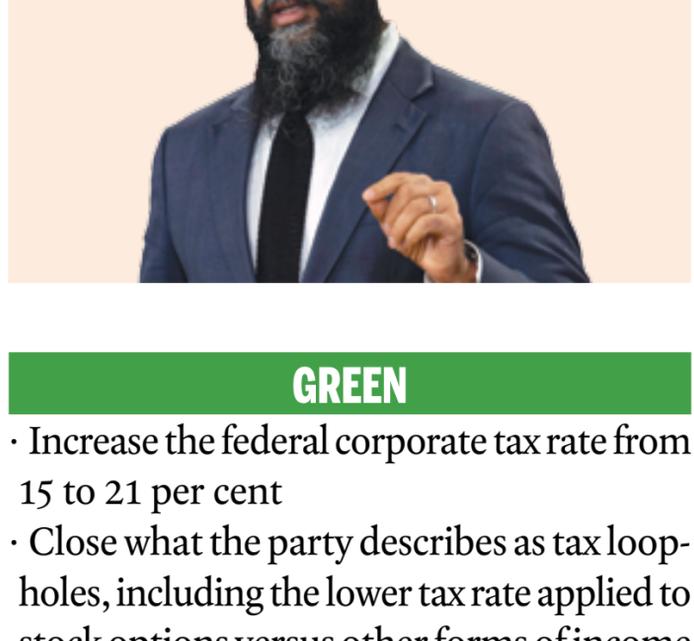
- Cut the tax rate on income under \$47,630 from 15 per cent to 13.75 per cent
- Scrap the carbon tax
- Remove the GST from home-heating and energy bills
- Bring back the Harper-era public transit tax credit of up to 15 per cent on monthly and weekly transit passes or electronic fare cards
- Relaunch a children’s fitness tax credit and a children’s arts tax credit for expenses related to sports, arts and educational activities
- Create a 20 per cent refundable tax credit for green home improvements between \$1,000 and \$20,000
- Make maternity and parental benefits tax-free

NDP

- Increase the top marginal tax rate by two points to 35 per cent
- Create a “super-wealth tax” of one per cent on wealth exceeding \$20 million, including “luxury items” such as real estate and investment portfolios
- Roll back the Conservatives’ corporate income tax cuts by three percentage points to 2010 levels (18 per cent)
- Require web giants such as Netflix to charge QST and GST

‘We can afford to help people when we have the courage to ask the super-rich to pay a little bit more to fund the services we all rely on’

—*Jagmeet Singh, Sept. 10, 2019*



GREEN

- Increase the federal corporate tax rate from 15 to 21 per cent
- Close what the party describes as tax loopholes, including the lower tax rate applied to stock options versus other forms of income in executive remuneration packages; close the provision allowing people and companies to include only half their capital gains in their taxable incomes
- Tax the funds in offshore havens; require companies to prove their foreign affiliates are functioning businesses for tax purposes
- Exempt new and used electric and zero-emission vehicles from federal sales tax
- Apply a corporate tax on transnational e-commerce companies doing business in Canada (e.g., Netflix, Facebook, Amazon, Google, Uber)
- Charge a five per cent surtax on commercial bank profits
- Tax big companies who replace workers with artificial intelligence with the equivalent of income tax that would have been paid by laid-off staff; use proceeds to fund retraining

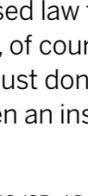
NOW LET’S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

“There’s an odd overlap between the Liberal and Conservative platforms, both on broad changes to the tax system via the basic personal amount or the change in the lowest bracket rate, as well as the exemption on parental EI learnings. For both those platforms, we’re not seeing a lot of revenue generation. It’s mostly tax cuts. Of course, tax cuts have trade-offs, and we don’t know what those are. You can raise other taxes, cut services or raise the deficit. We have yet to see how they would pay for these tax cuts.

The NDP and Greens are much more focused on revenue generation using taxes. The NDP is more focused on the personal side, and the top one per cent of earners. The Greens are more focused on the corporate side, raising corporate income taxes and restricting tax havens. These are different strategies—and a big cleavage between the Conservatives and Liberals versus the Green and NDP.”

—**David Macdonald**, senior economist with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

What’s being googled about Election 2019



Is Jagmeet Singh a lawyer? Singh was a criminal defence lawyer before entering Ontario provincial politics. May practised law too, in Halifax. Trudeau was, of course, a teacher in Vancouver. Just don’t ask if Scheer has ever been an insurance broker.



PUBLIC SAFETY AND SECURITY

CANADA'S VIOLENT CRIME severity index has ticked upward for four straight years. There were 266 firearm homicides in 2017—the country's worst gun-related homicide rate since 1992—and a string of mass shootings in recent years, including one inside a Quebec City mosque and another along the sidewalk of Toronto's family-friendly Danforth neighbourhood. But crime is also growing in the digital world: Canadian police-reported cybercrime violations—including online harassment, fraud and extortion—more than doubled between 2014 and 2018. Criminals, increasingly, are hacking into computer systems with ransom threats, and big corporations continue to grapple with mass data breaches of customer data. Promising to crack down on crime is getting easier and easier.

LIBERAL

- Ban all military-style assault rifles, including the AR-15
- Initiate a buyback program for all legally purchased assault rifles
- Work with the provinces/territories to give municipalities the ability to further restrict (or ban) handguns
- Introduce a system for flagging bulk purchases of guns
- Temporarily suspend firearms licences for people suspected of posing a danger to themselves or others, including their partners or children
- Institute Canada's Digital Charter so people can control their personal data, including the right to erase personal data from platforms such as Facebook and Google and to review and challenge the amount of personal data collected by a company or the government

'You do not need a military-grade assault weapon—one designed to kill the largest number of people in the shortest amount of time—to take down a deer'

—Justin Trudeau, Sept. 20, 2019



CONSERVATIVE

- Create a Canada Border Services Agency Firearms Smuggling Task Force
- Institute mandatory prison time for anyone knowingly possessing a smuggled gun and lifetime firearms bans for violent criminals
- Cost-share new anti-gang law enforcement initiatives with provinces and territories
- Increase the funds available for the Youth Gang Prevention Fund by 25 per cent
- Create a Canada Cyber Safe certification system to ensure products that incorporate artificial intelligence or that can access the internet meet ethical and safety standards
- Ensure that plain-language use agreements are instituted so that companies collecting electronic data must receive informed consent from Canadians
- Restart talks to join the U.S. ballistic missile defence program

NDP

- Ensure that all major cities have dedicated hate crime units within local police forces
- Convene a national working group to counter online hatred
- Allow municipalities to ban handguns
- Increase funding for customs to reduce drug and gun smuggling

GREEN

- Start a confidential buyback program for handguns and assault weapons
- Require that companies grant access to all information they hold on an individual and, when requested by that person, delete personal information from company databases
- Create mandatory data breach reporting for all government departments, companies, banks and political parties
- Ban cyber-surveillance and bulk collection of data by intelligence and police agencies
- Ban routine surveillance of Canadians who protest against the government

NOW LET'S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

"Although right now gun control is a very polarized issue, in which people firmly associate individual parties with particular positions, it has been more flexible in the past. After the Montreal Massacre, the Progressive Conservatives put in very important gun regulations, some of which gun groups still hate—like the five-round limit on magazines.

Since 1995, there's been a definite assumption that stricter gun control is associated with the Liberals and those opposed are associated with the Conservatives—which is unfortunate because there is a history of both parties working on this issue.

The Liberals have really not wanted to deal with this issue very much, given the bloody nose they got with the long-gun registry. It does appear that the Liberals think this may be a good public policy, but they might also think it's a good wedge issue to differentiate themselves from Conservatives."

—**Blake Brown**, history professor at Saint Mary's University and author of *Arming and Disarming the Nation: A History of Gun Control in Canada*

What's being googled about Election 2019

When did Justin Trudeau get married? Trudeau married Sophie Grégoire in 2005. More recently hitched are Jagmeet Singh, to Gurkiran Kaur Sidhu in February 2018, and Elizabeth May, to John Kidder in April 2019. Scheer married his wife Jill in 2003. They have five children.





Meng Wanzhou

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DONALD TRUMP IS still U.S. president—or was at press time. Canada is still selling military equipment to Saudi Arabia, despite the kingdom’s human rights violations. And no foreign policy challenge appears greater than getting the two Michaels—Kovrig and Spavor—out of detention in China. Yes, Canada’s bilateral merchandise trade with the People’s Republic is close to \$100 billion per year. But how do we reconcile that with the imprisonment of two Canadians under dubious spying charges? Beijing wants Canada to release tech giant Huawei’s CFO, Meng Wanzhou, who faces extradition to the U.S., and for Huawei to help build Canada’s 5G networks. Uncle Sam wants Meng to face charges in the U.S., and for Canada to bar Huawei from this country’s 5G networks. And Canada? It just wants out of this mess.

LIBERAL

- Establish a Canadian “centre for peace, order and good government” to advance justice, human rights and democracy globally
- Provide more money to international institutions like the International Criminal Court and the World Trade Organization
- Introduce a dedicated refugee stream for at-risk human rights advocates, journalists and humanitarian workers, with a target of resettling 250 a year
- Expand the Magnitsky Act to allow for seizure of assets from perpetrators of grave human rights abuses
- Increase Canada’s international assistance each year in pursuit of the UN’s 2030 sustainable development goals

CONSERVATIVE

- Withdraw Canada’s \$250-million investment from China’s Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
- Launch formal complaint with the World Trade Organization over China’s trade retaliations following Meng’s arrest
- Move Canada’s embassy in Israel to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv
- Start talks with the U.S. to join the Ballistic Missile Defence Program
- List the Iran Revolutionary Guard Corps as a terrorist organization, and use Canada’s Magnitsky Act against Iran’s human rights offenders
- Bar the Chinese telco Huawei from participating in Canada’s 5G networks

‘Being a good ally and contributor on the world stage requires more than just talk. Both our allies and adversaries respect strength and confidence.’

—Andrew Scheer, *May 7, 2019*



NDP

- Immediately end arms sales to Saudi Arabia
- Ensure Canadian-made weapons do not fuel conflict and human rights abuses abroad
- Renew emphasis of military on multinational peacekeeping operations
- Boost Canada’s international development spending to 0.7 per cent of gross national income, per Ottawa’s commitment to UN

GREEN

- Cancel the contracts to provide Saudi Arabia with armoured vehicles
- Ban importation of Saudi oil
- Sign and ratify the Treaty on the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons
- Ban autonomous weapons
- Review all NATO commitments
- Re-establish the Canadian International Development Agency
- Boost Canadian international development spending to 0.7 per cent of gross national income, per Ottawa’s commitment

NOW LET’S HEAR FROM AN EXPERT

“Almost every domestic issue has an international link that is not being discussed. When push comes to shove, [the leaders] will have to face the conundrum of how a policy choice is impacted by international affairs.

We tend to see political leaders, even governments when in power, reflect on international affairs through the very narrow lens of ‘How does it affect our diaspora communities?’ I don’t think that’s how most sovereign, strong countries devise foreign policy.

The rise of populist nationalists throughout the world is making diplomacy extremely difficult. No one should underestimate what it’s like to deal with an unpredictable, very inward-focused Donald Trump, or now Boris Johnson. Or potentially what’s going to rise in Germany and France. And we can see the consolidation of power and introverted policies of China. How is a potential leader going to manage this type of personality? That’s a big issue, and it impacts how we negotiate our economic agreements; certainly environmental protection agreements.”

—Bessma Momani, professor at the Balsillie School of International Affairs at the University of Waterloo, and senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation

What’s being googled about Election 2019

Who should I vote for?

Go to [Macleans.ca/platforms](https://www.macleans.ca/platforms) for our complete platform guide and the sharpest election analysis and opinion. Then start reading!

DARRYL DYCK/CP; SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

