

The Rose Caucus Manifesto: For an Independent Socialist Canada

For far too long, Canadians have been told to expect less, less from our government, less from our employers, less from each other. The past four decades of neoliberalism has eroded our nascent democracy, hollowed out the few public institutions that once gave poor and working people security, and allowed more and more power to be concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer. The past four centuries of colonialism dispossessed Indigenous peoples of their land and dignity, leaving a legacy of injustice that continues to shape our society. The result is a country divided by class, region, and opportunity, a country where we're stripped of control of our land, labour, and lives.

We are living through a crisis of democracy. The gap between the wealthy and the rest of us has never been wider. Young people can barely break into the housing market, families are struggling to keep a roof over their heads and food on the table, and seniors are living on fixed incomes that go less and less far. While the wealth, workers create is siphoned off by predatory multinationals. In our countryside, farmers are crushed by growing oligopolies and stripped of their land, as the control of agricultural corporations grows, so too does the exploitation of migrant workers in our fields. In our cities, tenants are being gouged by the corporations that seized control of what little social housing we had.

All the while, predatory multinational corporations seize more and more control of our lives; not only is our democracy decaying, but our sovereignty is being eroded. And in a time at which the American Empire is backsliding into an outright fascist regime, defending our sovereignty is no longer the charge solely of nationalists distracting us from the class struggle; it is now the charge of all those who seek to resist the rise of fascism in our country and across our continent. However, we cannot simply resist fascism; we must fight for something better.

Our party was built on a democratic socialist vision for Canada, one which was instrumental in winning for Canadians: medicare for all, a national pension plan, and the creation of Petro-Canada. And, with a radical vision for what we can achieve, we can put power in the hands of poor and working people, where we share in the full fruits of our labour, so that we may all live with dignity and decency.

That means giving working people control of our own lives, not only through strong unions, sectoral bargaining and codetermination, that means through worker cooperatives, housing cooperatives, consumer and producer coops, and credit unions, that means ownership over every aspect of our lives, including collective ownership of public goods. That means guaranteeing the rights of migrants and refugees, ensuring no Canadian's right to be here is challenged, so that no

working person has to fear deportation. It means fighting for Indigenous sovereignty. It means defending family farms and our food system from corporate exploitation. It means treating housing and healthcare as human rights, not as commodities. It means a foreign policy agenda guided by peace, justice and solidarity. It means putting power where it belongs: in the hands of working people. And, it means facing the climate crisis with a bold national industrial strategy, one based on public ownership, not corporations.

We, the members of the New Democratic Party, the successors of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and the Canadian Labour Congress, owe it to those who built this party, those whom it's meant to serve, and those who will inherit it from us, to fight for a radical vision for our movement and our country. Our party was not established to maintain this system of injustice, dispossession and exploitation; it was established to build something better from it.

And this manifesto will serve as our roadmap to it. It will be debated and amended by our caucus to reflect the values of the democratic socialists of our party; however, it cannot stay with us, it must be brought to our constituents, and amended again and again to reflect the general will of poor and working Canadians. At which point, each of our resolutions can be brought to the next convention of the New Democratic Party, so that our delegates can adopt what we've brought forward.

The truth of the matter is, our party has become increasingly centralized around its leadership and consultants. It's been hollowed out, and if we leave it now, it may be wiped out completely. However, if we can correct our party's course and strengthen our grassroots through a radical vision for our country, we can save our party and put power in the hands of poor and working people.

Article 1. Renewing Our National Housing Strategy

There is no greater responsibility for any society than to ensure all its people have a place to call home. Yet across Canada today, millions of people, young families, seniors, and even full-time workers, are pushed to the margins by a housing system that puts profits before people. This crisis didn't happen by accident. It's the direct result of decades of austerity governments that have gutted our most vital institutions.

But it doesn't have to be this way. After the Second World War, when thousands of soldiers returned home to a country without enough housing, the government didn't wait for the market to fix itself; it acted. The CMHC didn't just finance housing construction; it built social and cooperative housing to ensure everyone could afford to keep a roof over their heads, and it built

single-family homes, and even lent mortgages, to ensure young families could get into the housing market. However, the truth is, this didn't work as a temporary solution.

Up until this program began, many working Canadians, particularly Indigenous people, and those in rural areas, lived in inadequate housing, this continued on through the program, however, a national program was our only hope to guarantee affordable, and adequate housing to all, and so, public pressure kept this program alive for over four decades, however, beginning in the 1970s, the CMHC began to be quietly dismantled, it stopped lending mortgages, and building single family homes outright, and in 1993, it eventually stopped building social and cooperative housing, leaving this up to the provinces. Meanwhile, more and more of the housing stock the federal government still owned was sold off to private investors, as real estate investment trusts began to snatch up more and more of our affordable housing stock, eventually moving on to speculate on single-family homes.

Now, a generation of young Canadians are locked out of the housing market entirely, while many of our seniors live in poverty, and Indigenous people and migrants far too often live in inadequate housing. Because the truth is, at no point in our history was our housing market ever truly sufficiently providing for the needs of poor and working Canadians. What we need to provide decency and dignity to all Canadians is a public option. And that's why, the Rose Caucus demands a Renewed National Housing Strategy, one that not only provides a public option to those who need it now, but provides a new stock of cooperative housing, to give agency to poor and working Canadians, to ensure that once these people buy shares in their cooperative, that no austerity government can take it away from them.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Amend the *National Housing Act* to:

1.1. Prohibit corporations, private equity firms, and real estate investment trusts from purchasing residential housing.

1.2. Prohibit these entities from accessing federal housing supports, including financing, insurance, and grants administered through the *Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)*.

1.3. Increase the capital gains inclusion rate to 100% on all residential properties bought and sold by real estate investment trusts within one year.

2. Amend the *National Housing Strategy Act* to:

2.1. Establish a binding annual housing construction target, including market and non-market units, based on projected need and vacancy requirements, to be built through a Public Housing Initiative.

2.2. Revive and modernize the CMHC Home Catalogue Program, publishing standardized and open-source housing designs to enable rapid and affordable construction.

2.3. Require that all housing constructed through the Public Housing Initiative be transferred exclusively to housing or financial cooperatives or individuals.

2.4. Establish a Housing First model to guarantee this fundamental right to all Canadians.

3. Amend the *Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation Act* to:

3.1. Eliminate all future subsidies and financing for private housing developers through the CMHC (except those programs through private credit unions and cooperatives), redirecting all funding to a Public Housing Initiative.

3.2. Establish a construction division of the CMHC to purchase land and build social and cooperative housing, as well as single-family homes.

3.3. Establish a First Home Program to build homes for first-time buyers and offer CMHC-backed mortgages at fair rates.

3.4. Establish a Cooperative Housing Bond under the Canada Mortgage Bond program to finance cooperative housing expansion.

3.5. Prohibit the transfer of social housing into private ownership.

4. Initiate a constitutional amendment to establish every person's right to housing as fundamental:

4.1. Prohibit federal and provincial legislation that infringes upon these rights, even under section 33 of the Constitution (the Notwithstanding Clause).

4.2. Grant individuals direct standing before the courts to enforce these rights directly.

4.3. Establish a Housing Rights Commission composed of tenants' rights and housing rights organizations to draft implementation and ratification frameworks.

Article 2. Limiting Investor Ownership of Housing

Thirty years ago, real estate investment trusts didn't exist in Canada, and most working people could afford to keep a roof over their head and put food on their table. However, in 1993, they came to Canada, and REITs went from owning zero rental suites to 200,000. By 2020, nearly a fifth of all homes were owned by investors in Ontario, BC, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and in BC, investors made a quarter of all home purchases.

Working people looking for a roof over their heads, seniors looking for a place to retire in, and families just looking for a backyard for their kids to play in, none of them should have to compete with corporations looking to squeeze every dollar they can out of working people. And that's why the Rose Caucus demands an end to it.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Amend the *National Housing Act* to:

1.1. Prohibit real estate investment trusts, private equity firms, and corporations from purchasing residential properties.

1.2. Prohibit these entities from accessing federal housing supports administered through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

1.3. Increase the capital gains inclusion rate to 100% on all properties bought and sold by real estate investment trusts within a two-year period.

2. Amend the *Insurance Corporation Act* to:

2.1. Restrict insurance corporations from allocating more than 5% of their total investment portfolio to residential real estate, including indirect holdings in real estate investment trusts, and prohibit investment in real estate investment trusts with majority foreign ownership.

2.2. Require insurance corporations to maintain capital reserves equal to 25% above the value of residential real estate investment, direct or indirect.

3. **Amend the *Underused Housing Tax Act*** to increase the UHT to increase the tax to 2% on domestic-owned properties left vacant for more than six months per year, increase the tax to 4% on foreign-owned properties, and direct all revenues from the UHT to the Public Housing Initiative.
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Article 3. Ending Corporate Concentration

Today, five corporations control 80% of the grocery market, four corporations manufacture 81% of soups and cereals, four corporations process 75% of dairy products, two handle 80% of our wheat, another two make 80% of our bread, while two process 95% of Canada's beef. These corporations have seized control over our food system, while the privatization of the Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation, Petro-Canada, and Air Canada upended the competition introduced by crown corporations in these natural monopolies. As the importance of telecommunications has only grown, it too is concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer corporations.

These oligopolies drive down wages and drive up prices, squeezing every dollar they can from workers and farmers alike, creating a race to the bottom. No amount of social programs can solve the ills of our concentrated economy, as these oligopolies will snatch up every dollar saved by these programs, and along with it, our agency and dignity.

We must upend corporate control of our economy, and while the renationalization of a select few corporations in natural monopolies may help, we must reintroduce competition into every market across our country. The Rose Caucus demands an end to corporate concentration and the provision of economic sovereignty to all Canadians.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. **Amend the *Competition Act* to:**

- 1.1. Extend the limitation period in section 97 from one year to three years.

- 1.2. Permit private parties and the Competition Commissioner to bring cases before the Competition Tribunal.

- 1.3. Impose monetary penalties for participation in price-fixing arrangements, regardless of whether the agreement remains active.

1.4. Criminalize wage-fixing and no-poaching agreements between employers.

1.5. Increase the maximum fine for violations from \$25 million to 10% of the party's total annual corporate revenue.

1.6. Establish a structural review threshold: any firm holding 10% or more of a competitively structured market, where the five-firm concentration ratio exceeds 50% or the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index exceeds 1,800, shall be subject to mandatory review. Where concentration exceeds these thresholds, the Competition Bureau shall order the divestiture of the violating parties' assets to reduce any single firm's market share below 10%, reduce the five-firm concentration ratio below 50%, and reduce the HHI below 1,800.

While necessary, divestiture comes with risks of economic instability, and so, this strategy must be accompanied by the following safeguards:

- Mandate enforceable continuation of existing supply chain relationships for a minimum of five years following divestiture.
- Require regionalized oligopolies to be divested over a two-year period, and national oligopolies over a four-year period.
- Implement temporary price caps on goods produced by firms undergoing structural divestiture, indexed to general inflation.
- Require all employers to provide all employees fired or laid off due to divestiture a severance package which includes two weeks' pay for each year employed with the company.

Article 4. Protecting Workers' Rights

In the last four decades, unionization rates across the country have declined by more than 20%. Meanwhile, over that same period, average wages increased by 36%, as average food and housing costs more than doubled. Every decade since 1993, the average cost of a house has doubled. And, as the number of workers across the country nearly doubled from 11 million in 1984 to 20.7 million in 2024, a near 54% increase, the total number of private sector pensions has increased by less than 24%, meaning far fewer workers are covered by private pensions. Which is why today, nearly half of Canadians are living paycheck to paycheck, while young

families struggle to break into the housing market, and seniors scrape by on fixed incomes, working people across the country are stripped of their agency and dignity. Which is why the Rose Caucus demands we put power directly in the hands of working people.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Amend the *Canadian Labour Code* to:

1.1. Require equal pay, benefits, and protections for part-time, contract, temporary, and full-time workers performing substantially similar work.

1.2. Require employers to begin collective bargaining within 90 days of new union certification, or enter binding arbitration.

1.3. Authorize fines of up to 10% of annual payroll for employers found to be bargaining in bad faith by the Canadian Industrial Relations Board.

1.4. Require corporations with 100 employees or more to allocate a minimum 20% ownership stake to employees through democratically governed employee trusts; require corporations with 500 or more employees to allocate a minimum 30% stake. Shares shall include full voting rights. Firms out of compliance shall be ineligible for federal contracts, subsidies, and grants, and subject to fines of up to 10% of annual payroll per year of non-compliance.

1.5. Require corporations with 100 employees or more to reserve 50% of board seats for worker-elected representatives, with full authority and access to corporate records. Firms out of compliance shall be ineligible for federal contracts, subsidies, and grants, and subject to fines of up to 20% of annual payroll per year of non-compliance. The federal government will establish a *Labour Governance Office* to enforce transparency, mediate disputes, and train worker-directors in corporate oversight.

2. Amend the *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act* to:

2.1. Require employers to provide written notice to workers and their representative bodies no less than 90 days before the closure, or sale of a branch, facility or 25% or more of shares or assets.

2.2. Establish workers' right of first refusal: if 55% or more of employees vote to convert a firm or facility to cooperative ownership, the employer shall be required to sell to the

employee body if the employee offer is no less than 25% lower than the highest competing offer the employer intended to take.

3. Establish a Bureau of Cooperative Development to:

3.1. Provide legal, financial and technical support for the formation and expansion of worker, consumer, agricultural and housing cooperatives.

3.2. Manage succession planning for cooperatives buying out branches or firms.

3.3. Serve as a permanent institutional framework for advancing democratic ownership

4. Initiate a constitutional amendment to establish economic and labour rights as fundamental:

4.1. Add to the charter of Rights and Freedoms: the right to work, organize, bargain collectively, strike, codetermination, and exercise workers' right of first refusal in cases of sale, closure, or major asset transfer, as fundamental freedoms, with full constitutional status, equal to freedoms of expression, assembly and conscience, and forming part of the basic structure of Canadian democracy.

4.2. Prohibit federal and provincial legislation that infringes upon these rights, including back-to-work legislation and statutory decertification mechanisms, even under section 33 of the Constitution (the Notwithstanding Clause).

4.3. Grant unions and workers direct standing before the courts to enforce these rights directly.

4.4. Establish a Labour Rights Commission composed of labour unions and cooperative federations to draft implementation and ratification frameworks.

Article 5. Protecting Migrants' Rights

For too long, the federal government has treated migrants as disposable, allowing corporations to exploit those here on work permits. At the same time, it allows the hundreds of thousands whose permits and visas have expired to slip through the cracks, leaving them even more vulnerable and without access to our most crucial institutions. And yet, for all of the exploitation they endure, time and time again, our federal government has failed to stand up for them.

However, this hasn't just come at the cost of migrants, but all Canadians, as it leaves a pool of labour to be exploited, while all those who have proper legal recourse for their exploitation are in search of work. And, it leaves a group of renters who have few means of standing up for themselves. We can no longer stand idly by while working people are denied their dignity.

We must take action to ensure all Canadians, regardless of their status, are guaranteed their basic rights.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

- 1. Amend the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* to:**
 - 1.1.** End employer-tied and closed work permits, and replace all existing closed Temporary Foreign Worker and International Labour Mobility Program permits with open work permits.
 - 1.2.** Establish an immediate and ongoing regularization pathway allowing all persons without status to apply for permanent residency without penalty, including those with expired visas or overstayed permits
- 2. Amend the *Canada Elections Act* to grant permanent residents the right to vote in federal, provincial and municipal elections.**
- 3. Reopen and regularize the Temporary Resident to Permanent Resident pathway program on a permanent basis.**
- 4. Enact legislation recognizing and restoring citizenship to all lost Canadians.**

Article 6. Building a National Industrial Strategy

For far too long, Canada's economy has been run by a wealthy few while working people pay the price. Our wealth and our resources have not only been extracted for their profit, but exported. Meanwhile, our infrastructure struggles to keep pace with a growing population and the cost of living soars. Instead of securing good, family-supporting jobs, working people have been left with an unstable economy, one determined by how much corporations can profit.

But it doesn't have to be this way. We can build a stable economy that puts working people first, one that harnesses our resources for the benefit of all and keeps wealth in the hands of those who

create it. A national industrial strategy that invests in Canadian workers, Canadian energy, and Canadian manufacturing will make this possible.

For over 75 years, the Canadian National Railway (CN) was publicly owned, providing affordable freight and passenger services. This kept shipping and travel costs low for all Canadians. But in 1995, the federal government sold it off, hoping that would help it pay off its debts.

But railways are a natural monopoly, meaning they require a large investment to enter the market. This is why today, just two corporations control 95% of Canada's annual rail tonne-kilometres and own more than 75% of the country's track. CN alone owns more than 22,000 kilometres of track, nearly half of Canada's total track, and posted \$6.2 billion in profits in 2024.

That's \$6.2 billion that should've benefited Canadians, not shareholders. But it's not just more money going into the pockets of billionaires; it's less investment in our economy, meaning we stagnate. And at a time when we're facing an existential threat to our economy, to our sovereignty, and to our democracy, we cannot allow the profits of a few shareholders to take precedence over Canadians.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Eliminate the Industrial Carbon Tax, and replace it with a cap-and-trade system:

1.1 Repeal federal output-based carbon pricing for industrial emitters.

1.2. Establish a declining national emissions cap binding on all facilities emitting above a defined threshold.

1.3. Issue emissions permits equal to the cap and require all covered facilities to hold permits equal to their emissions.

1.4. Prohibit free allocations; require all permits to be auctioned.

1.5. Direct all auction revenue into a National Industrial Strategy to support electrification, energy retrofits, and industrial process conversion.

2. Establish a National Grid Authority to:

2.1. Coordinate, fund, and administer interprovincial transmission infrastructure.

- 2.2. Direct the construction of a national renewable grid system, beginning with the Atlantic Energy Loop and proceeding to a Western Energy Corridor.
 - 2.3. Exercise authority under Section 91 of the Constitution to override provincial obstruction where transmission is of national economic interest.
3. **Establish a National Solar Corporation and a National Wind Corporation under the Canada Business Corporations Act to:**
 - 3.1. Purchase equity in solar and wind generation projects to ensure public ownership of renewable infrastructure.
 - 3.2. Transfer ownership stakes to provincial entities at cost upon completion, where requested, in line with Section 92 of the Constitution.
4. **Expand domestic renewable manufacturing capacity by:**
 - 4.1. Purchasing controlling or strategic minority stakes in firms producing high-voltage direct current components, solar cells and panels and wind and hydro turbine systems.
 - 4.2. Conditioning public procurement and industrial investment on production requirements.
5. **Establish a Public Transportation Manufacturing Corporation to:**
 - 5.1. Acquire ownership stakes in firms producing electric buses, rail components and rolling stock.
 - 5.2. Standardize manufacturing specifications to reduce procurement costs and ensure interoperable fleet expansion.
6. **Enact legislation to acquire a controlling equity stake in the Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation** through open-market purchase and negotiated share acquisition.
7. **Enact legislation to acquire a controlling equity stake in Petro-Canada and Suncor Energy Corporation** through open-market purchase and negotiated share acquisition.
8. **Enact legislation to acquire a controlling equity stake in a telecommunications corporation**, for the purposes of establishing a national telecommunications corporation that can help provide broadband to rural communities, while introducing competition into the telecommunications industry.

9. **Establish a National Public Works program** to provide gainful employment to all Canadians, while revitalizing our country's infrastructure.
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Article 7. Protecting Farmers' Rights

Over the past twenty years, we've lost 57,049 farms, nearly a quarter of all farms in Canada, and 6 million hectares of farmland. In the next decade, 40% of our farmers will retire, and two-thirds of farms have no succession plan, according to a report from RBC. The cause is clear: 80% of Canada's grocery sales are controlled by just five corporations, 88% of wheat is handled by three corporations, and 95% of beef is processed by just two.

From dairy and poultry to bread, cereal, and soup, the consolidation of power in a handful of corporations is leaving farmers with fewer options and squeezing their profits. While working families are paying more for everything, corporations are raking in record profits.

We can no longer allow corporations to run our food system. Now more than ever, we must stand up for farmers and protect our farmland.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. **Regularize the Sustainable Agricultural Partnership Program, and make the following changes to it:**

1.1. The Agristability Program:

- Reducing the coverage threshold from a 30% reduction in income to a 5% reduction to ensure farmers are protected against small, sustained losses of income, such as those from moderate price fluctuations.
- Increasing coverage to support farmers when input costs rise, during market instability and chronic price volatility.

1.2. The AgriInvest Program:

- Setting a maximum allowable Net Sales at the average farm income. However, while the average income among all farm types is roughly \$100,000 of farm income, potato farms on average earn \$310,000 a year, and so, to ensure fairness, the maximum allowable net sales should be set at the highest average income

among all farm types. This is to ensure those accessing AgriInvest are low to middle-income farmers rather than the only maximum being a payout of \$10,000, meaning the maximum allowable net sales is \$1,000,000; besides, there is no limit on total farm income, meaning any farm could potentially access the AgriInvest fund.

- Dramatically increase the matching government contribution from 1% to 5%. Although this will increase the maximum matching contribution from \$10,000 to \$15,500, due to decreased participation in the program, and given that only potato farms have an average income of roughly \$310,000, the program shouldn't require additional funding.
- Provide farmers with automatic matching funds of up to 5% if they access AgriStability or AgriInvest for income loss of 10% or more (to ensure farmers are provided with automatic matching funds in dire situations).
- Reduce late filing penalties from 5% each month past the initial deadline to 2.5%.

1.3. The AgriInsurance Program:

- Expanding coverage to include; price volatility to ensure farm income not only remains the same but increases in line with input costs as well as the cost of selling goods; supply chain disruption such as transportation strikes or infrastructure failures; labour shortage coverage for loss of crops as a direct result of labour shortages; livestock and animal disease coverage as well as zoonotic disease risk (diseases transferred from animals to humans); soil degradation coverage for reduced output due to erosion, salinization, or acidification; and finally losses of income due to soil conservation attempts.
2. **Establish a National Land Bank** to purchase farmland from retiring farmers and lease it to new and smallhold farmers under long-term agreements.
 3. **Establish a National Farm Machinery and Equipment Board** to regulate the purchase, sale and leasing of farm machinery in Canada.
 4. **Repeal the Marketing Freedom for Grain Farmers Act**, and repurchase the Canadian Wheat Pool, reconstituting the Canadian Wheat Board as a democratic, farmer-controlled single-desk marketing board.
 5. **Establish an Agricultural Water Reserve.**

6. Establish a National Soil Erosion strategy.

Article 8. Reconciliation

The injustices suffered by Indigenous people in Canada are a moral failure that cannot be ignored. The government's policy of assimilation began even before confederation in 1831, with the opening of the Mohawk "Indian" Institute, and lasted until the last federally funded residential school closed in 1996, but the last residential school in Canada didn't even close until 1998. Since the end of the residential school system, the federal government has continued to fail Indigenous people.

Today, Indigenous children represent 53.8% of kids in foster care, and 7.7% of children across the country. The injustices suffered by Indigenous children follow them throughout life, and are reflected in the many inequalities faced by Indigenous people, including the epidemic of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and two-spirit people. Indigenous communities continue to bear the weight of stark disparities in income, housing, and access to essential services, while the government's promises for change remain largely unfulfilled.

But the buck stops here: the federal government must take accountability for its actions and do right by Indigenous people once and for all. The federal government can only take accountability when it finally acts upon what Indigenous communities have been calling for. We will never truly be able to; however, we must nevertheless attempt to set right all that which has been done wrong, by

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

- 1. Fully implement all 94 Calls to Action**, prioritizing the 76 under federal jurisdiction. The Office of the Auditor General will audit progress annually and table findings in Parliament.
 - 2. Fully implement all 231 Calls for Justice** of the National Inquiry into MMIWG2S within ten years, under Indigenous governance. A National MMIWG2S Task Force will be established, co-chaired by Indigenous women and two-spirit leaders, with subpoena power to reopen unsolved cases.
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Article 9. Healthcare Reform

In 1966, Canada took a bold step forward with the Canada Medicare Act, building a healthcare system that serves everyone, no matter who they are. It promised dignity for all. Canadians once took pride in it—so much so that its architect, Tommy Douglas, was named the greatest Canadian.

But for those of us who've grown up in today's system, it may be hard to see why we took so much pride in it. Folks in BC can expect to wait more than 4 hours, but it's closer to 5 across the country. In part, because six and a half million Canadians don't have a family doctor, they can't get the preventative care they need.

We need a bold vision to restore the system Canadians could once rely on. One that includes family doctors for all, preventative care for all, and wait times that don't prevent folks from getting the care they need. We must end the provincial government's chronic underfunding of our healthcare system, and we must hold the federal government accountable for its responsibility to properly fund our healthcare system.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

- 1. Increase federal funding through the CHT to Escalator to a 12.5% annual increase over the next decade,** to disperse through bilateral funding agreements with the provinces to:
 - 1.1.** Double the number of medical school seats.
 - 1.2.** Double the number of nursing school seats.
 - 1.3.** Form agreements with new hospital residents and nurses to forgive the debt of those who remain in the public system for 10 years.
 - 1.4.** Double the number of hospital beds..
- 2. Establish universal pharmacare as a federal entitlement to:**
 - 2.1.** Provide coverage for all tax-paying residents.
 - 2.2.** Prohibit deductible charges, user fees, and private insurance substitution.

3. **Establish a Public Drug Manufacturing Agency** to produce essential generics and reduce pharmaceutical dependency. All provincial participation will be contingent upon maintaining a single-payer, public administration model with no user fees.
 4. **Establish a National Mental Health Care program** to guarantee universal access to counselling and psychiatric services.
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Article 10. Protecting Seniors' Rights

6% of Canadian seniors, 439,000 people, are living in poverty, according to Statistics Canada. That's nearly half a million people who've been left behind by the country they helped build. However, rather than address rising poverty rates, our government has clawed back the Guaranteed Income Supplement and implemented two-tiered Old Age Security.

7% of Canadian seniors, 520,000 people, are in long-term care homes, as reported by the BC Medical Journal. Long-term care homes should care for our seniors; however, our system increasingly uses them for profit. In the last two decades, Canada's biggest financial institutions have doubled their investments in long-term care (LTC) homes.

These institutions now control a shocking 22% of LTCs and 42% of retirement homes. According to the Canadian Institute for Health Information, more than half of all long-term care homes, 54%, are for-profit institutions. And studies, like one published in JAMA, show that seniors in private care are not only more likely to be hospitalized but 11.7% more likely to die sooner.

Not only this, but during the pandemic, when the Canadian Armed Forces were called in to fill in labour shortages in LTCs, a CAF report revealed 19 seniors died in a single Toronto-based retirement home, but not from COVID, from dehydration. In a 252-bed facility, 19 people died from dehydration. These were 19 grandmothers and grandfathers, they'd worked all their lives to help build our country.

What's worse, they weren't the only ones; 47 residents died in a 130-bed senior home in Québec in the first three months of the pandemic. But seniors aren't just being neglected in private LTCs; they're being abandoned by them when they close their doors. Our seniors deserve dignity, they deserve decency, they deserve better.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Amend the Old Age Security Act to:

1.1. Guarantee GIS benefits regardless of late tax filing.

1.2. Implement automatic tax filing for all seniors over 65.

1.3. Provide equal OAS payments to all recipients and increase the benefit by 10%.

2. Enact legislation to end for-profit care in Canada by buying out all current for-profit long-term care homes, in addition to building enough facilities to double the number of beds across the country.

3. Amend the Canada Pension Plan Act to eliminate the CPP contribution cap, ensuring all Canadians contribute an equal amount of their income to the CPP.

4. Repeal the Canadian Pension Plan Investment Board Act to eliminate the CPP Investment Board.

Article 11. Standing up for Small Businesses

At a time when more and more power continues to be concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer, standing up for small businesses is more important than ever. To build a democratic economy, we need locally rooted centers of decision-making. And, to protect our sovereignty, we need to ensure wealth circulates within our communities.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. Amend the *Canada Small Business Financing Act* to:

1.1. Establish a federally backed refinancing program through the Business Development Bank of Canada, refinancing small-business loans at 0.75% interest for five years.

1.2. Retroactively eliminate interest accumulation on CEBA loans.

2. Establish a Small Business Restructuring Fund to:

2.1. Provide grants to small businesses for local reinvestment.

2.2. Prevent acquisitions of distressed small businesses by large corporations through preemptive intervention authority.

Article 12. Tax Fairness and Public Finance

A democratic society cannot survive when billionaires pay less tax than teachers or farmers. Public revenue is not a burden; it is the lifeblood of shared prosperity. If we allow the wealthiest among us to continue to accumulate capital, we don't just deny dignity and decency to the workers who produced this wealth; we allow our democracy to decay, while allowing crime, chaos, and desperation to spread, as despots rise. The Rose Caucus calls for a fair and progressive tax system to fund healthcare, restore equity, and ensure that the wealth of this nation serves its people, not offshore accounts.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. **Impose a Progressive Wealth Tax**, separate from the Income Tax Act, on individual net worth above \$10 million:
 - a. **1.5%** on net assets valued between \$10–24.9 million.
 - b. **3%** on net assets valued between \$25–99.9 million.
 - c. **4.5%** on net assets valued between \$100–999.9 million.
 - d. **6%** on net assets valued at over \$1 billion.
2. **Establish a federal Exit Tax** that applies to emigrating individuals transferring assets abroad:
 - a. **40%** on assets between \$5 million and \$1 billion.
 - b. **60%** on assets above \$1 billion.
3. **Amend the *Income Tax Act* to:**

- 2.1. Raise the corporate income tax rate to 20% for corporations with annual profits exceeding \$1 billion.
 - 2.2. End offshore tax deferrals by taxing all foreign-held income where the foreign jurisdiction's corporate tax rate is lower than Canada's.
 - 2.3. Deny dividend tax credits for untaxed offshore income.
 - 2.4. Require annual reporting of all foreign-affiliated entities, regardless of size.
 - 2.5. Deem offshore income taxable unless the corporation demonstrates substantive economic activity in the foreign jurisdiction.
4. **Establish refundable and non-refundable tax credits for farmers and fishers:**
 - 4.1. Provide a refundable 50% income tax credit on farm or fishing income up to \$250,000 for sole proprietors
 - 4.2. Provide a non-refundable 25% corporate tax credit on the first \$500,000 for family farm and fishery corporations.
 5. **Amend the Excise Tax Act to make all grocery items, diapers and children's clothing zero-rated.**
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Article 13. A New Foreign Policy Agenda

For far too long, Canada has served as the lackey of foreign empires, our soldiers dying for and our tax dollars spent on ceaseless wars of aggression, all for imperialist and colonialist causes. The Rose Caucus is calling for a foreign policy agenda guided by peace, justice and solidarity.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

1. **Impose a two-way arms embargo on Israel** under the Export and Import Permits Act, suspending the export, sale, transfer, brokering and financing of all military equipment and dual-use systems to Israeli state forces until the occupation of the Palestinian territories ends in compliance with the Fourth Geneva Convention.

2. **Prohibit Canadian corporations, pension funds, and financial institutions from investing in, contracting with, importing from or otherwise participating in Israeli settlement activity** in the occupied Palestinian territories, including the purchase or sale of settlement-produced goods.
3. **Restore and expand federal humanitarian assistance to Gaza through UNRWA and other accountable civilian relief agencies, and direct Global Affairs Canada to coordinate the transit and delivery of aid to civilian populations under blockade or siege.**
4. **Impose a two-way arms embargo on Turkey** under the *Export and Import Permits Act* until Turkish military operations and the displacement of the Kurdish people in southern Turkey and north-eastern Syria cease, and compliance with international humanitarian law is independently verified.
5. **Impose sanctions under the *Special Economic Measures Act* on senior Azerbaijani state and military officials** responsible for the ethnic cleansing of Armenians from Nargorno-Karabakh, and recognize the displaced populations as refugees eligible for resettlement in Canada.
6. **Impose targeted sanctions under the *Special Economic Measures Act* on Rwandan government officials** responsible for material support to armed groups engaged in human rights abuses in eastern Congo, including asset seizure and financial isolation.
7. **Prohibit Canadian corporate and pension fund investment in Sudanese gold and mineral extraction networks** linked to the RSF and SAF, and expand publicly administered humanitarian assistance to civilian populations affected by ongoing human rights abuses in Sudan.
8. **Prohibit Canadian mining and investment firms from operating in Ethiopia** where extraction contributes to displacement or conflict, and suspend all security cooperation with Ethiopian state forces until war crimes investigations are completed and verified.
9. **Suspend all arms, surveillance and intelligence export permits to India** used in the administration and militarization of Kashmir, and recognize the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination.

- 10. Prohibit the import, purchase, sale and financing of phosphate and other natural resources extracted from Western Sahara** under Moroccan occupation, and recognize the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination.
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Article 14. Renewing our Democracy

For far too long, Canadians have been subject to an American-style two-party regime in which, so often, there's no daylight between the two. In addition to this, archaic and undemocratic institutions have remained unchanged for the last century and a half. No longer can we subject working Canadians to a regime that sells us and our services out to predatory multinationals, while threatening us with the existential dread of our neighbours backsliding to the south.

Be it resolved that the Rose Caucus will pursue the adoption of the following measures, to be introduced as individual resolutions at Convention, calling upon Parliament to:

- 1. Establish a Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform to:**

- 1.1. Determine a proportional representation model through deliberation.

- 1.2. Submit the selected model to a national referendum.

- 1.3. Once a model is selected, hold a second referendum between proportional representation and first-past-the-post.

- 2. Amend the *Canada Elections Act* to:**

- 2.1. Prohibit private campaign contributions.

- 2.2. Establish a public campaign financing pool of \$100 million, allocated by per-vote subsidy.

- 2.3. Cap any party's subsidy allocation at no more than 40%.

- 2.4. Prohibit early election calls by a sitting government.

- 2.5. Establish a fixed national election period of three days beginning September 1st, and require election periods to be 70 days.

2.6. Establish a recall election mechanism for Members of Parliament, that if 40% of constituents sign a recall petition, a by-election is called.

2.7. Lower the voting age to 16.

- 3. Establish Binding National Referendums**, any petition receiving 250,000 verified signatures over a three-month period will proceed to a national vote during the national election period.
- 4. Reform the Senate** by replacing the appointed Senate with a provincially elected chamber.
- 5. Change the oath of solemn affirmation**, requiring Canadian Members of Parliament to swear an oath to their constituencies, to the House of Commons, to the Constitution, and to democracy.
- 6. Begin the constitutional proceedings to formally declare ourselves an independent republic**, abolishing the office of the Governor General, and replacing it with a president, elected by the House of Commons, to serve in a similarly symbolic role as our head of state.

Article 15. Protecting our Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

On this continent, there is a rising tide of fascism and authoritarianism, one that seeks to quash human freedom. This rise is driven by an economic system in crisis, and although we have laid out an agenda that seeks to pull this noxious weed from its roots, we cannot ignore the threat to our most fundamental rights and freedoms. We must act to not only protect these most fundamental rights, but expand them, by ensuring no Canadian is subject to our often impunitive judicial system.

- 1. Initiate a constitutional amendment to remove the Reasonable Limits clause** placed on section 1 of the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms.
- 2. Enact legislation to protect the Digital Civil Liberties of all by:**
 - 2.1.** Ban general biometric surveillance.
 - 2.2.** End warrantless metadata dragnetting.

2.3. Strengthen the National Security and Intelligence Review Agency’s enforcement mechanisms, and ensure agencies such as CSIS don’t utilize technologies unknown to the Public Safety Minister.

2.4. Ban agencies such as CSIS from requesting information on the customers of TSPs without a warrant.

3. Enact legislation to begin adopting a restorative justice system, including:

3.1. Outlawing Solitary confinement.

3.2. Removing mandatory sentencing for all minor crimes.

3.3. Establishing a framework for restorative justice to adopt rehabilitative practices in federal judicial institutions.

4. Establish a Civil Liberties Oversight Commission with investigative and order-making powers.

5. Enact legislation to further enforce Canadians' right to protest and remove abusive injunctions and “critical infrastructure” overreach.