



AGENDA

Budget Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

1. PREPARATION FOR COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS

a. Ratification of the Committee Chair(s)

Standing Resolution 1, Section 4 *Committee Chairperson* states that:

As its first order of business each standing committee shall either:

- a. ratify as the committee chairperson(s) the National Executive member(s) appointed to the committee; or
- b. elect a committee chairperson from within its membership.

b. Review of the Committee Agenda

c. Review of the Committee's Terms of Reference

Committee members should be familiar with the responsibilities of the Budget Committee as established in the Federation's Standing Resolutions. Standing Resolution 1, Section 3 (c) *Budget Committee* states that:

The **Budget Committee** shall:

- i. develop a draft budget for the upcoming fiscal year for submission to the closing plenary of the semi-annual general meeting;
- ii. review and recommend budget adjustments for the remainder of the fiscal year to the closing plenary of the annual general meeting;
- iii. assess the availability of funds for proposed projects and/or purchases, including donations; and
- iv. undertake long-term financial planning for the Federation.

2. REVIEW OF FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS AND ISSUES

a. Overview of Current Financial Realities/Pressures (In-camera)

b. Review of 2001-2002 Budget and Year-to-date Statements

The Committee will review the current year's budget and the comparative year-to-date statements of revenue and expenditures.

c. Review of Fee Collection Issues

The Committee will discuss various membership fee collection issues within the Federation.

3. REVISION OF 2001-2002 BUDGET

The Committee will review the 2001-2002 budget and propose amendments to the closing plenary.

4. OTHER BUSINESS

5. ADJOURNMENT



AGENDA

Campaigns and Government Relations Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

1. PREPARATION FOR COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS

a. Ratification of the Committee Chair(s)

Standing Resolution 1, Section 4, *Committee Chairperson* states that:

As its first order of business each standing committee shall either:

- a. ratify as the committee chairperson(s) the National Executive member(s) appointed to the committee; or
- b. elect a committee chairperson from within its membership.

b. Review of the Committee Agenda

c. Review of the Committee's Terms of Reference

Committee members should be familiar with the responsibilities of the Campaigns and Government Relations Committee as established in the Federation's Standing Resolutions. Standing Resolution 1, Section 3 (a) *Campaigns and Government Relations Committee* states that:

The **Campaigns and Government Relations Committee** shall:

- i. assess the recent and ongoing national campaigns of the Federation;
- ii. recommend to closing plenary at the semi-annual general meeting a campaigns strategy which includes but is not limited to goals of the strategy;
- iii. implementation of the strategy shall include:
 - research and information compilation to be undertaken
 - contact with government
 - membership mobilisation
 - media strategy
 - coalition work; and
- iv. review and recommend adjustments to the campaign strategy for the remainder of the academic year to the closing plenary of the annual general meeting.

2. REVIEW OF THE 2001-2002 CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

a. Review of 2001-2002 Campaign Strategy

An update on the implementation of the 2001-2002 campaign strategy to-date will be provided.

b. Preparation for the Remainder of the Year

3. MOTIONS REFERRED FROM OPENING PLENARY

The following motions will likely be referred to the Campaigns and Government Relations Committee by the opening plenary.

a. Proposal to Oppose the 2002 Group of 8 Summit in Ottawa

2001/11:N01 MOTION

Local 23/Local 44

Whereas the Group of 8 (G-8) Summit will take place next year in Canada; and

Whereas the G-8 countries, with the exception of Russia, are the countries whose governments are active advocates of global trade liberalisation; and

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20th Annual National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students
Wednesday, November 21 to Saturday, November 24, 2001

Whereas trade liberalisation represents a clear threat to public post-secondary education; therefore

Be it resolved that a campaign be developed to oppose the G-8 Summit in Ottawa in 2002 which includes membership mobilisation;

Be it further resolved that a fact sheet on the G-8 Summit and other related issues be developed and distributed; and

Be it further resolved that ongoing research into the G-8 Summit and other related issues be undertaken.

b. Proposal to Conduct Research on Funding

2001/11:N04 MOTION

Local 24/

Be it resolved that extensive and detailed research on the economic benefits of comprehensive funding for post-secondary education be undertaken;

Be it further resolved that the research examine the impact of funding on both the Canadian and global economies; and

Be it further resolved that this research be distributed widely to student leaders across the country.

c. Proposal Encouraging Participation in Romanow Commission

2001/11:N05 MOTION

Local 78/

Whereas Canada's health care system is currently publicly funded and delivered, guaranteeing universal access to medical services; and

Whereas the future of the public health care system in Canada will be largely determined by the outcome of the ongoing Romanow Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada; therefore

Be it resolved that member locals be encouraged to participate in the Romanow Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada to demand that the Canadian health care system remain publicly funded and administered.

4. OTHER BUSINESS

5. ADJOURNMENT

DRAFT MOTIONS

Campaigns and Government Relations Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

MOTIONS DEVELOPED BY THE COMMITTEE

a. Motion to Endorse the Boycott on Delta Hotels

2001/11:C-x MOTION

Local 86/ Local 24

Whereas Delta Hotels is currently involved in the development of the Sun Peaks Resort in British Columbia; and

Whereas the site for the Sun Peaks Resort is located on the traditional territory of the Secwepemc Nation and is part of a land claim dispute; and

Whereas the decision of Delta Hotels to proceed with the development without concern for the Secwepemc people and their traditional land has resulted in the forced removal and arrests of individuals protesting the development; and

Whereas the Secwepemc people are trying to preserve their way of life and protect their land from becoming a tourist attraction; and

Whereas the Assembly of First Nations has called for the boycott of Delta Hotels;

Be it resolved that the boycott of Delta Hotels be endorsed; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to endorse and participate in the boycott of Delta Hotels.

b. Proposal to Support Free Disability Testing

2001/11:C-x MOTION

Local 66/32

Whereas the financial costs of testing for many disabilities are not covered by most provincial health plans; and

Whereas these expenses are prohibitive and act as a barrier for students with disabilities; therefore

Be it resolved that a letter in support of free disability testing that may impact students' access to post-secondary education be sent to the Minister of Health;

Be it further resolved that this letter be distributed to member locals; and

Be it further resolved that all member locals be encouraged to use this letter as a template for letters to provincial health ministers.

c. Proposal to Support Human Rights

2001/11:C-x MOTION

Local 54/ Local 1

Whereas Falun Gong is a peaceful practice for body, mind and spirit, promoting "truthfulness, compassion and tolerance";

Whereas the Chinese Authority has consistently persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and engaged in mass murder of Falun Gong practitioners over the last two years.

Whereas the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners, the Chinese Authority violates both the Chinese constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed by China at the UN;

Whereas the Chinese Embassy and consulate officials extend and promote the persecution of Falun Gong practices in Canada;

Whereas 36 international citizens, including Ryerson student Zenor Dolnyckyj, were arrested while engaged in a peaceful demonstration in support of the Falun Gong in Tiananmen Square;

Be it resolved that the release of all Falun Gong practitioners detained or imprisoned in China, including the 36 international citizens be supported;

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to support the release of detained or imprisoned Falun Gong practitioners; and

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Be it further resolved that materials concerning the oppression of Falun Gong practitioners be distributed to member locals.

e. Proposal to Support the Ryerson Muslim Students' Association

2001/11:C-x MOTION

Local 24 *11*

Whereas the Ryerson Muslim Students' Association (RMSA) has been requesting an adequate place to pray for well over a year, without a forthcoming solution from Ryerson University; and

Whereas the current 100-150 students that pray each week do so in a cramped space that holds a maximum of 50 people; and

Whereas Ryerson University has refused to provide an on-campus space and the "final" options presented by the university would either split the congregations, which is contrary to Muslim belief, or force them off-campus to pray; and

Whereas Ryerson students voted overwhelmingly at the Semi-Annual General meeting of the Ryerson Students' Administrative Council on November 20, 2001 to support the RMSA in its efforts to secure an adequate on-campus space for its one-hour Friday prayers; therefore

Be it resolved that a letter to support the RMSA be sent to the administration of Ryerson University; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to write similar letters of support to the administration of Ryerson University.

f. Proposal to Oppose the Establishment of Private Residences

2001/11:C-x MOTION

Local 71

Whereas the Federation opposes corporate presence on Canadian campuses; and

Whereas the construction of a privately owned and/or operated residences at Trent University may compromise its collegiate system;

Be it resolved that research into the effects of the ownership and operation of private residences on Canadian campus be undertaken and that this research be distributed to member locals;

Be it further resolved that a template for a letter of support for the campaign of the Trent Central Students' Association to prevent the establishment of private residences be distributed to member locals;

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to send letters in support of the campaign of the Trent Central Students' Association to prevent the establishment of private residences be sent to the Trent University President.

g. Proposal to Compile Research on Anti-Discrimination Initiatives

2001/11:C-x MOTION

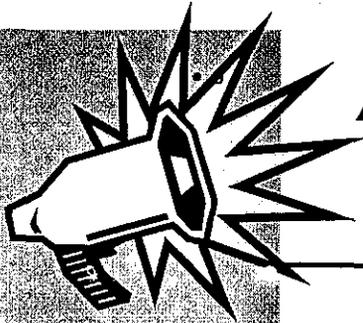
Local 83 *132*

Whereas the Federation discourages discrimination on the basis of race, social class, religion, gender and sexual orientation; and

Whereas the Federation also discourages discrimination on the basis of personal beliefs or political affiliation; and

Whereas the Federation often compiles and disseminates information to member locals; therefore

Be it resolved that research on member local initiatives that actively discourage discrimination be compiled and distributed to member locals.



Megaphone graphic by Mark Saunders

ACTION FOR ACCESS

The Manitoba Newsletter of the Canadian Federation of Students

Volume 1, Issue 1, Fall 2001

Survey Says: Hands off Public Services!

A March 2001 Vector poll, conducted just before the mass protests in April in Quebec City, against the Free Trade Area of the Americas, shows that a clear majority of Canadians oppose trade in public services.

The poll, commissioned by a coalition including the Canadian Federation of Students, was conducted by interviewing a random sample of Canadians on issues relating to global trade and the anti-globalisation movement.

The poll shows that a majority of respondents had no doubts about their opposition to trade in public services. Sixty-seven percent (67%) said they oppose the General Agreement on Trade in Services if it permits foreign companies to own and operate schools and universities for profit in Canada. The poll also showed that, while 8% of respondents can be classified as consistently supportive of free trade, and 7% consistently

opposed, a whopping 85% vacillate on the issue.

Finally, the poll asked Canadians whom they trust for information on trade negotiations. Only 43% said they trust the federal government, while 73% trust environmental groups, and a healthy 54% trust social action groups.



STOP THE GATS ATTACK

• If you would like more information about the Vector poll or the GATS from a trusted source, contact your local students' union or visit <http://www.cfs-fcee.ca>.

• Join students and others across Canada and around the world on November 9th, for an International Day of Action Against the GATS. Contact your local student union for details, or visit <http://wtoaction.org>.

• Write to your MP asking why the Canadian government supports a New Round of negotiations at the WTO. To get your MP's name and phone number, call 1-800-267-7360.

The Great Tuition Fee Debate

On October 24, 2001, the Honourable Diane McGifford, Minister of Advanced Education, moderated "The Great Tuition Fee Debate" at the University of Winnipeg. The event featured Anita Zaenker of the Canadian Federation of Students debating to pro side against community conservative Steven Fletcher, on the topic "Canada can and should eliminate tuition fees."

Here is a sampling of tuition fee facts presented during the debate:

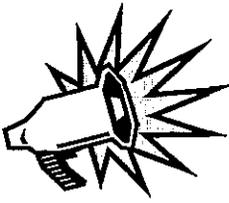
- Lower fees mean lower student debt and greater access to university and college for low income and middle income Manitobans.
- Last year, when Manitoba reduced tuition fees

by 10%, student enrolment rose significantly. At Red River College, enrolment jumped a record 12%. With a tuition fee freeze in 2001, enrolment is up again, across the province.

- By 2004, 72% of new jobs will require some post-secondary education. Reducing tuition fees means that more Manitobans can find jobs.
- Manitoba is in good company. Newfoundland also reduced fees by 10%. British Columbia reduced fees by 5%. Quebec has had a long-term tuition fee freeze, and college students pay no tuition fees at all. Several U.S. states have reduced tuition fees in the past five years. Many European countries don't even charge tuition fees.

The Canadian Federation of Students, with 400,000 members across the country is Canada's national students' organisation.

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Annual Meeting in St. Boniface

The Provincial Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students was held October 27 & 28th at Collège universitaire de Saint Boniface.

Delegates from the University of Winnipeg Students' Association—Local 8, Brandon University Students' Union—Local 37, and the Association des étudiant-e-s du Collège universitaire de Saint Boniface—Section 38, and members of the provincial executive were in attendance.

CFS National Deputy Chairperson Jen Anthony was on-hand for part of the meeting. She provided the latest updates on CFS activities across the country. The CFS campaign for lower tuition fees was discussed at length, and strategies were developed for the upcoming February 6 national day of action. Activities for the upcoming November 9, International Day of Action Against GATS, and November 17, International Students' Day and Day of Action for Peace, were also discussed.

As a follow-up to the United Nations' World Conference Against Racism held in South Africa in August and September 2001, the theme of the meeting was "The Role of the Student Movement in the Struggle Against Racism and Discrimination". Several workshops and speakers addressed the theme.

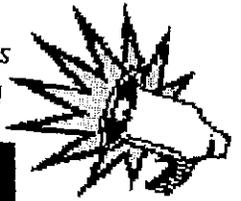
Charles Larimpo Lamboni of the Students' Union of Benin University, provided a keynote address about the crisis in education in his West African country of Togo. Lamboni, who just arrived in Canada as a refugee, was pursued by the government of Togo after speaking out against the 1000% tuition increase faced by students at Togo's only public university. Lamboni said the university is now closed down, because students can no longer afford to attend classes and the state has not paid professors' salaries in months. Lamboni hopes to continue work from Canada to support and strengthen the Togolese movement for democracy and public education.

Louis Ifill of the Workers of Colour Support Network led a workshop on anti-racism. Ifill defined racism as 'white supremacy', and discussed the history of African slavery and global economic power. The workshop also examined policy addressing the participation of students of colour within the organised student movement and the importance of training to address racism at all levels. Ifill commended student organisations on their willingness to create positions such as elected positions for students of colour and international students, and urged "zero tolerance" of racism on campuses, better systems to address problems and call for changes to policies and practices, and further attention to making space for discussions of racism. It was agreed that CFS would investigate the possibility of hosting a provincial workshop on anti-racism.

Nahanni Fontaine, provincial CFS Aboriginal Commissioner, facilitated a seminar on Aboriginal Education in Canada. Fontaine explained that the major issue facing Aboriginal students is lack of funding. She provided a brief history of the treaties signed by sovereign First Nations and the Crown that set out the sharing of land and resources, and compensation in the form of guaranteed education for First Nations people, according to their needs. Fontaine emphasized that these treaties are contracts, but are not being upheld by the government. As a result, many aboriginal students are unable to afford an education. In 1989 a funding cap for education transfers was imposed by the federal government, through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. First Nations students are ineligible for almost all provincial and federal student financial assistance because of the funding arrangement, and are generally not funded for a second, third, or graduate, degree. Fontaine said that, often, the aboriginal students lucky enough to be funded at all do not receive the funding necessary to complete even their first undergraduate degree.

Other workshops focused on skills-building.

The CFS national general meeting takes place November 21 - 24, 2001.



Dear Members,

Over the last two years, students have benefited from a 10% tuition reduction and tuition fee freeze in the province of Manitoba. The tuition fee reduction and freeze, which were won through campaigns organised by the Canadian Federation of Students, has contributed to record enrolment increases in public universities and colleges across the province. The Canadian Federation of Students continues to lobby the Manitoba government for lower fees, more grants, and increased funding for post-secondary education. At the same time, our over 400 000 members across the country are lobbying to increase federal transfer payments to the provinces for education and social spending.

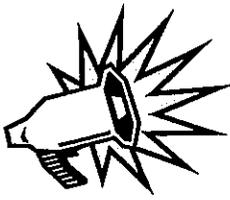
Public education is threatened by continuing trade talks that our government is involved in. These trade talks include the General Agreement on Trades and Service (GATS), a trade deal that treats public services, including education, as commodities. Under the GATS, public funding may be considered an unfair barrier to trade, policies to lower tuition fees could be considered predatory pricing. While programmes that are fully funded by public dollars may be exempt from the deal for now, public education in Canada relies on private funds such as tuition fees and donations. Following two decades of funding cuts by both the federal and provincial governments, post secondary education is vulnerable to privatisation and the global trade rules. It is time to take action against the sale of public education. November 9th is an international day of action against the GATS. It is time to let our governments know that education is not for sale!

Over the last 10 years the Federal government has cut \$7 billion in education and training. Tuition fees have risen 126.6% on average across the country and institutions are now looking to tuition fees to cover larger shares of their operating budgets. While several provinces have introduced tuition fee roll-backs in the last couple of years, it is essential that tuition fees continue be reduced. On February 6th students across the country will participate in a pan-Canadian day of action for lower tuition fees. It is important that students stand together in solidarity on this initiative to send a clear message to governments that education is a right, and a priority for most Canadians.

Over the next few months the Canadian Federation of Students will be conducting research on graduate students' fees, student loans, and differential fees paid by international students. Materials on these issues will be produced for distribution, including information on access to education for aboriginal students. In the meantime, the CFS Provincial Executive and Member Local student associations are continuing to lobby governments on behalf of students to increase access and ensure a high-quality of post-secondary education.

However you decide to participate in the student movement, I hope to see you on November 9 and February 6. **Public Education is Not For Sale: Let's take action for access!**

In solidarity,
Mike Tutthill
Provincial Chairperson



Oppose Massive Grad Student Fee Increase

On September 27, 2001, the Canadian Federation of Students met with Diane McGifford, Minister of Advanced Education, to urge action to prevent a massive increase in fees for graduate students that is planned for the 2002-2003 academic year.

The committee of the University of Manitoba Faculty of Graduate Studies charged with reviewing fee structures has recommended the replacement of auxiliary courses with "occasional student" courses, which would result in graduate students' paying tuition fees for courses that would otherwise be covered by the current re-registration fee. The committee also recommends replacing the existing re-registration fee with a "continuing fee" anticipated to be twice its size. This latter change would mean an average fee increase from approximately \$600 to \$1200 for Master's and PhD students.

Charging per-credit-hour fees for auxiliary courses (courses outside the students' area of study) is unfair, as some graduate students may need to take such courses to complete their thesis, or may wish to participate in the Certificate in Higher Education Training program. Charging for these courses would in effect raise many graduate students' basic expenses incurred in program completion.

Such measures will benefit neither graduate students nor the University itself:

- Higher fees are unlikely to result in better services for graduate students;
- Graduate students are a smaller expense for the University than undergrads, as graduate study requires a greater level of independent research, while consuming less teaching and other resources;
- Graduate students' work attracts research monies to the University, and this will be hampered by higher fees;
- Graduate students often face greater economic hardships than undergrads, as many no longer live with their parents, and some support families;
- The Faculty of Graduate Studies itself projects that declining graduate student enrolment will result from the fee increase, but claims that higher fees will give the university a better reputation.

Graduate students and their supporters are encouraged to send letters to the Canadian Federation of Students, detailing their concerns about the proposed fee increases for graduate students.

Mark Your Calendar

November 9, 2001
International Day of Action
Against the GATS
Meet 11:30 at the U. of Wpg.

November 13, 2001
Provincial Throne Speech
Rally at 2pm at the Legislature

November 17, 2001
International Students' Day
&
International Day of Action
In Opposition to the War
Against Afghanistan
11 am - March from the Legislature

December 6, 2001
Memorial of the Montreal
Massacre

December 10, 2001
Federal Budget Day

December 10, 2001
International Human Rights
Day

February 6, 2002
National Day of Action for
Lower Tuition Fees

Canadian Federation of Students
Provincial Executive 2001-2002

Chairperson
MIKE TUTT HILL

Local 8 Representative
MARGARET CARLYLE

Local 37 Representative
LONNIE PATTERSON

Local 38 Representative
FAYCAL AROUB

Local 96 Representative
PAUL ZITA

National Executive Representa-
tive
KRISHNA LALBIHARIE

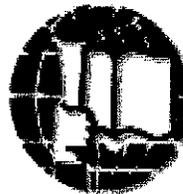
Treasurer
COLIN MURRAY

Women's Commissioner
MEEGHAN GAVIN

International Students' Day

November 17, 2001 marks the marks the 60th anniversary of International Students' Day.

On November 17, 1939, student resistance to the Nazi occupation in the streets of Prague (capital of what was then Czechoslovakia, now the Czech Republic) inspired the foundation in London and New York of an anti-Nazi student coalition, the International Student Council.



In 1941, the International Student Council proclaimed November 17 "International Students' Day" in London. The International Union of Students itself was established in 1946, replacing the International Student Council.

The origins of the International Students' Day lie in the very history of the student movement and its struggle for social justice and peace. While the fight against fascism was at the time predominant, one can interpret from it the many positive ideals for which students strove. Those ideals were and remain Peace, Justice and Equality; combined, of course, with the right to education and its liberating

potential.

Today, neo-liberalism in the guise of "globalisation" has brought commercialisation of schools and colleges, the dominance of profits over people, and further marginalisation of the already-marginalised. Since the events of September 11, the world has been thrown into another war, an illegal war that will not improve stability and understanding in the world.

As we approach November 17, 2000, students of the world cannot sit idly by on these crucial issues.

The International Union of students therefore calls upon all member unions and friendly and partner organisations to celebrate November 17th - International Students' Day, as a tribute to our history as a global student movement, to strengthen us in the struggle against the latest forms of global injustice, and to build the movement for peace and justice.

In student solidarity,
Samwin Banienuba, Secretary General
International Union of Students

CCPA ANALYSIS OF BILL C-36: AN ACT TO COMBAT TERRORISM

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian government has a responsibility to protect Canadians from actual and potential human rights abuses of the sort that took place in New York and Washington on September 11th. In so doing, however, the government must strike a delicate balance between collective security and individual rights. This task is never easy but is made more difficult in times of heightened fear and tension. It is, though, precisely at such times that the need to protect fundamental rights and freedoms is the greatest.

Bill C-36 creates far-reaching powers with major implications for civil liberties. It provides a sweeping definition of terrorism that risks capturing legitimate political dissent. It departs from key tenets of our criminal justice system, such as the right to remain silent. It empowers the Solicitor General to recommend that groups be put on a public terrorist list without any advance notice or an opportunity for response prior to listing. It significantly reduces the openness of our judicial system and of government.

Unlike the *War Measures Act*, Bill C-36 is not emergency legislation. This Bill will forever change laws such as the *Criminal Code*, the *Official Secrets Act*, the *Privacy Act* and the *Canada Evidence Act*. These changes, which could substantially alter the operation of Canada's judicial system, have been drafted quickly without the benefit of meaningful public consultation and discussion. Key questions must be asked in determining what the Bill's future should be.

These questions are:

- Is this Bill necessary in order to combat terrorism? Has the government demonstrated satisfactorily that existing domestic legislation, including the *Criminal Code*, the *Immigration Act*, the *National Defence Act*, the *Security Offences Act* and the *Official Secrets Act*, is not adequate?
- Will the measures in Bill C-36 make Canadians safer? Are there not more effective responses, such as better enforcement of existing laws and measures to improve communication between, for example, the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service?
 - Will key provisions of the Bill withstand scrutiny under *the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*? Will Canadians have to challenge any rights' violations at a high personal and financial cost?
 - If the Bill is fundamentally flawed, can it be saved by the addition of a sunset clause, or are substantive amendments needed to ensure fairness?

Unfortunately, the broad scope of this Bill and the short time frame for responding, have precluded a comprehensive analysis of its complex provisions. This brief is, therefore,

directed at an examination of those parts of Bill C-36 that have the greatest potential for civil liberties' violations, or for rendering our justice system and government more secretive and less accountable.

Those parts of Bill C-36 causing the greatest concern are:

- the definition of "terrorist activity" which could encompass legitimate protest and dissent;
- the process whereby organisations are put on a public "terrorist" list without procedural protections;
- the vague definitions of the new terrorist offences of "participating, facilitating, instructing and harbouring", offences that carry substantial penalties;
- intrusive new investigative procedures, including a new investigatory hearing that removes the right to silence;
- important changes to the *Privacy Act* and the *Access to Information Act* that would prohibit the disclosure of information to Canadians;
- the creation of new layers of scrutiny for charities which will significantly hamper their legitimate operations.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN TERROR AND DISSENT

(Clause 4, definition at new *Criminal Code* section 83.03(1)(b))

Who could be the object of police suspicion if Bill C-36 becomes law? Who may be arrested without a warrant, compelled to answer questions at an investigatory hearing, charged with vaguely worded yet serious new offences, put on a public terrorist list? Will it be those whose intention is to inflict terror, or could it be those targeted because of their particular ethnic background, religion or political views? How "terrorist activity" is ultimately defined will determine answers to such questions.

The definition of "terrorist activity" is a key provision in the Bill. New *Criminal Code* offences, carrying heavy penalties upon conviction, are based on "terrorist activity". A group may be listed, with serious consequences, if there are reasonable grounds to believe that it has carried out, participated in, or facilitated a "terrorist activity" or is acting in association with a group engaged in such activity.

The task of trying to define terrorism is a daunting one. International efforts to craft a

definition having enough precision to be meaningful and yet not encompass

a wide array of political dissent and protest have not been successful. For this reason, international law has come to approach terrorism with reference to certain specific acts such as hostage taking and hijacking.

"Terrorist Activity" - A Definition

Rather than focusing only on specific acts of terrorism, the government has adopted a generalized approach that is far reaching and unwieldy. The definition in Bill C-36 has three main elements:

- an act or omission committed inside or outside Canada for political, religious or ideological purposes or cause AND
- with an intention to either: intimidate the public with regard to security, including its economic security, or to compel a person, government or national or international organisation to do or refrain from doing any act AND
- with an intent to do one of the following:
 - cause death or serious bodily harm,
 - endanger life,
 - cause a serious risk to the health or safety of the public, - cause serious public or private property damage when that is also likely to disrupt an essential service, facility or system, or to disrupt an essential service intending to cause a serious risk to the health or safety of the public

OR

-cause serious interference with, or serious disruption of, an essential service, facility or system EXCEPT as a result of lawful advocacy, protest, dissent or stoppage of work not intended to cause death or serious bodily harm, endanger a person's life or be a serious risk to the public's health or safety.

None of the key terms are defined in the Bill. What is the meaning of: a "political purpose," a "serious risk to health or safety," "serious interference," an "essential service, facility or system"? These and other terms in this section are open to differing interpretations. The Supreme Court of Canada, for example, has defined "serious bodily harm" as any hurt or injury, whether physical or psychological, that interferes in a substantial way with a person's physical or psychological well being, health or integrity. This might include a bad scare. The ordinary meaning of the term "serious bodily harm" is more restrictive.

Capturing Dissent

Could legitimate dissent be caught by the definition? What about First Nations blocking a highway; environmentalists trying to stop logging; anti-globalization protesters demonstrating to prevent the signing of a trade agreement; unions interfering with the delivery of a health service?

Arguably the protection against such far-reaching application is in the exception for "lawful advocacy, protest, dissent or stoppage of work", as long as such activities are not intended to cause death or serious harm. The problem with the exception is that civil dissent often has an "unlawful" element. Unions may be engaged in wildcat strikes. Demonstrators may stray, intentionally or unintentionally, beyond the bounds of what is strictly lawful by trespassing, causing a disturbance or resisting arrest. It's one thing to consider such activity as a possible violation of the criminal law. It's quite another for such activity to be labelled "terrorist" with the stigma and harsher legal regime that such labelling would entail.

It is also unclear whether the term "lawful" in the Bill refers only to Canadian law or if it also includes what is "lawful" in the country where the alleged "terrorist activity" took place. This is an important question given that terrorist acts may be committed inside or outside Canada. As Amnesty International points out in its brief on Bill-36, in many parts of the world protest, even peaceful protest is illegal. Amnesty cites the cases of possible prisoners of conscience who face legal sanctions, imprisonment, or other forms of punishment by the state for such activities as:

- involvement in a successful blockade of US forestry company logging operations;
- participating in a national civil disobedience campaign against one party military rule;
- protesting against the construction of an electricity supply network running through the region where indigenous people live.

Enforcement

The lack of precision in the definition raises serious concerns about arbitrary and unpredictable enforcement. Canada's criminal justice system has frequently been criticised for systemically discriminating against certain groups, especially First Nations. Could Bill C-36, if it becomes law, have a disproportionate impact on particular racial, ethnic or religious minorities?

Changes to the Definition "Terrorist Activity"

The definition of "terrorist activity" must be clarified and narrowed. The "political, religious, or ideological purpose" for the activity does not add anything helpful to the definition and should be deleted. As pointed out by the Canadian Bar Association in its submission on Bill C-36, the nature of

the act defines the offence, not the motivation behind it. Moreover, by linking the definition to a religious context, the context may make this part of the Bill vulnerable to a section 15 *Charter* challenge which prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion.

The reference to "terrorist activity" must also be carefully circumscribed to ensure that legitimate advocacy, protest, dissent and work stoppage, even if unlawful, are not caught. The focus of any amended definition should be on the intention to seriously intimidate and to cause death or endanger life, or to cause serious risk to physical health or safety.

THE TERRORIST LIST (Clause 4 of Bill, s.83.05(1))

Bill C-36 proposes a process whereby Cabinet, acting on the recommendation of the Solicitor General, may name any entity (defined in the Bill as "a person, group, trust, partnership, fund or an unincorporated association or organisation") as one involved in terrorist activity, and put that entity on a list of terrorists. The consequences of listing are serious. The group is subject to other provisions in the Bill that criminalize involvement with, or support for, a terrorist group. All the group's property is frozen and subject to forfeiture. Its public reputation will be in jeopardy.

While groups can seek a review of the decision to list them, this can only be done after the decision has been made. Many groups will not have the resources to seek a review. Even if a challenge is successful, the fallout from the initial decision to list will likely be irreversible.

In light of the dire consequences of being on the terrorist list, additional procedural protections are required. At a minimum, groups must have an opportunity to respond before a recommendation is made to name them as terrorist. The Solicitor General should be required to notify the group concerned that (s)he is considering recommending to Cabinet that the group be named as a terrorist organisation. The group would then have an opportunity to respond to evidence against it.

NEW TERRORIST OFFENCES (Sections 83.18-83.27)

Terrorist groups are defined in relation to terrorist activity. They are either entities on the list created by Cabinet or they are groups that have as one of their purposes facilitating or carrying out a terrorist activity. Facilitation could occur whether or not the facilitator knows that a particular terrorist activity is being facilitated. Given that the activities of unions, environmental groups and advocacy organisations could be caught by the current definition of terrorist activity, this approach to facilitation is especially troubling. How can someone facilitate an act if they are unaware that they are so doing?

Section 83.18(1) provides a sentence of up to ten years imprisonment for "everyone who knowingly contributes to, directly or indirectly, any activity" of a terrorist group.

The offence is committed even if the group doesn't actually carry out the terrorist

activity, even if the contribution of the accused doesn't actually enhance the group's ability to facilitate or carry out a terrorist activity, or even if the accused didn't know the specific nature of the activity that may be facilitated or carried out. Would this broad wording catch the contribution of Canadian environmental group X that contributes to South American environmental group Y, knowing that a wing of group Y is involved in violent anti-logging protests, considered to be "terrorist", but not knowing that its contribution will actually facilitate a specific terrorist act?

Given the serious penalties associated with these terrorist offences, such offences must be clarified and the element of criminal intent be added as an essential component of the crime. In other words, the Crown prosecutor would have to prove that the accused knew that (s)he was facilitating a particular terrorist act.

INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES (Clause 4, Sections 83.28-83.3)

Bill C-36 contains new investigative procedures, including preventive arrest and investigatory hearings. These procedures represent a significant departure from fundamental tenets of Canada's criminal justice system, and could lead to human rights' violations.

The preventive arrest mechanism in the Bill allows for citizens to be arrested and detained before any charges are laid against anyone. Under Section 83.3(4), for example, a police officer may arrest someone without a warrant where the officer suspects on reasonable grounds that detention is necessary to prevent the commission of an indictable (serious) offence that also constitutes terrorist activity. Someone could be arrested on the mere suspicion of a police officer that a terrorist activity is planned, without belief that the activity is in any way imminent. The Bill does contain checks and balances e.g. those detained if arrested without warrant would have to be taken before a judge within 24 hours, or as soon as a judge is available. There is, however, a concern that section 83.3(4) and other arrest and detention provisions in the Bill could, particularly given the expansive definition of "terrorist activity", be inappropriately used to target those with certain unpopular political views, or those from certain ethnic or religious groups.

The proposed investigatory hearing, where those with material information relating to a terrorist offence may be compelled to answer questions, has important implications for freedom of the press in this country. As the Canadian Bar Association has pointed out in its submission, these hearings could be used against journalists. Journalists could, for example, be forced to disclose information they collect and to reveal their sources and work without the benefit of an ongoing judicial proceeding where the need to reveal their sources could be determined. The protection of journalistic sources is a basic condition of press freedom in a democratic society.

Despite the checks and balances in these sections of the Bill, the new techniques of investigation have the potential for infringing basic rights and must be carefully monitored should this Bill become law.

PRIVACY AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION (Clauses 87, 103 and 104 of the Bill)

Information and privacy laws are critical to the protection and regulation of personal and public information in the federal sphere. Clauses 87, 103 and 104 of the Bill would permit the Attorney General of Canada to issue a certificate prohibiting disclosure of certain information in order to protect international relations (a very vague term) or national security or defence. This would apply to disclosure under the *Access to Information Act*, the *Privacy Act* and the *Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act*. The proposed changes would render those Acts wholly inoperative in respect of information covered in the certificate. There is no review of the exercise of certificate powers. In addition, the Bill would exempt the Attorney General's certificate from publication so that the public would be prevented from even knowing that a certificate has been issued. This is not consistent with principles of fair and open government.

Information that is legitimately classified as sensitive is already protected from disclosure in information and privacy laws. These new provisions are, therefore, not necessary and should be withdrawn.

CHARITIES (Part 6 of the Bill)

Part 6 of the Bill incorporates most of the contents of Bill C-16, *Charities Registration (Security Information) Act* which was introduced in the House of Commons in March of this year but withdrawn with the introduction of Bill C-36. Part 6 adds another layer of scrutiny for registered charities and those seeking charitable status. If enacted, Bill C-36 could have a devastating effect on the activities of Canadian charities, both at home and abroad. Charities against whom a security certificate is issued will lose their charitable status. Entities seeking to become registered charities would be ineligible if a certificate had been issued against them. The conditions for issuing a security certificate have been expanded in Bill C-36 to include, for example, charities who made resources available to a terrorist group but also those who "made, make or will make" resources available in the future.

Bill C-36 would penalize a registered charity or applicant for charitable status for directly or indirectly providing funds or services to "terrorist groups." This brings us back to the problem of what constitutes terrorism". Under a military dictatorship, a group engaged in civil disobedience may be deemed "terrorist." Will a Canadian charity be penalized for contributing to such a group? What about those foreign entities whose major purpose is to undertake humanitarian work, but who may be affiliated with a "terrorist group"? It will simply not be possible for Canadian charities to ensure their funds don't end up in the hands of those deemed "terrorist."

Part 6 of the Bill should be deleted.

REGULAR REVIEWS

In addition to a sunset clause, regular six-month parliamentary reviews are needed given the sweeping nature of the Bill and its potential for serious infringement of basic rights and freedoms.

CONCLUSION

Bill C-36 does not represent an appropriate balance between civil rights and national security.

Bill C-36 is a threat to the fundamental rights and freedoms of those living in Canada. Nor does it meet standards of fairness, openness and accountability that are the hallmark of democratic government.

Although a sunset clause would be better than no sunset clause, merely adding such a clause to a fundamentally flawed Bill is unacceptable.

The government has not demonstrated that Bill C-36 is necessary to combat terrorism and increase the security of Canadians.

Although this brief suggests specific changes to various provisions of Bill C-36, these changes if enacted, would not by themselves be sufficient to redeem the Bill and warrant its passage.

Accordingly, Bill C-36 should be withdrawn and the government should initiate a broad public discussion about what measures are needed to protect the security of Canadians, and what if any new legislation is necessary.

Before introducing any new legislation, the government must demonstrate to Canadians why *existing laws* (with perhaps, better enforcement and coordination) are not sufficient to combat terrorism.

Any new legislation should be referred to the Supreme Court to ensure that it is consistent with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Any new legislation must include independent third party oversight and review, reporting directly to parliament.

This analysis was submitted as a Brief to the House of Commons Justice Committee

CANADIAN FEDERATION OF STUDENTS
FÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDIANTES ET ÉTUDIANTS

20th Annual General Meeting • 20e Assemblée générale annuelle



Student Health Plans and the National Student Health Network

Presented to the 20th Annual General Meeting
of the Canadian Federation of Students November 21-24, 2001

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Introduction

A health plan works because thousands of individuals pool their resources and contribute a small amount of money into a large, common pool of funds. When a student requires treatment, the cost of that treatment is taken out of the pool. This pooling prevents any one member of the plan from being required to bear the full cost of their medical treatment.

Although a health plan may save a student hundreds or even thousands of dollars in a given year, probably no service a students' union offers its members generates more interest and controversy than a health plan. On a philosophical level, many students' unions believe that the coverage they offer their members through a health plan is a service that should be provided by the provincial and federal governments. On a practical level, a health plan is often a students' union's most high profile and expensive service. Indeed, in many cases the fee levied by a students' union for a health plan is double or triple the fee the union levies in order to provide all of the other services and advocacy it offers its members.

Despite the relative expense and profile of health plans in their overall operations, many students' unions devote little or no attention to their health plan. Most students' unions, even those with dozens of full-and-part-time staff, devote only a single staff person to overseeing the plan. Generally this person will be concerned with opt-outs, adding family members and ensuring that pay-direct cards are delivered at students' homes in a timely fashion.

Unfortunately, understanding the complexities of insurance coverage can be quite challenging. A slight change in an insurance policy often determines whether or not a student receives coverage for a particular medical procedure.

Similarly, slight modifications in the design of a plan may reduce its cost with very little impact on coverage.

Rarely will the students' union staff person assigned to the health plan have the time or the training to understand changes in health plan design and their effect on the quality and cost of insurance coverage. That job tends to fall to the students' union's insurance broker. Therefore students' unions come to rely very heavily on the advice that is provided by their brokers.

The desire of students' unions to receive insurance advice from individuals and organisations concerned primarily with the well-being of students led to the creation of the Federation's National Student Health Network in 1985. The Network was formed with two equally important goals. First, the Network would allow the Federation to gain knowledge and experience in the design and pricing of group insurance plans. This experience would then allow the Federation to assist member locals in understanding their plans.

Secondly, the creation of the Network allowed Federation members to jointly negotiate with insurance companies through the auspices of the Federation. By doing so, each member local participating in the Network was able to significantly increase its own bargaining power. This paper, while focusing primarily on the Federation's National Student Health Network, will also provide general advice for students' unions to consider, regardless of which broker they ultimately select to negotiate on their behalf.

Price

Most students' unions, when reviewing options for providing their members with health insurance coverage, consider the overall price to

be the most important factor. This seems reasonable given that most health plans cost over \$100 per student per year. The most obvious method of determining whether to switch health plans would be to determine whether the proposed new plan costs less, the same or more than the existing plan. If the new plan costs less, it would seem that a students' unions should switch brokers and/or carriers. Unfortunately, despite the apparent logic of this approach, it is simply not sufficient when determining the value of a plan. The per student price of a health plan is determined by two factors, claims and retention levels. When reviewing the proposed price of a health plan both factors should be considered individually because there are very different implications for the quality of insurance coverage depending upon which factor a reduction in price is based.

Claims

A claim is a sum of money paid by an insurance company to offset the cost a prescription drug or medical procedure a student might require. Claims are the most significant factor in determining the price of a health plan. An insurance company will use the total value of claims filed by plan members in the previous year to determine the amount it wishes to charge for current year. In other words, if there are 10,000 students on a plan, and those 10,000 students file a million dollars worth of claims, an insurance company will want to ensure that it charges at least \$100.00 per student for the plan. This will ensure that the company is not paying out more in claims that it receives in premiums. While brokers and insurance companies might allege that they are able to reduce the level of claims, and therefore the price of a plan, what they are really doing is denying students coverage for prescription drugs or medical procedures previously paid for by the plan.

For instance, using the previous example, if a broker says it has convinced an insurance company to provide the above plan for \$80 per student per year, then it means that the broker and the insurance company have eliminated \$200,000 worth of claims. Short of employing a faith healer to wander from campus to campus, this can only be accomplished by reducing coverage.

Retention

The other factor an insurance company uses when determining the price of a plan is called retention. Retention is the amount of money an insurance company requires to fund its day-to-day operating costs and generate a profit. Retention levels are generally set as a percentage of claims. Therefore, again using the example of the plan with 10,000 members and a million dollars in claims, if the plan has a twenty percent retention level, each student will pay \$120.00 per year for the plan. Retention levels can vary from as little as twelve percent to as much as thirty percent or more.

Because most brokers and insurance companies have similar levels of administrative expenses, it is relatively simple to determine if a students' union is being overcharged by a broker for administrative costs. Although the costs will vary slightly based on plan size and design, retention levels are generally in the sixteen-to-eighteen percent range. If an insurance plan has a retention level of fifteen percent or less, then the broker and the insurance company are unlikely to be able to reduce the cost of the plan significantly without reducing the level of coverage. Conversely, if a plan has a retention level of twenty percent or more, then a students' union should be able to reduce the price of a plan while maintaining its existing level of coverage.

Retention does not go directly to paying claims. Therefore negotiating a reduction in retention can lower the cost of a plan without a corresponding reduction in coverage. When negotiating a price for a health plan, a students' union should be very cautious of a broker who seeks to reduce the price of the plan primarily by modifying coverage rather than seeking a reduction in retention levels.

Coverage

The term coverage refers to those drugs or medical procedures for which a particular health plan will pay. Occasionally students' unions may be required to alter coverage in order to ensure that the cost of a health plan does not increase above the level allowed by referendum. Alternatively, a students' union may increase

coverage (and therefore cost) for its plan based on requests it receives from its members. In general however, a students' union should first determine the required level of coverage and then work with its broker to establish a price for the plan. Similarly, when receiving a quote from a new broker, a students' union should demand that the broker provide a quote based on coverage identical to the students' union's current plan. By doing so, a students' union will ensure that its members are not being denied health care coverage so that the students' union's broker can increase its profits. The following are areas in which a students' union should be particularly cautious when negotiating either a new plan or modifications to its existing plan.

The Fine Print

When reviewing the coverage provided by an insurance policy, students' unions need to ensure that they are carefully reviewing the exact language contained in the policy. Often students' unions can be duped into inadvertently reducing the coverage they provide their members by slightly altering the wording in an insurance policy.

For example provincial medical insurance may cover the first ten visits to a physiotherapist, but allow the physiotherapist to charge a user fee up to \$15.00. Two different brokers may advertise that their policy covers physiotherapists up to \$15.00 per visit. However, one policy may cover students beginning with their first visit to a physiotherapist, while the other policy covers students only after they have exhausted their basic medical coverage.

Because most people visit a physiotherapist less than ten times per year, students insured under the second policy receive significantly less of a contribution to their physiotherapy costs. The insurance company can claim that it still covers physiotherapy at \$15.00 per visit, but generate significantly more profits.

Students' unions should not agree to an insurance policy simply on the basis of a broker's web site or promotional leaflet, but should insist on reviewing the actual policy the broker intends to offer.

Formularies

A formulary is a list of drugs that are covered

under a particular insurance plan. If a broker employs a formulary, a student will pay the full cost of any drug not listed in the formulary. In other words, two plans may claim to provide 80 percent coverage of prescription drugs, but one plan may cover the vast majority of prescription drugs while the other may cover very few.

Most brokers who employ formularies use clever marketing terms such as "premium stabilisation formula" or "cost management controls" to disguise the fact that they are using formularies to limit the amount of claims the insurance company will be required to pay. However all formularies perform the same function. They shift the cost of prescription drugs from the insurance company to the individual students. In other words, formularies serve to undermine the intended goal of insurance. Further, they result in insurance companies rather than doctors determining which medication will best treat an injury or illness.

While occasionally a restrictive formulary may be the only way for a students' union to ensure that health plan fees do not rise above the maximum level established by referendum, when at all possible a students' union should avoid the implementation of a formulary. A formulary will only reduce the health plan fee if the broker and the insurance company believe it will reduce claims in subsequent years. That means students who are currently claiming insurance coverage for a particular drug will then have to pay the full cost of the drug. Therefore, while establishing a formulary may prevent an increase in the cost of the plan, it will also deny coverage to the very students that the policy was meant to serve.

Managed Health and Dental Care

In order to reduce the claims made against a health plan, and therefore the costs associated with it, some brokers have begun to employ managed health and dental plans. A managed plan only provides coverage if students use a health practitioner who has been approved by the broker. With these plans, brokers are able to pre-select health care practitioners who are most likely to select the cheapest method of treatment. However, students who require the services of a medical practitioner lose the ability to select the practitioner of their choice.

Generic Drugs

One area in which the cost of its health and dental plans can be reduced is by increasing the use of generic drugs as opposed to brand name versions. Generic drugs contain the same medicinal ingredients as the brand name version but are often only a fraction of the cost. The Federation has developed a system under which pharmacists are obligated to provide the generic version of a drug if one is available. This reduces both the level of premium charged for a plan and the students' share of the price of any prescription drug.

History of the Network

The early 1980's

In the early 1980's, only a few students' unions offered extended health plans to their members. Generally, the plans were offered by small, local insurance brokers, and no broker represented more than a couple of students' unions. These brokers had neither the understanding of the student market, nor the bargaining power necessary to offer plans at reasonable prices. Indeed, most health plans offered prior to 1987 were more expensive and provided fewer benefits than any of the plans that students' unions currently offer their members. Because most students' unions did not have the financial or staffing resources to closely scrutinise the information provided by their broker, the members of Federation resolved to create the National Student Health Network in 1985.

The mid-1980's to the mid-1990's

Almost immediately, the Federation became the country's premiere provider of student health and dental plans. As a result of the Federation's knowledge of the student market, the Network was able to design plans that fit both students' needs and budgets. Soon, almost every Federation member and even the vast majority of non-members that offered health and dental plans, did so through the Network created by the Federation.

As more students' unions opted to offer health plans through the Network, the Federation was able to dramatically reduce the cost of the plans. In some cases, students' unions were able to both

improve the coverage they offered their members and reduce the price to as little as one-half the cost of their previous plans. Further, the cost per year of a plan offered through the Network was approximately equal to the monthly cost of a comparable plan if individual students were to seek coverage on their own.

While the Federation was reducing the cost of student health and dental plans, it was also introducing many of the features now regarded as standard with student health plans. Pay-direct cards, dental plans, accidental death and dismemberment insurance, and a tutorial benefit for students whose ability to function at their normal course load was impaired by accident or illness, were all introduced during this period. Additionally, the Federation negotiated with the insurance companies a feature that provided students who already had comparable coverage from another source the ability to "opt-out" of their students' union's plan.

Later, recognising that many students, especially mature students, might have spouses and/or children who would benefit from coverage under the health plan, the Federation provided students with the ability to opt their children or partners, including same sex partners, into the plan. At the time, the Federation was among the first group insurance providers to recognise same-sex relationships.

By the early 1990's, these innovations, coupled with the Federation drastically reducing the cost of plans, led to the Network becoming the country's only provider of extended health and dental insurance for students.

The late-1990's

Unfortunately, the Federation's market dominance was not permanent. In 1995, the Network's broker since its inception abruptly ended its relationship with the Federation and attempted, often through questionable means, to acquire the clients of the Network.

The resulting legal and commercial wrangling created a window of opportunity for other brokers to enter the student market. The first firm to successfully do so was Gallivan and Associates, then a small Waterloo Ontario based firm, which acquired the health plan of the Trent Students' Union in 1995, and the University of

Calgary Students' Union in 1996. Ultimately, Gallivan grew to usurp the Federation's place as the country's largest provider of health and dental insurance for students.

The success of Gallivan in acquiring students' union's health plans emboldened several other firms to begin soliciting student business. Shortly after Gallivan acquired the plans at Trent and University of Calgary, Campbell and Company (since merged with a larger, national firm), also based in Waterloo, Ontario began acquiring the plans of several students' unions in Atlantic Canada.

At approximately the same time, the *Alliance pour la santé étudiante au Québec* began offering extended health and dental plans to students' unions throughout Québec. While Campbell and Company only acquired a few plans, the *Alliance* acquired the plans of most students' unions in Québec. An associated firm—*studentcare.net/works*—acquired the plans at the University of British Columbia, the University of Northern British Columbia, the University of Saskatchewan, Brandon University and Queen's University creating a network comparable to that of Gallivan's.

The growth of Gallivan and the Alliance combined with the Federation's former broker re-emerging in the student market with his post-Federation creation, Campus Trust, heavily divided the client base in the industry. Within the new, highly fragmented market, the Federation was reduced to the role of a bit player, providing plans for only a handful of students' unions. The Network, which once generated a quarter of a million dollars a year for the other activities of the Federation, drained tens of thousands of dollars in resources each year.

Over the last two years, the programme has stabilised and through developing new services to add to the policies it provides, has once again begun to expand its membership. This expansion is increasing the bargaining power that the Federation has with insurance companies and therefore is resulting in further reduction in premium for Network members.

Network Partners

Among the providers of extended health and

dental insurance in Canada, the Federation is unique in that it is the only provider that believes that there should be no need for individuals to purchase health insurance. A state funded medicare plan should cover all health associated costs. It is only because the country's current medicare system is inadequate that the Federation stepped in to provide students with extended health and dental coverage at an affordable price.

While the Federation is a reluctant provider of student health insurance, its involvement gives the Federation the opportunity to have a positive impact on the industry. One manner in which the Federation is able to impact positively on the industry is by choosing to conduct business with organisations that have values similar to the Federation's.

Heath-Lambert Benefits Consulting

The Federation retains the services of Heath-Lambert Benefits Consulting to negotiate with carriers and analyse claims data on behalf of the Federation. Heath-Lambert is the Canadian division of Heath International, the world's largest benefits consultant. The bulk of the firm's clients, especially in Canada, are public sector organisations such as school boards and the staff of various provincial and federal ministries.

Green Shield

Until recently, insurance carriers were owned by their individual policyholders and did not issue shares for purchase by the general public. In 1998, the federal government introduced changes that allowed insurance carriers to list on stock exchanges and allow the public to buy and sell shares in the company. The process of moving from ownership by policyholder to ownership by shareholder is referred to as de-mutualisation. Most of Canada's large insurance companies have now completed de-mutualisation processes.

As a result of de-mutualisation, insurance companies have become less focused on customer service and more focused on their annual profits. The largest of Canada's insurance carriers, Sun Life, had a profit in excess of \$1 billion in its most recent fiscal year and, as a rule, the insurance industry is second only to the banking industry in terms of annual profit.

Historically, the Federation provided plans

offered by five carriers: Sun Life; Canada Life; Seaboard Life; Great-West Life; and Clarica. All of these firms recently completed the de-mutualisation process, and it has caused significant rate increases for most of their policyholders. This led the Federation to search for an alternative to traditional insurance carriers. Ultimately, it was decided that the Federation should work with an organisation called Green Shield to provide students with less expensive extended health and dental insurance.

Green Shield is the only national not-for-profit insurance carrier. Originally created by the Canadian Auto Workers so that its members' insurance benefits would not contribute to the profit of large corporations, Green Shield has grown to rival the country's largest carriers in size, while retaining its not-for-profit status.

Because Green Shield's focus is on increasing its level of service rather than its profit margin and shareholder value, its rates are consistently lower than those of its competitors. Additionally, the Federation is able to conduct business with an organisation that shares much of its philosophy. For example, when the Mulroney government proposed legislation that extended the time that pharmaceutical companies were able to offer their drugs without a generic alternative, Green Shield provided the bulk of the funding for the group opposing the legislation.

New Services

Pharmex

The Federation has launched a pilot-project at the University of Toronto with a "virtual pharmacy" called Pharmex. Pharmex has installed prescription drop-boxes around the University of Toronto campus. Students who have been prescribed medication simply drop the prescription in the box. Within twenty-four hours, Pharmex delivers the prescription to the students' homes. If a student is merely renewing a prescription that has previously been filled by Pharmex, they may order the prescription via telephone or the World Wide Web. Pharmex charges a significantly lower dispensing fee than a traditional pharmacy, thereby saving students money on their prescriptions as well as reducing the cost of claims paid out by the plan.

Thus far, the project has been quite successful and the Federation is hoping to expand the service during the coming year.

Pooling of Premiums

In the last year, the Network has been successful in reducing the per member cost of its health plans by reaching an agreement with Greenshield where premiums are pooled, not on a campus by campus basis, but instead, by developing a single, network-wide premium pool. Additionally, each students' union may retain all of the unique features it has added to its plan. Greenshield continues to provide the Federation with claims information on a case by case basis so that the Federation may accurately establish a separate premium rate for each campus. Greenshield is also providing the Federation with the opportunity, where Network members request it, with the ability to pool claims experience as well as premiums between students' unions. By pooling claims experience, students' unions, particularly smaller ones, are able to better protect their members from large premium increases simply because a few students contract an illness or sustain an injury that is quite expensive to treat.

Negotiation with Other Brokers

At the request of a member local, the Federation will arrange to have a representative of Heath Lambert negotiate on behalf of the local with its existing broker. In this manner, the Federation will ensure that for-profit brokers are not harming the interests of any Federation locals.

Law Protector

Most legal disputes, such as landlord tenant issues or harassment by collection agencies, are relatively simple and could be resolved with a single telephone call to a lawyer. Unfortunately, concern about the cost of paying legal fees often deters students from obtaining legal advice. In order to provide students with an affordable option for legal advice the Federation has retained the services of Law Protector International, a legal advice and referral service based in Toronto.

Students' unions that offer their members health and dental plans through the Network may, for a small, per student fee, also offer their members

the services of Law Protector International. The fee will provide students with free, unlimited access to preliminary legal advice via telephone. Law Protector can provide advice based on the laws of each province and territory in Canada, as well as every U.S. state except Mississippi. Finally, students who require further advice will have the option of retaining a lawyer referred by Law Protector at up to 60 percent off the lawyer's usual rates. Normally, Law Protector charges individuals \$60.00 per year for its telephone advice service, but the Network has negotiated a rate of \$2.30 per student.

Pooling of administrative costs

While the Federation has been quite successful in improving its ability to pool premiums, there are currently no systems that allow students' unions who have similar plans to pool their administrative costs.

However, there are a number of member locals in the greater Vancouver area without health plans that have expressed interest in developing a single, common health plan, at a single, Vancouver-wide price. It is likely that this will be possible because the membership of these locals share similar demographic characteristics. The Network is working to develop a system whereby, should the common plan be implemented, administration for all campuses involved in the plan could be centralised out of either the BC office or one of the member locals involved in the plan. This would allow each of the locals participating in the plan to reduce their administrative costs and would also enable them to focus more on promoting the plan.

Because developing such a plan and running a referendum at each of the campuses involved is likely to be quite complicated, it is not anticipated that the Vancouver-wide plan will be developed prior to September, 2003. However, should it prove successful, other members of the Network would be able to create similar administrative pools as early as January 2004.

CANADIAN FEDERATION OF STUDENTS
FÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDIANTES ET ÉTUDIANTS
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2001-2002 Campaigns and Government Relations Strategy

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2001-2002 Campaigns and Government Relations Strategy

1. "Forget the Freeze, Lower the Fees": CAMPAIGN TO REDUCE TUITION FEES

"Students made it impossible for me not to freeze tuition fees."

– Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin

Context

In the early to mid-1990s, the federal government made massive cuts to post-secondary education transfer payments to the provinces. In turn, most provinces passed the cost of those cuts on to students in the form of higher tuition fees. In response the Federation focused much of its campaigns and government relations work during the past five years on halting tuition fee increases and restoring federal transfer payments for post-secondary education.

The Federation's efforts have met with some success. Since 1996, tuition fees in British Columbia have been frozen, and a reduction is slated for this fall. In Newfoundland and Labrador, fees have been frozen for two years and a reduction has been promised. Manitoba reduced fees a year ago and will be freezing them at that level for the coming year. In Saskatchewan, the University of Regina did not increase fees this past year after the provincial government reneged on an election promise to reduce fees. Tuition fees at the University of Prince Edward Island were also frozen this past year. Tuition fees in Québec have remained frozen (for Québec residents) for close to a decade.

Meanwhile, the federal government has ceased cutting and has restored a small portion of the funds cut from transfer payments.

Most importantly, increased awareness about the effects of tuition fee increases on access has helped shift public opinion. Recent polling indicates that the vast majority of Canadians oppose further tuition fee increases and that roughly half support a reduction in fees.

Unfortunately, some provinces such as Ontario and Nova Scotia, have continued to raise fees and have deregulated some graduate, professional, and college fees. In addition, the hard-fought freezes and reductions that have been won in some provinces are under attack by those who would have students shoulder more of the funding burden.

The challenge for the Federation is to maintain the momentum towards lower tuition fees in provinces where freezes and reductions have already occurred and to create pressure in other provinces to reverse recent increases and to re-regulate deregulated fees.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- reductions in tuition fees and ancillary fees at public post-secondary institutions across the country;
- an end to the deregulation of tuition fees;
- increased public funding to compensate for the reduced institutional funding resulting from fee reductions in order to ensure that quality is not jeopardised;
- restoration of federal government funding for post-secondary education;
- to expose the regional disparity with respect to access to post-secondary education and continue to build public support for reduced tuition fees nation-wide.

Implementation

While the majority of post-secondary education funding continues to be provided by the federal government, tuition fees are regulated by the provincial governments. Therefore, the national campaign on tuition fees will focus on provincial governments. The campaign will enable member locals to organise actions to coincide with specific provincial events.

The implementation of the campaign will be coordinated in each of the provinces and on a national level.

- **Research:** In the early 1990's when massive federal government cuts to post-secondary education resulted in skyrocketing tuition fees, the Federation articulated the view that rising fees

would result in reduced access to post-secondary education. Now, in 2001, with fees having increased by an average of 126% nationwide, a wide variety of studies substantiate the view that an increase in fees precipitates declining rates of participation among low and middle income Canadians.

In its latest Education Quarterly report Statistics Canada reports a pronounced drop in participation rates from students who hail from low and middle income families. For the purposes of this study the cut off for low and middle income is household income of less than \$60,000. The decline in participation rates, recorded in 1999, was the first recorded decrease since Statistics Canada began tracking such data in 1965. In addition, several studies have been undertaken to examine the deregulation of tuition fees in Ontario. In each study, the investigators found a startling decline of students from lower and middle income homes.

As part of the campaign to reduce tuition fees, a compendium of research will be assembled to chart the correlation between rising fees and declining participation rates at Canadian colleges and universities. In addition, original research will be produced highlighting other adverse effects of tuition fee increases.

- **Government Relations Strategy:** Provincial lobby days will seek tuition fee freezes and reductions, ideally through legislation. Nationally, the Federation will continue to press for the restoration of federal transfer payments for post-secondary education in meetings with federal officials. The Federation will seek strong public infrastructure investments that represent new funding and that do not rely on corporate funds. Finally, coordinated action will be aimed at the annual Premier's Conference to demand a common statement calling for increased federal funding for education in order to reduce tuition fees.
- **Membership Mobilisation:**

Provincially-focused National Day of Action, Winter 2002: Member locals will be encouraged to participate in a provincially-focussed National Day of Action. Other activities may include, but not be limited to, teach-ins, petition drives, and public forums.

Media Strategy: The Federation has had significant success in raising the issue of tuition fees in the media and contributing to a growing discontent among the general population about exorbitant fees. Continued media coverage will foster growth of this sentiment.

The Federation will develop a centrally coordinated communications strategy that calls public attention to the impact of high tuition fees on accessibility of post-secondary education.
- **Coalition Work:** Member locals will be encouraged to solicit support through local coalition work.

a. "Life-Time Loans = Life-Time Debt":

CAMPAIGN AGAINST INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT (ICR) SCHEMES

Context

In 1955, the U.S. economist Milton Friedman devised Income Contingent Repayment Schemes ICR as a way to reduce the role of the state in financing education. Instead of public funding, Friedman proposed that there be full cost-recovery tuition fees. In order for students to pay for these vastly higher tuition fees, he proposed that they have access to large loans. Finally, he proposed that, in order for repayment of the loan to be manageable, the size of loan payments be based on each individual's level of income after graduation (i.e., income contingent).

Starting in the early-1990s, proponents have sought to gain support for ICR by exploiting the student debt crisis and by playing down the social benefits of an educated citizenry. Rather than being up front about their true purpose -- to shift the cost of education from the state to the individual -- they have tried to "sell" ICR schemes as flexible and fair student-aid plans that would allow student loan recipients to pay off their loans as their income allowed.

Under ICR, borrowers would repay their loans as a percentage of their incomes upon completion of study. Thus, graduates with lower levels of income would repay their loans over a longer period of time, while those in high-paying jobs could repay their loans quickly and avoid interest payments. Those who could afford to pay their tuition fees up front would avoid the high interest rate payment after graduation, and end up paying less for post-secondary education.

Virtually all ICR models that have been considered in Canada and adopted in other parts of the world have had tuition fees increasing significantly. In fact, the ICR scheme is merely a way to ease the impact of fee hikes and hasten the underfunding of education. Most models replace loan plans that are interest-free during the period of study (such as Canada Student Loans) with loans that collect interest from the moment they are provided.

The Federation has helped stop ICR schemes in the past. However, in the recent federal election, the Canadian Alliance Party included ICR schemes in their education platform and there is strong evidence that they are being considered by both the federal, Ontario and Alberta governments.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- a halt to government initiatives to implement income contingent repayment loan schemes; and
- to raise awareness among the membership and the public about the dangers of ICR schemes.

Implementation

The Federation will continue to lobby governments that present income contingent repayment loan schemes as a form of "student aid". The Federation will remain vigilant to ensure that ICR schemes do not surface in provincial budgets. In addition, as negotiations to harmonise provincial and federal student loans re-commence in fall 2001, the Federation will lobby the federal government to expressly exclude ICRs as a prerequisite to any harmonisation agreement.

Research: The Federation will continue to monitor the effects of ICR schemes in those jurisdictions outside of Canada where they have been implemented. In addition, the Federation will examine federal and provincial budget announcements to uncover similar methods of downloading the cost of education to students.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: The Federation will continue to distribute its factsheet "Income Contingent Repayment Loan Schemes" to member locals, to the public, to the media and to government officials.

Member locals will be encouraged to approach campus and local newspapers to suggest the publication of articles or features about the problems of income contingent repayment loan schemes and the negative effect of student debt on access.

2. "Stop the GATS": CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TRADE IN SERVICES (GATS)

Context

In recent years, the scope of free trade agreements has expanded rapidly. During this time, trade in services has played an increasingly significant role in the accords that are currently in effect and that are being negotiated. In particular, areas such as education, health care, and municipal services are the new targets of multinational corporations that see public services as opportunities for exploiting new profit markets and compromising national policies that promote and protect citizen rights to core social services.

In 1995, the Government of Canada became a signatory to the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) through its membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO). The GATS --

which forms the basis for any new trade in services – potentially covers all services, except those "provided in the exercise of governmental authority" if they are also "supplied neither on a commercial basis nor in competition with one or more service suppliers." Because public education and private education co-exist in Canada, this provision does not protect the public system from intrusion by private interests. Essentially, GATS regulations threaten to infringe on the ability of governments and municipalities to provide services, including public education, to residents.

Recent organising in opposition to free trade agreements has emphasized mobilising citizens to participate in demonstrations that are held in conjunction with meetings of national governments. In an attempt to avoid protests such as those that coincided with the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999 and Québec City in April 2001, the next meeting of the WTO will be held in Qatar in November. Nevertheless, an inaccessible meeting site provides the opportunity for those opposed to free trade to focus on local organising.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks to:

- raise awareness among members and the public about the potential impact of trade agreements concerning services on post-secondary education; and
- halt the threat posed to post-secondary education by international free trade agreements.

Implementation

Beginning in fall 2000, the Common Front on the World Trade Organization (CFWTO), of which the Federation is a member, will be organising a series of public events across the country to examine the impact of the GATS on public services. The Federation will simultaneously launch provincial and national initiatives to implement the campaign locally.

Research: Research into the specific effects of the GATS on post-secondary education will be undertaken.

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will lobby Federal governments to cease the GATS negotiations as they relate to education, health care and other social services.

The Federation will lobby municipal politicians to pass resolutions demanding that international trade agreements not interfere with locally provided services. Where appropriate, meetings will be arranged with provincial and federal officials to focus on the links between trade liberalisation and post-secondary education.

Finally, the Federation will join with the Canadian Association of University Teachers to seek a legal opinion on whether section 11C of the GATS precludes Canada from protecting education from the trade regulations and sanctions that govern the WTO.

Membership Mobilisation:

- **"Stop the GATS!" Postcard Distribution:** The Federation will produce postcards calling on the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to stop the GATS negotiations. The postcards will be distributed to member locals in early September for orientation and welcome week events. The distribution and collection of the cards will be a major aspect of the organising efforts in fall 2001. The completed postcards will be collected, submitted to the national office and mailed to the Minister in advance of the World Trade Organisation meeting in Qatar, November 9-13.
- **"Stop the GATS!" Teach-In Events:** Member locals will be encouraged to participate in CFWTO public awareness events, and community organising activities that support such actions.
- **International Student Statement on Trade Liberalisation:** The Federation will lead the efforts to develop an International Student Statement on Trade Liberalisation. This statement will be drafted by the Federation and members of the Organisation of Caribbean and Latin American Students (OCLAE). Member locals will be encouraged to pass resolutions supporting the statement and to forward those resolutions on official letterhead to the national office of the Federation.
- **International Student Day of Action Solidarity Campaign, November 17, 2001:** On Saturday, November 17, 2001, students throughout the Americas will be participating in a day of action against the privatisation of post-secondary education. In order to support the organising initiatives

of students in South and Central America, members will be encouraged to show solidarity through a coordinated fax-out of signed copies of the International Student Statement on Trade Liberalisation to the Canadian government and each of the embassies of the 33 other countries of the Americas. The Federation will provide fax information and will set up a web link for individual students to send faxes to the various ministers of international trade.

National Media Strategy: The Federation will use the media attention surrounding the World Trade Organisation meeting in November to generate interest in post-secondary education issues.

The Federation will develop a centrally-coordinated communications strategy that calls for the exclusion of education from international free trade agreements.

Coalition Work: National coalition work will be conducted through participation in the Common Front on the World Trade Organization. Provincial components will be encouraged to work with provincial anti-free trade coalitions.

3. "Keep the Public in Post-secondary Education": CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRIVATE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

In December 2000, the government of Ontario passed legislation approving the establishment of private, degree-granting post-secondary institutions, including for-profit and not-for-profit operations. For the first time in the history of public education in Canada, privately-owned and operated enterprises will be allowed unregulated degree-granting status. While private colleges have existed in Canada for the past two decades, the introduction of private, degree-granting institutions represents a significant change in public education in Canada. This spring, the Alberta government bestowed for-profit, degree-granting status upon Devry Institute—the first in Canada.

There are already thousands of registered privately-funded vocational schools across the country, some of which call themselves "colleges." These vocational schools are actually privately-owned businesses operated as commercial for-profit enterprises. With the changes in Ontario and elsewhere, these companies could become legally recognised universities.

Government policymakers argue that private universities and colleges increase the choices available for students. However, that choice is only available for those who can afford it. By conservative estimates, the total annual cost of a private, for-profit post-secondary degree will be \$40,166 to \$160,664 for a four-year undergraduate degree.

There is a growing reliance on the private sector to replace public services. The introduction of private institutions is merely one aspect in the gradual erosion of public services. In recent years there has been a growing trend to implement public-private partnerships in all new federal infrastructure and research investments. This is also the case in many provinces.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks to:

- raise awareness among the membership and the public about how private, for-profit post-secondary institutes are profiting with the use of public funds and precipitating the decline of public education;
- raise awareness among the membership and the public about the implications of the privatisation of education;
- end the designation of private, for-profit post-secondary institutions as eligible to receive funds through provincial student loans programs, the Canada Student Loan Program, and other sources;
- halt the establishment or expansion of private degree-granting institutions; and
- oppose the linking of funding to key performance indicators.

Implementation

Research: Research will be conducted on the ways in which private, for-profit post-secondary institutes restrict access to post-secondary education. This will include an analysis of user fee increases, declining funding for public institutions, demographic trends in access to higher education, and expenditure of public funds to subsidise private enterprises offering post-secondary

education. In addition, a tabulation will be prepared on the public subsidies flowing to the for-profit education industry.

Research will be undertaken on the history of private education, the development of public education, and the threats to accessibility and quality of education posed by private post-secondary institutions.

Government Relations Strategy: Pressure will be exerted on federal and provincial governments to end the designation of private, for-profit post-secondary institutions as eligible to receive funds through provincial student loans programmes and the Canada Student Loan Program. Governments will also be pressured to prevent the expansion of the private post-secondary education system.

Pressure will be exerted on provincial and federal governments to reject the establishment or expansion of private institutions. Government representatives will be furnished with the Federation's rationale for rejecting private post-secondary education.

Membership Mobilisation: Member locals will be encouraged to:

- distribute materials exposing private, for-profit education;
- organise public forums dedicated to raising awareness among the membership and the public of private, for-profit education; and
- organise letter-writing/fax/email campaigns directed at government, demanding an end to private, for-profit education.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: A centrally coordinated media strategy will focus on the threats of private, for-profit education to the public system.

Coalition Work: Member locals will be encouraged to:

- build on-campus coalitions, including representation from groups such as faculty unions, support staff unions, teaching assistant/graduate assistant/research assistant unions, student service centres, and public interest research groups (PIRGs); and
- work with off-campus coalition partners to solicit support for the campaign opposing the privatisation of social programs and public services and to share information.

4. "Straight to the Core": CAMPAIGN FOR INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDING FOR POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Context

Over the past decade, the federal government has cut over \$24 billion from cash transfers to the provinces. At 14 per cent of economic output (GDP), federal social program spending is lower now than at any time since the 1940s. In total, over \$7 billion has been cut from post-secondary education and training since 1993. To compensate for the shortfall in federal funding, most provinces increased user fees for social programs. On average, tuition fees have more than doubled over the past ten years. In addition, reeling from years of funding cutbacks, many of Canada's publicly funded colleges and universities are succumbing to the overwhelming pressure to become research labs and training grounds for private, for-profit corporations.

Public opinion polls have consistently shown that Canadians value a reinvestment in education and health care over greater tax cuts. Despite this, in the last federal budget, the Liberal government allocated almost all of the \$12 billion surplus to tax cuts.

Advocates of the market economy continue to call for the implementation of commercial models of managing higher education, such as full cost-recovery user fees and income-contingent loan repayment plans. All of these trends and pressures threaten governments' ability to maintain a public education system, to ensure standards exist within this system, or to preserve public accountability.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- the immediate restoration of \$3.7 billion in transfer payments to the provinces;
- the restoration of federal funding at 1993 levels (adjusted for population growth and inflation);
- the investment of core institutional funding that is not contingent to partnerships of any kind; and
- government investments in college and university infrastructure with new funding that does not require private partnerships.

Implementation

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will continue to lobby the federal government for the restoration of cash transfers to the provinces and for greater influence over how that money is spent. The Federation will oppose the linking of federal funding to private sector (or other) partnerships.

Provincial components will coordinate lobby days. The primary demand will be a substantial government reinvestment in post-secondary education.

In addition, provincial components will target the Annual Premier's Conference. The Premiers will be asked to issue a common statement calling for increased federal funding for post-secondary education.

Appropriate meetings will be arranged with federal elected representatives and bureaucrats. These meetings will focus on restoring federal funding to higher education.

Membership Mobilisation: Member locals will be encouraged to participate in provincial days of action or other tactics which may include, but are not be limited to, teach-ins, petition drives, and public forums. These actions will occur in Winter 2002.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: The Federation will develop a centrally coordinated communications strategy that continues to call public attention to the impact of government cuts on the quality of post-secondary education.

Coalition Work: Member locals will be encouraged to solicit support through local coalition work.

a. "Grants Not Loans": CAMPAIGN FOR A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF NEED-BASED GRANTS

Context

Canada is one of only three industrialised countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) that does not have a national system of student grants. Virtually all European and South American countries, as well as the United States, have grants programs. In Canada, 80% of students require some financial assistance. Three-quarters of those receiving student loans believe they would be unable to participate in higher education without this assistance. However Canada has not re-implemented a grants system.

A national system of need-based grants would immediately reduce the daunting debt level students carry. Currently, the federal government spends \$1.3 billion each year to administer the Canada Student Loans Program. The Federation estimates the cost of a national grants program to be \$1.2 billion. In addition, for every dollar allocated in grants, savings will also be realised in reduced administrative costs, educational tax credit claims and payments to banks.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- the establishment of a national system of grants to replace the Canada Student Loans Programme; and
- to raise awareness among students, the general public and decision-makers about the need to address the crisis of student debt in more constructive and direct ways.

Implementation

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will continue to lobby the federal government and Human Resources and Development Canada for a national system of need-based grants.

Research: The Federation will continue to conduct research into the effects of student debt on accessibility to public post-secondary education and to produce a viable model for national grants to replace government loans.

b. CAMPAIGN FOR THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE CANADA STUDENT LOANS PROGRAM

Context

In 1995, the federal government abandoned its responsibility for the Canada Student Loan Program (CSLP) and negotiated a lucrative five year contract with Canada's chartered banks. During that contract, the goal of the banks was to turn a social program into a profit-making venture. In doing so, they undermined the original mandate of the Canada Student Loan Act, which was to improve access to education. In addition, the chartered banks provided very poor service to students and leveraged the government to implement a series of detrimental changes to the program. Namely, the government introduced credit checks on student loans and amended the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act to include a ten-year ban on the discharge of student loans.

The Federation has actively lobbied against the involvement of chartered banks in the administration of a public service and has continually argued that these policy changes were made to appease the banks. The Federation challenged the government to reverse these changes in the aftermath of the banks' withdrawal from the programme and since they no longer have influence on policy.

February 28, 2001, was the official starting date for the latest changes to the public administration of the CSLP. Under the new model, the federal government has been forced by the bank pull-out to "directly finance" the program. This means that the system will once again be publicly funded and controlled.

Since March 2000 the Federation has been sitting on a stakeholder task force to advise Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) on the implementation of a new Canada Student Loan Program. This task force is part of the National Advisory Group on Student Financial Assistance (NAGSFA).

After five years of secrecy and bad service when the banks administered the CSLP, Federation members have cause to be more optimistic that the new agreements will restore accountability and transparency to the Canada Student Loan Program.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- the establishment of a national system of grants to replace the Canada Student Loans Programme;
- as an interim measure, the maintenance of a publicly administered Canada Student Loans Programme which does not involve risk-sharing agreements with chartered banks; and
- the gathering of accurate and full statistics on the degree to which the public is subsidising both public and private institutions; and
- to raise awareness among students, the general public and decision-makers about the need to address the crisis of student debt in more constructive and direct ways.

Implementation

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will continue to sit on the National Advisory Group on Student Financial Assistance, meet regularly with the Minister and senior

bureaucrats of Human Resources and Development Canada, and lobby the government to ensure that the Canada Student Loans Program remains public.

Research: The Federation will continue to conduct research on the role of the loans system in the accumulation of student debt and the relationship between private, for-profit sub-contractors and HRDC program administration.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: Member locals will be encouraged to distribute Federation fact sheets and membership advisories on the changes to the CSLP so that their members are aware of the effects of the program changes on their own financial situations.

c. CAMPAIGN AGAINST REGISTERED EDUCATION SAVINGS PLANS AND CANADA EDUCATION SAVINGS GRANTS

Context

The existing national system of indirect grants, the Registered Education Savings Plan (RESP) program, should be terminated and the existing national system of direct grants, the Canada Education Savings Grants (CESG) program, should be cancelled. In place of the elitist RESP/CESG the Federation proposes the establishment of an equitable needs-based system of national direct grants - the Canada Student Grants Program. The national grants program proposed by the Federation will be equitable, will cost no more than the current elitist system, and will provide greater access to post-secondary education.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- termination of the Registered Education Savings Plans program;
- cancellation of the Canada Education Savings Grants program; and
- establishment of a national system of grants to replace the Canada Student Loans Program.

Implementation

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will continue to lobby the federal government and Human Resources and Development Canada for a national system of need-based grants.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: Member locals will be encouraged to distribute Federation fact sheets and membership advisories on the RESPs and CESGs so that their members and the media are aware of the discriminatory advantage that such programmes give to those who are the most privileged in our society.

5. CHARTER CHALLENGE TO TEN-YEAR BAN ON STUDENT LOAN BANKRUPTCY

Context

Recent amendments to sections 178(1)(g)(ii) and 178(1.1) of the *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act* R.S.C. 1985, c.B-3 make student loans non-dischargeable for a period of ten years after a student has ceased full or part-time studies. These provisions create a distinction between student debtors and consumer debtors in general.

Section 178 violates historic and evolving notions of fairness and justice that are guaranteed by section 7 of the *Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*. First, the most recent amendments to section 178 did not receive adequate public consultation. Second, these amendments have resulted in an unequal application of the law. In fact, the federal government has acknowledged that high student loan debt may limit former students' access to credit as well as their ability to follow chosen careers.

The Federation has adopted the position that the recent amendments to the *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act* are unconstitutional and will continue to challenge the provisions.

Campaign Goals

The Federation seeks:

- repeal of the ten-year ban on student loan bankruptcy; and
- tangible measures to relieve student debt.

Implementation

Government Relations Strategy: Pressure will be exerted on the federal government to voluntarily review and repeal its decision to implement any restrictions to students' rights to avail themselves of reasonable protection from debt under the *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act*. The *Charter* challenge to effect the repeal of the ten-year ban on student loan bankruptcy will continue.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: A communications strategy around the various stages of the challenge will be developed and implemented. Member locals will be encouraged to gather names and contact information of students and recent graduates willing to discuss the student debt crisis with the media.

6. NATIONAL SYSTEM OF STANDARDS FOR POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Context

For more than a decade, the Federation has called for the establishment of a national system of standards for post-secondary education and research. The Federation proposes that a Ministry of Post-Secondary Education and Research be established and that a Post-Secondary Education Act, based on the principles of the Canada Health Act, be developed and implemented.

Currently, the Canada Student Loans Program, the Millennium Scholarship Foundation and training programmes fall under the purview of Human Resources and Development Canada, while university research and new initiatives in the area of on-line learning fall under the mandate of the Ministry of Industry. As a result, the federal government lacks a coherent national vision for post-secondary education and research,

Campaign Goals

The Federation will continue to seek the establishment of:

- a Ministry of Post-Secondary Education and Research;
- a Post-Secondary Education Act;
- national standards for quality and accessibility in post-secondary education and research; and
- national policy on intellectual property and academic freedom.

Implementation

Research: The Federation will draft an act of parliament on post-secondary education and research.

Coalition Work: The Federation will work with other post-secondary education sector organisations to develop and present a draft act.

Government Relations Strategy: The Federation will exert pressure on the federal government to take an active role in establishing accountability and equity in post-secondary education among the provinces.

National Awareness and Media Strategy: The Federation will develop a communications strategy that illustrates the need for national standards in post-secondary education and research. The Federation will continue to expose the drastic disparities in accessibility and quality of post-secondary education among the provinces, focusing on such areas as the Millennium Scholarship Fund, tuition fees, and student debt, and will demonstrate how federal inaction has led to these disparities.



AGENDA

National Education and Student Rights Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

1. PREPARATION FOR COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS

a. Ratification of the Committee Chair(s)

Standing Resolution 1, Section 4 *Committee Chairperson* states that:

As its first order of business each standing committee shall either:

- a. ratify as the committee chairperson(s) the National Executive member(s) appointed to the committee; or
- b. elect a committee chairperson from within its membership.

b. Review of the Committee Agenda

c. Review of the Committee's Terms of Reference

Committee members should be familiar with the responsibilities of the National Education and Student Rights Committee as established in the Federation's Standing Resolutions. Standing Resolution 1, Section 3 (b) *National Education and Student Rights Committee*, states that the sub-committee "shall review and make recommendations to closing plenary on proposed amendments to the issues policy of the Federation, as proposed by Committee members and member locals on plenary floor."

2. CURRENT POLICY ISSUES DISCUSSION

a. Federation Submission to Standing Committee on Finance

The Federation's Researcher, Michael Conlon, will give a short presentation on the Federation submission this year to the Standing Committee on Finance.

b. Presentation on Online Learning

A brief presentation will be delivered on the implications of the growing use and support for online learning in Canada.

3. MOTIONS REFERRED FROM OPENING PLENARY

The following motions will likely be referred to the National Education and Student Rights Committee by the opening plenary.

a. Proposal to Amend Policy on the Declaration of Aboriginal Students' Rights

2001/11:N03 MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 23/Local 75

Be it resolved that the words "The Federation supports" in the Declaration of Aboriginal Students' Rights be replaced with "The Federation supports and encourages"; and

Be it resolved that the following be added to the "Aboriginal Education" section of the Declaration of Aboriginal Students' Rights:

- use of traditional knowledge within educational institutions and the values of traditional knowledge to all people;
- Aboriginal student involvement in the hiring of Aboriginal staff and faculty;
- human Rights of Aboriginal Peoples working and involved in any educational institutes;
- culturally relevant events, ceremonies and rituals at educational institutes; and
- representation by Aboriginal students on students' union governing boards and committees.

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20th Annual National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students
Wednesday, November 21 to Saturday, November 24, 2001

b. Proposal to Amend Policy about Academic Freedom

2001/11:N06 MOTION

Local 78/

Be it resolved that the policy titled *Academic Freedom* be renamed *Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship*; and

Be it further resolved that the following policy be adopted under the heading *Academic Freedom*:

Preamble

The intrusion of proprietary interests into the classroom and research environments places pressure on public institutions of higher education to alter their mission in order to secure and/or retain funding from private and government sources.

Insufficient government operating and research grants cause public institutions to become dependant on private sector funds and therefore private sector goals. Matched funding initiatives such as the Canada Foundation for Innovation are direct measures to bind publicly funded projects to the goals of private industry.

Examples of the negative implications of restricted academic freedom include: researchers critical of industry, university, or government practices having positions threatened; courses and research not considered economically relevant being under-funded or eliminated; and, in general, the democratic voice of dissent becoming increasingly silenced.

For colleges and universities to remain true to their mission to pursue knowledge for its own sake and "to promote, through teaching and research, the principles of freedom and justice, of human dignity and solidarity" (UNESCO international conference, 1950), the tenets of academic freedom must be held as indispensable.

Policy

The Federation supports the right of students, teaching faculty members, and academic researchers in all fora to exercise academic freedom.

The Federation believes Academic Freedom includes, but is not limited to:

The right of members of the academic community – scholars, teachers, and students – to: conduct, publish, and promote academic work that meets nationally established ethical and professional standards; engage in teaching and discussion; and be openly critical.

The Federation is opposed to any agreement or contract that infringes upon a student's, teaching faculty member's, or academic researcher's academic freedom.

4. OTHER BUSINESS

5. ADJOURNMENT

CANADIAN FEDERATION OF STUDENTS
FÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDIANTES ET ÉTUDIANTS
20th Annual General Meeting • 20e Assemblée générale annuelle



Canadian Federation of Students

submission to the

**House of Commons
Standing Committee on Finance**

August, 2001



Canadian Federation of Students'
Submission to the
House of Commons
Standing Committee on Finance
August, 2001

INTRODUCTION

The unprecedented growth of the Canadian economy over the past six years has created unique challenges and opportunities. On June 1, 2000 the gross domestic product reached the benchmark of \$1 trillion and the past three federal budgets have produced surpluses of over \$5 billion. Using conservative economic indicators, the Canadian Association of University Teachers estimates the surplus will grow to at least \$34.6 billion over the next five years. Despite these achievements the gap between the rich and poor in Canada continues to widen. According to the *Canadian Fact Book on Poverty* there are 1.3 million more poor households in Canada than there were 20 years ago. Between 1981 and 1997, the rate of poverty among young families more than doubled from 21.7 per cent to 46.1 per cent.

During this same period of economic expansion and increased poverty, the cost of post-secondary education has dramatically increased and access to education for low and middle income Canadians is declining. An important indicator about the mismatch between macro-economic prosperity and the declining opportunities for low and middle income Canadians can be found in recent trends in post-secondary education policy. Regrettably, Canada's

system of post-secondary education is working to exacerbate the gap between those who prosper in the new economy and those who languish in low-paying, unfulfilling work. In the past three budgets the federal government has undertaken a variety of new policy initiatives under the banner of the "new economy" and the challenge of providing opportunities for all. However, as we shall outline, these measures have, for the most part, been cosmetic.

Besides calling for more core funding, this brief will make the case that the money the federal government is investing in post-secondary education and research could be allocated more effectively. In addition, though the federal government has restored a portion of the funding cut to the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1994, almost none of this new funding is being used for public colleges and universities. The federal government has yet to implement any framework with the provinces that works toward national standards of quality and mobility. Before such a framework can be built the federal government must find a means of making the provinces more accountable for the funds transferred under the CHST designed to fund post-secondary education.

In the light of the trends outlined above it is regrettable that the Standing

Committee on Finance has recommended that almost all of the accrued surplus for the next three years be allocated for tax cuts. Tax cuts will do nothing to address the growing income disparity in Canada and, more importantly, they limit the government's ability to properly fund programs like healthcare and post-secondary education that soften socio-economic divisions. In this brief we will outline how these recent policy measures are actually contributing to what Judith Maxwell called the 'social deficit' and why the basic tenor of federal government policy on post-secondary education is moving us further away from the democratic goal of a high quality system of universal education accessible to all.

This brief will be divided into three sections: Access to Post-Secondary Education; Research; and Skills and Training. In each section we assess current policy as well as offer proactive solutions to the problems endemic in our system of post-secondary education. The policy themes and recommendations that govern this brief will explore both the economic and social peril Canada invites by ignoring the crisis in post-secondary education.

ACCESS: OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL?

"Every Canadian who wants to learn should have the opportunity to do so. Students from lower income families are under-represented in our institutions of higher learning. Too many are deterred from pursuing higher education because of a fear of a large debt."

Paul Martin, 1998

The withdrawal of federal funding over the past decade has led to a steady

decline in access to post-secondary education among low and middle income Canadians. Throughout the 1990's, the federal government pointed to high participation rates to argue that funding cuts have had no effect on access to post-secondary education. However, recent data suggests that there is a direct link between funding and accessibility. Between 1990 and 2000, tuition fees increased by a national average of 126%. During this same period, university operating revenues from governments fell by 25%.¹ Student debt also rose from an average of \$8,000 in 1990 to \$25,000 in 1998.

The effect of this paradigm shift in how education is funded has been felt most acutely by low and middle income Canadians. Canadians who are in the bottom 20% in terms of after-tax income now devote 23% of their after-tax income to tuition fees and educational expenses.² That figure represents a 64% increase from 1991. During this period, the after-tax income of this demographic decreased by 3% in real dollars.³

The downloading of educational costs from the collective pool of public resources to the individual has had a predictable effect on access. Over the past 18 months reliable data has emerged that tracks the effect of the public policy terms enumerated above. At the University of Western Ontario a study was undertaken to quantify the effects of tuition fee increases. The study documented the household income of two groups of students. The first were students entering Western's medical school in the first year in which tuition fees had been fully

deregulated, resulting in substantial fee increases. The second group were fourth year medical students who had entered the program three years earlier during a period when the fees were regulated and considerably lower. The study found that after deregulation, the participation rates of students from families with a household income of less than \$40,000 dropped by more than 50% (from 17.3% to just 7.7%). Participation rates of students from very high-income families tripled, from 8.6% to 24.4%. A similar study at the University of Guelph found that the number of students entering the University of Guelph from homes with family incomes of \$40,000 or less was 40% in 1987. That number had dropped to 16% by 1998.

The withdrawal of public funding and increased cost of post secondary education has had a particularly detrimental effect on aboriginal communities in Canada.

Unemployment rates and other social determinants in aboriginal communities remain at levels near that of developing nations. A recent review of post secondary education by the Assembly of First Nations confirms that funding and opportunity are being denied to aboriginal Canadians who are least likely to afford the increased cost of tuition.⁴ The study focused on the capping of band funding for post-secondary education and the effect that this cap has had on access to education for First Nations peoples. In addition, the report points to federal funding cuts as the primary reason why Canada's First Nations have been unable to expand the number of institutions devoted exclusively to the needs of aboriginal learners.

These findings provide conclusive evidence that tuition fees operate as a direct barrier to families at the low end of the socio-economic scale. In short, federal and provincial under-funding of education is creating yet another divide in Canadian society between those who have access to the skills, training, and experience of post-secondary education and those Canadians who are denied access for purely financial reasons. This mounting evidence supports the prescient claim of the *Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission* in its study of accessibility in 1997:

The research clearly demonstrates that the cost of post-secondary education and increasing debt levels are significant factors in the decision students make about whether or not to continue their studies beyond high school. Even more significant is the finding that students from lower income households are much more likely to be affected by financial issues when deciding to pursue or not pursue their education beyond high school (ii, 1997).

In the face of this mounting crisis the federal government has taken several modest steps to address the problem of accessibility. Before offering recommendations we will evaluate the effect these measures, in particular, the Registered Education Savings Program (RESP) and the Millennium Scholarship Foundation (MSF), are having.

In the face of mounting tuition fees and other individualised costs of education, the federal government recently extended the Registered Education Savings Program to include a national system of grants (Canada Education

Savings Grant-CESG) based on the ability to save. In addition to the forgone tax revenue of the original program, the federal government set aside a grant of 20% on the first \$2000 deposited into an RESP. The grant totals \$400 per year and continues until the year in which the child for whom the account is opened turns 17.

The addition of the grants program, along with a cessation of certain restrictions, increased participation in the program dramatically and represents a significant federal government expenditure on post-secondary education. Between 1998 and May 2001 the government of Canada spent \$959,487,905 on direct grants. This figure does not take into account the cost of administering the program or the forgone tax revenue. Despite this public expenditure the participation rates of low and middle income Canadians are rapidly declining. Recent data from Statistics Canada demonstrates why the federal government is seeing such a poor fiscal and social return on this investment.

In an April 2001 study, entitled *Survey of Approaches to Educational Planning*, researchers tracked attitudes toward saving for a child's post-secondary education as well as the actual savings families were able to accumulate. The study controlled for family income and parental educational attainment. In homes where the family income was less than \$30,000, 80% of parents said they hoped to save funds for a child's education. However, only 18.7% of those parents were actually able to save. In homes with family income of over \$80,000 researchers found that 95% of parents hoped to

save for a child's education and that 62.6% actually were saving.

Figure 1. - Post Secondary Aspirations and Savings

Household Income	% of children whose parents hope they will attend post secondary institutions	% of children whose parents are saving for their PSE
<\$30,000	79.8	18.7
\$30,000-\$49,000	85.8	37.4
\$50,000-\$59,000	90.6	45.6
\$60,000-\$79,000	93.4	52.6
\$80,000+	95.0	62.6

Source: Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, April 10, 2001

These numbers confirm the case put forward by the Canadian Federation of Students in our submission to the Standing Committee on Finance last year. Through the available data we argued that the RESP program was in effect a national system of grants for the wealthy. The RESP is ostensibly a social program funded by all Canadians designed to reward those with the means to save. The aforementioned findings by Statistics Canada confirms this analysis and provides hard data to support the contention that the RESP and CESG programs are a regressive use of public funds that are doing virtually nothing to assist those Canadians most in need of the skills and training offered by post-secondary education. RESPs merely expand the already existing gap in Canada between the desire for post-secondary education and the ability to afford it. It is indeed perverse public policy to spend public funds on those who least need assistance while doing little or nothing to help those for whom post-secondary education remains only a dream.

The other policy measure taking up public resources is the Millennium Scholarship Foundation (MSF). Enshrined in the 1998 federal budget,

the MSF has had little or no impact on student debt in Canada. Since Finance Minister Paul Martin rose in the House of Commons and promised Canadians that the MSF would reduce a students' debt by \$12,000 over a four-year program, the MSF has been mired in public relations gaffes and disputes with provincial governments. The complex public/private structure of the Foundation forced it to enter into negotiations with provincial governments to disburse approximately \$250 million per year. When these negotiations were completed it became apparent that some provinces (Nova Scotia and Ontario in particular) were simply not going to use funds transferred from the MSF to relieve student debt. The creation of the MSF as a stand-alone body was designed to give the federal government a higher profile in the funding of post-secondary education. Consequently, the MSF has become a public relations vehicle that is not addressing the root problem of student debt. This, despite an endowment of \$2.5 billion over ten years.

The Canadian Federation of Students is proposing that the funds currently being expended in the RESP and CESC programs, along with the Millennium Scholarship Foundation endowment, be rolled into a national system of needs based grants. If the program were to be administered through the current needs-assessment mechanism of the Canada Student Loan Program (CSLP) it would require no start-up funding and no increase to administrative costs. In addition, such a program of needs-based grants would be revenue neutral as we are proposing that it be funded with resources re-directed from the RESP and MSF budgets. This re-

direction of funds would allow the federal government to provide an up-front grant to those most in need of financial assistance without adjusting any current budgetary projections.

Finally, years of under-funding by the federal government and provincial governments has led to increased reliance on the Canada Student Loan Program. As previously noted, student debt has skyrocketed to an average of \$25,000 as students bear the brunt of funding shortages. In response to this increased pressure on the CSLP, the federal government has simply attempted to make the program more restrictive by instituting regressive policy measures under the guise of accountability.

In the case of the bankruptcy legislation, the federal government is attempting to address the crisis of student debt by criminalising students. This unconscionable legislation strips students of the very last financial protection offered under the law. The law introduces a fundamental inequity in the way Canadians are treated under the law. It is this provision that has compelled the Canadian Federation of Students to launch a Charter challenge before the Superior Court of Ontario to repeal this unjust and unconstitutional law. The provisions of the *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act* are designed to offer a last hope to those unable to cope with debt. Under the Act, an individual must appear before a judge and present evidence under oath that their financial disposition makes it impossible for them to meet their obligations.

In 1997, the federal government undertook a review of the Act with the aim of enacting a two-year prohibition

on declaring bankruptcy. During the consultation period the Canadian Federation of Students and other groups made a compelling case against such a prejudicial change. Despite the consensus view that such changes would only lead to misery for those most desperate, the federal government enacted legislation setting out the two-year prohibition. Less than ten months later, without consultation or supporting reasons, the 1998 'education' budget legislation extended the ban to ten years. As it now seems clear that the Ministry of Finance initiated these changes, we are calling on the Standing Committee on Finance to recommend that this discriminatory law be repealed.

The cumulative effects of diminished funding to post-secondary coupled with policy initiatives like credit checks for student loans and changes to the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act have created a crisis in student debt and additional accessibility problems for low and middle income Canadians. New policy that individualises the cost of higher education have only exacerbated the existing inequities. Successful ways to address these problems will have to be national in scope, and be sensitive to students who are most in need.

Recommendation #1:

The federal government should terminate the RESP program and institute the Canada Student Grants Program.

Recommendation #2:

The federal government should terminate the Millennium Scholarship Foundation and transfer the funds to the Canada Student Grants Program.

Recommendation #3:

The federal government should reverse discriminatory changes to the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act.

Recommendation #4:

The federal government should abandon the practice of doing credit checks on Canada Student Loan applicants.

Recommendation #5:

The federal government should enact a Post-Secondary Education Act that enforces national standards of mobility, quality and accessibility.

RESEARCH: PUBLIC RESEARCH FOR PUBLIC DOLLARS?

"At a certain point... we don't have universities anymore, but outlying branches of industry. Then all the things that society turns to the university for—breadth of knowledge, far time horizons, and independent voice—are lost."

*John Polanyi, Nobel Prize winning chemist
at the University of Toronto*

In the 2001 Speech from the Throne, the federal government committed to doubling spending on research and development over the next ten years. The announcement continues the trend of increased public investment in research. However, recent trends in federal government research policy gives rise to several concerns about who will benefit from this boom in spending.

Since freezing funding for Canada's three granting councils in the early and mid 1990's the federal government has

taken modest steps to re-invest in public research. In addition to replacing the Medical Research Council with the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, the federal government has brought the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council back to 1995 levels.

While modestly investing in public research, the federal government increased funding for the Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI) by \$900 million. Introduced in the 1997 budget, the CFI funds research projects that are able to secure 20% - 60% of their funding from private industry. Under the current scheme, the CFI will only fund projects that are public/private partnerships.

The rapid growth of the CFI has had four detrimental effects on research in Canada:

- i) The CFI subsidises private, for-profit research in Canada by transferring hundreds of millions of research dollars to private industry. There is very little public accountability for the results of publicly funded research when kept secret for 'proprietary' reasons.
- ii) The institutionalisation of public/private research through the CFI is stifling public research in Canada,
- iii) Public/private partnerships create a two tier system of education in Canada with large research universities triumphing over smaller, generally regionally based, institutions.
- iv) Humanities funding is falling farther and farther behind other academic disciplines like engineering and computer science.

Two recent examples highlight the dangers of public/private partnerships. Both examples are drawn from the University of Toronto. The story of the University of Toronto is an instructive example in assessing the cost of public/private partnerships. The University of Toronto has been able to raise a staggering amount of money over the past ten years in private and corporate donations. Most of this fundraising activity has been spurred by the withdrawal of provincial and federal funding and the contemporaneous introduction of public/private partnerships. However, the University of Toronto's success at fundraising has been accompanied by a diminishment of academic and research freedom. Consider the case of Dr. Nancy Olivieri, a researcher at the University of Toronto and the Hospital for Sick Children. Olivieri was contracted by Apotex, Canada's largest drug manufacturer and one of the University of Toronto's most important donors, to test a new drug to treat thalassemia. During the course of her research Olivieri discovered several disturbing side effects of the drug and recommended that the trials be discontinued, or at least suspended, until the risk to her patients could be assessed. When Olivieri sought to publish her results and alert her patients, she was threatened with legal action and a smear campaign was organised against her.

What is most disturbing and surprising about Dr. Olivieri's case is not the behaviour of the drug company but the behaviour of the university. Instead of supporting Olivieri in this important case of public safety versus corporate profit, the university attempted to fire

Olivieri and did everything it could to mollify Apotex for fear of losing funding from Apotex. University of Toronto President Robert Pritchard went so far as to write a letter to the federal government in support of Apotex's call for legislative changes to generic drug patent laws. Throughout the entire controversy, the University of Toronto was involved in sensitive negotiations to establish a \$20 million partnership with Apotex under the auspices of the CFI.

The second, and more recent example is the case of Dr. David Healy. Healy is an internationally renowned psychiatric researcher. He was offered a position that he accepted with the University of Toronto. Shortly after his appointment, Healy presented at a conference where he described a disturbing lack of research to investigate the potential relationship between Prozac and suicide rates. He made his remarks in the context of a paper that raised serious concerns about the ability of large pharmaceutical companies to drive the national research agenda. The University of Toronto immediately withdrew its offer of employment to Healy. Eli Lilly, the company that manufactures Prozac, is a large donor to the University of Toronto.

The examples of Dr. Healy and Dr. Olivieri illustrate what is lost when the funding of research is privatised and the public interest becomes secondary to corporate research and public relations. Though the federal government has invested more money into research, Canadian citizens are seeing a poor return on this investment because almost all of the new funding is subsidising private industry at the expense of research and development

that benefits all of Canadian society.

The CFI and other matching fund programs have opened a significant gap between large, well-established universities and smaller colleges and universities. Those institutions that have a large pool of 'seed capital' to pursue and sustain large corporate donations are reaping a windfall of public funding. Those universities that may not immediately have the same appeal to corporate Canada or do not have the infrastructure to undertake multi-million dollar campaigns for matching funds have no access to this funding. The Canadian Association of University Business Officers estimates that Canadian universities have a deficit of \$3.6 billion in deferred maintenance costs. Institutions most able to leverage public funds with private strings attached are better able to meet these immediate needs. Those institutions that cannot meet these needs are unable to sustain an innovative research environment. Though some in the post-secondary education sector have called for a complex funding formula to compensate for the indirect cost of research, the only way to insure that all universities and colleges have equal access to public funds is to restore core funding to public universities and colleges.

In the case of the humanities, almost all of the federal government's matching fund programs explicitly exclude the humanities. In addition, the value of humanities programs is not considered immediately useful by corporations that seek partnerships with universities and colleges. The humanities, unlike science-related disciplines, are chronically under-funded and the current move toward public/private

partnerships ensures that this under-funding will continue.

Though the development of the CFI and other matching fund programs ignores and, in some cases, undermines the humanities, the data has never been more thorough to demonstrate the economic and social benefit of the humanities. Dr. Robert Allen, a University of British Columbia economist, demonstrated that the demand for humanities graduates has actually outstripped that of science and engineering graduates. In addition, Allen noted the proclivity high-tech firms exhibit for employees with the ability to think critically as opposed to those with primarily technical skills. The diversity and dynamism of the new economy would appear, then, to call for a strong commitment to funding and research support for the humanities rather than a withdrawal of public funding.

Recommendation # 6:

The federal government should restructure the CFI in order to ensure that matching funds from the private sector are not a condition of public funding for a research project. In addition, the federal government should double funding for public research over the next ten years.

Recommendation # 7:

The federal government should provide an additional \$100 million per annum to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council in order to equalise funding with the other granting councils.

**SKILLS AND TRAINING:
LIFE-LONG LEARNING FOR ALL?**

In the most recent speech from the throne the federal government announced its intention to renew the infrastructure of skills and training in Canada. As part of this process, the Canadian Federation of Students participated in a national roundtable on skills and learning in Edmonton, March 21-22. The roundtable, hosted by Human Resources Development Minister Jane Stewart, drew participants from all regions of the country and almost all social sectors were represented. The set of final recommendations to emerge from the discussions reflected a clear consensus among the participants. It is in the context of the final report of the national roundtable and the comprehensive federal report entitled *Stepping Up: Skills and Opportunities in the Knowledge Economy* that we will offer our assessment of the skills and training challenges Canada faces.

The dominant theme of the roundtable's final report was twofold. First, that the federal government needed to play a prominent role in funding and administering a national skills strategy. Such a national approach would address the shortcoming of the current piecemeal approach to skills and training. Second, the need for universal access to skills and training must form the foundation of any national skills strategy. In order to achieve that goal, funding must be restored to Canada's public colleges and universities.

The burgeoning private, for-profit training industry is in no position to provide solutions to the employment shortages and skills gap that the

Canadian economy faces. Private training is generally characterised by exorbitant tuition fees and sub-standard instruction that leaves students mired in debt and bereft of the skills that drove them to private trainers. Regrettably, it is changes in federal government policy that are pushing many unemployed and underemployed Canadians to turn to the private training industry.

In 1996, the federal government eliminated the practice of bulk purchases of seats at public institutions as a means of providing re-training to unemployed workers. In place of this purchase, unemployed workers now receive a voucher that can be used at both public and private institutions. The new voucher system rarely provides enough funding for the recipient to obtain adequate training.

At private institutions workers are often forced to enter programs that offer neither the quality nor the duration necessary to allow them to acquire the skills needed to participate in the new economy. This point is particularly troubling given the fact that Human Resources Development Canada's labour force studies demonstrate that most of the workers who turn to the federal government for training have been displaced from jobs in the resource industry. In addition, the federal government is now quickly ceding jurisdiction from training through the Employment Insurance Act to provincial governments. Though the recent speech from the throne and the ongoing work on a major 'White Paper' on skills, training and innovation are hopeful signs that the federal government still believes it has an important role to play in skills and

training, we believe that it is important that the Employment Insurance program continue to fund and support worker re-training. In addition, we support the call for Canada to follow the lead of most European Union countries and allow the EI program to be utilised for training leave. Such a program would mirror apprentice training programs that provide a powerful incentive to develop new skills by providing workers with income while they learn.

Despite the compelling argument for a public solution to the skills and training challenges that Canada faces, the federal government has contemplated the introduction of Registered Individual Learning Accounts (RILA). In the initial stages of discussion, it appears that the RILA will replicate all of the inequalities endemic to the RESP program that was outlined earlier in this brief. Like RESPs, RILAs would expend significant public resources to assist those who already have the means to save for an education. Such a program will do nothing to assist those Canadians who need basic literacy skills and other forms of training that form a pre-requisite for sustainable employment.

In Britain, where a program similar to the proposed RILA has been implemented, less than 25% of those who open a RILA are workers in need of basic re-training and skills. In addition, the RILA program in Britain has been a boon for the private, for-profit training industry. Simply put, the solution to the skills gap in Canada is not to be found in repeating the errors of the RESP and using public funds to support those who already have ample

access to skills and training. The experience in Britain demonstrates that RILAs act more as a public subsidy for business than as means of providing equal access to skills and training. Under the RILA model public funds subsidise the training of employees in the form of forgone tax revenue and direct grants. In the British example, most of those who are opening accounts are participating in training programs that previously would have been funded by the employer.

Finally, if the federal government is to address the gap between access to skills and the need for those skills among the most economically vulnerable Canadians it must reverse the recent trends in Canada Student Loan Policy outlined above. The implementation of credit checks and the discriminatory bankruptcy legislation are barriers to lifelong learning that should have no place in a national skills agenda designed for all Canadians.

Recommendation # 8:

The federal government should reinstitute the practice of block purchases of seats in public post-secondary institutions with the purpose of supplying training to unemployed and underemployed workers.

Recommendation #9:

The federal government should introduce a training leave program funded through Employment Insurance. Such a program should allow workers up to 18 months of paid leave for training.

Recommendation #10:

The federal government should retain jurisdiction over skills and training and tie its national strategy to a national system of needs-based grants.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt about the social and economic merit of post-secondary education. However, public policy decisions taken by the federal government in recent years has undermined the vision of access to post-secondary education as a social good available to all Canadians. The federal policy trends outlined in this brief point to a system of post-secondary education that determines access on the basis of the ability to pay rather than merit or need. During the 1960s and 1970s when participation rates were growing and post secondary education opportunities were expanding, the federal government played a leadership role in ensuring access to education. Indeed, as Finance Minister Paul Martin suggests, the federal government is still, at least rhetorically, devoted to the idea that all Canadians should have the opportunity to learn regardless of financial circumstance.

Unfortunately, as all the hard data attests, access to the skills and knowledge offered by post-secondary education is quickly becoming a privilege for the wealthy in Canada. In the face of this mounting challenge the federal government has put together a patchwork of policy initiatives that focus largely on regressive tax credits as inducements to save for education

and increasing ties to private industry. Neither approach has improved the quality or accessibility of Canadian colleges or universities. Accessible, public post-secondary education which is of high quality will require the federal government to re-dedicate itself to the funding necessary to ensure real equality of opportunity. Ultimately, such funding is the only measurable standard and proven solution to ensure that the rhetoric of opportunity for all becomes a reality that offers hope to all. We look forward to presenting these arguments in person this fall.

NOTES

1. Canadian Association of University Teachers, *Education Review* Vol. 3 No. 3. "The Growing Funding Gap: Government expenditures on post-secondary education, 2000-01."
2. Canadian Association of University Teachers, *Education Review* Vol. 2 No. 1. "Out of Reach: Trends in household spending on education in Canada."
3. Robinson, David & Andrew Jackson, *Falling Behind: The state of working Canada, 2000*.
4. Assembly of First Nations, *First Nations Post Secondary Education Review (August 2000)*.



AGENDA

Organisational Development Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

1. PREPARATION FOR COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS

a. Ratification of the Committee Chair(s)

Standing Resolution 1, Section 4 *Committee Chairperson* states that:

As its first order of business each standing committee shall either:

- a. ratify as the committee chairperson(s) the National Executive member(s) appointed to the committee; or
- b. elect a committee chairperson from within its membership.

b. Review of the Committee Agenda

c. Review of the Committee's Terms of Reference

Committee members should be familiar with the responsibilities of the Organisational Development Committee as established in the Federation's Standing Resolutions. Standing Resolution 1, Section 3 (d) *Organisational Development Committee* states that:

The Organisational Development Committee shall:

- i. review and make recommendations to closing plenary on the national structure of the Federation, including:
 - the National Executive;
 - the national staffing;
 - the national office; and
 - all other national structures of the Federation;
- ii. review and make recommendations to closing plenary on the national programmes of the Federation;
- iii. review the development of the 'profile' of the Federation within member local associations;
- iv. review and make recommendations to closing plenary on the national communication tools of the Federation;
- v. review and make recommendations on development of new members;
- vi. review and make recommendations to the closing plenary on proposed amendments to the Constitution and Bylaws, Standing Resolutions and Operations Policy.

2. REVIEW OF FEDERATION PROGRAMMES

a. Review of Programme Survey Results

The Committee will review the programme surveys conducted during Opening Plenary.

b. Review of Common Handbook Project and the 2001-2002 Member Local Handbook Kit

For the past two years, the British Columbia office of the Federation has coordinated a Common Handbook Project, which the November 2000 national general meeting resolved to expand. An update on the Common Handbook Project will be provided.

Each year the Federation produces a Handbook Kit to assist with member locals with the production of students' association handbooks/dayplanners. The kit contains information about Federation campaigns, research and programmes as well as image-ready graphics.

The Committee will review the Common Handbook Project and the 2001-2002 Member Local Handbook Kit and develop a strategy for the 2002-2003 Handbook.

c. International Student Identity Card

An update on the 2001-2002 International Student Identity Card programme will be provided.

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20th Annual National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students
Wednesday, November 21 to Saturday, November 24, 2001

d. National Student Health Network

An update on the status of the Federation's health plan network will be provided.

e. Studentsaver Discount Programme

The Committee will discuss the implementation of the 2001-2002 Studentsaver programme.

3. REVIEW OF MEMBERSHIP DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The Federation is best described as 'a partnership of students' unions.' Each member local of this partnership pools resources to undertake work at the provincial and national levels. Just as it is the responsibility of each member local to promote the work that is undertaken at the local or campus level, so too is it the responsibility of the member local to promote the work that is undertaken at the provincial and national levels.

Over the years, member locals have developed means to entrench the profile of the work that it undertakes at the provincial and national levels. The Membership Awareness Strategy, first passed at the May 1997 national general meeting, seeks to formalise practises that member locals can undertake to increase the profile of the work they do at the provincial and national level. The Strategy is divided into a preamble and two main components: Raising Awareness Among Elected Officials and Raising Awareness Among Membership on Campus, each with a checklist of reminders for member locals' convenience.

The Committee will review the Membership Awareness Strategy and discuss the implementation of the various recommendations.

4. MOTIONS REFERRED FROM OPENING PLENARY

The following motions will likely be referred to the Organisational Development Committee by the opening plenary.

a. Proposal to Include Information about Elections in General Meeting Notices

2001/11:N02 MOTION

Local 48/Local 23

Whereas the Federation should continually seek to improve its democratic structures; and

Whereas the Federation strives to attract many candidates from diverse backgrounds; therefore

Be it resolved that Bylaw II, Section 4., be amended to include:

- c. The Notice will include all positions that are to be elected at the general meeting.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI be amended to include a subsection titled:

Notice of Elections for National Executive Positions

1. Information to be posted to member locals that includes, but is not limited to:
 - a. rate of remuneration
 - b. outline of duties and responsibilities
 - c. outline travel obligations and/or necessary relocation.

b. Proposal to Amend Standing Resolution 2

2001/11:N07 MOTION

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 2, Section 1.a. be repealed.

Be it further resolved that "requiring a simply majority" be repealed in Section 2.a. of Standing Resolution 2.

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 2, Section 3, be amended to read:

- a. **First Priority**
delegates from member local associations
- b/ **Second Priority**
National Executive members, provincial component representatives and caucus representatives.
- C. **Third Priority**
national and provincial staff of the Federation

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Be it further resolved that 'translation devices' be changed to 'interpretation devices' in Standing Resolution 2, Section 7.2.

c. Proposal to Amend Standing Resolution 3

2001/11:N08 MOTION

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.a., be amended to read:

- a) delegates from member local associations

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.b., 2.c., 2.d., 2.e., and 2.h., be repealed.

Be it further resolved that the following be added to Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.:

- d) representatives of Federation caucuses,
- e) guests who have been invited to participate in the general meeting.

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2, be renumbered accordingly.

d. Proposal to Rename the National Graduate Council

2001/11:N09 MOTION

Be it resolved that all references to "National Graduate Council" be changed to "National Graduate Caucus" in the Federation's Bylaws, Standing Resolutions and Policy.

5. OTHER BUSINESS

6. ADJOURNMENT

REPORT

Organisational Development Committee

November 2001 National General Meeting

Committee Composition

Caucus Representatives

Caucus of College and Institute Associations
Caucus of Large Institute Associations
National Aboriginal Caucus
National Graduate Council
Caucus of Small University Associations

Aaron Ransome and Jason Sorenson
Ruth Jacobs
Ben Dobson
Nathan Simington
Steve Beasley and Becky Christy

Component Representatives

Alberta Component
British Columbia Component
Manitoba Component
Newfoundland and Labrador Component
Nova Scotia Component
Ontario Component
Prince Edward Island Component
Quebec Component
Saskatchewan Component

Sheryl Peters
Paul Browning
Lonnie Patterson
Jeffrey Jennings, Jade Mahoney and Dawn Penney
Jeff Yurchesyn
Leigh Doyle and Andrea Rounce
Vacant
Joe Marin
Christa Peters

Constituency Group Representatives

Student Artists' Constituency Group
Students of Colour Constituency Group
Students with Disabilities' Constituency Group
Francophone Students' Constituency Group
International Students' Constituency Group
Mature and Part-time Students Constituency Group
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered, Constituency Group
Women's Constituency Group

Jason O'Brien
Joseph Bright
Adrien Viani
Sophie Gauthier
Zdanek Vopat
Judy Nachbaur and Neil Norman
Janice Delcourt and Zoe Bake-Paterson
Amanda Camley

Coordinators

British Columbia Representative
Ontario Representative

Anita Zaenker
Rick Telfer

Staff

Organiser – British Columbia
Fieldworker – Ontario
National Student Health Network Coordinator

Lucy Watson
Christine Bourque
Tom Rowles

1. MOTIONS REFERRED FROM OPENING PLENARY

a. Proposal to Include Information about Elections in General Meeting Notices

The Committee recommends adoption of the following motion (2001/11:N02):

2001/11:N02 MOTION

Local 48/Local 23

Whereas the Federation should continually seek to improve its democratic structures; and
Whereas the Federation strives to attract many candidates from diverse backgrounds;
therefore

Be it resolved that Bylaw II, Section 4, be amended to include:

c. The Notice will include all positions that are to be elected at the general meeting.

Be it further resolved that Bylaw VI be amended to include a subsection titled:

Notice of Elections for National Executive Positions

1. Information to be posted to member locals that includes, but is not limited to:
 - a. rate of remuneration
 - b. outline of duties and responsibilities
 - c. outline travel obligations and/or necessary relocation.

b. Proposal to Amend Standing Resolution 2

The Committee recommends adoption of the following motion (2001/11:N07) with the subsequent amendment (2001/11:OD-1):

2001/11:N07 MOTION

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 2, Section 1.b. be repealed.

Be it further resolved that "requiring a simply majority" be repealed in Section 2.a. of Standing Resolution 2.

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 2, Section 3, be amended to read:

- a. **First Priority**
delegates from member local associations.
- b. **Second Priority**
National Executive members, provincial component representatives and caucus representatives.
- c. **Third Priority**
national and provincial staff of the Federation.

Be it further resolved that 'translation devices' be changed to 'interpretation devices' in Standing Resolution 2, Section 7.a.

2001/11:OD-1 MOTION TO AMEND

Local 36/Local 45

Be it resolved that Motion-2001/11:N07 be amended to read:

"Be it resolved that "requiring a simply majority" be repealed in Section 2.a. of Standing Resolution 2;

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 2, Section 3, be amended to read:

- a. **First Priority**
delegates from member local associations
- b. **Second Priority**
National Executive members, provincial component representatives and caucus representatives.
- c. **Third Priority**
national and provincial staff of the Federation

Be it further resolved that 'translation devices' be changed to "interpretation devices" in Standing Resolution 2, Section 7.a."

c. Proposal to Amend Standing Resolution 3

The Committee recommends adoption of the following motion (2001/11:N08):

2001/11:N08 MOTION

Be it resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.a., be amended to read:

- a) delegates from member local associations

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.b., 2.c., 2.d., 2.e., and 2.h., be repealed.

Be it further resolved that the following be added to Standing Resolution 3, Section 2.:

- d) representatives of Federation caucuses,
- e) guests who have been invited to participate in the general meeting.

Be it further resolved that Standing Resolution 3, Section 2, be renumbered accordingly.

d. Proposal to Rename the National Graduate Council

The Committee recommends adoption of the following motion (2001/11:N09):

2001/11:N09 MOTION

Be it resolved that all references to "National Graduate Council" be changed to "National Graduate Caucus" in the Federation's Bylaws, Standing Resolutions and Policy.

2. MOTIONS DEVELOPED BY THE COMMITTEE

a. Proposal to Develop International Students' Listserve

2001/11:OD-2 MOTION

Local 48/Local 05

Whereas international students face structural differences; and

Whereas international students have unique problems that need to be discussed; and

Whereas the Federation promotes cooperation and contact amongst members; therefore

Be it resolved that a listserv for international students be established.

b. Proposal to Involve International Students at Member Locals

2001/11:OD-3 MOTION

Local 48/Local 05

Whereas the Federation promotes equality amongst its members; and

Whereas the Federation promotes diversity and diverse perspectives; therefore

Be it resolved that member locals be encouraged to include international students on their council, board or students' representative council; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to include international students in delegations to general meetings.

c. Proposal to Negotiate

2001/11:OD-4 MOTION

Local 79/Local 05

Whereas the compilation and dissemination of research is a fundamental prerogative of the Federation; and

Whereas the Federation presently employs one full-time researcher in the national office whose tasks, given the size of the organisation and the diversity of member locals, are considerable; and

Whereas the conduct of research in Canada often requires a hybrid-based approach in order to fully comprehend issues that "can only be addressed at the provincial level, specifically where budgetary and policy considerations are concerned." (Doherty-Delorme, Denise and Shaker, Erica. Missing Pieces. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 1999); and

Whereas a comprehensive national research office would complement much of the research taking place, where feasible, within provincial components; therefore

Be it resolved that negotiations be entered into with CUPE 1281 to change the job description of the vacant researcher position in the national office to include a focus on provincial issues; and

Be it further resolved that the second Researcher position be filled by the May 2002 national general meeting.

e. Proposal for May 2002 Organisational Development Agenda

2001/11:OD-5 MOTION TO AMEND

Local 44/Local 61

Be it resolved that the following motion and amendment be included on the Organisational Development agenda for consideration at the May 2002 semi-annual national general meeting:

NOTICE

Local 84/Local 32

Be it resolved that workshops be developed relating to issues of gender and feminism to be held during women's constituency group meeting time for delegates.

MOTION

Local 24/Local 44

Be it resolved that educational workshops be developed relating to issues of gender and feminism and their relevance to male identified member delegates to be scheduled at a time to be determined by the National Executive; and

Be it further resolved that this educational workshop be facilitated by individuals external to the Federation who have experience facilitating workshops on these issues and who have a background in anti-oppression training.

f. Proposal to Consider Alternatives to Current Committee Selection Process

2001/11:OD-6 MOTION

Local 19/Local 79

Whereas the Federation is committed to full and equitable participation for all delegates in its general meetings;

Whereas at the general meetings, there is a limited amount of time to deal with motions and other issues; and the selection process to plenary sub-committees monopolises caucuses, constituency and component meetings; and

Whereas there are numerous models available for decision making that promotes consensus building; therefore

Be it resolved that the commitment to participation and consensus building when selecting delegates to plenary sub-committees be reaffirmed; and

Be it further resolved that alternatives to the current process of selection to plenary subcommittees be explored and presented to the May 2002 semi-annual national general meeting.

3. MOTION DEVELOPED FOR CONSIDERATION AT SEMI-ANNUAL NAT'L GENERAL MEETING

NOTICE

MOTION TO AMEND STANDING RESOLUTIONS

Local 09/ Local 38

Be it resolved that Section 5 of Standing Resolution 10 be amended to include:

Francophile members present at a general meeting of the Federation who are not members of the Francophone Constituency Group shall be permitted to attend all meetings of the Constituency Group with full participation rights but not voting rights.