

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING

## APPENDIX No. 1

## Matrix for collection of information on normative frameworks

<b>NAME OF COUNTRY AND NATIONAL RESEARCHER</b> CANADA <i>PETER AUCOIN</i>	
<b>Note: Unless otherwise stated, the information provided in the following pages summarizes provisions of the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> [ S.C. 2000, c.9 ], as modified (on January 1, 2004) by Bill C-24, An Act to Amend the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> and the <i>Income Tax Act</i> (political financing) [ S.C. 2003, c.19 ]</b>	
<b>I. NATURE OF FINANCING REGIMENS (PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND MIXED)</b>	
<b>A. GOVERNMENT DIRECT FUNDING</b>	
<b>1. Conditions for eligibility:</b>	Candidates must obtain at least 10% of the valid votes Registered political parties must obtain at least 2% of the valid votes cast nationally or 5% in the electoral districts where they ran candidates.
<b>2. Limits / amounts:</b>	Qualifying candidates:  Qualifying candidates who incur less than 30% of their election expenses limit receive 15% of their election expenses limit. Candidates who incur at least 30% of their election expenses limit receive the lesser of 60% of their actual election expenses (minus the 15% mentioned above), or 60% of their election expenses limit.  Qualifying registered political parties:  For the first general election held on or after January 1, 2004, qualifying registered political parties receive 60% of their actual election expenses. Thereafter, they receive 50% of actual election expenses.

	Qualifying political parties also receive quarterly allowances corresponding to \$1.75 CAN per vote obtained at the previous general election.
<b>3. Fund distribution:</b>	
<b>a. To parties:</b>	
✓ Routine operation	
✓ Electoral campaign	
✓ Research / Capacity building	
✓ Mixed	<p>Partial reimbursement of election expenses: registered political parties that obtain 2% of the valid votes cast nationally or 5% of the valid votes cast in the electoral districts where they ran candidates receive 60% of election expenses incurred during the first general election held on or after January 1, 2004. Thereafter this amount is set to 50% of actual election expenses incurred.</p> <p>Annual allowance to qualifying political parties, equivalent to \$1.75 CAN per vote obtained at the previous general election (\$0.4375 CAN per vote paid quarterly)</p> <p>Research expenditures are included as election expenses (therefore subject to election expenses limits and partly refundable)</p>
<b>b. To candidates:</b>	
✓ Presidency	N/A
✓ Parliament	Partial reimbursement of election expenses: candidates who obtain 15% of the valid votes cast receive 15% of their election expenses limit; those who incur more than 30% of the election expenses limit receive the lesser of 60% of their actual election expenses (minus the 15% mentioned above), or 60% of the election expenses limit.
<b>c. To party caucus or individual members of parliament/congress</b>	<p>The <i>Parliament of Canada Act</i> determines sessional allowances to be received by Members of Parliament and Senators.</p> <p>Regulations of Parliament provide for research budgets and for Members of Parliament to send out four flyers per year to their constituents.</p>
<b>d. Other organizations:</b>	N/A
<b>4. Election funding:</b>	
a. Internal party elections	No public funding
b. Presidential elections	N/A
c. Parliamentary	Qualifying registered political parties: 60% of actual election

elections	expenses for the first general election held on or after January 1, 2004; 50% thereafter.  Candidates: 60% of election expenses.
d. Local municipal elections	Regulated under provincial and territorial election acts and not under federal legislation.
<b>5. Time of disbursement:</b>	
a. Before campaign	
b. During campaign	
c. After campaign	
d. Combined	Partial reimbursement of political parties and candidates' election expenses (see I.A.2. for details).  Tax credit for political donations (see I.B.1e for details).  Registered parties that obtain at least 2% of the votes cast nationally or 5% in constituencies where they endorsed a candidate qualify to obtain annual allowances to based on the share of votes obtained at the previous general election (equivalent to \$1.75 CAN per year per vote obtained, or \$0.4375 CAN per vote quarterly).
<b>6. Criteria for distribution:</b>	
a. Equitable (in equal parts)	
b. Proportional to the electoral strength	
c. Parliamentary representation	
d. Mixed methods:	
✓ Equitable and electoral strength	Partial reimbursement of political parties and candidates' election expenses (see I.A.2. for details).  Annual allowances to qualifying registered parties based on the share of votes obtained at the previous general election (equivalent to \$1.75 CAN per year per vote obtained, or \$0.4375 CAN per vote quarterly).
✓ Electoral strength and parliamentary representation	
✓ Other	

<b>B. INDIRECT GOVERNMENT FUNDING</b>	
<b>1. Objects of financing</b>	
a. Transportation	No
b. Publication (printing, mailing and posting)	Regulations of Parliament provide budgets for Members of Parliament to send out four flyers per year to their constituents.
c. Exemptions	No
d. Grants	No
e. Tax benefits	The <i>Income Tax Act</i> regulates tax credits for political donations:  75% of contributions not exceeding \$400 CAN; for contributions over \$400 CAN but not exceeding \$750 CAN, \$300 CAN plus 50% of the amount by which the contribution exceeds \$400 CAN; for contributions exceeding \$750 CAN, the lesser of \$475 CAN plus 33⅓% of the amount by which the contribution exceeds \$750 CAN, or \$650 CAN.
f. Loans	No
g. get-out-the vote campaigns	No
h. Political broadcasting	The minimum amount of broadcasting time that a network operator is to make available must be no less than the amount of free broadcasting time made available by it at the last general election (396 minutes at the 2000 general election) and must be made available as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• two minutes to every registered party and every eligible party; and</li> <li>• the remainder to all registered parties that have been allocated any of the broadcasting time to be made available under the Act and all eligible parties that have requested broadcasting time under the Act in the proportion that their allocated or requested purchasable broadcasting time bears to the total broadcasting time allocated or requested under the Act.</li> </ul> <p>Note that government does not refund broadcasters, directly or indirectly, for the loss of revenues generated by free political broadcasting.</p>
i. Training	No
j. Other	
<b>C. NON-GOVERNMENTAL FUNDING: CONTRIBUTIONS RESTRICTIONS</b>	

<p><b>1. Contribution limits:</b></p>	<p>Individuals (citizens or permanent residents) are allowed to contribute:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• up to \$5,000 CAN per year to each registered party and its affiliated entities: registered electoral district associations, candidates and nomination contestants (persons seeking endorsement as a registered party's candidate in an electoral district)</li> <li>• up to \$5,000 CAN per leadership contest in aggregate to the contestants in a leadership contest of a registered party</li> <li>• up to \$5,000 CAN per election to a candidate who is not endorsed by a registered party</li> </ul> <p>Candidates will be allowed to contribute up to \$10,000 CAN to their own campaign</p> <p>Corporations that carry on business in Canada, trade unions that hold bargaining rights for employees in Canada and unincorporated associations are allowed to contribute:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• up to \$1,000 CAN per year in aggregate to the candidates, nomination contestants and registered electoral district associations of each registered party</li> <li>• up to \$1,000 CAN per election to a candidate who is not endorsed by a registered party</li> </ul> <p>In addition, where there is a second election in a particular electoral district in a calendar year, a corporation, union or unincorporated association that has made a contribution to the registered electoral district association, nomination contestant, or candidate of a particular registered party, may make a contribution of an additional \$1,000 CAN to the candidate, nomination contestant or registered electoral district association of that same party.</p> <p>Where a corporation, union or unincorporated association has, in a calendar year, made a contribution to a nomination contestant who is not endorsed by the party for an election, the donor is allowed to make an additional contribution of up to \$1,000 CAN in the same year to the endorsed candidate after he or she is endorsed.</p>
<p><b>2. Prohibitions:</b></p>	
<p>a. Individuals / Legal entities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Persons who are not Canadian citizens or permanent residents as defined in the <i>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</i>;</li> <li>• Foreign political parties or governments, or agents of foreign governments;</li> <li>• Corporations that do not carry on business in Canada;</li> <li>• Trade unions that do not hold bargaining rights for employees in Canada;</li> <li>• Corporations that are wholly and directly owned by the Crown,</li> </ul>

	<p>and their wholly owned subsidiary;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corporations that receive more than 50% of their funding from the federal government.</li> <li>• A corporation or trade union must not make an indirect contribution. That is, a corporation or trade union cannot give money, property or services to an individual for the purpose of making a political contribution in that individual's name.</li> </ul>
b. Foreign donors	See above.
c. Unions	<p>Trade unions that hold bargaining rights for employees in Canada are prohibited from contributing to national political parties and leadership contestants.</p> <p>Their contributions to candidates, nomination contestants and registered electoral district associations of each registered party, is capped to \$1,000 per year and \$1,000 CAN per election to a candidate who is not endorsed by a registered party. (See C.1. for more details)</p>
d. Associations / Corporations	<p>Corporations:</p> <p>Corporations are prohibited from contributing to national political parties and leadership contestants. Their contributions to candidates, nomination contestants and registered electoral district associations of each registered party, are capped to \$1,000 CAN per year and \$1,000 CAN per election to a candidate who is not endorsed by a registered party. (See C.1. for more details)</p> <p>Unincorporated associations:</p> <p>As long as the money is provided by eligible individual contributors, unincorporated association may make a contribution of \$1,000 CAN in total in any calendar year to candidates, nomination contestants and registered electoral district associations of a particular registered party, and \$1,000 CAN in total to a candidate for a particular election who is not the candidate of a registered party.</p>
e. Government contractors	Crown corporations and corporations that obtain more than 50% of their funding from Government are not allowed to contribute.
f. Anonymous	Anonymous contributions over \$25 CAN and contributions over \$200 CAN for which the contributor's name and address are unknown, have to be forwarded to the Chief Electoral Officer, who must forward them to the Receiver General for Canada.
g. Other	

<b>D. LIMITATIONS ON EXPENDITURES</b>	
<b>1. Political parties:</b>	
a. Amount	For registered political parties:  \$0.70 CAN multiplied by the number of electors registered on preliminary or revised lists of electors (whichever is greater) in electoral districts where a party endorses a candidate, adjusted with the inflation index factor
<b>2. Candidates:</b>	
a. Presidency:	N/A
✓ Amount	
✓ Are election candidates centered?	
<b>b. Parliament:</b>	
✓ Amount	For candidates, the aggregate of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• \$2.07 CAN for each of the first 15,000 electors on preliminary or revised lists of electors (whichever is greater) in an electoral district;</li> <li>• \$1.04 CAN for each of the next 10,000 electors;</li> <li>• \$0.52 CAN for each of the remaining electors.</li> </ul> <p>These numbers are adjusted with the inflation index factor</p>
<b>E. ESTIMATED COSTS OF POLITICAL FINANCING</b>	
<b>1. Previous elections:</b>	
a. Presidency	N/A
b. Parliament	2000 general election: \$250,192,459 CAN (Elections Canada budget allocated to the 2000 general election, plus parties and candidate's election expenses, minus their election expenses reimbursed)
<b>2. Cost by actors</b>	
a. Political parties	Figures for the 2000 general election: <p>Total election expenses incurred: \$34,954,935 CAN Total election expenses reimbursed: \$7,680,358 CAN</p> <p>Note: 11 political parties were registered at the 2000 general election.</p>
a. Candidates	Figures for the 2000 general election: <p>Total election expenses incurred: \$37,810,560 CAN</p>

	<p>Total election expenses reimbursed: \$ 15,962,678 CAN</p> <p>Note: 1808 candidates were nominated in the 2000 general election.</p>
b. Electoral authority	2000 general election: \$200,800,000 CAN
<b>3. Funding sources: Amounts / Percentages</b>	
a. Public financing	No figure available
b. Private financing	No figure available
✓ List principal donors	<p>Note: Corporations and trade unions were allowed to contribute with no restrictions to political entities until January 1, 2004, with the coming into force of Bill C-24.</p> <p>Prior to January 1, 2004, political parties used to get their private funds from individual Canadian citizens or permanent residents, Canadian corporations that carry on business in Canada, and trade unions holding bargaining right of employees in Canada.</p> <p>In 2002 (a non-election year), top 10 contributors to political parties were: OPSEU-SEFPO (\$250,450 CAN); Bombardier Inc. (\$142,360 CAN); CEP National Headquarters (\$123,281 CAN); USWA District 6 (\$109,680 CAN); Robert Mallen (\$100,894 CAN); UFCW National Headquarters (\$97,432 CAN); USWA National Headquarters (\$83,000 CAN); Bank of Montreal (\$76,184 CAN); Manalta Investments Inc. (\$75,000 CAN); Power Corporation of Canada (\$70,000 CAN).</p> <p>Candidates get their private funds from the same sources as political parties, although their affiliated political parties and their electoral district associations are among the biggest contributors.</p> <p>Top 10 contributors to candidates' 2000 general election campaigns were: New Democratic Party / BC (\$81,078 CAN); New Democratic Party (\$80,119 CAN); Beaches Woodbine Federal Liberal Association (\$66,000 CAN); Thornhill Federal Liberal Association (\$64,880 CAN); Corporation de service (PLCQ) (\$62,014 CAN); Corporation de service (PLCQ) (\$61,757 CAN); Liberal Party of Canada (NB) (\$61,514 CAN); Bramalea Gore Malton Springdale Federal Liberal (\$60,000 CAN); York Centre R.L.R.A. Trust (\$60,000 CAN); Bottom of Form Canadian Alliance Red Deer Constituency Association (\$60,000 CAN).</p>



c. Resources from political party budgets	Not available		
d. Other			
<b>4. Allocation: greater costs on the campaign</b>	Percentages below are based on the total expenditures reported by registered political parties and candidates following the 2000 general election (total = \$35,003,961 CAN)		
		Political parties	Candidates
a. Advertisement (television, radio, press, others)	Political broadcasting on television: Political broadcasting on radio:  Political advertising:	36.6% 3.0% 16.9%	8.4% (tv and radio)  49.6%
b. Staff Salaries	Salaries and advantages:	7.3%	10.1%
c. Transportation	Leader's tour:	19.4%	
d. Vote buying?	N/A	-	-
e. Other	Administration expenses: National office expenses: Travel and rental of vehicles (other than leader's tour): Fund-raising: Professional services: Rent, heat and light: Miscellaneous expenses:	5.7% 3.6% 3.3% 1.8% 1.4% 0.9% 0.1%	21.7% (office) 10.2% (other)
	TOTAL (\$ CAN)	35,003,961	37,055,021
<b>II. ACCESS TO THE MEDIA</b>			
<b>A. FREE POLITICAL BROADCASTING</b>			
<b>1. Electoral time slots:</b>			
a. Obligatory:			
✓ State-run media (TV, radio and press)	Yes		
✓ Private media (TV, radio and press)	Applies to AM and FM radio stations, television stations, and every specialty television services licensed by the CRTC and carried by cable, satellite and MDS systems, but not to pay television services, nor to community channels offered by cable television systems.		
b. Voluntary:	No		

✓ Private media (TV, radio and press)	
<b>2. Type time slots:</b>	
a. Unique (only free political broadcasting)	
b. Principal (paid political broadcasting does not exceed the electoral time slots)	
c. Complementary (paid political broadcasting exceeds the electoral time slots)	<p>Free time:</p> <p>The minimum amount of broadcasting time that a network operator is to make available must be no less than the amount of free broadcasting time made available by it at the last general election (396 minutes at the 2000 general election) and must be made available as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• two minutes to every registered party and every eligible party; and</li> <li>• the remainder to all registered parties that have been allocated any of the broadcasting time to be made available under the Act and all eligible parties that have requested broadcasting time under the Act in the proportion that their allocated or requested purchasable broadcasting time bears to the total broadcasting time allocated or requested under the Act.</li> </ul> <p>Paid time:</p> <p>Each broadcaster must make available for political parties to purchase an aggregate of 390 minutes of broadcasting time, during prime time, in the period beginning with the issuance of the writ and ending at midnight on the second day before election day.</p> <p>It is at the discretion of the broadcaster whether to sell such time to a party. However, it cannot sell extra time to one party and refuse to sell it to other parties, if asked.</p>
<b>3. Time slots in non-electoral periods</b>	No
<b>4. Cost of time slots</b>	
a. Completely free	Two minutes by each broadcaster to each political party and the remainder (no less than free time provided at the last general election) apportioned according to the formula used for paid time.
b. Reduced fee or State sponsored	Rates must not exceed the lowest rates charged for equal amounts of equivalent time made available to any other persons at any time within

	the same advertising period.
<b>5. Access to time slots:</b>	
a. Per previous election results:	
✓ Number of votes gained	
✓ Positions gained	
✓ Criteria for new political organizations	
b. Combined criteria	<p>The share of votes is part of the apportionment formula for paid time.</p> <p>In allocating broadcasting time, the Broadcasting Arbitrator must give equal weight to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Percentage of seats in the House of Commons held by each of the registered parties at the previous general election; and</li> <li>• Percentage of the popular vote at the previous general election of each registered party.</li> </ul> <p>The Broadcasting Arbitrator must also give half the weight given to each of the factors referred to above, to the number of candidates endorsed by each of the registered parties at the previous general election, expressed as a percentage of all candidates endorsed by all registered parties at that election.</p> <p>In no case must the Broadcasting Arbitrator allocate more than 50 percent of the total of the broadcasting time to a registered party.</p> <p>The Broadcasting Arbitrator apportions the broadcasting time yearly to account for political party changes.</p>
c. Completely free	A minimum of two minutes to each political party that requests it. More is apportioned based on the formula used for paid time.
<b>6. Production cost (time slots)</b>	
a. Paid by the State	None
b. Non-paid	Free time paid by the broadcasters; paid time paid by political parties.
<b>7. Time granted:</b>	
a. As a whole	
b. To parties and electoral alliances	Registered political parties only
c. To candidates	
<b>8. Organizations granting the time</b>	Broadcasting Arbitrator, appointed by the Chief Electoral Officer

<b>slots</b>	
<b>9. Organizations monitoring the time slots</b>	The Broadcasting Arbitrator is mandated to resolve any disputes related to broadcasting time (between two political parties or more, or between broadcasters and political parties).
<b>10. Sanctions</b>	For broadcasters and political parties: summary conviction with possible fine if found guilty.
<b>B. CONTRACTING OF TIME SLOTS</b>	
<b>1. Advertising paid by parties, candidates, etc:</b>	
a. In addition to paid time slots:	It is at the discretion of the broadcaster whether to sell such time to a party. However, it cannot sell extra time to one party and refuse to sell it to other parties.
✓ Limits	Subject to the general spending limits.
b. Resulting from lack of time slots:	
✓ Limits	
✓ Unlimited	The Act does not specify a limit on how much broadcasting time political parties can purchase, or set a limit on how much time broadcasters can sell. It provides for a minimum amount of time broadcasters make available. Over that minimum amount of time to make available, political parties may buy more paid broadcasting time if broadcasters are willing to sell it. The total amount paid for broadcasting time, however, is an election expense, and therefore is subject to each party's general spending limit.
c. Rules and fees for paid advertising	<p>Each broadcaster must make available an aggregate of 390 minutes of broadcasting time, during prime time, in the period beginning with the issuance of the writ and ending at midnight on the second day before election day.</p> <p>The Act does not specify the rates but specifies that they must not exceed the lowest rates charged for equal amounts of equivalent time made available to any other persons at any time within the same advertising period.</p> <p>Parties can ask for the purchase of broadcasting time beyond their entitlement but it is at the discretion of the broadcaster whether to agree. However, a broadcaster cannot sell extra time to one party and</p>

	refuse to sell it to other parties, if asked.
d. Controller agencies	Broadcasting Arbitrator, who is appointed by the Chief Electoral Officer.
e. Radio adds/Publicity spots: Cost per minute/second.	Cost per minute
<b>2. Indirect advertising:</b>	Not regulated under federal legislation.
a. Indirect information (positive, negative, neutral)	
b. Journalistic programs	
c. Other	
<b>3. Debate regulations:</b>	Agreed upon by political parties and broadcasters – neither statutory nor regulated under federal legislation.
<b>4. Pre-election polls:</b>	
a. Limits	Counted as an election expense and therefore subject to general spending limits
b. Rules guaranteeing technical quality of data	The Act defines a series of methodological information that must accompany the first publication of election survey results, and bans the publication of new survey results on polling day until the close of all of the polling stations (see 6a below for details).
<b>5. Regulation for Exit Polls</b>	Exit polls are prohibited.
<b>6. Specific dispositions for mass media:</b>	
a. Television	<p>No person must knowingly transmit election advertising to the public in an electoral district on polling day before the close of all of the polling stations in the electoral district (blackout period).</p> <p>Upon first release and upon release within 24 hours of first release, any opinion poll or survey must publish identifying information, dates, number of people contacted, number of respondents and margin of error. For published surveys, one must provide wording of questions, and more detailed methodological and statistical information upon request.</p> <p>No person shall knowingly transmit election advertising to the public in an electoral district on polling day before the close of all of the</p>

	polling stations in the electoral district.		
	During the blackout period, the distribution of pamphlets or the posting of messages on signs, posters or banners, is permitted.		
b. Cable	<i>Idem</i>		
c. Press	<i>Idem</i>		
d. Satellite TV	<i>Idem</i>		
e. Internet	Messages that were transmitted to the public on the Internet before the blackout period (polling day until the close of all of the polling stations) and that were not changed during that period may be transmitted on polling day.		
<b>III. PUBLIC DISCLOSURE</b>			
<b>1. Who discloses?</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Political parties <input type="checkbox"/> Pongos or donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Candidates <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Others: Electoral district associations, nomination contestants and leadership contestants	<input type="checkbox"/> Donors
<b>2. What is disclosed?</b>			
a. Parties:			
✓ Cash Contributions	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	
✓ In-kind contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	
✓ Expenditures	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated or not categorized	
✓ Names of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing – Over 200\$	<input type="checkbox"/> No donor names listed with contribution amounts	
✓ Addresses of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full address	<input type="checkbox"/> Partial address	<input type="checkbox"/> No address required
✓ Names of vendors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of vendors listed with expenditures amounts	
✓ Personal assets	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Required to be filed	<input type="checkbox"/> Not required to be filed	
b. Candidates:			
✓ Cash Contributions	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	
✓ In-kind contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	

✓ Expenditures	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated or not categorized	
✓ Names of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names – Over 200\$	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of donors listed with contribution amounts	
✓ Addresses of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full address	<input type="checkbox"/> Partial address	<input type="checkbox"/> No address required
✓ Names of vendors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of vendors listed with expenditures amounts	
✓ Personal assets	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Required to be filled	<input type="checkbox"/> Not required to be filled	
<b>3. Do party and candidate expenditure reports record campaign and operational expenses separately?</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes  Each candidate must file an election report setting out expenses and contributions. Political parties must produce an election return setting out their election expenses and contributions and report yearly on their revenues and expenses.	<input type="checkbox"/> No  Explain: _____ _____ _____ _____	
<b>4. Are reporting requirements in this country temporary or permanent, i.e. are they only in effect during an election cycle, or year-round before and after an election?</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Temporary during elections  Election returns for candidates and political parties.  Leadership contestants have to submit weekly interim reports of their contributions during the last four weeks of the leadership contest.  Nomination contestants only have to produce a financial report if they have accepted contributions or incurred nomination campaign expenses of at least \$1,000.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Permanent  Registered political parties and their registered electoral district associations must produce financial reports every year.  From January 1, 2005: Registered parties that receive quarterly allowances will be required to submit a quarterly report on contributions and transfers into the party that will be due 30 days after the end of the quarter.	
<b>5. What kind of monies can the party or candidate legally receive?</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Private funds (from Canadian citizens or permanent residents only)  <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign company funds	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Corporate funds to candidates, nomination candidates and electoral district associations only.  <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign national funds	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Union funds to candidates, nomination candidates and electoral district associations only.  <input type="checkbox"/> Expatriate nationals' funds living overseas

<b>6. What sources of illicit funds for parties and candidates are suspected?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Illegal funds given over the limit but not declared by corporations, unions, or persons	<input type="checkbox"/> Organized crime <input type="checkbox"/> Drug trafficking funds <input type="checkbox"/> Laundered funds	<input type="checkbox"/> Foreign influence funds <input type="checkbox"/> Others <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No illegal funds are suspected; every allegations of illegal or corrupt practice that is based on reasonable grounds is investigated by the Commissioner of Canada Elections.
<b>7. What is the name of the body receiving the financial disclosure reports?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> This is a governmental body created by statute <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> It is a Parliament body	<input type="checkbox"/> This is a private body created and funded by government	<input type="checkbox"/> This body is constitutionally created
a. Name:	Chief Electoral Officer of Canada (the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada is also known as Elections Canada), appointed by a resolution of the House of Commons.		
b. Phone No:	1 800 463-6868 (toll-free in Canada and the United States) 001 800 514-6868 (toll-free in Mexico) (613) 993-2975 (from anywhere in the world) For people who are deaf or hard of hearing: TTY 1 800 361-8935 (toll-free in Canada and the United States)		
<b>8. Are there contribution thresholds? (Donations below a certain amount don't have to be reported)</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> If yes, what is the amount of the threshold: \$25 CAN	Explain: No receipts are required for contributions under \$25 CAN.  For donations of \$200 CAN or more, donors' name and address must be disclosed.	



<b>9. When are the disclosure reports due from politicians or parties?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Before the election - How many weeks before the election? _____ weeks. - How many reports are required? _____ reports.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> After the election. - How many weeks after the election?  Political parties: 6 months after election day and yearly (from January 2005, those that receive annual allowances will be required to report quarterly their contribution and annually both contributions and expenses);  Candidates: 4 months after election day.	
<b>10. How are the reports transmitted to the public?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Fax  <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Photocopy (hard copies are sent by mail upon request)  <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Internet (Elections Canada Web site)	<input type="checkbox"/> Hand copying (copying by hand) <input type="checkbox"/> Gazette or published in local newspapers or bulletins.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other. Please specify.  Available at Elections Canada Headquarters
<b>11. Rate how easy or how difficult it is to access the public reports? (Difficulty of accessibility)</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> High	<input type="checkbox"/> Medium	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Low (very easy)
<b>12. How much time elapses between the receipt and dissemination of the report by the election commission?</b>	Fill in the blanks: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Immediately <input type="checkbox"/> Weeks: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Months _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Years _____	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Explain: The Act requires that the non-audited financial reports be made available publicly upon reception.  Thereafter, the Chief Electoral Officer must publish the reports “as soon as practicable” after having received them.	
<b>13. Quality of report criteria:</b>			

a. Are reports itemized or aggregate figures reported?	Itemized		
✓ Cash contributions	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	
✓ In-Kind Contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated	
✓ Expenditures	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated or not categorized	
✓ Names of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of donors listed with contribution amounts	
b. Names of donors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full names of donors required? (yes)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full mailing address of donor required? (yes)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Is donor's name listed on the report by specific amounts of money contributed? (yes, for contributions over \$200 CAN)
c. Names of vendors	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full names of vendors required? (yes)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Full mailing address of vendor required? (yes)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Is vendor's name listed on the report by specific amounts of money paid? (yes)
d. Categories of expenses	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Are vendor products or services categorized on the disclosure report? (e.g. media expense, transportation, labor, meals, etc.?) (yes)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Are vendor purchases listed in aggregate or itemized on expenditure reports? (aggregate)	
<b>14. Quality of enforcement criteria:</b>			
a. What is the name of the body that enforces the disclosure reporting laws?	<input type="checkbox"/> Same as electoral commission or body that receives the disclosure reports? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Different body than the one receiving the disclosure reports? Name of body. <input type="checkbox"/> Is the enforcement body a tribunal or special court?	The Commissioner of Canada Elections, who is selected and appointed by the Chief Electoral Officer, is responsible for enforcing the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> .	

<p>✓ What are the powers of the enforcement body?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Passive: - Receive the report with little investigation</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Active: - Does it audit reports and conducts investigations? Elections Canada audits reports, while the Commissioner of Canada Elections is responsible for investigating and prosecuting  - Have sanctions and fines offenders? Yes. In addition, the Commissioner may issue compliance agreements and seek injunctions  - Criminal penalties also possible? Yes</p>	
<p>✓ Strength and weakness of the enforcement bodies</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Strengths: The Commissioner has discretionary power to prosecute; may also prevent offences by seeking injunctions and/or entering into compliance agreements.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Weaknesses:</p>	
<p>✓ What's the reputation of the enforcement body? Check all apply.</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Strict <input type="checkbox"/> Not Strict <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Politically bold and doesn't play favorites (non-politically affiliated)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Politically timid and bends with the power <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Respected <input type="checkbox"/> Not too respected</p>	
<p><b>15. Reality check / actual practices criteria:</b></p>			
<p>a. Looking over the above answers, how would you compare the disclosure laws on the books in this nation with the actual practice of disclosure?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Distant relationship between the laws on the books and practice of disclosure</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Reasonable degree of fit between books and practices.</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Excellent degree of fit between laws and practices</p>
<p>b. Using the Disclosure Ranking in Column 8 of the Latin America Disclosure Table attached (produced by USAID for the OAS countries) how do your findings correspond with the table? 4</p>			

<b>IV. ENFORCEMENT</b>	
<b>A. CONTROLLER AGENCIES</b>	
<b>1. Nature of regulatory agencies:</b>	
a. Electoral management bodies	
b. Judges with electoral jurisdiction	
c. Auditing bodies	
d. Combined	Chief Electoral Officer of Canada (Elections Canada), Commissioner of Canada Elections, Broadcasting Arbitrator, common law court judges
<b>2. Election / Composition of controller agencies:</b>	<p>The Chief Electoral Officer is appointed by a resolution of the House of Commons. The Chief Electoral Officer in turn selects and appoints the Commissioner of Canada Elections, who ensures that the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> is enforced, and the Broadcasting Arbitrator, who allocates paid and free broadcasting time during electoral events.</p> <p>The Office of the Chief Electoral Officer includes some 250 permanent employees appointed in accordance with the <i>Public Services Employment Act</i>.</p> <p>The Chief Electoral Officer is seconded by the Deputy Chief Electoral Officer and Chief Legal Counsel, who oversees the responsibilities of Legal Services, National and International Research and Policy Development, Corporate Planning and Executive Services, International Services, and legal support to the Commissioner of Canada Elections. Other directorates, which include Election Financing, Register, Geography and Information Technology, Operations and Communications, report directly to the Chief Electoral Officer.</p> <p>The Office of the Commissioner of Canada Elections has a Senior Counsel to the Commissioner assisted by legal counsels, a Chief Investigator, assisted by assistant chief investigators, Secretaries and 26 Special investigators in the regions. If needed, the Commissioner can call on agents from a network of independent investigators across Canada.</p>
<b>3. Functions /</b>	The Chief Electoral Officer is responsible for administering the

<b>Responsibilities:</b>	<p>conduct of federal general elections, by-elections and referendums and administering the application of the <i>Canada Elections Act</i>, the <i>Referendum Act</i> and the <i>Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act</i>.</p> <p>The Chief Electoral Officer's responsibilities include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enforcing electoral legislation;</li> <li>- Registering political parties and third parties who engage in election advertising;</li> <li>- Training election officers;</li> <li>- Monitoring election spending by candidates, political parties and third parties;</li> <li>- Ensuring all electors have access to the electoral system;</li> <li>- Informing citizens about the electoral system;</li> <li>- Maintaining the National Register of Electors;</li> <li>- Producing electoral districts maps;</li> <li>- Supporting the commissions responsible for readjusting the boundaries of federal electoral districts every ten years;</li> <li>- Reporting to Parliament on the administration of elections and referendums.</li> </ul>
<b>4. Autonomies / Dependencies:</b>	<p>The Chief Electoral Officer has two budgetary authorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Administrative vote: Parliament approves funds, principally for permanent staff at Elections Canada</li> <li>- Statutory authority: direct draw from Consolidated Revenue Fund for expenses of electoral events (Parliament does not have to approve this spending – helps preserve independence of the electoral process)</li> </ul> <p>He is accountable to Parliament:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Report to Parliament on election administration - within three months after election day</li> <li>- Must present main estimates and report expenditures to Parliament</li> <li>- Parliament may question on any activity or expenditure</li> <li>- Accountable to Auditor General, Treasury Board</li> <li>- Subject to <i>Privacy Act</i>, <i>Official Languages Act</i>, <i>Public Service Act</i></li> <li>- Not subject to <i>Access to Information Act</i> but the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> provides for dissemination of information</li> <li>- Obligation to make and disclose financial reports</li> </ul>
<b>5. Institutional capacity:</b>	
a. Financial resources	<p>The Chief Electoral Officer operates under two funding authorities: the administrative vote (which essentially provides for the salaries of indeterminate staff) and the statutory authority (which provides for all other expenditures, including the cost of electoral events and continuing public education programs).</p>

	<p>Actual expenditures:  2002-2003: \$73,586,000 CAN (redistribution year)  2001-2002: \$49,556,000 CAN  2000-2001: \$202,851,000 CAN (general election year)</p>
c. Human resources	250 permanent employees (during a general election or a national referendum, this number rises to 900 permanent and temporary employees in Ottawa and 150,000 across Canada).
d. Technical capacity	Highly technical and specialized.
<b>6. Internal party controlling mechanisms:</b>	
<b>B. SANCTION REGIMENS</b>	
<b>1. Mechanisms:</b>	
a. Permanent and systematic oversight	
b. Complaint-based system	
c. Random auditing	
d. Alternative mechanisms (compliance agreements, etc.)	
e. Combined	<p>The Commissioner of Canada Elections, who is selected and appointed by the Chief Electoral Officer, is authorized to launch an investigation, in response to a complaint, on his own initiative or at the request of the Chief Electoral Officer where the latter believes on reasonable grounds that an election officer or, in some circumstances, that any person may have committed an offence under the <i>Act</i>.</p> <p>A complaint may arise if a political party, candidate or other regulated entity submits an incomplete or false financial return, or fails to file a return within the prescribed time frame. If errors are found by the Elections Canada's Election Financing Directorate, the filing party or candidate is given the opportunity to make corrections. If the problems are not resolved, the case is turned over the Commissioner of Canada Elections to decide what enforcement action is required.</p> <p>The Commissioner's enforcement tools include: prosecution of the offender before a court of justice; entering into compliance agreements to prevent a breach; and seeking out court injunctions</p>

	during an election period to address an offence. The decision to choose which enforcement tool is justified in light of the nature of the breach, the need to ensure fairness of the electoral process and the public interest.
<b>2. Sanction regimens:</b>	
a. Financial penalties:	
✓ Political parties	Yes
✓ Candidates	Yes
✓ Donors	Yes
b. Legal sanctions:	
✓ Political parties	Yes
✓ Candidates	Yes
✓ Donors	Yes
c. Administrative sanctions:	A candidate who does not meet the reporting requirement after an election may lose his/her nomination deposit. A registered political party that fails to provide its annual fiscal return may be suspended.
d. Other sanctions:	Loss of office for Members of Parliament
<b>3. Provide examples of sanctions already applied:</b>	Most of the offences committed during the 2000 general election were about the failure to satisfy candidates' bank account requirements, or to meet the four-month deadline for filing candidates' post-election reports.  Among the 58 compliance agreements sought by the Commissioner of Canada Elections, most were for attempts to vote twice or requesting a second ballot; a smaller number were for breaches to third party registration/reporting requirements and consequent unauthorized or illegal advertising.
<b>C. CULTURE OF COMPLIANCE AND PUBLIC OVERSIGHT</b>	
<b>a. Incentives for voluntary compliance:</b>	
✓ Training of campaign workers	Yes
✓ Technical assistance	Yes
✓ Provision of material support	Yes
✓ Subsidies for auditing services	Yes (considered an election expense for candidates, thus partly refundable; registered electoral district associations' auditing services are directly subsidized)
✓ Public education	Yes
<b>b. Public oversight of</b>	

<b>resources:</b>	
✓ Names of participating civil society organizations	
✓ Initiatives of citizens	
✓ Other	
<b>c. Cases of corruption? If yes, provide examples:</b>	
<b>V. INFORMATION ABOUT PARLIAMENTS</b>	
<p>Numbers presented in the following section come from the Parliament Performance Report 2001-2002 and the Senate Committee Activities and Expenditures Annual Report 2001-2002 (both attached). These data correspond to activities or separate entities that are outside the mandate of Elections Canada. They have been gathered for the convenience of the researcher.</p>	
1. Total cost to Parliament (Figures from general national budget and Parliament budget)	House of Commons: \$323,134,000 CAN (2002-2003) Senate: \$3,454,431 (2002-2003)
2. Who is the parliamentary budget administrator?	Receiver General for Canada
3. Cost of each Member of Parliament.	Sessional indemnity for Members of Parliament: \$139,200 (2002-2003) Average Members' Office budget: \$234,819 CAN (2002-2003)
a. Gross cost (divide total cost by number of Members of Parliament)	\$1,075,535 CAN (2002-2003)
b. Net Cost (salaries of Members of Parliament)	Members of Parliament: \$41,899,200 CAN (2002-2003)



4. Parliamentary services (costs of support services, advisors, secretaries, etc.)	<p>House of Commons (2002-2003):</p> <p>Corporate services: \$23,172,000 CAN  Law Clerks and Parliamentary Counsels: \$2,024,000 CAN  Procedural Services: \$18,080,000 CAN  Information Services: \$38,889,000 CAN  Precinct Services: \$41,555,000 CAN  TOTAL \$323,134,000 CAN</p> <p>Senate (2001-2002):</p> <p>Directorate: \$1,868,000 CAN  Committees: \$1,360,349 CAN  Witnesses: \$226,092 CAN  TOTAL: \$3,454,441 CAN</p>
5. Allocation of resources: caucus vs. individual.	(2002-2003) Out of a total budget of \$323,134,000 CAN, \$25,698,000 CAN was allocated to caucus (8.0%) and \$205,855,000 CAN to constituencies (64%)
6. Access to other resources for parliamentary needs (special funds, resources from political party budgets, etc.)	Supplementary estimates can be requested in statutory funds and in voted funds, allowing statutory budgets to be increased to fund the year-end statutory expenditures.
<b>VI. LIST OF REGULATIONS ON FINANCING</b>	
<p><i>Canada Elections Act</i> [ S.C. 2000, c.9 ], as modified.</p> <p>Bill C-24. An Act to Amend the <i>Canada Elections Act</i> and the <i>Income Tax Act</i> (political financing) [ S.C. 2003, c.19 ]</p> <p><i>Income Tax Act</i> [ R.S.C. 1985, c. 1 (5th Supp.) ]</p> <p><i>Parliament of Canada Act</i> [ R.S.C. 1985, c. P-1 ]</p>	
<b>VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY ON FINANCING</b>	
<p><b>Axworthy, Thomas S.</b> (2003), "Freeing party finance from the iron triangle" in the <i>National Post</i>, (Jan. 21), p. A18.</p>	

**Boudria, Don** (2003), "U.S. PAC-style Funds Not Possible in Canada: Boudria" in *The Hill Times*, (Sept.), p. 9.

**Broadcasting Arbitrator** (2000), *Broadcaster Arbitrator's Guidelines: Federal General Election, November 27, 2000*, Toronto, The Arbitrator, 26 p.

Also available on-line on Elections Canada Web Site:

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=index&dir=bro&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=index&dir=bro&lang=e&textonly=false)

**Canada. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer** (2001), *2000 General Election Post-event Overview* [electronic resource], Research Studies, Ottawa, Chief Electoral Officer of Canada.  
[www.elections.ca/loi/rec/overview\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/loi/rec/overview_e.pdf)

**Canada. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer** (2003), *Electoral Reform* [electronic resource]: *Political Financing*, Ottawa, Chief Electoral Officer of Canada.

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=index&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=index&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false)

Chief Electoral Officer of Canada's Speeches:

*Address to the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs (April 8, 2003)*

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=apr0803&dir=spe&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=apr0803&dir=spe&lang=e&textonly=false)

*Speech to the International Political Science Association Symposium (May 8, 2003)*

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=may0803&dir=spe&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=med&document=may0803&dir=spe&lang=e&textonly=false)

*Address to the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs (June 17, 2003)*

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=index&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=index&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false)

Summary Issues on Bill C-24:

Political Contributions by Individuals – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90529&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90529&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Registration and Political Financing of Leadership Contestants – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90531&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90531&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Political Financing of Candidates – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90533&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90533&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Financing of Registered Political Parties – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90532&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90532&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Political Financing of Nomination Contestants – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90534&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90534&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Political Contributions by Corporations and Trade Unions – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90536&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90536&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Registration and Political Financing of Electoral District Associations – New Rules on January 1, 2004

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90528&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=ec90528&dir=bkg&lang=e&textonly=false)

Testimony of witnesses (including several academics):

Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, April 3-June 3:

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=review&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=review&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false)

Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, June 17-19:

[www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=revsen&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false](http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=loi&document=revsen&dir=re3&lang=e&textonly=false)

**Canada. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer** (2003), *Performance Report for the Period Ending March 31*, Ottawa, Government Review and Quality Services, Treasury Board Secretariat, 40 p.

[www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/dpr/02-03/CEO-DGE/CEO-DGE03D\\_e.asp](http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/dpr/02-03/CEO-DGE/CEO-DGE03D_e.asp)

**Canada. Parliament. House of Commons** (2003), *Indemnities, Salaries and Allowances* [electronic resource]: *Members of the House of Commons: 1867 to Date*, Ottawa, Library of Parliament.

[www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=H](http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=H)

**Canada. Parliament. House of Commons** (2003), *Individual Member's Expenditures for the Fiscal Year 2002-2003* [electronic resource], Ottawa, Financial Management Operations, Finance and Human Resources Directorate.

[www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/house/GeneralInformation/MembersExpenses-2002-2003-e.pdf](http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/house/GeneralInformation/MembersExpenses-2002-2003-e.pdf)

**Canada. Parliament. House of Commons** (2003), *Performance Report, April 2002 to March 2003* [electronic resource], Ottawa, The House of Commons.

[www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=H](http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=H)

**Canada. Parliament. Senate** (2003), *Committees Activities and Expenditures: Annual Report 2002-2003* [electronic resource], Ottawa, The Senate.

[www.parl.gc.ca/37/2/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-E/annual2003-e/annual03-e.htm](http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/2/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-E/annual2003-e/annual03-e.htm)

**Canada. Parliament. Senate** (2003), *Indemnities, Salaries and Allowances* [electronic resource]: *Senators: 1867 to Date*, Ottawa, Library of Parliament.

[www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=S](http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/info/Salary.asp?lang=E&param=S)

**Canada. Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing** (1991), *Reforming Electoral Democracy*, Four Volumes (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada).

**Canadian Taxpayers Federation** (1998), *Summary Statistics of Public Grants Made to Federal Candidates Following the 1997 Federal Election from Information*, Ottawa, Canadian Taxpayers Federation, 47 p.

**Cross, William** (1994), "Regulating Independent Expenditures in Federal Elections" in *Canadian Public Policy*, Vol. 20, no. 3 (September), pp. 253-264.

**Dyck, Rand** (2000), "Financing Elections" in *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches* by Rand Dyck, Chapitre 12: Elections and the Electoral System, Scarborough, Nelson, pp. 270-282.

**Eagles, Munroe** (1993), "Money and Votes in Canada: Campaign Spending and Parliamentary Election Outcomes, 1984 and 1988" in *Canadian Public Policy*, Vol. 19, no. 4 (December), pp. 432-449.

**Eagles, Munroe** (1992), "The Political Ecology of Campaign Contributions in Canada: A Constituency-Level Analysis" in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, no. 3 (September), pp. 535-555.

**Ewing, K. D.** (1992), *Money, Politics, and Law: A Study of Electoral Campaign Finance Reform in Canada*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 254 p.

**Fletcher, Frederick J.** (1991), *Election Broadcasting in Canada*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 21, Toronto, Dundurn, 358 p.

**Fletcher, Frederick J.** (1991), *Media and Voters in Canadian Election Campaigns*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 18, Toronto, Dundurn, 258 p.

**Fletcher, Frederick J.** (1991), *Media, Elections and Democracys*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 19, Toronto, Dundurn, 234 p.

**Freeman, Aaron** (1999), *For the Best Government Money Can't Buy: How to Make Canada's Political Finance System Democratic*, Ottawa, Democracy Watch, 19 p.

**Geddes, John** (2000), "The Black Hole of Election Money" in *Maclean's*, No. 113 (Mar. 27), pp. 34-36.

**Gérin, François** (1990), "For the Democratization of Party Financing" in *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (Fall), pp. 5-8.

**Gunlincks, Arthur B.** (1993), *Campaign and Party Finance in North America and Western Europe*, Boulder, Westview Press, 278 p.

**Hiebert, Janet L.** (1998), "Money and Elections: Can Citizens Participate on Fair Terms Amidst Unrestricted Spending?" in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 31, pp. 91-111.

**Howe, Paul and David Northrup** (2000), "Strengthening Canadian Democracy: The Views of Canadians" in *Policy Matters*, Institute for Research on Public Policy, July, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 36-39.

**Hughes, Colin A.** (1994), *Election Finance Controls: Is There An End Game?: Presented for Panel on Political Finance, Sixteenth World Congress, International Political Science Association, Berlin, 25 August 1994*, Australia, University of Queensland, 19 p.

**Isakovic, Milena and George Kourakos** (2003). "New Political Financing Rules: What Do Canada's Corporations Have to Say? Section, Dialogue: How Will Bill C-24 Affect Canada's Political Process?" in *Public Policy Forum*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring), p. 6.

**Kingsley, Jean-Pierre** (2003), "How Can We Prevent Our Political Financing Regulations From Being Evaded and Poorly Implemented? Control Mechanisms and Enforcement" in *Elecciones México*, No. 7 (November 2002-April 2003), pp. 11-13.

**Kingsley, Jean-Pierre** (2002), "Reform of Election Financing: Canada, Great Britain and the United States" in *Electoral Insight*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (May), p. 1. (also in French)

**MacDonald, Donald C.** (1991), "Election Finances Legislation in Canada" in *Party Politics in Canada*, Edited by Hugh G, Thornburn, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, pp. 68-79.

**Massicotte, Louis** (2002), *Financing Parties At the Grass-roots Level: The Québec Experience*, Paper Presented at the Columbia, Institute of Advanced Legal Studies Research Seminar on the Funding of Political Parties, London, UK, July, 33 p.

**Massicotte, Louis** (2001), *Refereeing the Political Process: The Chief Electoral Officer of Canada*: Paper revised for publication as a chapter in *Independence and Responsibility: The Officers of Parliament* (not published), The Author, 29 p.

**Mowrey, Tim and Alain Pelletier** (2002), "Election Financing in Canada" in *Electoral Insight*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (May), pp. 2-8.

**Palda, Filip** (1991), *Election Finance Regulation in Canada: A Critical Review*, Vancouver,

Fraser Institute, 132 p.

**Paltiel, Khayyam Zev** (1996), "Political Marketing, Party Finance, and the Decline of Canadian Parties" in *Canadian Political Parties in Transition*, Edited by A. Brian Tanguay and Alain-G. Gagnon, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Toronto, Nelson, pp. 403-422.

**Payne, David** (1999), "Funding Political Parties: Can a Fair System Be Devised?" in *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Vol. 22, no. 4 (Winter), pp. 7-12.

**Power, Charles Govan** (1992), "The problem of Election Spending" in *Canadian Political Party Systems: A Reader* edited by R.K. Carty, Toronto, Broadview, pp. 265-269.

**Seidle, F. Seidle** (1996), *Canadian Political Finance Regulation and the Democratic Process: Established Rules in a dynamic System: Prepared for the Round Table on Discontent and Reform in the Mature Democracies, Tokyo, Japan*, The Author, 30 p.

**Seidle, F. Leslie** (1991), *Comparative Issues in Party and Election Finance*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 4, Toronto, Dundurn, 262 p.

**Seidle, F. Leslie** (1991), *Interest Groups and Elections in Canada*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 2, Toronto, Dundurn, 128 p.

**Seidle, F. Leslie** (1991), *Issues in Party and Election Finance in Canada*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 5, Toronto, Dundurn, 467 p.

**Seidle, F. Leslie** (1991), *Provincial Party and Election Finance in Canada*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 3, Toronto, Dundurn, 208 p.

**Smith, Jennifer and Herman Bakvis** (2002), "Canadian General Elections and the Money Question" in *Political Parties, Representation, and Electoral Democracy in Canada* edited by William Cross, Chapitre 9, Don Mills, Oxford University Press, pp. 132-144.

**Smith, Jennifer and Herman Bakvis** (2000), "Changing Dynamics in Election Campaign Finance: Critical Issues in Canada and the United States" in *Policy Matters*, Vol. 1, no. 4 (July), 40 p.

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), " Making sense of PM's Campaign Finance Bill" Section, Money & Politics in *The Hill Times*, (Sept. 8).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), "Political finance bill: what's a large corporation to do? " Section, Money & Politics in *The Hill Times*, (March 24).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), "Parties will be rolling in the dough: The Libs will get an extra \$3.43-million and the Alliance will get an extra \$4-million" Section, Money & Politics in *The Hill Times*, (Feb. 17).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), "Campaign bill doesn't kill secret trust funds" Section, Money &

Politics in *The Hill Times*, (Feb. 10).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), "Chrétien's 'big bang' on money in politics" Section, Money & Politics in *The Hill Times*, (Feb. 3).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2003), "Low-down and dirty on big political donations" Section, Money & Politics in *The Hill Times*, (Jan. 27).

**Stanbury, William T.** (2001), "Regulating Federal Party and Candidate Finances in a Dynamic Environment" in *Party Politics in Canada* edited by Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, pp. 179-205.

**Stanbury, William T.** (1996), "Regulating the Financing of Federal Parties and Candidates" in *Canadian Political Parties in Transition*, Edited by A. Brian Tanguay and Alain-G. Gagnon, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Toronto, Nelson Canada, pp. 372-402.

**Stanbury, William T.** (1991), *Money in Politics*, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing Research Studies, Vol. 1, Toronto, Dundurn, 732 p.

**Wearing, Joseph** (1991), "Regulating Federal Election Spending" in *Politics: Canada* by Paul W. Cox and Graham White, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, pp. 324-339.

## VIII. ANNEX

Latin American and the Caribbean Disclosure Table

**LATIN AMERICAN AND THE CARIBBEAN DISCLOSURE TABLE****Basic Disclosure Rules in Selected Latin America Countries**

COLUMN NUMBER	ANY DISCL- OSURE RULES	BY PARTY		BY CANDIDATE		BY DONOR	THRESHOLD FOR DISCLOSURE OF DONATIONS (by parties, candidates, or by donors, in US Dollars)	DISCLOSURE RANKING
		<u>Income and/or Expend- iture Accounts</u>	<u>List of donors</u>	<u>Presid- ential</u>	<u>Parl- iamen- ary</u>			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Antigua and Barbuda	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Argentina	YES	YES	YES	no	no	no	none	3
Bahamas	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Barbados	YES	no	no	n.a.	YES	no	n.a.	2
Belize	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Bolivia	YES	YES	no	no	no	YES	none	3
Brazil	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	581	4
Chile	YES	YES	no	no	no	no	n.a.	2
Colombia	YES	YES	YES	no	no	YES	none	3
Costa Rica	YES	Subm	YES	no	no	no	none	2
Dominica	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Dominican Republic	no	Subm	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Ecuador	YES	YES	Subm.	no	no	no	n.a.	2
El Salvador	no	no	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Grenada	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Guatemala	no	Subm	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Guyana	no	Subm	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Honduras	no	Subm	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Jamaica	YES	no	no	n.a.	YES	no	n.a.	2
Mexico	YES	YES	Subm.	no	no	no	n.a.	2
Nicaragua	YES	Subm	YES	no	no	no	n.a.	2
Panama	no	Subm.	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Paraguay	no	Subm	Subm	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Peru	YES	YES	no	no	no	no	n.a.	2
St Kitts and Nevis	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
St Lucia	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
St Vincent & the Grenadines	no	no	no	n.a.	no	no	n.a.	1
Trinidad and Tobago	YES	no	no	n.a.	YES	no	n.a.	2
Uruguay	no	no	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1
Venezuela	no	Subm	no	no	no	no	n.a.	1



**NOTES:** The information has been prepared by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, a member of the board of directors of the International Foundation for Election Systems, with the assistance of Violaine Autheman and Jeffrey Carlson. Daniel Zovatto of IDEA also contributed to the data collection phase of this matrix. The Matrix records laws and regulations in force in some countries as of 1 January 2000 and for others on 1 September 2001. Laws are not always clear and the assignment of categories in some cases a matter of judgement. While care has been taken in the preparation of the Matrix, there is always the possibility of error. Corrections and comments on interpretations of categories will be gratefully received at [info@ifes.org].

**Col. 1.** Measures the present or absence of campaign or party finance law(s) on public disclosure.

**Col. 2.** 'YES' means that income AND/OR expenditure accounts must be submitted to a public authority and made available for public scrutiny. 'Submit' means that income AND/OR expenditure accounts must be submitted to a public authority but need not be made available for public scrutiny

**Col. 3.** 'YES' means party must disclose identities of donors. Where donations need be disclosed only if they exceed a certain threshold, this is recorded in Column 7..

**Col. 4.** 'YES' means the income AND/OR expenditure accounts of the candidate must be disclosed as distinct from those of the candidate's party. 'N.a.' (not applicable) means that there is no election for the position of chief executive in the country concerned. **Panama:** except for independent candidates.

**Col. 5.** 'YES' means the income AND/OR expenditure accounts of the candidate must be disclosed as distinct from those of the candidate's party. **Brazil:** senators only; **Colombia, Panama:** except for independent candidates.

**Col. 6.** 'YES' means donors themselves must disclose their donations. Where donations need be disclosed only if they exceed a certain threshold, this is recorded in Column 7. **Bolivia, Colombia:** by corporations.

**Col. 7.** 'None' means that there is no threshold for disclosure and that all relevant donations must be disclosed or submitted. **Bolivia:** all donations from private companies must be disclosed;

**Col. 8.** This column is a Disclosure Index which indicates how many types of disclosure laws are on the books in a country. The three types of laws are: disclosure by political parties of income and/or expenditure accounts; disclosure by candidates for presidential or legislative office; and disclosure of the identity of specific donors. Coding is as follows: 4=countries with three types of disclosure laws; 3=countries with two types of disclosure laws; 2=countries with one type of disclosure law.; 1=countries with no disclosure laws.

## MONEY IN POLITICS TRANSPARENCY

Levels of Public Disclosure*	Names of Countries**
<b>High Public Disclosure</b>	Armenia, Australia, <b>Brazil</b> , <b>Canada</b> , Denmark, Greece, Japan, Lithuania, New Zealand, The Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Thailand, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States (18 countries / 15%)
<b>Medium Public Disclosure</b>	<b>Argentina</b> , Azerbaijan, Belgium, <b>Bolivia</b> , Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lesotho, Macedonia, Moldova, The Netherlands, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Romania, Singapore, South Korea, Tanzania (24 countries / 20%)
<b>Low Public Disclosure</b>	Bangladesh, <b>Barbados</b> , Belarus, Botswana, <b>Chile</b> , <b>Colombia</b> , <b>Costa Rica</b> , Gambia, Ghana, <b>Jamaica</b> , Kenya, Malta, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, <b>Nicaragua</b> , Nigeria, <b>Peru</b> , Spain, Taiwan, Tonga, <b>Trinidad and Tobago</b> (21 countries / 18%)
<b>Hidden Public Disclosure</b>	Algeria, Austria, Benin, Central Africa Republic, , <b>Ecuador</b> , France, Gabon, Indonesia, Mali, <b>Mexico</b> , Niger, <b>Paraguay</b> , Tunisia, and Turkey (15 countries / 13%)
<b>No Public Disclosure</b>	Albania, Angola, <b>Antigua and Barbuda</b> , <b>Bahamas</b> , <b>Belize</b> , Croatia, <b>Dominica</b> , <b>Dominican Republic</b> , <b>El Salvador</b> , Fiji Islands, Finland, <b>Grenada</b> , <b>Guatemala</b> , <b>Honduras</b> , <b>Guyana</b> , Kiribati, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, The Maldives, Mozambique, <b>Panama</b> , <b>St Kitts and Nevis</b> , <b>St Lucia</b> , <b>St Vincent &amp; the Grenadines</b> , Samoa, Senegal, Seychelles, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, Tuvalu, Uganda, <b>Uruguay</b> , Vanuatu, <b>Venezuela</b> , and Zambia (40 countries / 34%)

\* Levels of disclosure are based upon the existence of laws or regulations and their intents, not the level of implementation or actual enforcement of these laws.

\*\* OAS countries in bold print.

**LATIN AMERICAN PROFILES OF DISCLOSURE & TRANSPARENCY**

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>Level of Disclosure</b>	<b>\$ Income</b>	<b>Freedom Hse Rating</b>	<b>Estab. Democ.</b>	<b>Traditional Milieu</b>
1.Brazil	<b>High</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
2.Barbados	<b>Low</b>	7000-14999	free	Yes	English speaking
3.Chile	<b>Low</b>	7000-14999	free	No	Latin America
4.Costa Rica	??				
5.Jamaica	<b>Low</b>	0-6999	free	Yes	English speaking
6.Nicaragua	<b>Low</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
7.Peru	<b>Low</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
8.Colombia	<b>Low</b>	0-6999	partly free	Yes	Latin America
9.Ecuador	<b>Hidden Disclosure</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
10.Mexico	<b>Hidden Disclosure</b>	7000-14999	free	No	Latin America
11.Paraguay	<b>Hidden Disclosure</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
12. Antigua Barbuda	<b>No Disclosure</b>	7000-14999	partly free	.	English speaking
13.Bahamas	<b>No Disclosure</b>	15000-	Free	Yes	English speaking
14.Dominica	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	Free	No	English speaking
15.Dominican R.	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	Free	No	Latin America
16.El Salvador	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	Free	No	Latin America
17.Grenada	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	Free	.	English speaking
18.Guatemala	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
19.Honduras	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	partly free	No	Latin America
20.Guyana	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	Free	No	English speaking
21.Panama	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	free	No	Latin America
22.St Kitts Nevis	<b>No Disclosure</b>	7000-14999	free	.	English speaking
23.St Lucia	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	free	.	English speaking
24.St Vincent Gren	<b>No Disclosure</b>	0-6999	free	.	English speaking
n=24		.	.	.	